

PATROLOGY
The Eastern Fathers, 451-750

INSTITUTUM PATRISTICUM AUGUSTINIANUM

PATROLOGY

The Eastern Fathers
from the Council of Chalcedon (451)
to John of Damascus († 750)

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PREFACE

The present volume devoted to the Eastern Fathers (Greek, Coptic, Armenian and Syrian) completes the work begun by Johannes Quasten some fifty years ago. It has made use of the skills of a number of scholars. Quasten's third volume, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature*, embraced the period from the Council of Nicaea to that of Chalcedon. But, especially for the years immediately after 400, many authors were left out of it, some of little importance, but others of considerable interest, e.g. Atticus of Constantinople, Firmus of Caesarea and many others who lived at the time of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Here we have tried to round off Quasten's work so that the present volume may be a real work of reference. Furthermore, in the chapters on Syriac (Bettiola) and Coptic (Orlandi), authors and subjects already dealt with in the previous volumes have been treated afresh, both to give greater homogeneity and completeness to the chapters and because of the progress made by studies in those fields.

The chapters on Coptic, Syrian and Armenian writers have greater unity, each one having been written by a single specialist. It was impossible, though, for a single person to deal with all the Greek-speaking authors; here we had to make use of several collaborators, each of whom has his or her own method and approach. As far as possible, a degree of uniformity has been sought. But how were the various contributions to be arranged? Three solutions were possible: a) a single chapter with the authors arranged in alphabetical order; b) the system adopted by the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*; c) a chronological arrangement, as far as possible, by geographical areas. Each of these solutions had advantages and difficulties. After listening to various suggestions, the third solution was chosen. But it too presented incongruities, both in the placing of some authors (in which area should Dionysius the Areopagite be put?) and in the chronological order, which is sometimes uncertain. In any case the intention was to provide a working instrument useful to the reader.

Angelo Di Berardino

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This list does not include those abbreviations that are sufficiently drawn out to be easily recognizable

AL	<i>Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Rome.</i>
AAT	<i>Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Turin.</i>
AAWB	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1788 ff.</i>
AAWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1952 ff.</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana, Brussels.</i>
ABAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Munich.</i>
ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte, Bonn.</i>
AC	<i>Antiquité classique, Louvain.</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum,</i> edd. E. Schwartz, J. Straub, Berlin 1914 ff.
ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers, edd. J. Quasten, J.C. Plumpe,</i> Westminster (MD) 1946 ff.
ADAI	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Institut, Kairo.</i>
AEHE	<i>Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.</i>
AFLN	<i>Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Napoli, Naples.</i>
AGG	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen 1838-1942 (later AAWG).</i>
AGPh	<i>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie, Berlin 1888 ff.</i>
AHC	<i>Annuaire historiae conciliorum, Amsterdam.</i>
AHDLMA	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge, Paris.</i>
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli.</i>
AIVS	<i>Atti dell'istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, Venice.</i>
AKGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i>
Allen	<i>P. Allen, Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et documents, 41), Louvain 1981.</i>
Altaner	<i>B. Altaner, A. Stuiber, Patrologie, Freiburg i.Br. 1966⁷.</i>
AMZ	<i>M. Amelotti, I. Migliardi Zingale, Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano, Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium, Subsidia, Milan 1977.</i>

- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin.
 AOB *Acta Orientalia Belgica. Collection correspondance d'Orient*, Brussels.
 ASS *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Antwerp 1643 ff.; Venice 1734 ff.; Paris 1863 ff.
 Aug *Augustinianum*, Rome.
 BAB *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, Brussels.
 BAC Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid 1954 ff.
 BAGB *Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé*, Paris.
 BALAC *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Paris.
 Bardenhewer O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1, 1902 (1913²); 2 (1914²); 3 (1923²); 4, 1924; 5, 1931 (anast. repr., Darmstadt 1962).
 BASP *Bulletin de l'académie imperiale des sciences de St. Petersbourg*.
 Baumstark A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Anschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn 1922.
 Baz *Bazmavep*, Venise 1843 ff.
 BBGG *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, Grottaferrata.
 BBKL *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Hamm (Westf.) 1975 ff.
 BbM *Banber Matenadarani*.
 BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénistique*, Paris.
 BCNH Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Université Laval, Québec.
 Beck H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1977².
 Bedjan *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum (syriace)*, ed. P. Bedjan, 7 voll., Paris 1890-1897.
 BG Bibliotheca Graeca, Hamburg 1790 ff.
 BGL Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, Abteilung Patristik, Stuttgart.
 BH *Byzantinisches Handbuch*, Munich 1963.
 BHG Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca, ed. Socii Bollandiani, Brussels 1957³.
 BHL Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina, Antiquae et mediae aetatis, ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 voll., Brussels 1898-1901 (repr. 1949), Supplementum 1911².
 BHO Bibliotheca hagiographica Orientalis, ed. P. Peeters, Brussels 1910.
 BIFAO *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Le Caire.
 BIIRHT *Bulletin d'information de l'institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, Paris.

- BiZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*, Paderborn.
 BLE *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique*, Toulouse 1877 ff.
 BNIGJ *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Athens.
 BPhA *Berliner philologische Abhandlungen*, Berlin.
 BPhM *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale*, Louvain.
 BS Bibliotheca Sanctorum, a cura dell'Istituto Giovanni XXIII, Pont. Università Lateranense, Rome 1961-1970.
 BSAA *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, Alexandria.
 BSAC *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte*, Cairo.
 BVPSE Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum cura et studio Andreae Gallandii, Venetiis 1765 ff.
 Byzantion *Byzantion. Revue internationale des Études byzantines*, Brussels.
 ByzF *Byzantinische Forschungen*, Amsterdam.
 ByzZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Munich.
 CAG Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, Berolini 1883 ff.
 CCG Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, Turnhout 1977 ff.
 CCHG *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edd. A. Grillmeier, H. Bacht, Würzburg 1951-1954; repr. 1964.
 CCL Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, Turnhout 1953 ff.
 CE *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1st ed., New York 1967.
 ChHist *Church History*. American Society of Church History, Chicago.
 CLCAG Corpus Latinum commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum, Louvain-Paris.
 CMCL Corpus dei manoscritti copti letterari, Rome 1989 ff.
 CO *Cahiers d'orientalisme*, Geneva.
 CPG M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Turnhout 1974 ff., Supp. 1998.
 CPh *Classical Philology*, Chicago.
 CPhA *Cahiers de philosophie ancienne*, Brussels.
 CPL E. Dekkers, A. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 1996³ (SE 3).
 CQ *Classical Quarterly*, Oxford.
 CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Paris-Louvain 1903 ff.
 CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1865 ff.
 CSBH Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn 1828-1897.
 CSS Cistercian Studies Series, Kalamazoo (MI).
 CTh *Codex theodosianus*.
 DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris 1907-1953.
 DBS *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, Paris.
 DCB *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, edd. W. Smith, H. Wace, 4 voll., London 1887.
 DDC *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, Paris 1924-1965.

- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, Paris 1909 ff.
- Diekamp F. Diekamp (ed.), *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1907; 2nd ed. revised by B. Phanourgakis, E. Chrysos, Münster 1981.
- DIP *Dizionario degli Istituti di perfezione*, Rome 1974 ff.
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Cambridge (MA) 1941 ff.
- DPAC *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane*, ed. A. Di Berardino, 3 voll., Casale Monferrato 1983-1988.
- DSp *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, Paris 1933-1995.
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris 1903-1970.
- Duval R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris 1907.
- EA *Études Augustiniennes*, Paris.
- EC *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Vatican City 1949-1954.
- EEC *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, ed. A. Di Berardino, Cambridge-New York 1992 (tr. of DPAC).
- EHBS Ἐπετερίς Ἑταιρείς Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, Athens.
- EI *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Treccani), Rome 1929 ff.
- EO *Echos d'Orient*, Bucharest 1873 ff.
- EphL *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Vatican City.
- EPRO *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, Leyden.
- ETHL *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, Louvain.
- FC *Fontes Christiani*, Freiburg 1991 ff.
- Fliche-Martin A. Fliche, V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 21 voll., Paris 1934-1952.
- FR *Felix Ravenna*, Bologna.
- Frend W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972.
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig-Berlin 1897 ff.
- GGPh *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, 1, Berlin 1926¹²; 2, Berlin 1928¹¹.
- GIF *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*, Rome.
- GRBS *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
- Grillmeier A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus in Glauben der Kirche*, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna, Band II/1, 1986; Band II/2, 1989; Band II/4, 1990.
- Grumel V. Grumel, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, 1, Kadiköi, repr. Paris 1972.
- HA *Handes Amsorya*, Vienna.
- Hanssens J.M. Hanssens, *La liturgie d'Hippolyte. Ses documents. Son titulaire. Ses origines et son caractère*, Rome 1959, 2nd ed. 1965.
- HDG *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg i. Br. 1956 ff.
- Helikon *Helikon. Rivista di tradizione e cultura classica*, Rome.

- Hfl-Lecl C.J. v. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, traduite par H. Leclercq, Paris 1907-1952.
- HJ *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Munich.
- Honigmann E. Honigmann, *Évêques et Évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, CSCO 127, Subsidia 2, Louvain 1951.
- HSPH *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology*, Harvard.
- HTR *Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge (MA).
- JA *Journal asiatique*, Paris.
- Jaffé P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, anast. repr., Graz 1956.
- JbAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Münster 1958 ff.
- JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*, New Haven.
- JEOL *Jaabericht van het vooraziatisch-egyptisch genootschap 'lux ex oriente'*, Leyden.
- JHS *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, London.
- Joannou P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, Grottaferrata 1962-1963.
- JOBG *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Vienna 1951-1968.
- JOEByz *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Vienna 1969 ff.
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford.
- Krumbacher K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, Munich 1897².
- Labourt J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide (224-632)*, Paris 1904.
- Lampe G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 4th reprinting with corrections and additions, Oxford 1976.
- Lex des Mitt *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Munich-Zurich 1977 ff.
- LFC *Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, edd. E.B. Pusey, J. Keble, J.H. Newman, Oxford 1838-1888.
- LNPF *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, edd. P. Schaff, H. Wace (repr. Grand Rapids [MI] 1951 ff.).
- LP *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 voll., Paris 1886-1892; 3rd ed. by C. Vogel, 3 voll., ibid. 1955-1970.
- LTK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg i. Br. 1957-1965².
- Mansi J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (anast. repr., Graz 1960-1962).
- Maspéro J. Maspéro, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la réconciliation des églises jacobites (518-616)*, Paris 1923.
- Melto *Melto. Recherches orientales*, Kaslik 1965-1969.
- MIFAO *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Le Caire.

MIL	<i>Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di scienze e lettere. Cl. di lettere, scienze morali e storiche.</i>
MSR	<i>Mélanges de Science Religieuse, Lille.</i>
Muséon	<i>Le Muséon. Revue d'Études Orientales, Louvain.</i>
NAWG	<i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Göttingen.</i>
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, Leyden-New York-Köln 1997 ff. (continuation of NHS)
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies, Leyden 1971 ff.
NRTh	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Louvain.</i>
NSGTK	<i>Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche, Berlin.</i>
NT	New Testament.
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies.</i>
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta, Rome.
OCF	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome.</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , edd. A.P. Kazhdan, A.-M. Talbot, A. Cutler, T.E. Gregory, N.P. Ševčenko, 3 voll., Oxford-New York 1991.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven.
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, Leuven.</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus, Rome.</i>
OrSyr	<i>Orient Syrien, Paris.</i>
Ortiz de Urbina	I. Ortiz de Urbina, <i>Patrologia syriaca</i> , Rome 1965 ² .
OS	<i>Ostkirchliche Studien, Würzburg.</i>
OSAPh	<i>Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy, Oxford.</i>
PACPhA	<i>Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, Washington (DC).</i>
Palazzini	<i>Dizionario dei Concili</i> , ed. P. Palazzini, Rome 1963-1967.
PbH	<i>Patmabanasirakan Handes.</i>
PdO	<i>Parole d'Orient, Kaslik.</i>
Perrone	L. Perrone, <i>La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche. Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)</i> , Testi e ricerche di Scienze religiose 18, Brescia 1980.
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Accurante J.-P. Migne, Series Graeca, Paris 1857-1866; Indexes 1928-1936.
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Accurante J.-P. Migne, Series Latina, Paris 1841-1864.
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge 1971 ff.</i>
PLS	Patrologiae latinae Supplementum, ed. A. Hamman, Paris 1957-1971.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, Paris 1903 ff., now edited at Turnhout.
POC	<i>Proche Orient Chrétien.</i>
PS	Patrologia Syriaca, ed. R. Graffin, Paris 1894-1926.
PTA	<i>Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, Bonn.</i>
PTS	<i>Patristische Texte und Studien, Berlin 1963 ff.</i>

PW	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , edd. G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, Stuttgart 1893 ff.
Quasten	J. Quasten, <i>Patrology</i> , 3 voll., Utrecht, etc., 1950-1959; vol. 4, ed. A. Di Berardino, Casale Monferrato 1978 (English tr. Westminster [MD] 1991); vol. 5, ed. A. Di Berardino, Genoa 1996.
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart 1950 ff.
RAM	<i>Revue d'ascétique et de mystique, Toulouse.</i>
RB	<i>Reallexikon der Byzantinistik, Amsterdam 1968 ff.</i>
RBi	<i>Revue Biblique, Paris.</i>
RBK	<i>Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst, Stuttgart 1966 ff.</i>
RDC	<i>Revue de droit canonique, Strasbourg.</i>
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes, Valence.</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes, Paris.</i>
REAug	<i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes, Paris.</i>
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines, Paris.</i>
RecSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris.</i>
RecTh	<i>Recherches théologiques. Faculté de théologie protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, Paris.</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques, Paris.</i>
REPTHK	<i>Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> , ed. A. Hauck, Leipzig 1896-1913 ³ .
RESE	<i>Revue des études sud-est européennes, Bucharest.</i>
RGG3	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen 1957-1965³.</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Louvain.</i>
RhMPH	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn.</i>
RHPPhR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses, Paris.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris.</i>
RHT	<i>Revue d'histoire des textes, Paris.</i>
RIL	<i>Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche, Milan.</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien, Paris.</i>
RPhLA	<i>Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes, Paris.</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici, Rome 1964 ff.</i>
RSFR	<i>Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi, Perugia.</i>
RSHMA, BB	Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Âge. Bio-bibliographie, New York 1960.
RSLR	<i>Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa, Florence.</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali, Rome.</i>
RSPH	<i>Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Paris.</i>
RSR	<i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses, Strasbourg.</i>
RTAM	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Louvain.</i>
RTL	<i>Revue Théologiques de Louvain, Louvain.</i>
SAB	<i>Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Berlin.</i>

Constantinople, Peter of Myra, Peter of Traianopolis, Reginus of Constantia, Severus of Synnada, Stephen II of Hierapolis, Theodotus of Ancyra, Zenobius of Zephyrium.

CARMELO CURTI (University of Catania): Greek Exegetical Catenae (*General Characteristics and Psalms*).

ANGELO DI BERARDINO (Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome): Canonical Literature, Adrian the Exegete, Ammonius Alexandrinus, Hermogenes, John bar Aphthonia, John Drungarius, John VI of Constantinople, John of Scythopolis, Gregory of Agrigento (with S. Leanza), Nicholas of Ancyra, Olympiodorus, Procopius of Gaza, Symmachus, Theodulus the Exegete, Victor of Antioch.

SALVATORE LILLA (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome): Aeneas of Gaza, John Philoponus.

ANDREW LOUTH (University of Durham): Aetius Presbyter of Constantinople, Ammonius the Monk, Anastasius Apocrisarius, Anastasius the Disciple of Maximus, Antiochus the Monk, Antony the Chozibite, Antony the Hagiographer, Arcadius of Cyprus, Barsanuphius and John, Callinicus, Choricus of Gaza, Cyril of Scythopolis, Daniel of Scete, Dorotheus of Gaza, Eustratius of Constantinople, George of Alexandria, George of Pisidia, George of Sykeon, George the Monk, Gregory the Presbyter, Hesyclus of Sinai, Hyperechius, Isaac of Nineveh, Isaiah of Gaza, Jerome of Jerusalem, John Climacus, John of Gabala, John of Thessalonica, John Moschus, John Rufus, John the Almsgiver, John the Carpathian, Leontius of Neapolis, Leontius Presbyter of Jerusalem, Maximus the Confessor, Modestus of Jerusalem, Pantoleon the Byzantine Presbyter, Paul of Elusa, Philotheus of Sinai, Romanus Melodus, Sergia, Sophronius of Jerusalem, Stephen of Bostra, Strategius, Symeon Stylites the Elder, Symeon Stylites the Younger, Thalassius the Abbot, Theodore of Paphos, Theodore of Petra, Theodore of Tremithous, Theodore Spudaeus, Theotecnus of Livias, Zosimas.

GIANFRANCO LUSINI (Istituto Universitario di Napoli): Acacius of Constantinople, Basiliscus, Domnus of Antioch, Eustathius of Berytus, Fravita of Constantinople, Jacob Baradaeus, John of Antioch, John of Berytus, John the Egyptian, Julian of Halicarnassus, Theodosius of Alexandria, Theodotus of Antioch, Zacharias Scholasticus, Zeno.

ADELE MONACI CASTAGNO (University of Vercelli): Oecumenius, Andrew of Caesarea.

MANEL NIN (Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, Rome): Liturgical Literature.

TITO ORLANDI (Università La Sapienza, Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome): Coptic Literature.

LORENZO PERRONE (University of Pisa): Abbibus of Doliche, Alexander of Anamea, Alexander of Hierapolis, Andrew of Samosata, Antipater of Bostra,

Chrysippus of Jerusalem, Dioscorus of Alexandria, Helladius of Tarsus, Ibas of Edessa, John of Caesarea, John IV of Jerusalem, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Leontius of Byzantium, Leontius of Jerusalem, Leontius Scholasticus (*De sectis*), Martyrius of Antioch (Pseudo-), Martyrius of Jerusalem, Meletius of Mopsuestia, Nephalius, Paul of Emesa, Peter Mongus, Peter of Jerusalem, Peter the Fuller, Proterius of Alexandria, Rabbula of Edessa, Sergius Grammaticus, Severus of Antioch, Succensus of Diocaesarea, Theodore of Scythopolis, Theognius Presbyter of Jerusalem, Theodore Ascidas, Theodosius of Jerusalem, Timothy Aelurus, Timothy of Jerusalem.

PAUL ROREM (Princeton University): Dionysius the Areopagite.

MANLIO SIMONETTI (Università La Sapienza, Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome): Introduction.

BASILIO STUDER (Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo and Istituto Patristico Augustinianum, Rome): Agapetus Diaconus, Andrew of Crete, Anthimus of Constantinople, Cosmas Vestitor, Cyrus of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Constantinople, Eutyclus of Constantinople, Florilegia, Germanus of Constantinople, John of Damascus, John II of Constantinople, John of Euboea, Menas of Constantinople, Paul II of Constantinople, Paul of Nisibis, Pyrrhus of Constantinople, Sergius of Constantinople, Theodore of Raithou, Theodore the Deacon, Timothy the Presbyter.

KARL-HEINZ UTHEMANN (University of Utrecht): Ammonius of Alexandria, Anastasius I of Antioch, Anastasius the Sinaite, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Emperor Justinian, Maro of Edessa, Anonymous 7th-c. works *Adversus Iudaeos*.

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- VC *Vigiliae Christianae. A Review of Early Christian Life and Language*, Amsterdam.
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- VKA WK B *Verhandlungen van Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen en schone Kunsten van België*, Brussels.
- VS La Vie Spirituelle.
- WS *Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassischen Philologie und Patristik*, Vienna.
- ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Stuttgart.
- ZKTh *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vienna.
- ZKWL *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Leipzig.
- ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*, Berlin.
- ZRGKan *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Kanonistische Abteilung)*, Weimar.
- ZThK *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Tübingen.

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MARIA ANTONIETTA BARBÀRA (University of Messina): Greek Exegetical Catenae (OT and NT books, except Psalms).

PAULO BETTILOLO (University of Padua): Syriac Literature.

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I
INTRODUCTION
by MANLIO SIMONETTI

1. *The social and political background*

In the East the structure of the Roman Empire managed, albeit with difficulty, to withstand and overcome the grave crisis that, provoked mainly though not exclusively by the barbarian invasions, put an end to the Empire in the West and replaced it by the new Romano-barbarian kingdoms in the first half of the 5th century. The *pars Orientis* of the Empire had been less tried by that crisis than the Western part, since it was socially and economically more viable and overall less exposed to the invasions of barbarians from the north. On the Eastern frontiers loomed the danger represented by Persian aggression, but it was a danger that the Empire had now managed to live with, well or badly, for centuries. Even the internal danger caused, particularly at Constantinople, by the presence of mercenaries of barbarian origin, mainly Goths, was faced and gradually checked: in the mid 5th century, opening date of our treatment, under the sceptre of Marcian (450-457) the Empire's overall situation was, if not flourishing, at least reassuring. He and his successors, with no ambition to undertake resounding initiatives, preferred essentially to maintain the administrative and military *status quo* and sought to defend the frontiers more by sometimes burdensome negotiations than by fighting: substantially the most serious causes of disturbance and disorder were provided by the religious controversies that we shall look at shortly. It was because, thanks to this policy of containment, the overall structure of the Empire was once more enjoying good health that Justinian (527-565) was in a position to undertake a policy that was more ambitious in all senses, from administrative and religious reorganization at home to expansion of the frontiers in the West. Some results were outstanding and even spectacular: compilation of the *Codex iuris civilis*, construction of Hagia Sophia, reconquest of Africa, Italy and part of Spain. But by the time his long reign ended, the Empire was exhausted and incapable of maintaining that prestigious policy, so that much of the briefly reconquered territory was permanently

lost, and his successors were forced onto the defensive by the ever-reviving bellicosity of the Persians and the appearance in the Balkan peninsula of new barbarians, Avars, Slavs and then Bulgars.

When Heraclius (610-641) assumed power, the situation was dramatic: the Persians occupied Syria, Palestine and Egypt and camped under the walls of Constantinople, while from the north the capital was invested by the Avars. Containing the danger of the latter, in a series of great campaigns Heraclius managed, after fluctuating fortunes, to inflict a final defeat on the Persians, reoccupying all the territories previously lost (630). With him began a complex and protracted work of social, economic and military reorganization that led to the setting up of new administrative and military divisions (themes) and, by safeguarding small properties (*Lex agraria*) and substituting militias for mercenary troops, ensured the survival of the Empire for many centuries and laid the basis that would lead to the glories of the Macedonian dynasty (9th to 10th centuries). In these years the process of complete Graecization of public administration was completed, with the substitution of Greek for Latin as the official language: of Roman, there remained only the name of the Empire (the term "Byzantine" is of modern origin). At that moment, however, a great new danger began to loom over the Empire, casting a pall over the final years of Heraclius' long reign: the Arabs, profiting from the weakness to which the long war had reduced both imperials and Persians, invaded Persia and the southern regions of the Empire, easily occupying Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Africa in rapid succession: Jerusalem was occupied in 638. At the time the loss of some of its richest regions seemed to have wrought irremediable harm on the Empire, but in the long term it would also have positive consequences, since the new frontiers were more compact and so more easily defended, while religious peace, which had been compromised particularly in Egypt and Syria, was restored internally. But these advantages would become evident only with the passing of time, and Heraclius' successors had to face grave dangers due to the bellicosity of the Arabs, who even laid siege unsuccessfully to Constantinople, and of the Bulgars in the West, while internally a sequence of intestine struggles and the rapid succession of a series of emperors aggravated the state of crisis.

Only with the advent of Leo III the Isaurian (717-741) was the situation restabilized: he and his son Constantine V (741-775), a great general, finally drove back the Arabs and Bulgars and consolidated the whole structure of the state, which was now essentially concentrated between Anatolia and the southern regions of the Balkan peninsula, since the Longobards had gradually reduced imperial rule in Italy to the southern regions, now also exposed to the threat of the Arabs and too often ignored by the central power, absorbed by other difficulties. But the

security of the frontiers was offset by a grave internal crisis provoked by the struggle undertaken by the two emperors against sacred images: it was essentially a religious crisis and will be dealt with in its place; here we may just state that important elements of social order were also grafted onto it (conflict between city and country), and doubtless Constantine V made use of the struggle against images to try to diminish the excessive power of the clergy and especially of the monks. However the attempt did not succeed and, at the end of complex and agitated vicissitudes, in 787 the Second Council of Nicaea, called, at the prompting of his mother Irene, by Constantine V's grandson Constantine VI, definitively restored the cult of images.

2. *The religious background*

At the time when our treatment begins, in the middle of the 5th century, the presence of paganism was still considerable in the Greek-speaking East, especially in the rural areas, but also in the cities; but its capacity to oppose the spread of Christianity was by now reduced to nothing, so that, though it would long continue to vegetate and make its presence felt by the persistence of various rites, festivities and superstitious practices, it no longer represented a danger. For more than half a century the Christian religion had been the only one whose practice was legally allowed throughout the Empire and, though the publication of the edict of Theodosius (380) had by no means meant the cessation of the ancient cults, it had sanctioned the Christianization of the whole administration and made permanent the inextricable symbiosis between Empire and Church and the consequent continuous interference between their mutual activities. It has become customary to designate this regime of close synergy, particularly with reference to the Eastern Empire, by the improper term "Caesaropapism", and the negative connotation of the term intends to emphasize particularly the subjection of the Church to the Empire. But to understand rightly the significance of the emperor's pre-eminent position in the Church, it is necessary to bear in mind the tendency, general throughout the ancient world, to make the highest political authority coincide with the highest religious authority. So it is easy to understand why, once the Empire's long hostility to the Church had been transformed into open favour by Constantine, he was almost naturally considered as invested also with the office of supreme ruler of the Church; the union of the two powers in the person of the emperor was immediately justified, on the level of theory, by Eusebius of Caesarea. Facing the emperor, specifically ecclesial power was represented by the system of bishops, each the ruler of his own community. In the West, the bishop of Rome had already in the 3rd century begun to

transform the primacy of honour that all Christendom traditionally accorded him into a primacy of power, jurisdictional in character: but the setting of the new course under Constantine threw this primacy, which was in no position to compete with the real power of the emperor, into the shade. In other words, as long as supreme political power was exercised validly and effectively by the emperor, the ambition of the bishop of Rome to rise to effective leadership of all Christendom would have found in that power an insurmountable obstacle. Given however that, in the West, that supreme power was first radically weakened and then collapsed altogether, the authority of the bishop of Rome, now up against the mere semblance of sovereignty represented by the last Western emperors and then the much more modest pretensions and ambitions of the Romano-barbarian rulers, went on gradually increasing, and by the middle of the 5th century he was universally considered the head of the Church in the West. In the East, however, things had gone very differently, since the prestige of the episcopal see of Constantinople, though increasing, was not such as to be seriously able to modify to the benefit of the local bishop his traditional position of subordination to the emperor. In the East the latter had kept all his prerogatives, and some emperors, like Justinian, had sought to increase them still further, so that his traditional position of power even over the Church had remained unaltered: in other words, in the East the head of the Church was the emperor. More than once his intrusions into more specifically ecclesial questions had aroused protests from the clergy, but no-one had ever seriously disputed his right to preside over the Church's destinies. In Novella VI of the *Codex iuris* Justinian theorized this relationship: the temporal and spiritual powers were distinct from each other and great was the prestige of the latter; but the emperor had a duty to watch over the peace of the whole Empire and therefore also of the Church, which was a primary and essential component of the Empire: from this it followed that the emperor had a duty to control the Church both in conduct and in doctrine.

As for ecclesiastical organization, by the mid 5th century this was already perfected in the East and no important modifications would subsequently be made to it. At the summit of the hierarchy were the four patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, destined however to be reduced to just that of the capital once the Arabs had taken Palestine, Syria and Egypt from the Empire. This wholly unforeseen contingency would contribute to further increasing the power of the bishop of Constantinople, who remained at the head of the whole imperial Church, just as the bishop of Rome headed the whole Church in the West: but in the East – as we have made clear – the power of the patriarch, however ample its breadth, would always remain in a position

of subordination to the supreme position of the emperor. Below the patriarchs were the metropolitan bishops, below them the bishops of the local Churches, whose hierarchical organization had now been fixed for centuries. But the most striking and most influential component of the Church's structure now consisted of the presence of monks, in ever-growing numbers and ever more powerful even from an economic point of view, thanks to continual donations and fiscal exemptions. In the mid 5th century, for some time there had been initiatives aiming to regularize a movement that had initially shown a strongly antagonistic character even towards the ecclesiastical organization itself: the dependence of monks on the controlling authority of the bishops was confirmed, regulations mostly inspired by the rules of Basil were put in force in order to normalize and discipline community life, anchoritism tended to be considered a further degree of perfection accessible only to the most experienced monks. On the whole, more care was taken over the monk's instruction: here too the Arab conquest, by removing from the control of the imperial Church the monastic communities of Syria and Egypt, traditionally less sensitive to this aspect of monastic formation, would of itself favour the extension of the influence of the monasticism of the capital, altogether better organized and regulated and more aware of the appeal of Christian culture. But even in the 6th century, i.e. before the Arab conquest, the development of the Origenist controversy had made very clear the indiscipline of many great monastic communities of Palestine, capable of descending even to serious acts of violence. The content of some disciplinary canons, especially those of the Quinisext Council (692), has led some modern scholars to draw very pessimistic conclusions about the moral conduct of both laity and religious and so to hypothesize a condition of moral decline caused by the negative repercussions, at both individual and community level, of the difficult conditions of life induced by the succession of external and civil wars and calamities of various kinds. Yet we should ask whether such a generalization really hits the mark, given that the ecclesiastical legislator *pour cause* has always been led to emphasize the moral deficiencies of both religious and laity. In short, it has yet to be shown that on average the moral level was so much lower from the 5th century, i.e. in the period of time that concerns us. That council in any case, called by Justinian II, represented an important move towards the reorganization of the Empire's ecclesiastical structure to keep pace with the ever changing requirements imposed by the mutable practice of everyday life. It also contributed to increasing the distance between the Eastern Churches and those of the West, which would not accept it as normative. What the evidence in our possession allows us to see is the growth of violence and intolerance in doctrinal polemics, already

mentioned in connection with the developments of the Origenist controversy in Palestine. This tendency to intolerance, always latent in the Church and destined to build up as it acquired power in the Empire, was subject to a sudden acceleration towards the end of the 4th century, especially in the East: contributing to it were the growth in anti-heretical sensibility because of the waste products of the long-drawn-out Arian controversy and at the same time the ever greater influence of the monks, whose conviction of being trustees of the most intransigent orthodoxy was nourished too often by ignorance and always by exasperated fanaticism. The spread and growth of this state of mind contributed to creating a psychological climate that was least suited to the aims of constructive doctrinal discussion, with the result that, wherever the conflict was not resolved drastically by the intervention of political force, it failed to reach a positive conclusion.

In the mid 5th century the Christological controversy was at its height: after the Apollinarist phase (late 4th century) and the Nestorian phase (420s and 430s) it had entered the Monophysite phase. The Council of Chalcedon (451) had tried to impose a compromise formula, inspired mainly by Theodoret and by Leo the Great's *Tomus ad Flavianum*, between the Christological divisiveness associated with Antioch and the strong unitive tendency of Alexandria: it had therefore affirmed two natures entire and complete, human and divine, of Christ, God the Logos incarnate, united without confusion in a single hypostasis (= person), that of the Logos. In the West, in any case only marginally affected by the controversy, this formula was considered the definitive expression of Christological orthodoxy; but in the East it had the effect of aggravating the conflict. Indeed the Monophysites, as their very name – of very late origin – indicates, considered non-negotiable the affirmation of a single nature of the incarnate Logos, in accordance with what had been Cyril's preferred formula. The affirmation came up against various interpretations of how this single nature should be understood: some maintained that, in the union of the Logos with the man Jesus, the human nature had been as it were absorbed by the divine nature, but others maintained with Cyril that by becoming incarnate the Logos had become man like any other man, but that this humanity was not entitled to the name of nature, which was reserved solely for the divine nature. It is evident that this latter conception was not at all incompatible with the Chalcedonian statement, as was recognized even at the time by some Latin-speaking Africans (Vigilius of Thapsus, Facundus of Hermiane) who were in direct contact with the controversy but did not get involved in the impassioned manner of the Easterners. Indeed the supporters of this doctrine, among them Severus of Antioch, the greatest theologian of the 6th century, entrenched themselves, beyond any possible

explanations, behind the affirmation of one single nature and considered even the mere affirmation of two natures to be a sign of crypto-Nestorianism: in this sense they categorically refused to accept the Chalcedonian formula, since they held that it revived the abhorred heresy of Nestorius. In effect they tended to identify the concepts of concrete nature and hypostasis (= person) so that, as they affirmed a single hypostasis, i.e. a single subject, in Christ, consequently they made a single nature correspond to it. They therefore considered the Chalcedonian statement of two natures united in a single hypostasis as a sort of sham, which actually masked an effective Nestorianism: two natures = two Christs. To this reasoning, often set out in an extremely elaborate and sophisticated form, there corresponded on the popular level the passion of a movement of opinion fanatically attached to the Cyrillian formulae in the conviction that they succeeded in describing in the most rigorous and effective way the relationship of the incarnate Christ, the one Christ both God and man, with each of his followers, and therefore convinced that the mere affirmation of two natures meant dividing Christ and separating from sinful man the God who alone could save him. In particular a certain monastic spirituality, dominant in the monasticism of Syria and Egypt, of generally more popular extraction than elsewhere, felt comforted by the Monophysite formula, and the influence of the monks was decisive in orienting the mood of the masses. It is also undeniable that in these two regions, real strongholds of Monophysitism, religious passion was also nourished by a sentiment, at first latent and then ever more manifest, of a political and downright ethnic character: as had already happened for Donatism in Africa and Melitianism in 4th-century Egypt, religious motivation now favoured the coagulation of old resentments of the oppressed and exploited plebs, ethnically Syrian and Coptic, against the central power, felt, if not always rightly, as opposing Monophysitism in favour of Diphysitism and, more generally, as an expression of the dominant Hellenism: the nickname of Melkites (= imperials), by which the Diphysites were called from the 6th century, appears highly significant in this sense. At the time of the Arab invasion of Egypt, this anti-imperial feeling would lead not a few Monophysites to favour the invaders.

But even long before this event, in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon the Monophysite reaction, especially in Egypt, was unleashed with such violence that the Diphysite bishop Proterius was torn to pieces by the infuriated mob. Faced with such an attitude the imperial power, already wavering, necessarily accentuated this tendency, in search of a compromise solution or at least one that might prove the most painless. In this sense in 482, at the suggestion of Patriarch Acacius, the Emperor Zeno published the *Henoticon*, a declaration that set aside the

Chalcedonian formula and replaced it with the twelve Cyrillian anathemas, a sort of foundation charter of Monophysitism, moreover avoiding a definite statement in a Monophysite tone. Like any compromise formula, the *Henoticon* attracted some support among the moderates, but left dissatisfied not just the convinced Diphysites but also the radical Monophysites, and provoked a break with the Roman see, which was of strictly Chalcedonian observance (Acacian schism). This policy continued until the Emperor Justin brought Diphysitism back into favour, made peace with Rome and in 518 deposed Severus, the greatest representative of moderate Monophysitism, from the episcopal see of Antioch. His successor Justinian continued this hesitant policy during his long reign, first making room for Severus, then drawing away again, and concentrating mainly on the attempt to work out a compromise doctrinal solution, which consisted in integrating the twelve anathemas into the Chalcedonian formula (Neochalcedonianism) so as to bring that formula's Diphysitism somehow closer to Cyril's Monophysitism, which was substantially also that of Severus. This new doctrinal approach was solemnly sanctioned by the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople of 553, which was devoted mainly to resolving the question of the so-called Three Chapters and the Origenist controversy. The question of the Three Chapters was also part of Justinian's policy aimed at winning back the Monophysites through varying degrees of concession: given the aversion they felt for Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom they considered Nestorius' teacher, and for Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyrillus, who had been firm supporters of Nestorius, he decided to have them condemned *post mortem*, obviously arousing all kinds of protest, especially in the West, starting with Pope Vigilius. As to the Origenist question, we need only mention that, despite the various condemnations that Origen too had incurred *post mortem*, his prestige was still very high among the monks of Egypt and especially Palestine, and some of his very disputed doctrines (pre-existence, apocatastasis) were still professed there in the version of them, in some respects more radical, given by Evagrius of Pontus. This state of things had provoked serious conflicts, even degenerating into physical violence, among the monks of Palestine, divided into pro- and anti-Origenists. The two questions had nothing in common as to doctrinal content, but in fact overlapped each other in various ways, so Justinian obtained from the council the condemnation both of the Three Chapters and of a series of Origenist propositions and their upholders, living and dead. From this derived the schism in the West called that of the Three Chapters.

Justinian's religious policy ended in complete failure: at his death Monophysites and Diphysites were in worse conflict with each other than before, and the emperors who followed each other on the throne

after him tried fruitlessly to put an end to a state of things that was further weakening the already variously compromised stability of the Empire. Faced with this situation, Heraclius, having finally defeated the Persians and reconquered the lost territories, including Syria and Egypt, where the Monophysites were prevalent, tried a new way of compromise, worked out by Patriarch Sergius. The latter sought to get round the one/two natures opposition by focusing on the concept of *energeia* (= activity), i.e. by maintaining that, even if Christ's natures were two, there was only one source of activity and operation in Christ, since this derived not from the natures but from the one person (hypostasis), seen as the one subject operating in a divine and human way (= Monoenergism). Since this formula aroused various difficulties, it was modified so as to affirm of Christ not a single operation but a single will (= Monothelitism). In 638 Heraclius published the *Ekthesis*, a full profession of faith that mentioned the Chalcedonian formula only in passing and made it explicit in the assertion of one sole will in Christ, from which proceeded every operation, divine and human, of God the Logos incarnate. This official text attracted support from various quarters, but it aroused opposition especially among the Diphysites; the West rejected it and in the East it was opposed by Sophronius of Jerusalem and especially Maximus the Confessor: if Christ's two natures were entire and unconfused, as the Chalcedonian formula recited, neither of them could be without its own will, so that in the incarnate Christ there were two wills. Hence polemics and violence of all kinds, until in 648 the Emperor Constans published the *Typos* in which, faced with the impossibility of finding a reasonable solution, he prohibited in the most absolute way any discussion of one or two wills and operations in Christ. Against the opposition he proceeded with utmost resolve: among others, the price was paid by Pope Martin, exiled to the Chersonese, and by Maximus, mutilated and exiled. Moreover, when the *Typos* was published, the Arabs had already taken over the regions where the Monophysites were strongest, so that within the Empire the reason for contending had in fact died down. A new Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 681 by order of Constantine IV, took note of the new and now irreversible political and religious situation, and against Monophysitism and Monothelitism reaffirmed both Diphysitism and Dithelitism.

The final cause of conflict and violence was of another nature, since it pertained to the cult of sacred images, widespread throughout Christendom: measures were taken against it, starting more or less from 726, first by Leo III and then, at various times in various ways, especially by Constantine V, who in 754 had the condemnation of sacred images solemnly ratified by the Council of Hieria. We have referred above to the political and social implications of this conflict, which led to the

destruction of innumerable works of art and provoked all sorts of violence. As to its religious aspect, it must be remembered that the Church in its origins, following the example of the Jews, did not admit sacred images, which it considered a form of idolatry; even in the 4th century Eusebius and Epiphanius would express the same view. But at a popular level the condemnation found very little echo, and over time Christian cemeteries and then churches were adorned with images, some sacred in content, and the tendency in favour of images clearly overwhelmed the opposition, which however never completely desisted. It received indirect support from the Arab conquest, since the Muslims, like the Jews, were decidedly averse to sacred images, and in 723 Caliph Yazīd ordered the destruction of all images, both in churches and in houses, throughout his empire. This condemnation is usually made to relate to the beginning of Leo III's iconoclastic activity and it is probable that there was a link, in the sense that the emperor and his religious advisers would have felt in a position of inferiority over the accusation of idolatry that could now easily be brought from all sides against the worshippers of sacred images. However that may be, the iconoclasts based their hostility to images on the authority of Scripture and tradition and maintained that the divinity could not be represented with material elements, these being transitory and inferior. Against them their opponents, of whom John of Damascus was the most illustrious, justified the cult of images by insisting on their merely symbolic value, so as to stress the fundamental difference between the image and its divine archetype, in itself not susceptible of representation. They further justified the image of Christ by virtue of his incarnation and consequently saw his representation in human form as confirming the reality and integrity of the humanity assumed by the divine Logos. In this sense modern scholars love to link the question of sacred images, in itself wholly independent, to the Christological controversy, as its final act. The imperial policy was at once opposed by the Roman see and, in the East, especially the entire body of monks. After alternating fortunes, often dramatic and characterized by acts of violence of all sorts, the long iconoclast controversy concluded with the Council of Nicaea of 757 which definitively restored the cult of sacred images.

3. *Literary production*

In the 4th century patristic literature in the East had enjoyed an exceptional flowering, which lasted into the first decades of the 5th, illustrated by a number of outstanding personalities, from Eusebius and Athanasius to Cyril and Theodoret, via the Cappadocians, Chrysostom and yet others. Thanks to these authors, accompanied by a rich array of secondary

figures, the Arian controversy, which had raged for the best part of the century, polarizing general interest around itself, had nourished a very high level of theological speculation, while the need for an adequately refined form of expression, imposed by the new status as imperial Church, had been fully satisfied thanks to the efforts of some of the most important writers and orators of Greek Christian literature, such as Basil, Nazianzen and Chrysostom. Its chief but not sole beneficiary was oratory in its various forms, from the doctrinal homily to the panegyric in honour of the martyrs. In exegesis, the conflict between Alexandria and Antioch had nourished a literary output unsurpassed in quality and quantity. But by the first decades of the 5th century signs of fatigue are visible: the very mass of doctrinal and exegetical material already produced seemed almost to invite new protagonists to keep close to what had already been said and written rather than adding anything new. This tendency, despite the requirements of renewed polemic, is already evident in Cyril and Theodoret, two authors of considerable intellectual breadth, and still more in later authors. After them the tendency prevailed ever more clearly as time went on, and affected every aspect of literary output except hymnography: the ever growing demand for manuals, summaries and florilegia certainly did not favour the search for novelty and originality. The most obvious aspect of what, despite the demurs of some modern critical consciences, we cannot fail to call decline, and one that certainly contributed to accentuating this phenomenon, was the failure, after Cyril and Theodoret, of the great cultural centres of Alexandria and Antioch. The former had little vitality even in Cyril's time: tied to the tradition of the school that had been Origen's, a training ground of free research to the limits of recklessness, it could not survive decorously in a milieu now wholly conditioned by the excessive power of the omnipotent patriarch: Athanasius had still known how to value the singular figure of Didymus the Blind, but with Theophilus and Cyril any possibility of autonomous cultural activity was suffocated. At Antioch the cultural climate was certainly more capable of supporting life, but here the repercussions of the Christological controversy were felt to a devastating degree, especially since the local monastic milieu was largely won over to Monophysitism, genetically alien to the doctrinal tradition of Antioch: something of the Antiochene exegetical tradition survived for a while among the Nestorians, but in Persia, outside the borders of the Roman Empire. A certain flowering centred on Gaza (Palestine) between the 5th and 6th centuries (Procopius, Aeneas, Zacharias) could only modestly compensate for these losses, all the more since it was in this period, more or less, that the library of Caesarea in Palestine, also Origenist in tradition and spirit, not just a collection of texts but also a scriptorial

centre enjoying great prestige for the accuracy of its transcriptions, lost all signs of life.

We may speak of physiological exhaustion, in the sense that a high-level literary activity can never, in the nature of things, be prolonged indefinitely, all the more since, after Justinian, distressing political events led to the intensification in the Empire of a climate of precariousness and uncertainty, certainly not favourable to the carrying on of literary activity. This was especially so for Egypt, Palestine, Syria and neighbouring regions, subject from the end of the 6th century to the invasion first of the Persians and then, permanently, of the Arabs. Lastly, in relation to Egypt and Syria, we must also consider the revival of local cultures, since literary output in Syriac and Coptic and then also in Georgian and Armenian could create an autonomous space for itself only at the expense of Greek literature. In the specifically doctrinal sphere, it must also be added that the Christological argument in the strict sense, i.e. the compatibility of a divine and a human dimension in the one subject of Christ, by putting the relationship between nature and person (hypostasis) at the centre of thought, left narrower margins for personal thought than did the Trinitarian argument, since, according as the stress fell prevalently on the concept of nature (Antioch) or on that of person (Alexandria), in each case a clear opposition was reached that left little room for conceptually constructive discussion and that allowed possibilities of compromise more on the side of form than of substance, as became evident in the formula of union of 433 and the Chalcedonian formula of 451. From this conceptual narrowness, given also the climate of fanaticism and intolerance in which the debates took place, various consequences ensued, none of them very positive: repetitiveness of formulae, attachment to words rather than concepts, a tendency on one hand to ever subtler and more abstract reasoning with little recourse to scriptural support (Leontius of Byzantium) and on the other to the use of argument from authority, both scriptural and patristic (Severus of Antioch). Even the writings of the greatest theologian of our whole period, Maximus the Confessor, active in the 7th century, are characterized by these limitations. In fact all these characteristics were strengthened still more in his time, i.e. in the final phase of the Christological controversy, that of Monoenergism and Monothelitism, given the basic abstraction of the question under discussion, i.e. whether Christ's acts originated from his one person or from his two natures; in reality the compromise thought out by Patriarch Sergius, based on the latter of the two solutions, was far from unreasonable, but by now the extreme sclerosis of the opposed ranks no longer allowed compromises of any sort: this was why the conflict found no positive solution and came to an end only because of radical

changes in the political scene. Nor was the doctrinal content of the controversy over sacred images such as to be able to fuel a high-level theoretical debate: its most distinguished participant, John of Damascus, the last of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, was above all, in accordance with the taste of the time, an epitomizer and systematizer of earlier doctrinal thought.

We have mentioned above the importance of argument from scriptural and patristic authority. In the case of Scripture, it remained just what it had been since the distant beginnings of the Trinitarian and Christological controversy in the 2nd century, apart from an inevitable greater repetitiveness. The great innovation was patristic argument, in which, to the citation of scriptural passages in support of the doctrine professed, the protagonists of doctrinal debate also added the citation of authors from the past, mainly the 4th century, sometimes the 3rd, occasionally the 2nd. Basil in the 370s, treating of the Holy Spirit and finding little support for his argument in scriptural texts, had already appealed to tradition and furnished the final pages of his treatise *On the Holy Spirit* with a brief florilegium of passages taken not from Scripture, but from authors earlier than himself. But it was with the beginning of the Christological controversy that this new mode of polemical argument began to become usual, beginning with Cyril, who attached to the anti-Nestorian documentation sent to Rome at the start of the controversy a florilegium of passages by earlier authors on the incarnation; some years later this was echoed from the other direction by Theodoret with his important anti-Monophysite florilegium attached to the *Eranistes*. After them came a succession of florilegia, Monophysite and Diphysite, Monothelite and Dithelite, more or less vast and comprehensive, which could be structured and used in various ways: there were those, like Theodoret, who appended the florilegium to the treatment; but others, like Severus of Antioch, also used to intercalate passages of earlier authors continually throughout the course of their reasoning, as used to be done with scriptural passages; finally there were autonomous florilegia, in the sense that the patristic evidence presented had a value in itself, without any longer serving to support the original arguments proposed by a given author. Works favoured by the compilers of florilegia were those of Athanasius, Cyril and the Cappadocians, but they also sought elsewhere: Theodoret even used some passages of Ambrose, a very rare case of a Latin author translated into Greek. With these collections of passages the author-compiler aimed not just to reinforce his own point of view but also to discredit that of his opponent: for this purpose he also sought to present him as a continuator of the doctrine of some previously-condemned heretic and to this end he produced texts of that heretic compared with those of the opponent he was actually

fighting: in this way, from the beginning of the Nestorian controversy, Nestorius' doctrine was accused of continuing the heresy of Paul of Samosata, and to support the accusation they circulated texts of Paul considered to anticipate this doctrine. Moreover, it was not always easy to find texts of this sort, so that very soon the need began to be met by the creation of fakes. Towards the end of the 4th century, the Apollinarians had begun doctrinal falsifications on a grand scale by circulating the works of Apollinaris under the names of authors of proven orthodoxy, including Athanasius, and by composing texts of a clearly heterodox content to be circulated under the name of Paul of Samosata, so as to present him as the anticipator of the divisive Christology with which they reproached their Antiochene opponents. The example was contagious, and fakes began to pullulate shortly before the beginning of the Nestorian controversy, continuing throughout the course of the Christological controversies and beyond. The confection of fakes was in itself an activity wholly independent of the assembling of florilegia, but in fact the two activities overlapped, since in compiling florilegia it was very easy and therefore inviting to intercalate, among authentic passages of doctors of a more or less distant past, falsified passages also alleged to be by this or that author. Indeed not only was it much simpler to falsify an isolated passage, which might be only a few lines long, than an entire text, but moreover, given the brevity of the text and its mingling with authentic texts, the falsification was detected with greater difficulty. So the modern scholar who occupies himself with the Christological controversy finds himself having to reckon not just with texts even of some length that are entirely falsified, e.g. an entire correspondence between Dionysius of Alexandria and Paul of Samosata, of Monophysite origin, but also with numerous fragmentary texts inserted into florilegia of every different doctrinal tendency. It must also be pointed out that, because there were so many fakes, modern scholars are easily led to consider them even more numerous than they were, and indeed they anticipate them in times when it does not appear that this hardly honest means of polemic was yet resorted to: I will confine myself to mentioning the rather unconvincing hypotheses of Richard on the falsification of the evidence relative to Paul of Samosata and that of Abramowski on the falsification of the evidence pertaining to the question of the two Dionysii.

The fashion of florilegia became so popular that, from the 6th century, it spread from the doctrinal to the exegetical sphere, with the result of rapidly reducing to zero even that little independent activity that had so far been, well or badly, preserved. But whereas the doctrinal florilegium had a precise polemical end, because the exploitation of the results of the theological thought of previous centuries by the doctors of the various

conflicting parties had the aim of reinforcing their own position or weakening that of their opponent, this motive was not present in the field of exegesis, where instead, the harvesting of the exegetical wisdom of their predecessors meant merely an awareness of being unable to say anything more and better than had already been said. In other words, not only in the restricted world of writers but also in the wider one of their readers, there was now a clear awareness of a state of inferiority compared to what had been achieved in the field of letters in the past, so that the exegete, as often also the theologian and the moralist, first confined himself mainly to repeating under his own name what he read in earlier exegetes (Olympiodorus) and then, beginning apparently with Procopius of Gaza, went on to present directly, though summarily, what those exegetes had published. Indeed this was precisely the product that the readers he was addressing required of him. Exegetical florilegia are usually known by the name of *Catena*e ("Chains"), to indicate the continuity of their interpretation, which for each biblical book cited a number of interpretations by earlier exegetes, divided verse by verse, summarized and each provided with the name of the author. In this way they aimed to offer the reader a plurality of interpretations for each scriptural passage, usually putting together exegetes even of different tendencies so that the interpretative panorama would be full and diversified: given this variety, the choice made among so many 3rd-to-5th-century exegetes of differing exegetical and even doctrinal tendencies can be indicative of the cultural orientations and background of the compiler of the florilegium. It is obvious that, where today we can still read an exegetical passage in its entirety, e.g. of Chrysostom or Basil, the passages of it inserted in the *Catena*e are substantially useless to us: but much of the 3rd- and 4th-century Eastern exegesis is lost, so that for some authors prominent in their time, e.g. Apollinaris or Theodore of Heraclea, what little we know of them we get from the *Catena*e; even for the knowledge of an Origen, the contribution of the *Catena*e is important. But the other side of the coin is that the popularity of exegetical florilegia, if it did not cause, certainly contributed to the disappearance of the original redaction of so many works, especially very long ones, which people now preferred to know only in this disjointed and summary manner. A case apart, in the exegetical sphere, was the interpretation of the *Apocalypse*: in the East, unlike the West, this work encountered great difficulty in entering the canon of inspired New Testament books, in consequence of the 3rd- and 4th-century polemics over millenarianism, for which one of the points of support was in chapter 20 of this work: it was still being debated in the 6th century. In consequence, while in the West, exegetically so far behind the East, there had been a commentary on the *Apocalypse* by the end of the 3rd century (Victorinus

of Poetovio), we have no knowledge of a complete commentary being written on this work in the East before the 6th century, though various authors, from Origen to Gregory Nazianzen, had had no demur about using passages from it in some of their writings. Precisely the lack of any earlier systematic Greek exegesis of it meant that its first commentators (Oecumenius, Andrew of Caesarea), while using these earlier isolated exegetical hints, generally produced personal work, in the manner of the exegetes of the past.

We have mentioned the great spread of monasticism, which in this period largely monopolized literary output. The theologians mentioned above were monks; the unknown catenists were mostly monks. Alongside this output that cannot be described as directly monastic, there was another output more specifically inspired by the ideals of the life of the hermitage and the coenobium, in the sense of being works that the monk was invited to read in order to draw teaching and example for his own spiritual progress. By now this literary output followed a traditional groove, and the new works can conveniently be divided into two groups: on one hand, what may in general be called works of spirituality, in that they communicated directly to the reader contents whose memorization would instruct him on situations, states and problems of the spiritual life; on the other, hagiographical works which, by perpetuating the memory of edifying persons, mostly of monastic extraction, provided the monk with examples that he was invited to imitate in some way. In writings of the first kind, under the necessarily approximate name of works of spirituality we group together works on various subjects written from different points of view, from the arduous philosophical and mystical synthesis, markedly Platonic in tone, the work of an unknown monk who, between the late 5th and early 6th centuries, sought to accredit his writings under the venerable name of Dionysius the Areopagite – but the pseudepigraphy was immediately detected – to John Climacus' *Ladder of Paradise* (6th-7th century), an itinerary of perfection in 30 stages that from virtue to virtue, renunciation to renunciation, detached the monk from worldly things and brought him close to God. Enough to mention also the *Instructions* of Dorotheus of Gaza, the *Hundred Chapters on Spiritual Perfection* of Diadochus of Photiké, which was part of the literary genre of "centuries" – i.e. collections of sentences grouped in hundreds, a genre widespread in the monastic world and practised by, among others, Evagrius of Pontus – and again the great collections of letters of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza. Among hagiographical works must be mentioned especially the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus (6th century), a collection of more than 300 accounts relating the deeds and miracles of mostly contemporary ascetics. More or less contemporary with him was Cyril

of Scythopolis, author of various biographies of Palestinian monks slightly earlier than himself, those of Sabas and Euthymius being important. We are on the trail of what was now a well-tried literary genre, where the space allotted to the extraordinary and the supernatural does not mortify the properly historical dimension of the account. In this sense Cyril's biographies are a primary source for our knowledge of the events of the Origenist controversy in Palestine. The zeal of the monk was in itself little drawn to historiographical activity proper, i.e. a narrative genre that is dispassionate in its way, in the sense that in his account the author, while manifestly professing his ideas, manages to maintain a certain detachment from the facts he recounts: no wonder therefore that the great flowering of continuators of Eusebius in the first half of the 5th century should be followed by a period of stasis in ecclesiastical historiography: however, names like those of Zacharias the Rhetor and Evagrius Scholasticus (6th century) are worthy of respect, while the age's typical tendency towards the textbook is represented by the contemporary Theodore the Lector, who abridged the histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, continuing the account into his own century. How far his work met the taste of the time is demonstrated by the Latin translation that Cassiodorus got made of it at Vivarium.

Christian poetry had never had great success in the East: to limit ourselves to the times closest to those we are treating, despite the isolated example of Gregory Nazianzen – Synesius was a case apart – there was very little here to compare with the great flowering of Latin Christian poetry in the last decades of the 4th century and the first of the 5th. On the other hand the liturgy was in continual development and was ceaselessly enriched, both that dedicated to the daily hours of prayer and that which celebrated the festive calendar. Chant had always had a large place in liturgical practice and, while initially it was provided for with chants taken from Holy Scripture, mainly the Psalms, by degrees the need was felt for chants more in keeping with the occasion on which they were performed. Thus by the 5th century and especially from the 6th, there was an uninterrupted production of poetic compositions intended for liturgical chanting. The metric of quantity, as it had been in classical poetry, became tonic, i.e. determined by regular sequences of stressed syllables, with a tendency to isosyllabism and homotony, in such a way that the verse came to correspond to a melodic base called the *hirmos*. In the liturgy of the hours very brief compositions prevailed, comprising a single strophe (troparion) or little more, but on other occasions much longer compositions were sung. Much in vogue in this period was the *kontakion* (a name of uncertain etymology), an acrostic hymn composed of a normally considerable

number of polymetric strophes (troparia), whose musical and metrical structure were sometimes original, sometimes derived from earlier hymns. Later the use of the canon prevailed, another highly complex polystrophic poetic and musical structure. The subjects of these great poetic and musical compositions were nearly always narrative, taken mostly from episodes of the Old and New Testaments. Among the earliest poetic compositions must be mentioned the *Akathistos Hymn*, so called because it had to be sung standing up, dedicated to the Virgin, still in use in its entirety, despite its length, in the Byzantine liturgy. Among the poets who made their name in this type of poetry must be mentioned especially Romanus Melodus, but many other names deserve to be added to his, up to John of Damascus.

The limit that fixes the end of Greek patrology with John of Damascus has long been established, but from a literary point of view it is no less conventional for that; moreover, like any attempt at periodization in general, it poses problems and creates difficulties. The fundamental *aporia* lies in the lack of coincidence between the course of Greek so-called patristic literature and that of political history: this literature comes into being at the height of the Roman Empire and concludes well into the Byzantine era, so that its authors, considered in their merely literary aspect and therefore independently of content, come partly into classical and partly into Byzantine literature. It will be said that a patrology is a different work from a history of literature: but now that, in literary criticism, evaluation of contents tends to prevail over appreciation of merely formal values, the distinction becomes problematical. We may then ask whether it might not be considered methodologically more correct to confine ourselves to the distinction between Greek Christian literature and Byzantine literature: but then a new difficulty arises: when should Byzantine literature be made to begin? Byzantinists willingly fix its beginning with the foundation of Constantinople, so that the acme of Greek Christian literature would come to represent the beginning of Byzantine literature, something the student either of early Christian literature or of patrology will hardly be disposed to admit. Indeed, while in the West, even taking uncertainties and difficulties of various kinds into account, the collapse of the Empire somehow represents a watershed even in the literary sphere, in the East there was political continuity and consequently it is not easy to fix the transition from the ancient world to the Byzantine Middle Ages. As we see, the difficulties posed by the demands of periodization appear not easily surmountable in this case. This considered, it must be taken into due account that to make Greek patristics end with John of Damascus is not just an adjustment to Western periodization, where, with Bede, patristics come to an end on the threshold of the Carolingian era. In the East too, the conclusion of

the era of iconoclasm brought an end to a historical period characterized on the religious and political levels by a succession of highs and lows that nevertheless, especially given the consolidation of the frontiers, in a way prepared for the recovery in grand style that was to lead to the apogee of the Byzantine Empire with the Macedonian dynasty: corresponding to it, by the repercussion on literary activity provoked by the insecurity of the political and religious situation, was a period of modest level from this point of view, whose conclusion was followed by a recovery specified by characteristics of its own. Therefore, even though there is no doubt that with Damascene we are in all senses well into the Byzantine era, it makes meaningful sense to conclude Greek patrology with his name.

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II LITERATURE FROM THE CONSTANTINOPLE AREA AND ASIA MINOR

INTRODUCTION

Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople of 381, the so-called Second Ecumenical Council, stated: "the bishop of Constantinople will have primacy of honour after the bishop of Rome, because that city is the new Rome". The idea that the new city founded by Constantine was the "new Rome" allowed it to be awarded the same privileges and organization as the old Rome; the conciliar Fathers now took up this idea in order to assign to its bishop special characteristics, making the episcopal see no longer suffragan to Heraclea in Thrace. From 330, slowly and with ever greater continuity, the bishop of the new imperial capital had been acquiring importance in the ecclesiastical organization. At Rome, unaware of the resolution of 381, there was no reaction. After this date, especially from the time of the Emperor Arcadius, Constantinople became the fixed residence of the ruler, which was why so many bishops flocked to the new capital; the presence of a greater number of bishops made it possible to have a tribunal that could deal with appeals by other bishops, and the metropolitan did in fact intervene even in distant sees.

Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon of 451 established that "the city honoured by the presence of the emperor and senate, enjoying civic privileges equal to those of the old imperial city of Rome, must appear equally great in the ecclesiastical body, being the second Rome. In consequence, the metropolitans of the [civil] dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace, and these alone, and the bishops of the parts of those dioceses that are in barbarian territory" were to be dependent on Constantinople. Omitting the words "of honour" of canon 3 of the Council of 381, canon 28 acknowledged to the Constantinopolitan see the same prerogatives of authority over some territories, i.e. the episcopal ordination – episcopal ordination also implied dependence – of all the metropolitans, but not the other bishops, of the three civil dioceses. So the *de facto* situation of 381, the exercise of "patriarchal" jurisdiction over those territories, now also became *de jure*.

The see of Antioch emerged diminished from this council, because the patriarchate of Jerusalem was set up at the same time. The see of Alexandria was also diminished because, its titular being condemned for heresy, it lost its prestige as a stronghold of orthodoxy. Despite the strong protests of Pope Leo against canon 28, the new situation prevailed slowly but inexorably by force of events. Eusebius of Ancyra and Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, successor of Firmus († 439), did not adhere to the decision of Chalcedon, but their cities moved in the orbit of the imperial capital; the bishop of Caesarea would later obtain the title of *prothronos* of the patriarch of Constantinople, but always subject to him.

On 14 July 421 the Emperor Theodosius II (*cod. Theod.* 16, 2, 45, repeated in *cod. Iust.* 1, 2, 6 and 11, 21, 1: PL 20, 679-771) transferred the ecclesiastical affairs of the prefecture of East Illyricum, comprising the two civil dioceses of Macedonia and Dacia, to the authority of the bishop of Constantinople, removing them from that of Rome. The protests of Pope Boniface obliged him to retreat, and Rome continued to send its letters to the bishops of Illyricum and the papal vicar of Thessalonica. The island of Crete was part of East Illyricum and thus under Roman jurisdiction. East Illyricum, with its see of Thessalonica dependent on Rome, was finally removed from Roman jurisdiction by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian and put under that of Constantinople, perhaps in 733.

The jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople was thus extended to all the provinces of the civil dioceses of Asia, Pontus, with Caesarea, and Thrace, but not over the bishops of Greece proper, though those bishops would later be dependent on him; Fedalto, in his important work, puts those ecclesiastical dioceses within the sphere of the patriarchate.

Monasticism was established both in Constantinople and in its environs – chiefly on the Asian side of the Bosphorus – already by the end of the 4th century, and had great influence on the political and religious life of the capital.

H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, Munich 1978; After *Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History*, ed. C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. Van Rompay, OLA 18, Louvain 1985; G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*, 1, *Patriarcatus Constantinopolitani*, Padua 1988; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974; J. Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: the Church 450-680 A.D.*, Crestwood (NY) 1989; A. de Halleux, "Le décret chalcédonien sur les prérogatives de la Nouvelle Rome", *ETHL* 64 (1988) 288-323; Idem, "Le vingt-huitième canon de Chalcédoine", *SP* 19 (1989) 28-36; J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: the Transformation of a Culture*, Cambridge 1990, 1997²; F. Winkelmann, W. Brandes (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des Frühen Byzanz (4.-9. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin-Amsterdam 1990; A.P. Kazhdan, A.M. Talbot et al. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 voll., Oxford 1991; G. Fedalto, *Le Chiese d'Oriente*, 1-3, Milan 1984, 1995²; A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London-New York 1995; *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?*, ed. P. Allen, R. Jeffreys, Byzantina

Australiensia 10, Brisbane 1996; *Histoire du christianisme*, ed. J.-M. Mayeur, C. and L. Pietri, A. Vauchez, M. Venard, 4, *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, Paris 1993; 3, *Les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (432-610)*, Paris 1998.

EUDOXIA AUGUSTA

Daughter of Bauto, a Frankish general in the service of the Emperor Valentinian I (364-375), and apparently a woman of great beauty (Zosimus, *Historia nova*, V, 3, 2), in 395 she married the Emperor Arcadius (395-408), to whom she bore five children including Pulcheria and the future Theodosius II. She was particularly active and enterprising in the political sphere. On the death of the prefect Eutropius, Eudoxia managed to take his place, getting herself named "Augusta" (400), an unaccustomed title for an empress.

She was a convinced supporter of orthodoxy and a strenuous opponent of Arianism. Her singular relationship with Chrysostom (c. 345/354-407) was characterized by alternating phases. Eudoxia managed to get him exiled in 402, but popular opposition was such that he was only permanently removed in 404. After the final rupture of her relations with Chrysostom, Eudoxia died (6 October 404) and popular opinion interpreted her death as a punishment for his exile.

Editions and studies: CPG 6020-6025; C.A. Balducci, "Il dissidio fra S. Giovanni Crisostomo e Eudossia", *Atti IV Congr. naz. studi romani*, 1 (1938) 303-310; U. Dionisi: *EEC* 1 (1992) 295; G. Garitte: *DHGE* 5, 14-15; K.G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, Berkeley (CA) 1982, 47-48; F. Van Ommeslaeghe, "Jean Chrysostome en conflit avec l'impératrice Eudoxie", *AB* 97 (1979) 131-159; T.E. Gregory: *ODB* 2, 740.

ATTICUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Born at Sebasteia (in Armenia), Atticus became a monk in his youth, joining the Pneumatomachi (Πνευματομάχοι), from whom he later broke away when he went to Constantinople and received priest's orders there. He was later nominated patriarch of Constantinople (March 406 to 10 October 425) and championed the restoration of relations with Rome, broken by the condemnation of St John Chrysostom (c. 346-407). He also persuaded Cyril of Alexandria to restore Chrysostom's name to the Alexandrian diptychs.

He corresponded with St Augustine (354-430) and showed hostility to Pelagius, whose friend Coelestius he expelled from Constantinople. His hostility towards the heretics found approval and favour with Popes Celestine I (422-432) and Leo I (440-461). Cyril of Alexandria († 444) found in Atticus an ally against Nestorianism.

He was particularly active in helping the poor of the city of Nicaea (in Bithynia). Poorly educated and not popular as a preacher (Sozomen,

Hist. Eccl. VIII, 27, 5-6), he distinguished himself more in the political than in the theological or literary spheres. He maintained excellent relations with the court of Theodosius II and obtained from him the personal privilege of giving the patriarchal *placet* to the nominations of bishops in the areas bordering Constantinople (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 28).

He wrote many letters, including: a letter on the divinity of Jesus Christ addressed to Euphrosyne, of which we have Greek, Syriac and Armenian fragments (cod. Matenadaran 1777, f. 240rv); an epistle to Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77, 348-352); an epistle to Calliopius (PG 67, 794bc, in Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 25, and PG 146, 1132d-1133a, in Nicephorus Call., *Hist. Eccl.* XIV, 24); an epistle to the Council of Carthage (PG 65, 649-650; PL 67, 227) of which there are various editions, including Arabic and Armenian. But the epistle addressed to the Armenian bishop Sahak, written in Armenian, is spurious (cf. Grumel I, 1, no. 48).

Editions: CPG 5650-5660; Grumel, nos. 35-48; CSEL 88, Vienna, 1981, 32-38 (cf. LVI-LVII); M. Geerard, A. Van Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques de la lettre 'Ad Euphrosyne' d'Atticus de Constantinople (406-425)", *Corona Gratiarum. Miscellanea Eligio Dekkers*, 1, Bruges-The Hague 1975, 69-81; M. Abeghian, S. Yarutiwnian, *Mousisi Xorenac'woy, Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (Moyssis Choroniensis Historia Armenorum), Tbilisi 1913, facs. repr. with intro. by R.W. Thomson, Delmar 1981, 336 (on the supposed letter Armenian letter to bishop Sahak).

Studies: M.T. Disdier: *DHGE* 5, 161-166; C. Verschaffel: *DTC* 1, 2, 2220 f.; A. Bigelmair: *LTK* 1, 1016 f.; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 96; A. Kazhdan: *ODB* 1, 230; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, *passim*; C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie, de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)*, Rome 1976, *passim*; G. Madec, "Du nouveau dans la correspondance augustinienne", *REAug* 27 (1981) 59-60; M.F. Berrouard, "Les lettres 6^e et 19^e de saint Augustin", *REAug* 27 (1981) 264-277; M. Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus, patriarche de Constantinople (405-425)", *ROC* 29 (1933-1934) 160-186.

HERACLIDES OF NYSSA

Also called Heraclidas in some manuscripts, Heraclides was first credited by Ernst Honigmann with having compiled the version of the *Historia Lausiaca* known as *recensio* B. Because it combines Palladius' work with the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (CPG 5620), this version offers a fuller text than the original version (*recensio* G) which Palladius composed in 418/419, and it was anachronistically called "metaphrastic" by Erwin Preuschen. In some of the Greek manuscripts the author of the *Historia Lausiaca* is called Heraclides, bishop of Cappadocia, in others Palladius, bishop of Cappadocia. Since we know that Palladius was bishop first of Helenopolis in Bithynia and then of Aspuna in Galatia, the ascription of the work to Palladius bishop of Cappadocia must be a conflation, effected by someone who wished to correct the ascription

of the work to Heraclides. In the Latin manuscripts Heraclides is called the disciple of St Antony of Egypt, the hermit or the Alexandrian, qualifications which are either chronologically impossible or too vague to be taken seriously.

C. Butler established several facts about the author of the "metaphrastic" text. Firstly, he was certainly not an opponent of Origenism, because, while almost all mentions of Origen, Didymus or Evagrius of Pontus have been changed or omitted in other versions of the work, in the B text they are retained. Similarly chapter 38, which deals with Evagrius and is omitted in some manuscripts of the G version, is retained in B. Conversely, some of the better B manuscripts omit the passage in chapter 32 on pig-breeding, probably because the redactor knew that his readers were opposed to eating pork. Butler also pointed out that the anonymous *Life of Olympias* contains long passages which are almost identical with chapter 56, where Olympias is treated. Since the author of the biography claims to have known Olympias personally, the work was written not long after her death on 25 July 408. Butler demonstrated that most of the chapter dealing with Olympias, as it was published in editions before his, was not the work of Palladius but of the redactor of B. Honigmann argued that Heraclidas could have been the bishop of Nyssa mentioned by Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 52), who wrote two letters against the Messalians and lived between c. 431 and c. 440, and he also attributed to him the *Life of Olympias*. The modern editor of this work, however, A.-M. Malingrey, is hesitant about this identification. The attribution to Heraclidas of another recension of the *Historia Lausiaca*, the A recension, known as the *Paradisus Heraclidis*, is dubious.

Editions: CPG 6036(b), 6039-6040; *Historia Lausiaca*, I. Meursius, *Palladii ep. Helenopoleos Historia Lausiaca graece*, Leyden 1616 (based on Cod. Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 41, ff. 8-222); F. Ducaeus, *Bibliothecae veterum patrum seu scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, II, graecolatinus, Paris 1624, 894-1053 (based on Meursius' edition and on Cod. Parisinus gr. 464 and 1600, integrated with chapters taken from the *Historia monachorum*); H. Delehaye, "Vitae sanctae Olympiadis et narratio Sergiae de eiusdem translatione", *AB* 15 (1896) 400-423; C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*, 2 voll., Cambridge 1898-1904; A.-M. Malingrey (ed.), *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias*; 2nd ed. with the *Vie anonyme d'Olympias*, Sch 13a, Paris 1968, 406-448.

Translation - French: A.-M. Malingrey, *Vie d'Olympias*, Sch 13a, Paris 1968.

Studies: E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, Giessen 1897; E. Honigmann, "Heraclidas of Nyssa (about 440 A.D.)", in Idem, *Patristic Studies*, ST 173, Vatican City 1953, 104-122.

MAXIMIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Patriarch of Constantinople (431-434). Despite his Roman origin - he was a fellow-student of the future Pope Celestine I (422-432) - he was

assigned to the Constantinopolitan Church during the patriarchate of John Chrysostom (c. 345/354-407). In the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (431), Maximian was preferred by the people as archbishop of Constantinople instead of the learned Proclus of Cyzicus. This popular preference reflected the goodwill created by his generosity to families who, for economic reasons, were unable to give their dead a proper Christian burial.

Maximian was a strenuous defender of orthodoxy and harshly condemned Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451). He is known to have written two synodal letters favourable to the Council of Ephesus, condemning Nestorius, but only one of them survives. He was the author of a few patriarchal Acts, nearly all aiming at complete restoration of orthodoxy against Nestorianism (we have letters of deposition of pro-Nestorian bishops). It was he who restored peace between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. He died 12 April 434.

Editions and studies: CPG 5770-5773; Grumel, nos. 66-75; *Epistula ad Cyrillum: ACO* 1/1/3, 71; *Epistula synodica: ACO* 1/1/3, 70; *Epistula synodica ad Tenedios: ACO* 1/1/7, 137-138; *Narratio ordinationis Maximiani: ACO* 1/1/3, 67 (Lat. *ACO* 1/3, 179); G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, 471; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 545.

ALYPIUS THE PRESBYTER

Alypius was a presbyter of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople during the 5th century. In a surviving letter addressed to Cyril of Alexandria (*Epistula ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum*) during the council of Ephesus (431), Alypius aligns himself with Cyril († 444), then in prison (PG 77, 145-148). There is also a version of this letter in Armenian (cod. Matenadaran 2620, f. 260^{rv}).

Editions and studies: CPG 5779; *ACO* 1/1/2, 74-75; Mansi 4, 1464; U. Rouziès: *DHGE* 2, 902, n. 4; Hfl-Lecl 2, 356.

PARTHENIUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Parthenius, a presbyter and archimandrite in Constantinople, was a follower of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451). He was the author of a letter, preserved in Latin (*Synodicon* 153; PG 87, 767-768), addressed to Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis in Syria, who was a fervent follower of Nestorius and obviously an opponent of Cyril of Alexandria († 444). In this letter, Parthenius calls Nestorius *sanctissimo illo et deo honorabili archiepiscopo nostro et teste Christi domino Nestorio*.

Editions and studies: CPG 5780; *ACO* 1/4, 175 ff.; Bardenhewer IV, 412; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 652.

DOROTHEUS OF MARCIANOPOLIS

Dorotheus of Marcianopolis (in Moesia) was a follower and convinced supporter of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451). With other partisans of Nestorius, he took part in the Council of Ephesus (431), where he sided against Cyril of Alexandria († 444). Maximian, who succeeded Nestorius in the patriarchal see of Constantinople (431-434), was the architect of peace between Cyril and John of Antioch († 441/442) and arranged for the condemnation of Dorotheus and the other bishops who supported Nestorius (Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherus of Tyana and Himerius of Nicomedia). Later the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) condemned Dorotheus to exile, sending him to Cappadocia.

Of Dorotheus there remain only some letters concerning the controversy.

Editions and studies: CPG 5781-5786; *Epistula ad populum constantinopolitanum: PG* 84, 651-653; *Epistula ad Alexandrum ep. Hierapolis et Theodoretum ep. Cyri: PG* 84, 753; *Epistula ad Iohannem Antiochenum: PG* 84, 687-688; *Epistula ad eundem: PG* 84, 726; *Epistula ad Marcianum imperatorem* (Syriac fragment): F. Nau, in *PO* 13, 1919, 181; *Interpretatio fidei* (Syriac fragment preserved in Severus of Antioch); *DHGE* 14, 668; M. Simonetti: *EEC* 1 (1992) 251.

BASIL THE ARCHIMANDRITE

A deacon and then archimandrite in Constantinople, though of Antiochene origin, Basil was a supporter of Cyril of Alexandria († 444). History records him, together with the monk and lector Thalassius, as the first to accuse Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) of heresy before Theodosius II (408-450) (*Libellus: PG* 91, 1472-1480).

During the patriarchate of Proclus (434-446), Basil wrote a *Libellus*, surviving in Latin, advocating the condemnation of the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (352-428) (PG 65, 851-856; Mansi 9, 240-242). Liberatus (PL 68, 991) also mentions a second *Libellus* written by Basil and a treatise of his against Diodore and Theodore, both now lost.

Editions and studies: CPG 5774-5775; *DHGE* 6, 1078; Bardenhewer IV, 211 f.; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 1 (1992) 112; L. Abramowski, "Der Streit um Diodor und Theodor zwischen den beiden ephesinischen Konzilien", *ZKG* 67 (1955-1956) 252 ff.

AMPHILOCHIUS OF SIDE

Bishop of Side (in Pamphylia), in this capacity he was a bitter enemy of the heresy of the Messalians; he took part in the Council of Ephesus (431), where he managed to get decrees issued against them. But he was also a firm opponent of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451), whose condemnation he subscribed. On the Eutychian question, his attitude oscillated;

he favoured Eutyches at the "latrocinium of Ephesus" of 449, but at the Council of Chalcedon (451) he retracted his ideas and lined up in favour of "orthodoxy".

Amphilochius wrote many letters, including an *Epistula ad Leonem Imperatorem* (PG 77, 1516; PG 86, 1841b, in Leontius of Byzantium), surviving only in fragments; there is a Syriac version of it in Michael the Syrian (J.-B. Chabot, *Chronica*, Paris, 1901, 2, 145-148) and an Ethiopic version (H. Zotenberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. 24, I, Paris 1893, 1935²).

Editions and studies: CPG 5965; PG 77, 1516; PG 86, 1841B; J.B. Lightfoot: *DCB* 1, 107, no. 2.

DALMATIUS THE ARCHIMANDRITE

Formerly an officer of the imperial guard, he embraced the monastic life together with his son Faustus. From a monk, he became archimandrite of the first monastery of Constantinople. During the Council of Ephesus (431) he helped Cyril of Alexandria (patriarch 412-444). He led such an exemplary monastic life that he was raised to the honours of the altar; his commemoration is on 3 August. After 48 years, he left his monastery only to approach Theodosius II (408-480), who granted his request that the conflicting parties be called to Chalcedon for clarification. He died in 440.

Dalmatius was the author of two letters to the Council of Ephesus (431) and an *apologia* for the orthodox faith.

Editions and studies: CPG 5776-5778; *Epistula ad Synodum*: PG 85, 1797-1800; *Epistula cleri constantinopolitani ad Synodum*: PG 85, 1800-1801; *Apologia*: PG 85, 1801 (the latter two also exist in Latin versions: see CPG 3, 5777-5778); *DHGE* 14, 27-28; E. Prinzivalli: *EEC* 1 (1992) 218.

JULIAN OF SARDICA

Bishop of Sardica (now Sophia in Bulgaria) and metropolitan, he took part in the Council of Ephesus (431), where he supported John of Antioch († 441-442) (Mansi 4, 1411; 5, 767; Theodoret, *Ep.* 170). With John of Antioch, he later subscribed the letter to the Church of Hierapolis (Mansi 5, 776), maintaining his position to the end.

Editions and studies: CPG 5798; *ACO* 1/1/7, 139-140; C. Hole: *DCB* 3, 472.

SEVERUS OF SYNNAIDA

Bishop of Synnada (in Phrygia Salutaris), like many other bishops he signed the deposition of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) (cf. Mansi 4, 1224c).

A brief speech delivered by him at the council, opposing the statements of Nestorius, is handed down only in Ethiopic (A. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, 99 ff.).

Editions and studies: CPG 1641; S. Auringer: *Orientalia* n.s 12 (1943) 127-130; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 774.

EUSEBIUS OF HERACLEA

Bishop of Heraclea (in Bithynia), he was among those who signed the sentence of deposition against Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) during the first session of the ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431).

He was the author of a homily, surviving only in *ge'ez* (classical Ethiopic), in which the deposition of Nestorius is celebrated, though in veiled tones (A. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, 102-103).

Editions and studies: CPG 6143; S. Grébaud, "Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie d'Eusèbe, évêque d'Héraclée", *ROC* 16 (1911) 424-425; Bardenhewer IV, 200; F. Scorza Barcellona: *EEC* 1 (1992) 301.

MEMNON OF EPHEBUS

Probably already archbishop of Ephesus (c. 428-440) when the Nestorian controversy broke out in 428, he formed an alliance with the patriarchate of Alexandria against the hegemonic claims of the see of Constantinople in the province of Asia. An opponent of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) and fervent follower of Cyril of Alexandria († 444), he managed to ensure that the second session of the Council of Ephesus (431) was held in his episcopal house (10 July). On the arrival of John of Antioch and the other Orientals, he is said to have caused disorders in the city, though Cyril's statement that he organized a torchlight procession in honour of the victorious *Theotokos* seems hardly believable.

There survives a letter sent by Memnon to the clergy of Constantinople (PG 77, 1463-1466) after the condemnation of Nestorius. In the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion, Memnon's name is associated with that of St Modestus of Jerusalem; his commemoration is on 16 December.

Editions and studies: CPG 5700-5791; PG 77, 1463-1466; *PW* 15, 654; Fliche-Martin 4, 179, 183 ff., 187, 190 f.; *BS* 9, 315-316; J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 1, Rome 1962, 133; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 552.

EUSEBIUS OF DORYLAEUM

A rhetor and advocate at Constantinople, he was the first layman to attack Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) publicly in the year 430. He was later

consecrated bishop of Dorylaeum (in Phrygia) and during his episcopate he accused Eutyches (c. 378-454), contributing to his condemnation, which was then confirmed by the Council of Constantinople (448). But the reaction of Eutyches and his followers, who boasted the support of Theodosius II (408-450) himself, led to Eusebius' deposition at the Council of Ephesus of 449 (the "latrocinium of Ephesus"). He was imprisoned, but managed to escape and fled to Rome. In 451 he took part in the Council of Chalcedon, at which he was rehabilitated, like all the other opponents of Eutyches. The date of his death is unknown.

Editions and studies: CPG 5940-5944; *Contestatio*: PG 84, 581-583; *ACO* 1/1/1, 101-102; *Libellus ad Flavianum ep. Constantinopolis*: *ACO* 2/1/1, 100-101 (Lat. *ACO* 2/3/1, 78-79; *ACO* 2/2/1, 3); *Epistula ad imperatores*: *ACO* 2/1/1, 66-67 (Lat. *ACO* 2/3/2, 18-19); *Libellus appellationis ad Leonem imperatorem*: *ACO* 2/2/1, 79-81; G. Bardy: *DTC* 5, 1532-1537; M. Simonetti: *EEC* 1 (1992) 301; *DHGE* 15, 1462.

THEODOTUS OF ANCYRA

Bishop of Ancyra (in Galatia), he supported Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) at first but later became his convinced opponent (cf. Mansi 4, 1181b), hence a supporter of Cyril of Alexandria († 444); for his fervour the Fathers sitting at the Second Nicene Council (787) called him Cyril's "fellow-fighter" (συναγωνιστής). Theodotus was a member of the delegation that informed the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) about John of Antioch († 441/442) and the *conciliabulum* he had held (Mansi 4, 1457-1464). He died before 446, since his successor was consecrated by Patriarch Proclus (434-446). Theodotus supported Diphysitism, but avoided discussing the nature of the union.

Characteristic of him was the celebration of Mary, whose perpetual virginity and divine maternity he exalted, as is clear from a reading of his homilies. The iconoclast Council of Constantinople of 754 cited a supposed text of Theodotus against sacred images, but Nicaea II pointed out that the citation of the council of 754 had been unfounded (cf. Mansi 13, 309-311).

Theodotus wrote three books against Nestorius (preserved in Syriac and incomplete), the *Expositio Symboli Nicaeni* against the Nestorians and the *Epistula ad Vitalem monachum* (PG 84, 814; *ACO* 1/4, 212). Also attributed to him are half a dozen homilies. The first and the second homily (*In diem nativitatis Domini*) were read at Ephesus (431), as was the third (*In Nestorium*). The fourth (*In S. Deiparam et in Simeonem*, called by Nicaea II "Εἰς τὰ φῶτα") is also directed against Nestorius. The fifth (*In Domini Nostri Iesu Christi diem natalem*) was known only in Latin, but has now been edited in the original text (M. Aubineau, "Une homélie de Théodote d'Ancyre sur la nativité du

Seigneur", *OCP* 26 [1960], 221-250). The sixth (*In S. Deiparam et in nativitate Domini*) was published in the original version only relatively recently (M. Jugie, "Homélie mariales byzantines", *PO* 19, 289-317 [introduction] and 318-335 [text and translation]). A "seventh" homily is preserved in *ge'ez* (A. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Leipzig 1866, 103-106). Finally, a last homily (*In baptismo Domini*) is of doubtful authenticity (M. Aubineau, "Une homélie grecque inédite attribuée à Théodote d'Ancyre sur le baptême du Seigneur", *ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ, Mélanges J.A. Aldama*, Granada 1969, 6-30).

Editions and studies: CPG 6124-6141; PG 77, 1308-1432; Hfl-Lecl 2, *passim*; Bardenheuer IV, 197-200; *DTC* 15, 328-330; G. Roschini, *Dizionario di mariologia*, Rome 1960, 474 f.; *LTK* 10, 51; L. Cignelli, *Maria Nuova Eva*, Assisi 1966, 157-201; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 829 f.

PETER OF TRAIANOPOLIS

Bishop of Traianopolis (in Thrace), he took part in the Council of Ephesus (431) where he supported the ideas of John of Antioch († 441/442); for this he was condemned, together with John of Antioch and his followers. Following this condemnation, he wrote a *Libellus* in which he issued a *professio fidei* in line with the orthodoxy of the *Megale Ekklesia*, repudiating Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451).

Editions and studies: CPG 5799; *ACO* 1/1/7, 139 (text of the *libellus*, incipit: Πολλοὺς οἶμαι τῶν ἐνταῦθα παρόντων); *PW* 19, 1327; J. Irmscher: *EEC* 2 (1992) 679.

FIRMUS OF CAESAREA

It is not known when Firmus was elected bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. John of Antioch (PG 84, 579-581) wrote to him before the Council of Ephesus (431), since he was a supporter of Cyril of Alexandria († 444). He took an active part in the Council and worked for the condemnation of Nestorius, then patriarch of Constantinople. He died in 439, when his successor Thalassius was consecrated by Proclus of Constantinople (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* VII, 48, 4-5).

His 45 surviving letters (PG 77, 1481-1514) are preserved in a single 10th-century manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan and were first published by L.A. Muratori in 1709. Through them we know his activities as bishop of Caesarea and the situation of the city, but not his theology, since they are brief, sometimes very brief, notes revealing his friendships and social relationships. Interesting is letter 43 to Inachus in which Firmus speaks of the people who were in "Basiliās", the welfare centre founded by Basil, and gives an insight into the fiscal position of the *coloni*. Many are appeals, especially during the famine that hit the

region, to friends, officials and other bishops in favour of the inhabitants of Caesarea, or for oppressed persons (*Epp.* 41 and 42). Firmus emerges as a figure influential with the civil authorities, like so many other important laymen, and the letters are extremely useful for reconstructing the religious, social and political image of the bishop in late antiquity; in some respects no different from that of a rich aristocrat of the time.

There is also a brief homily, preached by him at the Council of Ephesus. It is also handed down in *ge'ez* (classical Ethiopic) in the Abyssinian work *Qērellos*.

Editions and studies: CPG 6120-6121; PG 77, 1481-1514; Sch 350, Paris 1989 (important introduction); B.M. Weischer, *Qērellos IV 1: Hōmilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, Wiesbaden 1979, 134-137; S. Grébaut, "Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie de Firmus, évêque de Césarée", *ROC* 15 (1910) 324-325; *DHGE* 17, 264; S.J. Voicu: *EEC* 1 (1992) 324; C. Lepelley, "Le patronat épiscopal aux IV^e et V^e siècles: continuité et ruptures avec le patronat classique", *L'évêque dans la cité du IV au V siècle, Image et autorité*, ed. É. Rebillard, C. Sotinel, Rome 1998, 17-33, esp. 26.

ERECTHIUS OF ANTIOCH

Bishop of Antioch in Pisidia around 440, he was the author of two homilies: one on the Theophany (PG 86B, 3321), preached at Constantinople before Patriarch Proclus (434-446), also known in Syriac, Armenian and Arabic versions; and one on the Nativity, surviving only in Syriac. His name is also known to us through Timothy Aelurus, who mentions Erecthius in his great work against the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Editions and studies: CPG 6163-6164. For the *Homilia in Theophaniam* (fragment): E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431, Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos*, ABAW, XXXII, 6, Munich 1927, 28; F. Nau, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église nestorienne, 2, Textes monophysites*, PO 13, 169-170 (Syriac version); N. Akinian, *Timotheus Aelurus in der armenischen Literatur*, Vienna 1909, 23-25 (Armenian version); G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ST 118 (1944) 366 (Arabic version). For the *Homilia in Nativitatem* (in Syriac): F. Nau, *op. cit.*, 171-180; R. Caro, "La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V", *Marian Library Studies* 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971, 205-210; A. Van Roey: *DHGE* 15, 693; E. Venables: *DCB* 2, 175; PG 86B, 3321; W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1871, II, 643, 925, 946, 956, 978.

CYRUS OF PANOPOLIS

Cyrus of Panopolis († c. 457) was both an author of epic poems and epigrams and a high official of the Eastern Roman Empire. Under Theodosius II (408-450), thanks partly to the protection of the Empress

Eudoxia, a lover of poetry and culture, he was able to pursue a brilliant career: appointed *praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae* in 435, he later became *praefectus praetorii Orientis* and finally consul (441). As a public man he devoted himself to the urban development of the "New Rome" (Constantinople), completing the city walls; he also built a church dedicated to the *Theotokos*. Cyrus of Panopolis was the first prefect of the Empire to draft bilingual documents (in Latin and Greek). Against his will he was made bishop of the town of Cotyaeum (in Phrygia Salutaris), but he later left the episcopate, on account of accusations made against him, and retired to private life as a wealthy landowner. He died c. 457: his date of birth is unknown.

Of Cyrus there survive an epigram for Daniel the Stylite (cf. Delehaye, *infra*) and a homily on the Nativity (in T.E. Gregory, *infra*).

Editions and studies: CPG 5646-5647; *PW* 17, 188-189. Poetic works: *Anthol. Graeca* I, 99; VII, 557; IX, 136, 623, 808 f.; XV, 9 with German tr. and brief notes by H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 voll., 2nd ed. Munich s.d.; H. Delehaye, "Une épigramme de l'Anthologie grecque (1, 99)": *REG* 9 (1986) 216-224; D.J. Constantelos, "Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople", *GRBS* 12 (1971) 451-464 (for the homily *In Nativitatem*); *PLRE* 2, 336-339; T.E. Gregory, "The Remarkable Christmas Homily of Kyros of Panopolis", *GRBS* 16 (1975) 317-324; J. Irmischer: *EEC* 1 (1992) 216.

EUTYCHES

Eutyches (c. 378-*post* 454) embraced the monastic life in his youth, was later ordained presbyter and eventually elected archimandrite (410). He was a friend of Cyril of Alexandria († 444) and a member of his circle of followers; later he had excellent relations with Patriarch Dioscorus († 454); he was also a friend of Chrysaphius, the powerful eunuch of Theodosius II (408-450). So he was highly considered in the ecclesiastical and political circles of the time and successfully exercised influence at court.

Eutyches' position towards Nestorianism was one of bitter disagreement; but at the same time he rejected the Diphysite doctrine, denying that Christ had two natures after the Incarnation and not recognizing the hypostatic union. The sources consider him an ill-educated and *imprudens* man. His views led to him being accused by Eusebius of Dorylaeum on 8 November 448 before Patriarch Flavian († 449/450). He appeared before the convocation only at the third request and was condemned by the permanent synod on 22 November 448. Yet thanks to his influence at court and the letters he sent to the most eminent bishops of the time, he obtained rehabilitation at the Ephesian Council of 449 (the "*latrocinium* of Ephesus"). But his political fortune ended with the death of Theodosius II (450) and of the powerful Chrysaphius;

the Council of Chalcedon (451) condemned him to exile. His date of death is unknown, but was at any rate after 454.

Editions and studies: CPG 5945-5954; A. Van Roey: *DHGE* 16, 86-91; E. Schwartz, *Der Prozess des Eutyches*, SBAW, Phil.-hist. Abt., 1929, Heft 5; R. Draguet, "La Christologie d'Eutychès d'après les actes du synode de Flavien (448)", *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 441-457; A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 1, London-Oxford 1975², 523-539; H. Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, 3 voll., Würzburg 1979⁵; G. May, "Das Lehrverfahren gegen Eutyches in November des Jahre 448", *AHC* 21 (1989) 1-61; A. Di Berardino: *EEC* 1 (1992) 304 f.

FLAVIAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Patriarch of Constantinople (July 446-August 449) in succession to Proclus (434-446), he was the first to attack Eutyches (c. 378-post 454), denounced to him by Eusebius of Dorylaeum. He called a synod which on 18 November 448 condemned Eutyches, confirming that Jesus Christ had two natures in one hypostasis and one *prosopon*. Yet Eutyches, enjoying the favour of Dioscorus of Alexandria († 454) and the Emperor Theodosius II († 450), managed to get a synod called at Ephesus in 449, which was resolved in his favour. In this context Pope Leo the Great (440-461) sent Flavian a dogmatic letter, the famous *Tomus ad Flavianum*, which later formed the substrate of the formulation of Chalcedonian Christology. Flavian was accused by Dioscorus, condemned and deposed; he was imprisoned and died on his journey to exile (449/450).

Some two years later the Council of Chalcedon (451) was convoked, at which Flavian was completely rehabilitated and his *professio fidei* recognized as orthodox. The Emperor Marcian (450-457) ordered his burial in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, and later the Emperor Leo I (457-474) praised Flavian as a victim of Monophysitism at the *latrocinium* of Ephesus (449).

Editions: CPG 5930-5938; *Epistula ad Eutychem:* ACO 2/1/1, 126 (Lat. ACO 2/3/1, 107; ACO 2/2/1, 5; Grumel, no. 98); *Epistula ad eundem:* ACO 2/1/1, 129 (Lat. ACO 2/3/1, 110; ACO 2/2/1, 7); *Damnatio:* ACO 2/1/1, 128-131 (Lat. ACO 2/3/1, 128-131; ACO 2/2/1, 18-19); *Epistula ad Leonem papam:* PL 54, 724-728 (Lat. PL 54, 723-727; 727-732); *Epistula ad Theodosium imperatorem:* PG 65, 889-892; *Epistula secunda ad Leonem papam:* PL 54, 744-748 (Lat. PL 54, 743-747; 749-751); *Libellus appellationis ad Leonem papam:* ACO 2/2/1, 77-79; *Tomus ad Leonem papam:* PG 89, 181-184.

Studies: *DHGE* 17, 390-396; PL 54, 724-728; 731-736; Grumel, nos. 94-110; C. Silva-Tarouca (ed.), *S. Leonis Magni Tomus ad Flavianum ep. Constantinopolitanum*, Rome 1932; P. Battifol, "L'affaire de Bassianos d'Éphèse (444-448)", *EO* anno 27, no. 136 (1924) 385-394; H. Chadwick, "The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople", *JTS* n.s. 6 (1955) 17-34; J. Liébaert: *DHGE* 17 (1971) 390-396; M. Simonetti: *EEC* 1 (1992) 325; A. Kazhdan: *ODB* 2, 788-790.

ANATOLIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

An Alexandrian deacon sent to Constantinople by Cyril of Alexandria († 444) as his apocrisiary, Anatolius subsequently stayed on in Constantinople as apocrisiary thanks to the favour of Patriarch Dioscorus († 454). On the death of Patriarch Flavian in 449, he became patriarch of the imperial city. He supported orthodoxy: among other things this was expressly required of him by Pope Leo the Great (440-461), who demanded a *professio fidei* from him. He supported Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum* and took part, as a prominent person, in the Council of Chalcedon (451), where he approved the deposition of Dioscorus. Despite his attitude towards orthodoxy, and the praises heaped on him at first by Pope Leo, Anatolius was an active advocate and supporter of canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, which established Constantinople's primacy of honour (τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς) after Rome. As is well known, canon 28 was rejected by Rome, and Anatolius' attitude on this question irritated the pope, despite the favourable judgment he had previously expressed. Anatolius died in 458 while again negotiating with Pope Leo over the favour he had accorded to two Eutychian presbyters (Atticus and Andrew). The Greek Orthodox Church considers him a saint.

He was the author of many letters, including one to Pope Leo, surviving in fragments, and one to the Emperor Leo I the Thracian (457-474), as well as a paschal encyclical (surviving in fragments in the *De sacris ieiuniis* of John of Damascus).

Editions and studies: CPG 5956-5961; *Epistula ad Leonem Papam:* PG 54, 845-856; ACO 2/4, XLV-LVI; Grumel, no. 111; *Epistula concilii Chalcedonensis ad eundem:* PG 54, 952-960; *Epistula ad eundem:* PL 54, 976-984; *Epistula ad eundem:* PL 54, 1082-1084; *Epistula ad Leonem imperatorem:* Grumel, no. 141; *Encyclica de Pascha* (fragment): PG 95, 73c; M. Jugie: *EC* 1, 1161; *DHGE* 2, 1497-1500; R. Janin, *LTK* 1, 497; G. Eldarov, *BS* 1, 1883 f.; Fliche-Martin 4, 225-229, 275, 281 ff.; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 1 (1992) 37; A. de Halleux, "Le décret chalcédonien sur les prérogatives de la Nouvelle Rome", *EThL* 64 (1988) 288-323.

JULIAN OF TABIA

Bishop of Tabia (in Galatia Prima), he had great influence in the absolution of Eutyches (c. 378-post 454) and the condemnation of Patriarch Flavian (July 446-August 449) during the "*latrocinium* of Ephesus" (449). He later took part in the council of Chalcedon (451) (Mansi 6, 546, 571, 1092; 7, 147, 404). It was he who informed the Emperor Leo I (457-474) of the murder of Proterius in 458 (Mansi 7, 616).

He was the author of various homilies, surviving in Georgian and Old Russian versions, as well as a *sermo* on the baptism of Christ (in Georgian).

Editions and studies: CPG 6155; J.W. Davis: *DCB* 3, 472, no. 21; M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 10, Louvain-La-Neuve 1975, 73, 297 ff.; K. Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica. Pars Prima, Keimena*, t. I, Tbilisi 1918, 10-15.

PETER OF MYRA

Bishop of Myra (in Pamphylia-Lycia) during the third quarter of the 5th century. Two works by him remain: *Contra Apollinarem*, which is a sort of book-treatise, but surviving in an incomplete state; and a letter *Ad Leonem Imperatorem* (*ACO* 2/5, 60-63) addressed to the Emperor Leo I (457-474).

In 458 he was appointed by Leo to restore peace in Egypt following the events that broke out after the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Editions and studies: CPG 6157; F. Diekamp, *OCA* 117 (1938) 50-53; *DCB* 4, 344; G. Ladocsi: *EEC* 2 (1992) 677.

CALLINICUS

Callinicus wrote a life of his abbot, Hypatius, who refounded the monastery of Rufiniani, at the Oak, a mile outside Chalcedon and close to the Bosphorus, where the ill-famed Synod of the Oak took place that condemned John Chrysostom in 403. The ancient editor of this life says that Callinicus was from Syria, a fact manifest in some of his faults of orthography, and that the life was given to the third abbot of the monastery on Callinicus' death. It is possible that Callinicus was Hypatius' successor as abbot, and that he thus left the life to his successor. Hypatius died in 446, and it is likely that the life was complete by the end of the decade. The life is written in simple, non-literary Greek, and finds a model for the life of Hypatius in that of Antony the Great. There are also traces of influence from the ideas and language of the homilies ascribed to Macarius.

Edition: CPG 6042; *BHG* 760; G.J.M. Bartelink, *Callinicos, Vie d'Hypatios*, *SCH* 177, Paris 1971. Cf. *BS* 7, 860-861.

Translation – French: Bartelink, *op. cit.*; A.-J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, II, Paris 1961, 13-82.

ACACIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Acacius, bishop of Constantinople from March 472 to November 488, succeeded Gennadius (458-471). During the brief reign of the usurper Basiliscus, from January 475 to August 476, he assumed a position decidedly hostile to the Emperor's religious policy, which aimed at winning over the Monophysites by condemning the decrees of the

Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Pope Leo. After Zeno returned to power, Acacius had a decisive influence in formulating Byzantium's religious policy, which sought a compromise between the defenders of the Chalcedonian resolutions and the opponents of Diphysite Christology, i.e. between Rome and Alexandria. This conjoined effort by emperor and patriarch produced in 482 the document called the *Henoticon*, i.e. "Act of Union", welcomed by the representatives of moderate Monophysitism, the bishop of Alexandria Peter Mongus and the bishop of Antioch Peter the Fuller. The intransigent opposition of Pope Felix III led to the excommunication of Acacius and Peter Mongus in 484, which gave rise to the so-called "Acacian schism". The break between Rome and Byzantium lasted throughout the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, who confirmed the *Henoticon*, since Popes Gelasius I and Hormisdas reiterated their opposition to that compromise formulation. Reconciliation was made possible in 518 by the accession of Justin (518-527), who favoured the Chalcedonian position, and the abrogation of the *Henoticon*. From the new Emperor, Pope Hormisdas claimed and obtained the cancellation of Acacius' name from the diptychs.

Of Acacius' literary output, three letters remain: one in Latin to Pope Simplicius, a second in Greek to Peter the Fuller (of contested authenticity) and the third to Peter Mongus, surviving in a Syriac translation inserted in the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Zacharias Scholasticus (or Rhetor). The correspondence in Coptic with Peter Mongus (six letters of Acacius and eight of Peter) must be considered apocryphal.

Editions and studies: CPG 5990-5994; E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma*, *ABAW* n.s. 10, Munich 1934, 4-5 (= *PL* 58, 46-47); *ACO* 3, 18-19; E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, I, *CSCO* 83 / *Syr.* 38, Louvain 1919, 1953², 235-237 (text) and *CSCO* 87 / *Syr.* 41, Louvain 1924, 1953², 163-164 (Latin tr.); M. Jugie: *DHGE* 1, 244-248; Frensd, 143-254.

ZENO

Zeno was emperor of Byzantium twice: for a few months between 474 and 475 and for 15 years from 476 to 491, after his momentary overthrow by Basiliscus. Zeno's religious policy was characterized by an attempt to end the divisions that had disturbed the Empire since the Council of Chalcedon (451). Following the condemnation of Eutyches' Monophysitism, a majority of the Christians of Egypt and Syria had separated from the Church and become the object of persecution. In 482, by agreement with Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, and coinciding with the ascent of Peter Mongus to the see of Alexandria, Zeno sent the clergy and people of Egypt a letter containing a document, called *Henoticon*, i.e. "Act of Union", which by its status as an imperial

decreed imposed observance on all his subjects. The decree was accepted by the moderate party among the Monophysites, which rallied round Peter Mongus and Peter the Fuller, bishop of Antioch, but it was energetically rejected by Pope Felix III, who in 484 excommunicated both Peter Mongus and Acacius, inaugurating a schism between Rome and Byzantium, called "Acacian", which would last until 518.

The *Henoticon* admitted as rule of faith the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed of 325 and 381, the decrees of Ephesus (431) and Cyril's twelve *Anathemas*. The document's Christology reproduced the terms of the pact of union of 433 between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, in part followed at Chalcedon: it confirmed Christ's dual consubstantiality, with the Father and with us, insisting on the integrity of Christ's humanity, while not once mentioning the disputed term "nature". It condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, though the latter more for his Docetist views. Condemnation also fell on those who, in matters of Christology, had, by using different formulations, altered the only accepted Creed: the implicit reference was to the Fathers of Chalcedon, whose dogmatic work on the question of the two natures was significantly passed over in silence.

Editions and studies: CPG 5999; E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431, Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos*, ABAW, XXXII, 6, Munich 1927, 52-54; Grillmeier, II/1, 279-290 (English ed. 247-256).

BASILISCUS

Basiliscus was emperor of Byzantium from January 475 to August 476. A career soldier, he ascended the throne thanks to a conspiracy of generals who had overthrown Zeno, imagining that he could consolidate his power by denouncing the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and supporting the Monophysite movement. He rehabilitated the bishop of Alexandria Timothy Aelurus, condemned by Pope Leo, and promulgated a decree addressed to all the bishops (*Enkyklion*), without having called any assembly. These choices, hardly respectful of the Constantinopolitan hierarchy, alienated the sympathies of the people and their bishop Acacius. The military reaction of the loyalist party, which identified with the dispossessed prince, also played on these feelings, averse to the usurper, to strengthen their own consensus. After Zeno's triumphal return, Basiliscus was arrested with his family and deported to a fortress in Cappadocia, where he was left to die of starvation.

The *Enkyklion*, the decree autonomously promulgated by the ruler, condemned the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon and Pope Leo's *Tome*. A few months before his final defeat, Basiliscus tried in vain to recover his position with an *Antenkyklion* that retracted the previous document.

Editions and studies: CPG 5997-5998; E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431, Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos*, ABAW, XXXII, 6, Munich 1927, 49-52; L. Bréhier: *DHGE* 6, 1237-1239; Grillmeier, II/1, 267-279 (English ed. 236-247).

GELASIVS OF CYZICUS

The name of the Church historian Gelasius of Cyzicus is known to us only through Photius (*Bibl.*, codd. 15 and 88); apart from that, the only biographical details we have are contained in the preface to his *Church History*. The son of a priest of Cyzicus, he was in Bithynia when he composed his work at the time of Basiliscus' revolt against Zeno (c. 475), in order to refute the claims of the "Eutychians" (i.e. Monophysites) that the Fathers of Nicaea had taught Monophysite doctrine. The title *Syntagma of the Holy Council at Nicaea* subsequently crept into the manuscript tradition of the work, which is, however, a *Church History*.

Gelasius' work is not transmitted in its entirety, in that it breaks off during the description of the Synod of Tyre (335), but, thanks again to Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 88), we know the extent of the missing part. After the preface, which includes a summary description of the Council of Nicaea (325), Book 1 begins with the opening of the reign of Constantine, and ends with the victory of the "God-loving emperor" over the "impious Licinius". Book 2 encompasses the situation of the Churches after the defeat of Licinius, the start of the Arian debate, Lives of holy men (Paphnutius and Spyridon, for which the source is Gelasius of Caesarea) and the list of bishops at Nicaea. It incorporates such disparate material as ecclesiastical canons, a dialogue between a philosopher, Phaidon, on behalf of Arianism, on one hand, and Fathers such as Eustathius of Antioch, the assembly at Nicaea and Eusebius of Caesarea on the other. Book 3 opens with events directly after Nicaea, relates the invention of the Cross and gives the text of a number of Constantine's letters. The work ends, as Photius tells us, with a description of Constantine's death and baptism, its author maintaining that the emperor was orthodox and that he was not, as some would have it, baptized by a heretic.

Gelasius uses Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret and Rufinus, who are cited more or less verbatim and in turn. In addition he had access to the lost *Church Histories* of Gelasius of Caesarea and a certain John. The text of the former can be reconstructed with reasonable exactness from the work of his namesake from Cyzicus, in whose *Church History* we are probably looking at a work that was not particularly original.

Editions: CPG 6034; G. Loeschke, M. Heinemann, *Gelasius, Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 28, Leipzig 1918.

Studies: C.H. Turner, "On Gelasius of Cyzicus", *JTS* 1 (1899) 125 ff.; G. Loeschke, "Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus", *RhM* n.s. 60 (1905) 594-613; 61 (1906) 34-77; F. Winkelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasius von Kaisareia*, SAB 3, Berlin 1965; Idem, "Die Quelle der 'Historia Ecclesiastica' des Gelasius von Cyzicus (nach 475)", *ByzSlav* 27 (1966) 104-130; C.T.H.R. Ehrhardt, "Constantinian Documents in Gelasius of Cyzicus, Ecclesiastical History", *JbAC* 23 (1980) 28-57; *ODB* 2, 827; C. Curti: *EEC* 1 (1992) 340.

FRAVITA OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Fravita, bishop of Constantinople from December 488 to March 489, succeeded Acacius. At the time of his election, Rome was separated from communion with Constantinople and Alexandria following the promulgation of the decree *Henoticon* (482) and the subsequent mutual condemnations between the bishops of the three sees. Fravita attempted a mediation that took the form of sending two distinct letters to Pope Felix III and the bishop of Alexandria Peter Mongus, to announce his election to them and at the same time to plead for mutual understanding and pacification. The attempt had no effect and the parties remained in their respective positions, nor could Fravita do more to insist on his policy of reconciliation, because of his sudden death.

The letter to Felix III is lost, while that to Peter Mongus survives only in Syriac translation, inserted in the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Zacharias Scholasticus (or Rhetor). In rather general and circumstantial words, Fravita asks Peter to condemn heresies and profess the faith of the Fathers, inviting him to a more compliant attitude towards the separated brethren.

Editions and studies: CPG 5996; E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, II, CSCO 84 / Syr. 39, Louvain 1921, 1953², 9-11 (text) and CSCO 88 / Syr. 42, Louvain 1924, 1953², 6-7 (Latin tr.); P. Nautin: *DHGE* 18, 1128-1129.

THEODORE THE LECTOR

A reader (lector, *anagnostes*) in the Great Church of Constantinople during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), Theodore composed two historical works, both of which survive only in fragments: the *Historia tripartita* and the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The first of these was commissioned by an anonymous cleric in Paphlagonia when Theodore was in Gangra. It is very likely that the lector, who embraced the strict Chalcedonian position, was in exile there with Macedonius (496-511), the deposed patriarch of Constantinople. The *Historia tripartita* is a large compilation or synopsis in four books, still unedited, of the Church Histories of Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen Scholasticus and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the three of which covered roughly the same

period, from Constantine to Theodosius II. Theodore's work treats the period from 305 to 439. While he uses only about half of Sozomen's work for Books I and II, about three-quarters of the Histories of Socrates and Theodoret found their way into these books. Books III and IV are lost, and the scope of the whole is known to us only from an epitome which was made of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Although today only half of Theodore's *Historia tripartita* survives in a single codex, the work had a considerable influence, being the model for Cassiodorus' *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, which in turn influenced the entire West in the Middle Ages. Both of Theodore's works were used at the beginning of the 7th century by the anonymous compiler of the *Epitome of Church History*, who transmitted his information about the 4th and 5th centuries to the Byzantine world.

The small fragments which are contained in the summary of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Theodore Lector make it difficult to gain a responsible overview of the work. However, it seems that politics played a more insignificant role in it than in other church historians. Theodore's world apparently revolved around Constantinople, such that Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem fade into the background, while the West hardly figures at all. His strict Chalcedonian stance results in the distortion of some information, and he was fond of incorporating oral traditions into his work. Yet for all that, Theodore seems to have made extensive use of conciliar *acta* and other documents, sometimes verbatim, which makes the loss of his *Historia* regrettable. Because there is no mention of the Chalcedonian restoration under Justin I in 518, we may conclude that Theodore closed his work before that date. It was used by various Byzantine historians.

Editions: CPG 7502-7503; R. Hanslik, *Cassiodori-Epiphaniï Historia tripartita*, CSEL 71, Vienna 1952; G.C. Hansen, *Theodorus Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, Berlin 1971.

Studies: J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur*, Leipzig 1908; H.G. Opitz, *PW*, 2nd series, 5 (1934) 1869-1881; bibl. in G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 10, Berlin 1958², 519-520; G.C. Hansen, *op. cit.*, ix-xxxix; *ODB* 3, 2042; L. Perrone: *EEC* 2 (1992) 827; *BBKL* 11, 971 f.

CYRUS OF TYANA

In the 7th-century Greek florilegium called *Doctrina Patrum*, two fragments of an *Epistula ad Iulianum et Severum* are attributed to Cyrus, bishop of Tyana. The work, Monophysite in tendency, was probably written between 508 and 511 when both its recipients were at Constantinople protected by the policy of the Emperor Anastasius, who mortified the orthodox party, imposing Zeno's *Henoticon* as the official standard

of doctrine. The author must later have modified his Christological faith if he was the same Cyrus execrated by Severus of Antioch in a letter (V, 13 in the Syriac collection of Athanasius of Nisibis, ed. E.W. Brooks, London 1902, 386-387 [text]; London 1904, 343-344 [English tr.]) sent in 519-520 to the Cappadocian bishops Proclus and Eusebona to warn them against Cyrus' sophisticated seductions. The order in which Cyrus is mentioned in the Severian document has led to the supposition that he was metropolitan of Cappadocia Secunda. Some would also identify him with the Cyriacus of Tyana who signed the *Anaphora* written to Patriarch John of Constantinople in 518 (Mansi 8, 1047c; ACO 3, 65.16).

Editions: CPG 7111; Diekamp, 313.

Study: Honigmann, 113 f.

IRENAEUS OF HARPASOS

His name is known to us only through the *Doctrina Patrum*, which confines itself to citing the title of his treatise *Contra synodum Chalcedonensem et tomum Leonis* shortly before giving the extracts of the *Epistula* of Cyrus of Tyana. The literary context suggests that both works should be ascribed the same date of composition (508-511).

Editions: CPG 7113; Diekamp, 312.

Study: Honigmann, 124 f.

JOHN II OF CONSTANTINOPLE

John was a priest and syncellus (spiritual adviser) of Patriarch Timothy I of Constantinople. In 518 he succeeded him. Though of orthodox sentiments, he accepted the *Henoticon*, published in 484 and then imposed by the Emperor Anastasius (491-518). But under the new emperor, the Catholic Justin I (518-527), John declared in favour of the Council of Chalcedon and restored to the diptychs the names of Popes Leo († 461) and Hormisdas (514-523). Under his presidency the synod of 20 July 518 put an end to the Acacian schism, which lasted from 484 and had divided Rome and Constantinople. John then made contact with Hormisdas to restore ecclesiastical communion. He subscribed the *libellus fidei* sent by the pope. At that synod the bishop of Constantinople received for the first time the title of ecumenical patriarch (Mansi 8, 1041). John died in 520, while on behalf of Pope Hormisdas he was looking into the legitimacy of the formula *Unus ex trinitate passus est*, a question put forward by the Scythian monks. Several of John's letters are preserved, among which his correspondence with the apostolic see deserves particular interest.

Editions: CPG 6828-6835; Grumel, nos. 206-216; Mansi 8, 1066 f.; 436 f.; 457 f.; ACO 3, 76 f.; PL 63, 429-507; CSEL 35, 591-641.

Studies: Fliche-Martin, 4, 320 and n. 2; 426; 428, nn. 3, 6; Beck, 54; EEC 1 (1992) 438; Grillmeier, II/1, 359-368; II/2, 355-359 (English ed. II/1, 318-325; II/2, 338-343).

EPIPHANIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Epiphanius was elected patriarch of Constantinople in 520. He reigned during a period when Justin I (518-527) and Justinian I (527-565) took ecclesiastical affairs in hand. Despite his rather modest personality, he too engaged in the struggle against Monophysitism. From the beginning he supported the formula *Unus ex trinitate passus est*. In a first letter (July 520), he announced his election, at the same time sending Rome a Chalcedonian confession of faith. In his next letter (September), he restored union with the West. When Pope John I (523-526) stayed at Constantinople, Epiphanius allowed him to preside over the Eucharist at the feasts of Christmas and Easter. On the other hand he tried to bring the region of Thessalonica under his own jurisdiction, supporting in 531 the revolt of two bishops who opposed the election of Stephen of Larissa. Stephen appealed to Pope Boniface II (530-532) who, in the third Roman synod, confirmed the dependence of all Illyricum on Rome (Mansi 8, 739-784). Still collaborating with the Emperor Justinian on dogmatic questions, in 533 he subscribed the edict on the Incarnation. In the same year he asked the bishop of Rome to approve that formula and condemn those who would not recognize Mary as *Theotokos*. He died on 5 June 535. In his remaining Acts are letters to Hormisdas, in Latin; the synodal letters of 520; an intervention of 521 over Paul of Antioch. However, the canons attributed to him in the Eastern collections are an extract from Justinian's *Novella* VI. Nor does the condemnation of Severus of Antioch and Peter of Apamea come from him, but from the Council of Constantinople of 536.

Editions: CPG 6838-6842; Grumel, nos. 217-227; PL 63, 494-499; 532 f.; CSEL 35, 652 ff.; 707-710; 741 f.

Studies: Fliche-Martin 4, 428, 439, 451 f.; Beck, 375 f.; DHGE 15 (1963) 614; F. Cocchini: EEC 1 (1992) 281; LTK 3 (1995) 722.

JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS

In the first quarter of the 6th century Julian, Monophysite bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria (Asia Minor), linked his name to a theological controversy within the Monophysite front, becoming leader of the "Aphthartodocetist" current. In 510-511 Julian took part in the campaign promoted by Severus, future Monophysite patriarch of Antioch

(512-518), against Macedonius, Chalcedonian bishop of the capital. The fortunes of the anti-Chalcedonian party declining with the ascent of Justin (518-527) to the throne, Julian and Severus, to escape the measures being taken against the Monophysites, went to Egypt, respected stronghold of the supporters of their creed. Here, around 520, Julian wrote a lost anti-Diphysite *Tome* aimed at demonstrating that Christ's body had been incorruptible, ἀφθαρτον, before and after the resurrection. The work, consisting of a collection of patristic texts in favour of ἀφθαρσία, was sent for examination to Severus. He indeed, since 510 when he took part in a similar controversy at Constantinople, had pronounced in favour of the corruptibility of Christ's body. After reading Julian's work, Severus confirmed his own opinion, and the polemic between the two, at first contained in an epistolary exchange, soon took the path of a doctrinaire quarrel, which ended around 527, probably coinciding with Julian's death.

For the theologian of Halicarnassus, Christ's condition was the same as that of Adam before his sin, hence his body must be considered incorruptible, impassible and immortal, conditions that Severus denied to Adam and recognized only in Christ's risen body. So the "Severian" detractors accused the "Julianists" of having stated that Christ's sufferings were apparent, a judgment condensed into the term "Aphthartodocetism" used to indicate their doctrine. In reality, it was characterized by an insistence on the voluntary component of Christ's passion, a real fact despite the natural incorruptibility of his body. In 535, on the death of Timothy IV (III), Julian's supporters succeeded for a few months in imposing their own candidate on the Alexandrian throne, Gaianus by name, from whom the movement also took the name "Gaianism". Julian's ideas met some success in the East, and the presence of "Aphthartodocetists" is documented during the 7th and 8th centuries, before their movement was reabsorbed by the various Monophysite communities.

Of the dogmatic works that Julian devoted to the demonstration of ἀφθαρσία in reply to Severus' criticisms, only the titles and a few fragments remain, handed down by Syriac authors. Thus we know that, after the *Tomus* and Severus' replies, Julian published several clarifications and additional notes, *Additiones*, a polemical treatise in 10 tomes, *Adversus blasphemias Severi*, and an *Apologia*. All that remains entire is the correspondence exchanged with Severus at the beginning of the controversy, preserved in a Syriac version: three letters in reply to three missives from his interlocutor, which document the crisis and the break in relations between the two.

Editions and studies: CPG 7125-7127; R. Hespel, *Sévère d'Antioche, La polémique antijulianiste*, 1, CSCO 244 / Syr. 104, Louvain 1964, 6-7, 10-11, 206-209 (text),

and CSCO 245 / Syr. 105, Louvain 1964, 5-6, 8-9, 159-162 (French tr.); R. Draguet: *DTC* 8, 1931-1940; Idem, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ*, Louvain 1924.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE

IDENTITY

The biblical name of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17, 34) is traditionally attached to a small group of influential Greek writings of the early 6th century. The original Dionysius of the court of the Areopagus in Athens was converted by St Paul's famous apologia about the "unknown God". Almost five hundred years later, the pseudonymous Dionysian writings paralleled certain aspects of this apostolic event: they engaged the philosophy of Athens, specifically the late Neoplatonism of Proclus (410-485) and his school; they were permeated by specific and traditional Christian interests, for example the angels, liturgical rites, biblical names for God; and they provided a subtle way to approach this unknown God through negations, namely the apophatic way or *via negativa*.

Written after Proclus, or at least after certain of his works, the Dionysian corpus was first cited amid the Christological disputes of 520-540, especially during the Colloquy at Constantinople in 532. The texts are generally dated around 500. Consisting of three larger treatises (*The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *The Divine Names*), the extremely brief *Mystical Theology* and the ten *Letters*, the corpus circulated in its entirety, rather than by separate works. Treated as a whole, it was introduced, edited and glossed around 540 by John, the (Neochalcedonian) bishop of Scythopolis in Palestine. John's edition, complete with textual variants, dominated the subsequent transmission of the Dionysian texts and their interpretation, including that of Maximus the Confessor who was later erroneously credited with the original glosses or *Scholia*.

Despite occasional doubts over its authenticity, starting with an initial suspicion recorded in the *Scholia* that the author was Apollinaris, the corpus was for many centuries considered apostolic and therefore highly authoritative. Even the forceful arguments of the Humanists and Protestant Reformers did not settle the question. Only in 1895 was there firm documentation, provided simultaneously by Hugo Koch and Josef Stiglmayr, that the Dionysian writings used texts by Proclus and therefore came from the late 5th century at the earliest. Despite a subsequent century of investigation, however, the scholarly world has not identified the true author, nor even a leading candidate. The various proposals of authorship, ranging from the 2nd to the 6th centuries, from Alexandrian and Cappadocian theologians to Proclean philosophers, were

conveniently tabulated in 1969 by Hathaway and in 1982 by Lilla, and have made little progress since that time.

Because the unsuccessful efforts to link these distinctive writings with known figures from antiquity have been so thorough, it may be that no specific identification will ever be generally accepted. Perhaps nothing else about the author's identity will ever be established beyond the few conclusions that can be drawn from the intentionally misleading writings themselves. Even firm assertions about an author type, not a specific individual, are limited: someone directly acquainted both with the late 5th-century Athenian philosophy of Proclus and Damascius and also with the West (Greek) Syrian liturgical traditions as well as the general theological heritage of the Alexandrians and Cappadocians.

Studies on identity: H. Koch, "Proklus als Quelle des Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagita in der Lehre vom Bösen", *Philologus* 54 (1895) 438-454; H. Koch, "Der pseudo-epigraphische Character der dionysischen Schriften", *ThQ* 77 (1895) 353-420; J. Stiglmayr, "Der Neuplatoniker Proclus als Vorlage des sogenannten Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Übel", *HJ* 16 (1895) 253-273 and 721-748; H. Koch, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen*, Mainz 1900; I. Hausherr, "Doutes au sujet du 'Divin Denys' ", *OCP* 2 (1936) 484-490; R. Roques, "Denys l'Aréopagite (Le Pseudo-): I. Rappel de la question dionysienne", *DSp* 3 (1957) 244-257; E. Corsini, "La questione areopagita. Contributi alla cronologia dello Pseudo-Dionigi", *AAT* 93 (1958/1959) 128-227; R. Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius*, The Hague 1969, 12-36; S. Lilla, "Introduzione allo studio dello Ps. Dionigi l'Areopagita", *Aug* 22 (1982) 568-571; M.-J. van Esbroeck, "Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite: Honigmann's Thesis Revisited", *OCP* 59 (1993) 217-227; P. Rorem, J. Lamoreaux, "John of Scythopolis on Apollinarian Christology and the Pseudo-Areopagite's True Identity", *ChHist* 62 (1993) 469-482; for a full discussion of the question of the author's identity and a comprehensive bibliography, see A.M. Ritter, *BGL* 40 (1994) 4-19 and 181-188.

WORKS

The Dionysian corpus is not large, fewer than two hundred columns in the *Patrologia Graeca*, but it is famously difficult, both in minute particulars and in overall orientation. One level of difficulty stems from the author's deceptive self-presentation as the apostolic Dionysius writing to Timothy, complete with apparently intentional attempts at archaic expressions and neologisms. A second level of difficulty results from the subtle use of late Neoplatonic terms and concepts from Proclus and Damascius, intricately interwoven with the Christian sources of Bible and liturgy as well as the Greek Fathers. A third source of difficulty in reading the Dionysian texts is simply the complexity of its profound thoughts, especially about the transcendence of God. Finally, the corpus presents the challenge of understanding the relationships of its several parts, for certain treatises seem only loosely related to others, which

has led some interpreters to concentrate on one work or section to the neglect of others. A comprehensive approach is necessary, despite the unresolved questions on this and other difficulties. Contemporary readers can humbly learn from the entire history of Dionysian and Pseudo-Dionysian interpretation that these writings resist firm conclusions and final analysis.

Editions: CPG 6600-6613; Corderius, in PG 3, 120-1120; B.R. Suchla, G. Heil, A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum* I-II, PTS 33 and 36, Berlin 1990-1991. The first volume of this critical edition, indispensable also for its bibliography and apparatus, was critiqued by S. Lilla, "Zur neuen kritischen Ausgabe der Schrift 'Über die göttliche Namen' von Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita", *Aug* 31 (1991) 421-458, and then defended by B.R. Suchla, "Textprobleme in der Schrift 'De divinis nominibus' des Ps. Dionysius Areopagita", *Aug* 32 (1992) 387-422.

Indices: A. Van den Daele, *Indices Pseudo-Dionysiani*, Louvain 1941; M. Nasta, *Thesaurus Pseudo-Dionysii Areopagitae, Textus graecus cum translationibus latinis*, CCG Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum, Turnhout 1993; P. Tombeur, *Thesaurus Pseudo-Dionysii Areopagitae, Versiones Latinae cum textu graeco*, CCG Thesaurus Patrum Latinorum, Turnhout 1995.

Translations (of entire corpus) – Latin: P. Chevallier (ed.), *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués à Denys l'Aréopagite*, Bruges 1937-1950, Stuttgart 1989.

Armenian: R.W. Thomson, CSCO 488 / *Arm.* 17; CSCO 489 / *Arm.* 18, Louvain 1987.

Italian: P. Scazzoso, *Dionigi Areopagita, Tutte le Opere*, 3rd ed., Milan 1997.

French: M. de Gandillac, *Oeuvres complètes du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite*, Paris 1943.

German: G. Heil, B.R. Suchla, A.M. Ritter, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita*, BGL 22, 26, 40, Stuttgart 1986, 1988, 1994.

English: C. Luibheid, *Pseudo-Dionysius, The Complete Works*, New York-Mahwah 1987.

Spanish: T. Martín, *Obras completas del Pseudo Dionisio Areopagita*, Madrid 1990.

General introductions: The editions and translated cited above include general introductions to the Dionysian corpus. For other introductions, see: R. Roques, "Denys l'Aréopagite (Le Pseudo-): II. Les écrits aréopagitiques", and "III. La doctrine du pseudo-Denys", *DSp* 3 (1957) 257-286; Idem, "Denys l'Aréopagite", *RAC* 3 (1957) 1075-1121; R. Roques, M. Cappuyens, R. Aubert, "Denys l'Aréopagite", *DHGE* 14 (1960) 265-310; H.U. von Balthasar, *Herrlichkeit, Eine theologische Aesthetik*, 2, Einsiedeln 1962, 147-214; P. Scazzoso, *Ricerche sulla struttura del linguaggio dello Pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita*, Milan 1967; G. O'Daly, "Dionysius Areopagita", *TRE* 8 (1981) 772-780; S. Lilla, "Introduzione allo studio dello Ps. Dionigi l'Areopagita", *Aug* 22 (1982) 533-577 (this excellent study was abbreviated as "Dionigi Areopagita [Pseudo]": *DPAC* 1 [1983] 971-979, which was then translated as "Dionysius the Areopagite, Pseudo", *EEC* 1 [1992], 238-240); A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite*, London 1989; P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius, A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence*, New York 1993; S. Lilla, "Denys l'Aréopagite (Pseudo)", *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 2 (1994) 727-742.

Bibliographies: J.-M. Hornus expertly surveyed the literature at mid-century: "Les recherches récentes sur le pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite", *RHPPhR* 35 (1955) 404-448,

and "Les recherches dionysiennes de 1955 à 1960", *RHPPhR* 41 (1961) 22-81. Of the more recent bibliographies in the works cited above, see especially A.M. Ritter, *BGL* 40 (1994) 143-208 (with G. Heil, *BGL* 22 [1986], 181-192, and B.R. Suchla, *BGL* 26 [1988], 124-134), and the bibliography integrated throughout S. Lilla's essay in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 2 (1994) 727-742. The most recent major bibliography is by Y. de Andia, *Henosis: l'Union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite*, Leyden 1996, 459-479.

1. *The Celestial Hierarchy*

First in many early manuscripts is the Dionysian treatise on the scriptural presentation of the angelic ranks. The opening chapters present the author's general method for interpreting symbols and illustrate this method with biblical and liturgical examples. Thus, this treatise is paired with the next, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, as explicitly stated in the opening chapter of the latter.

In its fifteen chapters, *The Celestial Hierarchy* interprets the biblical presentations of various celestial beings. Chapters one through three introduce both the heavenly and the human (churchly) hierarchies with a presentation of the author's general notion of symbolism and hierarchy, a word he invented by adapting the earlier term "hierarch." Chapters four through ten cover the angelic hierarchy in its three triads, a distinctively Dionysian arrangement: seraphim, cherubim and thrones; dominions, powers and authorities; principalities, archangels and angels. The author has a particular interest in the name of each celestial rank. Chapters eleven through fourteen address several problems, such as the common name of "powers" or "angels" for all these ranks, and especially the apparent violation of hierarchical order when a human being (Isaiah) was touched by a supreme seraph instead of an angel nearest to humanity. In conclusion, chapter fifteen uses the principles of biblical symbolism to interpret various details of the biblical descriptions of the angelic beings, their physical features and equipment. The treatise not only discusses the idea of a descending revelation communicated by the angels for the uplifting of the human recipients, but also provides that revelation itself in terms of the scriptural material which is anagogically (upliftingly) interpreted.

Editions: CPG 6600; PG 3, 120-340; G. Heil, PTS 36, 7-59 (formerly in SCh 58a).

Translations: (for each treatise, see also the translations of the complete works listed above).

Italian: S. Lilla, *Gerarchia Celeste, Teologia Mistica, Lettere*, Rome 1986, 5-89.

French: M. de Gandillac, *La hiérarchie céleste*, SCh 58a, Paris 1970, introduction by R. Roques.

German: G. Heil, *Über die himmlische Hierarchie*, BGL 22, 1986.

Japanese: Y. Kon and K. Tukikawa, Heibonsha 1994.

Studies: R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structure hiérarchique du monde selon le Pseudo-Denys*, Paris 1954; G. Saccaro Battisti, "Strutture e figure retoriche nel 'de Caelesti Hierarchia' dello Pseudo-Dionigi: un mezzo di espressione dell'ontologia Neoplatonica", *Archivio di Filosofia* 51 (1983) 293-319; P. Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis*, Toronto 1984; S. Lilla, "Note sulla Gerarchia Celeste dello Ps. Dionigi l'Areopagita", *Aug* 26 (1986) 519-573.

2. *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*

In seven chapters, this companion to *The Celestial Hierarchy* presents the human hierarchy of rites and orders in a Christian congregation. Chapter one introduces the general notion of a hierarch and a hierarchy, with symbolic revelation descending from God through the angelic realms, and explicitly links the treatise to the previous one on the heavenly hierarchy. Chapters two through four present the three Dionysian sacraments and their detailed symbolic interpretations: baptism, called illumination; the divine liturgy, called the synaxis; and the consecration of the myron ointment which is used in other rites. The synaxis chapter (3) contains important liturgical details such as the use of the creed, and chapter 4 is significant for the emphasis placed upon the myron ointment by this author. Chapter five presents the three ordained ranks: hierarch (bishop), priests and deacons, with a symbolic interpretation of their ordination service. Chapter six presents the laity: those still needing purification, the faithful illuminated and the perfected (the monks), including their rite of tonsure and vows. The author shows a particular interest in the monastic life, here and in *Letter 8*, but with no reference to women religious, or to women as deaconesses. The sixth chapter also summarizes the three powers of purification, illumination and perfection which are discussed throughout two hierarchical treatises regarding the three sacraments, the three orders of clergy and the three types of laity, as well as various triads of angelic ranks. Chapter seven concludes the work with a description and interpretation of the funeral rite, as well as final remarks about infant baptism and communion. *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* contains extensive connections to the Christian patristic literature, both in its specific textual parallels (Campbell) and in its general theological orientation (Golitzin).

Editions: CPG 6601; PG 3, 369-569; G. Heil, PTS 36, 63-132.

Translations – German: G. Heil, *Über die kirchliche Hierarchie*, BGL 22, 1986.

English: T. Campbell, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, Washington (DC) 1981 (dissertation, 1955).

Studies: R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien*, Paris 1954, esp. 171-199 and 245-302; Idem, *Structures théologiques de la gnose à Richard de Saint Victor*, Paris 1962; I.P. Sheldon-Williams, "The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius", *Downside Review* 82 (1964) 293-302 and 83 (1965) 108-117; P. Scazzoso, "Valore della liturgia nelle opere dello Pseudo-Dionigi", *La Scuola Cattolica* 93 (1965) 122-142; P. Rorem,

Biblical and Liturgical Symbols, Toronto 1984, 27-46 and *passim*; A. Golitzin, *Et Introibo ad Altare Dei: The Mystagogy of Dionysius Areopagita, with Special Reference to its Predecessors in the Eastern Christian Tradition*, Analecta Vlatadon 59, Thessaloniki 1994.

3. *The Divine Names*

The longest treatise in the corpus, and arguably its most difficult and influential, interprets the biblical names for God according to a sophisticated method which was highly influenced in detail and in general by the Neoplatonic tradition of Proclus and Damascius. Chapters one through three introduce the basic methodology involved. Chapter one negotiates the paradox that the scriptures praise God by many names, some apparently more appropriate than others, and yet they also by a "wise silence" confess that God is actually beyond every name and thus ineffable and unknowable. Chapter two discusses at length the united and differentiated names for God; it concludes, amid a general discussion of God, that only Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are differentiated names, and that therefore all other scriptural names for God, to be interpreted shortly, apply to the Godhead as a whole. Chapter three affirms the need for prayer before any such venture, and invokes the devout example of Hierotheos, the author's supposed mentor after St. Paul. With chapter four *The Divine Names* discusses its first specific name for God, namely, the "Good," as well as light, love and beauty. The subject of goodness leads the author to a lengthy consideration of evil, employing both the specific vocabulary of Proclus (in *De malorum subsistentia*) and the general Neoplatonic perspective that evil is actually the absence of the good, not a substance of its own.

Chapters five through seven treat the divine names of being, life, and wisdom, among others. Chapters eight through twelve explicate many names, from power and righteousness through greatness and smallness to Ancient of Days and King of Kings. Chapter thirteen concludes the work with a complex discussion of the names perfect and one, which leads to the subject of union with God. As a whole, *The Divine Names* is the most important source for the author's doctrine of God, its Christian and Neoplatonic antecedents, certain Trinitarian issues, and the goal of union with God.

Editions: CPG 6602; PG 3, 585-984; B.R. Suchla, PTS 33, 107-231.

Translations – German: B.R. Suchla, *Die Namen Gottes*, BGL 26, 1988.

English: C.E. Rolt, *The Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, London 1920, 50-190; J.D. Jones, *The Divine Names and Mystical Theology*, Milwaukee (WIS) 1980, 107-207.

Japanese: Y. Kumada, Kyobunkan 1992.

Russian: G.M. Prokhorov, St Petersburg 1994.

Studies: E. Corsini, *Il trattato 'De divinis nominibus' dello pseudo-Dionigi e i commenti neoplatonici al Parmenide*, Turin 1962; E. von Ivánka, *Plato Christianus, Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter*, Einsiedeln 1964, esp. 228-242; S. Lilla, "Terminologia trinitaria nello Pseudo-Dionigi l'Areopagita, suoi antecedenti e sua influenza sugli autori successivi", *Aug* 13 (1973) 609-623; V.M. Rodríguez, *Significado de los nombres de Dios en el Corpus Dionysiacum*, Salamanca 1975; B. Brons, *Gott und die Seienden. Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von neuplatonischer Metaphysik und christlichen Tradition bei Dionysius Areopagita*, Göttingen 1976; S. Gersh, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition*, Leyden 1978; Y. de Andia, *Henosis: l'union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite*, Leyden 1996.

4. *The Mystical Theology*

So brief (five pages) that it would hardly qualify as a major treatise were it not for the intensity of its contents and the immensity of its influence, *The Mystical Theology* has only five chapters, three of them mere paragraphs. Chapter one, the longest, begins with a prayer and the advice to Timothy that he should ascend beyond sense perception and conceptual achievement toward union with the One who is beyond perception and conception. The use of affirmations and negations in this ascent is dramatized by an interpretation of Moses in the cloud or the "darkness of unknowing" on Mt. Sinai. Moses is "supremely united to the completely unknown by an inactivity of all knowledge." Chapter two briefly distinguishes assertions and denials regarding God, likening the latter to a sculptor's removal of stone in order to reveal a statue.

Chapter three refers to three previous treatises (the lost or fictitious "Theological Representations," *The Divine Names*, and the equally lost or fictitious "Symbolical Theology") as a descending sequence of affirmations, now to be followed by an ascending series of negations in the approach to the ineffable God beyond affirmation and negation. Chapter four itemizes the negation of every category of sense perception; God is "not a material body, and hence has neither shape nor form, quality, quantity or weight." Chapter five goes "higher" to negate every type of concept regarding God, even the very titles explicated in *The Divine Names*; God is "not greatness or smallness ... neither one nor oneness, divinity nor goodness ... , nor even sonship or fatherhood." In the end, no affirmations suffice, and the Godhead even transcends all denials; "by virtue of its pre-eminently simple and absolute nature, free of every limitation, beyond every limitation, it is also beyond every denial."

Editions: CPG 6603; PG 3, 997-1048; A.M. Ritter, PTS 36, 141-150.

Translations – Italian: S. Lilla, *Gerarchia celeste, Teologia Mistica, Lettere*, Rome 1986, 93-113.

French: M. Cassingena, *La Théologie mystique*, Lettres, Paris 1991.

German: A.M. Ritter, *Über die mystische Theologie und Briefe*, BGL 40, 1994, 74-89.

Fliche-Martin 4, 451; J. Irmscher: *EEC* 1 (1992) 401; Beck, 372; V. Fazzo, "I padri e la difesa delle icone", in *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia*, ed. A. Quacquarelli, Rome 1989, 413, 426-429, 432, 439, 449, 454; F. Carcione, "Ambasciate bizantine a Roma in età giustiniana", *Antonianum* 69 (1994) 264.

EUSTATHIUS MONACHUS

Eustathius Monachus, the author of the small work *De duabus naturis*, on the two natures in Christ, addressed to a certain Timothy, is otherwise unknown. On internal evidence it is possible to date the letter to the middle or second half of the 6th century. Its importance lies in the fact that Eustathius' motive is to demonstrate that Severus of Antioch is in contradiction with the Fathers, with his teachers and with himself: consequently the monk quotes the works of heterodox authors, but especially Severus, at length and frequently. For one citation from Dioscorus' *Epistula ex Gangris* and two from Timothy Aelurus, probably from his *Refutatio synodi Chalcedonensis et Tomi Leonis*, Eustathius is the only witness. Furthermore the monk provides extracts from Severus of Antioch's *Epistula ad (Iohannem) Nicioten*, a work which appears otherwise to have perished completely, and the Greek text of several passages from Severus' *Sermo de Nativitate (Homilia cathedralis 4)*. In many other instances Eustathius supplies us with the only Greek fragments we have of Severus' works, seven from the *Contra Grammaticum*, five from the *Epistula tertia ad Iulianum* and one each from the *Epistula prima ad Sergium*, the *Epistula secunda ad Sergium*, the *Oratio altera ad Nephaliium* and the *Philalethes*. In addition the letter of Eustathius is important for the affinity it demonstrates with the Christology of Leontius of Byzantium and the evidence it gives of strict Chalcedonian doctrine, although the monk is not concerned with developing a Christological position of his own. Eustathius is to be situated in the same Christological circle as Hypatius of Ephesus, Heraclian of Chalcedon and the Acoemete monks.

Editions: CPG 6810; PG 86, 901-942; ed. P. Allen, "Eustathii Monachi Epistula de Duabus Naturis", *Diversorum Postchalcedonensium Auctorum Collectanea* I, CCG 19, Turnhout-Leuven 1989, 391-474.

Studies: J. Darrouzès: *DHGE* 16 (1967) 26; F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche*, I, *Das Leben und die polemischen Werke des Leontius von Byzanz*, TU 3, 1-2, Leipzig 1887, 54-59; J.P. Junglas, *Leontius von Byzanz. Studien zu seinen Schriften, Quellen und Anschauungen*, *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* VII, 3, Paderborn 1908, 105-119; J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien. Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'église jacobite*, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. *Dissertationes ad gradum Doctoris in Facultate theologica conscriptae*. Series II, tomus IV, Lovanii 1909, 307-308, 350 n. 1, 373-375; M. Richard, "Les florilèges diphysites du V^e et du VI^e siècle", *CChG* 1,

721-748 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout-Leuven 1976, no. 3); P. Allen, "Greek citations from Severus of Antioch in Eustathius Monachus", *OLP* 12 (1981) 261-264; Eadem, *CCG* 19, 395-409; Grillmeier II/2, 277-285 (English ed. 262-270).

ANTHIMUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Before becoming patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus had been bishop of Trebizond, but he renounced his see to lead an ascetic life. In 535 the Emperor Justinian I promoted him to the patriarchate of Constantinople. At the time of his installation he recognized the Fourth Ecumenical Council. But Theodora put him in touch with Severus, whose theological position he seems to have shared at once. The opposition of the clergy, equivocal statements in the patriarchal Acts and the reaction of Pope Agapetus obliged him to yield. He was thus condemned for his Monophysitism. Fragments are preserved of a letter from him to Justinian in which he defends one energy and will in Christ, a synodal letter in Syriac to Severus and another synodal letter to Theodosius of Alexandria, also transmitted in Syriac, in which he acknowledges the first three councils and supports the *Henoticon*.

Editions: CPG 7085-7088; Grumel, nos. 228-231; Mansi 11, 440 f.; 517: *Letter to Justinian*; the other letters in Zacharias the Rhetor, IX, 21 and 25.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 52; Beck, 392 f.; J.P. Land (ed.), *Anecdota syriaca*, III, Leyden 1870, repr. Osnabrück 1989, 299 f.; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 43.

MENAS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A native of Alexandria, director of the hospice of St Samson at Constantinople, Menas was elected patriarch on 13 March 536 in place of Anthimus, whom Pope Agapetus, present in the Byzantine capital, had had removed from the patriarchal see. Agapetus himself consecrated him bishop of the Byzantine capital. On this occasion Menas presented a confession of faith inspired by that of Hormisdas, in which he recognized the doctrinal primacy of the Church of Rome. With Pope Agapetus, he called a synod to regulate the case of Anthimus and the Monophysites, but Agapetus died soon afterwards. Presided over therefore by Menas, the synod (2 May-4 June 536), attended by the Western bishops present at Constantinople and other members of the papal following, anathematized Anthimus and his followers as well as Severus and other Monophysites. Some years later, the Origenist agitation of the Palestinian monks provoked the court's reaction. The imperial decree was confirmed in January 543 by the Constantinopolitan synod, again headed by Menas. In 547 he confirmed in writing a doctrinal edict of Justinian I against the so-called Three Chapters, provoking a break in communion with

Pope Vigilius. The Roman pontiff, brought to the Byzantine capital, was reconciled with Menas in 552 when he presented to him, in the church of St Euphemia at Chalcedon, a profession of faith that accepted the four Ecumenical Councils and expressed full concord with the Roman Church. On the same occasion he also asked pardon for the injuries inflicted on Vigilius as if he had been responsible for them. He died on 24 August 552, on which day his *memoria* is inscribed in the Byzantine Synaxaria and the Roman Martyrology. It is also worth recalling that on 22 December 538 Menas reconsecrated the restored church of Hagia Sophia and on 28 June 550 the church of the Holy Apostles.

Editions: CPG 6923-6934; Grumel, nos. 232-243; *ACO* 3, 111-181; CSEL 35, 340 ff.; 231 f.

Studies: Beck, 54, 397, 408; L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini*, Rome-Louvain 1972, 124-148; Grillmeier, II/2, 366-370, 446 (English ed. 350-355, 426); D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 553; Bardenhewer V, 130; brief *Vita* by an anonymous 6th-c. author: *ASS*, Aug. 5, 1569 f.

DOMITIAN OF ANCYRA

A Palestinian monk and then hegumen of the laura of Firminus, stronghold of Origenism, in 536 he went to Constantinople to take part in the synod presided over by Patriarch Menas, which renewed the condemnation of Monophysitism. In this circumstance, Leontius of Byzantium presented him to the presbyter Eusebius, treasurer of Hagia Sophia and powerful adviser of Justinian, thus introducing him to the upper echelons of power. Consequently, around 540, by imperial pleasure, Domitian obtained the episcopal see of Ancyra in Galatia. Closely linked to Theodore Ascidas, destined to become the true co-ordinator of Justinian's policy in subsequent years, he intrigued with him to make Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem break communion with his Antiochene colleague Ephrem, who had been the first to condemn Origenism officially (542). The project did not succeed: Justinian, asked by Peter to resolve the dispute, decided by an edict in favour of the anti-Origenist front (543). Domitian and Theodore resigned themselves to the imperial choice, but did not disarm: a little later they provoked the first of Justinian's edicts on the Three Chapters (544), i.e. the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, Antiochene authors traditionally hated by the Origenists. Linked to this controversy is Domitian's one known work, the *Libellus ad Vigilium papam*: a fragment of it is preserved thanks to its polemical citation by Facundus of Hermiane (*Pro defensionem Trium Capitulorum* IV, 4, 15). Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Sabae* 85) relates that Domitian died of dropsy out of remorse for having subscribed, if only instrumentally, the imperial edict against Origen.

Editions: CPG 6990; PL 67, 627; J.M. Clément, R. Vander Plaetse, *Facundi episcopi ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, CCL 110 A, Turnhout 1974, 126.

Studies: F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrhundert und das 5. allgemeine Konzil*, Münster 1899, 52 ff.; Beck, 384; Perrone, 204, 207; M. Simonetti: *EEC* 1 (1992) 245 f.; F. Carcione, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale della 'seconda controversia origenista'", *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano* 8 (1985) 6-7, 14.

NICHOLAS OF ANCYRA

He was a presbyter of Ancyra in Galatia. Nothing certain is known of him or of when he lived; perhaps in the 5th or 6th century. Useful clues to this can be drawn from the dating of the manuscripts of the *Catena* which preserve fragments of the works attributed to him and give his name variously as Nicholas, Nicholas the presbyter, Nicholas presbyter of Ancyra, or Nicholas monk and presbyter.

Perhaps Nicholas was the ascetic of Ancyra whom Mark the Hermit addressed in his work *Pros Nikolaon* (CPG 6095; PG 65, 1027-1050) and from whom he had in reply a letter of thanks (PG 65, 1051-1054). From some references in Scholia of *Catena* on the Acts of the Apostles it appears that he was probably the author of commentaries on biblical books: *In prophetam Ioel* and *In prophetam Amos*. Perhaps we may also attribute to him a commentary *In Psalmos* and one *In Ionam* of which we possess two fragments with interpretations of a literal type.

Editions and studies: CPG 6104; J.A. Cramer, *Catena graecorum patrum in N.T.*, t. 3, Oxford 1838, 35, 37, 38, 124; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, Göttingen 1902, 35; K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome 1926, 16-17; Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, Paris 1973, 454-456, 663-665; Bardenhewer IV, 181; R. Devresse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *DBS* 1, 1146-1147, 1209; W. Ensslin, "Nikolaus", *PW* 17, 361.

PSEUDO-CAESARIUS

The *Quaestiones et responsiones* of Pseudo-Caesarius were probably composed shortly before 550. In order to secure greater authority for the work, the author adopted the identity of Caesarius, brother of Gregory Nazianzen († 368/369), and was consequently obliged to make particular use of sources before that date to support his incognito. Previous attempts to identify him with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite are to be rejected, even if he does repeatedly use the Dionysian term θεανδρικός. Pseudo-Caesarius appears not to have been a native speaker of Greek, and he was probably a member of the community of Acoemete monks in Constantinople whose influence was significant during the Christological controversies of the late 5th and early 6th centuries. We

may conjecture that he used the extensive library of the monastery in making his compilation. He probably also enjoyed the protection of the Empress Theodora († 548).

The *Quaestiones et responsiones*, written in four books, contains a great range of biblical, theological, historical and geographical information, as well as details of court ceremonial, and presumably reflects many of the religious and secular concerns of Christians at that time. Jews, Arians and Origenists have a bad press. While addressing the problem of Arianism, Pseudo-Caesarius is able to comment on contemporary issues such as the debate over the ignorance of Christ (*Agnoetae*) and Christ's natures. He expressly avoids both the formula of one nature and that of two natures. Apart from the importance of the content of his work, Pseudo-Caesarius' habit of paraphrasing his sources means that the *Quaestiones et responsiones* offers a valuable tool for checking the transmission of surviving texts of earlier Church Fathers from Clement of Alexandria to Proclus of Constantinople, and even for reconstructing some of those that are lost to us.

Editions: CPG 7482; R. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Die Erotapokriseis*, GCS, Berlin 1989.

Translations – Old Church Slavonic (completed around 920): cf. I. Dujčev, "La versione paleoslava dei dialoghi dello Pseudo-Cesario", *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 9 (1957) 89-100; B.H.R. Anemüller, *Maschinelle Lexicographie – Ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der älteren slavischen Philologie. Altbulgarische Übersetzung der "Fragen und Antworten" des Pseudo-Kaisarios*, Dissertation, Saarbrücken 1974.

Arabic (completed around 1054): cf. R. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 12, Munich 1969, 63-66.

Studies: G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique des 'Quaestiones et responsiones' sur l'Écriture sainte", *RBI* 42 (1933) 343-346; R. Riedinger, "Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites, Pseudo-Kaisarios und die Akoimeten", *BzZ* 52 (1959) 276-296; Idem, "Neue Hypotyposen-Fragmente bei Pseudo-Caesarius und Isidor von Pelusium", *ZNTW* 51 (1960) 154-196; Idem, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage*, *Byzantinisches Archiv* 12, Munich 1969; Idem, "Neue Quellen zu den Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Kaisarios", *JOEByz* 19 (1970) 153-184; Idem, "Akoimeten", *TRE* 2 (1978) 148-153; Grillmeier, II/2, 392-396 (English ed. 374-379); O. Seeck: *PWK* 3 (1899) 1299-1300; H. Dörries: *RAC* 6 (1966) 355-356; F. Scorza Barcellona: *EEC* 1 (1992) 138.

ROMANUS MELODUS

Romanus was born in Emesa (modern Hims or Homs) in Syria, probably in the last quarter of the 5th century. He became deacon of the church of the Resurrection in Berytus (modern Beirut) and, probably in the second decade of the 6th century, went to Constantinople, where he settled and attached himself to the church of the Mother of God in the district of Kyros (modern Hexi-Marmara). There he spent the rest of

his life, dying probably between 555 and 565. He is known as the greatest exponent of the *kontakion*, a chanted sermon: there are eighty-nine attributed to him in manuscripts, of which most scholars accept about sixty as genuine. The *kontakion* as Romanus knew it (the present-day use of *kontakion* is rather different and corresponds to the prelude of the ancient *kontakion*) was a sermon in a number of stanzas (generally about twenty) in stressed metre, all ending with the same final line as a kind of refrain. These stanzas were called οἴκοι and were prefaced by a prelude (προοίμιον or κουκούλιον). This sermon was chanted from the ambo, after the singing of the Gospel, with the choir, and probably the whole congregation, joining in the refrain. Romanus was not the inventor of this verse form, which seems to have originated in the Syriac poetry of writers such as Ephrem the Syrian, in particular in the *madraša* and the *sogitha*.

The *kontakia* of Romanus have a variety of subjects: most are on the Person of Christ as depicted in the liturgical Gospels for various feasts and Sundays; others concern the Mother of God, or figures from the Old Testament; there is one on earthquakes and fires which seems to refer to events associated with the Nika riot in Constantinople in 532; and there are a few on martyrs and ascetics, including two on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Romanus' genius in these *kontakia* is marked by at least two qualities: his gift for exciting narrative by which he enters into the lives of the individuals involved in the biblical passages he takes as his basis, and his capacity for careful doctrinal exposition, in which he reveals his profound attachment to the Christological Definition of the Council of Chalcedon.

Editions: CPG 7570; N.B. Tomadakis, *Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ ἕμνοι ἐκδιδόμενοι κωδίκων ἐκ πατριακῶν*, I-IV, Athens 1952-1961 (49 hymns); P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica genuina*, Oxford 1963; Idem, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica dubia*, Berlin 1970; J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes*. Introduction, texte critique et notes, *SCh* 99; 110; 114; 128; 283, Paris 1964-1981 (last volume posthumous, edition incomplete). Only the Maas-Trypanis edition is complete.

Translations – French: J. Grosdidier de Matons, *op. cit.*

English: M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*, 2 voll., University of Missouri, Columbia 1970-1973; E. Lash, *St. Romanos the Melodist, On the Life of Christ: Kontakia*, San Francisco-London 1996 (selection).

Italian: G. Cammelli, *Romano il Melode. Inni*, Florence 1938 (8 hymns: text and translation); G. Gharib, *Romano il Melode, Inni*. Introduzione, traduzione e note, Turin 1981 (63 hymns).

German: G.H. Bultmann, *Romanus der Melode. Festgesänge*, Zürich-Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1960 (selection); J. Koder, *Mit der Seele Augen sah er deines Lichtes Zeichen Herr: Hymnen des orthodoxen Kirchenjahres von Romanos dem Melode*, Vienna 1996 (selection).

Studies: P. Maas, "Die Chronologie des Hymnen des Romanos", *ByzZ* 15 (1906) 1-44; E. Mioni, *Romano il Melode. Saggio critico e dieci inni inediti*, Turin 1937; C. Chevalier, "Mariologie de Romanos (490-550 environ), le roi des Mélodes", *RecSR* 28 (1938) 48-71; G. Zuntz, "Probleme des Romanos-Textes", *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 469-534; C.A. Trypanis, "The Metres of Romanos", *Byzantion* 36 (1966) 560-623; K. Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*, Munich 1967; E. Salvaneschi, *Adattamento interlinguistico come mezzo espressivo in Romano Melodo*, Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana La Colombaria 39 (1974) 21-68; E. Topping, "The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodos", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976) 1-15; J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*, Paris 1977; E. Catafygiotu-Topping, "Romanos, On the Entry into Jerusalem: 'a Basilikos Logos'", *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 65-91; A. de Halleux, "Hellénisme et syrianité de Romanos le Mélode", *RHE* 73 (1978) 632-641; A. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople", *JTS* n.s. 29 (1978) 79-108; W.L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist*, CSCO 475 / Subs. 74, Louvain 1985; W.L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion", *VC* 39 (1985) 171-187; S. Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos", *SP* 20 (1989) 139-151; Grillmeier, II/2, 534-544 (English ed. 513-523); M. Arranz: *DSp* 13 (1988) 898-908; S. Zincone: *EEC* 2 (1992) 740.

PAUL SILENTIARIUS

LIFE

A poet and friend of the historian and poet Agathias (perhaps also his son-in-law), Paul the Silentiarius or 'Husher' was chief of the imperial chamberlains who kept order at imperial audiences and processions under the reign of Justinian I (527-565). Influenced by the Alexandrian literary tradition and by Nonnus in particular, Paul wrote in hexameters descriptions of two significant architectural monuments of Justinian's time – Hagia Sophia and its ambo – and composed epigrams, 78 of which survive in the Cycle of Agathias as preserved in the Greek Anthology (*Anthologia Palatina*). The choliambic poem *In thermas pythicas* (CPG 7516), celebrating the thermal baths in Bithynia and once attributed to Paul, is not his: it was composed by Leo Magister in the 9th century.

WORKS

1. *Descriptio S. Sophiae*

The Theodosian church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was totally destroyed in the Nika riots of 532. A new church was consecrated in 537, but in 558 the dome collapsed after an earthquake, and the massive building was reconsecrated in ceremonies which began on Christmas Eve, 562. Paul's description was probably read on 6 January 563 and the description of the ambo a few days later, both in the presence of the

Emperor Justinian and the Patriarch Eutychius (552-565). The work, which comprises 887 hexameters, contained two introductions, the first addressed to the emperor and read out in the imperial palace, the second addressed to the patriarch and recited in the patriarchal palace. Of the surviving descriptions of the building written by contemporaries (Procopius, Corippus and Evagrius Scholasticus), Paul's is the fullest and most technical, describing its architecture, construction materials, decoration and contents, with details of, e.g., lighting, doors, windows, porticos, imperial seating, the altar and the baptismal font, several of which features do not survive. The central part of the work comprises the technical architectural *ekphrasis*, which is preceded and followed by panegyric material. Paul's description is a valuable source for the history of Byzantine art and liturgy.

Editions: CPG 7513; PG 86, 2119-2158; P. Friedländer, *Iohannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit*, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, repr. Hildesheim-New York 1969, 227-256. Cf. A. Ludwich, *Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentiarius*, Königsberg 1913.

Translations – German: Prokop. Bauten, ed. O. Veh, W. Pulhorn, Munich 1977, 306-375.

English (partial): C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ) 1972, 80-96.

Studies: W. Peek, *PW* 18, 2 (1949) 2366-2377; M. Whitby, "The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia", *CQ* 35 (1985) 215-228; M. Whitby, "Eutychius patriarch of Constantinople: an Epic Holy Man", *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. Whitby, P. Hardie, M. Whitby, Bristol 1987, 297-308; R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of Hagia Sophia", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988) 47-82; *ODB* 3, 1609; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 664.

2. *Descriptio Ambonis*

Paul's description of the ambo of Hagia Sophia, composed in 275 hexameters with an iambic preface addressed to Justinian, was read privately. Like the description of the church itself, it is valuable in its details of architectural construction, materials and decoration.

Editions: CPG 7514; PG 86, 2251-2264; P. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 257-265.

Translation – English (partial): C. Mango, *op. cit.*, 80-96.

Studies: as above.

3. *Epigrammata*

The 80 or so epigrams of Paul which have survived are mainly erotic in tone and, like those of his contemporaries, owe much to earlier epigram. Nonetheless there is some virtuosity in the imitation, and a successful synthesis of Nonnan vocabulary, phrasing and metrical technique.

Although somewhat archaic, the epigram in the hands of Paul is a living form of poetry, in which pagan and Christian themes often combine. Because Paul and his circle of the literary élite of Constantinople were mostly trained in the law or were civil servants, they would have had some knowledge of Latin language and literature: Paul's poetry seems to exhibit some parallels with the elegiacs of Propertius and Ovid, a notable fact in a period when bilingual competence in literary texts was becoming rare. He was imitated by George of Pisidia in the 7th century.

Editions: CPG 7515; G. Viansino, *Paolo Silenziario. Epigrammi*, Testo, traduzione e commentario, Bibliotheca Loescheriana, Turin 1963.

Translation – Italian: G. Viansino, *op. cit.*

Studies: G. Viansino, *op. cit.*; J.C. Yardley, "Paulus Silentiarius, Ovid and Propertius", *CQ* 30 (1980) 239-243; A. Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford 1993; *ODB* 3, 1609; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 664; I. Martlew, "The Reading of Paul the Silentiary", *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?*, ed. P. Allen, E.M. Jeffreys, *Byzantina Australiensia* 10, Brisbane 1996, 105-111; E. Degani, "Paolo Silenziario e la poesia latina", *Sandalion* 20 (1997 [1999]) 155-164.

ABRAMIUS OF EPHEBUS

Abramius, a 6th-century archbishop of Ephesus, is probably to be identified with the Abbot Abramius in John Moschus' *Pratum Spirituale* (PG 87, 2956C-2957B), "a good and gentle pastor", who founded a monastery in Constantinople and the monastery in Jerusalem known as that of the Byzantines. Two of his homilies have survived, one on the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the other on the Presentation. The first homily establishes his date, since it contains a reference against Origenist doctrine, and makes it clear that the feast of the Annunciation is only recently celebrated on 25 March, rather than before Christmas, as was previously the case. The homilist tells us that the new date has still not gained acceptance throughout the eastern Roman Empire. Both homilies are composed in a neutral style, with only the occasional rhetorical flourish; particularly in the second homily Abramius stays close to the biblical text. As the only surviving examples of the homiletic genre in 6th-century Ephesus, his work possesses a certain interest.

Editions: CPG 7380-7381; M. Jugie, *Homélie mariales byzantines. Textes grecs édités et traduits en latin*, PO 16, 1922, 442-447 and 448-454.

Studies: O. Bardenheuer, "Ein neuer Prediger des kirchlichen Altertums", *ZKTh* 57 (1933) 426-438; R.A. Fletcher, "Celebrations at Jerusalem on March 25th in the Sixth Century AD", *SP* 5 (1962) 30-34; S.J. Voicu: *EEC* 1 (1992) 4; P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: A Reassessment", *The Preacher and the Audience: Studies in Christian and Early Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M.B. Cunningham, P. Allen, Leyden-Boston-Cologne, 1998, 201-225.

EUTYCHIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Euty chius was born at Theium (Phrygia) around 512. He was hieromonk and archimandrite at Amasea, whose bishop sent him to Constantinople in 552 to represent him at the proposed council. The Emperor Justinian found him an assiduous collaborator in the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Favourably struck by his personality, he designated him as successor to Patriarch Menas († 21 August 552). At the beginning of 553 or perhaps a bit earlier, in a *libellus* addressed to Vigilius, Euty chius expressed his agreement with the apostolic see. As bishop of the capital, in place of the pope who had refused the invitation to preside, he directed the sessions and subscribed the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (May-June 553). Indeed he seems to have written the draft of the synodal sentence. Deposed and exiled in 565 by Justinian, whose Aphanthodocetism he had criticized, he retired to his old monastery at Amasea. He was restored to his see in 567 by Justin II (565-578) and remained there until his death in 582. So he rejected Aphanthodocetism, but in a lost work he also criticized the Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion*. In his second pontificate he clashed with the apocrisiary Gregory, later pope, over the doctrine of the resurrection. The disagreement was caused by a (lost) treatise of the patriarch that was considered Origenist. The *Life* of Gregory the Great relates that, before dying, he abjured his opinions on the resurrection.

His surviving writings include the text of his *libellus* to Vigilius (6 January 553) on communion of faith with the apostolic see and the need to resolve the question of the Three Chapters in council. There is also a homily on the Eucharist. A treatise *De differentia naturae et hypostaseos* is known in an Armenian version. This document, formulated by Euty chius in exile, deals with the main Trinitarian and Christological concepts, nature and hypostasis. Euty chius seeks to clarify these concepts with a view to theology and economy. To this end he starts from their synonymous use in the secular sciences. He leans on the Cappadocians, especially on Basil's *Ep.* 38, now sometimes attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. He takes up the Cappadocian concept of hypostasis and applies it to Christology. He thus expresses the common theological thought of 565, but is more insistent on the faith of Chalcedon. In the first part he asserts the "insubsistence" of the human nature in the hypostasis of the Logos and arrives at a fairly clear doctrine of the hypostatic union in Christ, but without further clarifying the concept of "insubsistence". In the second part he deals with the problem of the two natures. Concluding, he returns to the faith of Chalcedon, referring to Basil of Seleucia's formula: "in two natures". Thus in some respects his position recalls that of Leontius of Byzantium

and also that of Justinian, but it has little in common with the Council of 553. The earliest surviving seal of a patriarch of Constantinople is that of Eutychius. His *Vita* was written between 582 and 602 by a disciple, the presbyter Eustratius. The Byzantine Synaxaria commemorate him on 6 or 20 April.

Editions: CPG 6937-6940; Grumel, nos. 244-249, 260-263; *ACO* 4/1, 235-245; PG 86, 2392-2401.

Studies: *DHGE* 16 (1964) 94 f.; P. Ananian, "L'opuscolo di Eutichio patriarca di Costantinopoli sulla 'Distinzione della natura e della persona'", *Armeniaca – Mélanges d'études arméniennes*, Venice 1969, 316-382 (with Italian tr.); *BBKL* 1 (1975) 1574 f.; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 305.

EUSTRATIUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Eustratius was a priest of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and a disciple of Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, whom he accompanied into exile and whose life he wrote.

Studies: C. Laga, *Eustratius van Constantinopel. De mens en zijn werk*, Dissertation, Leuven 1958; P. Van den Ven, "L'accession de Jean le Scholastique au siège patriarcal de Constantinople en 565", *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 320-352; J. Darrouzès: *DSP* 4 (1960) 1718-1719; Idem: *DHGE* 16 (1964) 48; S.J. Voicu: *EEC* 1 (1992) 303 f.

WORKS

1. *Life of Eutychius*

Eustratius' most important writing is perhaps his *Vita* of Eutychius, the monk abruptly appointed patriarch of Constantinople by Justinian after the death of Menas in 552 on the eve of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, who was then deposed in 565 when he refused to accept the promulgation of Aphantodocetism by the emperor on his death-bed. Eutychius was reinstated after the death of his successor John Scholasticus, in 577, and remained patriarch until his death in 582. Eustratius' life is encomiastic, and displays some skill in negotiating his hero's changes of fortune: it was written some time during the reign of the Emperor Maurice.

Edition: CPG 7520; BHG 657; PG 86, 2273-2390; C. Laga, CCG 25, 1992.

Translations – English: A. Cameron, A. Wilson, *Translated Texts for Historians*, Liverpool, forthcoming.

Studies: A. Wilson, "Biblical Imagery in the Preface to Eustratius' Life of Eutychius", *SP* 18 (1985) 303-309; Mary Whitby, "Eutychius, Patriarch of Constantinople: an Epic Holy Man", in *Homo Viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. Whitby, P. Hardie, M. Whitby, Bristol 1987, 297-308; A. Cameron, "Eustratius' Life of the Patriarch Eutychius and the Fifth Ecumenical Council", *ΚΑΘΗΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays presented to Joan Hussey*, ed. J. Chrysostomides, London 1988, 225-247.

2. *Life of Golinduch*

Eustratius also wrote a *Passion* of the female Persian martyr Golinduch, also the subject of a *Passion* surviving in Georgian: this has been claimed to be merely an abbreviation of a lost version by Stephen, bishop of Hierapolis, but C. Laga has shown that Eustratius has given it a political slant relevant to his own times.

Edition: CPG 7521; BHG 700-701; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, IV, St Petersburg 1897, 149-174; V, 395-396.

Studies: P. Peeters, "Sainte Golindouch, martyre Perse", *AB* 62 (1944) 74-125; G. Garitte, "La Passion géorgienne de sainte Golinduch", *AB* 74 (1956) 405-440. Cf. *DHGE* 21, 510-511.

3. *On the State of Souls after Death*

A treatise survives, in mutilated form, on the state of the soul after death, probably related to Eutychius' own work on the resurrection, not mentioned by Eustratius, but referred to by Gregory the Great as teaching that the resurrection body is incorporeal, and condemned to the flames by the Emperor Tiberius as heretical (*Mor. in Hiob*, 14, 56, 72-74).

Edition: CPG 7522; L. Allatius, *De utriusque ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua in dogmate de purgatorio consensione*, Rome 1655, 319-580.

4. *On the Soul and the Angels*

This work survives only in fragments.

Edition: C. Laga, *op. cit.*, 315-320.

LEONTIUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Until 1972, when M. Aubineau drew attention more closely to Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople, the homilist was known only from two homilies published in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* under the name of the well-known 6th-century theologian, Leontius of Byzantium. It then became apparent that we could not identify the presbyter Leontius with Leontius of Byzantium or with Leontius of Jerusalem. In 1977 M. Sachot expressed the opinion that to the eleven homilies attributed in the manuscripts to the presbyter Leontius there should be added fourteen sermons which are assigned in the manuscripts to such diverse writers as Amphilochius of Iconium, Athanasius of Alexandria, John Chrysostom and Timothy, presbyter of Jerusalem or Antioch. The variety of these attributions, according to Sachot, was to be traced to the man who used the name of Leontius, presbyter of Constantinople, and other names in the hope that he would thereby ensure the transmission of his homilies. In 1981 Sachot published an edition of one of these homilies (CPG 4724)

and included a study of stylistic criteria which could be attributed to Leontius. In 1987 C. Datema and P. Allen edited the eleven homilies attributed in the manuscripts to Leontius, and added to them three others which they demonstrated were also the work of the presbyter of Constantinople. Further than that they were not prepared to go, claiming that arguments on purely stylistic grounds were too insecure a basis for further attributions. The editors of the fourteen homilies dated Leontius to the mid 6th century, a dating which has been accepted by most scholars.

The fourteen homilies pertain to a variety of feasts: I on the birth of John the Baptist (unregistered in BHG or CPG), II and III on Palm Sunday (CPG 7893 and 7898), IV and V on Job (CPG 7894 and 7892), VI on Job's wife and the betrayal of Judas (CPG 7895), VII on Good Friday (CPG 7889), VIII and IX on Easter (CPG 7891 and 7890), X in *mediam Pentecosten* (CPG 7888), XI on Pentecost (CPG 7896), XII on the birth of Christ (CPG 4753), XIII for Pentecost (CPG 4906) and XIV on the Transfiguration (CPG 4724).

Since it has been commonly accepted that the homily was in decline in the 6th century, the corpus of Leontius' homilies, particularly when taken together with the homilies of Severus of Antioch, is important evidence to the contrary. Furthermore, since there is no reason to distrust the manuscript tradition which calls Leontius a presbyter of Constantinople, these fourteen homilies provide precious information about the state of liturgical practice and development in early Byzantium: homilies IV–VII, for example, were delivered sequentially in Holy Week, when the *lectio continua* was the book of Job.

For information concerning Leontius and his congregation we are thrown back completely on the contents of his homilies. Both preacher and audience were fond of the dramatization of biblical episodes, effected particularly by fictitious monologues and dialogues and a style loaded with parallelism, anaphora and repetition, and of digressions. The considerable number of new or unusual Greek words used by Leontius is an indication of how his community liked to be surprised in the course of the homily. The biblical exegesis and theology are neither intellectual nor demanding, and were seemingly intended as much to entertain as to instruct. Given the absence of exhortations to the ascetic life, it seems that monks did not form a significant part of Leontius' congregation, if indeed they were present at all. This consideration, combined with the general tone and level of the exegesis and theology, argues for a congregation in one of the smaller churches in Constantinople; indeed, workers or artisans seem to be present in the audience on at least one occasion, and there are many references in the homilies to small-scale commerce and trades.

Leontius' frame of reference is Trinitarian, but his emphasis is on "Christ the Master", which is partly attributable to the fact that many of the homilies were delivered on dominical feasts. The insignificant role assigned to Mary can be explained by the same fact. A noteworthy role is reserved, on the other hand, for the devil, who is presented as an overweening villain, an impostor who is clad in rags and lives in the wilderness. In the religious thought-world of Leontius and his congregation, the oldest Christian bestiary, the *Physiologus*, was influential, as can be seen from the depictions of the dog, the lion and the hart.

Editions: CPG 4724; 4753; 4906; 7888-7896; 7898; E. Sartorius, *Leontii presb. Constantinopolitani homilia in Iob adhuc inedita*, Programma Universitatis litterarum Dorpatensis, 1927, VII-XIII; M. Aubineau, *Homélie Pascales: cinq homélie inédites*, Sch 187, Paris 1972, 339-468; M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne sur la Transfiguration* CPG 4724, BHG 1975. *Contextes liturgiques, restitution à Léonce, prêtre de Constantinople*, Édition critique et commentée, Traduction et études connexes, Publications Universitaires européennes, Série 23, Théologie, 151, Frankfurt am Main-Bern 1981; C. Datema, P. Allen (eds.), *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae*, CCG 17, Turnhout-Leuven 1897.

Translations – French: Homily XIV: M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne*, cit.

English: P. Allen, C. Datema, *Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople. Fourteen Homilies*, Byzantina Australiensia 9, Brisbane 1991.

Studies: M. Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", *MSR* 1 (1944) 35-88 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 59); M. Aubineau, "Un Ps.-Athanase, in Lazarum (e Vat. Ottob. gr. 14) restitué à Léonce de Constantinople", *JTS* n.s. 25 (1974) 442-447; M. Sachot, "Les homélie de Léonce, prêtre de Constantinople", *RSR* 51 (1977) 234-243; P. Allen, C. Datema, "Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople – A Compiler?", *JOEByz* 29 (1980) 9-20; C. Datema, "When Did Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, Preach?", *VC* 35 (1981) 346-351; C. Datema, P. Allen, "Text and Tradition of Two Easter Homilies of Ps. Chrysostom", *JOEByz* 30 (1981) 78-102; P. Allen, "Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople – An Edifying Entertainer", *Parergon* n.s. 6a (1988) 1-10; C. Datema, P. Allen, "Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople, and an Unpublished Homily of Ps. Chrysostom on Christmas (BHGα 1914i/1914k)", *JOEByz* 39 (1989) 65-84; L. Perrone, *EEC* 1 (1992) 481; P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: A Reassessment", in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Christian and Early Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M.B. Cunningham, P. Allen, Leyden-Boston-Cologne 1998, 201-225.

JOHN III SCHOLASTICUS

LIFE

John, patriarch of Constantinople from 565 to 577, was born at Seremis near Antioch and was a *scholasticus* before his ordination. When Domnus (Domnus), patriarch of Antioch from 545 to 559, proposed to send John to Constantinople as his apocriary, John went to consult Symeon Stylites the Younger. The stylite predicted that he would one

day become patriarch of Constantinople and, at John's insistence, revealed in confidence that the Emperor Justinian would be succeeded by Justin II. According to Symeon's biographer, John used this information to ingratiate himself with Justin. Anastasius, who succeeded Domninus in 559, retained John's services as apocrisiary in the capital. Just before Justinian's death in 565, Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople, was banished and John took his place. It may be supposed that the election of this ambitious man was due to his compliance with Justinian's plans for the imposition of Aphthartodocetist doctrine, which Eutychius opposed. From 14 November 565 when, fulfilling Symeon's prophecy, Justin acceded to imperial power, relations between the new patriarch, the new emperor and the stylite could not but intensify.

Despite the circumstances of his elevation, John was nevertheless a Chalcedonian, which explains the silence of the Chalcedonian sources on this episode. Initially he appeared well disposed towards the Tritheists and allowed them to meet freely in the capital; but this was probably a stratagem to maintain the balance between Monophysites and Diphysites, and it ended in 567-568 when the patriarch wrote a treatise against Tritheism. The useless meeting held at Constantinople in 570 between Jacobites and Tritheists to try to end their schism was presided over by John, who resorted to severe measures against the Monophysites, declaring their ordinations null and obliging their clergy to undergo reordination, so that they went over to the Chalcedonian side. The patriarch of Constantinople also intervened in the affairs of the see of Alexandria in an effort to attain religious peace, ordaining the Constantinopolitan John IV; but the new patriarch, like his predecessor (who also came from Constantinople), had to resort to violence to maintain his position. When the forthright Anastasius of Antioch objected to John's usurpation of the rights of another see, John IV was deposed. On the death of John Scholasticus on 31 August 577, Eutychius was restored. Despite the influential role John played in the ecclesiastical politics of his time, he owes his reputation to the influence of his canonical collections. The attempt to identify John Scholasticus with the student of chronography John Malalas must be rejected.

WORKS

1. *Sermo catecheticus*

According to Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 75), this work (not in PG) had as its subject the Trinity, and was written between 1 September 567 and 31 August 568. It was probably a response both to the treatise of Theodosius of Alexandria against the Tritheists and to the writings of the Tritheists themselves. The eminent Tritheist and Alexandrian philosopher John

Philoponus attacked it in a small book (*Βιβλιδάριον*). It may be that the *Sermo catecheticus* is identical with the (lost) *Mystagogia* which John of Nikiu (*Chronicle* XCIV, 13) attributes to John Scholasticus, claiming that it "set forth the one nature of Christ, the Word of God, which became flesh".

2. *Synagoga L titularum*

In this work (CPG 7550) John improved an anonymous systematic canonical collection in which the canons were grouped in sixty titles. John's collection, however, is better organized and the titles are reduced to fifty. In the preface to the work he outlines his methodology, so providing information on the history of Greek canon law. To the apostolic canons and those of the Councils of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Sardica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, he adds 66 canons taken from Basil's second and third letters to Amphilocheus of Iconium. The *Synagoga* has been transmitted in 48 manuscripts with considerable variations between them as regards the inclusion of the preface, the wording of the titles and the order of the canons. Cardinal Pitra hypothesized that the number "fifty" could have been inspired by the fifty books of Justinian's *Digest*. John's work fed into the creation of the *Nomokanon*, which from the 10th century was the official book of canon law in the Byzantine Church, but the *Synagoga* itself was still in circulation in the 12th century.

3. *Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum*

This collection of canons (CPG 7551) was taken from Justinian's *Novellae* which, says John, "not only follow the canons of our orthodox Fathers, but invest them with an authority that comes from his [i.e. Justinian's] imperial power". While the preface to this work was probably written in 565, the body of the text must have been composed while John was still at Antioch, because it contains canons that are dated before 546. Joined to the collection is a group of 25 canons taken from the Code of Justinian and the *Novellae*, which seem to be the work of the anonymous canonist whose collection John updated in his *Synagoga*.

4. *Letters and decrees*

Nothing survives of these texts.

Editions: CPG 7550-7551; V.N. Benešević, *Iohannis Scholastici synagoga L titularum ceteraque eiusdem opera iuridica*, 1, ABAW n.s. 14, Munich 1937, 1972²; I.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*, 2, Rome 1868, 385-405.

Studies: J. Haury, "Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos?", *ByzZ* 9 (1900) 337-356; V.N. Benešević, *Sinagoga v 50 titulov i drugie žuridičeskie Sborniki Ioanna Sholastika*, *Zapiski klassieskago... Arheologiceskago*

Obščestva 8, St Petersburg 1914; Grumel, nos. 250-259; E. Schwartz, *Die Kanonesammlung des Johannes Scholasticos*, ABAW 6, 1933; L. Petit: *DTC* 8 (1947) 829-831; É. Herman: *DDC* 6 (1954) 118-120; P. Van den Ven, "L'accession de Jean le Scholastique au siège patriarcal de Constantinople en 565", *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 320-352; Beck, 422-423; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 439; *ODB* 2, 1047. See also *infra*, CANONICAL AND LITURGICAL LITERATURE, p. 668 f.

*CONON OF TARSUS;
EUGENIUS OF SELEUCIA; THEONAS*

LIFE

Conon, bishop of Tarsus, and Eugenius, bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, were the first bishops consecrated by Jacob Baradaeus, and assisted him in consecrating other bishops for the anti-Chalcedonian Churches in Syria and the East. Their subsequent fortunes are intimately connected with Tritheism, which they embraced after the death of Theodosius of Alexandria (19 June 566), when the impact of the latter's classic Monophysite work, *Oratio theologica*, composed in refutation of Tritheist doctrine, began to lessen. Thanks to generous financial assistance from the powerful monk Athanasius, grandson of the Empress Theodora († 548) and great-nephew of Sophia, consort of the Emperor Justin II (565-578), their influence and that of Tritheism spread rapidly and soon caused division among the anti-Chalcedonians. In 567 and 568 the Jacobites and Tritheists signed two agreements which were to put an end to their differences, but the attempts at reconciliation were in vain. Conon and Eugenius were condemned and excommunicated in 569 at a Jacobite synod held in Constantinople. However, their influential ally Athanasius prevailed on the Emperor Justin II to have the Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople, John III Scholasticus (565-577), arbitrate the debate. This was a surprising choice, not least because a short time before, between 1 September 567 and 31 August 568, John had published a work on the Trinity which the theologian and philosopher on the Tritheist side, John Philoponus, had refuted. The discussions took place in 569/570, with Conon and Eugenius as the Tritheist representatives and the bishops Paul of Antioch and Stephen of Cyprus as those of the Jacobites. The emperor had stipulated that the sole terms of reference be the works of Severus of Antioch and Theodosius. The Cononites referred to their opponents as Sabellians, while the Jacobites called the Tritheists defenders of polytheism.

The discussions, if they had any outcome, gave the Tritheists cause to be optimistic, particularly thanks to the encouragement of Athanasius. Conon and Eugenius sought to create a Tritheist hierarchy but needed a third bishop to perform consecrations. They approached John of Ephesus, who refused. A deposed Monophysite bishop, Theonas, was found, and

with his assistance Tritheism spread not only in the East but also as far as Athens, Corinth, Africa and Rome. Around this time John Philoponus published his treatise *De resurrectione*, in which he maintained the destruction of form and matter at the general resurrection and the creation of new, glorious bodies. With a certain Themistius, Conon and Eugenius wrote an invective against John's doctrine, claiming that the form, but not the matter, of human bodies would be destroyed at the resurrection, and anathematizing Philoponus. The monk Athanasius, on the other hand, defended the *De resurrectione*, and as a result the Tritheists divided themselves into two sects, Cononites and Athanasians.

When, after the death of Athanasius, Justin II began his persecution of the Monophysites on 22 March 571, Conon and Eugenius were handed over to Photius, the stepson of Justinian's famous general Belisarius, who took them to Palestine, where they were kept in the New Monastery in Jerusalem. Theonas appears to have taken flight. Three years later Conon was released and went to Cilicia, probably with Eugenius. Subsequently they travelled to Pamphylia, where Eugenius died. Conon went to Constantinople to claim the inheritance which Athanasius had left him – the monk had died before he was able to cut his former friend out of his will, and there he rebuffed an attempt by John of Ephesus to be reconciled. He returned to Cilicia with his inheritance.

The meagre literary remains of Conon and Eugenius certainly do not represent the important role they played in the anti-Chalcedonian Church in the second half of the 6th century, and in particular in the history of Tritheism.

WORKS

1. *Epistula ad eorum asseclas*

The fragmentary Syriac remains of this letter, which was written by Conon, Eugenius and Theonas, are preserved in a florilegium composed in order to refute the Trinitarian doctrine of John Philoponus. To the letter were appended twelve chapters or anathemas. In the fragments the three authors are at pains to demonstrate that their doctrine is in accord with that of the Fathers (Severus and Theodosius are named), and that they are not, as some think, self-contradictory in asserting that hypostases are natures and substances, and that there is one substance and one nature in the Trinity.

Editions: CPG 7283; A. Van Roey, "Les fragments trithéites de Jean Philopon", *OLP* 11 (1980) 141-143 (Syriac text).

Translations – Italian: G. Furlani, "Un florilegio antitriteistico in lingua siriaca", *AIVS* 83 (1923-1924), Parte seconda, 671-673.

French: A. Van Roey, art. cit., 141-143.

Studies: G. Furlani, *Sei scritti antitrinitarici in lingua siriana*, PO 14, Paris 1920; E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, CSCO 127 / Subs. 2, Louvain 1951, esp. 179-187; A. Van Roey, "La controverse trithéite depuis la condamnation de Conon et Eugène jusqu'à la conversion de l'évêque Élie", in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. J.P.M. Van der Ploeg O.P.*, ed. W.C. Delsman *et al.*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 211, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 487-497; Idem, "Un traité cononite contre la doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la résurrection", *Antidoron. Hommage à M. Geerard*, I, Wetteren 1984, 123-139; Idem, "La controverse trithéite jusqu'à l'excommunication de Conon et d'Eugène (557-569)", *OLP* 16 (1985) 141-165; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 106, 141; E. Prinzivalli: *EEC* 1 (1992) 190. See also *PLRE*, IIIA, 147: "Athanasius 5".

2. *Cononitarum tractatus contra doctrinam Philoponi de resurrectione*

This work (CPG 7284a) was composed by Conon, Eugenius and a certain Themistius as a refutation of John Philoponus' treatise *De resurrectione*. It was read by Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 23), who reports that the three authors pilloried John for this work, going so far as to declare him an absolute stranger to Christian dogma.

Editions: cf. *supra*.

JOHN IV THE FASTER

LIFE

A native of Constantinople, John was patriarch of the imperial city from 12 April 582 to 2 September 595. He was an engraver by trade, but his qualities made him a member of the clergy of Hagia Sophia in the reign of Justin I (518-527). First a deacon, then patriarchal treasurer (*sakellarios*) of John Scholasticus (565-577), John was also a monk, being taken from his cell to be consecrated patriarch on the death of Eutychius in April 582. It was in John's presence that Emperor Tiberius handed over power to his successor Maurice (14 August 582); the patriarch also crowned Maurice and blessed his marriage to Constantina, Tiberius' daughter. On 26 March 590 he crowned their son Theodosius. According to the sources he lived a life of extreme austerity, hence his epithet "the Faster", and was prodigious in his gifts to the poor. His intransigence in the matter of apostasy earned him the reputation among some of being hard and cruel, but Monophysites such as the church historian John of Ephesus regarded him as conciliatory. This explains why, according to him, the Chalcedonians accused the patriarch of being a follower of Severus of Antioch. Around 587 John presided at a synod where formal approval was given for the patriarch of Constantinople to use the title "ecumenical patriarch". This drew the ire of Gregory I of Rome, who had been apocrisiary in Constantinople at the start of John's patriarchate.

The appeal to Rome by two priests who had been deposed by John's synod resulted in further tension between the two sees. According to Theodore Studite, John adopted civil law in case of punishing magicians, who were condemned to impalement, whereas ecclesiastical law punished them with canonical penances. On his death (2 September 595) John's only possessions were found to be a wooden bed, a cheap blanket and a cloak, the rest having been mortgaged when Maurice lent him a large sum of money for the poor. A biography of the patriarch was composed after Maurice's death by the priest Photinus, an *ekklesiēkdikos* or legal representative of Hagia Sophia, but only one passage of the work survives, thanks to its inclusion in the Acts of Nicaea II (Mansi 13, 80-85). Miracles were attributed to John the Faster, who is commemorated in the Byzantine Church on 2 September and 18 February.

Editions: cf. CPG 7555-7560 and bibliography; *Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Brussels 1908, 7, 8 and 474; John of Ephesus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, III; Theophylact Simocatta, *Historiae* I, 1; 10-11; VII, 6; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6074, 6082: PG 108, 544 and 572.

Studies: S. Vailhé, "Saint Grégoire le Grand et le titre de patriarche oecuménique", *EO* 11 (1908) 161-171; R. Janin: *DTC* 8 (1924) 828-829; E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco", *OCF* 19 (1953) 71-127; Beck, 423-424; *LTK* 6 (1960) 1065-1066; A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'adjectif 'oecuménique' dans la tradition patristique et la tradition byzantine", *NRTh* 86 (1964) 260-271; Grumel, nos. 264-272; D. Stiernon: *DSp* 8 (1972) 586-589; Idem: *EEC* 1 (1992) 439; *ODB* 2, 1049.

WORKS

1. *Sermo de paenitentia et continentia et virginitate*

This is a long homily addressed to a nun, and is composed of extracts of Chrysostomic and pseudo-Chrysostomic material. Its authenticity is doubtful, but it was translated into other languages: Coptic, Syriac, Georgian and Old Church Slavonic (CPG 7555; PG 88, 1937-1977).

Translations – Coptic: E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1910, 1-45; English translation, *ibidem* 147-191.

Syriac: E.A.W. Budge, *op. cit.* 289-338; English translation, *ibid.*, 339-379.

Georgian: cf. M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 10, Louvain-la-Neuve 1975, 117 ff.

Old Church Slavonic: in *Velikija Minei Četij sobranija vserossijskim mitropolitom Makariem*, St Petersburg 1868, 1335-1356.

2. *Syntagma XIV titulorum*

This work (CPG 7556), also of doubtful authenticity, is a collection of canon laws by title; it survives in three recensions, one of which was translated into Old Church Slavonic.

Edition: V.N. Benešević, *Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis secundum versionem palaeo-slavicam adiecto textu graeco*, St Petersburg 1906-1907.

The following series of penitential works are traditionally attributed to John the Faster but are later compositions; their inter-relationship is extremely complex and they sometimes overlap considerably. Other series are still unedited, and in any case a complete inventory of them has to be made first.

3. *Canonarium*

According to Herman, the fact that the *Canonarium* (CPG 7558) gives the impression of homogeneity derives from its redaction by the monk John, who calls himself a disciple of St Basil and probably lived in the first half of the 9th century. The work is concerned almost exclusively with penance for sins against chastity.

Editions: J. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina ... poenitentiae*, Paris 1651, 101-117; cf. I.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4, Paris 1858, 436-438.

Translations – *Georgian:* in N. Zaozerskij, A. Chachanov, *Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijah: gruzinskoj, grečeskoj i slavjanskoj*, Moscow 1902.

Old Church Slavonic: N. Suvorov, "Verojatnyi sostav drevnejšego ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi", *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 8 (1901) 422-434 (less complete than the Greek or Georgian text).

4. *Didascalia Patrum*

An anonymous redactor scaled down the number of canons in the *Canonarium* to produce a new work (CPG 7559), which included other writings attributed to John the Faster: the *Consequentia et ordo* (Ἀκολουθία), a protocol for penitents (ed. J. Morinus, Paris 1651, 77-90 = PG 88, 1889-1917), and the *Sermo de confessione et poenitentia* (Λόγος) (ed. J. Morinus, 91-97 = PG 88, 1920-1932). In the transmission of this composite work, however, certain manuscripts retain the integral *Canonarium*.

Editions: N. Suvorov, *op. cit.*, 398-402 (partial); A. Almazov, *Kanonarij monaha Ioanna*, K. Voprosu o pervonačalnoj sudbe nomokanona Ioanna Postnika, Zapiski imperat. Novorossijskago Universiteta 109, Odessa 1907, 158-168.

Translation – *Old Church Slavonic:* N. Suvorov, *op. cit.*, 415-422.

5. *Canonicum*

At least three series of penitential canons (CPG 7560) attributed to John the Faster were subject to a redaction by compilers or copyists which resulted in another work, the so-called *Nomocanon*. This revision, which can be dated to the late 9th or early 10th century, incorporated the *Didascalia* addressed to nuns (ed. I.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*,

4, Paris 1858, 416-429). The author of this part of the work attributes its canons to St Basil, and indeed some of them are authentic (see Grumel, no. 198). The three sets of penitential canons which have been identified to date are:

a) *Canones poenitentiales 51*; ed. I.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4, Paris 1858, 429-435.

b) *Canones 34* (collected by Matthew Blastares): ed. Christophoros, *Kanovikón*, Constantinople 1800, 312-325. Various canons appear also in a) and b): see Grumel, no. 198.

c) *Canones* (collected by Matthew Blastares): ed. G. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, IV, Athens 1854, 432-445. This is the largest of the three series, but the canons are arranged differently and are not numbered.

6. *Letters*

None of John's letters survives (cf. Grumel).

PHOTINUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

A presbyter and *defensor* of the Church of Constantinople, Photinus is known to us only through a fragment which was cited from his work at the fourth session of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Here we learn that he wrote a biography of Patriarch John IV of Constantinople, nicknamed "the Faster" (582-595), and probably knew him personally. The work was written after the death of the Emperor Maurice (602). The fragmentary remains contain an account of a miracle obtained through an icon of the Mother of God, but the tenor of the work as a whole can only be speculated on. Perhaps Photinus, as a representative of the Church of Constantinople, sought to vindicate the claims made by John the Faster to the title "Oecumenical Patriarch", which so irked the bishops of Rome, Pelagius II (579-590) and Gregory the Great (590-604).

Editions: CPG 7971; Mansi 13, 80-85.

Studies: A. Ehrhard, in Krumbacher, 144, 187; Beck, 459; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 685.

CONSTANTINE THE DEACON

Constantine the deacon, whom the manuscripts also designate as *chartophylax* or archivist in Constantinople, seems to have lived between 550 and 650 and is known to us only from his *Laudatio omnium martyrum*, an extensive encomium that was probably delivered verbally. The work was cited in favour of the worship of icons at the Second Council of Nicaea, and was included in the Greek lectionaries as a reading for the

feast of All Saints. It incorporates a long, fictitious and totally improbable dialogue between all the martyrs and their collective judges, accusers and torturers.

Editions: CPG 7403; PG 88, 480-528; C. Datema, P. Allen, CCG 17, 1987; V. Keil, *Quellensammlung zur Religionspolitik Konstantins des Grossen*, Texte zur Forschung 54, Darmstadt 1989.

Studies: LTK 6, 479; D. Stiernon: EEC 1 (1992) 193; cf. P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: a Reassessment", *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Christian and Early Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M.B. Cunningham, P. Allen, Leyden-Boston-Cologne 1998, 201-205.

JOHN OF THESSALONICA

LIFE

John, who seems to have been a native of Thessalonica, succeeded Eusebius as archbishop some time after 603, or even after 606, but during the reign of Phocas († 610); he died one month before a series of earthquakes hit Thessalonica, in about 620 (according to Lemerle). During Eusebius' episcopate, John took part in the defence of Thessalonica against siege by the Slavs, which Lemerle dates to 586. During his own episcopate, he was involved in defending Thessalonica against a Slav attack in 614, and in the defence of the city against siege by the khagan of the Avars at harvest-time in 618, during which John rallied his fellow-citizens on the city walls after a premonitory dream in which St Demetrius appeared, assuring him of the city's safety. He introduced to Thessalonica the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God on 15 August.

WORKS

The anonymous compiler of the later collection of the *Miracles of St Demetrius*, which include those in which John was involved, tells us that, in addition to his collection of the miracles of St Demetrius, John wrote many homilies (which he calls διδασκαλίαι: *Miracles* 176), but of these very few survive. A prayer ascribed to John does survive. John's chief work is a collection of the miracles of St Demetrius, patron of the city of Thessalonica.

Studies: M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de Thessalonique", *EO* 21 (1922) 293-307; Idem: *PO* 19 (1926) 344-374; D. Stiernon: *DSp* 8 (1973) 778-780.

1. Homilies

a) *Homily on the Myrrh-bearing Women*: this is all that survives of a cycle of homilies on the Lord's Passion and Resurrection. b) *Homily on the Temptations of Christ*: at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, the Fathers cited a passage from what purports to be a sermon on the Temptation

of Christ, consisting of a brief dialogue between a Greek (i.e. a pagan) and a Christian on the veneration of images. c) *Homily on the Dormition*: this is the only sermon of John's to have received any scholarly attention. It is not properly a sermon, but a pastoral letter announcing the introduction of the feast of the Dormition to Thessalonica. With this letter John has included an account of the Dormition drawn from an account (of probably quite recent date) of the Dormition of the Mother of God. His letter begins by saying that heretics had embroidered accounts of the Dormition of the Mother of God, which had led to the neglect of the feast in various churches, among them Thessalonica, a neglect John proposes to remedy. It is significant, however, that in the account of the Dormition included with his letter he seems to have removed any mention of the Assumption itself. d) *Unedited homilies*: still unedited are John's encomium on St Demetrius (BHG 547h) and a homily on the Beheading of St John the Baptist (BHG 824t).

Editions: a) *Homily on the Women*: CPG 7922; PG 59, 635-644; b) *Homily on the Temptations of Christ*: CPG 7923; Mansi 13, 164B-165C; H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*, TU 139, Berlin 1992, 327-328; c) *Homily on the Dormition*: CPG 7924; *PO* 19 (1926) 375-405 (genuine text); *ibidem* 405-438 (interpolated text); F. Halkin, *REB* 11 (1953) 161-164 (epitome); d) CPG 7925-7926.

Translation - German: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 112-113 (only of the *Homily on the Temptations of Christ*).

Studies: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 112-114, 229-230 (on the *Homily on the Temptations of Christ*); B. Capelle, "Les anciens récits de l'Assomption et Jean de Thessalonique", *RTAM* 12 (1940) 209-235 (= Idem, *Travaux liturgiques de doctrine et d'histoire*, III, Louvain 1967, 323-349); Idem, "Vestiges grecs et latins d'un antique 'transitus' de la Vierge", *AB* 67 (1949) 209-225 (= Idem, *Travaux liturgiques de doctrine et d'histoire*, III, Louvain 1967, 350-373); L. Bron, "Restes de l'ancienne homélie sur la dormition", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 2 (1952) 84-93; A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle*, Paris 1955, 17-67.

2. Prayer

The second, anonymous collection of miracles of St Demetrius records a prayer, offered by John during the siege of Thessalonica of 618.

Editions: CPG 7921; PG 116, 1341AB (from the metaphrastic version of the *Miracles*); P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, I. *Le texte*, Paris 1979, 187 (*Miracles* 205).

3. Miracles of St Demetrius

This, the most important of John's works, is the oldest collection of miracles performed by St Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica. This collection, along with the other ancient, anonymous collection, which tells of miracles in which John himself was involved as archbishop of Thessalonica, has been magnificently edited by Paul Lemerle, who,

by subjecting the two collections to close study, has gleaned precious information from them about the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula in the 6th and 7th centuries. His conclusions about the dating of the elements of the first (John's) collection will be presented in what follows.

This collection of miracles was compiled by John during his archiepiscopate, probably shortly after 610. It consists of fifteen items. The first is an account of the healing of the prefect Marianus by St Demetrius, and is probably the oldest miracle in the collection, though – like all the other miracles in the collection – later than the transfer of the centre of the prefecture of Illyricum from Sirmium to Thessalonica (582?); the second is an account of the healing of a notable from internal bleeding, of uncertain date; the third, about an epidemic of plague in Thessalonica and its neighbourhood, is dated to July 586; the fourth tells of the healing of a soldier possessed by demons, of uncertain date. The fifth account tells of the request of the Emperor Maurice for relics of St Demetrius, and of Eusebius' reply which gives an account of what happened in response to an earlier request for such relics by the Emperor Justinian. It is evident from Eusebius' reply that there was no tradition in Thessalonica about the location of the relics of St Demetrius: the cult of the martyr was focused on the *kiborion* in the basilica of St Demetrius, which contained, not his relics, but an icon of the saint. This *kiborion* is the subject of the sixth account, which tells of Eusebius' attempt to repair the silver *kiborion* after it had been damaged in a fire. Eusebius' attempts to melt down a silver throne from the church were hindered by the saint himself, who expressed his displeasure through dreams and eventually provided the silver through a certain Menas, who gave it in thanksgiving for blessings from the saint. Lemerle is inclined to link this episode to the fire mentioned in the twelfth account, and thus date it to 605–606. The seventh account tells of a certain sacristan who sought to deprive St Demetrius of the candles burnt by the faithful in the *kiborion*: this took place when Eusebius was still a reader, and therefore earlier than 586. The eighth miracle tells of the assistance St Demetrius gave during the famine that was a result of the siege which is the subject of the last three accounts: it therefore belongs to autumn 586. The ninth account gives another example of the saint's solicitude for the city during a famine: this may belong to the episcopate of John, and therefore to the latter years of Phocas or the early years of Heraclius. The tenth account tells of a vision in which St Demetrius gave assurance that Thessalonica would be preserved from the civil war that afflicted the Empire during the last two years of the usurpation of Phocas. The eleventh account tells of a prefect who blasphemed the name of Demetrius, and repented: if this is the prefect mentioned in the thirteenth

account as the subject of a complaint by the Thessalonians to the Emperor, then it can be dated to 586. The twelfth account tells of a fire that occurred in the *kiborion* during the celebrations of the feast of St Demetrius, when, in order to clear the church, someone (inspired by the saint himself, according to the account) cried out that the barbarians were at the walls: which turned out to be the case. The final three accounts tell of the siege of the city by the Slavs, under orders from the khagan of the Avars, that took place, Lemerle argues, from 22 to 29 September 586, and how the city was saved by the intervention of St Demetrius: this is the only occasion in John's collection when Demetrius appears as a military saint.

Editions: CPG 7920; BHG 499-516i, BHG^a 500-516k; PG 116, 1204-1324 (from ASS, 4 October); P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, I. *Le texte*, Paris 1979, 47-165 (with summary in French).

Studies: P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, I. *Le texte*, Paris 1979, 9-44 (critical text); II. *Commentaire*, Paris 1981 (bibliography, 13-26); R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons*, London 1985, 50-94.

ANDREW OF CAESAREA

Of this author, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the late 6th and early 7th centuries, we possess five fragments published by F. Diekamp (OCA 117 [1938] 161-172): in the form of questions and answers, they deal with eschatological themes such as the destiny of the soul after death, the character and time of the resurrection. He also wrote a *Commentary on the Apocalypse* which should be dated to the first two decades of the 7th century. It presupposes that of Oecumenius, whom it largely repeats without ever naming. Moreover Andrew wrote at a time when Jerusalem was still under imperial rule. The city was conquered in 614 by the Persians, who held it until 627, and later and permanently by the Arabs in 638. So the *Commentary* was composed either before 614 or between 627 and 637; allusions to contemporary events favour the former date. We need not hypothesize, with Schmid, a long lapse of time between the writing of the two *Commentaries* simply because Andrew seems not to know Oecumenius' name and, when he cites his interpretations, introduces them with a *φασί τινας*. There are illustrious literary precedents for such a procedure (Sozomen, a contemporary of Socrates, wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* which depended largely on that of Socrates, without ever citing it). Andrew's silence may be due to disagreement as to the general principles of exegesis of the *Apocalypse* (cf. *infra*).

The division of the *Commentary* into 24 books and 72 chapters was imposed by symbolic reasons: there are 24 elders in Rev 5, 8, who must

be multiplied by three since each of them is composed of body, soul and spirit; the same tripartition is applied to Scripture: the body is represented by the letter and the historical books, the soul by moral interpretation and the wisdom books, the spirit by anagogy and especially by the *Apocalypse*, which is a vision of future and higher things (*In Ap., prol.*). Andrew cites from one to three verses at a time, following them with his interpretation, using a procedure that recalls that of compilers of *Catenae* rather than a true commentary; indeed Andrew's work is largely a mosaic of earlier interpretations; he usually cites Oecumenius' interpretation, then those of other Fathers (Papias, Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Methodius), often in opposition to the former, and rarely ventures to express an opinion of his own. Despite this it is possible, from his choice of exegetical materials and from Andrew's own original exegesis, to make out his general lines of thought. For Andrew the *Apocalypse* is a prophecy only of events later than the vision itself; i.e. a prophecy of the time of the Church and of the end. So it does not, as for Oecumenius, concern the past; this criterion is decisive for the orientation of his interpretation of substantial parts of John's book: e.g., the seven seals symbolize events after the end of Christ's earthly life; the woman of Rev 12 is not Mary, but the Church; the thousand years of Rev 20, 1-6 symbolize the time of the Church. His interpretation of Rev 17-18 is interesting; after reviewing various solutions, Andrew advances the idea that Babylon symbolizes *παγκόσμιος Βαβυλῶν*, i.e. power in its various historical manifestations, constantly stained with the blood of the prophets and saints (*In Ap.* 19, 55). So there is no trace of Oecumenius' pro-imperialism, but the expression of a great historical pessimism rooted in the conviction of living in the last times, of which Andrew sees unequivocal signs in current disasters caused by the barbarian invasions with their inevitable train of famine, disease and killing. Other salient characteristics of the *Commentary* are an anti-Origenism much more obvious and better-documented than that of Oecumenius, a lack of interest in specifically theological questions, and a total absence of polemical points, which make it hard to place the author in the theological alignment of his time. A man with a profound knowledge of the exegetical tradition, he expresses himself in an obscure, difficult Greek, perhaps a sign of imperfect assimilation of a secular literary education.

Editions: CPG 7478-7479; PG 106, 216-457; 1387-1394; J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Apokalypse – Textes*, 1, Munich 1955.

Studies: J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Apokalypse – Textes*, 1, Munich 1955; J. Schmid, A. Monaci Castagno, "Il problema della datazione dei Commenti all'Apocalisse di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea", *AAT* 114 (1980) 223-246; A. Monaci Castagno, "I Commenti di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea: due letture divergenti dell'Apocalisse", *AAT*, series V, vol. V (1981) 305-426.

GEORGE OF SYKEON

As he reveals in the final chapter of his *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*, George, whose baptismal name was Eleusios, was born in the obscure village of Adigermarai in Galatia, of parents who had sought the saint's help to overcome their barrenness. As a result the child was given to Theodore's monastery of St George, where, bearing the name of George, he was brought up and educated. After George had been there twelve years, Theodore died (c. 613). George, who later became hegumen of the monastery, collected stories about the saint especially from the period before he had known him, and wrote his *Vita*. It is particularly important for the vivid and detailed picture it gives of the social life and religious practices of Asia Minor in the latter half of the 6th century.

Editions: CPG 7973; BHG 1748; A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, I. *Texte grec*, Subsidia Hagiographica 48, Brussels 1970.

Translations – French: A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, II. *Traduction, commentaire et appendice*.

English: E. Dawes, N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, London-Oxford 1948, 87-192 (abridged).

Studies: R Janin: *BS* 12, 263-265.

SERGIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

According to the evidence of Anastasius the Sinaite, Sergius came from a Jacobite Syrian family. He was deacon at Hagia Sophia, with special responsibility for works of charity. Raised to the patriarchal see in 610 before the fall of the Emperor Phocas (602-610), he took the side of Heraclius, crowning him in October 610 and becoming his adviser. He behaved creditably in the critical situation of the years 612-630, when Heraclius was at war with the Persians. He lent the emperor financial help in 620 and held the regency in the ruler's absence. Contemporaries attributed to him the salvation of Constantinople when it was threatened by the Avars in 626. On this occasion he is supposed to have composed the famous hymn *Akathistos*. In reality he merely added some introductory verses to it and contributed to its popularity.

Much more important was his role in ecclesiastical policy. Some years before Heraclius' expedition to Persia, Sergius had already sought a doctrine that would permit the restoration of union with the Jacobites. Intending to present a new solution to the Christological question, he stated that the unity of energy was not a consequence of the one nature, but of the one person in Christ, and had broadened this thesis to the one will, leaning on patristic authorities and on a treatise attributed to Menas. He seems to have propagated his doctrine from the first years of

Heraclius' reign through letters and personal contacts. Around 615 Sergius came in contact with Theodore, bishop of Pharan (Grumel, no. 281: before 622). He sent him the *libellus* written by Menas for Pope Vigilius; Theodore accepted Sergius' opinion. Sergius also asked George Arsas to gather patristic texts for his position (Grumel, no. 280: dated 618). Finally he expounded his doctrine to the Emperor Heraclius around 621/622. Advised by Sergius, the Emperor succeeded in the early 630s in coming to an agreement with the Armenian and Syrian Churches. Sergius himself had already had a religious disputation with Cyrus of Phasis in 626. Cyrus was designated patriarch of Alexandria in 631. Two years later he concluded a union with the Alexandrian Monophysites, the so-called Theodosians. The conditions of the union were summed up in nine brief chapters (Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, no. 232). The seventh chapter spoke of two natures, while recognizing with Cyril a single nature or with Dionysius the Areopagite a single divine-human energy. Cyrus instructed Sophronius to send Sergius an exemplar of the formula of union, as appears from a letter of Sophronius to Pope Honorius. Sergius, supported by the permanent synod, wrote to Cyrus that, now the union had come about, people should no longer be permitted to speak of one or two operations, but of a single operator in Christ's divine and human actions (cf. Grumel, nos. 287 ff. and 290, dated 633).

In Egypt this passage of Sergius was interpreted as an approach to the Jacobite position. The emperor and Patriarchs Sergius and Cyrus had promulgated the new profession of faith and treated with the Jacobites without caring at all what Rome would think of it. Only when faced with Sophronius' opposition did Sergius consider it opportune to expound the facts to Pope Honorius (Grumel, no. 291). In 634 he told him the whole situation, dwelling on the adhesion of the heretics to the Council of Chalcedon. Sergius undoubtedly exaggerated his successes and omitted to say that acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon appeared nowhere in the act of union. In his reply, Honorius, who was pressing for peace among all the Churches, accepted Sergius' position. Referring to the agony of Jesus, he sought to harmonize the divine will and the human will and so spoke of a single will in Christ. After the reservations expressed by Sophronius, who was living at Constantinople at the time, Sergius presided over a synod that defended the thesis of Christ as a single operator (Grumel, no. 287). Maximus the Confessor later called this decision *Psephos*. Sophronius, now patriarch of Jerusalem, distanced himself from this compromise. In an encyclical he affirmed two natural operations of Christ, he too referring to Dionysius the Areopagite's *energeia theandrike* (Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, no. 233). Consequently he also insisted on the one hypostasis of Christ, ignoring, in a sense, the human will of Jesus.

Sergius did not approve Sophronius' encyclical. He saw in it traces of Nestorianism. Instead he emphasized the personal basis of Christ's effective activity. However, he informed Honorius of the whole affair. The pope recognized the patriarch's procedure, but, considering the doctrine of two energies an innovation, he preferred to speak of a single will. We do not know whether Sergius had by him a second, more reserved letter from the pope when he composed the *Ekthesis*, which was promulgated by the Emperor Heraclius in 638 as an imperial edict (Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, no. 234). This document, which expounded the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Christology of Chalcedon, forbade talk of one or two energies. It affirmed instead a single will, without confusion of the two natures, each of which retained its own attributes in the one person of the Word. Sergius then convoked a synod at Constantinople that approved the *Ekthesis* and ordered all the faithful to accept its dispositions. The text was then affixed in the narthex of Hagia Sophia. An exemplar of it was sent to Rome. Sergius died soon after, on 9 December 638.

No sooner had Pyrrhus been elected patriarch, in January 639, than he called another council and had the *Ekthesis* subscribed by all the bishops convened there. Ten years later, in 648, the Emperor Constans II, for the sake of peace, promulgated the so-called *Typos* in which, without the form of a confession of faith, it was ordered that no-one should be condemned on account of Monothelite or Dithelite statements. The Lateran synod of 649, however, admitted the two wills and the two natural operations. The Council of 680-681 repeated this decision. The theology of the new orthodoxy was worked out by Maximus the Confessor. Because of his commitment to union with the Egyptian, Syrian and Armenian Monophysites, Sergius himself was condemned as a heretic both by the Lateran synod of 649 and by the Council of 680-681, which saw him as the initiator of Monothelitism. Nor are the other contemporary witnesses very favourable to him. But these judgments often appear too negative. Modern research, distancing itself from the traditional evaluation, sees rather in Sergius a pious and pacific bishop who understood the faith of Chalcedon in the sense of a Christology from above and so defended the union in the hypostasis of the Logos.

Editions: CPG 7604-7608; Grumel, nos. 279-293. *Epistles:* Mansi 11, 525-537; 10, 972-976. *Ekthesis:* Mansi 10, 992-997; ACO Series II, 1, ed. R. Riedinger, 156.20-162.13.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 26 f.; Fliche-Martin 5, 111-124, 132 ff.; Beck, 55, 292-295; J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715): Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel*, Amsterdam 1972 (fundamental); L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini*, Rome-Louvain 1972, *passim*, esp. 196-205; *Maximus Confessor, Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, Fribourg, 2-5 septembre

1980, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn, *Paradosis* 27, Fribourg 1982, *passim*; D. Stiernon, *EEC* 2 (1992) 768; P.A. Yannopoulos, "Dal secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553) al secondo concilio di Nicea (786-787)", *Storia dei Concili ecumenici*, ed. G. Albergo, Brescia 1990, 119-154; K.-H. Uthemann, "Sergios I", *Biogr.-Bibliogr. Kirchenlexikon* 9 (1995) 1413-1428 (sources and bibliography).

GEORGE OF PISIDIA

LIFE

Born in Pisidian Antioch, George became a deacon in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and there, under the patronage of his spiritual father and friend Patriarch Sergius (610-638), occupied the post of *skeuophylax* (sacrist) and then of *referendarius* or patriarchal nuncio to the Emperor. In this latter capacity he accompanied the Emperor Heraclius on his Persian campaign in 622-623. He was a poet of the school of Nonnus of Panopolis, much acclaimed by later ages which compared him to Euripides, and he composed both historical poems and theological poems, as well as a prose life of St Anastasius the Persian.

Studies: S. Impellizzeri, *La letteratura bizantina da Costantino agli iconoclasti*, Bari 1965, 264-268, 363-364; C. Trypanis, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis*, London-Boston 1981, 400-401, 403, 406, 412-413; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 343.

WORKS

1. Historical poems

Six historical poems in iambic trimeters survive: on Heraclius' overthrow of Phocas in 610 (belonging to 610/611 or perhaps 619/620), on the Persian campaign of 622 (composed in 622/623), on the patrician Bonus (or Bonosus) (composed in 626), on the Avar attack on Constantinople (composed in 626), on the restoration of the true cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius (composed in 630) and an encomiastic poem on Heraclius (composed in 630, surviving only in fragments). Their historical value has been defended by N.H. Baynes.

Editions: CPG 7827-7832; PG 92, 1197-1332 (*De expeditione Persica, Bellum Avaricum* and *Heracliad*); A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia: Poemi I. Panegirici epici*, *StPatrByz* 7, Ettal 1960.

Translations - Italian: A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*

English: M. Whitby, *Translated Texts for Historians*, Liverpool, forthcoming.

Studies: N.H. Baynes, "Some Notes on the Historical Poems of George of Pisidia", *CQ* 6 (1912) 82-90; Idem, "The First Campaign of Heraclius against Persia", *EHR* 19 (1904) 694-702; Idem, "The Restoration of the Cross at Jerusalem", *EHR* 27 (1912) 287-299; P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, Munich 1980.

2. Theological poems

Also in iambic trimeters are his poems on theological subjects: the resurrection, creation, the vanity of life, a poem against Severus of Antioch, and another on human life, though the latter's authenticity has been questioned. They are all dated to after 630.

Editions: CPG 7833-7836; PG 1373-1384; 1425-1578; 1581-1600; 1621-1676; CPG 7837; L. Sternbach, "De Georgio Pisida Nonni sectatore", in *Analecta graeco-latina philologis Vindobonae congregatis obtulerunt collegae et Leopolitani*, Cracow 1893, 38-54.

Studies: A. Bianchi, "Note sulla cultura a Bisanzio all'inizio del VII secolo in rapporto all'Esamerone di Giorgio di Pisidia", *RBN* 12 (1965) 137-143; Idem, "Sulla cultura astronomica di Giorgio di Pisidia", *Aevum* 40 (1966) 35-52; M.R. Dilts, "Krumbacher on George Pisides", *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 612.

3. Minor poems

There are several minor poems and epigrams, two of which were included in the *Palatine Anthology*.

Editions: CPG 7839; PG 92, 1732-1753; L. Sternbach, "Georgii Pisidae carmina inedita", *WS* 13 (1891) 1-4, 16-62; 14 (1892) 51-68 (suppl. I, V-CVIII).

4. Life of Saint Anastasius the Martyr

This (BHG 86), George's only prose work to survive, is an account of the martyrdom of St Anastasius the Persian.

Editions: CPG 7838; PG 92, 1680-1729; A. Pertusi, "L'encomio di s. Anastasio martire Persiano", *AB* 76 (1958) 5-63; B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, 1, Paris 1992, 201-259 (with French translation).

TIMOTHY THE PRESBYTER

Timothy was presbyter and treasurer in the church of Hagia Sophia, the "Great Church". He composed a treatise, dedicating it to John, presbyter of the church of Chalkoprateia, on the various heresies and the ritual for the reconciliation of heretics. Pursuing a practical aim, Timothy distinguishes three groups of heretics, i.e. of converts: the first group, Tascodrugitae, Marcionites, etc. (27 groups of heretics) must be baptized; the second, Quartodecimans, Novatianists, etc., must be confirmed; the third, Melitians, Nestorians, etc., must abjure their schism or heresy. This treatise, which gives an idea of the heresies of the 6th century, especially the many Monophysite sects, probably dates from the time of Heraclius. Another treatise on the two natures in Christ does not belong to him, but to Maximus the Confessor.

Editions: CPG 7016; PG 86, 12-74; new ed. by V. Benešević, *Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis*, St Petersburg 1906, 707-738.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 26; É. Amann: *DTC* 15 (1946) 1140 f.; J. Pargoire, *L'Église byzantine de 527 à 847*, Paris 1923³, 135; J. Meyendorff, *Le Christ dans la théologie byzantine*, Paris 1969, 163-167; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 2 (1992) 841.

THEODORE SYNCCELLUS

Theodore, priest of Hagia Sophia and syncellus or associate of Patriarch Sergius (610-638), was also one of the envoys sent to the Khagan on Saturday 2 August 626 before the Avar siege of Constantinople (*Chronicon Paschale* 721, 9) and a contemporary of the poet George of Pisidia. Theodore composed and delivered two orations or homilies which are of liturgical and historical interest. The first, *Inventio et depositio vestis in Blachernis* (BHG 1058), was erroneously attributed by Loparev to the 9th-century author George of Nicomedia and seen as describing the events of the attack of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860. Vasil'evskij, however, demonstrated that the work deals with the Avar attack in 619, of which Theodore was an eye-witness. In fact the homily, which can be assigned to between 620 and 625, possibly 620, can be used to reconstruct some events of the time of the invasion. In commemorating the anniversary of the solemn return of the Virgin's robe to her church in Blachernae after its removal because of the siege, a feast thereafter celebrated on 2 July, the speaker describes the number and splendour of the Marian churches in Constantinople, recounts the finding of the relic by Galbius and Candidatus and informs us that the deposition of the robe in Blachernae had been celebrated from the time of the Emperor Leo I (457-474). The importance of the homily lies in the fact that it proves that the cult of the Virgin and her robe was well established before the events of 619. Theodore's speech is vivid; he uses dialogue and is fond of giving the actors in the events biblical names and comparing them to figures in the history of salvation.

The second work, which is transmitted anonymously but is now attributed to Theodore, is the *De obsidione Constantinopolitana sub Heraclio imperatore* (BHG 1061). There are marked stylistic similarities with the homily on the Virgin's robe, and again Theodore's work is of historical interest because it gives a commemorative, eye-witness account of the siege of Constantinople by the Avars in 626. The Emperor Heraclius, the royal children and Patriarch Sergius are assigned important roles. Three versions of the homily exist: a short version, based on Vaticanus gr. 1572 (10th century), published by Mai; a more complete redaction, based on Parisinus suppl. gr. 241 (10th century), published by Sternbach; and a third version, another long recension (BHG 1078m), found by Aubineau in Pantocrator 26.

Editions: CPG 7935; F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis monothelitarum* (= *Novum Auctarium* II), Paris 1648, 751-786; also partially in C. Loparev: *Vizantiiskij*

Vremennik 2 (1892) 581-628 (cf. E. Kurtz: *ByzZ* 5 [1896], 369-370); CPG 7936 and Suppl. A. Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae* 6, 1, Rome 1853, 423-437 (short recension); L. Sternbach, in *Analecta Avarica*, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci Wydział Filologiczny*, series 2, XV, Cracow 1900, 2-24 (= L. Sternbach, *Studia Philologica in Georgium Pisidam*, Cracow 1900, 297-334) (long version).

Translations – *Old Church Slavonic and Russian* (partial): C. Loparev, *op. cit.*

French: F. Makk, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626*, Szeged 1975.

English: Averil Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople", *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 42-56, translation based on Loparev.

Studies: V. Vasil'evskij, "Avary, a ne Russkie, Feodor, a ne Georgij", *Vizantiiskij Vremennik* 3 (1896) 83-95; N.H. Baynes, "The Finding of the Virgin's Robe", *Mélanges Grégoire*, Brussels 1949, 87-95 (= *Byzantine Studies*, London 1955, 240-247); A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle. Études et documents*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 5, Paris 1955, 111-139; J.L. Van Dielen, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972, 12-21; C. Belting-Ihm, *Sub matris tutela*, *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., Heidelberg 1976; M. Aubineau, "Récits 'de obsidione CP.' et 'De imaginibus', homélies de Grégoire de Nysse, Jean Chrysostome, André de Crète: Athos, Pantocrator 26", *RPhLHA* 51 (1977) 30-31 (= *Chrysostome, Sévérien, Proclus, Hézychius et alii: Patristique et Hagiographie grecques*, London 1988, no. 10) (third version); Averil Cameron: *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 42-56; *ODB* 3, 2048.

CHRONICON PASCHALE

The *Chronicon Paschale* is the name commonly used for an anonymous universal chronicle whose aim, like that of Sextus Julius Africanus in the 3rd century and George Syncellus in the 9th, was to calculate an accurate basis for reckoning the date of Easter. It is transmitted almost intact in a single manuscript. Probably completed in 630 and certainly extending to 629, it covers the period from Creation to April 628, apart from a few gaps, and was probably put together by a cleric associated with Patriarch Sergius I of Constantinople (610-638). The author's theological aim is set out in the extensive preface: to demonstrate the accuracy of calculations for the date of Easter and consequently for other Christian festivals, following the Alexandrian chronographic tradition and the canons of the Council of Nicaea. Although his purpose is to prove the harmony between theological truth and historical accuracy, the compiler has a scientific approach to the astronomical basis of his calculations. The preface is followed by the chronological tables, combining a number of chronological constructs to which are added relevant narrative or exegetical passages. Computations are variously by the life-span of patriarchs since Adam, the calling of Abraham, years of high priests after the captivity and of the Ptolemies, Olympiads, consuls, indictions and regnal years of emperors, and its concern is

much more with these than with narrative. Blank years are marked equally with those for which an event is recorded, and there is an extensive set of dates concerning Christ's life. It is the first surviving chronicle to date Creation to 21 March, 5509 years before the birth of Christ, and the crucifixion consequently to 5540. The *Chronicon Paschale* contains a large amount of information on religious legislation, church councils and the political intricacies of doctrinal and ecclesiastical debates. The compiler relies heavily on the Bible, Africanus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cosmas Indicopleustes and John Malalas, but supplements them with information from other sources, many of which are identifiable (saints' lives, church historians, documents and probably the city chronicle of Constantinople), as well as contemporary evidence for the 6th and early 7th centuries. His preference is for imperial and urban affairs, rather than for warfare, and although he had some education he displays no knowledge of classical literature. Capable of complex computations, he possibly also had a limited knowledge of bureaucratic Latin. Despite its interest and importance, the *Chronicon Paschale* did not influence later Byzantine chronographers, who did not use its historical information or adopt its dating of Creation to 5509 BC. It seems even unlikely that many copies of the text were ever produced.

Editions: CPG 7960-7962; L. Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn 1832 (= PG 92, 69-1028).

Translations – French (of the prologue): J. Beauchamp *et al.*, "Temps et Histoire, I. Le prologue de la Chronique pascale", *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979) 228-258.

English (partial): M. and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 AD*, Translated Texts for Historians 7, Liverpool 1989.

Studies: E. Schwartz: *PW* 3 (1899) 2460-2477; F.C. Conybeare, "The Relation of the Pascal Chronicle to Malalas", *ByzZ* 11 (1902) 395-405; E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, AGG 8, 6, Berlin 1905, 20-40; G. Mercati, "A Study of the Paschal Chronicle", *JTS* 7 (1906) 397-412 (= *Idem, Opere minori*, 2, ST 77, Rome 1937, 462-479); H. Leclercq: *DACL* 3 (1948) 1553-1555; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 1, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 10, 2nd ed., Berlin 1958, 241-243; V. Grumel, *La chronologie. Traité d'études byzantines*, 1, Paris 1958, 26-232; H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Munich 1978, 1, 328-330; J. Beauchamp *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 223-301; *Idem*, "La Chronique pascale: Le temps approprié", in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, Paris 1984, 451-468; M. and M. Whitby, *op. cit.*, IX-XXVIII; E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 6, Sydney 1990, *passim*; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 166; *ODB* 1, 447.

GEORGE THE MONK

LIFE

George, a priest and monk who lived in the first half of the 7th century, was unknown even by name until his existence was discovered by

Diekamp at the very end of the 19th century. Diekamp published extracts from two treatises by George, preserved in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (gr. 2210), one of them a computistic treatise, the other a brief heresiology. Fifty years later Richard discovered in the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi a more complete manuscript of the heresiological treatise. These treatises reveal nothing about the identity of George, except his attachment to Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

Studies: F. Diekamp, "Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios, ein unbekannter Schriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts", *ByzZ* 9 (1900) 14-51; D. Bundy: *DHGE* 20, 622-623.

WORKS

1. *On Heresies*

This is a work in fifteen chapters, dedicated to a certain Epiphanius. The first eight chapters concern various ancient heresies, from Manichaeism and various forms of gnosticism to Melchizedechianism; the next seven chapters deal with sets of heresies and heretics of more immediate relevance: Origenism (ch. 9), Apollinaris (ch. 10), Nestorius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus, Paul of Samosata and Photinus (ch. 11), Eutyches and Dioscorus (ch. 12), the Severians, Theodosians, Jacobites and Tritheists (ch. 13), Julian of Halicarnassus and Gaianus of Alexandria, Aphthartodocetists (ch. 14), and the Agnoetae (ch. 15). Much the longest chapter is that on Origenism, so much so that even in the Vatopedi manuscript parts of it have been summarized. Besides borrowings from Epiphanius' *Panarion*, George drew on various sources, notably the late 6th-century *De Sectis* and the anathemas of Origenism endorsed at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The lack of any mention of Monoenergism or Monothelitism suggests a date before the promulgation of the *Ekthesis* in 638.

Editions: CPG 7820; M. Richard, "Le traité de Georges hiéromoine sur les hérésies", *REB* 28 (1970) 250-269 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 62).

Studies: M. Richard, "Les 'Chapitres à Épiphanie sur les hérésies' de Georges hiéromoine (VII^e siècle)", *EHBS* 25 (1955) 331-362 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 61); *Idem*, "Le traité de Georges hiéromoine sur les hérésies", *REB* 28 (1970) 239-269 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 62).

2. *On the Date of Easter*

Diekamp published two extracts of this treatise (or extracts from two closely similar treatises), which is concerned with the Easter cycle and how it fits into the sequence of years since the foundation of the world. Together with Maximus' *Computus ecclesiasticus*, it is the first

computistic treatise to bear witness to the so-called "Byzantine era". It is dated to the indictional year 638-639, the year of the promulgation of the *Ekthesis* by the Emperor Heraclius.

Editions: CPG 7821-7822; F. Diekamp, *op. cit.* 24-33 (commentary pp. 44-51).

Studies: V. Grumel, *Traité d'Études Byzantines*, 1, *La chronologie*, Paris 1958, 111-128.

SERGIA

Sergia, who lived in the 7th century during the patriarchate of Sergius (610-638), was abbess of the monastery in Constantinople founded by Olympias, the wealthy deaconess and friend of St John Chrysostom. She is the author of an account of how she secured the translation of the relics of St Olympias from the monastery of St Thomas ἐν βρόχοις, after its destruction at the hands of the Persians during the siege of Constantinople in 626, to her own monastery, which had itself been rebuilt after its destruction in the Nika riots of 532.

Editions: CPG 7981; AB 16 (1897) 44-51.

EOBULUS OF LYSTRA

Around 630, the Emperor Heraclius had engaged in substantial contacts with Athanasius of Qenneshrē, called the Camel-Driver, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, with the aim of recovering the loyalty of the Monophysite Churches, whose dissent had in previous years greatly favoured the temporary Persian occupation of the peripheral Byzantine areas bordering the Sasanid kingdom. Theophanes (*Chron.* a. 6121, ed. de Boor, 329) and Michael the Syrian (*Chron.* II, ed. Chabot, 402 ff.) both testify to the understanding reached, though in opposite tones: while the orthodox historian relates the event in a relaxed framework, the Monophysite ascribes his party's assent to their giving way before a regime of real terror. Beyond the dynamics, the convergence led to protests on the part of unitary Chalcedonianism, which interpreted the behaviour of the Constantinopolitan court as a sacrifice of State orthodoxy to the demands of the opposition: a suspicion strengthened by the coincidence of the incipient imperial campaign in favour of Monothelitism. The *Adversus Athanasium pseudepiscopum Severianorum* written by Eobulus, bishop of Lystra in Lycaonia, must certainly be read in this light: the few remaining fragments in the *Doctrina Patrum* are enough to give an idea of the work as a response to the Monophysite plan to legitimize their Christological position by appealing to its doctrinal and lexical link with Cyril.

Editions: CPG 7685; Diekamp, 141-148.

Study: D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 274.

PYRRHUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Pyrrhus was a presbyter of Hagia Sophia and hegumen of the monastery of the Theotokos at Chrysopolis on the Bosporus. Elected patriarch on 20 December 638, he succeeded Sergius I, whose religious policy he continued. At the end of that year or the beginning of the next he confirmed the Emperor Heraclius' *Ekthesis*, which was considered at Rome to be his work (Grumel, no. 296). He composed an encyclical in favour of Monothelitism and defended this position in a letter addressed to Pope John IV, leaning on Menas' *libellus* addressed to Vigilius. After the fall of the Empress Martina and the accession of the Emperor Constans II, the new situation of 641 forced him to renounce the patriarchate. He retired to Africa where he continued his Monothelite propaganda. There he met Maximus the Confessor, who had taken refuge from Constantinople at Carthage even earlier. Even before becoming patriarch, Pyrrhus had expounded Sergius' opinions to Maximus in a lost *tomos* in an attempt to win him over to the Monothelite position (cf. Maximus' letter 19: PG 91, 216-228). At Carthage he resumed theological discussions with the Byzantine monk. The famous dispute between him and Maximus at Carthage in 645 survives in an account transmitted in a Roman version. In 646 – convinced, it is said, by Maximus' arguments – he went to Rome, but he quickly reverted to Monothelitism, for which the Lateran synod of 649 condemned him as a heretic. Yet in 654 he was restored as patriarch of Constantinople for a short time, during which he approved the *Typos*, promulgated in 649 by the Emperor Constans II. He died on Whit Sunday 654. Most of his works are lost. The Council of 680/681 cited six *tomoi* of Pyrrhus' writings. It is not clear whether they contained other works apart from those mentioned and a *tomos dogmatikos*.

Editions: CPG 7615-7618; Grumel, nos. 294-298; Mansi 10, 988; 10, 1001-1004; 11, 581. *Disputatio:* PG 91, 288-353.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 27; Beck, 432; *LTK* 8 (1963) 908 f.; J.L. Van Dielen, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972, 57-78, 104 f.; L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini*, Rome-Louvain 1972, 205-215; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 2 (1992) 725 f.; *BBKL* 7 (1994) 1076 ff. (bibliography).

PAUL II OF CONSTANTINOPLE

After having been *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia, Paul II became patriarch of Constantinople in 641, succeeding Pyrrhus I during the turbulence caused by the death of the Emperor Heraclius. Announcing his election to Pope Theodore, he declared himself in agreement with Roman orthodoxy. Pope Theodore however rejected the too vague declaration,

requiring from the newly-elect a synodal condemnation of his predecessor. To the pope's further insistence on obtaining surer guarantees of orthodoxy from him, Paul replied in 646 with a Monothelite profession of faith, while claiming not to be in disagreement with the bishop of Rome. Among other things he asserted that the flesh united to the Word possessed the divine will by which it was led and moved (Grumel, no. 300). For this he referred to texts by Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius and Cyril as well as by Sergius and Honorius. Theodore replied with a sentence of deposition, which led to reprisals by the patriarch against the altar of the chapel of the papal palace and against the Roman apocrypharies. Persuaded by Pyrrhus, in 648 the Emperor Constans promulgated a new edict of Monothelite belief, the *Typos*. The Roman synod presided over by Martin I rejected it, renewing its anathema against Pyrrhus (October 649). Around 650, however, the Byzantine patriarch sent the Armenians a dogmatic document aiming at union. Shortly before dying (653) he tried to intervene in favour of Martin I, who was tried at Constantinople in December 653. The Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681) anathematized him together with Pyrrhus, after reading three of his letters and other writings on the one will of Christ.

Editions: CPG 7620 f.; Grumel, nos. 299 ff.; Mansi 10, 1020-1032.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 27; Beck, 432 f.; *LTK* 8 (1963) 212; P. Conte, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del sec. VII*, Rome 1971, *passim*; J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972, 76-103; L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini*, Rome-Louvain 1972, 221 ff.; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 2 (1992) 659.

THEODORE THE DEACON

Theodore was a deacon, rhetor and episcopal secretary to Paul II, patriarch of Constantinople. In about 642 he presented the opponents of Monothelitism with two *Aporiae* (questions or difficulties), which were preserved together with Maximus the Confessor's orthodox solutions of them. The first *Aporia* puts ignorance and will in Christ on the same level, deducing from this that, in Christ, will must be predicated according to appropriation, as must ignorance. Maximus demonstrates that the *aporia* is contradictory in its terms. Will, according to him, signifies the positing of a thing, while ignorance is its destruction. So if will and ignorance have the same *raison d'être*, it follows that there is ignorance in God and that inanimate things have will. He goes on to list the Christological consequences: in Christ there would be two ignorances and two wills. He likewise shows that, by understanding the appropriation of Christ's human will in this way, we fall into Docetism, Apollinarianism, etc. The second *Aporia* asserts that the expression "natural will", not

having been used by the Fathers, involves a new doctrine. Maximus counters by demonstrating the patristic use of the expression, and asserts that the Fathers attributed will to nature. It is thus a typical example of the "scholastic" debates of the time.

Editions and studies: CPG 7632; PG 91, 216 f. Maximus' replies: PG 91, 217-228; Beck, 433; A. De Nicola, "Theodore of Constantinople": *EEC* 2 (1992) 824.

MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

LIFE

Born in 580, Maximus' early years are shrouded in mystery: according to the published Greek *Vita* he was the son of well-to-do parents in Constantinople and received a good classical education there; according to the recently discovered Syriac *Vita* he was the son of an irregular union between a Samaritan merchant and a Persian slave-girl, baptized Moschion and, after the early death of his parents, found his way to the Old Laura in Palestine, where he became the monk Maximus and came under the influence of Origenism; there, too, he attracted the attention of Sophronius, later patriarch of Jerusalem. Although contemporary, the Syriac *Vita* is written from a Monothelite point of view and clearly intended to blacken Maximus' name. A final judgment on the truth of his early years awaits a thorough investigation of all the accounts of Maximus' life. According to the Greek *Vita*, in 610 Maximus became the new Emperor Heraclius' *protos a secretis*: this is difficult to reconcile with the Syriac *Vita*, but gains support from Maximus' own remarks about his service in the imperial court, as well as the circle of friends he had at court and in the imperial service throughout his life. After a few years in the court, Maximus left to become a monk, initially at Chrysopolis (modern Scutari), across the Bosphorus from Constantinople, and later at the monastery of St George at Cyzicus (modern Erdek) on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara. By 618 Maximus' reputation as a monk was such that he had acquired a disciple, Anastasius, who remained with him for the rest of his life. In 626, with the Persian advance on Constantinople, Maximus went into exile and by 630 had arrived in North Africa, having on the way passed through the islands of Crete and Cyprus. He remained in North Africa for the next fifteen years and there wrote most of his theological works. Although he was consulted over the Monoenergist controversy by none other than Pyrrhus, later patriarch of Constantinople and upholder of Monothelitism, Maximus did not clearly come out against the Christological compromises of Monoenergism and Monothelitism until after the issue of the Monothelite imperial *Ekthesis* in 638. The early 640s, however, saw a stream of

polemical works from his hand, attacking Monothelitism and expounding authentic orthodox doctrine. In 645 Pyrrhus, the deposed patriarch, fleeing from political disgrace in Constantinople, arrived in North Africa and there took part in a public debate on Christology with Maximus, in which he conceded defeat and embraced orthodoxy. He then went to Rome, with or followed by Maximus, who there prepared for the Lateran Council called by the new pope, Martin, which condemned the heresies of Monoenergism and Monothelitism and the patriarchs who had espoused these doctrines – Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul of Constantinople, Cyrus of Alexandria and Pope Honorius. Recent research on the *acta* of the Lateran Council has shown that their original form was Greek, strongly suggesting Maximus' close involvement. For this defiance of the imperial will, Maximus was eventually arrested and brought to Constantinople, where he was put on trial in 655, initially for sedition. He was exiled to Bizya in Thrace (modern Vize on the Turkish-Bulgarian border), where attempts were made to break his resolve. With their failure, he was exiled to Perberis, also in Thrace. After six years there, Maximus and the two Anastasii, his disciples, were brought to Constantinople for a further trial, this time for heresy: they were condemned, and after having their tongues and right hands – the members with which they had propagated their “heresy” – amputated, they were exiled to Lazika, on the south-east shore of the Black Sea, where Maximus died on 13 August 662. Within twenty years, at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 681, Maximus' doctrine, though not his person, was vindicated.

Editions: CPG 7688-7721; PG 90, 67-240 (contains a 10th-c. Greek *Life* and some documents connected with his trials); P. Allen, B. Neil, *Scripta Saeculi VII Vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia*, CCG 39, 1999.

Translations – French: J.-M. Garrigues, “Le martyre de saint Maxime le Confesseur”, *Revue thomiste* 76 (1976) 410-452 (contains an account of the 655 trial – *Relatio motionis* –, the Bizya disputation and Maximus' letter to his disciple Anastasius).

English: G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London-Mahwah (NJ) 1985, 17-31 (*Relatio motionis*).

Studies: S.L. Epifanovic, *Materialy k izuchenii zhizni i tvoreniy prep. Maksima Ispovednika* [Materials for the study of the life and work of the blessed Maximus the Confessor], Kiev 1917; V. Grumel, “Notes d'histoire et de chronologie sur la vie de saint Maxime le Confesseur”, *EO* 26 (1927) 24-32; R. Devreesse, “La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur et ses recensions”, *AB* 46 (1928) 5-49; P. Sherwood, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor*, Rome 1952; W. Lackner, “Zu Quellen und Datierung der Maximovita (BHG³ 1234)”, *AB* 85 (1967) 285-316; W. Lackner, “Der Amstitel Maximus des Bekenners”, *JOEByz* 20 (1971) 63-65; S. Brock, “An early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor”, *AB* 91 (1973) 299-346 (= *Idem, Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, London 1984, no. XII); R. Bracke, *Ad sancti Maximi vitam. Studie van de biographische documenten en de levenbeschrijvingen betreffende Maximus Confessor (ca. 580-662)*, Dissertation, Leuven 1980; H.-I. Dalmis, “La Vie de saint Maxime le Confesseur reconsidérée”, *SP* 17 (1982) 26-30; P. Allen, “Blueprint for the Edition of Documenta ad

Vitam Maximi Confessoris spectantia”, *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to A. Van Roey*, ed. C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. Van Rompay, OLA 18, Leuven 1985, 11-21; A. Ceresa-Gastaldo: *EEC* 1 (1992) 547 f.; B. Neil, *The Great Life of Maximus the Confessor (BHG 1234) and its Three Recensions*, SP (forthcoming).

WORKS

About ninety of Maximus' works survive, though the manner of their transmission is very complex and only recently has much progress been made in understanding it. Dom Polycarp Sherwood attempted many years ago to produce a chronology of these works and, though much that he proposed is conjectural, his resulting chronology is still largely accepted by scholars. The principles behind this chronology are the fixed points of the progress of the Monoenergist and Monothelite controversy – the *Psephos* of 633 and the *Ekthesis* of 638 – together with internal evidence, both of cross-reference and development of Maximus' thought. There is very little that can be confidently assigned to the period before Maximus' stay at Cyzicus (i.e. before 624/625). While he was at Cyzicus, he certainly wrote several letters to John the Cubicularius in Constantinople, and several other works have been placed as early as this, but most of his writing seems to have been done during his time in North Africa, though some of these works were conceived during his time at Cyzicus, if not actually written there. Virtually all Maximus' works were written in response to some request for assistance or illumination, and many of them take forms that have their roots in monastic catechesis, especially his “centuries” of chapters (or paragraphs) and his collections of “questions” (*ambigua* or ἐρωταποκρίσεις). Many others are directly in the form of letters, including many that are called “opuscula”. Given the monastic genre in which Maximus generally casts his theology, it seems best to begin consideration with his ascetical writings, a decision borne out on grounds of chronology, although with Maximus the distinction between ascetical, dogmatic, exegetical and liturgical works is generally artificial, as these different concerns are so closely interwoven in his thought.

ASCETICAL WORKS

1. *The Ascetic Life*

This work, dated before Maximus left Cyzicus (626), is a series of questions and answers (ἐρωταποκρίσεις) between a brother and an old man (γέρων). The “old man” appears on other occasions in Maximus' works, notably in the *Mystagogia* and at times in the *Ambigua*, and there has been speculation as to whether he is an historical person, or simply a representative of traditional monastic wisdom. On other occasions (though not here) he is a source of ideas drawn from Dionysius

the Areopagite, which makes unlikely the suggestion that he is to be identified with Sophronius, who certainly stood in relation to Maximus as his γέρων. The dialogue begins with the brother asking about the purpose of the Incarnation, and continues by presenting the ascetic life as the human response of love to the love of God manifest in the Incarnation.

Edition: CPG 7692; PG 90, 912-956.

Translations – English: P. Sherwood, *St Maximus the Confessor, The Ascetic Life; The Four Centuries on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 21, London-Westminster (MD) 1955, 103-135.

French: P. Deseille, *L'Évangile au désert, Des premiers moines à saint Bernard*, Paris 1965, 161-191.

Italian: R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo Confessore, La Mistagogia ed altri scritti*, Florence 1930 (repr. 1990) 31-39.

2. *Four Centuries on Love*

This, surely the most attractive of Maximus' ascetical writings, presents the Christian life as a purification of love. Its sources are largely Evagrian, though unlike Evagrius Maximus makes it clear that the whole human being, including the body and the irrational parts of the soul, is involved in the loving union with God that is the goal of the Christian life. Maximus also draws on Dionysius, especially when he considers the final union with God. A Latin translation was made in Hungary in the 12th century. It was included in the *Philokalia* of Nikodimos and Makarios (1782).

Editions: CPG 7693; PG 90, 960-1080; A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Massimo Confessore: capitoli sulla carità editi criticamente con introduzione, versione e note*, Verba seniorum 3, Rome 1963.

Translations – English: P. Sherwood, *St Maximus the Confessor, The Ascetic Life; The Four Centuries on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 21, London-Westminster (MD) 1955, 136-208; G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 2, London-Boston 1981, 52-113; G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London-Mahwah (NJ) 1985, 35-98.

Italian: A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *op. cit.*

German: H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, Einsiedeln 1961², 414-481.

French: J. Pégon, *Maxime le Confesseur, Centuries sur la charité*, Sch 9, Paris 1945.

Several of the letters (notably *Ep.* 2 to John the Cubicularius, on love) should be regarded as ascetical treatises.

DOGMATIC WORKS

1. *Quaestiones et Dubia*

The title, "questions and doubts", was given to this work by its first editor, F. Combefis, but it is really a series of ἐρωταποκρίσεις, better

translated "questions and answers". What Combefis edited, however, was a selection of 79 questions (one of three such selections to have been preserved) from a much longer series of questions and answers. What appears to be the original series has been discovered in a manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. gr. 1703), which is, however, missing its beginning and end: the fragment that remains contains 195 questions. Most of these questions concern the exegesis of passages of Scripture, though several of them discuss passages from the Fathers (e.g., a series on Gregory Nazianzen – qq. 95-105 – and several on passages from Basil's *Moralia* – qq. 93-94, 107-110); there is a discussion of the phrase on the virginal conception from the Creed (q. 50), and a discussion of Gregory of Nyssa's understanding of apocatastasis (q. 19). Sherwood, following Balthasar, discussing the selection edited by Combefis, placed the *Quaestiones et Dubia* among the earliest of Maximus' works (before 626). The much longer series now available does not upset this dating: Maximus' discussion of themes important to his theology (notably the Transfiguration: q. 191) show lack of development. It is interesting to note that the selection published by Combefis seems to have been compiled by someone acutely aware of the dangers of Origenism: to the extent that the triad of πρακτική-φυσική-θεολογία, so important in Maximus' own ascetical theology, is entirely absent.

Editions: CPG 7689; PG 90, 785-856 (only the selection edited by Combefis); J.H. Declerck: CCG 10, 1982.

Translation – French: E. Ponsoy, *Maxime le Confesseur, Quaestiones et Dubia*, Paris-Suresnes, forthcoming.

2. *Early Ambigua (Ambigua ad Ioannem)*

One of the most important of Maximus' dogmatic works consists of a series of 71 *Ambigua* (ἀπορίαι, or "difficulties"): discussions of difficult passages drawn almost entirely from the works of Gregory Nazianzen. There are two series: the earlier and longer, consisting of 66 *Ambigua*, together with an introductory letter, addressed to John, bishop of Cyzicus, and a later and shorter series of five, together with an introductory letter, addressed to a monk called Thomas. As published by F. Oehler, these two series are run together, with the later series coming first, and the *Ambigua* enumerated consecutively (not counting the introductory letters), so that *Ambigua* 1-5 constitute the later *Ambigua* and *Ambigua* 6-71 the earlier: this arrangement (and consequent enumeration) seems to go back to Maximus himself, who in *Opusc. theol. et pol.* 1 (PG 91, 33A: to be dated 645/646) refers to a passage from the second of the earlier *Ambigua* (PG 91, 1076C) as from the "seventh chapter of the difficulties of the great Gregory". The earlier *Ambigua* deal entirely with passages from Gregory Nazianzen. From

the introductory letter it is clear that they arose out of discussions between Maximus and Bishop John of Cyzicus that took place when Maximus was still at the Monastery of St George, though they were not committed to paper until after Maximus' arrival in North Africa (towards 630). The difficulties are of various kinds: some deal with obscure or technical words (e.g. *Amb.* 43, 69), others with textual problems (e.g. *Amb.* 70); several of them supplement the kind of allegory that Gregory provides in his sermons (notably *Amb.* 52-59, which provide allegorical interpretations of people associated with the Passion of Christ, already discussed by Gregory in his second Easter Sermon). It is striking that, in many cases, Maximus gives several alternative interpretations (θεωρίαι he calls them) and makes no claim to having a definitive solution. Many, however, are concerned with passages that might lend themselves to an Origenist interpretation, and Maximus' response sometimes turns into a veritable treatise in which the Origenist interpretation is refuted and a more satisfactory interpretation provided (notable examples are *Amb.* 7, 10, 42). As Sherwood says of these early *Ambigua*: "it is here that one finds, perhaps alone in all Greek patristic literature, a refutation of Origenist error with a full understanding of the master" (Sherwood, *An Annotated Date-List...* cit., 32). But on the basis of this refutation, Maximus works out his own theological vision, in which the ascetic and dogmatic traditions of the Fathers are given philosophical depth, and there emerges the most searching and influential synthesis of Greek patristic theology. The early *Ambigua* (separated from the later) found its way to the West and was translated into Latin in the latter half of the 9th century by the great theologian of Charles the Bald's court, John Scotus Eriugena. Not knowing the later *Ambigua*, John enumerated the early *Ambigua* separately, with the introductory epistle to John of Cyzicus counting as the first.

Editions: CPG 7705; PG 91, 1061-1418; (Eriugena's Latin translation): É. Jeuneau, CCG 18, 1988.

Translations – French: E. Ponsoye, *S. Maxime le Confesseur, Ambigua*, Paris-Suresnes 1994, 123-372 (with notes by D. Stăniloae, 387-540).

Rumanian: D. Stăniloae, *Sf. Maxim Mărturisitorul, Scrieri*, pt 1, Bucharest 1983 (with detailed notes).

Modern Greek: I. Sakalis, "Ἀγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ, Φιλοσοφικά καὶ Θεολογικά Ἐρωτήματα", *Ἐπι τὰς Πηγὰς* 4, Athens 1978, 113-311 (only *Amb.* 6-10; 17, with notes by D. Stăniloae).

English: A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996, 94-168 (only *Amb.* 10; 41; 71).

Studies: P. Sherwood, *The Earlier Ambigua of St Maximus the Confessor*, Rome 1955; R.B. Bracke, "Some Aspects of the Manuscript Tradition of the Ambigua of Maximus the Confessor", in *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime*

le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn, Paradosis 27, Fribourg 1982, 97-109; A. Louth, "St Gregory the Theologian and St Maximus the Confessor: The Shaping of Tradition", in *The Making and Remaking of Christian Doctrine. Essays in honour of Maurice Wiles*, ed. S. Coakley, D. Pailin, Oxford 1993, 117-130.

3. *Questions to Thalassius*

The *Questions to Thalassius* are a series of ἐρωταποκρίσεις on biblical subjects addressed to Thalassius the Libyan sometime between the completion of the *Ambigua ad Ioannem* (*Thal.* 39 refers to *Amb.* 65) and the outbreak of the Monoenergist controversy: i.e., between 630 and 633/634. Some of them are strictly exegetical, concerned with the elucidation of passages of Scripture on which Thalassius had sought Maximus' opinion, but many of them are more broadly theological. Next to the *Ambigua*, this set of questions is the main source for Maximus' theological and ascetical vision. Most of the questions have appended to them *scholia*, which summarize the main points made in the question: it is generally thought that these are a later addition. A Latin translation was made by John Scotus Eriugena in the latter half of the 9th century.

Editions: CPG 7688; PG 90, 244-785; C. Laga, C. Steel, CCG 7, 22, 1980-1990 (includes Eriugena's translation).

Translations – French: E. Ponsoye, *S. Maxime le Confesseur, Questions à Thalassios*, Paris-Suresnes 1992.

Rumanian: D. Stăniloae, *Filocalia*, 3, Sibiu 1948.

Studies: M. Pratesi, "Filautia, piacere e dolore nella "Questione 58 a Thalassio" di S. Massimo il Confessore", *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 72-80; P. Blowers, *Exegesis and Spiritual Pedagogy in Maximus the Confessor. An Investigation of the "Quaestiones ad Thalassium"*, *Christianity and Judaism* 7, Notre-Dame (IND) 1991.

4. *Two Centuries on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation of the Son of God (Gnostic Centuries or Theological and Economic Chapters)*

These two centuries contain a summary of Maximus' theology – its metaphysical basis, its dogmatic grounding in the Incarnation, and its ascetic fulfilment in a Christian life culminating in deification – based on the principles worked out more expansively in his *Ambigua ad Ioannem* and his *Questions to Thalassius*. They are prefaced by ten paragraphs (or chapters) that, drawing on the formulations of Origen and Evagrius, succinctly state Maximus' correction of their metaphysical vision.

Edition: CPG 7694; PG 90, 1084-1173.

Translations – English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 2, London-Boston 1981, 114-163; G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London-Mahwah (NJ) 1985, 129-180.

French: A. Riou, *Le Monde et l'Église selon Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris 1973, 240-261 (only the first century); J. Touraille (ed.), *Philocalie des Pères neptiques*, 6, Bellefontaine 1985, 81-124.

Studies: H.U. von Balthasar, *Die "Gnostische Centurien" des Maximus Confessor*, Freiburger Theologische Studien 61, Freiburg i.B. 1941 (repr., but text revised in *Idem, Kosmische Liturgie*, Einsiedeln 1961², 482-643).

5. Fifteen Chapters

These fifteen chapters appear separately in several early manuscripts (Sherwood, *An Annotated Date-List...* cit., 35-36), but otherwise form the introductory chapters of five centuries that consist of an anthology of largely Maximian inspiration, drawn especially from the *Questions to Thalassius* (for a collation of the *Questions to Thalassius* with these five centuries, see the introductions to the critical edition of *Thal.*: CCG 7, LXXVII-LXXIX; CCG 22, XLV-XLVII). They contain a summary of Maximus' metaphysics and understanding of the Fall and Incarnation. Like the *Two Gnostic Centuries* they probably belong to the period 630-634.

Editions: CPG 7694; PG 90, 1084-1173.

Translation – English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 2, London-Boston 1981, 164-169 (169-284 contain the translation of the rest of the five centuries).

6. Questions to Theopemptos

This elucidation of three scriptural texts (Lk 18, 6; 6, 29; Jn 20, 27), addressed to an otherwise unknown Theopemptos Scholasticus, seems to form a kind of appendix to the *Questions to Thalassius*, and probably belongs to 630-634.

Editions: CPG 7696; PG 90, 1393-1400; M. Giltbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809*, Denkschriften der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 28, 2, Vienna 1878, 85-89 (XI).

Translation – Italian: R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo Confessore, La Mistagogia ed altri scritti*, Florence 1930 (repr. 1990) 105-117.

7. Later Ambigua (Ambigua ad Thomam)

These five later *Ambigua* are addressed to Thomas, a monk whom Maximus addresses as his spiritual father and teacher, and to whom Maximus wrote another letter, known to Photius and only recently published. The first four are on passages from Gregory Nazianzen and concern Trinitarian and Christological doctrine, the fifth discusses Dionysius the Areopagite's *Ep.* 4 to Gaius and provides an orthodox interpretation of the Areopagite's notorious reference to Christ's "new theandric activity". These reflections clearly have in mind the

Monoenergism of Cyrus of Phasis's Pact of Union of 633, though, in accordance with Sergius' *Psephos*, Maximus avoids counting the energies or activities of Christ.

Editions: CPG 7705; PG 91, 1032-1060.

Translations – French: E. Ponsoye, *S. Maxime le Confesseur, Ambigua*, Paris-Suresnes 1994, 101-121 (with notes by D. Stăniloae, 375-387).

Rumanian: D. Stăniloae, *Sf. Maxim Mărturisitorul, Scrieri*, pt 1, Bucharest 1983 (with detailed notes).

Modern Greek: I. Sakalis, "Ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ, Φιλοσοφικά καὶ Θεολογικά Ἐρωτήματα", *Ἐπι τὰς Πηγὰς* 4, Athens 1978, 55-111 (with notes by D. Stăniloae).

English: A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996, 169-179 (only *Amb.* 1, 5).

8. Dispute with Pyrrhus

This contains an account of the public debate between Maximus and Pyrrhus, the former patriarch of Constantinople, about Christology, which took place in Carthage before Gregory, the exarch of North Africa, and other notables in July 645. It contains an important statement of Maximus' objections to Monothelitism. As a result of the debate, Pyrrhus relinquished his heresy and set off to Rome, to be received into the communion of the orthodox.

Editions: CPG 7698; PG 91, 288-353; M. Doucet, *Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*, Dissertation, Montreal 1972, 542-610.

Translations – French: M. Doucet, *op. cit.*, 620-697.

German: G. Bausenhardt, "In allem uns gleich ausser der Sünde". *Studien zum Beitrag Maximus' des Bekenner zu altchristlichen Christologie*, Mainz 1992, 196-235 (with detailed notes, 236-316).

9. Theological and Polemical Opuscula

Combefis published 27 *opuscula*, which are all printed in Migne's *Patrologia*. Several of them contain, or consist of, florilegia concerning theological and philosophical terminology, especially that needed to bring clarity to the debates provoked by Monoenergism and Monothelitism, in matters of both Christological definition and human psychology. Some of the florilegia are thought to be of later compilation, or to have been augmented after the death of the Confessor: this is true of *opusc.* 26 and 27, as well as of the florilegia in *opusc.* 23. Most of the *opuscula* belong to the period 640-646, when the Monothelite controversy was at its height. *Opusc.* 4, 5, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22 and 23 are probably earlier, and perhaps 21, too. Apart from the *Dispute with Pyrrhus* (sometimes regarded as *opusc.* 28) the most important works of Maximus concerned with the refutation of Monothelitism are *opusc.* 3, 6, 7, 15

and 16, all of which contain reflections on Christ's agony in the garden, and (especially *opusc.* 15) gather together patristic exegesis of this pericope. These patristic citations form the basis for the florilegia presented at the Lateran Council in 649 and the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 681.

Editions: CPG 7697; PG 91, 9-285; fragments of *opusc.* 1, from Vat. gr. 1809, edited by M. Giltbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809*, Denkschriften der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl. 28, 2, Vienna 1878, 80-81, 83-84.

Translations – French: F.-M. Lethel, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ*, Paris 1979, 87-90 (*opusc.* 6), 123-126 (partial translation of *opusc.* 3, 7, 16); P. Piret, *Le Christ et la Trinité selon Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris 1983, 108-110, 247-249 (*opusc.* 13, 6); E. Ponsoye, *S. Maxime le Confesseur, Opuscules théologiques et polémiques*, Paris 1998.

English: A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996, 180-198 (*opusc.* 7, 3).

EXEGETICAL WORKS

1. *On Psalm 59*

Maximus' verse-by-verse commentary on Psalm 59 is an early work, possibly dating from his time at St George's, Cyzicus (before 626). It is striking that in many cases, as in his dogmatic works, Maximus gives several alternative interpretations of words and verses.

Editions: CPG 7690; PG 90, 856-872; P. Van Deun, CCG 21, 1991, 3-22.

Translation – Italian: R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo Confessore, La Mistagogia ed altri scritti*, Florence 1930 (repr. 1990) 5-25.

2. *On the Lord's Prayer*

Maximus' *On the Lord's Prayer* is another early work, probably written at the beginning of his stay in North Africa (628-630). It is really a treatise on prayer, which passes over into a commentary on the Lord's Prayer: in this it belongs to a tradition of such patristic commentaries going back to Origen. Maximus makes marked use of Gregory of Nyssa's homilies on the Lord's Prayer (CPG 3160). The work contains a succinct account of Maximus' understanding of the life of the Christian as the response through prayer and ascetic struggle to God's love manifest in the Incarnation, which leads to deification. It was highly valued in the Byzantine tradition, and was included in the *Philocalia* of SS. Nikodimos and Makarios.

Editions: CPG 7691; PG 90, 872-909; P. Van Deun, CCG 21, 1991, 27-73.

Translations – English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philocalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 2, London-Boston 1981, 285-305; G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London-Mahwah (NJ) 1985, 101-125.

French: A. Riou, *Le Monde et l'Église selon Maxime le Confesseur*, Paris 1973, 214-239.

Studies: I.-H. Dalmais, "Un traité de théologie contemplative, le commentaire du Pater de S. Maxime le Confesseur", *RAM* 29 (1953) 123-159; N. Madden, "The Commentary on the Pater Noster. An Example of the Structural Methodology of Maximus the Confessor", *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur*, Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn, Paradosis 27, Fribourg 1982, 147-155.

LITURGICAL WORKS

1. *Mystagogia*

The *Mystagogia* is a commentary on the symbolism of the liturgical ceremonies of the Eucharist. It is prefaced by a series of chapters expounding the symbolism of the church building, divided into the nave and the sanctuary, within which the altar is situated, which is seen reflected in the cosmos, in man and in the human soul, as well as in the Christian Scriptures, which are divided into Old and New Testament and bear a literal and a spiritual meaning. There is a conclusion that consists of an appendix applying the symbolism of the ceremonies to the soul's progress through the virtues (thus making explicit the parallelism between the church building and the soul, introduced in the prefatory chapters), and a summary, drawing out the ascetical significance of the symbolism of the Eucharistic action (which may well be a series of *scholia*, appended to the treatise at a later date). The work is presented as a supplement to the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius the Areopagite and as containing, not ideas of Maximus' own, but what he learnt from a certain "great old man": perhaps the same to whom Maximus elsewhere acknowledges his indebtedness, especially in the *Ascetical Life* and in the *Ambigua*. It sheds light on the structure of the Byzantine liturgy in the 7th century. But its real importance is the way it shows how Maximus understood the interrelationship between the different dimensions in which the healing work of salvation is worked out – the cosmic, the personal and the liturgical (the interrelationship of the first two is made clear in *Amb.* 41, with which the *Mystagogia* should be compared). Parts of the *Mystagogia* were incorporated into the expanded versions of the commentary on the liturgy, probably first compiled by Germanus of Constantinople (CPG 8023), that formed a preface to the priest's part (*hieratikon*) of the liturgy in the Middle Ages.

Editions: CPG 7704; PG 91, 657-717; C.G. Sotiropoulos, *Η Μυσταγωγία του Αγίου Μαξίμου του Ομολογητού*, Athens 1978, 1993².

Translations – English: J. Stead, *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man. The "Mystagogia" of St Maximus the Confessor*, Still River (MA) 1982; G.C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor, Selected Writings*, Classics of Western Spirituality, London-Mahwah (NJ) 1985, 183-225.

German: H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie*, Einsiedeln 1961², 366-407.

French: M. Lot Borodine: *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 466-472, 595-597, 717-720; 14 (1937) 66-69, 182-185, 282-284, 444-448; 15 (1938) 71-74, 185-186, 276-278, 390-391, 488-492.

Italian: R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo Confessore, La Mistagogia ed altri scritti*, Florence 1930 (repr. 1990) 123-215.

Rumanian: D. Stăniloae, in *Revista teologica* 34 (1944) 166-181, 339-356.

Modern Greek: C.G. Sotiropoulos, *op. cit.*; I. Sakalis, "Μυσταγωγία τοῦ Ἁγίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ", *Ἐπὶ τὰς Πηγὰς* 4, 1, Athens 1973 (with notes by D. Stăniloae).

Studies: F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 1, Oxford 1896, 534-539; S. Pétridès, "Traité liturgiques de saint Maxime et de saint Germain traduits par Anastase le Bibliothécaire", *ROC* 10 (1905) 289-309, 350-364; R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantines de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1966, 83-124; I.-H. Dalmais, "Théologie de l'Église et mystère liturgique dans la Mistagogie de S. Maxime le Confesseur", *SP* 13 (1975) 145-153.

2. *Computus ecclesiasticus*

The *Computus ecclesiasticus* is addressed to Peter, the prefect of Africa, and from internal evidence can be dated to between 5 October 640 (the beginning of Heraclius' 31st year) and the news of Heraclius' death reaching Africa (11 February 641). It is mainly concerned with explaining and justifying the methods of calculating Easter, but is also concerned to fit the Easter cycle into the sequence of years from the creation of the world, and to that end includes chronological material drawn from the Byzantine chronographers.

Editions: CPG 7706; PG 19, 1217-1280; E. Bratke, "Maximi Confessoris Chronologia succincta vitae Christi", *ZKG* 13 (1892) 382-384.

Studies: E. Schwartz, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, AGG n.s. 8, 6, Berlin 1905, 81-88.

OTHER WORKS

1. *Epistulae*

There was no ancient collection of the letters of Maximus, but Combefis included forty-five letters in his edition of Maximus' writings (*Ep.* 43 and *Ep.* 23 are the same, though addressed to two different people). Several of Maximus' treatises are prefaced by letters – e.g., both sets of *Ambigua* and *Questions to Thalassius*. A further letter, mentioned by Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 194), to Thomas (Photius considers the *Ambigua ad Thomam* as the first letter to Thomas) has recently been discovered (CPG 7700); a letter to his disciple Anastasius is included in the documents concerning his trials, which is also preserved, along with a letter to Thalassius, in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version (CPG 7701-7702); an otherwise unknown letter to John the Cubicularius is still

unedited (CPG 7703). Several of these letters are effectively treatises: e.g., *Ep.* 2, to John the Cubicularius, is an ascetical treatise on love, and *Ep.* 4, also to John, on godly grief. Others constitute individual "questions": e.g., *Ep.* 6, on the incorporeity of the soul in reply to a question from John, an archbishop, perhaps the John of Cyzicus for whom Maximus wrote the early *Ambigua*, or *Ep.* 10, on human equality, in reply to a query from John the Cubicularius. *Ep.* 19, to Pyrrhus, then a hegumen, later patriarch of Constantinople, responds to a question about Sergius' *Psephos* with what later seemed to Maximus excessive warmth. Several other letters expound Christological doctrine. Some of the letters are letters of recommendation (e.g. *Epp.* 27 and 44, both to John the Cubicularius). *Ep.* 8, to Sophronius, is of particular importance in expressing Maximus' dismay at Heraclius' forcible conversion of the Jews.

Editions: CPG 7699; PG 91, 364-649; R. Devreesse, "La fin inédite d'une lettre de saint Maxime: un baptême forcé de juifs et de samaritains à Carthage en 632", *RSR* 17 (1937) 34-35 (end of *Ep.* 8); CPG 7700: P. Canart, "La deuxième lettre à Thomas de s. Maxime le Confesseur", *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 415-455; CPG 7701: PG 90, 132-133 (Anastasius' translation: PL 129, 622-624); CPG 7702: PL 129, 583-586.

Translations – French: I.-H. Dalmais, "Saint Maxime le Confesseur, docteur de la charité", *La Vie spirituelle* 79 (1948) 296-303 (*Ep.* 2); E. Ponsoye, *Saint Maxime le Confesseur, Lettres*, Paris 1996².

English: A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996, 85-93 (only *Ep.* 2).

2. *Scholia to the Corpus Dionysiacum*

The *scholia* to the works of Dionysius the Areopagite (CPG 6625) were long ascribed to Maximus. It is now known that the core of these *scholia* belong to the 6th-century editor of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, John of Scythopolis. Whether any of the *scholia* not attributed to John are to be restored to Maximus may be determined by the critical edition of the *scholia*, which is currently being prepared by Beate Suchla as part of the new edition of the Areopagite. The wider question of Maximus' dependence on Dionysius is independent of the attribution of the *scholia*, although Maximus' reputation in the Western Middle Ages primarily as the scholiast of Dionysius resulted from the attribution to him of the whole body of the *scholia*. For Maximus frequently quotes Dionysius with approval, and shows a broad knowledge of his works.

Editions: CPG 6625; PG 4, 15-432; 527-576.

Studies: H.U. von Balthasar, "Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis", *Scholastik* 16 (1940) 16-38 (repr. in Idem, *Kosmische Liturgie*, Einsiedeln 1961², 644-672); B.R. Suchla, *Die sogenannten Maximus-Scholien des Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum*, NAWG, 1980, 3; A. Louth, "St Denys the Areopagite and St Maximus the Confessor: A Question of Influence", *SP* 27 (1993) 166-174; P. Rorem and J.C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite*, Oxford 1998.

3. Hagiography

A *Life of the Virgin*, attributed to Maximus, survives in a Georgian translation. M.-J. van Esbroeck, who has edited the text, claims it as an authentic work of the Confessor, and believes it to be a direct response to the charge, levelled at him during his trial, of having denied the Virgin Mary the title of *Theotokos*.

Edition: M.-J. van Esbroeck, CSCO 478 / Iber. 21, Louvain 1986.

Translation – French: M.-J. van Esbroeck, CSCO 479 / Iber. 22, Louvain 1986.

THEOLOGY

Maximus' theology is expressed in an unsystematic way: his most important treatises take the form of responses to questions addressed to him. It is likely, however, that this very fact is significant for understanding Maximus' theology, since it suggests that his theology grew out of monastic catechesis and that its roots must be found in his monastic experience – both ascetic and liturgical. His fondness for the genres of both ἐρωταποκρίσεις and “centuries” – the one popular, the other actually created in monastic circles – confirms this. It was apparently only with reluctance that Maximus allowed himself to be drawn into the Christological controversy provoked by imperial attempts to find an “ecumenical” solution to the long-standing division between Orthodox Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the East, attempts spurred on first by the exploitation of those divisions by the victorious Persian Shah Chosroes in the early 620s, and then by the loss of the Eastern provinces to the Arabs in the 630s. He seems to have observed the terms of Sergius' *Psephos*, which forbade any counting of the activities of Christ, and only openly opposed heresy with the publication of the imperial *Ekthesis*, which embraced Monothelitism, in 638. From then on, however, his opposition was unqualified.

If we follow the development of his theology chronologically, we should, then, start with his ascetical theology, move on to explore its cosmic and liturgical dimensions and finally turn to his Christological reflections, though it is evident from the fact of Pyrrhus seeking his advice as early as 633, the year of the *Psephos*, that he already had a reputation as a champion of Orthodox theology. It has long been recognized that, like most of the masters of Byzantine spirituality, Maximus owed a great deal in his ascetical theology to Evagrius, despite the condemnation of the Egyptian ascetic at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. The threefold pattern of πρακτική, φυσική θεωρία, θεολογία – ascetic struggle, natural contemplation, theology – is as fundamental to Maximus as to Evagrius. Like Evagrius, he uses the ultimately Platonic tripartition of the soul in his analysis of the virtues and vices, and sees

the goal of ascetic struggle in terms of ἀπάθεια. But it is clear from his very earliest works that this indebtedness to Evagrius is not uncritical. Instead of seeing the virtues as detaching the intellect from the lower parts of the soul (and the body), the whole human person is involved in communion with God and ultimate deification. When the intellect is constantly with God, the desiring part of the soul is transformed into *eros* and the incensive part of the soul into *agape* (*Centuries on Love* II, 48): detachment yields to transfiguration. He again parts company with Evagrius when he considers union with God and adopts the Dionysian language of divine darkness and ecstatic love. He also draws on the very different ascetical tradition associated with the Macarian Homilies, and, like the 5th-century Diadochus of Photiké, whose works Maximus certainly knew (and who may even have spent the latter years of his life in North Africa), works towards a synthesis between Evagrius' spirituality of the intellect and Macarius' spirituality of the heart.

It is evident from many passages of Maximus' work, but especially from the *Ambigua ad Ioannem*, that “Origenism” – or “Evagrianism” – was still popular among Byzantine monks. Maximus' metaphysics can be regarded as an orthodox refashioning of the Origenist vision. This is most clearly manifest in his doctrine of the λόγοι of creation. Like Origen – and many Fathers influenced by the great Alexandrian – Maximus interpreted the doctrine that the universe was created through the Logos of God as entailing that everything created had its own logos, through which it participates in the creative Logos. As a result of sin, the cosmos has been fractured and the harmony of the universe, manifest at the level of the cosmos, has been obscured. Human beings can recover this again by attaining natural contemplation, as a result of ascetic struggle, though this is a possibility only capable of realization through human beings responding to the love and grace of God encountered in the Incarnation of the Logos of God. But it is important for Maximus that the integrity of the universe that exists at the level of the λόγοι is inviolable: the cosmos is not, as with Origen, a result of the fall; it is, and remains, what God intended. Maximus explains the possibility, and reality, of the fall by making a distinction between λόγος and τρόπος – meaning or principle and mode or manner: a distinction that he further clarifies in his Christology. The distinction is founded on the Cappadocian notion of person (or *hypostasis*) as a mode or manner of existence (τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως). Nature is what creatures are, mode of existence is how they are: and human freewill means that in the case of humans it is possible either for the mode of existence to correspond to the logos of nature, as was the case before the fall, or for the mode of existence to fail to correspond to the logos of nature, which is the result of the fall. This failure of the mode of existence to correspond to the logos of

being or nature also obscures from fallen human beings the harmony of the cosmos God made, which exists at the level of the *logoi*. A further consequence of Maximus' doctrine of the *logoi* is the high value he ascribes to nature and natural law, so that natural law is the same as the written law (of Scripture) or the spiritual law (of the incarnate Logos): the natural law is not transcended by the spiritual law, but transfigured, so that its true worth is realized. Along with this strong doctrine of the integrity of the created order manifest in the *logoi* of creation, Maximus has a profound belief in the providence of God, and indeed embraces Dionysius the Areopagite's identification of the *logoi* with "predeterminations and divine good wills" (*Amb.* 7: 1085A, citing Dionysius, *Divine Names* V, 8: 824C). Understood in the light of his doctrine of Providence, the doctrine of the *logoi* acquires eschatological significance: the logos of each being represents its final perfection, conformity to one's logos entails both the restoration of one's natural state, but also deification. This sense of the created cosmos as moving towards perfection and deification finds expression in another important correction of Origenist metaphysics. Origenism had envisaged a primal state of rest, in which everything constituted an original henad, from which the created rational beings had turned away, their fall resulting in the cosmos, itself a system providentially devised for restoring the rational beings to their original state of union with God. The state of created beings as they are now was explained by the triad στάσις-κίνησις-γένεσις, rest-movement-coming-to-be. Maximus reverses this triad, replacing it with γένεσις-κίνησις-στάσις: created beings come into being, and then move towards a final state of rest, or communion with God (see especially *Amb.* 15). This movement towards rest in God is further elucidated by another triad, εἶναι – εὖ εἶναι – ἀεὶ εἶναι, being – well being – eternal being: of this triad Maximus remarks that both ends of the triad are gifts from God – in creation and at the end – but that well being is within our power, and determines whether the passage from being to eternal being is accomplished or frustrated (see *Amb.* 10: 1116B).

Even in this comparatively abstract analysis, it is evident that human freewill is endowed with metaphysical significance. Elsewhere Maximus expounds the central position of the free human person within the cosmos more concretely. One way of expressing this involves the doctrine, derived from Gregory of Nyssa in particular, of the division of nature or being. The most profound division, separating God from his creation, is that between the uncreated and the created; the created in turn is divided into the intelligible and the sensible; the sensible into heaven and earth; earth into paradise and the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη); and within the inhabited world there live human beings divided into male and female. All these extremes meet in the human

being, whose original function it was to hold them together, so that the human person, being in itself a miniature cosmos (microcosm), constituted the bond (σύνδεσμος) of the cosmos. As a result of the fall, however, the human has been unable to fulfil this mediating role, and the divisions of the cosmos have become fault lines, so to speak, along which the fallen cosmos has been fractured. The human cosmic function as microcosm and bond of the cosmos is restored by the Incarnate Word, who in the course of his life, from conception to ascension, recapitulates and heals all the divisions of being: in response to the Incarnation, human beings can once again fulfil their cosmic role through a life of ascetic struggle. Also, as the *Mystagogia* makes clear, the Eucharist itself can be seen as a celebration and an extension of the healing of the divisions of being in the Incarnation.

It is the centrality of the Incarnation in Maximus' theology that made the Christological controversies of his time of such crucial significance. Attempts to heal the division with the Monophysites by securing their assent to the doctrine of two natures in Christ by finding the unity at the level of activity (ἐνέργεια) or will (θέλημα) inevitably led, in Maximus' eyes, to frustrating the healing of the divisions of being that it was the purpose of the Incarnation to achieve. For Maximus, following Aristotelian teaching, nature and activity are correlative: one activity entails one nature. The same is true of will. However, in his refutation of Monothelitism, Maximus had to respond to the charge that two wills in Christ would both be psychologically incoherent and leave open the possibility of the two wills coming into conflict and thereby frustrating Christ's saving purpose. In reply to this, Maximus developed his distinction between natural will and deliberative will – θέλημα φυσικόν and θέλημα γνωμικόν. This is the distinction between will as the natural desire of the rational being for the good, and the process of deliberation by which, in our experience of willing in a fallen world, we seek to discover how our natural will – our natural desire for the good – is to be attained. But this distinction is a distinction that gives insight into what it means to be a person. The distinction between λόγος and τρόπος, already mentioned, corresponds to the distinction between nature and person: person is manifest in the way (τρόπος) rational beings allow their nature (defined by λόγος) to exist. When the Word became incarnate, it assumed a perfect human nature, including the natural will: the way it exercised this will belongs to the person of the Word, and differs from our exercise of natural will, because by the grace of union the Incarnate Word transcends the darkness and obscurity in which, as a result of the Fall, we experience our willing. There is, then, no deliberative will in Christ, but there are two natural wills, one human, one divine (which is identical with the will of the Father and the Holy

Spirit), which are in perfect harmony: the harmony of the divine purpose that the Incarnation is to fulfil. In his consideration of the two natural wills in Christ, Maximus turns again and again to the mystery of Christ's agony in the garden. But, for the most part, all this is rather in the nature of an *ad hominem* argument against Monothelite arguments. Maximus' fundamental objection to Monothelitism and Monoenergism is that both entail that, in the Incarnation, the Word assumed an incomplete, and therefore defective, human nature, something that runs utterly counter to his conviction of the integrity of the created order.

Maximus' Christology, then, is of a piece with his whole theology, which, both in its ascetical and in its cosmic dimensions, bears witness to a deep respect for the integrity of God's created order.

Studies: M.L. Gatti, *Massimo il Confessore. Saggio di bibliografia generale ragionata e contributi per una ricostruzione scientifica del suo pensiero metafisico e religioso. Metafisica del Platonismo nel suo sviluppo storico e nella filosofia patristica*, 2, Milan 1987 (contains a nearly exhaustive bibliography of editions and studies of Maximus up to the mid 1980s, but omits several works published in Modern Greek); M. Viller, "Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime. Les oeuvres d'Évagre le Pontique", *RAM* 11 (1930) 156-184, 239-268, 331-336; I. Hausherr, *Philautie. De la tendresse pour soi à la charité selon saint Maxime le Confesseur*, OCA 137, Rome 1952; R.A. Gauthier, "Saint Maxime le Confesseur et la psychologie de l'acte humain", *RTAM* 21 (1954) 51-100; P. Sherwood, *St Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, Four Centuries on Charity*, Ancient Christian Writers 21, London-Westminster (MD) 1955, 3-99; Idem, *The Earlier Ambigua of St Maximus the Confessor*, SA 36, Rome 1955; H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenner*, Einsiedeln 1961²; L. Thunberg, *Microcosm and Mediator. The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 25, Lund 1965, 2nd ed. Chicago-La Salle 1995; W. Völker, *Maximus Confessor als Meister des geistlichen Lebens*, Wiesbaden 1965; P. Miquel, "Πείρα. Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire de l'expérience religieuse dans l'oeuvre de Maxime le Confesseur", *SP* 6 (1966) 355-361; O. Clément, "Le sens de la terre (Notes de cosmologie orthodoxe)", *Contacts* 19 (1967) 252-323; A. Riou, *Le Monde et l'église selon Maxime le Confesseur*, *ThéolHist* 22, Paris 1973; F.-X. Murphy, P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III, Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques* 3, Paris 1974; J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 2, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700)*, Chicago-London 1974; V. Croce, *Tradizione e ricerca. Il metodo teologico di San Massimo il Confessore*, Milan 1974; J.-M. Garrigues, *Maxime le confesseur. La charité: avenir divin de l'homme*, *ThéolHist* 38, Paris 1976; F.-M. Lethel, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ. La liberté humaine du Fils de Dieu et son importance sotériologique mises en lumière par saint Maxime Confesseur*, *ThéolHist* 52, Paris 1979; M. Doucet, "Vues récentes sur les 'métamorphoses' de la pensée de saint Maxime le Confesseur", *Science et Esprit* 31 (1979) 269-302; P. Plass, "Transcendent Time in Maximus the Confessor", *The Thomist* 44 (1980) 259-277; F. Heinzer, *Gottes Sohn als Mensch. Die Struktur des Menschseins Christi bei Maximus Confessor*, Paradosis 26, Fribourg 1980; N. Matsoukas, *Κόσμος, Άνθρωπος, Κοινωνία κατά Μάξιμο τὸν Ὁμολογητό*, Athens 1980; G.C. Berthold, "Did Maximus the Confessor Know Augustine?", *SP* 17 (1982) 14-17; *Maximus Confessor. Actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg,*

2-5 septembre 1980, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn, Paradosis 27, Fribourg 1982; P. Piret, *Le Christ et la Trinité selon Maxime le Confesseur*, *ThéolHist* 69, Paris 1983; M. Doucet, "Est-ce que le monothélisme a fait autant d'illustres victimes?" *Réflexions sur un ouvrage de F.-M. Lethel*", *Science et Esprit* 35 (1983) 53-83; P. Plass, "Moving Rest" in Maximus the Confessor", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 35 (1984) 177-190; M. Doucet, "La volonté humaine du Christ, spécialement en son agonie. Maxime le Confesseur interprète de l'Écriture", *Science et Esprit* 37 (1985) 123-159; L. Thunberg, *Man and Cosmos. The Vision of St Maximus the Confessor*, Crestwood (NY) 1985; J. Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions. The Church in History* 2, Crestwood (NY) 1989; N. Madden, "Διαδοχὸς νοερά (Diadochus-Maximus)", *SP* 23 (1989) 53-60; V. Karayiannis, *Maxime le Confesseur: essence et énergies de Dieu*, *ThéolHist* 93, Paris 1992; G. Bausenhardt, "In allem uns gleich ausser der Sünde". *Studien zum Beitrag Maximus' des Bekenner zur altchristlichen Christologie*, Mainz 1992; G.C. Berthold, "Levels of Scriptural Meaning in Maximus the Confessor", *SP* 27 (1993) 129-144; P.M. Blowers, "The Analogy of Scripture and Cosmos in Maximus the Confessor", *SP* 27 (1993) 145-149; N. Madden, "Composite Hypostasis in Maximus Confessor", *SP* 27 (1993) 175-197; J. Van Rossum, "The logoi of Creation and the Divine 'energies' in Maximus the Confessor and Gregory Palamas", *SP* 27 (1993) 213-217; A. Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, London 1996; J.-C. Larchet, *La divinisation de l'homme selon saint Maxime le Confesseur*, *Cogitatio Fidei* 194, Paris 1996; I.-H. Dalmais: *DSP* 10 (1980) 836-847; C. De Vocht: *TRE* 22 (1992) 298-304; J.-C. Larchet, *Maxime le Confesseur, médiateur entre l'Orient et l'Occident*, *Cogitatio Fidei* 208, Paris 1998; A. Louth, "Recent Research on St Maximus the Confessor: A Survey", *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998) 47-84.

THE ASSOCIATES OF ST MAXIMUS

ANASTASIOS, THE DISCIPLE OF MAXIMUS

Anastasios became Maximus' disciple in 618 and remained with him (except when they were separately exiled after 655), his constant supporter, accompanying him on his final exile to Lazica, where he died shortly before his master, after having again been separated from him. The account of his defiance of the Emperor, when he was tried with his master in 655, gives a vivid picture of his honest and forthright nature (*Relatio motionis* 12), but otherwise we know nothing about him (the Syriac *Life* of Maximus says he was born in Africa: cf. S. Brock, *AB* 91 [1973] 317).

There survives a letter to him from Maximus (CPG 7701), containing an account of the attempt to secure Maximus' submission by invoking the doctrine of the Pentarchy, and a letter (surviving only in Anastasios Bibliothecarius' Latin version) from Anastasios himself to the monks of Cagliari, which gives a brief exposition of the Orthodox refutation of Monothelitism. Two other brief pieces are ascribed to him, probably erroneously.

Editions: CPG 7725; PG 90, 133-136; CPG 7728-7729 (dubia).

Studies: J. Stiglmayer, "Der hl. Maximus 'mit seinen beiden Schülern'", *Der Katholik* 88 (1908) 39-45; R. Devresse, "La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur", *AB* 46 (1928) 5-49; D. Stiennon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 35 f.

ANASTASIUS APOCRISIARIUS

Anastasius the Apocrisiary (i.e. patriarchal or papal envoy) was the other disciple of Maximus who accompanied him to exile in Lazica, where he died after his master. How long he had been Maximus' disciple, we do not know: he appears in the accounts of Maximus' trials, and it may be that he was a papal apocrisiary, who accompanied Maximus after his arrest in Rome. He is an important witness to the legal process that Maximus underwent from his arrest until his death in 662. He has also been credited with the 7th-century patristic florilegium, the *Doctrina Patrum*.

Studies: J. Stiglmayer, "Der hl. Maximus 'mit seinen beiden Schülern'", *Der Katholik* 88 (1908) 39-45; R. Devreesse, "La vie de S. Maxime le Confesseur", *AB* 46 (1928) 5-49; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 1 (1992) 36 f.

1. *Letter to Theodore of Gangra*

This letter gives an account of the events leading up to the death of Maximus. It has long been known in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin translation: the original Greek text has only recently been published.

Editions: CPG 7733 (BHG 1233d); PG 90, 173-180 (= PL 129, 659-680); R. Devreesse, "La lettre d'Anastase l'Apocrisaire sur la mort de S. Maxime le Confesseur et de ses compagnons d'exil. Texte grec inédit", *AB* 73 (1955) 5-16; CCS 39, 172-189 (with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation).

2. *Letter to the Monks of Ascalon*

Unpublished, apart from the beginning (PG 89, 1191) and two fragments preserved in the *Doctrina Patrum* (ed. Diekamp, 262, 13; 264, 4), against the Monophysites and Monothelites (CPG 7734).

The works mentioned below have been ascribed to Anastasius Apocrisiarius; though he may have had some part in the first two, the last, the *Invective against the People of Constantinople*, was probably written after his death (CCG 39, xv-xxiii).

3. *Acts from Maximus' First Exile (Disputatio Bizyae)*

This is the account of the attempt undertaken by Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea in Bithynia, to undermine Maximus' defence of orthodoxy, during his first exile in Bizya. It survives in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version, as well as the original Greek.

Editions: CPG 7735; PG 90, 136-172 (BHG 1233); PL 129, 626-658 (BHL 5842); CCG 39, 72-149 (with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation).

4. *Account of the First Trial (Relatio motionis)*

An account of the first trial, in May 655, that led to Maximus' temporary exile in Bizya. It is also preserved in a Latin version.

Editions: CPG 7736; PG 90, 109-129 (BHG 1231); PL 129, 603-621 (BHL 5841); CCG 39, 12-57 (with Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation).

5. *Invective against the People of Constantinople*

Associated with the above material, though not certainly by Anastasius, is this bitter invective against the faithless Constantinopolitans.

Editions: CPG 7740; PG 90, 201-205; CCG 39, 230-232.

THEODORE SPUDAÆUS

Theodore Spudaeus, a monk presumably of the monastery of the Spoudaioi in Constantinople or perhaps in Palestine, was a friend of Anastasius Apocrisiarius.

Two of his writings have come down to us, both preserved in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin translation, though the original Greek text of one of them was discovered in the 20th century. Both are concerned with the sufferings of Pope Martin, Maximus the Confessor and their companions at the hands of the Monothelites.

Studies: A. Labate: *EEC* 2 (1992) 826 f.

1. *Hypomnesticum*

An account of sufferings of the Orthodox at the hands of the Monothelites, prefaced by a brief history of Monoenergism and Monothelitism.

Editions: CPG 7968; PG 90, 192-202 (= PL 129, 681-690); R. Devreesse, "Le texte grec de l'Hypomnesticum de Théodore Spoudée. Le supplice, l'exil et la mort des victimes illustres du monothélisme", *AB* 53 (1935) 49-80; CCG 39, 196-227.

2. *Commemoration*

An account of the sufferings of Pope Martin, intended for the faithful of North Africa and Rome.

Editions: CPG 7969; PL 129, 591-604.

THALASSIUS THE ABBOT

Thalassius, priest and hegumen of a monastery in Libya, was a personal friend of Maximus the Confessor: there survive five letters to Thalassius from Maximus, who also dedicated to him one of his greatest works, the *Questions to Thalassius*, as well as the *Two Centuries on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation*. None of these are to be dated later than the mid 630s. Twice Maximus describes himself as Thalassius' disciple, but this may be no more than a courtesy. Only one work of Thalassius' has survived, his *Four Centuries on Love and Self-control*, written for an otherwise unknown Peter the presbyter. It has certain affinities with Maximus' *Questions to Thalassius*, but whether Thalassius inspired

Maximus or *vice versa* is not known. The second century ends with an Orthodox exposition of Christology, and the fourth with an account of Trinitarian doctrine. The Christological interpretation rejects Monophysitism, but does not envisage Monoenergism or Monothelitism. This, combined with the evidence of the date at which Maximus was in touch with him, suggests that he may have died in the mid 630s.

Editions: CPG 7848; PG 91, 1428-1470.

Translation – English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 2, London-Boston 1981, 306-332.

Studies: M.T. Disdier, “Le témoignage spirituel de Thalassius le Libyen”, *REB* 2 (1944) 79-118.

GREGORY THE PRESBYTER

Nothing is known of the author of an encomium of St Gregory Nazianzen, except that he was called Gregory and was a presbyter. His encomium perhaps belongs to the 6th or 7th centuries, and is an early witness to the use of the title “the Theologian” (which Maximus the Confessor uses regularly) in relation to the Cappadocian Father. An encomium of the Fathers of Nicaea (BHG 1431; PG 111, 420-440), also attributed to Gregory the presbyter, is almost certainly the work of another Gregory.

Editions: CPG 7975; BHG 723-723c; PG 35, 244-305.

Studies: J. Compennass, *Gregorios Presbyter; Untersuchungen zu Gregorios Presbyter, dem Biographen Gregors des Theologen, und zu dem gleichnamigen Verfasser des Enkomions auf die 318 Väter des Konzils zu Nikaia*, Bonn 1907; S.J. Voicu, “Rifacimenti pseudocrisostomici di omilie basiliane”, *Aug* 16 (1976) 503 ff.; Idem: *EEC* 1 (1992) 368.

GREGORY OF AGRIGENTO

Leontius, monk, priest and hegumen of the monastery of St Sabas in Rome, wrote a biography of Bishop Gregory of Agrigento, rather unreliable and full of anachronisms (BHG³ I, nos. 707-707e; PG 98, 549-716, now edited by Berger), between 750 and 830 according to its latest editor, though there is a known Leontius who took part in the Lateran Council of 649; he knew the city of Agrigento and, like so many other Greeks, lived in Rome. According to Leontius, who claims to have gathered information from his monastery, where the Agrigentine bishop had been a guest, Gregory was born to a rich family near Agrigento, where he was educated. After spending some years in the East and visiting Rome, he was appointed bishop of Agrigento by the pope; but Leontius gives no chronological co-ordinates to date him by. Gregory

was accused, obliged to go to Rome to defend himself and was found innocent, but Leontius does not give the name of the pope at the time of the trial. Gregory also supposedly left writings, including biblical commentaries. Now a Gregory of Agrigento is known, who was obliged to go to Rome in 591 in the time of Gregory the Great (Gregory, *Epp.* 1, 70; 3, 27) and after two years was declared innocent. Moreover a Gregory of Agrigento who lived under Justinian II Rhinotmetus (685-695; 705-711) is venerated in the Eastern (Constantinopolitan, Armenian and Georgian) Synaxaria. Is this Gregory the same as the one who lived under Gregory the Great, or are they two distinct people? And which of them is the subject of the biography? In any case it seems strange that two men of the same name, living almost at the same time, should have been bishops of the same city. Yet scholars now tend to consider them distinct, and that the exegete was the later one.

We have an *Explanatio super Ecclesiasten* by Gregory (PG 98, 741-1181, crit. ed. by G.H. Ettliger, forthcoming in CCG): together with Jerome's, it is the best patristic commentary. The *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* – Gregory of Agrigento's one surviving work – reveals its author's immense cultural range: he is familiar with classical (Aristotle, Philo, Mimnermus, the Greek rhetors) and Christian authors (Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, previous commentaries on Ecclesiastes) and shows considerable interest in philosophical and theological problems, particularly that of free will. Important from a more specifically exegetical point of view is the brief prologue prefaced to the work, in which, starting from Pr 30, 33 (“Surely the churning of milk bringeth forth butter”), Gregory, in a transparent metaphor, identifies milk as the historical-literal sense and butter as the spiritual sense (PG 98, 741 f.), following a clear *bipartite* exegetical scheme that would seem to favour the spiritual sense. In the commentary, however, the literal interpretation is prevalent, usually alone, sometimes followed by the spiritual; sometimes the spiritual interpretation occurs alone without the literal. The *tripartite* exegetical scheme (literal + allegorical + anagogical interpretation), postulated by Cataudella as the dominant characteristic of the Agrigentine's *Commentary* (“this scheme, clearly distinct in its three parts, is substantially the same throughout the Commentary, which thus gives the impression of a clear, ordered, precise architectural construction”: Q. Cataudella, *Storia della Sicilia*, 4, Naples 1980, 17), is unfounded and has no correspondence with Gregory's work. In reality, Gregory does not constantly and systematically use any fixed exegetical scheme, not even the *bipartite* one theoretically enunciated in the prologue, but rather lets himself be guided by the tenor of the biblical text. In many cases this lent itself better to the exploration of the historical-literal sense (his long, involved

philosophical and theological disquisitions also come under this type of interpretation) and sometimes it provided an opportunity to develop spiritual interpretations (both allegorical and tropological) without having to deny the literal sense. At other times it required – or at least so it seemed to Gregory – the rejection of the literal sense and the adoption of just the spiritual interpretation, in accordance with the well-known Alexandrianizing principle that, when it seems unsatisfactory or at least unworthy of the majesty of the divine word, then there is no literal sense (cf. e.g. *Expl. supra Eccl.* 10, 11: “this expression must be understood anagogically and only so”; other examples in S. Leanza, “Sul Commentario all’Ecclesiaste...”).

In his overall interpretation of Ecclesiastes, at the beginning of his Commentary Gregory accepts and adopts from earlier exegetical tradition the Christological interpretation, which sees Solomon as the type of Christ speaking mystically to the Church (PG 98, 745 ff., with derivation from Gregory of Nyssa on the allegorical meaning of the term *ekklesiastes*). However, this typology is then not used in the rest of the commentary, which, as we said, favours literal interpretation. Also from earlier exegetical tradition Gregory derives the commentary’s character, both apologetic and moralizing, which seeks to demonstrate, in polemic with those who saw in Ecclesiastes a hedonistic and Epicurean teaching, that in fact this book teaches contempt for earthly goods as vain and invites us to seek spiritual and eternal goods (PG 98, 752 ff., 805-809, 829, 897). Unlike other earlier interpreters, Gregory does not seem unduly disturbed or worried by the “Epicurean” content of Ecclesiastes (for which cf. S. Leanza, “L’atteggiamento...”). In any case, to the traditional solution of prosopopoeia, which got round the difficulty of the more embarrassing passages by attributing hedonistic statements in Ecclesiastes to Solomon’s imaginary interlocutors, Gregory adds or substitutes a more careful and appropriate consideration of the literal sense, which allows him to attenuate the import of the so-called “Epicurean” passages and interpret them as an acceptable invitation to a moderate use of earthly goods, in accordance with the divine plan and the necessities of nature (PG 98, 833, 873, 1072-1076, etc.). Gregory of Agrigento’s strong personality, evident in his attitude to the Epicurean problem, is still more manifest in the notable spirit of independence he shows towards previous interpreters – continually but always anonymously called in question – and particularly in the freedom with which he polemically contests and refutes the exegesis of illustrious Fathers like Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa and Nilus of Ancyra (documentation in S. Leanza, “Sul Commentario all’Ecclesiaste...”): an attitude all the more remarkable in a period when exegesis had widely declined into the catenistic genre and only with difficulty did anyone dare contest the authority of the “venerable Fathers”.

Editions: CPG 7950; PG 98, 741-1181.

Studies: BS 7 (1966) 169-173; DHGE 21 (1986) 1464-1467 (ample bibliography); ODB 2 (1991) 879-880; LTK 4 (1995) 997; I. Croce, “Per la cronologia della vita di S. Gregorio Agrigentino”, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 4 (1950) 189-207; 5 (1951) 77-91; S. Gennaro, *Influssi di scrittori greci nel Comm. all’Eccl. di Gregorio di Agrigento*, Misc. di Studi di Lett. crist. ant., 3, Catania 1951, 162-184; G. Stramondo, *Gregorio di Agrigento*, Catania 1952; S. Leanza, *L’Ecclesiaste nell’interpretazione dell’antico cristianesimo*, Messina 1978; Idem, “L’atteggiamento della più antica esegesi cristiana dinanzi all’epicureismo ed edonismo di Qoélet”, *Orpheus*, n.s. 3 (1982) 73-90; L. Cracco Ruggini, “La Sicilia fra Roma e Bisanzio”, *Storia della Sicilia*, ed. R. Romeo, 3, Naples 1980, 1-96; Q. Cataudella, “La cultura bizantina in Sicilia”, *ibid.*, 4, 1-56; J.L. Van Dielen, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972, 150, n. 6; E. Merendino, “Gli inediti nella tradizione agiografica di S. Gregorio di Agrigento”, *OCP* 45 (1979) 359-372; S. Leanza, “Sul Commentario all’Ecclesiaste di Gregorio di Agrigento”, *Il cristianesimo in Sicilia dalle origini a Gregorio Magno*, ed. V. Messina, S. Pricoco, Caltanissetta 1988, 191-220; G.H. Ettliger, “The Form and Method of the Commentary on Ecclesiastes by Gregory of Agrigentum”, *SP* 8 (1985) 317-320; D. De Gregorio, *Gli insegnamenti teologici di S. Gregorio di Agrigento nel suo “Commento all’Ecclesiaste”*, Rome 1989; R. Aubert: *DHG* 21, 1464-1467.

JOHN VI OF CONSTANTINOPLE

With the assassination of the Emperor Justinian II, Bardanes, who took the name Philippicus, seized power and became a defender of Monothelism, which he wished to restore through a whole series of measures: abolition of the Acts of the Ecumenical Council of 680-681, exile of the orthodox. He deposed the orthodox patriarch Cyrus, whom he replaced in January 712 with John, deacon and librarian of the patriarchate of Constantinople. John showed himself a docile instrument in the hands of the usurper Philippicus. He held a synod condemning the Council of 680-681 (Grumel, no. 320) and wrote to Pope Constantine (708-715) in favour of Monothelism (PG 96, 1420 f.; Grumel, no. 321), later claiming that he had been forced to do so. The pope did not recognize a heretical emperor. On the deposition of Philippicus in June 713, Anastasius II, orthodox in faith, became emperor; John crowned the new emperor and again changed doctrinal position, repudiating Philippicus’ Monothelism. He then wrote the *Epistula ad Constantinum papam* (PG 96, 1416-1433; Mansi 12, 196-208; PL 89, 341-348), a long, apologetic synodal letter in which he justified his acceptance of the patriarchal see assigned him by the Emperor Philippicus and made a profession of orthodox faith, with an invitation to accept communion with him. He said he had acted out of coercion and, by “economy”, had accepted the lesser evil as the only possible way to save the faith by not opposing the tyrant, who even wanted to abolish the Council of Chalcedon; he claimed to have avoided the burning of the Acts of the

Council of 680-681 by not complying with the request "of the tyrant's ruinous and pernicious authority". He asked for full understanding and pardon from the Roman pontiff. John remained in his see until his death in 715 (Mansi 12, 190); indeed, despite this change of political and doctrinal position, he is honoured as a saint, on 30 July. Zonaras' claim (14, 27) that John was deposed from the patriarchal see is uncertain, indeed Theophanes (*Chron.* a. 6177: PG 108, 773) states the contrary. The contemporary deacon Agatho of Constantinople relates the events connected with Philippicus and John (Mansi 12, 189-196). He was succeeded by Germanus, previously bishop of Cyzicus.

Editions: *Epistula ad Constantinum papam*: CPG 8000; PG 96, 1416-1433; Mansi 12, 196-208; PL 89, 341-348; Grumel, nos. 320-324.

Studies: Hfl-Lecl III, 598-600; M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, Paris 1740, 1, 234-235; E.W. Brooks, "On the Lists of the Patriarchs of Constantinople from 638-715", *ByzZ* 6 (1897) 53; J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972; L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini*, Rome-Louvain 1972, 268-277; Fliche-Martin 5, 206-208; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992) 439; *LP* 1, 391 ff.; *Catholicisme* 6, 513; *DCB* 3, 368, no. 128; *DHGE* 26, n. 305; V. Grumel, "La commémoration des patriarches Constantin le nouveau et Jean", *AB* 85 (1967) 331-335.

GERMANUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (715-730), was born around 640. His father, the patrician Justinian, who had carried out important political missions at the time of the Emperor Heraclius, was put to death under Constantine IV Pogonatus (668-685), probably because he had taken part in the plot under Constans II. Germanus himself was castrated and enrolled among the clergy of Hagia Sophia. Whether he played any role in the Third Council of Constantinople (681) and the synod in *Trullo* (691) is not known. The Emperor Justinian II, after his return from exile (705), had him elected to the see of Cyzicus. As metropolitan of the Hellespont, Germanus took part in the synod called by Philippicus Bardanes to abolish the anti-Monothelite decisions of 681. With Patriarch John and Andrew of Crete, he gave way to the will of the emperor, after whose death he immediately returned with his colleagues to orthodoxy. In 715, under Anastasius II, he was transferred to the patriarchal see of Constantinople. He was involved in the political difficulties suffered by the Empire in those years. In 717 he crowned the Emperor Leo III the Isaurian. At that time Germanus worked in favour of the unity of the Churches, seeking in particular to resume relations with the Armenians. But his name is linked especially to the first phase of Byzantine iconoclasm. Despite his interventions at court, at the apostolic see (cf. CPG 8006) and even with various bishops, the iconoclast movement gained

ground, favoured principally by the emperor himself. In 726 the emperor took measures against the cult of images, despite the protests of the population. Three years later, Leo III tried to make Germanus subscribe the decree ordering the destruction of images. Refusing, Germanus tendered his resignation and retired to private life on a family estate. The exact date of his death is unknown, but perhaps 733.

Germanus left two treatises: *De haeresibus et synodis* (CPG 8020) and *De vitae termino* (CPG 8021), and some dogmatic letters in which he defended the faith of Chalcedon and the cult of images. Yet he became famous mainly thanks to his homilies. Most of them concern the Marian mysteries: Entry into the Temple (CPG 8007 f.), Annunciation (CPG 8009) and especially the Dormition (CPG 8010 ff.). The problem of what part he played in writing the *Historia mystica ecclesiae catholicae*, an important work for our knowledge of the history of the Byzantine liturgy (CPG 8023), is not resolved, but there is no doubt that certain liturgical hymns are his (CPG 8024).

Editions: CPG 8002-8033; PG 98, 39-454; C. Garton, G. Leendert (edd.), *On Predestined Terms of Life*, Buffalo (NY) 1979 (Greek text, English tr.); P. Meyendorff (ed.), *On the Divine Liturgy*, Crestwood (NY) 1984 (Greek text, English tr.).

Translations – English: cf. *supra*.

Italian: V. Fazzo, *Omelia mariologica*, Rome 1985; F. Carcione, *Omelia mariane*, Rome 1993.

Spanish: G. Pons Pons, *Homilias mariológicas*, Madrid 1990.

Studies: Beck, 473-476; D. Stiernon: *BS* 6 (1965) 243-253 (fundamental); L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel*, Würzburg 1975; D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*, Munich 1980; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992) 346; P. Plank: *LTK* 4 (1995) 532.

ANDREW OF CRETE

Andrew of Crete, called by the Orientals Andrew of Jerusalem, is among the most famous preachers and poets who lived between the 7th and 8th centuries. Information on his life is scanty, however, and dates only from the 10th century. Still, his preaching and his poetry allow us to recreate a quite vivid image of his pastoral and literary activity. Born around 660 to a powerful Christian family of Damascus, he was taken as a boy to the Holy City and became a monk in the monastery of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre), where he was soon entrusted with economic affairs. In 685 he was part of a delegation sent to Constantinople to express the adhesion of the Church of Jerusalem to the decisions of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681), which had condemned Monothelism, and he remained in the imperial city. Ordained deacon, he was charged with the direction of asylums for old people and orphans.

Around 700 the emperor appointed him archbishop of Gortyna in Crete. Under the Emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711-713) he subscribed a Monothelite confession. After that emperor's fall he returned to orthodoxy (confessed in an iambic poem). He founded charitable institutions and a Marian sanctuary; he supported resistance against the Muslim invasion, which was fought off for a while. When plague and famine threatened the island, he set off for Constantinople to ask for help. On his return, he died on the isle of Lesbos in 740 (feast 4 July).

Andrew was thus still alive in the first phase of the iconoclast controversy, but we do not know how far he took part in this or other theological controversies. His homiletic activity is better known. Attributed to him with more or less certainty are some fifty discourses, of which only thirty or so have been published. Eight Marian homilies survive: four on Mary's Nativity, three on the Dormition and one on the Annunciation. There are also sermons for other feasts: Circumcision, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Cross, and for other Sundays. A whole series of sermons (*encomia*) were preached in honour of saints like St John the Baptist, St George and St Nicholas; others expound biblical episodes like the Raising of Lazarus or Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem. Andrew's discourses are composed in a harmonious but sober style, without the rhetorical ornaments of later homiletic, yet they reflect a solid theological training. Hence they enjoyed a wide circulation in Byzantine circles. But Andrew was more famous for his poetry. He is considered the inventor of the "liturgical canon", a further development of the *kontakion*. This kind of hymn, comprising from 18 to 24 strophes and recited to a melody, may be defined as a sort of poetical preaching. It dates back to Romanus Melodus. Andrew's "canons", however, are much longer. The most famous of them is the "Great or Penitential Canon", consisting of 250 strophes, still used in the Byzantine liturgy. In the liturgical books Andrew also appears as author of numerous "Idiomela", brief songs with their own melody.

In Andrew's theological and spiritual thought, Mariology occupies a special place. Basing himself on the Christology of his time, he presents Mary as God's elect, a dwelling of divine wisdom that the world cannot comprehend and a collaborator in the saving work of Christ. Asking in particular why the Gospels say nothing about Mary's assumption, he rules out the corruptibility of Mary's body and insists greatly on the sanctity of the Blessed Virgin (cf. Söll, who cites *In dorm.* I: PG 97, 1060, and *In Nat. Mariae* II: PG 97, 832). Andrew's preaching must also be considered interesting evidence of the cult of martyrs and saints.

Editions: CPG 8170-8228 (8220-8228 are spurious); PG 97, 789-1444.

Translation - Spanish: G. Pons Pons (ed.), *Homilias marianas. Introducción, traducción y notas*, Madrid 1996.

Studies: S. Vailhé: *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1559-1661 (fundamental for his life); Beck, 500-502; G. Söll, "Mariologie", *HDG* III/4, Freiburg 1978, 121-132; J. Irmscher: *EEC* 1 (1992) 38; A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*, Barcelona 1991, 225 ff.

COSMAS VESTITOR

Cosmas, surnamed *Vestitor* (employee of the imperial wardrobe), probably lived between 730 and 850. He is known only by the homilies attributed to him. These are five discourses on the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom and a *Vita* of him (*BHG* 876m). Cosmas also left some *encomia* in honour of saints: Zacharias, Barbara, Anne and Joachim. They are preserved in a 10th-century manuscript, but only in Latin translation, as are four homilies on the Dormition of Mary. A discourse on Barlaam and Josaphat is still unedited.

Editions: CPG 8142-8163; PG 65, 829-831; PG 106, 1005-1012.

Studies: Beck, 502; *LThK* 6 (1961) 566; A. Wenger, "Les homélies inédites de Cosma Vestitor sur la Dormition", *REB* 11 (1953) 284-300; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992) 204.

AETIUS, PRESBYTER OF CONSTANTINOPLE

To Aetius, a presbyter of Constantinople, is attributed an encomium of St John the Baptist. Although delivered apparently on the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, it is in fact a general encomium of the saint. Nothing else is known about this Aetius.

Editions: CPG 7908; *BHG* 861p; C. Datema, P. Allen, "A Homily on John the Baptist attributed to Aetius, Presbyter of Constantinople", *AB* 104 (1986) 383-402.

GEORGE GRAMMATICUS

The literary remains of George the Grammarian are contained in two *encomia* on Saint Barnabas, both of which are unedited.

Editions: CPG 7414-7415, unedited; cf. *BHG* 218a and 218b.

Studies: cf. Beck, 400.

JOHN THE CARPATHIAN

LIFE

Apart from his authorship of two centuries of ascetical texts, nothing is known for certain about John the Carpathian. It is generally thought that John was a monk in the island of Karpathos, between Crete and Rhodes in the archipelago of the Sporades, and later manuscript supercriptions make him bishop, even bishop of Karpathos, in this doubtless inspired by the fact that a John, bishop of Karpathos, was a signatory

of the Acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681). But this identification rests on no firm foundation, and his title "the Carpathian" may indicate that he was a native of Karpathos, or even of some other region of this name. He is mentioned by Photius in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 201), so he could hardly be later than the 8th century, and it is unlikely that he is earlier than the 5th, though there are no solid grounds for any more precise date. He was canonized by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1983.

Studies: M. T. Didier, "Jean de Carpathos: l'homme, l'oeuvre, la doctrine spirituelle", *EO* 31 (1932) 284-303; 39 (1940-1942) 290-311; D. Stiernon: *DSp* 8 (1974) 589-592; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 1 (1992) 444.

WORKS

1. *Century to Monks in India*

This century, together with a letter, was included by Nikodimos and Makarios in the *Philokalia of the Holy Ascetics* (Venice 1782), although several manuscripts make the letter the final chapter of the century (the text given in the *Philokalia* and the mss. on which it is dependent completes the century with ch. 93 of the second century). It is addressed to "monks of India", by which is perhaps meant Ethiopia, and is largely concerned to discourage the monks from abandoning the monastic life in the belief that a secular life is just as pleasing to God.

Editions: CPG 7855; PG 85, 1837-1860 (*Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Venice 1782, 241-261, Athens 1957, 1, 276-296); D. Ossieur, *Tekstuitgave van de capita παρακλητικὰ en de capita van Johannes Carpathius, met inleiding en tekstkritische aantekeningen* (Dissertation, Ghent), 1973 (emended text).

Translations – Latin: Pontanus, PG 85, 791-812.

English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 1, London-Boston 1979, 298-326.

Italian: *La Filocalia*, 4 voll., Rome 1982-1994.

2. *The Second Century*

There exists a second century, of 117 (or in some mss. 116) chapters, which was known in the 17th century to Pontanus, whose Latin translation (incomplete and confused) is included in Migne, but unknown to (or neglected by) the compilers of the *Philokalia*. This second century makes more explicit use of philosophical and theological themes than the first, though it is no less practical and ascetic in its message.

Editions: CPG 7856; D. Ossieur, *op. cit.*, 1-29; D. Balfour, M. Cunningham, *A Supplement to the Philokalia: the Second Century of St John of Karpathos*, Brookline (MA) 1994 (the first critical edition, with good introductions).

English translation: D. Balfour, M. Cunningham, *op. cit.*

3. *Spurious Works*

Further works are ascribed to John the Carpathian by some manuscripts. The first consists of four collections of brief sayings, also ascribed in manuscripts to Maximus the Confessor, but probably to be ascribed to Elias Ekdikos, an 11th- or 12th-century monk, under whose name it was included in the *Philokalia*. Another, unedited (Paris. gr. 890), contains various stories of anchorites. There is also a florilegium on the Eucharist and on communion, which may be an excerpt from the florilegium compiled by the 11th-century John the Oxite.

Edition: Elias Ekdikos, CPG 7716, 7858-7859.

English translation: Elias Ekdikos in G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 3, London-Boston 1984, 34-65.

FLORILEGIA

The question of patristic florilegia is very complex. Not only do many of them still lack critical editions, but it is also often hard to establish their provenance and interferences. There is a full and highly instructive introduction to this field of pre-Byzantine literature in A. Grillmeier's classic work, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* (II/1, 58-89; English ed. 51-78). Basing himself on the research of H. Chadwick and especially M. Richard, the great scholar of patristic Christology presents the Christological florilegia without neglecting other forms of anthology. The following exposition will follow his footsteps. While simplifying things a little, we must start from the distinction between dogmatic florilegium, spiritual florilegium and biblical Catena. It is true that, for other literary genres, post-Chalcedonian authors stick to patristic tradition. Grillmeier thus refers to catalogues of heresies and collections of definitions and *aporiae*. We could add nearly every other literary form, including preaching (cf. B. Studer, *Storia della teologia*, 583-598). But in these works the citations are more or less exact and are often given without the author's name. John of Damascus, e.g., included long passages from his predecessors in his *Exposition* of the right faith, without specifying where he took them from. So his famous work, while obviously compilatory in character, cannot technically be considered a patristic florilegium (against Grillmeier, 86-88 [English ed. 76-77]). Here we will speak only of florilegia proper. We will also omit Catena, which are studied in chapter 9 of this book.

In the dogmatic florilegium the compiler brought together a more or less considerable series of passages (*testimonia*), explicitly indicating their provenance (author's name, title of work, perhaps chapter), to refute doctrinal errors and demonstrate the truth of the orthodox faith

through the authority of recognized authors. This literary genre had very deep roots (cf. B. Studer: *EEC* 1 [1992], 72). From the beginning, Christian life had been oriented by Tradition, a normative principle inherited from Judaism and then reinterpreted in the light of Greco-Roman religious and cultural traditions. This tradition, soon characterized as apostolic, was gradually connected with individual men who were authorities, the "Ecclesiastical Fathers" (Eusebius) and above all the synodal Fathers of Nicaea. But only in the 4th century did the theological method develop which leaned explicitly on the authority of the Fathers and is known as patristic argument. This evolution is explained not just by the necessities of the Arian controversy, but also by the influence of Judaeo-Christian exegesis, of usages common in the fields of literature, philosophy and law. As is well known, the great promoters of this new theological method were Basil, Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria. Here it is Cyril in particular who must be considered, since the later Christological controversies, in which the patristic florilegium reached its perfection, turned largely on his theology.

Cyril, in fact, was the main pioneer of Eastern patristic argument. Inspired perhaps by a collection in which Eusebius of Dorylaeum had put together some texts of Nestorius (CPG 5940), he composed five florilegia, four of which have been preserved. In one of them, the so-called *Florilegium ephesinum*, presented to the synodal Fathers of Ephesus, he opposed the testimonies of the Fathers to the sentences of Nestorius to manifest the heresies of the latter (CPG 8675, 9). His florilegia became the basis of the Monophysite ones. The most extensive of them were added to the writings that Timothy Aelurus circulated between 458 and 477 against the decisions of Chalcedon (CPG 5475).

Cyril's Antiochene opponents at once took up the weapon of the florilegium. Theodoret added to his *Pentalogos* against Cyril a florilegium preserved only in Latin (CPG 6215). Of a similar florilegium by Andrew of Samosata we know only the list of names of the authors cited. Theodoret himself published in his *Eranistes* in 447 (CPG 6217) a larger florilegium which became the basis of the Diphysite florilegia. In the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon this florilegium of Theodoret's is found together with the first florilegium translated into Greek, that of Leo I (CPG 9021). Theodoret's enlarged florilegium (CPG 6215) was then published in defence of the council, as was a collection of citations of Cyril (ed. Hespel) which Severus of Antioch, during his stay at Constantinople (508-511), would examine critically and refute in his *Philalethes* (CPG 7023) (cf. Grillmeier, II/2, 21-23, 28-31 [English ed. 22-23, 28-31]).

After Zeno's edict (482) the dogmatic florilegium was used as the main weapon of theological controversy by both Monophysites and

Diphysites. But only one Alexandrian florilegium survives from this period. After 520, Leontius of Byzantium and Justinian compiled florilegia independent of the earlier ones. The former added a florilegium to each of his three books *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (CPG 6813). These and other florilegia by Leontius had a great influence on later Diphysite florilegia, e.g. that in *De sectis* (CPG 6823). The Monophysite florilegia are preserved only in Syriac. The most famous is that of Severus of Antioch (CPG 7023). This new phase of the Christological controversy also saw a methodological innovation. Criticism of received texts became more acute (cf. B. Studer, *Storia della teologia*, 586 f.). On one hand appeared ever more numerous florilegia compiled only at second hand; Severus protested strongly against this often superficial use of patristic passages (cf. CPG 7022 and 7024). On the other, the more expert scholars of the time disputed the authenticity of the citations given. The necessity for this criticism was imposed by the discovery of Apollinarist fakes that had entered the tradition of the florilegia even before 500, hence at a time when florilegia were generally still composed on the basis of a personal reading of patristic texts. The most pertinent critique of these fakes is attributed to Leontius of Byzantium, but is not by him (CPG 6817). In the 7th century, new controversies led to the composition of florilegia against the Monothelites. The biggest is that compiled around 646 by Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7697, 15). Such anti-Monothelite florilegia were also used in the discussions held at the Lateran synod of 649 (cf. CPG 9402) and that of Constantinople in 680/681 (cf. CPG 9429). Finally the iconoclast controversy gave occasion for the production of florilegia in favour of the cult of images. Thus John of Damascus supplemented all three of his discourses on images with patristic florilegia (cf. CPG 8045).

In the 7th century, attempts were finally made to present all the doctrine of the faith systematically through patristic citations. Between 660 and 685 an author who still remains anonymous, but was undoubtedly part of Maximus' circle, published the *Doctrina Patrum*, which was then used by, among others, John of Damascus (cf. Kotter 1.2.4).

Spiritual florilegia comprising explicit citations of the Bible, the Fathers and even secular authors, were compiled with a view to Christian life, asceticism and spiritual progress; but such florilegia were composed only from the 8th century (cf. M. Richard: *DSp* 4, 475 f.). One class of these, which Richard calls "Damascene", is a further development of the *Sacra Parallela* attributed to John of Damascus. This tripartite work on God, man, and the virtues and vices can be reconstructed from later florilegia and *excerpta*. In fact there were collections of patristic sentences that predated the ascetic works made after 800 (cf. B. Studer, *Storia della teologia*, 593 f.). Thus around 620 Antiochus, a monk of

Mar Saba, wrote Pandects in 150 *Kephalaia*, though they were more of a continuous exposition of spiritual themes of the Fathers (CPG 7843; cf. M. Richard: *DSp* 499). Someone after Maximus the Confessor composed the *Chapters on Love* in which he presented many sentences of the Fathers, lightly modified (CPG 7693). John of Damascus himself added a florilegium to his treatise *De sacris ieiuniis* (CPG 8051). It is notable that the authors of that time also commented on patristic texts. In the first half of the 6th century, John of Scythopolis left the first text of *Scholia* on the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius (CPG 6852). Following him Maximus the Confessor, in *Ambigua* (CPG 7705) and other works, interpreted passages of Pseudo-Dionysius and Gregory Nazianzen. It is clear that this type of study of the Fathers would lead almost naturally to the patristic florilegia of the 8th and 9th centuries.

Studies: Diekamp; M. Richard, "Les florilèges diphysites du V^e et du VI^e siècle", *CChG*, 721-748 (cf. the many other studies by the same author); Idem, "Florilèges spirituels grecs", *DSp* 5 (1964) 475-512; B. Altaner, *Patrologia*, Casale Monferrato 1976, *passim*; H. Chadwick, "Florilegium", *RAC* 7 (1969) 1131-1160; G.H. Ettlinger, *Theodoret of Cyrus. Eranistes, Critical Text and Prolegomena*, Oxford 1975; B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskus*, 3, PTS 17, Berlin 1975, 24-33; E. Mühlberg, "Griechischen Florilegien", *TRE* 11 (1983) 215-219 (bibliography); B. Studer, "Argumentation, patristic", *EEC* 1 (1992) 72; Grillmeier, II/1, 58-89 (English ed. 51-78); II/2, 21-48 (English ed. 22-46); B. Studer, "Una teologia patristica", *Storia della teologia*, ed. A. Di Berardino, B. Studer, 1, Casale Monferrato 1993, 583-598; W. Speyer, "Florilegium", *LTK* 3, 1330-1331 (bibliography).

III GREEK LITERATURE OF SYRIA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter brings together the Greek-speaking authors of the patriarchate of Antioch, which during this period comprised several Roman provinces, in particular Syria, Phoenicia, Arabia, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia, Isauria and the island of Cyprus; Cappadocia depended on the patriarchate of Constantinople. In our period the Roman Empire extended to the Euphrates, but the Dura-Europos region had already been abandoned, apparently, since the 3rd century: the last Roman centre was the city of Circesium, at the confluence of the rivers Euphrates and Chabur. The Empire also comprised part of Mesopotamia, excluding the city of Nisibis which had been abandoned in 363 after Julian's defeat. In imperial Roman Syria, Greek was widely spoken not just in the towns but also in the hinterland. In northern Syria Semitic evidence, previously scarce, increased from the 5th century; in Roman Mesopotamia Semitic evidence was abundant even earlier; indeed there was even a Christian literature in Syriac. But in the south too Greek remained a "vehicular" language in late antiquity as far as Petra. The ancients called all Semitic "languages" (or dialects) by the single term "Syriac". Syria was thus the meeting-place between the Christianity of the Greek-speaking world and ancient and independent Christian traditions that found expression in the language known as Syriac, a northern form of the language that was the Lord's vernacular.

Monasticism was very widespread in Syria; the earliest Syrian monasticism is the subject of the *Historia Religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus. In contrast to Egyptian and Palestinian monasticism, Syrian monasticism often seems to have been characterized by extremes of asceticism.

The Church of Cyprus had a more troubled history. Very little is known of its early history, though it claimed to have been founded by the apostle Barnabas. At the end of the 4th century its civil and religious capital was Salamis (Constantia). In 416 Bishop Alexander of Antioch

wanted to impose his patriarchal jurisdiction on the Cypriot Church, but met strong opposition; that Church even appealed to Pope Innocent I to defend its autonomy. This autonomy was defended especially by Bishop Theodore († 431), even against the imperial authorities. The Council of Ephesus admitted the autocephaly of Cyprus, unless the bishop of Antioch could make a serious basis for his claim (Mansi 4, 1465-1470). The claim was resumed at the time of the Antiochene patriarch Peter the Fuller, but the discovery of the tomb of the apostle Barnabas (488) guaranteed the full autonomy of the Church of Cyprus, which was recognized by the Quinisext Council (can. 36). In the 7th century it became a centre of resistance to the imperial Christological compromises of Monoenergism and Monothelitism, and seems also to have fostered a school of orthodox hagiography, close in spirit to the circle of John the Almsgiver.

A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, 3 voll., Louvain 1958-1988; W.S. McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, Chico (CA) 1982; I. Peña, *La desconcertante vida de los monjes sirios. Siglos IV-VI*, Salamanca 1985; R. Contini, "Il Hawran preislamico: ipotesi di una storia linguistica", *FR* 133-134, fasc. 1/2 (1987) 24-79; W. Selb, *Die Geschichte der Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*, Vienna 1989; G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 1990; S.P. Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity. History, Literature and Theology*, London 1992; P. Canivet, J.-P. Rey-Coquais (edd.), *La Syrie, de Byzance à l'Islam. VII^e – VIII^e siècles, Actes du colloque international de Lyon*, Damascus 1992; G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VIII^e siècle. Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'Antiquité*, Paris 1992; M. Albert et al., *Christianismes orientaux, introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993; J.-M. Fiey, *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus. Répertoire des diocèses syriaques orientaux et occidentaux*, Stuttgart 1993, Beirut 1993; AA. VV., *Syrien von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen*, Linz 1993; J.-P. Valognes, *Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient, des origines à nos jours*, Paris 1994; K. Dijkstra, *Life and Loyalty: A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period Based on Epigraphical Evidence*, Leyden-New York 1995; H.J.W. Drijvers, *History and Religion in Late Syria*, London 1994; I. Peña, *El arte cristiano de la Siria bizantina*, Madrid 1995 (English tr.: *The Christian Art of Byzantine Syria*, Reading [?] 1997); F. Millar, "Il ruolo delle lingue semitiche nel vicino oriente tardo-romano (V-VI secolo)", *Mediterraneo Antico* 1 (1998) 71-94; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Syriac Culture in Late Antiquity. Hellenism and Local Traditions", *ibid.* 95-113.

THEODOTUS OF ANTIOCH

Theodotus succeeded Alexander as bishop of Antioch from 420 to 429. Like his predecessor, he took a favourable view of John Chrysostom, to whose rehabilitation he contributed. Theodoret of Cyrillus has words of praise for him: his *Historia Ecclesiastica* describes how Theodotus readmitted the Apollinarians to the community. A special synod called by him at Antioch around 422 condemned Pelagius' doctrine on original

sin and free will, by which the British monk greatly limited the role of divine grace in the process of salvation.

Of his literary output there remain two fragments of as many works, handed down by Byzantine anthologies of patristic texts.

Editions and studies: CPG 6505-6506; Diekamp, 34 (= PG 86, 2, 1836); M. Giltbauer, *Die Überreste griechische Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1809*, Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl. 28, 2, Vienna 1878, 81; L. Parmentier, F. Scheidweiler, *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin 1954²; GCS 44, 342 (*HE* V, 38); Mansi 4, 296.

JOHN OF ANTIOCH

Bishop of Antioch from 429 to 441/442, John succeeded Theodotus and played a prominent role in the controversy linked to the name and doctrines of Nestorius. With Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia, John had shared the same intellectual and spiritual formation in the monastery of St Euprepus at Antioch. When the Roman synod of August 430 asked Nestorius to recognize his errors, John, recently made bishop, wrote his old fellow-student a letter begging him to take up less radical options. At the same time, in response to Cyril of Alexandria's *Anathemas*, John asked Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret of Cyrillus to draw up a refutation of the anti-Nestorian theologian's work. When the Council of Ephesus was called in November 430, John prepared to take part in it with representatives of the bishops of the dioceses of the East, but, arriving on 24 June 431, he became aware that the proceedings had been opened in his absence on 22 June and that the condemnation of Nestorius, advocated by Cyril, had already been pronounced. John's only answer was to convoke in his residence a second synod of some fifty Oriental bishops, which on 26 June decided to depose Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus and excommunicate whoever maintained the views expressed in the *Anathemas*. John was in turn excommunicated with 34 other bishops. The Emperor Theodosius II, whose competence it was to validate these decisions, recognized the condemnations of both Nestorius and Cyril. John took the opportunity to send the emperor a profession of faith which, confirming his acceptance of the *Theotokos*, contained a Christological exposition on which the subsequent understanding between John and Cyril was based. This understanding came about only in 433, thanks to the pressure of Theodosius II, and was made concrete in a formula of faith, based on the text drawn up two years earlier by John, accepted also by Cyril and in part taken up by the subsequent Council of Chalcedon (451). The price of reconciliation was John's recognition of the condemnation of Nestorius, to which not all the Orientals were willing to assent: among others Theodoret of Cyrillus,

who accepted the union without condemning his old friend, and Alexander of Hierapolis, who rejected the agreement altogether.

Within the literary, epistolary and documentary *corpora* attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, Proclus of Constantinople and Theodoret of Cyrillus, and in the Latin register of Acts relative to the Council of Ephesus entitled *Synodicon adversus tragoediam Irenaei*, are some tens of texts ascribed or ascribable to John, dating from between 430 and 438. The most important are: the letter to Nestorius, in which that Antiochene is invited to accept the designation of Mary as *Theotokos, genetrix* of God, and to reject the restrictive title of *Christotokos, genetrix* of Christ, though consistent with his Christological doctrine; that to the aged Acacius of Beroea, whom Theodosius suggested as mediator between John and Cyril in the years 431-432; the four to Alexander of Hierapolis (Mabbūgh), metropolitan of Syria Euphratensis; the six to Cyril of Alexandria; and the two to Theodoret of Cyrillus. Also ascribable to John are the documents sent to the various civil and religious authorities on behalf of the synod of anti-Cyrrillian bishops presided over by him.

Editions and studies: CPG 6301-6360; ACO 1/1/1, 93-96, 119; ACO 1/1/3, 38-42; ACO 1/1/4, 7-9, 33; ACO 1/1/5, 122-124, 127-135; ACO 1/1/7, 69-70, 72-77, 81, 84, 146, 151-152, 155-161; ACO 1/4, 7, 44-46, 57-59, 79-81, 87, 90-91, 112-114, 124-125, 154, 156, 196, 202, 208-210, 213; ACO 1/5, 125-127, 310-314; PG 65, 877-878 (Proclus of Constantinople); PG 77, 132, 164-165, 169-173, 248-249 and 329-332 (Cyril of Alexandria); PG 83, 1440-1464 (Theodoret of Cyrillus); PG 84, *passim* (*Synodicon*); P.-T. Camelot, R. Aubert: *DHGE* 26, 1228-1229; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 444; L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso*, Milan 1974, 195-299.

SUCCENSUS OF DIOCAESAREA

Bishop of Diocaesarea (in Isauria) in the first half of the 5th century († c. 440), he was allied to Cyril of Alexandria during the Nestorian controversy and was among those who manifested their perplexity after the agreement of union with the Antiochenes (433), which involved the apparent abandonment of the Christology of the *Anathemas*. This gave rise to a correspondence, of which Cyril's letters remain: in them appear extracts of Succensus' letters, also attested by two Syriac fragments in cod. Brit. Lib. Add. 17197 (CPG 6488). In the *Catenae* on Genesis appears a series of brief *excerpta* ascribed to Succensus (CPG 6489), in particular commenting on the sacrifice of Isaac (respectively on Gen 22, 1; 22, 7; 22, 7-8; 22, 9).

Editions and studies: CPG 6488-6489; A. Van Roey, "Deux fragments inédits des lettres de Succensus, évêque de Diocésarée à saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie", *Muséon* 55 (1942) 87-92; R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois*, Vatican City 1959, 180; *Catenae Graecae in Genesis et in Exodum*, ed. F. Petit, CCG 2, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, 162; A. Labate: *EEC* 2 (1992) 798.

HELLADIUS OF TARSUS

Metropolitan of Tarsus (in Cilicia Prima) at the time of the Council of Ephesus, Helladius was part of the group of Oriental bishops who most tenaciously opposed the deposition of Nestorius and any reconciliation between Antioch and Alexandria that did not explicitly reject Cyril's *Kephalaia*. While remaining in touch with the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, he, like Theodoret, finally bowed to the pressure of the court and John of Antioch, and adhered to the union. Eight letters, handed down in Rusticus' *Synodicon*, attest Helladius' initiatives and contacts between 431 and 434; he also received many letters from bishops of nearby dioceses, preserved in the *Collectio Casinensis*. Helladius' correspondents include Alexander of Hierapolis (five letters), Meletius of Mopsuestia and Nestorius.

Editions and studies: CPG 6435-6443; ACO 4/3/1, 249-250; L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso*, Milan 1974; M. van Esbroeck: *EEC* 1 (1992) 372.

ZENOBIUS OF ZEPHYRIUM

Bishop of Zephyrium (in Cilicia Prima) around 433, Zenobius was part of the faction that denied the validity of the conciliatory *symbolum* drawn up by Theodoret of Cyrillus (c. 393-c. 466) after the Council of Ephesus (431) in the hope of resolving the *quaestio* of the Nestorian creed. Because of his opposition to the *symbolum*, he was deposed (c. 435) and exiled to Tiberias, from where he escaped. It should be emphasized that all the bishops of Cilicia opposed Theodoret's conciliatory *symbolum*. A letter of Zenobius survives, addressed to Alexander of Hierapolis (PG 84, 792-793).

Editions and studies: CPG 6470; PG 84, 792-793; ACO 1/4, 195; PW 10 A, 14 f.; J. Irmischer: *EEC* 2 (1992) 884.

HESYCHIUS OF CASTABALA

Bishop of Castabala (in Cilicia Secunda) during the mid 5th century, Hesychius was present at the Council of Ephesus (431), where he opposed Cyril († 444). For this he was censured by the council, like John of Antioch, John of Damascus and other bishops. He is known to have subscribed two letters, one addressed to the Church of Hierapolis, dissociating himself from the position of the Cyrillian faction, the other to John of Antioch, reaffirming his loyalty and that of other bishops to John. There is also a letter sent to Meletius, bishop of Mopsuestia (PG 84, 770-771).

Editions and studies: CPG 6447; PG 84, 770-771; W. MacDonald Sinclair: *DCB* 3, 9-10, n. 8; R. Aubert: *DHGE* 25, 297-298, n. 10.

MAXIMIAN (OR MAXIMIN) OF ANAZARBUS

Metropolitan of Cilicia Secunda in the 5th century, from the first he protested against the opening of the Council of Ephesus (June 431), presided over by Cyril of Alexandria († 444), and subsequently went over to the side of John of Antioch († 441/442), who excommunicated Cyril. Maximian subsequently leagued himself increasingly with Alexander of Hierapolis († c. 434), metropolitan of Cilicia Prima, opposing any attempt at reconciliation with Cyril and finally even breaking with John of Antioch.

Three letters from Maximian survive (in Latin version) in Rusticus' *Synodicon* (compiled c. 560, this is a collection of official documents of the Councils of Ephesus [431] and Chalcedon [451]). Addressed to Alexander of Hierapolis, the letters attack the conciliatory position taken by John of Antioch over the defection of John of Germanicia and Andrew of Samosata († after 444), and seek support for the meeting of a synod at Anazarbus (cf. PG 84, 724-725), which Maximian organized in 433 to excommunicate Cyril again until he should subscribe the condemnation of the anathemas.

Though an intransigent pro-Nestorian, Maximian was not included in the list of bishops exiled for their opposition to the union of 433; evidently he died before the compilation of the relevant imperial decrees.

Editions and studies: CPG 6449-6453; PG 84, 675; 721-722; 724; 773-774; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 546.

MELETIUS OF MOPSUESTIA

Bishop of Mopsuestia (in Cilicia Secunda) after the death of Theodore (428), Meletius remained faithful to his memory, unreservedly opposing the compromise with Cyril of Alexandria (433). For this he was among the first in the Antiochene patriarchate to have to abandon his diocese: he was exiled to Melitene (in Armenia), where he had to suffer under the rough control of Bishop Acacius, a fervent Cyrillian.

His activity in defence of the positions originally upheld by the Orientals, before and after Ephesus, is attested by a collection of 11 letters, handed down in Latin by the *Collectio Casinensis* (CPG 6455-6465), while other documents of the *Collectio* see him as the object of epistolary exchanges and official actions. Five letters are addressed to Alexander of Hierapolis, his authoritative inspirer and fellow-fighter. Others are addressed to the bishops of Syria Euphratesia; to Helladius of Tarsus and Maximian of Anazarbus; to *comes* Neoterius; and to Titus, *comes domesticorum*. The latter two seem the most important documents. In the letter to Titus (CPG 6465) in particular, after clarifying his reasons

for following a minority line with the help of *exempla* taken from the Bible, Meletius punctiliously recapitulates the events that followed the eve of Ephesus, in order to demonstrate the consistency of his own conduct and the inconsistency of John of Antioch.

Editions and studies: CPG 6455-6467; *ACO* 1/4, *passim*; *ACO* 4/3/1, 347-348; *ACO* 4/3/2, 326; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 550.

ALEXANDER OF APAMEA

Metropolitan of Apamea, capital of Syria Secunda, Alexander went to Ephesus in 431 and there actively supported the cause of the Orientals, as is documented by the conciliar sources. He was among those who signed the protest over the deposition of Nestorius by Cyril of Alexandria and his allies, and so in reprisal he subscribed the excommunication of the Alexandrian patriarch decided on by the Orientals. In the fifth session of the Cyrillian Council, he was in turn excommunicated by his opponents. When the emperor invited a delegation to Constantinople to represent the two opposed parties, he delegated his powers to Apringius of Chalcis.

In the documentation collected by Irenaeus of Tyre and preserved in Latin translation by the *Collectio Casinensis*, a letter appears in his name, addressed to Alexander of Hierapolis, his old companion in arms at Ephesus. The brief missive dates from the period following the council (Easter 434) and should be connected with the tensions aroused in the Antiochene patriarchate by the peace agreement between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. Alexander manifests his own readiness to meet the metropolitan of Syria Euphratesia in order to weigh up together what action should be taken. Presumably he sought to persuade Alexander of Hierapolis to restore communion with the Antiochene patriarch.

Editions and studies: CPG 6390; *ACO* 1/4, 159; *ACO* 4/3/1, 94; *ACO* 4/3/2, 18; U. Rouziès: *DHGE* 2, 191; F. Scorza Barcellona: *EEC* 1 (1992) 20.

PAUL OF EMESA

Paul was bishop of Emesa (in Phoenice Libanensis) from 410. After he sided with the Orientals at Ephesus (431), in autumn 432 John of Antioch entrusted him with a peace mission to Cyril. In this capacity he twice went to Alexandria bearing a proposal of agreement which, among other things, no longer insisted that the Cyrillian *Kephalaia* be retracted. As soon as Paul agreed to his request to excommunicate Nestorius and recognize Maximian as his successor, Cyril welcomed him into communion and invited him several times to preach in the cathedral of

Alexandria. Returning from the second journey, Paul brought to Antioch the letter *Laetentur caeli*, in which Cyril communicated to John the restoration of communion between the two sees. After this episode we have no further trace of Paul, who must have died between 433 and 445, when there was another bishop at Emesa.

The climate of the talks with Cyril is reflected in the texts of the three homilies preached by Paul in Cyril's presence: the two speeches on Christ's Nativity (25 December 432 and 1 January 433) are the most important. In the first (CPG 6365), Paul adopts the dogma of the *Theotokos* and anticipates the terms of the agreement of 433, which proclaimed Christ to be perfect God and perfect man; moreover the "conjunction of two perfect natures" produces "one Son, one Christ and Lord" or, in a more technical expression, there is a "dual nature" and a "unitary *prosopon*". In the second and longer speech (CPG 6366), Paul lays greater stress on the Antiochene demands and insists on denying any form of passibility in God incarnate. The more explicit dogmatic formulations, starting from the exegesis of Jn 1, 14 and Mt 16, 16, lead to the recognition of dual consubstantiality, while referring the "two natures" to a single *prosopon*. Paul also admits the *communicatio idiomatum*, but with some provisos which reflect the traditional position of Antiochene Christology.

Editions and studies: CPG 6365-6369; PG 77, 1433-1444; ACO 4/3/1, 396-397; ACO 4/3/2, 373-375; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, Dayton (OH) 1972, 2, 199-203; L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso*, Milan 1974; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 2 (1992) 663.

ALEXANDER OF HIERAPOLIS

Alexander of Hierapolis (Mabbūgh), metropolitan of Syria Euphratesia from the early years of the 5th century, enjoyed considerable prestige not just in his own province but more widely in the patriarchate of Antioch, both for his exemplary conduct as a pastor and for the rigid consistency that distinguished his doctrinal position. While still young he opposed Apollinarianism, and he and Acacius of Beroea were instructed by Meletius to transmit the Acts of the Council of Antioch of 379 to Pope Damasus. Among the most prominent spokesmen of the Orientals at the Council of Ephesus (431), between 432 and 435 he became the spiritual and political leader of the residual group of bishops who continued to proclaim Nestorius' cause, opposing his deposition and opposed to reconciliation with Cyril of Alexandria. Despite many attempts by churchmen and imperial officials (primarily by Theodoret of Cyrrhus) to make him adhere to the peace agreement of 433 which restored communion between John of Antioch and Cyril, Alexander

remained firm in his refusal. This obliged the imperial authorities to intervene, despite meeting resistance from the clergy and population of his diocese. In 435 he was removed and exiled to the mine of Famothis in Egypt.

As evidence of Alexander's activities in the years around 433 until his deposition, there is a considerable collection of letters in his name (twenty-three), as well as other missives and copies of official documents in which he appears as protagonist. This documentation has been preserved by the *Tragoedia* of Irenaeus of Tyre – which presents him as one of the most important characters (*magno veritatis athletae* [ACO 1/4, 191.4]) –, later included in the *Collectio Casinensis*. This collection of letters allows us to reconstruct the web of relationships woven by the bishop of Hierapolis with the dissident front, opening up glimpses not just into the dogmatic problems but also into the pastoral situation and the ways in which the secular power intervened. Among the most interesting missives in this respect are the letter to Acacius of Beroea (CPG 6392), in which Alexander criticizes Cyril of Alexandria's Monophysite profession in the *Kephalaia* and other writings and demands recognition of the two natures; the first of his five letters to Andrew of Samosata (CPG 6394), in which he recalls the conditions originally fixed at Antioch for the agreement with Cyril; a letter to John of Antioch (CPG 6403), in which he tries again to prove that Cyril had renounced nothing of his ideas even in his pronouncements subsequent to Ephesus, in particular in the letter to Acacius of Beroea, and again asks the bishop of Alexandria for an open profession of the two natures. But the real heart of the collection is his correspondence with Theodoret (CPG 6409-6417) who, after having inspired the line followed by Alexander, became progressively more sensitive to the needs of ecclesial pacification, finally reaching an open break with his own metropolitan, who in the end refused to listen to him any further (though the bishop of Cyrrhus would still try to spare him from repressive interventions). Among the subjects broached by Alexander with Theodoret, we may note his resumption of Nestorius' point of view on the term *theotokos*, to be accepted in a dogmatic context only if joined with *anthropotokos* (CPG 6410-6411). Finally, Alexander confirms the resolution of his attitude in various letters written in reply to pressure from the imperial authorities: outstanding here for its firmness and peaceful tone is the letter to Dionysius, *magister militum Orientis* (CPG 6399), in which the bishop announces that he will submit willingly to the measures taken against him, yet without renouncing the "right faith".

Editions and studies: CPG 6392-6431; ACO 1/4, *passim*; ACO 4/3/1, 95-98; ACO 4/3/2, 19-20; F. Nau: *DHGE* 2, 190-191; R. Devreesse, "Après le concile d'Ephèse. Le retour des Orientaux à l'unité (433-437)", *EO* 30 (1931) 271-292; M. Richard,

"Theodoret, Jean d'Antioche et les moines d'Orient", *MSR*, 3 (1946) 147-156 (= Idem, *Opera Minora* II, Turnhout 1977, n. 47); L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso*, Milan 1974; P. Évieux, "André de Samosate. Un adversaire de Cyrille d'Alexandrie durant la crise nestorienne", *REB* 32 (1974) 253-300; Grillmeier, I, 692 ff. (English ed., 488 ff.).

ABBIBUS OF DOLICHE

Abbibus (Habib), bishop of Doliche (in Syria Euphratesia), a suffragan of Alexander of Hierapolis, remained, like his metropolitan, faithful to Nestorius even after the peace agreement between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria (433). Having finally broken off communion with the Antiochene patriarch, he was deposed and removed from his episcopal see (probably in 434 or 435).

Besides appearing as a signatory and recipient of various collective letters in the *Collectio Casinensis* (*ACO* 1/4), taken from the documentation originally contained in Irenaeus of Tyre's *Tragoedia*, there is a letter of his to Alexander of Hierapolis and other bishops of Euphratesia, written after his deposition. Abbibus disputes the interpretation being given of the circumstances of his removal, specifying that he had not addressed "libelli of refusal" to Patriarch John, nor had he consented to the expulsion. He also confirms his determination to continue the struggle for the true faith.

Editions and studies: CPG 6388; *ACO* 1/4, 162; PG 84, 749-750; *ACO* 4/3/1, 86; *ACO* 4/3/2, 1.

ANDREW OF SAMOSATA

Andrew was bishop of Samosata (Syria Euphratesia) at the time of the Council of Ephesus. He and Theodoret were instructed by John of Antioch to reply to Cyril of Alexandria's twelve anathemas. While the bishop of Cyrrhus wrote a refutation in his own name, Andrew composed his as representative of the Orientals. This suggests that he enjoyed a certain doctrinal prestige, probably due partly to his rhetorical and theological training, received – presumably – at Antioch. That he also knew Syriac and was in contact with Edessa is attested by his troubled relations with the metropolitan of Osrhoene, Rabbula.

Though even before the Council he had been attacked by Cyril in his *Defence of the XII Chapters against the Oriental Bishops*, Andrew could not go to Ephesus for reasons of health. Yet for some time he animated the anti-Cyrrillian opposition in the Antiochene patriarchate, with his metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis and his friend Theodoret. In this phase he again attacked Cyril's *Anathemas* in a work of which a fragment is transmitted by Anastasius the Sinaite (*Vita dux*, 22 [CPG 6385]). He

also had occasion to clash with Rabbula of Edessa, who had challenged his refutation of the *Anathemas* and expressed his criticisms in a letter (CPG 6495). Andrew answered him with a long letter in Syriac (CPG 6384) in which he took the Christological view typical of the Antiochene tradition. It is mainly through this text that we can reconstruct Andrew's doctrinal profile, since his refutation of the *XII Anathemas* survives only in fragments in Cyril's *Defence*. The critique of the bishop of Samosata aimed to trace polemically the revival of Arian and Apollinarian tendencies in the *Anathemas*. Nevertheless, after his initial refusal to adhere to the peace agreement with Cyril, Andrew was ahead of Theodoret in restoring communion with John of Antioch. We have no trace of any later activity before his death, probably around 445.

The trouble caused by the disputes that followed Ephesus and the residual resistance to the peace agreement are mirrored by Andrew's correspondence, preserved in Latin in the *Collectio Casinensis*. Among his most frequent correspondents are Alexander of Hierapolis and Theodoret. Running through the letters we observe a transition from initial intransigence to a choice of "economy", dictated by the need for ecclesial pacification. When Alexander refused further contact with him, so as to listen to no more of his invitations to reconciliation, Andrew addressed an interesting letter to the stewards of the metropolitan of Hierapolis, containing a profession of faith in "Christ, God and man, two natures, one person". In this and in other texts (especially the fragment preserved by Anastasius the Sinaite), we can see an anticipation of the formula of Chalcedon, though the accents of Andrew's Christology remain clearly Antiochene, especially in his insistence on the two natures.

Editions and studies: CPG 6373-6385; *ACO* 1/1/7, 33-65 = PG 76, 316-385 (*Reprehensio* of the *XII Anathemata*); CCG 8, 300-302 = PG 89, 292-293; A. Baumstark, "Ein Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa und eine verlorene dogmatische Katene", *OrChr* 1 (1901) 179-181; F. Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Lettera di Andrea di Samosata a Rabbula di Edessa", *RSO* 28 (1953) 154-169; Idem, "La controversia tra Cirillo d'Alessandria e Giovanni di Antiochia nell'epistolario di Andrea di Samosata", *RSO* 29 (1954) 187-217; L. Abramowski, "Zum Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa", *OrChr* 41 (1957) 51-64; Eadem, "Peripatetisches bei späten Antiochenern", *ZKG* 79 (1968) 358-362; P. Évieux, "André de Samosate. Un adversaire de Cyrille d'Alexandrie durant la crise nestorienne", *REB* 32 (1974) 253-300; Grillmeier, I, 700-707 (English ed. 495-501).

ACACIUS OF MELITENE

Acacius of Melitene († before 449) was originally lector of the Church of Melitene (Armenia), where in 384 he taught St Euthymius the Great (377-473); he became bishop of Melitene before 430. In the menologion

his name appears as a saint and his anniversary falls on 17 April.

He was a great opponent of Nestorius (c. 381-c. 451) and consequently a great partisan of Cyril († 444), so much that some consider his doctrine an anticipation of Eutychianism. He took an active part in the Council of Ephesus (431), where he preached a homily. He was a great opponent of Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350-428) and Diodore of Tarsus († before 394).

Of Acacius there remains a close epistolary correspondence, dating from 433 and 434, with Cyril of Alexandria and with Sahak, the Armenian patriarch.

Editions and studies: CPG 5792-5796 (cf. 5340, 5368-5369); *Sermo Ephesi habitus*: PG 77, 1468-1472; *Epistula ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum*: PG 84, 693-838; J. Ismireantz, *Liber epistularum* (Armenian), Tiflis 1901, 14-15, 19-21, 16-18 (on the letters sent to Sahak, patriarch of the Armenians); M. Richard, "Acace de Méliène, Proclus de Constantinople et la Grande Arménie", *Mémorial Louis Petit*, Bucharest 1948, 393-412 (= Idem, *Opera Minora*, II, Turnhout-Louvain 1977, no. 50); BHG 648, 2008. French tr. by A.-J. Festugière, *Cyrille de Scythopolis. Vie de Saint Euthyme*, Paris 1962, 62-63, 87; ACO 4/3/1, 89; DHGE 1, 242-243; BS 1, 143-144; CChG I, 177, 224, 232-233, 369; II, 392, 947, n. 48; F.W. Bautz, *BBKL* 1, col. 16; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 5.

RABBULA OF EDESSA

The anonymous Syriac *Life* allows us to reconstruct a biographical outline of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (in Osrhoene) at the time of the Council of Ephesus. Converted to Christianity as an adult, partly through the influence of Acacius of Beroea, he left his family and career to embrace the monastic life. Elected bishop of Edessa (c. 415), he lavished his pastoral zeal on the reform of the clergy and monks and the struggle against heretics, pagans and Jews. During the Nestorian crisis he sided at first with the Orientals: at Ephesus he subscribed the decisions taken against Cyril of Alexandria and his adherents. But he subsequently drew closer to Cyril, finally condemning the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, study of which was then being encouraged by Ibas at the school of Edessa. These new positions caused tensions in his relationship with the Antiochene episcopate. In 432 Andrew of Samosata, criticized by Rabbula for his refutation of the *Kephalaia*, reported the behaviour of the metropolitan of Edessa to Patriarch John, who asked the bishops of Osrhoene to break communion with him. Rabbula turned to Cyril and received his support, but subsequently he too adhered to the union of 433. Nevertheless, with Acacius of Melitene, he warned the Churches of nearby Armenia against Theodore's errors. Despite the strong commitment to charity that animated his episcopal activity, Rabbula's ascetic rigour and doctrinal intransigence gained him many enemies.

One of these, Ibas, whom he had expelled from the city, was chosen as his successor on his death (8 August 435).

Governing his diocese left little room for literary activity. Some traces of it exist in the homily preached at Constantinople against Nestorius (CPG 6496); the Syriac letter to Andrew of Samosata (CPG 6495); and the fragments of a letter to Gemellinus of Perrhe, also surviving in Syriac (CPG 6493). Of a letter to Cyril of Alexandria, only fragments survive (CPG 6494), but Rabbula helped spread Cyril's doctrines by translating his *De fide orthodoxa* into Syriac. In view of the fact that the gospel citations in this work are taken from the *Diatessaron*, it no longer seems possible to maintain the view of Rabbula as promoting the separate translation of the Gospels.

Rabbula's most important legacy is represented by the canons for secular clergy and monks (CPG 6490-6491). They are distinguished by particular concern for forms of relationships *ad extra*, and transmit the image of a still rather early stage of the coenobitic type of Syrian monasticism. To the same circles were addressed the *Epistula ad Gemellinum episcopum Perrhae*, in which Rabbula criticized the use of the Eucharist by some monks as a substitute for their daily food. For Rabbula's Christological doctrines, along with the *Life* the most important text is the *Epistula ad Andream Samosatenum*, where he rejects the division into two natures after the union. A similar emphasis on unity of hypostasis appears in the *Epistula ad Cyrillum*, as part of a criticism of Theodore of Mopsuestia's Diphysitism. In fact Rabbula seems to have adhered essentially to the heritage of Ephrem's Christology, without being aware of the problems relating to Christ's soul that had been particularly explored by the Antiochenes.

Editions: CPG 6490-6497; J.J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabbulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, Oxford 1865 (*Epistula ad Gemellinum episcopum Perrhae*; *Epistula ad Cyrillum Alexandrinum*; *Epistula ad Andream Samosatenum*; *Homilia Constantinopoli habita*; *Vita Rabbulae*); A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syriac Asceticism*, Stockholm 1960 (*Praecepta ad sacerdotes et regulares*; *Monita ad coenobitas*; *Canones*, considered spurious by the editor).

Studies: P. Peeters, *La vie de Rabbula*, Brussels 1951; F. Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Lettera di Andrea di Samosata a Rabbula di Edessa", *RSO* 28 (1953) 154-169; L. Abramowski, "Der Streit um Diodor und Theodor zwischen den beiden ephesinischen Konzilien", *ZKG* 67 (1955-1956) 252-287; Eadem, "Zum Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa", *OrChr* 41 (1957) 51-64; Ortiz de Urbina, 96-99; G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa, der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe*, CSCO 300 / Subs. 34, Louvain 1969; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Edessa", *TRE* 9 (1982) 286-287; J.-M. Sauget, *EEC* 2 (1992) 729; H.J.W. Drijvers, "The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Poor Church and Society in the Fifth Century", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996) 235-248; Idem, "The Protonike Legend, the Doctrina Addai and Bishop Rabbula of Edessa", *VC* 51 (1997) 298-315.

SYMEON STYLITES THE ELDER

LIFE

Symeon, the first of the Stylites or Pillar-saints, was born towards the end of the 4th century on the borders of Syria and Cilicia and, after tending his father's sheep in his youth, was drawn to the ascetic life. After two years in the company of some ascetics and ten years at the monastery of Teleda, his extreme austerity led him to adopt a solitary life at Telanissus (Telnesh, now Deir Sim'an, close to what is now the border between Syria and Turkey). There he lived from c. 412 until his death in 459. To avoid the distraction of the pilgrims he attracted, he had a pillar built, on the top of which he lived, standing in prayer. Gradually he increased the height of the pillar, and finally lived on a platform about two metres square at the top of a pillar sixteen metres high. At the bottom of the pillar, a community formed which attended to the saint's needs and the large number of pilgrims he attracted. For his contemporaries he fulfilled the role of a rural patron, mediating in disputes and giving advice, but his fame extended as far as Britain in the West and into the Persian Empire to the East, and his advice was sought even by emperors. His support for conciliar orthodoxy, after both the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), was important, especially in Syria. Three accounts of his life survive: one by Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his *Historia Religiosa* (ch. 26), one by a monk Antony who claims to have been a disciple (see p.183), and an anonymous life in Syriac.

Studies: H. Delehay, *Les Saints Stylites*, Subsidia Hagiographica 14, Brussels 1923; A.-J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, Paris 1959, 388-401; A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, 2, Louvain 1960, 207-223; J. Nasrallah, "Le Couvent de S. Simeon l'Alepin. Témoignages littéraires et jalons sur son histoire", *PdO* 1 (1970) 327-356; S. Ashbrook Harvey, "The Sense of a Stylite: Perspectives on Simeon the Elder", *VC* 42 (1988) 376-394; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 2 (1992) 779; T. Špidlík: *DSp* 14 (1990) 1267-1275, s.v. "Stylites".

WORKS

Very little survives of Symeon's works, and it is likely that there was little enough anyway. 1) *Letter to Basil of Antioch*: fragments of a letter to Basil of Antioch are preserved in Evagrius' *Church History*. 2) *Letter to John of Antioch*: this letter survives in Syriac. 3) *Precepts and Admonitions*: what is either a brief sermon, or a collection of precepts, survives in Syriac; it has not been edited. 4) Spurious works: two letters attributed to Symeon are preserved in Syriac, one to the Emperor Leo, another to Jacob of Kaphra Rehima: both are regarded as spurious.

Editions: *Letter to Basil*: CPG 6640; PG 86, 2533; J. Bidez, L. Parmentier (edd.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius*, London 1898, Amsterdam 1964². 62: *Letter*

to John of Antioch: CPG 6641; C.C. Torrey, "The Letters of Simeon the Stylite", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 20 (1899) 253-276. German tr.: H. Hilgenfeld in H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des hl. Symeon Stylites*, TU 32, 4, Leipzig 1908, 191. *Precepts and Admonitions*: CPG 6642; *Praecepta et admonitiones* (in Syriac): Brit. Lib. Add. 14484. German tr.: H. Hilgenfeld in H. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 180-184.

Spurious works: Editions: CPG 6645-6646; C.C. Torrey, "The Letters of Simeon the Stylite", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 20 (1899). German tr.: H. Hilgenfeld in H. Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 188-191.

ANTONY THE HAGIOGRAPHER

Antony is the name of the monk, claiming to be a disciple of St Symeon Stylites, who composed a Greek life of the saint after his death. The Greek manuscripts seem to yield two quite distinct versions of the *Vita* with claims to authenticity. The disparity between all three accounts of the elder Stylite's life (Antony's, Theodoret's and the anonymous Syriac life) only compounds the problem.

Editions: CPG 6724; H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des hl. Symeon Stylites*, TU 32, 4, Leipzig 1908, 20-78 (Latin version: *ibidem* 21-78).

Translation - English: R. Doran, *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*, CSS 112, Kalamazoo (MI) 1992, 87-100.

DOMNUS OF ANTIOCH

At first a monk in the laura of Euthymius, Domnus was then bishop of Antioch from 441/442 to 449 in succession to John, who had signed the agreement with Cyril of Alexandria in 433. Domnus inherited his predecessor's views on the incarnation of the Word, and opposed Eutyches, founder of Monophysitism. For this he was criticized by the Antiochene followers of Dioscorus of Alexandria, who demanded that he condemn Ibas of Edessa as a Nestorian. Yet he took part in the Council of Ephesus of 449 and ended by siding with the Eutychians, signing the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum and approving the deposition of Ibas of Edessa, Daniel of Harran, Irenaeus of Tyre and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. This was not enough to save him from accusations over his own past, for which he was deposed and replaced. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) his position was examined, but he was rebuked for giving way at Ephesus, for which he was pensioned off and his successor Maximus confirmed in his place.

Handed down in the *Ad Iustinianum pro defensione trium capitulorum* of Facundus, bishop of Hermiane, is the Latin text of a letter of Domnus to the Emperor Theodosius II, in which he accuses Eutyches of Apollinarianism for having denied Christ's consubstantiality with us. Two letters to Dioscorus, in reply to the corresponding missives of the bishop

of Alexandria, as well as fragments of other texts, are found in the Syriac version of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus of 449 and document his unwilling participation in that assize.

Editions and studies: CPG 6508-6511 and 8938.7; J.-M. Clément, R. Vander Plaetse, *Facundi Episcopi Ecclesiae Hermianensis Opera Omnia*, Turnhout 1974, CCSL 110 A, 1-398 (v. 244-245 against Eutyches); J. Flemming, *Akten der ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449 mit G. Hoffmans deutscher Übersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen*, AGG, n.s. 15, 1, Göttingen 1917, 8-159, esp. 118-123, 138-141 and 144-147; E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49, 2, Leipzig 1939, 29 and 33; *DHGE* 14, 645 (bibliography only); *DTC*, *Tables Générales*, 1026-1027.

STEPHEN I OF HIERAPOLIS

Bishop of Hierapolis in succession to John, Stephen was enthroned by Domnus of Antioch himself in 445. He took part in the synod organized by Domnus to depose Athanasius of Perrhe, in which the first shots were fired at Ibas of Edessa. In compliance with the synodal decisions, Stephen arranged for the ordination of Sabinianus as Athanasius' successor. Stephen later took part in the so-called "latrocinium of Ephesus" (449), where he followed the majority that condemned Flavian of Constantinople (446-449) and sanctioned the full rehabilitation of Eutyches (c. 378-454). At the Council of Chalcedon (451) Stephen radically changed his ideas, repudiating his previous actions and supporting the condemnation of Eutyches. He subsequently seems to have signed Patriarch Gennadius' synodal letter of 459 – *De Simoniacis* – but there is no trace of his subscription to the Emperor Leo's encyclical letter of 454 addressed to him and all the other metropolitans.

Editions and studies: CPG 5967; M. Adriaen, CCSL 98 (1958) 702 (in Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmsorum*); E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies*, ST 173, Vatican City 1953, 169-173; E. Venables: *DCB* 4, 739, n. 14.

EUSTATHIUS OF BERYTUS

Bishop of Berytus (Beirut) in the mid 5th century, Eustathius was an anti-Nestorian and supported the orthodoxy sanctioned by the Council of Ephesus (431) thanks to Cyril of Alexandria. In particular, he was an opponent of Ibas, bishop of Edessa (in Osrhoene) from c. 435 to 457, whose position he helped get condemned as Nestorian from 448. He took part in the Council of Ephesus of 449 and sided with Eutyches against Flavian, adhering to the Monophysite doctrine. He maintained that we should not speak of two natures, but of one incarnate nature of the Word. He supported the condemnation of Flavian, for which Pope Leo had his name cancelled from the diptychs. At the Council of Chalcedon (451) he maintained his opposition to the doctrine of two separate natures,

but took a conciliatory position, renouncing the expression "one nature" and retracting the condemnation of Flavian he had pronounced in 449.

Of his literary output there remains a fragment of a work written against the bishop of Alexandria Timothy Aelurus, an opponent of the Council of Chalcedon and as such condemned by Pope Leo.

Editions and studies: CPG 6718; Diekamp, 96-97 (= PG 85, 1803-1804, in Latin); A. Van Roey: *DHGE* 16, 23.

IBAS OF EDESSA

A theologian of Antiochene orientation, Ibas was one of the teachers of the "school of the Persians" at Edessa under the episcopate of Rabbula (c. 415-435). He accompanied Rabbula to Ephesus in 431, but after the council he opposed his condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia. These clashes led to his expulsion from Edessa. From his exile dates a famous *Letter to Mari* (probably Mar Dadisho', bishop of Ardashir in Persia, or the *katholikos* of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, or else a Persian monk in the monastery of the Acoemetes at Chalcedon), which recalls the events of the Nestorian controversy from the viewpoint of the Orientals. On Rabbula's death, Ibas succeeded him as metropolitan of Osrhoene (435-457). He continued to defend Theodore's thought, translating his writings into Syriac, including the extracts appended to Proclus of Constantinople's *Tomus ad Armenios*. Proclus wrote to John of Antioch, complaining about Ibas and asking for the condemnation of the extracts, but this intervention, though supported by Cyril of Alexandria, was fruitless because of the firm reaction of the Antiochene episcopate. Yet Edessene clerical and monastic circles, holding firm to Rabbula's memory, unsuccessfully accused Ibas of heresy and embezzlement at two synods held at Antioch (445 and 446). The emperor submitted the question to the examination of a council that met at Tyre and Berytus. Ibas denied the accusations and, though the *Letter to Mari* was read out, he was acquitted; but at the "latrocinium of Ephesus" (449) the letter was condemned and Ibas deposed. The question was re-examined in the second and tenth sessions of the Council of Chalcedon. After reading the Acts of Tyre and Berytus and the *Letter to Mari*, the Roman legates recognized Ibas as orthodox, but required him first to anathematize Nestorius. Restored to his see, he died there on 28 October 457.

According to 'Abdisho' of Nisibis, Ibas wrote a *Commentary on Proverbs, Homilies, Hymns* and a treatise of controversy; but all that survives is his *Letter to Mari* and a few fragments of a homily on Easter. The letter, originally composed in Syriac, survives in Greek translation, in Latin versions of the Acts of the Fourth and Fifth Ecumenical Councils, and in a Syriac retro-version of the Acts of the Ephesian synod of 449.

In presenting the problems unleashed by the Christological controversy, Ibas adopts a *via media* between Nestorius and Cyril, comparing the former to Paul of Samosata and accusing the latter of Apollinarianism. He strongly defends Theodore of Mopsuestia against Rabbula's attacks, while presenting the agreement of 433 as an adjustment by Cyril to the Antiochene position. His Christological formula rests on the recognition of the two natures in the single *prosopon* of the Son of God. His adhesion to the more customary viewpoints of Antiochene theology is expressed both through the distinction between the Word and the temple it inhabits, and by a moderate recourse to *communicatio idiomatum*: in this sense, according to Ibas, the properties of human nature cannot be predicated of the Word as well. The letter was condemned as heretical by the Council of Constantinople of 553, which in this way gave satisfaction to those who had included it among the so-called "Three Chapters", perhaps partly because of more radical positions taken up by Ibas in the period after Ephesus.

Editions and studies: CPG 6500-6501; ACO 2/1/3, 32-34 (*Ep. ad Marim Persam*); ACO 4/3/1, 265-266; ACO 4/3/2, 227-229; J. Flemming, *Akten der ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449*, AGG 1917 (Göttingen 1970); R. Devresse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Vatican City 1948; L. Abramowski, "Der Streit um Diodor und Theodor zwischen den beiden ephesinischen Konzilien", *ZKG* 67 (1955-1956) 252-287; Ortiz de Urbina, 99-100; G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa, der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe*, CSCO 300 / Subs. 34, Louvain 1969; M. van Esbroeck, "Who is Mari, the Addressee of Ibas' Letter?", *JTS* 38 (1987) 129-135.

PSEUDO-MARTYRIUS OF ANTIOCH

Among the lives of John Chrysostom appears a work attributed to a certain Martyrius, traditionally identified with the homonymous patriarch of Antioch from 459 to 471 (*BHG* 871). The complete text survives in the 11th-century Greek ms. Paris Bibl. Nat. 1519 and a few other codices. Scholars have expressed opposing views as to its documentary value but, until the most recent investigations, the negative opinion prevailed: this made it a late literary fiction, dependent, for Chrysostom's biography, on other surviving witnesses (Palladius and Sozomen). In fact it is not a genuine life but a panegyric, which quite faithfully reflects the characteristics of its literary genre. The text is thus presented as a funerary encomium, pronounced presumably at Constantinople shortly after the bishop's death, as the audience's reactions of dismay and incredulity show. It must therefore be referred to a date quite close to the events described, between late 407 and early 408. The author says nothing about Chrysostom's birth, family or home, preferring to dwell on his Christian formation and monastic experience and subsequently describing his ecclesiastical career and pastoral activity up to the sufferings and

ill-treatment it met with; he dwells on these, but does not describe his death. Fidelity to the genre is also expressed through an appropriate style, which makes deliberate use of periphrasis, comparisons (in particular with biblical characters) and descriptions (*ekphraseis*).

Editions and studies: CPG 6517; BHG 871; F. Van Ommeslaeghe, *De lijkrede voor Johannes Chrysostomus*, Dissertation, Leuven 1974, 43-142; Idem, *La valeur historique de la Vie de S. Jean Chrysostome attribuée à Martyrius d'Antioche* (*BHG* 871), SP 12, Berlin 1975, 478-483; M. Aubineau, "La Vie inédite de Chrysostome. Un nouveau témoin: Athos, Koutloumousiou 13", *AB* 94 (1976) 394; F. Van Ommeslaeghe, "Que vaut le témoignage de Pallade sur le procès de saint Jean Chrysostome?", *AB* 95 (1977) 389-413; Idem, "Chrysostomica. La nuit de Pâques 404", *AB* 110 (1992) 123-134.

PETER THE FULLER

Peter, nicknamed "the Fuller", was the first Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, occupying the see several times between 471 and 488. His early life is unsure: it is thought that, while still a pagan, he was a disciple of Proclus at Athens. What seems certain is that in c. 465 he was a member of the monastery of the Acoemetes near Chalcedon, a stronghold of the supporters of the Fourth Council. Perhaps because of disagreements over this, he left the monastery and went to Antioch in the train of Zeno the Isaurian, *magister militum per Orientem*. Here he fuelled the anti-Chalcedonian resistance to Patriarch Martyrius, finally replacing him briefly (471) when he was forced to leave his see. Ejected and brought back to the Acoemete monastery, Peter returned to the Antiochene throne a second time during the usurpation of Basiliscus (475-477). Deposed again, he was exiled to Euchaita, but once more returned briefly to Antioch (485-488) thanks to the new climate of openness towards the Monophysites inaugurated by the *Henoticon*. His one surviving work is the synodal letter addressed in that circumstance to the Alexandrian patriarch Peter Mongus (CPG 6522).

Onto this rather chequered career is superimposed the largely conjectural image made out by more recent research that would identify Peter the Fuller as author of the *corpus Dionysiicum* (Riedinger, from a hypothesis previously advanced by Le Quien). This identification is based largely on the liturgical innovations attributed by Theodore the Lector (*HE* II, 38) to Peter during the several phases of his Antiochene episcopate, to which many passages in the *corpus Dionysiicum* correspond: consecration of *myron*; epiclesis over the baptismal waters on Epiphany night; invocation of the *Theotokos* at the end of every prayer; recital of the Creed at the Eucharistic synaxis. Riedinger's proposal remains controversial, but it is recognized that the writings of the *corpus Dionysiicum* reflect a liturgical environment close to that in which the Fuller worked.

The most famous and disputed of Peter's liturgical innovations was his addition of the formula "who was crucified for us" (ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς) to the *Trisagion*. This aroused strong opposition from the Chalcedonians, who, starting from its traditional application to the Trinity, accused him of introducing passibility into the Trinity, whereas at Antioch the *Trisagion* was understood in a Christological sense. The acclamation succinctly and effectively conveyed the essential nucleus of Monophysite belief. Among the reactions aroused by the Fuller's disputed initiative is a series of fictitious letters addressed to him (CPG 6525). The collection is handed down, in Greek and Latin, in three different recensions: a) in the *Collectio Vaticana* (seven letters); b) in Latin translation in the *Collectio Avellana* (eight letters); c) in the *Collectio Sabbaitica*, the most recent (ten letters). The transmission of the correspondence is the work of Palestinian monastic groups, but the original creation is probably due to Chalcedonian circles at Constantinople, which reacted in this way to the request put forward by Maxentius and the Scythian monks for the addition to the *Trisagion* (510). The letters express a marked Diphytism, in line with Antiochene Christology and the *Tomus ad Flavianum*, particularly evident in the letter handed down only in Latin (*Epistula ad Flaccinum*).

Editions and studies: CPG 6522; 6525; ACO 3, 6-25; *Collectio Avellana* 71-78, CSEL 35, 162-219; E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma*, Munich 1934; U. Riedinger, "Pseudo-Areopagites, Pseudo-Kaisarios und die Akoimeten", *ByzZ* 52 (1959) 276-296; P. Scazzoso, "Considerazioni metodologiche sulla ricerca pseudo-dionisiana a proposito della recente identificazione dello Pseudo-Dionigi con Pietro il Fullone da parte di U. Riedinger", *Aevum* 34 (1960) 139-147; J.-M. Hornus, "Les recherches dionysiennes de 1955 à 1960", *RHPPhR* 41 (1961) 56-64; U. Riedinger, "Petrus der Walker von Antiocheia als Verfasser der pseudo-dionysischen Schriften", *Salzburger Jahrbuch f. Philosophie* 5-6 (1961-1962) 135-136; Idem: *LTK* 8 (1963) 384; Idem, "Der Verfasser der pseudodionysischen Schriften", *ZKG* 75 (1964) 146-152; Idem, *Akoimeten: TRE* 2 (1978) 149-151; E. Klum-Böhmer, *Das Trishagion als Versöhnungsform der Christenheit. Kontrovers-theologie im V. und VI. Jh.*, Munich-Vienna 1979; A. Solignac: *DSP* 12 (1986) 1588-1590; Grillmeier, *II/2*, 265-277 (English ed., 252-262); H.-J. Vogt: *Lex des Mitt* 6 (1993) 1974-1975.

JOHN OF BERYTUS

Bishop of Berytus (Beirut) in the last quarter of the 5th century, John supported the anti-Monophysite orthodoxy sanctioned by the Council of Chalcedon (451). Zacharias Scholasticus (or the Rhetor) mentions him in his *Life of Severus*, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518, written in Greek in c. 515 but preserved only in a Syriac version. Zacharias tells us that he and Severus knew John in person and saw him engaged in the struggle against magical and necromantic practices.

The *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* mentions him with Rabbula of Samosata (c. 450-530) as founder of a monastery. All that remains of his literary output is a brief paschal homily.

Editions and studies: CPG 6720; M. Aubineau, *Homélies pascales*, SCh 187, Paris 1972, 281-304; M.-A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scolastique*, PO 2/1 (6), Paris 1903, 66, 69 and 78; H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Brussels 1902, 475; R. Aubert: *DHGE* 26, 1298.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH

LIFE

Of all the prominent Monophysites involved in Church affairs in the 5th and 6th centuries, Severus of Antioch (465-538) was the most outstanding personality, both politically and intellectually. Born at Sozopolis in Pisidia, though he came from a Christian family he received baptism only as an adult. His mature adherence to the faith began in 488, after he had studied grammar and rhetoric at Alexandria and law at Berytus, intending to become an advocate. From 490 he was in Palestine, living a monastic life in close touch with the Monophysite circles of Peter the Iberian at Maiuma near Gaza. At first a guest of the coenobium of Romanus, near Eleutheropolis, he then founded his own monastery near Maiuma, becoming archimandrite and presbyter. Towards 508, the offensive launched by Nephalius against the local Monophysite monks obliged Severus to go to Constantinople. Thanks to the prestige he enjoyed in the capital, he managed to influence the policy of the Emperor Anastasius which gave the *Henoticon* a declaredly anti-Chalcedonian bent. He returned to Palestine in 511 and soon succeeded the Chalcedonian Flavian as patriarch of Antioch (512-518). In the six years of his episcopate, Severus' doctrinal and political profile emerges even more distinctly thanks to his intense homiletic and epistolary activity, his energetic pastoral work at Antioch and in Syria, and his interventions outside his province, e.g. in Palestine, dictated by the need to support anti-Chalcedonian tendencies there.

With the accession of Justin to the imperial throne (518) and the Chalcedonian restoration he inaugurated, Severus was obliged to abandon his Antiochene see and take refuge in Egypt. Despite the obstacles of the moment, in this period too he deepened his theological commitment, promoting the efforts of moderate Monophysites against those who – like Julian of Halicarnassus or Sergius Grammaticus – championed a more radical line. From these years date his most important controversial writings, addressed to his opponents, both Chalcedonian and Monophysite. When Justinian succeeded Justin (527), Severus came under pressure from the emperor to support his attempts at union. In

response to these requests he went a second time to Constantinople and briefly (534-535) succeeded in improving the lot of the Monophysite party, but the reaction of the Chalcedonians forced him to flee again to Egypt. His condemnation by the Constantinopolitan synod of 536 was accompanied by a decree of Justinian ordering Severus' writings to be burned, but he died soon afterwards (538).

WORKS

The banning of his works prevented Severus' vast output from being preserved in its original Greek text, apart from some scanty remains, but it survives abundantly in Syriac translation, with further evidence in other Oriental languages. The writings can be grouped into various genres: a) treatises of controversy; b) letters; c) homilies; d) hymns. They show us an author endowed with a good secular culture, but above all nourished on the great patristic authors, particularly Cyril and the Cappadocians, and sensitive to the needs of pastoral care, while never losing sight of his fundamental appeal to the Christological convictions of his own movement. The wealth of his theological interests has led to Severus being proposed, among others, as the unknown author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. This identification no longer has any following, but is indicative of the fact that Severus closely reflects the cultural climate of Pseudo-Dionysius.

1. Works of controversy

Severus' polemical work is represented especially by the great treatises of controversy that laid the theological basis of the Monophysite movement, outlining, in the eyes of the author and of later readers of Monophysite faith, its straight road in contrast to the opposed orientations of "Chalcedonians" and "Eutychians". The writings aimed against the champions of Chalcedon comprise the two *Discourses to Nephalius* (CPG 7022), with which Severus made his entrance onto the scene of doctrinal conflict in 508; *Against the impious Grammaticus* (CPG 7024), the great refutation in three books (Book I survives incomplete) of John of Caesarea's *Apologia for Chalcedon*; the *Friend of Truth* or *Philalethes* (CPG 7023), an immense florilegium of passages from Cyril of Alexandria, composed during his first stay at Constantinople in order to refute a corresponding work that tended to present Cyril as an exponent of Diphysite doctrines. In the field of conflicts within Monophysitism, the importance of Severus' struggle against Aphthartodocetism is attested by his five treatises against its originator, Julian of Halicarnassus, between 518 and 528. The controversy began with his *Critique of Julian's Tome* (CPG 7026-7027) and continued with his critique of the additions to it (*Against Julian's Additions* [CPG 7029]) and his refutation of the defence

written by his opponent in response (*Against Julian's Apologia* [CPG 7030]). Finally, Severus composed an *Apologia for the "Philalethes"* (CPG 7031) to defend himself from the charge of having previously maintained Julianist ideas. But the internal front also involved Severus in an epistolary polemic against Sergius Grammaticus, who had given new expression to Apollinarian tendencies (CPG 7025).

2. Letters

The authoritative nature of Severus' doctrinal magisterium and the intensity of his political activity at the head of the Monophysite party are illustrated by the immense *epistolarium*, of which unfortunately only about 250 letters survive (CPG 7070). Originally it must have comprised some 4000 letters, which, translated from Greek to Syriac, made their way into various collections. The Greek collection consisted of 23 books: four contained letters written before his episcopate, ten during his episcopate – the most numerous group – and nine those subsequent to 518. An ample selection, comprising various books and a total of 700 letters, was translated into Syriac by Athanasius of Nisibis (669); of this only Book VI remains (123 letters). This is not the only Syriac version, however, since the correspondence was translated almost in its entirety. Among the recipients of the letters appear monks and churchmen, but also many laymen, often high-ranking imperial officials, including several women. The contents can conveniently be distinguished into three kinds, not always with well-defined boundaries: a) theological letters; b) ecclesiastical letters; c) exegetical letters. In the *Selected Letters* only the second are represented, while the scanty remnants of the fuller collection give us details on the three different types. Of these (following the numbering adopted by Brooks), *Epp. I-II (To Oecumenius)* in which Severus discusses the properties and operations in Christ, and *Ep. XXV (To the Emesenes)* deserve mention as important examples of theological letters. Exegetical letters may be illustrated by *Ep. LXV (To the Chamberlain Eupraxius, dated 508-511)* or *Ep. LXIX (To the Deaconess Anastasia, between 522 and 526)*, which both continue the patristic tradition of biblical *quaestiones*.

3. Homilies

The great *corpus* of 125 *Cathedral Homilies* (CPG 7035) is an essential source for Severus' Antiochene episcopate and valuable evidence of his exegetical and pastoral interests. Here too we have few remains of the Greek text: the only homily to survive entire is LXXVII, in which Severus resolves some *quaestiones* on the differences between the gospel accounts of the resurrection. Other fragments of an exegetical nature are contained in the *Catenae*. Fortunately the transmission of the homilies

was ensured by their translation into Syriac: a first version, by Paul of Callinicus, dates from the 6th century; it was subsequently revised by Jacob of Edessa († 708).

The collection is arranged according to the years of his episcopate, starting from the day of his enthronement, and is punctuated by the rhythm of the main liturgical celebrations. The sermons on these represent the largest group, about a third of the whole collection; among them the annual homilies to the catechumens (XXI, XLII, LXX, XC, CIX, CXXIII) are of particular importance. Numerous too are homilies whose theme is the feasts of saints, particularly those who had a cult at Antioch and in the surrounding regions of Syria; but there is no lack of homilies in honour of theologian saints (like the Cappadocian Fathers) who had influenced Severus' formation. A third group of homilies is represented by texts of an exegetical nature, commenting on the pericope of the day or discussing or resolving questions submitted to the bishop's examination (e.g., the series of homilies XCIV-XCVI, of 516, and CVII-CVIII, of 517). Biblical *aporiae* often take up traditional problems (such as the gospel genealogies or the accounts of the resurrection): interestingly, Severus does not hesitate to confront these problems in dialogue with his congregations. The fourth and last group consists of homilies preached in particular circumstances, or whose theme is aspects of social life at Antioch. The homilies, preached in the cathedral or other churches of Antioch or during the bishop's pastoral visits, must have been put in order very early, since we have evidence of them in the period subsequent to the episcopate.

4. Hymns

Severus' hymnographic output, linked to the period of his episcopal ministry, became part of the *Octoechos*, the collection of hymns of the Syrian Church (CPG 7072). These were translated by Paul of Edessa (7th century) and revised by Jacob of Edessa. It is uncertain whether Severus composed other liturgical texts, though we have an anaphora (CPG 7073) and baptismal rituals that bear his name.

DOCTRINE

Severus is certainly no systematic theologian: his doctrinal interventions are closely linked to contemporary disputes or are a response to the particular circumstances of his pastoral activity at Antioch. Moreover, though he gives no lack of opportunities for reflection on various subjects, his main efforts are monopolized by his concentration on the Christological question. On this Severus takes a position appealing always to the solution proposed by Cyril of Alexandria, which in his eyes continues to represent a binding, unsurpassed model. On the other hand, he tends

to appropriate Cyril's Christology with a certain rigidity, since he leaves no further room for the Alexandrian patriarch's prudent overtures towards the Diphysite position. Concerned to ensure the unity of Christ's being against the "Nestorianism" of the Chalcedonians, Severus constantly insists on the rejection of any formula that could signify some form of duality in Christ. He therefore impresses, as the only adequate expression of Christological dogma, the formula "one incarnate nature of the Logos", where "nature" (*physis*) is essentially equivalent to "hypostasis" or *prosopon*, all these terms always indicating the same reality of the one subject in Christ: the person of the Logos that has assumed flesh. From this point of view, Severus undoubtedly offers an important contribution to the terminological normalization of Monophysite Christology. To indicate the union of natures (for which he recognizes as legitimate the formula "from two natures", *ek dyo physeon*, also traditional for the Cyrillian party), Severus prefers to use the term "synthesis" (*synthesis*). This does not at all imply suppression of the specific properties of each nature in the one incarnate Word, but aims rather to take into account the two different realities united in Him without any separation. To illustrate this union Severus is happy to use the anthropological paradigm of the union of soul and body in man.

Thus, as his bitter polemics with Julian of Halicarnassus and Sergius Grammaticus also show, Severus' "Christology from above" does not at all intend to compromise the human reality in the Incarnate. Yet it does not go so far as to grant it an active role in the salvation-event of God made man, which is always determined in all its phases by the initiative of the Logos. The humanity does not possess a distinct existence before the union, but subsists solely in the hypostasis of the Logos, so that for Severus too we may speak in practice of an "enhypostasis" of human nature in the Logos, not too different from the model being worked out at the same period by Neochalcedonian theologians. Severus also came to share with them the idea of the appropriation of *sarx* by the Logos, the basis of the doctrine of *communicatio idiomatum*. In conclusion, while Severus' "Monophysitism" appears to us essentially verbal in character, the Christological model he formulated is the fruit of that same basically Cyrillian inspiration that crowned the efforts of his Neochalcedonian opponents and which thus transforms the dispute between the two fronts into a mainly terminological opposition.

Editions: CPG 7022-7080; John of Beth Aphthonia, *Vita Severi*, ed. M.A. Kugener, PO 2/3, Paris 1904; Zacharias Scholasticus, *Vita Severi*, ed. M.A. Kugener, PO 2/1, Paris 1907; *The Conflict of Severus Patriarch of Antioch by Athanasius: Ethiopic Text edited and translated by E.J. Goodspeed*, PO 4/6, 576-726; *Orationes ad Nephaliium*, CSCO 119 / Syr. 64 and 120 / Syr. 65, Louvain 1949; *Liber contra impium Grammaticum*, ed. J. Lebon, CSCO 93-94, 101-102, 111-112 / Syr. 45-46, 50-51, 58-59, Paris-Louvain

1929-1938; R. Hespel, *Le Florilège cyrillien réfuté par Sévère d'Antioche*, Louvain 1955; Idem, *Sévère d'Antioche, Le Philalèthe*, CSCO 133-134 / Syr. 68-69, Louvain 1953; Idem, *Sévère d'Antioche. La polémique antijulianiste*, CSCO 244-245, 295-296, 318-319 / Syr. 104-105, 124-125, 136-137, Louvain 1964-1971; *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis*, ed. E.W. Brooks, London 1902-1904; *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch*, ed. and tr. E.W. Brooks, PO 12/2, 14/1, Paris 1919-1920; *Les homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche; traduction syriaque de Jacques d'Édesse, ed. et tr. en français par M. Brière, F. Graffin, etc.*, PO 4/1, 8/2, 12/1, 16/5, 20/2, 22/2, 23/1, 25/1, 25/4, 26/3, 29/1 (with general introduction to all the homilies), 35/3 (165), 36/1 (167), 36/3 (169), 36/4 (170), 37/1 (171), 38/2 (175); E.W. Brooks, *The Hymns of Severus and Others in the Syriac Version of Paul of Edessa as Revised by James of Edessa*, PO 6/1 (1909) 1-179; 7/5 (1911) 593-802; H.G. Codrington, "Anaphora syriaca Severi Antiocheni", *Anaphorae Syriacae*, 1/1, Rome 1939, 51-87; G. Dorival, "Nouveaux fragments grecs de Sévère d'Antioche", *Ἀντιόχεια*, FS M. Geerard, Wetteren 1984, 108-109; P. Carrara, "I frammenti greci del 'Contra Additiones Iuliani' di Severo Antiocheno", *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 89-92; M. Aubineau, "Sévère d'Antioche. Homélie cathédrale XXIV, In ascensionem. Un fragment syriaque identifié (CPG 7037) et deux fragments grecs retrouvés", *RSLR* 24 (1988) 81-92; *La chaîne sur l'Exode: I. Fragments de Sévère d'Antioche*, ed. F. Petit, Leuven 1999.

Studies: J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909; R. Dragnet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ*, Louvain 1924; J. Lebon, "Le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche", *RHE* 26 (1930) 880-915; G. Bardy, *DTC* 14 (1941) 1988-2000; J. Lebon, *La Christologie du monophysisme sévérien*, CChG I, 425-580; F. Graffin, "La catéchèse de Sévère d'Antioche d'après le ms. Syriacque Br. M. Add. 12139", *Symposium Syriacum*, Rome 1978, 243-255; W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972; S.P. Brock, "Some New Letters of the Patriarch Severus", *SP* 12 (1975) 17-24; C.J.A. Lash, "The Scriptural Citations in the 'Homiliae Cathedrales' of Severus of Antioch and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Old Testament", *SP* 12 (1975) 321-327; R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbog and Jacob of Sarug*, Oxford 1976; J.M. Sauget, "Une découverte inespérée: l'hom. 2 de Sévère d'Antioche sur l'Annonciation de la Théotokos", *A Tribute to A. Vööbus*, Chicago 1977, 55-62; N.A. Zabolotsky, "The Christology of Severus of Antioch", *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 58 (1976) 357-386; S. Brock, "Severos' Letter to John the Soldier", G. Wiessner (ed.), *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen*, II, Göttingen 1978, 60-64; F. Graffin, "La vie à Antioch d'après les homélies de Sévère. Invectives contre les courses de chevaux, le théâtre et les jeux olympiques", *ibidem* 115-130; A. Olivar, "Sever d'Antioquia en la historia de la predicación", *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 5 (1980) 403-442; L. Perrone, "Il 'Dialogo contro gli aftartodoceti' di Leonzio di Bisanzio e Severo di Antiochia", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 1 (1980) 411-442; P. Allen, "Greek Citations from Severus of Antioch in Eustathius Monachus", *OLP* 12 (1981) 261-264; Grillmeier II/1, 292 ff. (English ed. 258 ff.); I.R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon. Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite*, Norwich 1988; Grillmeier II/2, 20-183 (English ed. 21-173); M. Breydi, "Le témoignage de Sévère d'Antioche dans l'Exposé de la foi de Jean Maron", *Muséon* 103 (1990) 215-235; F. Graffin, "Sévère d'Antioche", *DSP* 14 (1990) 748-751; L. Knezevich, "Severus of Antioch", *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, VII, New York 1991, 2123-2125; M. Nin, "Monaci e monachesimo nella predicazione di Severo di Antiochia. A proposito delle 'Omelie cattedrali' LV e LXI", *Aug* 34 (1994) 207-221; P. Allen, "Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End or the Beginning?", P. Allen, E.M. Jeffreys (edd.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?*, Brisbane 1996, 163-175.

JOHN OF GABALA

At the council called by the Emperor Justinian in 536 to resolve the division between the adherents and the opponents ("Monophysites") of Chalcedon, John, bishop of Gabala (or more plausibly, according to Honigmann, Gabbula) in Syria Prima, took part as one of the Monophysite representatives. To a John of Gabala (perhaps the same person) is ascribed a *Life of Severus*, the leader of those opposed to Chalcedon, who was patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518. Of this *Vita*, a fragment survives, cited in the *Acta* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II).

Edition: Mansi, 13, 184BC.

Translations – English: C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ) 1972 (repr., Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 16, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1986, 44, partial translation).

Italian: *Vedere l'invisibile, Nicea e lo statuto dell'immagine*, ed. L. Russo, Palermo 1997, 54.

Studies: Honigmann, 29; T.W. Davids: *DCB* 3, 374, no. 178.

JOHN BAR APHTHONIA

John bar Aphthonia is known through an anonymous biography written by one of his disciples (BHO no. 497), published by Nau in 1902. John was born between 475 and 483 after the death of his father, so that he was called by the name of his mother (Aphthonia), who consecrated him to God from his birth. At the age of fifteen he tried to enter the monastery of St Thomas at Seleucia on the Orontes (now Suwaydiya), a port city. Because of his youth, he was allowed only to take care of the guests. After seven years of this service he was admitted among the monks, between 497 and 505, and worked as the carpenter, but then became archimandrite of the monastery. The monks having gone over to Monophysitism, in the time of Patriarch Ephrem of Antioch (526-545) they were forced to abandon the monastery and, under John's leadership, founded the monastery of Qēneshrē on the left bank of the Euphrates, upstream from Kerkemish (now Jرابلس); here too he continued to be the superior. John made the monastery a centre of Greek and Syriac studies. Important figures of the Syrian Church would emerge from this monastery, such as Thomas of Heraclea and Jacob of Edessa (c. 633-708), and the learned Severus Sebokt († 667) would teach there. Towards 531 (or in 532) John was at Constantinople for a meeting between Orthodox and Monophysite bishops – their number varies according to source – to restore ecclesial communion. Brock has recently published a lengthy Syriac account of the meeting, which could be the work of John bar Aphthonia himself (Brock, 88), since he was bilingual

and could function as secretary and interpreter. He died on 4 November 537, after having chosen his successor; so he could not have written the *Life of Severus of Antioch* († 538), with whom he corresponded, since he died before Severus.

John knew both Greek and Syriac and wrote in both languages, yet very little remains of his work: fragments in Syriac of his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (CPG 7484) and some hymns in Syriac version among those of Severus of Antioch in the translation of Paul of Edessa and the revision made by Jacob of Edessa (cf. PO 7/5, 801).

Editions: CPG 7484-7485; Syriac hymns: E.W. Brooks, *The Hymns of Severus and Others in the Syriac Version of Paul of Edessa as Revised by James of Edessa*, PO 6/1 (1911) 1-179; 7/5 (1911) 593-802; *Commentary on the Song*: P. Krüger: *OrChr* 50 (1966) 61-71; Idem: *OrChr* 51 (1967) 78-95 (German tr.); anonymous *Life of John*: F. Nau: *ROC* 7 (1902) 97-135 (Syriac ed. and French tr.).

Studies: Baumstark, 180 and 185; P. Krüger, "Iohannes bar Aphtonja und die syrische Übersetzung seines Kommentars zum Hohen Lied", *OrChr* 50 (1966) 61-71; R. Köbert, "Syrische Fragmente eines griechischen Kommentars zum Hohen Lied", *Biblica* 48 (1967) 111-114; A. Vööbus, "Severus von Antiochien und Johannan von Aphtonija", *OS* 24 (1975) 333-337; S. Brock, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian", *OCF* 47 (1981) 87-121; W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, London 1894, 84-85; J. M. Sautet: *EEC* 1 (1992) 439-440; J. Tubach: *LTK* 5 (1996) 881-882; J.M. Fiey: *DHGE* 26 (1997) 1266-1267; B. Hartmann: *BBKL* 3, 263 f.

SERGIUS GRAMMATICUS

A contemporary of Severus of Antioch, he is known only through his correspondence with the Antiochene patriarch between 515 and 520. Though the epithet seems to allude to his profession, Sergius' interests suggest rather a philosopher or at least a layman with philosophical interests. The correspondence, three letters from Sergius and the respective replies of Severus, was translated into Syriac, perhaps by Paul of Callinicus, and survives in a single manuscript (BL Addit. 17154). Sergius uses motifs and feelings characteristic of the most extreme Monophysitism, as represented in his time by Julian of Halicarnassus. Like Julian he so emphasizes the unity of natures in Christ as to compromise the properties of the human nature in the incarnate Logos. Consumed by missionary zeal, Sergius strives to acquire followers for the Monophysite cause, among other things asking them to adhere to a "formula" (*kephalaion*) of his own: "After the ineffable union (in Christ) we no longer speak of two natures and two properties". To avoid any element of distinction in the Incarnate while also avoiding a confusion of natures, Sergius goes so far as to profess a single "substance" or "essence" (*ousia*) in Christ. Applying Aristotelian categories to the definition of Christological dogma, Sergius thus introduces a new species.

From Christ's "one essence" there also consequently derives a new and "unique property". This is manifested in, e.g., virgin birth, freedom from natural instincts, absence of sin, and resurrection. Yet his conflict with Severus seems due more to the novelty of Sergius' formulations than to the concrete image of Christ he propounds, which in fact uses elements typical of Severian Christology.

Editions and studies: CPG 7102-7105; *Severi Antiocheni orationes ad Nephaliium: eiusdem ac Sergii Grammatici epistolae mutuae*, ed. J. Lebon, CSCO 119-120 / Syr. 64-65, Louvain 1949; J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909, 163-172; J.-M. Sautet: *EEC* 2 (1992) 769; I.R. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon. Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite*, Norwich 1988; Grillmeier II/2, 117-134 (English ed. 111-128).

JOBIOUS THE MONK

Only Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 232) mentions Jobius, giving no biographically useful details, but presenting him as the author of two treatises: *Contra Severum* is just noted in passing, while long passages of *De Verbo incarnato* (Οἰκονομικὴ πραγματεία) are meticulously quoted and extensively commented on. Our knowledge of the former essentially ends with its title, but we can gain rather more idea of the latter: the available material gives the image of an orthodox theologian in line with Leontius of Byzantium, but way below his level or even the level of a good imitator like Pamphilus. Photius limits Jobius' ability to the *pars destruens*, i.e. that of demolishing the Monophysite scaffolding by posing a series of problems in defence of Christ's perfect human integrity; but in the *pars construens* his defects appear: he is unable to propose Christological motifs that join together in the framework of a vocabulary capable of offering ecumenical satisfaction. Yet his *De verbo incarnato* must have had considerable success in the 6th century, as is proven by the fragments of it found in the Lucan Catena published by Mai on the basis of Vat. gr. 1933 (= PG 86, 3313 ff., though the fragment of the *Confessio Iobi* on col. 3320 is not his, but the work of a homonymous Apollinarian bishop).

Editions and studies: CPG 6984; PG 86, 3313-3320; PG 103, 736-829; R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, III, Paris, 152-227; *DTC* 8, 1486 f.; Beck, 383; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 438.

EPHREM OF ANTIOCH

After the death of Patriarch Euphrasius in the earthquake of 526, followed by about a year of vacancy, the Antiochenes chose to succeed him the *comes Orientis* Ephrem, a native of Amida, having admired the zeal he lavished on the succour and reconstruction of the city. His pastoral

activity was immediately marked by a struggle with the Monophysites so forceful that in their historiography he passes for a veritable terrorist: John of Ephesus (*Comm. de beatis orient.* 112) records that Ephrem, raging against the Severian bishop Dionysius of Tella, went so far as to pursue him into Sasanid territory, demanding his extradition from the Persian governor of Nisibis. Oriented to a strict Diphysite reading of the Chalcedonian Creed, Ephrem attacked any proposal to supplement the orthodox formulary with contributions from the Alexandrian tradition. Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 228) records his hostility to the liturgical innovation (*crucifixus pro nobis*) added to the *Trisagion* in the second half of the 5th century by the Monophysite patriarch Peter the Fuller. Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Sabae* 85) calls him the first patriarch to express himself officially in favour of the condemnation of Origenism, thus anticipating Justinian's edict of 543. A faithful executor of imperial policy, according to Liberatus (*Breviarium* 23) he directed the removal of Paul of Tabennesi at the synod of Gaza convoked by Constantinople in c. 540. Finally, Evagrius (*HE* IV, 25) praises his diplomatic skill in the disturbances connected with the Persian sack of Antioch (540), when he was able to prevent the destruction of the cathedral. He died in 545. A long list of his works, now lost, is in Photius (*Bibl.*, codd. 228-229), divided into three genres: letters, sermons and polemics. His surviving output is reduced to a few fragments of the *Apologia concilii Chalcedonensis*, the *Hom. in Heb. 4, 15* and the *Capita XII ad Acacium philosophum et presbyterum Apameensem*. Bits of his treatises *Contra Severum* and *De Iohanne grammatico* are given respectively by Anastasius the Sinaite (Anastasius I of Antioch) (PG 89, 1185c-1188b) and John of Damascus (PG 96, 481c).

Editions: CPG 6902-6916; PG 86, 2014-2019; PG 103, 957-1024; Mansi 9, 436ad; R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, IV, Paris, 114-174; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalcedonismus*, Bonn 1962, 262-265, 271-272.

Studies: J. Lebon, "Ephrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche", *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Ch. Moeller*, I, Louvain 1914, 197-214; G. Downey, "Ephraemius, Patriarch of Antioch", *ChHist* 7 (1938) 364-370; *DHGE* 15, 581-585; S.J. Voicu: *EEC* 1 (1992) 276; Fliche-Martin 4, 431 f., 454 f.; Perrone, 195, 207, 267-268; Allen, 104, 111, 123, 179-180, 187, 200, 251; *Lex des Mitt* 3, 2054 f.

CONSTANTINE OF LAODICEA

A former *magister militiae* and an anti-Chalcedonian, Constantine became bishop of the autocephalous metropolitan see of Laodicea (in Syria) in the second decade of the 6th century; his predecessor, Nicias, was one of the twelve bishops who consecrated Severus in Antioch in 512. Constantine was exiled in the Chalcedonian restoration of 519 and with other Syrian bishops – possibly more than fifty – went to Alexandria. A

recipient of several letters from Severus of Antioch, he was one of the prominent members of the anti-Chalcedonian party during the reign of the Emperor Justinian. In Monophysite literature Constantine is distinguished for his miracles and his long life: even while in exile he took part in meetings of the Monophysite leaders who were in Constantinople, and he played a leading role in drawing up ecclesiastical canons. He died in Constantinople in 553, apparently before signing a document which ratified the proceedings of the Fifth Council, and was succeeded by Dometius.

Like the works of many other influential Monophysites in the 6th century, those of Constantine have survived in Syriac translations and some in fragments only. The *Letter to Mark of Isauria* (CPG 7107) survives in an unedited Syriac fragment. The ecclesiastical canons (CPG 7108) are likewise unedited and in Syriac; Constantine was one of the chief authors of these, together with Antoninus of Beroea (Syria I), Thomas of Germanicia or Damascus, Pelagius of Celenderis (Isauria) and Eustathius of Perrhe (Euphratesia), and the collection was made in Alexandria between February and August 535. We have also a Letter of the Orthodox Bishops (CPG 7109), of whom Constantine was one, which survives in Syriac, and another group of canons, which he published together with other Monophysite bishops who were living in Constantinople. Finally we have two Syriac fragments of Constantine's *Address to the Empress Theodora*, which was brought to the attention of scholars only recently and is unregistered in CPG. From the acts of the Lateran Council of 649 we had known that Themistius of Alexandria, the leader of the Agnoetae, had composed a work against something that Constantine had written, and it may well be that these fragments, where Christ's knowledge is discussed, come from this very piece. In any case, they will have to be dated before the death of Theodora in 548.

Editions: CPG 7106-7110; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 66-71.

Translations – French: CPG 7107: F. Nau, "Littérature canonique syriaque inédite", *ROC* 14 (1909) 116-117; CPG 7108: *ibid.*, 113-115; CPG 7109: *ibid.*, 39-48; CPG 7110: *ibid.*, 117-119.

Latin: Sermo ad Theodoram imperatricem: A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *op. cit.*, 70-71.

Studies: Honigmann, 37-38; A. Van Roey, "Unedited Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century", *SP* 20 (1989) 79; D. Stiernon, *EEC* 1 (1992) 193.

PAUL OF NISIBIS

Paul of Nisibis was a Nestorian exegete and theologian distinguished for his great learning and sound judgment. For thirty years he directed

the theological school of Hadiab. From 551 he was bishop of Nisibis. He died in 571. At the head of a strong delegation he took part in a colloquy at Constantinople in 562-563. Before Justinian's theologians he defended the doctrine of two hypostases in Christ. Some would identify him with Paul the Persian, whose commentary on Aristotle's *De interpretatione* was translated into Syriac by Severus Sebokt († 667). In a dispute with Photinus the Manichee he represented the Christians (cf. PG 88, 529-574). From his report, given to a Persian physician, it appears that to discuss the two principles, the origin of the soul and the value of the OT, he made use of Aristotelian dialectic, as was customary at the time. He also refuted a *protasis* of a Manichee, introduced into the imperial library. His introduction to the Bible served as basis for the *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, written in Latin by Junilius Africanus, then *quaestor sacri palatii*, and dedicated by him to Primasius of Hadrumetum (PL 68, 15-54). This lucid manual, Aristotelian in spirit, sums up the doctrine of the school of Nisibis, i.e. of Theodore of Mopsuestia. It comprises a teaching on the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Law. It had great success at St Gall and in Southern Germany in the 9th century.

Editions: CPG 7010-7015. *Disputatio cum Manichaeo*: PL 88, 529-552; the other anti-Manichaean works: PG 88, 552-574; *Instituta* (in Latin): PL 6815-6854; crit. ed. by H. Kihn, *op. cit. infra*.

Studies: Bardenhewer V, 336; Beck, 386; *EEC* 2 (1992) 663; and esp. H. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus*, Freiburg 1880; G. Mercati, *Per la vita e gli scritti di Paolo il Persiano*, ST 5, Vatican City, 180-206; A. Guillaumont, "Justinien et l'Église de Perse", *DOP* 23-24 (1969-1970) 39-66; A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266 / Subs. 26, Louvain 1965, 170-172; M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis Opera*: CCG 1, Turnhout 1971, xxxix-xli.

JACOB BARADAEUS

According to the scanty surviving evidence, Jacob was born in the town of Tella dMauzlat (now Veranşehir in Turkey) in the early years of the 6th century. He spent part of his youth in the monastery of Psilta, on Mount Izla, near his home town. In 527 or 528 he was called to Constantinople as representative of the Monophysites of his region. From then on his prestige as defender of the Monophysite cause grew ceaselessly among the faithful and he became a central figure in the history of non-Chalcedonian Christianity. In 536 the offensive launched by Justinian to oblige all subjects of the Empire to respect the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon (451) led to the condemnation of the most prominent Monophysites, from Severus to Anthimus, and the confinement in Constantinople of Bishop Theodosius of Alexandria. It was Theodosius, supported by the Empress Theodora, well-disposed

to the Monophysite cause, who in 542 or 543 ordained Jacob as bishop of Edessa (now Urfa in Turkey), though he was prevented from residing there. Jacob worked tirelessly on behalf of the Monophysite faith, within the limits imposed by imperial repression: from the sources we learn that he travelled through all the Eastern regions of the Empire, from Egypt to Armenia, from Syria to Persia, everywhere ordaining priests in order to guarantee his Church's survival, endowing it with a semi-clandestine hierarchy. To escape the police, he went about dressed as a vagrant, earning the name "Ragamuffin", in Syriac "Burde'an", hence "Baradaeus" through the Greek Βαραδάιος. After the deaths of Justinian (565) and Theodosius (566), his prestige seems to have been undermined by suspicions and disputes, connected with his role as religious leader and perhaps his aspiration to establish a certain primacy over the other Monophysite bishops. After his death (578), his work became the reference-point for the Christians of Syria, whose patriarchate, with its see at Antioch, was called "Jacobite", from Ya'qob, the original Syriac form of his name. From the first half of the 7th century, with the "Coptic" Church of Egypt, the "Jacobite" Church played a prominent role in the history of non-Chalcedonian Christianity, and Jacob himself was elevated to the rank of founder of the patriarchate and given a direct connection with the spiritual founder of Antiochene Monophysitism, Severus of Antioch, who appears in Jacobite tradition as having consecrated him bishop.

Of Jacob's literary output in Greek, nothing remains. In Syriac, various writings of disputed attribution are preserved under his name. Almost certainly by Jacob are ten letters, two of them fragmentary and four written in collaboration with other people, addressed to various recipients: these include two to Theodosius of Alexandria. The Arabic tradition ascribes to him a profession of faith and an unedited homily *De Annuntiatione*, both probably pseudepigraphical. The West Syrian liturgy also ascribes an *Anaphora* to him.

Editions and studies: CPG 7170-7199; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, Paris 1907, 2nd ed. Louvain 1952, 90-231 (text), and CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, Louvain 1933, 2nd ed. Louvain 1952, 63-161 (tr.); H.D. Kleyne, *Jacobus Baradaeus, de stichter van de syrische monophysitische Kerk*, Leyden 1882, 121-163; J.M. Fiey, *DHGE* 26, 626-627; D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research, a Review of Sources and a New Approach", *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45-86.

PAUL OF ANTIOCH (THE BLACK)

Born at Alexandria early in the 6th century, Paul, called the Black (or of Bēth Ukkame), began his ecclesiastical career as syncellus to the Monophysite patriarch Theodosius, by whom he was later raised to the see of

Tella after the death of Bishop Sergius. In 564, Jacob Baradaeus planned that he should initiate the Monophysite succession to the patriarchate of Antioch. Moderate, well-disposed to dialogue with the Chalcedonian party, firm in rejecting Tritheist extremism, he more than once went to Constantinople for peace talks, but was hit by the punitive verdict of Patriarch John Scholasticus, who favoured rigid observance of official orthodoxy. Reprieved by the Emperor Justin II, it appears that for a time, whether out of conviction or by threats, Paul communicated with the imperial Church, earning henceforth the mistrust of Jacob Baradaeus. In 575 we find him an exile in Egypt, where, in the bitter struggle over the control of the Monophysite patriarchate of Alexandria, he energetically defended the rights of Theodore, a representative of Syrian monasticism, against Peter, the element supported by the indigenous forces that remained faithful to the memory of Theodosius: at stake in this Syro-Egyptian trial of strength was primacy between the sees of Antioch and Alexandria in the hierarchical order of the nascent Jacobite Church. The polemic quickly culminated in the mutual excommunications of Paul and Peter and, in the schism, Jacob Baradaeus pronounced in favour of the latter. Obligated to leave Egypt, Paul went to the Ghassanid emir Mundhir-bar-Hareth, who, with John of Ephesus, aimed at the reconciliation of the entire Monophysite movement and, to this end, did his best to get Jacob Baradaeus to compose the schism. In 578 Jacob Baradaeus returned to Egypt, but his unexpected death prevented him fulfilling his mission. Damian, who had meanwhile succeeded Peter, further exacerbated tensions by trying in vain to put an opponent of Paul into the Monophysite patriarchate of Antioch. Finally, in 580, by the good offices of Mundhir-bar-Hareth and with the tolerance of the Emperor Tiberius, a Monophysite council was held at Constantinople, which pacified Damian and Paul. But the agreement did not last long and, before long, Paul's denigrators put Peter of Callinicus into the Antiochene see. John of Ephesus did not approve this, and the newly-elect, subject to scruples, abstained at the start from any claims, exercising jurisdiction only after ascertaining that Paul had died in Constantinople (582), where for some time he had lived steadily and clandestinely.

Paul's surviving writings, all in Syriac version, consist mainly of his letters, comprising the *Synodica ad Theodosium Alexandrinum* (entire); the *Synodica ad Theodosium patriarcham Alexandriae* (entire); the *Epistula ad Iacobum et Theodorum* (entire); and the *Epistula ad Iacobum Baradaeum* (fragments). The first two of these are the only documents of the author to be preserved also in Greek fragments. Paul's existing literary output is completed by an unedited *Memorandum ad Iohannem Scholasticum patriarcham Constantinopolitanum* and the fragments of a *Defence* against the charge of having surrendered to Chalcedonianism.

Alongside the autograph texts, it is worth noting other Syriac material that can help reconstruct Paul's position in the complex events linked to the schism within Monophysitism: the *Defensio Pauli* surviving under the signature of Sergius, a recluse, who must have written it between 580 and 581; the *Epistula ad Paulum* written in the same period by some archimandrites of Syro-Egyptian monasteries; and the unedited *Apologia Iacobi Baradaei ab assecla Petri patriarchae Alexandriae*.

Editions: CPG 7203-7214; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 98-114; 128-130; 177-179; 225-298; 308-344 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 68-79; 89-91; 123-125; 157-208; 215-233 (tr.); Mansi 11, 448a-449b.

Studies: T. Hermann, "Paul von Antiochia und das alexandrinische Schisma vom Jahre 575", *ZNTW* 27 (1928) 263-304; E.W. Brooks, "The Patriarch Paul of Antioch and the Alexandrine Schism", *ByzZ* 30 (1930) 468-476; T. Hermann, "Monophysitica", *ZNTW* 32 (1933) 277-287; Honigmann, 195-205; Frend, 291-293; 318-328; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 2 (1992) 662; Fliche-Martin 4, 483 f.; 487-490; 492 f.; Allen, 33-35; 37-40.

PETER OF CALLINICUS

LIFE

A native of Callinicus (also written Callinicum) on the Euphrates, Peter belonged to the anti-Chalcedonian tradition stemming from Jacob Baradaeus and played a significant, if unhappy, part in the history of the Monophysite Church in the second half of the 6th century. Much of Peter's career has to be understood in the context of Tritheism, i.e. the doctrine that in the Trinity there are as many natures, substances and godheads as there are hypostases. Condemned by Theodosius of Alexandria, Tritheism nonetheless received support from the influential Alexandrian philosopher John Philoponus. Although Tritheism was condemned officially by the Monophysite church, its effects continued to be felt and to cause problems to Peter of Callinicus and Damian of Alexandria. Peter had twice been proposed as patriarch of Antioch, but had declined because the incumbent, Paul of Beth Ukkame, was still alive, although he had spent little time in his see because he had communicated with the Chalcedonians and had consecrated a Syrian archimandrite, Theodore, as the successor to Theodosius († 19 July 566) against the wishes of the Alexandrian Church. Finally Peter was consecrated in 581. On Peter's accession Paul was still alive, but he died shortly afterwards. Damian, a Syrian, had been ordained patriarch of Alexandria in 578, and relations between the sees of Alexandria and Antioch seem to have been harmonious for the first four years of Peter's episcopate. Shortly after his consecration Peter travelled to Alexandria in the company of the Sophist Proba and the archimandrite John Barbur.

Here Proba and John came under the influence of the Sophist Stephen, and followed his teaching that the difference in Christ's two natures after the union can only be maintained if the existence of two natures is confessed. Since this ran completely contrary to Monophysite doctrine, Proba and John were anathematised and a schism ensued which continued until Peter's death.

At some stage in the 580s, Damian acceded to a request by his community to write a work against a series of Tritheist proposals, and sent a copy of it to Peter, inviting a response. Peter thought its Trinitarian theology left something to be desired and wrote asking for clarification in a letter to which Damian took exception in his *Many-lined Letter* or *Many-lined Apology*. From this point the relationship between the two patriarchs was characterised by meetings which either did not take place or, in Peter's words, were "more a means of conflict than of peace". The clergy and monks of Egypt and Syria became involved in the debate, which culminated in Peter's writing of the *Contra Damianum*, a huge work in three books, in which he announced that communion between himself and Damian was at an end (after Easter 588). Peter and his followers accused Damian and his party of being Sabellians and "tetradites", while the latter charged them with being Tritheists. The schism which ensued between the two sees lasted until 616, when reconciliation was effected between Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch (594-631) and Anastasius of Alexandria (606/7-618/9). Peter of Callinicus died on 22 April, 591. The works attributed to him in CPG, particularly the letters, certainly do not represent the totality of his literary output. Recent editions of his writings have made it possible to assess more accurately the significant role he played in the fragmented Monophysite church of the late 6th century.

WORKS

1. *Hymnus pentasyllabus de crucifixione*

Preserved in a sole Syriac manuscript which perhaps dates from the end of the 6th century, this work commemorates the events after the deposition of Christ from the Cross, rather than those of Good Friday. The well-known apocryphal themes of the defeat of Satan and the descent of Christ into Hades are combined with the scriptural accounts of the resurrection and a description of the Church triumphant taking over the inheritance of Israel. The Hymn is correctly attributed to Peter, and its form proves that he wrote it in Syriac.

Edition: CPG 7250; R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, "The Discourse of Mar Peter Callinicus on the Crucifixion", *JTS* 26 (1975) 23-37.

Translation – English: R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*

2. *Contra Tritheistas*

In the sole Syriac manuscript in which it is preserved, this dossier of extracts from nine documents is more properly entitled *Rebuttal of those who are charged with Sabellianism and who therefore maliciously spread the libellous report about us of holding the heathen dogmas of the Tritheists*. The piece is not directed against the Tritheists, but against those accused of holding the doctrine of Sabellius, which is quite the opposite of Tritheist doctrine. The author's intention is to show that, from the beginning of his patriarchate in 581 up to 586/587 when this dossier was compiled, he was an opponent of Tritheism. He makes much of the fact that, before becoming Peter's enemy, Damian considered him to be orthodox.

The first group of documents comprises extracts from the synodal letter which, according to custom, Peter, as a newly consecrated bishop, wrote in 581 to his Alexandrian colleague expounding his own orthodoxy, and from Damian's reply. Peter concentrates on the Trinity, the single substance and the three hypostases in it, and the extracts from Damian's reply demonstrate his agreement with Peter's position. The second group contains extracts from another of Peter's letters to Damian and the latter's reply. Peter relates how he received back into the orthodox fold a group of Tritheist monasteries, an initiative which Damian approves. These letters were written in 582. The third group has a similar theme, given that in the first letter Peter relates the conversion of a Tritheist bishop, Elias. Two extracts from the confessional statement of Elias, and part of Damian's approving reply to Peter, are then given. This group dates from about 585. The last two letters were both written by Peter, one to the Church of Alexandria and the other to the monastery of the Antonines and the administrators Isidore and Theodore, with the aim of demonstrating their author's opposition to Tritheism and his attempts to make peace with Damian. They can be dated to after 586.

Although the compiler of the dossier is not named, it cannot be other than Peter of Callinicus. Because of its abrupt ending it may be a chapter of Peter's huge work, *Contra Damianum*.

Edition: CPG 7251; R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicus. Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, OLA 10, Leuven 1981.

Translation – English: R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*

Studies: *ibidem*.

3. *Contra Damianum*

Originally composed in Greek, this *magnum opus* of Peter of Callinicus survives in its direct tradition in six Syriac manuscripts, of which the most complete probably dates from the 7th century. Various florilegium

extracts survive in an indirect tradition, some of which do not appear in the *Contra Damianum* as it comes down to us. Of the three books of the treatise we have most of Book II (22 chapters) and a nearly complete Book III (50 chapters). The editors speculate that the so-called *Anti-Tritheist Dossier* may have formed part of the lost Book I. It is possible that the Syriac translation was made early enough to have been available to Patriarchs Athanasius of Antioch and Anastasius of Alexandria for their negotiations to restore peace between the Churches of Syria and Egypt in 616.

In his treatise against the Tritheists, Damian did not intend to portray the divine substance of the common Godhead as an independent being before its threefold differentiation, but his formulation did leave him open to this interpretation. He understood the terms "property" and "hypostasis", when applied to the persons of the Trinity, as ingeneracy (the Father), generacy (the Son) and procession (the Spirit). Following the reasoning of the Fathers, then, the hypostasis of the Son would be indicative of generacy, which could mean that the "Son" means "generacy". A logical argument from this, or so his opponents could easily propose, was that the names Father, Son and Spirit are Father, Son and Spirit. Peter of Callinicus devotes most of Book II to an attack on Damian's formulation of this anti-Tritheist rebuttal. The proof that the hypostases are not the names of the Trinity is given in the same book, and the proof that the hypostases are not characteristic properties is found in Book III. Damian's position, argues Peter, is both Arian and Sabellian. In these two books of the *Contra Damianum* we find a close attention to detail, particularly in the examination of patristic *testimonia*, but Peter's entire purpose is to demolish his opponent by showing that he is contradictory, rather than to solve Trinitarian problems. Damian's works are mentioned or cited frequently, and passages from the Cappadocians and Severus of Antioch form the touchstone of the refutation. Many of the citations from Damian's works are not known to us from elsewhere.

Editions: CPG 7252 and supplement; R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus Contra Damianum I. Quae supersunt libri secundi*, CCG 29, Turnhout-Leuven 1994; *idem*, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus Contra Damianum II. Libri tertii capita I-XIX*, CCG 32, Turnhout-Leuven 1996; *idem*, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus Contra Damianum III. Libri tertii capita XX-XXXIV*, CCG 35, Turnhout-Leuven 1998.

Translations – English: as in editions, above.

Studies: Maspéro; Honigmann; A. Van Roey, "L'oeuvre littéraire de Pierre de Callinique, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche", *Actes du XXIX^e Congrès international des Orientalistes, Section organisée par Frédéric Feydit*, Paris 1975, 64-68; R.Y. Ebied, "Peter of Antioch and Damian of Alexandria: The End of a Friendship", in R.

Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus*, Chicago 1977, 227-282; J.-M. Sauget, *EEC* 2 (1992) 679; A. Van Roey, "Un florilège trinitaire syriaque tiré du *Contra Damianum* de Pierre de Callinique, patriarche d'Antioche (561-591)", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 22 (1992) 189-203; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994.

4. *Epistula ad episcopos Mesopotamiae* (Syriac fragment)

Unedited. Cf. CPG 7253.

5. *Tractatus contra Iohannem archimandritam*

This is the lost work composed in refutation of Proba the Sophist and John Barbur the archimandrite, who had travelled to Alexandria with Peter at the beginning of his patriarchate and came under the influence of the Sophist Stephen there. Stephen maintained that it was impossible to assert that the difference in Christ's two natures is preserved after the union without upholding the existence of the two natures – a doctrine which was inimical to Monophysite belief. Proba and John Barbur were condemned by a Monophysite synod at Goubba Barraya in 584/585, and subsequently embraced Chalcedonian belief. After their synodical deposition, according to Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē, Peter composed a treatise against them, arguing for the preservation of Christ's natures after the union only in theory or contemplation. The treatise was despatched throughout Monophysite Syria.

Edition: cf. CPG 7254.

Studies: cf. A. Van Roey, *Het dossier van Proba en Juhannan Barboer*, Scriinium Lovaniense, Leuven 1961; *idem*, "Une controverse christologique sous le patriarchat de Pierre de Callinique", in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, OCA 205, Rome 1978, 349-357; R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum. Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, cit., 11-12.

6. *Anaphora*

An anaphora is attributed to Peter of Callinicus in the Arabic list of anaphorae used by the Syrian Jacobites. This list, however, was drawn up only in the 16th century. The Syriac text of the anaphora survives in a 15th-century manuscript from the Jacobite monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem.

Edition: cf. CPG 7255 and A. Baumstark, "Die liturgische Handschriften des jakobiten Markuskloster in Jerusalem", *Oriens Christianus* n.s. 1 (1911) 109.

Studies: R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, cit., 9.

7. *Epistula ad episcopos Orientis*

In this short fragment Peter claims that he has been honest, has followed the Fathers, and was obliged to "refute the absurd accusations and

attacks" brought on by Damian's book. Unlike Peter's other surviving letters, which were probably composed in Greek, this letter was written in Syriac.

Edition: CPG 7256; R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum. Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, OLA 10, Leuven 1981, 103-104.

Translation – English: R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*

8. For two further works, see CPG Supplement 7257 and 7258.

STEPHEN II OF HIERAPOLIS

Under the name of Stephen, bishop of Hierapolis (Mabbūgh) in the latter half of the 6th century, we possess a Greek treatise *Adversus Agnoetas*, surviving in fragments, and a *Passio sanctae Golinduch*, lost in the original Syriac but surviving in Georgian translation and in a Greek revision made by Eustratius of Constantinople (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Petropolis 1897, 149-174). While there is some perplexity over the attribution of the former work, composed to refute those Monophysite circles that wanted to admit limits to Christ's human knowledge, the authenticity of the other document is certain, since it was known to Theophylact Simocatta (*Hist.* V, 12) and Evagrius (*Hist. eccl.* VI, 20). According to Evagrius, Golinduch, a thaumaturgical saint of the Persian Church, was murdered by the Zoroastrian clergy at the time of the usurpation of Bahram against the Sasanid dynasty (590/591). Stephen must have celebrated her martyrdom immediately afterwards, since he was already dead when Evagrius finished his literary labours (593/594).

Editions: CPG 7005-7006; F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica*, OCA 117, Rome 1938, 154-156; K. Kekelidze, *Etiudebi jveli K'art'uli literaturis istoriidan*, III, Tbilisi 1955, 210-227.

Studies: G. Garitte, "La Passion géorgienne de sainte Golindouch", *AB* 74 (1956) 405-440; *DHGE* 15, 1234 f.; *DSp* 4, 1493 f.; S. Voicu: *EEC* 2 (1992) 794; Allen, 258 f.

SYMEON STYLITES THE YOUNGER

Symeon Stylites the Younger was born in 521 and established himself as a stylite on the Wonderful Mountain, close to Antioch, in 541. In 551 he transferred himself to a loftier pillar and in 554 accepted priestly ordination as confirmation of his orthodoxy. He died in 592. His cult seems to have been promoted as a substitute for that of the elder stylite, which had been taken over by the Monophysites. There survives also an ancient *Vita* (BHGa 1689; CPG 7369) which incorporates several

passages from the sermons, as well as a *Vita* of his mother Martha (BHGa 1174; CPG 7370). In contrast to the elder stylite, there is considerable evidence of the younger Symeon's literary activity, and what survives suggests that he had received a formal education, although there is no mention of this in the *Vita*. The following works remain: 1) Three liturgical *troparia*, ascribed to him, which must be among the most ancient surviving examples of Byzantine hymnography; 2) *Letter to Justin the Younger*: of his correspondence, only one letter, preserved in the *Acta* of the Second Council of Nicaea, can confidently be regarded as authentic: it is addressed to the Emperor Justin II, although it has been convincingly argued that it was originally addressed to Justinian I; 3) *Homilies*: Thirty homilies survive, on a variety of ascetical subjects.

Editions: *Troparia*: CPG 7365; P. Van den Ven, *La Vie ancienne de s. Syméon le Stylite le Jeune*, Subsidia Hagiographica 32, I, Brussels 1962, 84-88; *Letter to Justin the Younger*: CPG 7366; PG 86, 3216-3220. *Homilies*: CPG 7367; P. Van den Ven, *op. cit.*, 33-55 (Sermons 1-4); A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 8, 3, Rome 1971, 4-156 (Sermons 4-30).

Studies: on the *Troparia*: S. Pétridès, "Saint Syméon le nouveau Stylite mélode", *EO* 5 (1902) 270-274; P. Van den Ven, "Les écrits de s. Syméon le Stylite le Jeune avec trois sermons inédits", *Muséon* 70 (1957) 1-57; Krumbacher, 144-145; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 2 (1992) 779-780; T. Špidlík: *DSp* 14, 1267-1275, s.v. Stylites.

ANASTASIUS I OF ANTIOCH

LIFE

Anastasius was born in Palestine and, before his nomination as patriarch of Antioch in late 558 (or early 559), he was apocrisiary, i.e. ambassador, of the patriarchate of Alexandria to Antioch. Nicephorus Uranus's *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger (BHG 1690) calls him a monk: this is a consequence of the author's misunderstanding of the old anonymous *Life* (BHG 1689). In later sources Anastasius is a monk of St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and comes to be identified – especially in marginal notes on manuscripts – with Anastasius the Sinaite. Sometimes, insofar as his *Life* is contaminated by that of his successor Anastasius II, murdered in 602, he is considered a saint, though he has never been venerated as such.

During the reign of the emperor Justinian (527-565), Antioch had to suffer calamities such as earthquakes, livestock epidemics and plague; on top of this, in 540 it was devastated by the army of Chosroes I (531-579). When Anastasius arrived at Antioch, then called Theoupolis – city of God –, it was an extraordinarily troubled city: in 559 things reached the point of bloody clashes between Chalcedonians and Monophysites, which forced the emperor to intervene militarily.

Anastasius came into conflict with the emperor when, shortly before his death, Justinian prepared to publish the so-called "Edict to the Romans", which Anastasius and other contemporaries interpreted as an adhesion to Aphthartodocetism. On this question Anastasius first sent the emperor a personal letter. At the same time he exhorted the monks of Syria to oppose it and, in late 564 or early 565, called a synod at Antioch that condemned Aphthartodocetism using arguments previously used by Severus of Antioch against Julian of Halicarnassus. In doing so, Anastasius anticipated his own deposition by the emperor; indeed he composed a farewell address to the Antiochenes, which Evagrius Scholasticus seems to have read.

This did not happen, however: Justinian's successor Justin II (565-578) was so anxious to diminish tensions within the imperial Church that he worked for a union with the Monophysites (567-568) on the eastern border of the Empire. The Monophysite bishops were even ready to accept Anastasius as patriarch provided he accepted "the new ecclesial communion". Anastasius was on all sides considered a man of peace, ready to compromise. This was why it seemed that he had been persuaded to refuse by some representatives of the imperial Church. Consequently, in 570, without ratification by a synod, Anastasius was deposed by the emperor. The sources make vague mention of unclear reprimands, which gave rise to legends on the subject; only the chronicler Theophanes offers a plausible reason for Anastasius' deposition, connecting it with the *volte-face* imposed by the emperor in February/March 571 in relation to the Monophysites: Anastasius had supposedly criticized the policy being followed towards them in a reply he made to the synodal letter of the new patriarch of Alexandria, the ex-soldier John IV, who was consecrated at Constantinople.

Contrary to legend, Anastasius was exiled not to Jerusalem but to Constantinople, and to a place where his freedom of movement was heavily limited and he was allowed no books. When he started to write his so-called *Dogmatic Discourses* (CPG 6944), he could not even consult his own writings. Only years later – apparently under the Emperor Tiberius (578-582) – did his situation change. He could now move about freely and was able to form a friendship with the future Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) who for some years, until late 585, lived at Constantinople as apocriary of Rome.

After 23 years of exile, he returned to his see of Antioch – as he says in his greeting to the Antiochene congregation (CPG 6946) – in 593, by order of the Emperor Maurice (582-602), remaining there until his death late in 598. After the peace concluded with Chosroes I in 561, it seems clear that his activities were also directed towards Persia (CPG 6963), though the so-called colloquy of religion at the Sasanid court (CPG

6968) was not promoted by him. As the *Notitia dignitatum* (CPG 6967) – first drawn up during his years of office – points out, his continual care was the internal consolidation of the patriarchate of Antioch, on the eastern borders of the Empire.

Editions and sources: General view in G. Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana* I, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 4, Munich 1965, viii-x; S.N. Sakkos, *Anastasii I Antiocheni Opera omnia genuina quae supersunt*, Salonica 1976, 143-162; BHG 1689 cit.; P. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon le Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, I, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 32, Brussels 1962, 177 f.; BHG 1690: Nicephorus Uranus, *Vita Sancti Symeonis Junioris* (from ASS, 5 May, V 307-401), 192; PG 86, 2, 3161C-3164A; *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I, Leipzig 1883, 235, 11-15; 243, 24 f.; Evagrius Scholasticus, *Ecclesiastical History* (CPG 7500), IV, 39-40; V, 5; ed. J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, *Euagrius. The Ecclesiastical History*, Amsterdam 1964², 190-192; 201; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IX, 34; X, 2; X, 23; ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, Paris 1901, 272-281, 287, 372; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I, Munich-Berlin 1924, nn. 1-2; 8-9; 17-20; 104. On his friendship with Gregory the Great: *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum*, I, 7; 24-26; V, 41-42; VII, 24; 31; VIII, 2, ed. P. Ewald, L.M. Hartmann (*MGH Epp.* I-II), Berolini 1957², I, 9 f.; 28-40; 331-337; 468-470; 478-481; II, 2-4. For CPG 6944 see *infra*. CPG 6946: Λόγος εἰρηνικός to the community of Antioch, held on 25 March 593, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, II, Rome 1868, 251-257; ed. S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 121-124. CPG 6967: *Notitia Antiochena*, ed. E. Honigmann, "Studien zur Notitia Antiochena": *ByzZ* 25 (1925) 60-88, esp. 73-75 (reproduced in S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 143 f.). CPG 6963: *Ad Gabrielem presbyterum Persam*, ed. G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 128 f.; S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 142. CPG 6968 (BHG 802-805 g); ed. E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sassaniden*, TU, n.s. IV, 3, Leipzig 1899.

Studies: G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 1-48; S.N. Sakkos, *Περί Ἀναστασίων Συναϊτῶν*, Salonica 1964, 44-86; P. Goubert, "Patriarches d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie contemporains de Saint Grégoire le Grand", *REB* 25 (1967) 65-68; E. Chrysos, "Νεώτεροι ἐρευνῶν περὶ Ἀναστασίων Συναϊτῶν", *Κληρονομία* 1 (1969) 121-144; Allen, 204-207; 212-217; Grillmeier, II/3, 324 ff. On the *Notitia Antiochena* (CPG 6967) cf. V. Laurent, "La Notice d'Antioche, origine et tradition", *REB* 5 (1947) 67-89; E. Honigmann, "The Patriarchate of Antioch", *Traditio* 5 (1947) 135-161; W. Hagemann, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Patriarchen von Alexandrien und Antiochen", *OS* 16 (1967) 171-191.

1. ANASTASIUS' THEOLOGICAL WORK

Two themes dominate Anastasius' surviving writings: first, the refutation of so-called "Tritheism" – introduced in theology and economy from 557 –, i.e. of the concept of individual substance or nature (οὐσία τις); this concept was understood by Anastasius as *ousia* (φύσις) εἰδική or μερική and, so far as it was made to coincide with the concept of hypostasis, always evaluated as mere foolishness. Secondly his attention turned to the definition of "energy", with particular but not exclusive reference to the action of the incarnate Logos. In him both questions are present, though not directly linked to each other, since we must

start from energy in order to know substance and clarify its true nature. In other words, entities, if rightly understood, insofar as they are in possession of *one* energy, all belong to one and the same substance; indeed substance and energy are inseparable. Anastasius calls this link “an axiom of thought”.

In both themes he reveals his connection with Alexandria, perhaps even a certain polemical point against John Philoponus, whose *Diatetes* (CPG 7260) – appearing before 553 – he had refuted, probably in the period before his patriarchate, in this already demonstrating his interest in an analysis of the concept of energy (CPG 6956). At the start of his exile he mentions, in the so-called “first dogmatic discourse”, an earlier work composed by him against Tritheism, though it is unclear whether Anastasius composed it before or after the publication in late 567 of Philoponus’ *De trinitate* (CPG 7268). If the work cited by him is identified with his *Dialogue with a Tritheist* (CPG 6958), then, as suggested by an interlinear gloss, it would date from the time of his patriarchate.

2. AGAINST THE CONCEPT OF “DIVISIBLE SUBSTANCE” AND AGAINST THE SEPARATION BETWEEN SUBSTANCE AND ENERGY

What strikes us is that Anastasius is continually concerned with a precise delimitation of concepts and that, with his collection of definitions (CPG 6945), he sets himself the objective of providing a “propaedeutic to theology”. Yet in his *Logoi dogmatikoi* (CPG 6944) he vigorously defends himself from the penetration of elements of contemporary scholastic philosophy and hence from the tendency of 6th-century theology to transform itself into a “first scholastic”. In Anastasius it is not just a commonplace when he claims to be distancing himself from the transmitted cultural heritage (παιδεία ἀμέτοχος) and when he calls his teacher “none of the Greek philosophers” (ἔξω σοφοί). For this reason he confronts the various questions – e.g. whether a definition like that of “divisible substance” (οὐσία μερικὴ) has a meaning – always and immediately in the Trinitarian or Christological context and – as he himself says – “with the precise language” of the ecclesiastical teacher (κυριολογούντες).

Anastasius reflects on the problem raised by so-called “Tritheism” – i.e. that of defining “the hypostases of *one* substance” as οὐσίαι τινές, though without denying them in this way a consubstantiality (ὁμοουσιότης) of their own – not from a philosophical point of view, but in the tradition of the Cappadocians, i.e. presupposing that, in Trinitarian as in Christological doctrine, we are using one and the same conceptual apparatus. This was a presupposition that, since the beginning of the 6th century, had become the common heritage of the supporters of Chalcedon, especially against the doctrines of Severus of Antioch.

So he starts from the concepts of “one substance” (μία οὐσία) and “one according to essence” (ὁμοούσιον) in the sense of “common (κοινόν) essence”, to emphasise that substance does not admit of more or less, i.e. does not allow divisibility. For him οὐσία μερικὴ means, in the strict sense, “part of a substance”, a peculiarity that excludes it from referring to the whole of the substance. Consequently the interpretation of the divine hypostasis drawn from οὐσίαι τινές or μερικαί is revealed as a fall either into polytheism or into a denial of the divinity of the Son and the Spirit. In the latter case it would be an Arian position, though on no occasion does Anastasius explicitly refer to Arianism. Against the thesis of “divisible substance” he formulates a definition of the three hypostases by means of the concept of “essential relationship” (οὐσιώδης σχέσις), with which, analogously to Leontius of Byzantium, he breaks with the philosophical tradition that, starting from Aristotle’s *Categories*, considered relationship as an accident.

That the Trinity is “one substance”, common (κοινή) to the three hypostases, is revealed (ἀποδέδεικται) by the one energy of the three hypostases. As proof, Anastasius uses citations from the Bible. And yet, whenever he comes up against the Incarnation of the Logos, for which he rejects the concept of two οὐσίαι μερικαί, he avoids (νὺν οὐκ ἐλέγχω) discussing this problem (CPG 6944, 3).

His view of the relations between substance and energy is expounded in the second λόγος δογματικός (CPG 6944, 2) and is aimed against those of his contemporaries who wished, in reflecting on a theology of creation, to separate divine substance from divine energy. They maintained: “God exists in everything (ἐν πᾶσιν) according to his energy, but not according to his substance”, since the divine substance must be kept far away from matter and “its mire”. To this doctrine Anastasius replied: God’s substance cannot be separated from his energy, which, as *creatio continua* (συντήρησις) demonstrates, exists in the entire creation and in the whole of it (περὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐν τῷ παντί). Only if the divine substance and energy are found in relation with the whole of the real and remain indefinable (ἀπερίγραπτος) by man (in other words, if they escape not just rigorous definition, but even that delimitation that would signify something different from the fact that God exists and preserves everything in existence), only in this case can God be maintained in his incommensurability with respect to human thought. The contrary thesis limits the divine substance, since it circumscribes it (περιγράφει): by keeping God far away from matter, it maintains a conception of the divine substance as something unknowable and, in a more general sense, indefinable (ἀπερίγραπτος).

In this Logos, Anastasius’ way of arguing is strangely that of a quibbling dialectician: indeed he links the distinction between divine

substance and divine energy to the conception, maintained since his refutation of the *Diaitetes*, of a triple meaning of the term “energy”.

Editions and sources: CPG 6944: *De orthodoxa fide orationes quinque*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Anastasianana*, Rome 1866, 60-99; ed. S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 17-78; CPG 6945: *Definitiones*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, “Die ‘Philosophischen Kapitel’ des Anastasius I. von Antiochen (559-598)”, *OCP* 46 (1980) 306-366; CPG 6958: *Adversus qui in divinis dicant tres substantias individuas*, ed. S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 107-119; ed. K.-H. Uthemann, “Des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochen Jerusalem Streitgespräch mit einem Tritheiten (CPG 6958)”, *Traditio* 37 (1981) 73-108.

Studies: G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 159-180. On Tritheism: H. Martin, *La controverse trithéite dans l’empire byzantin au VI^e siècle*, Dissertation, Louvain s.d.; A. Van Roey, “La controverse trithéite jusqu’à l’excommunication de Conon et d’Eugène (557-569)”, *OLP* 16 (1985) 141-165; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 122-143. On John Philoponus see Grillmeier, II/4, 135-138 (English ed., 131-135).

3. THE ANASTASIAN ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF ENERGY

Anastasius’ analysis of the concept of energy is presented in various aspects and from various perspectives. It obviously starts from the concrete linguistic use of the term “energy”, which indicates, primarily, a power (δύναμις) from which springs (ἐνεργεῖ) a particular action; secondly, the relationship of that which acts to the product of its action; finally, the result of the action (ἀποτέλεσμα). This analysis is oriented towards that process by virtue of which a man produces an object. Insofar as this activity presupposes intellect (Nous or Logos), Anastasius can also define as energy the leading idea of νοῦς and its linguistic expression. In the creative man himself he distinguishes an energy of the spiritual soul and an energy of the body; also energy is that which man – a unity (κοινόν) of soul and body – derives from both his energies, i.e. the concrete result of his action (ἀποτέλεσμα).

This premise serves Anastasius as a paradigm for his description of the acts of the incarnate Logos. The latter uses both divine energies (in the plural), e.g. for the Virgin Birth or the transformation of water to wine (Jn 2), and human energies, e.g. for all that concerns the nutrition of His body. It is clear that in this case the term energy indicates the result, τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, of an act.

Anastasius links this energy to the hypostasis: “As we see these energies spring from the two natures”, i.e. the divine and the human nature, “and connect with each other, and as we see a single hypostasis – indissoluble and pure – (spring) from the natures that meet, in the same way we also recognize that from two different energies springs a single result (ἀποτέλεσμα), i.e. Christ, who is one”. In this context, the interpretation of the Chalcedonian profession of faith is brought into relation with those biblical expressions that attribute to Christ majesty

and humility, the divine and the human at the same time (κοινῶς) (CPG 6953). This view reproduces, using other terms, that of the *communes actiones* of which Pope Leo the Great speaks in his *Tomus ad Flavianum*. Both Leo and Anastasius emphasize the concrete result, τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, produced by the various energies.

On this basis, Anastasius defends the *Tomus ad Flavianum* (CPG 6952). In Christ’s acts are manifested various energies, divine and human, which from time to time meet in a single divine-human ἀποτέλεσμα. Reflecting on the relationship between energy and substance, Anastasius emphasizes that the natures or substances are recognized by virtue of what the incarnate Logos has produced. Consequently it is clear that we cannot speak of a single power (δύναμις) of acting, still less of a single natural energy. Yet this does not rule out that a single hypostasis may be the subject of the expressions of majesty as well as of humility. This hypostasis is a unity (κοινή ὑπόστασις), a synthesis that – in perfect continuity with Leontius of Jerusalem – is understood as divinization of the human reality cherished within it. Because of the unification produced by the Incarnation, all that there is of divine and human in it, e.g. divine *apatheia* and human suffering, must at the same time (κοινῶς) be attributed to one and the same subject, even if we distinguish them in relation to Christ’s concrete acts (τοῦ νοῦ διακρίνοντος); and yet we distinguish them without separating them and without destroying the single *apotelesma* (CPG 6944, 3-4).

How Anastasius understands all this is revealed by those comparisons in which fire functions as a metaphor of the divine. Fire inflames everything with which it comes in contact, with the consequence that it is almost impossible – says Anastasius – to distinguish between the fire and the thing inflamed by it. Christ’s human nature becomes, as it were, a little tongue of flame, “so overwhelmed as to seem no longer a human nature” (CPG 6957). Precisely this is what is revealed in Christ’s acts.

In his work against Philoponus’ *Diaitetes* (CPG 6956), it would seem that Anastasius called the single result of Christ’s acts *mia energeia*. Because of this statement he became the object – after his death and at the height of the Monothelite crisis – of bitter attacks from various quarters, and only Maximus the Confessor tried to defend him. To do so he expressly distanced himself from Anastasius’ analysis of the concept of energy: Anastasius, he said, had distinguished “too scientifically” between the “natural property”, understood as capacity to act, and the result of the act. In saying this, Maximus aimed on one hand to exclude a Monophysite interpretation; on the other, however, he wanted to demonstrate that Anastasius had not theorized any “hypostatic energy”; if he had, he would have come close to a Nestorian Christology. But the real problem posed by Anastasius escaped Maximus, i.e. that of the

necessity of affirming the single subject of the act and, at the same time, the need to justify the distinction – contained in the Chalcedonian profession of faith – between the one hypostasis and the two natures, thus filling the concept of hypostasis with content, in the light of religious intuition.

Editions and sources: CPG 6944: v. *supra*; CPG 6952: Apologia for the *Tomus Leonis*, fragments, ed. R. Riedinger (1) from *Testimonia patrum* of the Sixth Ecumenical Council: *ACO*, series II, 2/1, 362.17-364.9; in anthology in Vat. Gr. 1455: ed. Riedinger, *ACO*, series II, 1, 436; CPG 6953: *De operationibus*, fragments (1) in *Doctrina patrum* (CPG 7781), in: Diekamp, 78-80; 134-136; ed. S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 131-133; (2) in anthology in Vat. Gr. 1455, ed. Riedinger, *ACO*, series II, 1, 435 f.; CPG 6957: *Ad Sergium Grammaticum*, fragments in Diekamp, *loc. cit.*, 125 f.; ed. S.N. Sakkos, *op. cit.*, 136-139; for the introductory words missing in the *Doctrina*, ed. G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 128, cf. W. Elert, *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie*, Berlin 1957, 48.

Studies: G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 203-210; K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union", *Κληρονομία* 14 (1982) 215-312, in part. 276-280; Idem, *Der Neuchalkedonismus als Vorbereitung des Monotheletismus. Ein Beitrag zum eigentlichen Anliegen des Neuchalkedonismus*, SP 29, Leuven 1997, in part. 394-403. For the general picture: Idem, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalkedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon*, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 54-122.

4. ANASTASIUS AS HOMILIST

Anastasius' surviving homilies are still partly unedited. What strikes us is his interest in the calendar, e.g. on the calculation of the date of the Annunciation to Mary (25 March), which is also the date of the Incarnation, understood as a reprisal of the moment when the visible world was created (CPG 6948). On the same day he puts – in a sermon preached in the year 560 on the 532nd anniversary (CPG 6951) of the Easter cycle – Christ's death. Both in his homily on Christ's Transfiguration (CPG 6947) and in the first half of the cited homily on the Annunciation to Mary (CPG 6948) he simply follows, from time to time, the text of the respective Gospel (Mt 16, 24 – 17, 9; Lk 1, 26-38). History then gives way to Christological statements, to draw attention to the incarnate Logos as single hypostasis, as the acting subject of the Incarnation.

Editions and sources: CPG 6947-6949; PG 89, 1361-1389; CPG 6950: an unedited homily on Hypapante; CPG 6951: *Rede auf den Passahzyklus* (forthcoming).

Studies: G. Weiss, *op. cit.*, 91-97; M. Sachot, *Les homélies grecques sur la transfiguration, Tradition manuscrite*, Paris 1987, 118; M. Cunningham, "The Sixth Century: A Turning-Point for Byzantine Homiletics?", *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?*, ed. P. Allen, E. Jeffreys, Byzantina Australiensia 10, Brisbane 1996, 176-186. On CPG 6947: D. Krausmüller, "Timothy of Antioch. Byzantine Concepts of the Resurrection", *Gouden Hoorn, Tijdschrift over Byzantium* 5 (1997/1998) 11-26.

ADRIAN THE EXEGETE

Adrian, an exegete of the Antiochene school, is probably to be identified with the homonymous monk and presbyter, recipient of three letters of consolation and encouragement from St Nilus (*Epp.* 2, 60; 3, 118 and 260; PG 79, 225; 347 and 516); he is Antiochene in the type of explanation he gives. Living in the 5th century (he seems to have died between 440 and 450), he is mentioned by Cassiodorus (*Inst. Div.* 1, 10) among the *introductores Scripturae divinae* after Tyconius and Augustine and before Eucherius and Junilius; Photius too had read his work, which he considers very useful for those beginning the study of Scripture (*Bibl.*, cod. 2: PG 103, 45). Of him there survives in Greek an *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, which is a sort of biblical hermeneutic (the term *eisagoge* appears here for the first time as the title of a book of exegesis and seems a modern title). It had a considerable circulation, since several manuscripts are preserved, and was translated into Latin by Lollinus († 1625). The *textus receptus* seems rather to be an extract from a larger work, since Pitra found fragments of a longer recension in the Catenae. His name also occurs in the Catenae for other fragments of dubious attribution on the Psalms and for the *Introduction* itself.

"In three sections Adrian deals with figures of thought, under which he groups together anthropomorphisms, of word and of construction (to which he adds a brief review of the most varied kinds of tropes). This work, which reveals a fine sense of language and originality in the distinction of rhetorical figures, is a passable instrument for the interpretation of Scripture" (Nazzaro).

Editions and studies: CPG 6527; PG 98, 1273-1312; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, II, Tusculi 1884, 130-136; F. Goessling, *Adrians Eisagoge eis tas Theias graphas. Aus neu aufgefundenen Handschriften herausgegeben, übersetzt und untersucht*, Leipzig 1887; G. Mercati, "Pro Adriano", *RB* 11 (1914) 246-255 (= Idem, *Opere minori*, III, ST 78, Rome 1937, 383-392); *DHGE* 1, 611; *DTC*, Tables 1, 44; V. Nazzaro: *EEC* 1 (1992) 369.

THEODULUS, PRESBYTER AND EXEGETE

Gennadius of Marseille, living in the second half of the 5th century, knew a Theodulus, presbyter of Coele-Syria, who had written much, but of whom he knew only one work, *De consonantia divinae Scripturae*, i.e. on the harmony between the Old and New Testaments. It was written against some heretics who claimed a different God for each Testament, but Theodulus demonstrated that there was a single *dispensatio*, and hence a single author of both Scriptures, given a first time through Moses and then through the presence of Christ. Gennadius adds that Theodulus died at the time of the emperor Zeno (474-475 and 476-491) (ch. 92, Richardson, TU 14, 93). So he was not long dead when

Gennadius wrote. Moreover, from Book II of Theodulus' work, which was called Nestorian, a phrase was cited at the Lateran Council of 649 (Mansi 10, 1121); the fragment is also given in the *Doctrina Patrum* (cf. Diekamp, 315). Ebedjesus writes that Theodulus, a disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, wrote a commentary on the prophet Isaiah in two books and a treatise on the Davidic Psalms and how to recite them (Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis* 3, 1, 37). At present only some small fragments of Theodulus survive: two from the *Consonantia* (CPG 6540); two on the book of Judges (CPG 6541), which show a literal type of exegesis; a fragment on Isaiah (CPG 6542); three citations by Isho'dad of Merv, in which Theodulus rejects the messianic interpretation of the song of the Servant of Yahweh (CSCO 304, cf. index, p. 200); a scholium on Psalm 83, 4-5, where he is called "chorepiscopus" (Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, III, 470), and finally one on Romans 9, 11.

Editions: CPG 6540-6544. *De consonantia:* Diekamp, 315, nn. 41, 45. On Judges: R. Devreesse, *Les anciens grecs commentateurs de l'Octateuque*, ST 201, Vatican City 1959, 185. On Isaiah: CSCO 304 / *Syr.* 129, 27 n. 3; 68, 78; CSCO 230 / *Syr.* 97, 25. On Psalms: J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, III, Venetiis 1993 (repr., Westmead 1966), 470; R. Devreesse, *Les anciens grecs commentateurs des Psaumes*, ST 264, Vatican City 1970, 328. On Romans: K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare der griechischen Kirche*, Münster 1933, 97 f.; Idem, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome 1926, 41, n. 1.

Studies: Bardenhewer IV, 262; Baumstark, 122; *EC* 11, 1947; Diekamp, n. 52; K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome 1926, 97; *Lexikon der christlichen Literatur*, ed. S. Döpp, W. Geerlings, Freiburg 1998, 601.

VICTOR OF ANTIOCH

Victor, never named in ancient sources, is known only through a series of citations in the exegetical Catena. A presbyter who lived between the 5th and 6th centuries, he is known as author of a commentary on Mark's Gospel. In fact the extracts are transmitted by the *Commentarii in Marcum*, of which two recensions are distinguished. The fragments come mainly from Chrysostom's *In Matthaem homiliae*, Origen's *Commentarii in Matthaem* and *In Iohannem*, the *homiliae* devoted to Luke by Cyril, and Titus of Bostra's *Commentarii in Lucam*. Some belong to Basil of Caesarea on 9, 50, to Gregory of Nyssa on 15, 29-32, to Ambrose and Augustine (translated into Greek) on 14, 34, also handed down in an autonomous Catena attested in the 13th-century cod. Vat. gr. 1692. Some 180 extracts are handed down in cod. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 194, while a few are in other autonomous compilations attested in the Roman codd. Pal. gr. 220 (10th c.), Vat. gr. 349 and Biblioteca dei Lincei A. 300. So rather than being an original author, Victor could have made this collection. Other fragments attributed to

him are in Nicetas' Catena on Luke's Gospel (CPG 6534). Other fragments are on Deuteronomy, Judges and Kings (CPG 6529) and on the prophets, particularly Jeremiah (CPG 6530).

Editions and studies: CPG 6529-6534; *Commentary on Luke:* A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, IX, Rome 1837, 633-693. Fragments of exegesis on Jeremiah and Jeremiah's Lamentations are in: M. Ghislerius, *In Ieremiam Prophetam Commentarii*, Lugduni 1623; single scholia on Deuteronomy, Judges and Kings, as well as the book of Daniel, are of little importance. *PW* 8A, 2066; *KTK* 10, 791; *EC* 12, 1540; *DTC* 15, 2871-2874; Altaner, 479; Beck, 420 f.; H. Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark", *JTS* 19 (1917/1918) 350-370 (cf. the chapter on the Catena).

OECUMENIUS

QUAESTIO OECUMENIANA

Oecumenius is the author of a commentary on the Apocalypse, the earliest one transmitted entire by the Greek tradition. Critics have long been divided on the identity of the author, at first identified with Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca, for whom various dates have been proposed, from the late 6th to the 10th century (for this see Hoskier, to whom we owe the one critical edition of the text as yet consultable), and then with Oecumenius, friend and correspondent of Severus of Antioch, which would date the *Commentary* to the mid 6th century (Spitaler, Schmid). While the former hypothesis has long been abandoned, the latter has arguments in its favour that cannot be overlooked. In the first place, the existence of two letters (PO XII, 2, n. 58, pp. 175, 186) of Severus of Antioch addressed to Oecumenius, dated respectively 508-512 and 513-518; then, a passage from the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Hoskier, pp. 226.25 - 227.1 and 227.7-18) appears in Syriac translation in a 7th-century ms. preceded by the words, which I give in Spitaler's translation (p. 210): "Von Oecumenius, einem sorgfältigen Mann, der sehr orthodox ist, wie die Briefe des Patriarchen Mar Severus, die an ihn gerichtet sind, zeigen: aus dem 6. memra von denen, die er über die Offenbarung des Evangelistes Johannes verfasst hat".

The most important and, in my opinion, decisive argument against this hypothesis remains a passage in the *Commentary* stating that more than 500 years have passed since the Apocalypse was written; at two other points Oecumenius cites Eusebius's *Chronicon* in which John's exile on the isle of Patmos is put in the reign of Domitian (AD 81-95). This would mean that the *Commentary* was written at the end of the 6th century, making the identification of its author with Severus' friend Oecumenius impossible. The chronological problem has been systematically discussed again by De Groote, whose conclusions - no coincidence between Oecumenius the author of the *Commentary* and

Oecumenius the correspondent of Severus; and a late 6th-century date – repeat and reinforce those of Monaci Castagno.

THE COMMENTARY

It is divided into twelve *logoi*; the guidelines are anticipated in the introduction: 1) the Apocalypse is a prophecy which embraces past, present and future (I, p. 29); 2) it was written by John, the author of the Gospel and Epistles; 3) it requires a spiritual interpretation. The use of allegorical interpretation allows us to refer much of the Apocalypse to the past: in Rev 6 – 8.4, the first six seals symbolize the events from the birth of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem (the 144,000 are the Jews who believed in Christ); Rev 12 describes the main events of salvation-history from the fall of Satan to the conception and birth of Christ from Mary (= the woman), to the persecution of the “faithful” by “the kings of the earth, and the great men”; in Rev 17-18 is seen the destruction of ancient Rome, which had persecuted the Christians, contrasted with the “new Rome” founded by the “pious” Constantine. In Rev 20 the thousand years symbolize the preaching of Christ during which Satan was bound until the ascension. Oecumenius also uses allegory to interpret in a spiritual sense the sufferings of the last times, like the punishments and the promises of the afterlife, while taking a stand against the Origenist doctrine of apocatastasis and emphasizing that the eternity of punishment is a “dogma” of the Church (on this point see Monaci Castagno, 1980, 15-16). As for the Apocalypse’s reference to the present, Oecumenius holds that the importance of this book lies especially in its edifying intention, in that it clearly preaches the rewards and pains reserved for sinners after the judgment (pp. 252, 254, 256); a salient trait of the Oecumenian exegesis is the absence of ecclesiological interpretations; it was, e.g., an exegetical tradition well attested especially in the West to interpret the millennium as referring to the time of the Church. In general, however, Oecumenius seems wholly in the dark as to Western exegesis of the Apocalypse. Defence of the Apocalypse’s apostolic authenticity is another fundamental theme of the *Commentary*, which tries to bring out the points of contact between the Apocalypse and the other writings of John; also linked to this theme is that of the defence of his orthodoxy from a Christological point of view. These parts of the *Commentary* help identify the position of the author in the complex theological line-up of the 6th century. The orthodoxy of the Apocalypse that Oecumenius tries to demonstrate is not the Monophysite one, but is close to Neochalcedonianism, that theological current which in the second half of the 6th century, based mainly on the adoption of the terminology of Cyril of Alexandria, who was also the theologian most loved and followed by the Monophysites, represented the extreme attempt

at reconciliation with Monophysitism, which was forming itself into a Church parallel to the official one. From the *Commentary* Oecumenius appears a person of broad culture, both religious and secular; his writing is clear and elegant, free from linguistic and syntactic affectations; he shows knowledge, even if not profound, in the spheres of medicine, astronomy, botany, chemistry and astrology; he cites the *Iliad* and knows Flavius Josephus; to justify his allegorical interpretations he uses the symbology of numbers and the interpretation of Hebrew names.

Editions: CPG 7470-7475; H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse, now printed for the first time from manuscripts at Messina, Rome, Salonika and Athos, edited with notes by H. C. Hoskier*, Ann Arbor 1928; M. De Groote, *Oecumeni commentarius in Apocalypsin*, Turnhout 1998.

Studies: J. Schmid, A. Spitaler, “Zur Klärung des Ökumeniusproblems”, *OrChr* series III, 9 (1934) 208-218; A. Monaci Castagno, “Il problema della datazione dei Commenti all’Apocalisse di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea”, *Atti dell’Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 114 (1980) 223-246; Eadem, “I Commenti di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea: due letture divergenti dell’Apocalisse”, *Memorie dell’Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, series V, 5 (1981), II. *Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, 305-426; M. De Groote, “Die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Oecumenius-Kommentars zur Apokalypse”, *SE* 35 (1995) 5-29; Idem, “Die Quaestio Oecumeniana”, *SE* 36 (1996) 67-105; J.C. Lamoreaux, “The Provenance of Ecumenius’ Commentary on the Apocalypse”, *VC* 52 (1998) 88-108 (makes Severus’ correspondent the author of the *Commentary*).

JOHN DRUNGARIUS, CATENIST

Nothing is known about the life and work of this catenist who lived around the 6th and 7th centuries. He compiled a Catena for each of the four Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel). In the prologue to the Catena on Isaiah he declares that, being unable to understand the text of the prophet, he had recourse to the Fathers to clear up the difficulties, in particular to Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodore of Heraclea, Eusebius of Emesa, Apollinaris and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. He observes however, in order to distance himself from charges of heresy made against them, that when these authors are not putting forward their own doctrines they offer interesting observations.

Editions and studies: cf. the chapter on the Catenae; G. Dorival, “Des commentaries de l’Écriture aux chaînes”, *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondésert, Paris 1984, 360-386, esp. 368 ff.

JOHN DIACRINOMENUS

From Photius, who had read five of the ten books of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of John Diacrinomenus, we know something of the scope and tenor of the work, now lost except for fragments preserved chiefly in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Theodore the Lector. John’s history began at

the time of the condemnation of Nestorius during the reign of Theodosius II, i.e. in 431, covered the controversial patriarchate of Peter the Fuller in Antioch (471, 474-477, 485-488) and extended to the reign of Anastasius I (491-518). According to Photius, John treated the First Council of Ephesus (431) dismissively, but "worshipped" Ephesus II (449 – the *latrocinium Ephesinum*) and its important player Dioscorus, by which an unorthodox position is suggested. John probably wrote around the year 500, and the interest which is displayed in events in Antioch and Syria in the surviving fragments suggests that he was Syrian. The name Diacrinomenus, "hesitant", indicates that John has to be situated among that group of 5th- and 6th-century Christians who had reservations about accepting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Editions: CPG 7509; cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 41; G.C. Hansen, *Theodorus Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, 54, Berlin 1971, 152-157; *Acta concilii Nicaeni II, actio V*, in: Mansi 13, 180E-181B.

Studies: A. Jülicher: PW 9, 2 (1919)1806; J.-M. Sautet: *EEC* 1 (1992) 443.

JOHN MALALAS

Compiler of the first Byzantine universal chronicle, John Malalas was a Syrian, as his epithet suggests, *malalas* meaning rhetor or *scholasticus* in Syriac. He was born in the 470s or 480s and died after 565. His familiarity with Antioch probably indicates that he was born and educated there or in its vicinity. At some stage he travelled to Thessalonica and Caesarea Philippi, and late in his life he lived in Constantinople, where he composed the last of the eighteen books of his work. He appears to have been a middle- to high-ranking official in the imperial bureaucracy at Antioch, probably in the office of the *Comes Orientis* for which he provides valuable and exclusive information. His audience was possibly the huge number of civil and military officials in 6th-century Antioch.

In his preface Malalas explains that he has a two-fold purpose in composing his chronicle: firstly to show the course of sacred history as interpreted by the Christian chronographic tradition, and secondly to provide a brief account of events from Adam to Justinian. The work covers the period from creation to AD 563 where the single manuscript which preserves the bulk of the chronicle breaks off, although it actually continued to the death of Justinian in 565, or – less likely – even as far as 574. The Church historian Evagrius Scholasticus, writing in the 590s, seems to have used an edition of the chronicle that stopped in 526/527. Scholars have often argued that book 18, with its Constantinopolitan focus, is the work of a continuator, rather than of John himself, but it is more plausible to see the whole of the chronicle as the work of a single author, although it was composed in two stages three decades apart.

Again, on the basis of book 18 it has been usual to regard Malalas as a Monophysite, whereas he provides little coverage of the fierce contemporary theological debates and displays less interest in them. As far as his sources are concerned, Malalas drew on a few major writers: Domninus, a historian of Antioch who had probably digested much material from the Antiochene archives; Nestorianus, who was probably responsible for the fragments of early Church history which Malalas included; and a certain Timothy, who had collected Orphic and Hermetic/gnostic texts. In books 15-18 oral traditions and eye-witness accounts predominate. Malalas has an interest in buildings and monuments, and in rationalizing Greek mythology. Although as a *scholasticus* he was well-educated, his style is vernacular. His focus on the passing of the millennium reflects a concern particularly evident in Syriac circles. The information which he provided is not so much an accurate record of historical events as a reflection of the thought-world of 6th-century Byzantium. The popularity and influence of the chronicle are attested to by its translation into Syriac, Latin, Slavonic and Ethiopic.

Editions: CPG 7511; L. Dindorf, *Chronographia*, CSHB 15, Bonn 1831 (= PG 97, 9-790); A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas; Griechischer Texte der Bücher IX-XII und Untersuchungen*, Stuttgart 1931.

Translations – Latin: E. Chilmead, 1691 (repr., Venice 1733; Bonn 1831 and PG 97).

English: M. Spinka, G. Downey, *Chronicle of John Malalas: Books VIII-XVIII*, Translated from the Church Slavonic, Chicago 1940; E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott *et al.*, *The Chronicle of John Malalas. A Translation*, Byzantina Australiensia 4, Melbourne 1986.

German: O. Veh, *Prokop, Perserkriege*, Munich 1970 (part of book XVIII).

Studies: E. Hörling, *Mythos und Pistis: Zur Deutung heidnischen Mythen in der christlichen Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas*, Lund 1980; Z.V. Udal'cova, "Ioann Malala", in Eadem (ed.), *Kul'tura Vizantii: IV-pervaya polovina IV-VII*, Moscow 1984, 246-260; R.D. Scott, "Malalas, the Secret History and Justinian's Propaganda", *DOP* 39 (1985) 99-109; E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott (edd.), *Studies in John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 6, Sydney 1990; E.M. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of John Malalas, Book I: A Commentary", P. Allen, E.M. Jeffreys (edd.), *The Sixth Century – End or Beginning?*, Byzantina Australiensia 10, Brisbane 1996, 52-74; R. Scott, "Writing the Reign of Justinian: Malalas versus Theophanes", *ibidem* 20-34; *ODB* 2, 1275; J.-M. Sautet: *EEC* 1 (1992) 443.

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS

Born during the reign of Justinian (527-565) at Epiphania on the Orontes, Evagrius was a schoolboy at the time of the capture of Antioch by the Persians in 540. After completing his legal studies in Constantinople, he returned to Antioch probably in the late 550s, during the first patriarchate of Anastasius (558-570), of whom he shows some first-hand knowledge.

Some time after 569/570, when the abbot Gregory became patriarch, Evagrius and his relative, the *scholasticus* (advocate) John of Epiphania, became his legal advisers, making them eminent members of the local community. Hence the citizens of Antioch granted Evagrius a public reception on the occasion of his second marriage in 588, and he was awarded an honorary quaestorship by the Emperor Tiberius (578-582) and an ex-consulate by the Emperor Maurice (582-602). Evagrius was acquainted with members of the imperial court and, because of his collaboration with Patriarch Gregory, was an eye-witness of many political, military and ecclesiastical events in his time. He travelled to Constantinople in 587/588 with the patriarch to defend him before a secular and ecclesiastical court against charges arising probably from local religious troubles. Evagrius' first wife and several of his children died in visitations of the plague, and he himself died after 593/594.

Evagrius composed a *Historia ecclesiastica* in six books, spanning the period from the beginning of the Nestorian controversy (428) to 593/594, which may have been commissioned by Patriarch Gregory. Its significance lies in the fact that it is the only continuous source for events after Chalcedon (451) down to the end of the 6th century. Book I covers the period before the Council of Chalcedon, especially Nestorius and the First and Second Councils of Ephesus, while Book II deals with the Council of Chalcedon and its aftermath. At the end of Book II Evagrius includes an epitome of the Chalcedonian *acta*. Book III is devoted to the reigns of Zeno, Basiliscus and Anastasius I, and Book IV to Justin I and Justinian. Book V deals with the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius, and Book VI with that of Maurice. Because he writes in justification of the Council of 451 and its doctrine, Evagrius gives a priority to the preservation of documents concerned with Chalcedonian belief, particularly if they deal with contentious issues. For some documents he is the only testimony we have. His principal literary sources are the *Chronographia* of John Malalas, the historical epitome of Eustathius of Epiphania, now lost, the *Ecclesiastical History* of the anti-Chalcedonian historian Zacharias, Procopius' *Wars* and the secular history of his kinsman John of Epiphania, which survives only in fragments. In the first three books, which range over secular events in East and West and natural phenomena, as well as ecclesiastical affairs, there is a dichotomy between secular and Church events due to his use of sources which dealt exclusively either with the secular or the ecclesiastical. By contrast, the material of the last three books is more integrated, but then predominantly secular, demonstrating how far the genre of ecclesiastical historiography had departed from the Eusebian model. Evagrius' approach is often thematic rather than chronological, and even for the sequence of events in his own time he is unreliable. His

style is archaizing and rhetorical, but despite its theological bias his work is moderate in tone. Evagrius' *Church History* was used by the Byzantine church historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos.

Edition: J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, *The Ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the Scholia*, London 1898, repr., Amsterdam 1964.

Translations – French: A.-J. Festugière, "Évagre. Histoire Ecclésiastique", *Byzantion* 45 (1975) 187-488.

Italian: F. Carcione, *Storia ecclesiastica*, Rome 1998.

English: M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Translated Texts for Historians 33, Liverpool 2000.

Studies: L. Thurmayr, *Sprachliche Studien zu den Kirchenhistoriker Euagrius*, Eichstätt 1910; G.F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Euagrius*, *ThéolHist* 46, Paris 1977; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 41, Leuven 1981; V.A. Caires, "Euagrius Scholasticus, A Literary Analysis", *ByzF* 8 (1982) 29-50; *ODB* 2, 761.

MACARIUS OF ANTIOCH

Elected Melkite patriarch of Antioch soon after the middle of the 7th century, he never managed to set foot in his see, being forbidden by the Arab invaders. So he resided at Constantinople, where he was a pillar of Monothelite propaganda, nourishing the Romano-Byzantine schism that had gone on since the mutual excommunications of Pope Theodore and Patriarch Paul (647). His Christological thought, apart from polemical citations, is known directly only through the depositions made at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople III, 680-681), which removed him after inserting him in the list of anathematized heretics. Among the conciliar Acts emerges, in particular, a lengthy *Confessio fidei* in which Macarius tries to establish a doctrinal continuity with the letters of Pope Honorius. The evidence given at Constantinople III by Constantine of Apamea demonstrates how effective was Macarius' spiritual authority over the Chalcedonians of Syria, despite the lack of ordinary contacts due to the obstacles created by the Islamic government.

Editions: CPG 7625; Mansi 11, 349-360; *ACO*, series II, 2/1, 218.7-230.6.

Studies: J. Rissberger, *Das Glaubensbekenntnis des Patriarchen Makarius von Antiochien des Hauptes der Monotheliten auf den 6. allgemeinen Konzil*, Offenbach 1940; S.J. Voicu, *EEC* 1 (1992) 514; M. Maccarone, *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio*, Rome 1989, 348, 385; 392-393, 397-399, 403, 406, 431; F. Carcione, *La genesi storico-teologico del monotelismo maronita*, Rome 1991, 41.

ISAAC OF NINEVEH

Isaac of Nineveh (also known as Isaac the Syrian) was born in the region of Qatar in the Persian Gulf in the 7th century. He became a monk

and teacher in his native land until c. 676, when he was consecrated bishop of Nineveh in the monastery of Beth 'Abē (or Beth 'Awē, in Kurdistan) by Catholicos Giwargis (George) I of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Five months later, "for a reason which God knows" (as one of his biographers put it), Isaac resigned his bishopric and retired to the mountains of Khuzistan, where he lived the life of a solitary. In old age he moved to the monastery of Rabban Shabur, where he died, perhaps now blind, at an unknown date. All his writings, on prayer and the spiritual life, seem to belong to his latter years. Despite the fact of his Nestorian allegiance, manifest in his reverence for Theodore of Mopsuestia, to whom he gives the traditional title "the Exegete", Isaac became an immensely popular spiritual teacher, and his writings were translated from Syriac into Greek, Arabic, Georgian and Ethiopic, as well as into Old Church Slavonic: among the Slav Christians he became a great favourite. In his teaching on prayer, he draws explicitly on Evagrius and on the Macarian Homilies, as well as on the already well-established tradition of Syriac spirituality, and weds the intellectual insight of Evagrius to the experiential spirituality of "Macarius". His is a spirituality of the heart, and of a love for God and the whole created order, that knows no limit.

Studies: J.-B. Chabot, *De S. Isaaci Ninivite vita scriptis et doctrina*, Paris 1892; G.L. Marriott, "Isaac of Nineveh and the writings of Macarius of Egypt", *JThS* 20 (1919) 345-347; F.C. Burkitt, "Isaac of Nineveh", *JThS* 26 (1925) 81-86; S.P. Brock, "St Isaac of Nineveh and Syriac spirituality", *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 7/ 2 (1975) 79-89; E. Khaliḏ-Hachem: *DSp* 7 (1971) 2041-2054. See also *infra*, SYRIAC LITERATURE, pp. 482-483.

WORKS

The writings of Isaac were collected after his death in two parts. The *First Part*, but not the *Second Part*, was translated into Greek, so it is through the *First Part* that Isaac achieved ecumenical renown. The *Second Part* was largely unknown until very recently. There is also a work called the *Book of Grace*, the authenticity of which is disputed. M. Geerard also records some ascetical chapters spuriously ascribed to Isaac (CPG 7869).

1. First Part

The *First Part* consists of 82 homilies. It was translated into Greek in the 9th century by two monks of the Great Laura of St Sabas, Patrikios and Abramios, who included, as well as authentic material from Isaac, texts from two other Syriac writers, Philoxenus of Mabbūgh and John of Dalyatha. Extracts from this, translated into Russian, were included by St Theophan the Recluse in his version of the *Philokalia*. The original Syriac text was published in 1909 by P. Bedjan.

Editions: CPG 7868; P. Bedjan, *De Perfectione Religiosa*, Paris 1909; Greek version: N. Theotokis, Leipzig 1770; 2nd ed. by J. Spetsieris, Athens 1895, 1976³.

Translations – English (from Syriac): A.J. Wensinck, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*, Verhandelingen der kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde, n.s. 23, 1, Amsterdam 1923 (repr. Wiesbaden 1969); M. Hansbury, *St Isaac of Nineveh, On Ascetical Life*, Crestwood (NY) 1989 (Homilies 1-6 only); S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, CSS 101, Kalamazoo (MI) 1987, 246-263 (excerpts).

English (from Greek): [Dana Miller], *The Ascetical Homilies of St Isaac the Syrian*, Brookline (MA) 1984 (with notes referring to the Syriac original).

French: J. Touraille, *Isaac le Syrien: œuvres spirituelles*, Paris 1981.

Italian: M. Gallo, P. Bettio, *Isacco di Ninive: Discorsi ascetici*, 1, Rome 1984 (Homilies 1-6 only).

2. Second Part

The *Second Part* was known to Bedjan, who published some extracts from a ms., now lost, in his edition of the *First Part*. Until recently it was feared that the *Second Part* was lost for good, apart from an incomplete ms. preserved in Paris (syr. 298), but in 1983 a complete ms. of the *Second Part* was discovered in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by S. Brock. The *Second Part* consists of 41 chapters, of which chapter 3 consists of four centuries on spiritual knowledge. There has already appeared an Italian translation of chapter 3 by P. Bettio, who is to publish an edition of the first three chapters; an edition of chapters 4-41 by S. Brock, with an English translation, has already been published. The *Second Part* was not translated into other languages in antiquity, and so contributed nothing to Isaac's ecumenical renown.

Text: Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian), *The Second Part*, Chapters IV-XLI, ed. Sebastian Brock, CSCO 554 / Syr. 224, Leuven 1995.

Translations – English: S. Brock, *Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian), The Second Part, Chapters IV-XLI*, CSCO 555 / Syr. 225, Leuven 1995; Idem, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, CSS 101, Kalamazoo (MI) 1987, 264-271 (from *Second Part* III [Centuries on Knowledge]); ibidem 272-297 contains an earlier translation of the *Second Part* XIV, XV; Idem, "The prayers of St Isaac the Syrian", *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 16/1 (1994) 20-31 (*Second Part* V); Idem, "St Isaac the Syrian: two unpublished texts", *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 19/1 (1997) 7-33 (*Second Part* I, II).

Italian: P. Bettio, *Isacco di Ninive: Discorsi spirituali*, Bose 1985; 2nd ed., expanded, 1990 (expanded ed. includes *Second Part* IV, V, XXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, and the prayers at the end of I).

Studies: S. Brock, 'Isaac of Nineveh: some newly-discovered works', *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 8/1 (1986) 28-33 [= *Studies in Syriac Spirituality*, The Syrian Churches Series 13, 1988, 109-113]; Idem, 'Lost and found: Part II of the works of St Isaac of Nineveh', *SP* 18, 4 (1990) 230-233.

3. *The Book of Grace*

In his edition of the *First Part*, Bedjan also referred to another work of Isaac the Syrian called the *Book of Grace*. It has yet to be published, but its authenticity is disputed: G. Bunge defending it as a late work of Isaac's, while Dana Miller tentatively ascribes it to Isaac's contemporary, Shem'on de-Taybutheh (Symeon the Graceful).

Studies: A. Vööbus, "Eine neue Schrift von Ishaq von Ninive", *OS* 21 (1971) 309-312; G. Bunge, "Mar Isaak von Nineveh und sein Buch der Gnade", *OS* 34 (1985) 3-22; [Dana Miller], *The Ascetical Homilies of St Isaac the Syrian*, Brookline (MA), 1984, LXXXI-LXXXV.

Translation – English: [Dana Miller], *The Ascetical Homilies of St Isaac the Syrian*, Brookline (MA) 1984, 397-426 (excerpts).

JOHN OF DAMASCUS

LIFE

John of Damascus (John Damascene) was descended from the Mansur family, of Syrian origin but of Melkite confession. His forefathers, who lived in the Syrian capital, held important posts under the Byzantine emperors and, from 636, under the caliphs. His grandfather, prefect of the city of Damascus, surrendered it to the Arabs in 635. John, born in c. 650, received a sound Greek education as well as a good knowledge of Arabic and Islam. He too was given responsible posts at court. Because of the anti-Christian policy of 'Abd al-Malik (685-705), he retired in c. 700 (disputed date) with his adoptive brother Cosmas to the monastery of Mar Saba, near Jerusalem. He was ordained priest by John, patriarch of the holy city (705-735), before the beginning of the iconoclast controversy. He taught in his monastery, preached at Jerusalem, advised bishops, supported the cult of images and applied himself mainly to composing his many works in defence of orthodoxy and for the edification of the people. As appears from his *Life* – and this is confirmed by the manuscript tradition – he rewrote some of his works towards the end of his life. He died at an advanced age in c. 750, or at least before 754. Already highly esteemed by his contemporaries, he became still more famous after his death. The Second Council of Nicaea (787) called him venerable, and in 1890 the Holy See proclaimed him a Doctor of the Church; his feast is celebrated on 4 December.

General and bibliographical introductions: M. Jugie: *DTC* 8 (1924) 693-751; J.M. Hoeck, "Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung", *OCP* 17 (1954) 5-60; Beck, esp. 476-486; A. Kallis, "Handapparat zum Johannes-Damaskenos-Studium", *OS* 16 (1967) 200-213; B. Studer: *DSp* 8 (1974) 452-466; Idem: *EEC* 1 (1992) 442-443; B. Kotter, "L'edizione delle opere di San Giovanni Damasceno", *RSLR* 8 (1979) 435-437; Idem: *TRE* 17 (1988) 127-132; R. Volk: *LThK* 5 (1996) 895-899;

S.J. Voicu, "Teologia e Iconoclasmo a Bisanzio", *Storia della Teologia nel Medioevo*, ed. G. d'Onofrio, Casale Monferrato 1996, 305-336. Cf. also the bibliographies in the following studies.

WORKS

Damascene's works, preserved in an extraordinarily rich manuscript tradition and translated into many languages, extend over every field of theological thought.

Editions: CPG 8040-8127; M. Le Quien, *Oriens christianus*, Paris 1712 (= PG 94-96); B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, 5 voll., PTS 7, 12, 17, 22, 29, Berlin-New York 1969-1988.

Translations (selected): G. Richter, *Dialectica*, BGL 15, Stuttgart 1982; D. Stiefenhofer, *Expositio*, BKV 44, Munich 1923; F. Hathaway, *Expositio*, New York 1958; A. Siclari, *Expositio*, Parma 1994; V. Fazzo, *Difesa delle immagini sacre*, Rome 1983; W. Hradsky, *Drei Verteidigungsschriften gegen, welche die heiligen Bilder verwerfen*, Leipzig 1994; P. Voulet, *Homélie sur la nativité et la dormition*, SCh 80, Paris 1961; M. Spinelli, *Omélie cristologique e mariane*, Rome 1980; G. Pons Pons, *Homilias cristológicas y marianas*, Madrid 1996; D.M. Lang, G.R. Woodward, H. Mattingly (edd.), *Barlaam*, London 1967^a; R. Le Coz, *Écrits sur l'Islam*, SCh 383, Paris 1992; A. Louth, *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford 2002.

1. *Dogmatic works*

John's chief work is the so-called *Pege tes gnoseos* ("Source of Knowledge"). In the dedicatory letter to his brother Cosmas, the author explains the principles of this tripartite work. In the *Capitula philosophica*, also called *Dialectica* (CPG 8041), he intends to expound the best philosophical doctrines; in reality he takes from patristic tradition an epitome of Porphyry's *Eisagoge* modified by Christian authors. The book *De haeresibus* (CPG 8044) presents 100 heresies, for 80 of which he closely follows Epiphanius, while for the others, including that of Islam, he follows other sources, but also demonstrates a certain originality. According to some, John took this whole presentation of heresies from the *Doctrina Patrum* (cf. Kotter 4, 3 f.). In the *Expositio fidei* he seeks to "recapitulate" in 100 chapters the ecclesiastical doctrine on the Trinity: chh. 1-14; the visible and invisible creation: 15-44; Christology: 45-81; various questions, e.g. baptism, veneration of the cross; 81-99; resurrection: 100. Translated into Latin in the 12th century, the *Expositio* was divided into four parts in accordance with the division of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It is worth noting that all three parts of the *Pege* were transmitted in two different redactions, due to the author himself.

Also memorable are some dogmatic-polemical treatises, such as the *Institutio elementaris* (CPG 8040) and the *De recta sententia*, a sort of

confession of faith (CPG 8046). Especially notable are the treatises against the Christological heresies, in which John, taking a position on doctrines still disputed, deepened his thought: two against the Nestorians (CPG 8053-8054), three against the Monophysites (CPG 8051, 8047, 8049), one against the Monothelites (CPG 8052) and one against the Manichees (CPG 8048). But a *Controversy* between a Saracen and a Christian is to be ascribed, at least in its final redaction, to Theodore Abu Qurra (CPG 8075). Finally, John's fame as a great defender of the cult of images is connected with what is undoubtedly his most original work, the *Orationes de imaginibus tres* (CPG 8045).

B. Kotter, *Die Überlieferung der Pege gnoseos des hl. Johannes von Damaskos*, *Studia patristica et Byzantina* 5, Ettal 1959; B. Kotter, "L'edizione delle opera di San Giovanni Damasceno", *RSLR* 8 (1979) 435-437.

2. Moral and ascetical works

To this genre belongs the treatise *De sacris ieiuniis* (CPG 8050). The so-called *Sacra Parallela*, a biblical-patristic florilegium on the Christian life, may go back to a tripartite work by John on God, man and the virtues and vices (CPG 8056). The works *De virtutibus et vitiis* (CPG 8111) and *De octo spiritibus nequitiae* (CPG 8110) are not authentic.

3. Exegetical works

John's exegetical work is limited to the interpretation of the Pauline epistles (CPG 8079). It consists largely of extracts from the commentaries of John Chrysostom, but the source of the commentaries on Eph, Phil, Col, 1 and 2 Thess and 2 Tim are unknown.

4. Hagiography

Encomia on St Barbara (CPG 8065) and on Chrysostom (CPG 8064) survive, as well as the *Passio* of Arthemius (CPG 8082). The so-called *Romance of Barlaam*, a sort of initiation into monastic life, must be later than John, but it could come from the monastery of Mar Saba.

5. Preaching

Recognized as authentic are the sermons *In nativitate Domini* (CPG 8067), in which is interpolated a discussion on religion held at the Sasanid court (CPG 6968), *In ficum arefactam* (CPG 8058), *In sabbatum sanctum* (CPG 8059) and *In transfigurationem Domini* (CPG 8057). Most famous is the trilogy on the Dormition of Mary, preached during the night of one 15 August (CPG 8061-8063). In the second homily (ch.18) is interpolated the *Historia Euthymiaca*, an account of Mary's Assumption. The authenticity of other sermons is disputed or rejected.

6. Poetry

John certainly had a part in the composition of liturgical hymns (cf. CPG 8070). But it is not at all clear how far he contributed to the *Oktoechos*. At any rate, in the Byzantine tradition he is considered a great reformer of ecclesiastical poetry and music.

THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT

1. Literary characteristics of his works

To evaluate John's theological thought exactly, we must bear in mind the compilatory character that characterizes much of his writings. In the dedicatory epistle prefaced to the *Pege*, he himself announces that he does not intend to say anything personal, but to choose the best sayings of others (*Dial. Prooem.* 60: Kotter 1). Indeed, both in his principal work and in his other writings he accepts the dialectical and theological terminology of the Fathers, their way of reasoning and of dividing the material collected. In particular, in the composition of the *Exposition* he places himself in the tradition of theological syntheses, which goes back to Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (B. Studer, *Storia Teol.*, 488 f.). In fact he cites his chosen authors *in extenso*. Thus in the *Dialectica* he copies whole chapters of the *Doctrina Patrum* and of Nemesius (cf. Kotter 1). In the second part of the *Pege* (if it is his), he reproduces the presentation of heresies given by Epiphanius and other anti-heretical authors. In particular, in compiling the *Exposition*, John integrated into it a treatise on the Trinity and the Incarnation attributed to Cyril (cf. Kotter 2, LVIII: information on all passages copied). Between the two parts of this treatise he interpolated entire chapters on creation and human nature taken from Nemesius' *De natura hominis* (cf. Kotter 2, 256 f.). In chapters 36, 58 and 59 he cites *verbatim* Maximus the Confessor's *Epistula ad Marinum* (CPG 7697, 10) and *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (CPG 7698) (cf. Kotter 2, 256). The commentaries on the Pauline epistles consist of extracts from earlier exegetical works. Not only this, John even repeats literally what he has written elsewhere, as e.g. in the discourses on images (cf. Kotter 3; for other examples, B. Studer, *Arbeitsweise*, 23-28, and the crit. ed. of the other works).

To understand properly this conscious and deliberate fidelity to earlier tradition, which may at first sight surprise, we must consider the conditions under which John composed his works. He belonged to a milieu that loved manuals, epitomes, florilegia and biblical Catenae. Like the other authors of his time, he did not intend to repeat in a new way what had already been well expressed, but to propagate these thoughts in their own language. This fact undoubtedly means a certain absence of creativity. But John's own originality consists rather in the art and

variety of his compilation. He also deserves to be appreciated for his wealth of information and his impressive theological culture. He demonstrates, especially in his principal work, the capacity to choose pertinent concepts from among a vast, albeit perhaps already formulated, mass of material, and compose them into a vigorous synthesis. In this he surpasses all the pre-Byzantine theologians, even Maximus the Confessor who was a much more profound thinker.

At any rate, the compilatory character of a considerable part of his writings obliges us to orient our evaluation of his thought in two directions. First we must see him rather as a witness to Greek patristics, and so we will put less weight on one or another passage which has perhaps been taken *verbatim* from some source and not even well assimilated. We will seek rather to emphasize the outlines of his thought and the fundamental sources of his choices: fidelity to the faith of Chalcedon, insistence on human freedom, predilection for the theology of the image. So we must overlook all that he was not interested in, something that is not always easy. Then we must not forget that his concise way of reporting the patristic heritage certainly created esteem for his works, a fact that is behind the immense circulation of his writings in so many manuscripts, editions and translations. We will certainly not rule out historical luck, which cannot be explained without an appreciation of John's own work. Yet the judgment of his importance for the history of theology will depend to a great extent on the singular posterity of his work (cf. below).

2. Monastic orientation

In emphasizing the compilatory character of a considerable part of John's works, it is equally remarked how much he owes to patristic tradition. In line with a large majority of post-Chalcedonian authors, he rarely makes direct use of Holy Scripture. To defend and confirm orthodoxy – the main aim of his theological work – he bases himself, as do the others, more on the authority of the Fathers. Frequentation of the Bible, insofar as it still exists in late Oriental patristics, is reduced to the ambit of *Catena*e, spiritual florilegia or extracts from commentaries, and is thus completely oriented to the exegesis of the authoritative interpreters of the first four centuries (cf. B. Studer, *Storia Teol.*, 590-593). Even John's exceptional use of dialectic bears the imprint of patristic tradition. While in the 6th century we meet theologians who stand out for their personal study of contemporary philosophy, to mention only John Philoponus and Boethius, John Damascene walks only in the footsteps of the earlier Christian masters (cf. B. Studer, *Storia Teol.*, 599-607). These observations are valid even for the monastic orientation that characterizes all his theological work. Yet in this aspect he demonstrates a much more clear-cut originality.

Since most of his work is addressed to a monastic public – if we partially except his preaching (cf. B. Studer, *Arbeitsweise*, 33 f.) – it is not surprising that the ideal of the perfect Christian life is at the forefront of Damascene's theological thought. He loves to present it in more or less lengthy passages, or in writings and arguments of an ascetical character. He speaks of it when he preaches on the mysteries of Jesus celebrated in the liturgy, when he praises the example of the saints, or when, even in his dogmatic and polemical works, he touches on questions of spirituality, such as the reading of the Bible, paradise or human freedom (cf. e.g. *Expos.* 90: Kotter 2, 209 ff.; *Transfiguration*: Kotter 5, 447 f. and *Chrysost.* 5 f.: Kotter 5, 361 f.). If it were ascertained that the life of Barlaam came from the milieu of Mar Saba or had even been composed by John himself, we would possess an exceptional confirmation of this monastic orientation. This work, so highly esteemed during the Middle Ages, in which the legend of the Buddha and some pagan fables were Christianized and combined with passages on conversion and prayer, was nothing but an initiation into the monastic life in the form of a romance (cf. B. Studer: *DSp*, 464 ff.).

The perfect life itself consists in an ascent of the soul towards God, indeed in an anticipated vision of the eternal vision (cf. B. Studer: *DSp*, 456-459). It is achieved especially in contemplation, in prayer, which is a union with God, but on condition that the soul is detached from vices (*apatheia*) and abandons itself to God (*agape*). To arrive at the summit of purity and charity, where God is contemplated, a preparation is necessary: overcoming of sin and ignorance, faith nourished by the word and faith expressed in good works.

3. Particular doctrines

a) Trinity and Incarnation. For his Trinitarian thought John keeps strictly to the Greek patristic tradition, but giving preference to Gregory Nazianzen. This fact explains why he is in no hurry to explore the belief on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Anyway he takes from Greek patristic tradition the fundamental idea that the Spirit does not proceed from (*ek*) the Son, but by means of (*dia*) him from the Father (*Expos.* 8: Kotter 2, 30 f., with sources). His dependence on Nazianzen helps us understand why, in ch. 8 of the *Exposition*, John prefaces his Trinitarian doctrine with a sort of *De Deo uno* (*Expos.* 8: Kotter 2, 18 f.; cf. Gregory Naz. *Or.* 28). Yet in this matter John took the chapter in full from Pseudo-Cyril, who had himself based it on Nazianzen. On one point though, John goes further than Gregory. He applies to the Trinity the concept of *perichoresis* which Gregory, like Nemesius of Emesa, had used to explain the Incarnation. It is true that he owes even this double use of *perichoresis* to Pseudo-Cyril (cf. *Expos.* 8: Kotter 2, 29, and *Expos.* 91:

Kotter 2, 214). Yet he seems to attach more weight to the nexus between his Trinitarian and Christological uses of it (cf. *Expos.* 51: Kotter 2, 126, with other texts; B. Studer, *Arbeitsweise*, 112 f.; K. Rozemond, *Christologie*, 29). He thus completes the themes of *theologia-oikonomia* to which Gregory, following Origen, had first given concise expression (cf. Gregory Naz., *Ep.* 101, 4, 20 f.). Moreover, going back to the *Doctrina Patrum*, he clarifies this dual concept (*Expos.* 2: Kotter 2, 8); indeed he does not omit to develop the concept of *oikonomia*, using it to sum up his ideas on God's saving work (*Expos.* 45: Kotter 2, 106 f., with other texts; K. Rozemond, *Christologie*, 2-16).

In his further exploration of *oikonomia* John naturally puts himself in line with the later tradition, accepting especially the Christology of the post-Chalcedonian authors. He adopts the doctrine of hypostatic union, partly through the *Doctrina Patrum*, from Leontius of Byzantium, from the author of the *De sectis*, from Theodore of Raithou and Anastasius of Antioch. According to this theory the hypostasis of the Logos, which subsists in the divine nature, has also become a hypostasis of the assumed human nature, which is therefore not anhypostatic, but enhypostatic (cf. especially *Expos.* 53: Kotter 2, 128, with sources). While disregarding the tension between the two elements of the concept of hypostasis, i.e. between existence in itself and the individual characteristics, John also uses the concept of *hypostasis synthetos*. He owes this primarily to Maximus the Confessor (*Expos.* 47: Kotter 2, 114 f., with other texts of John and his sources). The same author, but also others such as Anastasius of Antioch, provided his ideas on Christ's two energies and two wills (*Expos.* 58: Kotter 2, 137-153, with the sources). But John goes no further than Maximus. In particular he too discusses no further how the Passion freely assumed by the Word of God was in Jesus a free human Passion, i.e. the principle and the example of love of every man (cf. B. Studer, *Dio Salvatore*, 323).

b) *Mariology*. Like the post-Ephesian Greek authors, John does not limit himself to talking about Mary's divine motherhood, really a Christological theme. Rather, like other preachers of his time, he develops all the prerogatives of the Mother of God. He uses numerous biblical and non-biblical images, word-plays and paradoxes, enumerating the titles of praise in oratorical, even poetic, effusions (cf. M. Spinelli, *Omellie*, 21-24). Particularly famous is the position he takes in favour of Mary's Assumption (*Dorm.* I, 10: Kotter 5, 495: transference to a more divine life, without death). It is worthy of consideration that, while giving clear prominence to the obedience of the new Eve (cf. *Dorm.* I, 7: Kotter 5, 491), John makes no parallels between Mary and the Church.

c) *Freedom and grace*. Anti-Monothelite polemic and anti-Manichaean controversy led John to clarify his thought on human will, as well as

the relationship between human freedom and God's creative prescience (cf. B. Studer: *DSp* 459 f.). Behind these dogmatic concerns lies not just a concern to defend orthodoxy, but a genuinely spiritual interest. When he reminds the faithful of the need for detachment and prayer, John at the same time emphasizes that neither of these can come about without the help of the Holy Spirit (*Expos.* 95, with *Rom* 8, 3 f.: Kotter 2, 223; *Imag.* 3, 33: Kotter 3, 137). He certainly retains a very large area for human freedom. When he speaks of co-operation (*synergeia*) between God and man, he exalts the capacity freely to choose the good, but at the same time he emphasizes God's assistance (*Expos.* 43 f.; Kotter 2, 102 f.: in the context of divine prescience). In continual asceticism, a saint's continence becomes almost his nature, and asceticism with divine help is crowned with *apatheia* (*Chrys.* 6: Kotter 5, 362). Indeed he insists on God's creative power, from which being and all capacity to do good originate (*Volunt.* 19: Kotter 4, 202; *Expos.* 44: Kotter 2, 103). On the same lines he also refers to the need for redemption and the sacraments (*Expos.* 82: Kotter 2, 181-186: baptism; and *Expos.* 86: Kotter 2, 191-198: Eucharist).

d) *Theology of the image*. Never in all his rich literary legacy does John demonstrate so much theological originality as in the trilogy of the *Discourses on Images* (cf. Kotter, 3, 1-33, with other bibliography). Entering the first phase of the iconoclast controversy (730-754) with these discourses, he points out two principles in favour of the cult of saints and sacred images. On one hand, he distinguishes between adoration (*latreia*), due only to God, and the various forms of veneration (*proskynesis*) (cf. *Imag.* I, 14; III, 28; III, 41: Kotter 3, 87; 135; 142); on the other he emphasizes that worship is always addressed to the prototype of the image (cf. *Imag.* I, 35: Kotter 3, 147). To fully evaluate this defence of a rather secondary Christian practice, it must be considered in the framework of his general theology of the image (cf. B. Studer: *DSp* 460 f.). If the believer feels obliged to imitate the model of perfection, Mary and the saints, and hence to venerate even their images, he is impelled by this need because he has been created in the image of God, i.e. called to resemble his creator (cf. *Expos.* 26: Kotter 2, 75 f.). He responds to this calling by imitating the divine goodness and virtuous life of those who have pleased God. Becoming a living image of the saints, the Christian thus enters the economy of images, based on the eternal generation of the Word, perfect image of the Father (cf. III, 18: Kotter 3, 127), manifested in the Old Testament theophanies and especially in the Incarnation of the Word, continually made present in the saints, who do nothing but imitate Christ, the image of God (*Imag.* I, 21: Kotter 3, 108 f.; III, 26: Kotter 3, 132-135; III, 33: Kotter 3, 137 f.). By imitating primarily Christ (*In ficum* 1: Kotter 5, 102 f.), then Our Lady (cf. especially *Dorm.* 2, 19: Kotter 5, 539 f.) and the other

saints (cf. *Imag.* I, 21; I, 37; II, 10: Kotter 108, 149, 99 f.), the believer himself becomes a model of perfect life, capable of teaching virtue to others, as demonstrated especially by the great spiritual masters: Meletius and Chrysostom (*Chrys.* 8: Kotter 5, 363) and his own contemporaries Jordanes and Patriarch John, pure mirrors of God and divine things not just because of their charity, but also because of their orthodox faith and their knowledge of Holy Scripture (*Trisag.* 1: Kotter 4, 304 f.; cf. also *Prolog.*: Kotter).

POSTERITY

Considering the whole of his writings, we must see John primarily as a faithful custodian of Christian tradition. He was able to make his choices in the patristic heritage known in his time, to express his own thought in the words of the Fathers inspired by the Holy Spirit and to compose the data of the common faith into an impressive mosaic. In reality he did not fail to take more personal positions in his polemical works. Nor did he lag behind the great preachers and poets of the Byzantine church of his time. So it is not surprising that he was later so highly esteemed as theologian, preacher and poet, both in the East and in the West.

His writings, especially the *Pege*, the Marian sermons and the *Romance of Barlaam* attributed to him, were preserved in numerous manuscripts, both in the original text and in many translations (Georgian, Armenian, Arabic, Latin and many others). In the East, Byzantine theologians took up in particular his ideas on prescience and predestination and kept close to him in confessions of the Trinity, especially of the second procession, as well as the cult of saints, images and relics. His influence was still stronger in the Slav Churches, even into our own time.

In the West, however, it was John's homilies that circulated first. The *Expositio* was translated in 1140 and the other parts of the *Pege* very soon followed. The recognition of Peter Lombard's Trinitarian theology by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) also dissipated earlier hesitations about that of Damascene. The *Expositio*, by now divided into four books and often called *Sententiae Damasceni*, was frequently copied and cited. Thanks to this wide circulation of his chief work, John had considerable influence on scholastic theology. To it he transmitted a great part of the Greek patristic heritage, till then unknown. Besides the Master of the Sentences and his imitators (cf. L. Ott, in *CChG* III, 902 f.), John's thought was taken up especially by Thomas Aquinas. Thomas leaned not just on the Acts of the early councils and on Boethius, but also on Damascene (cf. I. Backes, in *CChG* II, 928 f.). He refers to his *Exposition* in his doctrine on predestination (*Summa Theol.* I, 23), the hypostatic union (*Summa Theol.* III, 2, 3) and the two wills of Christ (*Summa Theol.* III, 18). In the 15th-century Councils of

Union, the synodals several times had recourse to John on the questions of the *Filioque* and the Eucharist.

John's influence on scholastic theology thus came about in the first place because his *Exposition* constituted a considerable source of new information, especially for the understanding of the hypostatic union, until then known only superficially. But it did not affect theological method. Indeed in this field John was not original. "Scholastic" theology was founded two centuries before him and thus influenced medieval theologians more through Boethius and Pseudo-Dionysius (cf. B. Studer, in *Storia Teol.*, 599-611). We do not know how far, through his sermons and his ascetic writings, John influenced later Eastern and perhaps even Western spirituality. This is a lacuna, since it was precisely in this sector that he showed himself a personal witness of patristic tradition.

Studies: J. Nasrallah, *S. Jean de Damas. Son époque, sa vie, son oeuvre*, Harissa 1950 (cf. *ThR* 48 [1952] 153 f.); L. Ott, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon in der Frühscholastik", *CChG* II, 873-922; I. Backes, "Die christliche Problematik der Hochscholastik und ihre Beziehungen zu Chalkedon", *CChG* II, 923-939; F. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman. Ein Werk des hl. Johannes von Damaskus*, *Studia patristica et Byzantina* 1, Ettal 1953; B. Studer, *Die theologische Arbeitsweise des Johannes von Damaskus*, *StPatrByz* 2, Ettal 1958; K. Rozemond, *La christologie de saint Jean Damascène*, *StPatrByz* 8, Ettal 1959; G. Richter, *Die Dialektik des Johannes von Damaskos*, *StPatrByz* 10, Ettal 1964; A. Kallis, *Der menschliche Wille in seinem Grund und Ausdruck nach der Lehre des Johannes Damaskenos*, Nassau 1965; J. Grégoire, "La relation éternelle de l'Esprit au fils d'après les écrits de Jean de Damas", *RHE* 64 (1969) 713-755; E. Jammers, "Die jambischen Kanones des hl. Johannes von Damaskus", *Schriften, Ordnung, Gestalt*, Idem (ed.), Bern/Munich 1969, 195-256; C. von Schönborn, *L'icône du Christ*, Fribourg 1976; R. Volk, "Urtext und Modifikationen des griechischen Barlaam-Romans", *Byz* 86/87 (1993/1994) 441-461; A.-L. Darras-Worms, *Le visage de l'invisible*, Paris 1994; F.R. Gahbauer, "Die Anthropologie des Johannes von Damaskos", *ThPh* 69 (1994) 1-21; P. Khoury, *Jean Damascène et l'Islam*, Würzburg/Altenberge 1994.

JOHN OF EUBOIA

In the history of Byzantine texts the name of John of Euboea appears with that of John of Damascus, with whom he is often confused, though he is distinguished from him by a wholly different language and mentality. His origin is not certain. Perhaps he lived near Damascus, perhaps really on the island of Euboea (Halkin). At any rate he was a monk, not a bishop (Halkin, against Beck) in the 8th century. As is clear from a sermon on the Innocents, he was certainly active in 742. Besides this discourse there is another on the conception of Mary and a third on the raising of Lazarus. The passion of St Parasceve, now edited by Halkin, may be authentic. Other discourses attributed to him (on the conception of St Anne and on Christmas) belong to John Damascene. All these

writings constitute a good example of "provincial preaching" (Beck) and are by an author who was not much concerned with theology, who expressed himself in a popular style without scruples and did not rein in his anti-Jewish feelings.

Editions: CPG 8135-8138; PG 96, 1460-1508.

Studies: Beck, 502 f.; F. Halkin, "La Passion de Sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée", *Polychordia. Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth, I, Amsterdam 1966, 226-237; D. Stiernon: *DSp* 8 (1974) 487; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992) 445; R. Volk: *LTK* 5 (1996) 904.

REGINUS OF CONSTANTIA

Reginus was bishop of Salamis (or Constantia) in the island of Cyprus and took part in the Council of Ephesus (431). With other Cypriot bishops (Zeno of Kurion and Evagrius of Soli) he presented the council with an accusatory *libellus* (in Greek: *ACO* 1/1/7, 357-358; in Latin: *ACO* 1/5, 357-358) against the Antiochene patriarch who had been guilty of violating Cyprus's autocephaly. At Ephesus he aligned himself in favour of the deposition of Nestorius (c. 381- c. 451), preaching a homily (*ACO* 1/3, 168-169) that also survives in Ethiopic.

Editions and studies: CPG 6485 f.; J. Irmischer: *EEC* 2 (1992) 732.

ALEXANDER OF CYPRUS

Alexander, a monk of the monastery close to the sanctuary of St Barnabas in Salamis or Constantia, Cyprus, is probably to be dated to the second half of the 6th century (Salaville 1914). He is known to us from three surviving works: a homily on the finding of the Cross, an epitome of this homily, and an encomium on the apostle Barnabas. The first of these works, delivered on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September, is in Salaville's words (1914) "un résumé de toute l'histoire de la religion" from the creation of the world to the time of Constantine. Long-winded and rhetorical, it is a curious mixture of the historical and the legendary, encompassing also a treatment of the Trinity and the incarnation. This homily was translated into both Georgian and Old Russian, and was epitomized in rhetorical fashion by a later writer. This epitome constitutes the second work ascribed to Alexander in CPG. The encomium on the apostle Barnabas, of which the Greek text has now been edited by Van Deun, is a political panegyric, probably delivered in the church of St Barnabas in Salamis. Again long-winded and rhetorical, it has the aim of validating the miraculous discovery of the relics of Barnabas in the reign of the Emperor Zeno (474-491) and thereby authenticating a claim to the apostolic origins of Cyprus.

Ultimately Alexander is pressing for the ecclesiastical independence of the island. Noteworthy is the fact that the apocryphal Acts of Barnabas are elaborated imaginatively by the homilist.

Editions: CPG 7398-7400 and supplement; PG 87, 4016-4067; 4077-4088; 4087-4106 (Latin text only); ASS Iun. II (1698) 436-452 (Greek); crit. ed. by P. Van Deun, in *Hagiographica Cypria*, CCG 26, 1993, 15-122 (text: 83-122). On the text see P.C. Pennachini, *Discorso storico dell'invenzione della Croce del monaco Alessandro*, Grottaferrata 1913; emendations in G. Mercati: *RSBN* 4 (1935) 297-298.

Studies: H. Delehay, "Saints de Chypre", *AB* 26 (1907) 236-237; S. Salaville, "Le moine Alexandre de Chypre (VI^e siècle)", *EO* 15 (1912) 134-137; Idem: *DHGE* 2 (1914) 191-193; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992) 21; cf. P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: A Reassessment", in *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Christian and Early Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M.B. Cunningham, P. Allen, Leyden-Boston-Cologne 1998, 201-225.

ARCADIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF CYPRUS

Arcadius, archbishop of Salamis (Constantia), Cyprus, from at least the middle of the 620s until his death, c. 640, was a prominent supporter of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the Christological controversies of the 7th century: mentioned with approval by Maximus the Confessor, he received a dogmatic letter from Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, and in about 625 was the subject of a decree from the Emperor Heraclius forbidding mention of two activities in Christ after the union. It was at his request that Leontius of Neapolis wrote his *Vitae* of the Cypriot saints, St Spyridon and St John the Almsgiver. Arcadius' sole surviving work is an encomium of St George (BHG 684). It is unlikely that he is the author of the *Life of St Symeon the Younger*, even though John of Damascus attributes to him the fragment of the *Vita* which he includes in the florilegium to his third treatise against the iconoclasts.

Editions: CPG 7983; K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, ABAW 25, 3 (1911) 78-81 (based on Paris Coislin. 146).

LEONTIUS OF NEAPOLIS

LIFE

Little is known about the life of Leontius, bishop of Neapolis (modern Limassol) in Cyprus in the first half of the 7th century. He is perhaps to be identified with the Leontius of Neapolis who was present at the Lateran Council in 649: it is unlikely that there was a namesake at Naples. He is chiefly known as a hagiographer, writing the lives of two saints of his native Cyprus at the request of his archbishop, Arcadius († c. 640), but as well as several sermons he also wrote a treatise *Adversus Iudaeos*.

which survives because it was cited by John of Damascus and the Seventh Ecumenical Council for its arguments in defence of the veneration of the Cross and of icons and relics of the saints.

Studies: H. Gelzer, "Ein griechischer Volksschriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts", *Historische Zeitschrift* 61 (1889) 1-38 (= *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, Leipzig 1907, 1-56); A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén, *Leontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95, Paris 1974; O. Kresten, "Leontios von Neapolis als Tachygraph? Hagiographische Texte als Quellen zu Schriftlichkeit und Buchkultur im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert", *Scrittura e civiltà* 1 (1977) 155-175; R. Browning, "The 'Low Level' Saint's Life in the Early Byzantine World", *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, Studies supplementary to Sobornost 5, London, 1981, 117-127 (= *Idem, History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*, London 1989, n. VIII); C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis", *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. I. Hutter, Vienna 1984, 25-41; W. Aerts, "Leontios of Neapolis and Cypriot Dialect Genesis", *Praktika B'diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, 2, Nicosia 1986, 379-389; J. Hofstra, "Leontios van Neapolis als Hagiograaf", *De heilieverering in de eerste eeuwen van het christendom*, ed. A. Hilhorst, Nijmegen 1988, 186-192.

WORKS

1. *Life of John the Almsgiver*

At the request of Arcadius, Leontius wrote a *Vita* of John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria 610-620. John was a native of Cyprus, probably from Amathous, where he died and was buried. He had been a friend of Leontius, who had visited him several times in Alexandria. This *Vita* was conceived as a supplement to the *Vita* written by John Moschus (q.v.) and Sophronius (who were probably known to Leontius), which is now lost. It gives a valuable picture of Alexandria in the second decade of the 7th century. It survives in three recensions, and was anciently translated into Latin (by Anastasius the Librarian), Syriac, Georgian, Arabic and Old Church Slavonic.

Editions: CPG 7882; H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis, Leben des heiligen Joannes des Barmherzigen, Erzbischofs von Alexandrien*, Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften 5, Freiburg i.B.-Leipzig 1893 (short recension); H. Gelzer, *op. cit.*, apparatus (middle recension); A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, 343-437 (long recension).

Translations – French: A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, 439-524.

English: E. Dawes, N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, London-Oxford 1948, 207-262 (abridged).

2. *Life of Saint Spyridon of Tremithous*

Leontius also wrote at Arcadius' request a *Vita* of St Spyridon, the 4th-century bishop of Tremithous in Cyprus. This is now believed to be lost, though it was claimed by Garitte that the anonymous *Vita* preserved

in a manuscript in Florence (cod. Laurentianus XI, 9), which is based on a lost *Vita* of St Spyridon in iambic verse, is Leontius' *Vita*.

Edition: CPG 7884; BHG 1648a; P. Van den Ven, *La Légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Tremithonte*, Bibliothèque de Muséon, 33, Louvain 1953, 104-128.

Studies: P. Van den Ven, *op. cit.*, 44*-55*; G. Garitte, "L'édition des Vies de saint Spyridon par M. Van den Ven", *RHE* 50 (1955) 125-140, esp. 136-139.

3. *Life of Symeon the Fool*

Unlike his other *Vitae*, Leontius' *Vita* of Symeon the Fool is not about a native of Cyprus, but about a Syrian saint, born in Edessa, who spent the latter part of his life in Emesa. In this *Vita*, by his own account, Leontius made use of both written and oral sources: scholars disagree as to what these were, though it has been maintained recently, by Krueger, that the written source is none other than the account contained in Evagrius' *Church History* (IV, 34). Leontius' *Vita* is significant in that it is the first full-length *Vita* of a σαλὸς διὰ Χριστόν, fool for Christ's sake, a genre of saint that was to become popular in Byzantine society, and even more so among the Slavs who received their Christianity from Byzantium, for whom the *Life of St Symeon the Fool* formed a model for the *Life of St Andrew the Fool*. For Symeon, his feigned madness is his way of achieving ξεντεία from society, while still living in it: his madness and shameless behaviour during the day are balanced by his secret prayer at night, and his presence in human society is seen as a way of proclaiming the Gospel, something that was not possible when he lived as a monk in the desert. The *Vita* also exists in Syriac, Georgian and Arabic versions.

Editions: CPG 7883; BHG 1677-1677b; BHGa 1677-1677bb; L. Rydén, *Leben des hl. Narren Symeon von Leontius von Neapolis*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 4, Uppsala 1963; 2nd edition in A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, 55-104.

Translations – French: A.-J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, 105-160 (with commentary, 161-222).

English: D. Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool. Leontius's "Life" and the Late Antique City*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 25, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996, 131-171.

Studies: L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontius von Neapolis*, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 6, Uppsala 1970; *Idem*, "The Holy Fool", in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel, Studies supplementary to Sobornost 5, London 1981, 106-113; W. Aerts, "Emesa in der Vita Symeonis Sali von Leontios von Neapolis", in *From Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavřínek, Prague 1985, 113-116; E. Kislinger, "Symeon Salos' Hund", *JOEByz* 38 (1988) 165-170; D. Krueger, "The 'Life of Symeon the Fool' and the Cynic Tradition", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993) 423-442; *Idem*, *Symeon the Holy Fool. Leontius's "Life" and the Late Antique City*, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 25, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996.

4. *Sermons*

Two of Leontius' sermons survive (apart from *Adversus Iudaeos*): one on the prophet Simeon, and the other on the Mid-Feast of Pentecost (Μεσοπεντηκοστή), a feast observed on the Wednesday of the fourth week of Eastertide: the mid-point between Easter Day and Pentecost.

Editions: CPG 7880-7881; PG 93, 1565-1597.

5. *Adversus Iudaeos*

Both John of Damascus and the Fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Council quote lengthy passages from the fifth book (or homily) against the Jews by Leontius, bishop of Neapolis, in which he defends the veneration of the Cross and of images and relics of the saints against Jewish objections of idolatry. Leontius' arguments are based on the Old Testament and the examples it gives of veneration offered to people and things, especially in the context of worship in the Temple. Leontius' treatise became very quickly known, and it seems that Anastasius the Sinaite made use of it: which requires a date for the treatise no later than the first third of the 7th century. However, recently it has been argued by Speck that the treatise must be later than the 7th century (and therefore later than Leontius): these arguments have not gained general acceptance. Another problem relates to the different forms in which the treatise is quoted by John Damascene and Nicaea II. The treatise quoted at the Seventh Ecumenical Council was apparently a dialogue; that quoted by John may have been a homily; and there are many other minor variations in the two versions quoted. The most plausible explanation (recently advanced by the young Hungarian scholar István Bugár) is that the treatise took various forms in the course of its textual transmission. The treatise was also quoted by Nicephorus of Constantinople, in a form based on that of the council, but containing variants similar to John's, and also in the 12th century by Euthymius Zigabenus in his *Dogmatic Panoply*.

Editions: CPG 7885; B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 3, PTS 17, Berlin-New York 1975, 156-159, 178-181; Mansi 13, 44-53; both texts printed synoptically: H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*, TU 139, Berlin 1992, 340-353; PG 130, 295 B 5-296 A 8 (from Euthymius Zigabenus).

Translations – German: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 127-135 (conflated version).

English: D. Anderson, *St John of Damascus, On the Divine Images*, Crestwood (NY) 1980, 41-44, 97-100.

Italian: V. Fazzo, *Giovanni Damasceno, Difesa delle immagini sacre*, Rome 1983, 75-80 and 163-167; *Vedere l'invisibile, Nicea e lo statuto dell'immagine*, ed. L. Russo, Palermo 1997, 39-43.

Studies: N.H. Baynes, "The Icons before Iconoclasm", *HTR* 44 (1951) 93-106 (= *Idem, Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London 1955, 226-239); P. Speck, "Zu dem Dialog mit einem Juden des Leontios von Neapolis", *Poikila Byzantina* 4 (1984) 242-249; V. Déroche, "L'authenticité de l'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontios de Néapolis", *BCH* 110 (1986) 655-669; H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 127-136; 233-236.

THEODORE OF PAPHOS

We know nothing about Theodore, save what he reveals in his sole work to survive, his life of St Spyridon, the first bishop of Tremithous in Cyprus, who attended the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325, and also the Council of Sardica (343), but who is mainly remembered as a pastoral bishop and great wonderworker. From this we glean that Theodore had been a monk at the monastery, about 28 stades from the town of Curium in Cyprus, whence he went on pilgrimage to the tomb of St Spyridon, to whom he formed a great devotion. At some stage he became bishop of Paphos. A note in the *Life* reveals that it was first read out on the feast of St Spyridon, 14 December, in 655. Theodore therefore belongs to the same century as his compatriots, Leontius of Neapolis and John the Almsgiver (qq.v.), and ranks with them "among the principal representatives of that school of hagiographers that adorned the church of Cyprus in the 7th century" (Delehaye). His *Life of St Spyridon* makes use of earlier material, especially a life of the saint in iambic verse that Theodore mistakenly ascribed to Spyridon's disciple, Triphyllios. Triphyllios' *Vita* is lost, but was followed closely in an anonymous prose life of the saint, as preserved in Codex Laurentianus XI, 9: P. Van den Ven has shown, by comparison of the two *Vitae*, that Theodore has considerably embroidered his principal source. As well as Triphyllios' *Vita*, Theodore made use of the Church historian Socrates, and a Greek version of Rufinus (or his source, Gelasius of Cyzicus), though not, apparently, of Sozomen, as well as drawing on oral traditions. But it is the marvellous, rather than the historical, that catches Theodore's interest, so that his *Life of St Spyridon* is more valuable as a picture of Cypriot life and the cult of St Spyridon than for the historical circumstances of the saint's life. There also exists an Old Church Slavonic version.

Editions: CPG 7987; BHG 1647, 1647b; P. Van den Ven, *La Légende de s. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 33, Louvain 1953, 1-103.

Studies: P. Van den Ven, *op. cit.*, 55*-115*; J.-M. Saugey: *BS* 11, 1354-1356.

SERGIUS OF CYPRUS

Sergius, bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, convoked a provincial synod (Second Council of Cyprus), which on 29 May 643 condemned

Monothelitism and decided to inform Rome of this. With the Acts was thus sent an *Epistula ad Theodorum papam* signed by Sergius. The document, which has survived, is for its time rare and surprising on the lips of a Greek author, since it contains passages as extraordinary as they are satisfying on the question of Roman primacy.

Editions: CPG 7628; Mansi 10, 913b-916e.

Studies: Hfl-Lecl III, 400; Palazzini 1, 290; J.L. Van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Iohannes VI. (610-715)*, Amsterdam 1972, 82 f.; M. Maccarone, *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio*, Rome 1989, 369, 374, 376-379, 424, 427.

THEODORE OF TREMITHOUS

Theodore was bishop of Tremithous in Cyprus in the second half of the 7th century. The sole work of his to have survived is a brief life of John Chrysostom.

Editions: CPG 7989; PG 47, LI-LXXXVIII; F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur S. Jean Chrysostom*, Subsidia Hagiographica 60, Brussels 1977, 7-68; abridged version: *ibid.* 45-68.

IV WRITERS OF THE PALESTINE REGION

INTRODUCTION

From 358 the territory of the province of Palestine was divided into two parts: Palaestina and Palaestina Salutaris. Around the year 400, it had a new organization: 1) Palaestina Prima, with Jerusalem as capital, comprised the central territory to the west of the Dead Sea and the River Jordan, as well as the town of Gaza; 2) Palaestina Secunda, with Scythopolis as capital, comprised the region around Lake Tiberias; 3) Palaestina Tertia, with Petra as capital, extended south of Gaza, Jerusalem and the Dead Sea and embraced the whole Sinai peninsula and part of Arabia. The language used was mainly Greek, at least in Christian circles; not just as a literary language, but also in inscriptions.

In the course of the 4th century Jerusalem regained its importance, partly as a centre of pilgrimage, at the expense of Caesarea, the former capital. At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, it was promoted: no longer a suffragan of Caesarea, it became a patriarchate. In 614 Jerusalem was captured by the Persians and in 637 by the Arabs; for a period (644-705) it was dependent on the see of Rome. Another town important as a cultural centre in our period, once it had become Christian, was Gaza. Monasticism was well developed in Palestine.

a) The origins of Christian monasticism at Gaza are traditionally associated with Hilarion, a native of nearby Thavatha, about whom Jerome composed a doubtless largely fictional life. This story stresses the inspiration of Egypt behind the monasticism of Gaza, which, in response to Hilarion's example, was already flourishing there during the lifetime of St Antony himself. The great figures of Gaza were the two hermits, the "Great Old Man", Barsanuphius, and the "Other Old Man", John, who seem to have been faithful to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, and were also opposed to the Origenism of monks who had drunk too deeply of Evagrius. But, perhaps because of its links with Egypt, Gaza became a centre, too, for those monks who felt keenly that the Council of Chalcedon had betrayed the faith of Cyril of Alexandria (these were, and are, dubbed "Monophysite").

b) Characteristic of Palestinian monasticism is the *laura* (the term was apparently first used here), a semi-eremical form of monasticism. The centre of the Palestinian monasteries was Jerusalem, which from the time of Constantine became a holy city for Christians. The monks became guardians of the holy places – both those associated with the life of the Lord and those associated with the Old Testament patriarchs – which attracted pilgrims from the whole Christian world, and also considerable patronage, not least that of the imperial family. It was doubtless the ecumenical significance of Palestine that made Palestinian monasticism a bulwark of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, in the Eastern regions of the Empire where elsewhere the Christological compromise of Chalcedon was regarded with mistrust and resentment. It is, above all, to Cyril of Scythopolis, in his *Vitae* of the monks of Palestine, that we owe our knowledge of Palestinian monasticism.

c) Sinai, with its associations with the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah, was early a focus of Christian monasticism. Christian hermits settled there, initially in the fertile valleys of Pharan and Raithou, and later on the holy mountain of Sinai (or Horeb). According to tradition, the Empress Helena founded a Christian church in Sinai on the site of the Burning Bush (in Greek: *Vatos*) during her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326, and the Spanish pilgrim Egeria visited Sinai in the early 380s. The monks there were exposed to attack from the Bedouin tribes in the area, and in about 550 the Emperor Justinian fortified the monastery of the Burning Bush. At a later stage the monastery of the *Vatos* acquired the relics of St Catherine of Alexandria, and came to be known as the monastery of St Catherine. The greatest luminary of the monastery is without doubt St John of Sinai, author of the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, one of the most influential of all Greek monastic texts.

d) Among the monastic writings of Palestine, the accounts of the fall of Jerusalem to the Persian army in 614, with their accounts of the sufferings of the Christians and especially of the monks, are of particular interest, not least for their importance as primary historical documents. They also illustrate how deeply Christians had come to regard Jerusalem as their holy city. This whole body of literature, which focuses on the accounts of the martyrdom of Anastasius the Persian, a Persian soldier who converted to Christianity and eventually suffered martyrdom, has been subject to exemplary analysis by B. Flusin.

Studies: F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, 2 vol., Paris 1952; Perrone; Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven 1992; W.E. Kaegil, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, Cambridge 1992; P. Maraval, *Récits des premiers chrétiens au Proche-Orient (IV^e-VII^e siècle). Textes choisis, présentés, traduits et annotés par Pierre Maraval*, Paris 1996; M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*,

American Center of Oriental Research 1993; B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, Le Monde byzantin, 2 vol., Paris 1992; John Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine 314-631*, Oxford 1994, repr. 1996; J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, Washington (DC) 1996.

AMMONIUS THE MONK

The otherwise unknown Ammonius was a Coptic monk who, on his return from making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, spent some years in the Sinai desert, where he both witnessed and heard about massacres of monks in Raithou and Sinai by Saracens, Blemmyae and other barbarians, about which he wrote a somewhat confusing account which survives in a Greek translation, and also in a translation from the Greek into Christian Palestinian Aramaic; there are also versions in Syriac, Georgian and Arabic. He says that these events took place during the patriarchate of Peter of Alexandria, presumably Peter II (373-380), and that they are commemorated on 28 December, but they may be the same (compare the names: Isaiah, Sabbas, Moses, etc.) as the monks of Sinai and Raithou commemorated in the Byzantine Calendar on 14 January.

Editions: For full details of versions see CPG 6088.

Greek: F. Combefis, *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi*, Paris 1660, 88-132; D.G. Tsami, K.A. Katsani, *Tò Μαρτυρολόγιον τοῦ Σινᾶ*, Thessaloniki 1989, 194-235.

Christian Palestinian Aramaic: A. Smith Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios*, Cambridge 1912, 1-54 (numbered from the end); C. Müller-Kessler, M. Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia*, A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic 3, Groningen 1996.

Translation – English (of Christian Palestinian Aramaic version): A. Smith Lewis, *op. cit.*, 1-14 (numbered from the beginning); C. Müller-Kessler, M. Sokoloff, *op. cit.*

Studies: R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans", *RBi* 49 (1940) 205-23, esp. 216-20; P. Mayerson, "The Ammonius Narrative: Bedouin and Blemmye attacks in Sinai", *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, New York 1980, 133-48; I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington (DC) 1984, 303-319; P.-L. Gatier, "Les traditions et l'histoire du Sinaï du IV^e au VII^e siècle", T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leyden 1989, 499-523, esp. 510-517.

JUVENAL OF JERUSALEM

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem from 422 to 458, the first to assume the patriarchal dignity, took part in the initial phase of the Christological controversies at the Councils of Ephesus (431 and 449) and Chalcedon (451), concerned mainly to safeguard and expand the rights of his own see. Allied to Cyril at the First Council of Ephesus and to his successor

Dioscorus at the Second, during the Council of Chalcedon he did not hesitate to withdraw the support previously offered to the Alexandrians. He thus adhered to the definition of faith, together with the Palestinian episcopate: this led to the revolt of some monks headed by Theodosius (452-453), who accused the bishop of Jerusalem of having betrayed the right faith. The protests of the insurgents on his return to Palestine forced Juvenal to flee to Constantinople, whence he returned to take possession of his diocese with imperial support (August 453). For some time the patriarch's political ambitions had extended beyond the three Palestinian provinces to the two provinces of Phoenicia and Arabia. These aims were to be achieved in the aftermath of the *latrocinium* of Ephesus (449), but at Chalcedon Juvenal had to negotiate with Maximus of Antioch for recognition of his patriarchal authority, which was confined to Palestine. The institution of the fourth Eastern patriarchate brought to completion a tendency that had inspired the policy of the bishops of Jerusalem since the time of the Council of Nicaea (325).

Juvenal's excessively political image tends to make us forget his monastic origins, also attested by a monastery of his own founding in the Kedron valley, and his active support of Palestinian monasticism, which under his episcopacy began to populate the Judaean desert. The adherence to Chalcedon of Euthymius the Great, initiator of monastic life in the desert beyond Jerusalem during the 5th century, partly expressed his loyalty to the bishop of the Holy City, who among other things recruited many monks into his own clergy. The patriarch of Jerusalem also promoted important developments in the rich liturgical organization of Jerusalem, like the introduction of the feast of the *Theotokos* (15 August) and the celebration of Christmas on 25 December, though with less success in the latter case.

Juvenal appears as signatory of an *Ep. ad Caelestinum ep. Romae* (CPG 6710), addressed to the pope by the delegates of the Cyrillian Council of Ephesus (431) convoked at Constantinople by Theodosius II, and of an *Ep. ad presbyteros et archimandritas Palaestinenses* (CPG 6711), written in 454, after his restoration to the see of Jerusalem. The synodal letter aimed to pacify the rebel monks towards the bishops who had accepted the dogma of Chalcedon, adducing the motive of continuity with the apostolic faith and the tradition of the Fathers. Juvenal's name also appears in several documents (letters and transcripts) connected with the events of the three Christological councils in the first half of the 5th century. The only text to reach us in Juvenal's name is a homily delivered at Ephesus in July 431, soon after the deposition of Nestorius by the Cyrillians, and transmitted in an Ethiopic version. The brief address is marked by its wealth of biblical references which bring out, by contrast, its moderate polemical tone towards Nestorius. Against that

Antiochene spokesman, Juvenal confines himself to repeating the traditional arguments of patristic soteriology which linked the event of the Incarnation to the prospect of deification.

Editions and studies: CPG 6710-6712; ACO 4/3/1, 306-307; 4/3/2, 273-275; B.M. Weischer, *Qêrellos IV, 1: Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesus*, Äthiopistische Forschungen 4, Wiesbaden 1979, 82-87; S. Grébaud, "Traduction de la version éthiopienne d'une homélie de Juvénal, évêque de Jérusalem", *ROC* 15 (1910) 440-441; E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem", *DOP* 5 (1950) 209-279; J.T. Milik, "Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes", *RB* 67 (1960) 354-367, esp. 364 f.; L. Perrone, "I vescovi palestinesi ai concili cristologici della prima metà del V secolo", *AHC* 10 (1978) 16-52; Idem, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, Brescia 1980; Grillmeier, II/1, 113-120, 227 f. (English ed. 98-105, 200 f.).

THEODOSIUS OF JERUSALEM

Even before the Council of Chalcedon, the Palestinian monk Theodosius had stood out at Antioch and Alexandria for the zeal with which he supported the cause of the Cyrillian party. Having followed at close quarters the labours of the Fourth Council, he was able to anticipate the return of the bishops to Palestine by denouncing the "apostasy" perpetrated by Juvenal. His propaganda against the patriarch won a huge following in monastic circles. Theodosius briefly (452-453) installed himself on Juvenal's throne and proceeded to replace the bishops who had adhered to the dogma of 451. Among others, he consecrated Peter the Iberian as bishop of Maiuma. Though Theodosius drew down the charge of being a sympathizer of Eutyches, the doctrinal positions he defended seem to take the form of loyalty to the Cyril of Ephesus, the determined antagonist of Nestorius and Diphysite Christology, rather than the Cyril who agreed to union with the Antiochenes (433). Faced with the repressive measures of the Emperor Marcian, who issued a death sentence against him, he escaped capture thanks to the protection afforded him by the monks of Sinai. From there he later went to Egypt, where he had to face a dispute within the Monophysite party, caused by doctrines of a Eutychian stamp. To resolve the conflict, Theodosius set out for Antioch. Recognized on the road, he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, where he remained under house arrest in a monastery until his death.

Attributed to Theodosius of Jerusalem are two Coptic writings, probably both to be considered spurious. They are a *Homily in Honour of St Victor*, handed down by a codex in the White Monastery, and an *Encomium of St George the Martyr* (CPG 6715). This is not so much a homily as a collection of miracles, supposed to have taken place at the time of the construction of the saint's sanctuary at Lydda.

Editions and studies: CPG 6715; E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia*, London 1888, 38-44 (text), 236-241 (tr.); U. Bouriant, "L'éloge de l'apa Victor fils de Romanos", *MIFAO* 8 (1893) 145-268; E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem", *DOP* 5 (1950) 247 ff.; Perrone, 89 ff.; Grillmeier, II/1, 113-120 (English ed. II/1, 98-105); T. Orlandi, "Theodosius of Jerusalem": *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, VII, New York 1991, 2242.

ANTIPATER OF BOSTRA

Antipater, metropolitan of Bostra (in Arabia) at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451), was in contact with the Palestinian monasticism of the Judaeian desert through Euthymius the Great († 473) and his community. These links not only left traces on the pastoral government of his province, for which Antipater procured the collaboration of the monks (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.* 34), but were also expressed in doctrinal exchanges connected with the controversy over Origen. As Cyril of Scythopolis attests, for a certain period Antipater represented the main doctrinal authority adduced against the Origenists in the course of the controversy that developed in Palestine around the mid 6th century (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Sab.* 84).

His most important writing is indeed a *Refutation of the Apologia for Origen* of Eusebius of Caesarea (CPG 6687), composed in c. 460. The author omits the name of Pamphilus, who was responsible for the greater part of that work, probably out of embarrassment about attacking the martyr's memory. The *Refutation* attacks the doctrines of "classical" Origenism, opposing the theories of pre-existence and apocatastasis. The few surviving fragments reveal an able mind, not without dialectical capacity. The attention given by Antipater to questions of protology leads him to interpret the beginning of Genesis, but his approach is dogmatic rather than exegetical, in accordance with the priority he allows to "precision of dogmas". He makes this criterion outweigh the "erudition" of Eusebius of Caesarea – for whom he does not conceal a certain consideration (PG 85, 1793 A-B) – and recalls that none of the orthodox masters maintained the doctrine of pre-existence. Discussing, among other things, the theory of the creation of "intellects" (νόετες), Antipater disputes the allegorical interpretation of the account of the creation of Adam.

Antipater left us a corpus of homilies, handed down partly in translation or in fragmentary form. Among them are the two homilies on *St John the Baptist* and *The Annunciation and Visitation*, preached by Antipater on two successive Sundays (CPG 6680-6681); the two unedited homilies *On Epiphany* (CPG 6685) and *On the Beginning of the Fast* (CPG 6686); the Latin homily *On the Assumption of Mary* (CPG 6682) and the four *On Christ's Nativity* surviving in Armenian

translation (CPG 6695-6698). The Mariological homilies, while they attest that the *Theotokos* of Ephesus (431) was now peacefully accepted, are without any close references to the contemporary Christological debate.

Editions and studies: CPG 6680-6698; PG 85, 1755-1796 (*Homilies on St. John the Baptist and Homily on the Annunciation and Visitation*); PG 85, 1792-1796; 86, 2045; 2053; 2077; 96, 468; 488-505 (*Refutation of the Apology for Origen*); C. Vona, *L'orazione di Antipatro sulla nascita del Battista e l'orazione dell'Assunzione*, *Scrinium patristicum Lateranense* 5, Rome 1974, 26-66; Bardenhewer IV, 304-307; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1962; C. Vona, "Le due orazioni di Antipatro di Bostra. Fonti e sopravvivenza nell'omiletica bizantina e nelle catene evangeliche", *Studi e ricerche... in onore dei ss. app. Pietro e Paolo*, Lateranum 34, Rome 1968, 121-233; R. Grégoire, "L'homélie d'Antipater de Bostra pour l'assomption de la mère de Dieu", *PdO* I (1970) 95-122; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971, 229-255; B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1938, 27-28.

CHRYSIPPUS OF JERUSALEM

Chrysippus († 479) was of Cappadocian origin, but grew up in Syria. He was part of the first group of disciples of Euthymius the Great, when the latter founded his laura in the desert of Judaea (428/429). At Eudocia's request he was ordained a presbyter of the Anastasis soon after the Palestinian "first union" (c. 456). Around 466 he assumed the important post of "guardian of the cross" (*staurophylax*), which he held for ten years. In the period when he belonged to the Jerusalem clergy, Chrysippus stood out for his homiletic activity, perhaps in direct continuation of that of Hesychius of Jerusalem, "teacher of the church", though this had occupied a much longer period of time, with results much more important for us. Though Cyril of Scythopolis calls him the author of many works (*V. Euth.*), Chrysippus is known to us only through a few panegyrics.

These are four encomia, dedicated respectively to the *Theotokos*, St Theodore, St Michael the Archangel and St John the Baptist. Also attributed to Chrysippus is an unedited hagiographic text: *Miracula Theodori* (BHG 1765 f). In these texts, celebratory intent appears prevalent; it is impossible clearly to draw from them elements symptomatic of the new spiritual climate prevailing after the Council of Chalcedon. Some hints in the *Encomium of the Theotokos* (CPG 6705), probably delivered at the apposite celebration at Jerusalem on 15 August and sometimes referring to the themes of anti-Nestorian polemic, may however be interpreted as a sign of moderate Chalcedonianism. The characteristic trait of Chrysippus' oratory is rhetorical amplification of the data of his Scriptural starting-point, with a typical abundance of exclamations, apostrophes and anaphorae. They seem not so much

sermons dictated by pastoral concerns, as prose hymns. The circumstances of his preaching are connected to liturgical feasts, while his audience would seem to have been composed largely of monks.

Editions and studies: CPG 6705-6708; M. Jugie, PO XIX/3, Paris 1926, 336-343 (*Oratio in S. Mariam Deiparam*); A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer*, Athens 1937 (*Oratio in S. Iohannem precursorem*); C. Martin, "Mélanges d'homilétique byzantine. I. Hésychius et Chrysippe de Jérusalem *Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρτίαν τὴν Θεοτόκον*", *RHE* 35 (1939) 54-60; B. Capelle, "La fête de la Vierge à Jérusalem au V^e siècle", *Muséon* 56 (1943) 1-33; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971, 211-226; Perrone, 51-52, 227-228; A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*, Barcelona 1991, 168-169.

MARTYRIUS OF JERUSALEM

Of Cappadocian origin, Martyrius was a monk at Nitria until c. 457. On the death of Proterius he left Egypt with Elias, also destined to ascend the throne of Jerusalem, and transferred to the desert of Judaea (Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euthym.* 32). Here he was initially part of the laura of Euthymius, whom he accompanied on his Lenten wanderings in the desert. Later, after a period of solitary life, he founded a coenobium not far from Jerusalem which was to acquire great importance in 6th-century Palestinian monasticism. In 478 he succeeded Anastasius as patriarch of Jerusalem (478-486), persisting in his policy of overtures to the anti-Chalcedonian dissidents. According to a Monophysite source he refused to adhere to Basiliscus' *Antenkyklion* to avoid thus re-embittering his relations with the opponents of the Fourth Council, while for Cyril of Scythopolis the initiative for reconciliation came from monastic circles. This choice bore its fruits, since he brought back to ecclesial communion most of those who had separated after 451. With its exclusive appeal to Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus, the Palestinian "second union" (478) anticipated the dictates of the *Henoticon*, promulgated by Zeno in 482 with the aim of restoring communion among the Churches of the East.

The *Church History* of Zacharias Scholasticus (or the Rhetor) preserves two short texts documenting the doctrinal atmosphere at the time of the *Henoticon*. The first cites two extracts from the speech delivered by Martyrius at the ceremony of readmission of monks and churchmen. While expressing his own satisfaction, the patriarch of Jerusalem also specifies the doctrinal terms that presided over the agreement: acceptance of the faith of Nicaea and Constantinople, confirmed by Ephesus, and rejection of any formulation contrary to the latter, "wherever this may have taken place, whether Rimini or Sardica or Chalcedon" (*Zach. Rhet.*, *HE* V, 6). The distancing from the Fourth

Council is evident, though it does not go so far as a direct condemnation of the definition of 451 or the *Tomus ad Flavianum*, as demanded by the more intransigent Monophysites; indeed these also expected the acceptance of the Second Synod of Ephesus (449) on a par with the First. However, this approach served as a basis for the policy of the *Henoticon*, as is shown by the second brief text of Martyrius cited by Zacharias (*HE* V, 12): a letter in reply to the Alexandrian patriarch Peter Mongus (CPG 6515), in which he praises the emperor's desire for peace and the Alexandrian bishop's proposals for reconciliation.

Editions and studies: CPG 6515; Zacharias the Rhetor, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 83 / *Syr.* 38, 220-221 (text); CSCO 87 / *Syr.* 41, 153-154 (tr.); Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.*, 32; 45, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig 1939; Perrone, 127 ff.

MARK THE DEACON

The *Life* of Porphyrius, bishop of Gaza from 395 to 420, was ostensibly written by Mark the Deacon. Its style is evocative and engaging, making it seem an eye-witness account, and it has ensured for the author a celebrity that few other late patristic writers have enjoyed. Mark depicts himself as being of Asian origin and as having gone to Jerusalem, where he worked as a calligrapher. Here he supposedly met the sick monk Porphyrius, was instrumental successively in his cure, his ordination to the priesthood and his elevation to the see of Gaza, and became his deacon and ally in stamping out the paganism which flourished there. His assignments included going to Constantinople with his bishop to lobby the imperial court of Arcadius and Eudoxia for the destruction of pagan temples. Despite his apparent *naïveté*, Mark had literary pretensions, such that we may wonder *prima facie* not only about the veracity of the *Life*, but also about his claim to have recorded a colloquium conducted by Porphyrius with some Manichaeans.

Despite its interest and charm, since the 17th century the *Life* of Porphyry has come under suspicion because of chronological and historical inconsistencies and confusion of names. The learned Jesuit, Lenain de Tillemont (1637-1698), for example, enumerated nine "difficultez" he had with the composition – at least two of these are anachronisms which call into doubt the credentials of Mark the Deacon as eye-witness. A dependence was also detected on the prologue of the *Historia religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrhus, completed in 444/445. During the 20th century a Georgian version of the *Life* was discovered, which in turn seems to have been based on a lost Syriac original quite different from the Greek. The disillusionment which these discoveries have caused has nonetheless an intriguing and positive side: the French editors of 1930 speculated that they were dealing with a later reworking of the

text which had as its purpose the rehabilitation of Porphyrius from suspicions of Origenism and Pelagianism; in his edition and translation of the reworked Georgian text, which does not contain the prologue borrowed from Theodoret, Peeters believed that he was dealing with propaganda to assert the claims of the Chalcedonian Christians of Gaza, against those of the Monophysites, to the Great Church in their city. The historical and literary role of Mark the Deacon in all this is thus difficult to specify.

Editions: CPG 6722; M. Haupt, AAWB 1874, 175-215; H. Grégoire, M.A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre. Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté, Collection byzantine... de l'Association G. Budé, Paris 1930; P. Peeters, "La Vie géorgienne de saint Porphyre de Gaza", *AB* 59 (1941) 65-216.

Translations – Latin: G. Hervet, in L. Lippomani, *Vitae sanctorum Patrum* 5, Venice 1556 (= PG 65, 1211-1262); P. Peeters, *op. cit.*

English: G.F. Hill, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon*, Oxford 1913.

French: H. Grégoire, M.A. Kugener, *op. cit.*

Italian: C. Carta, *Vita de San Porfirio scritta da Marco Diacono*, Jerusalem 1971.

Studies: F.-M. Abel, *Marc Diacre et la biographie de saint Porphyre*, Conférence de Saint-Etienne, Paris 1910, 219-284; J. Zellinger, "Die Proömion in der Vita Porphyrii und in der "religiosa historia" des Theodoret", *Philologus* 85 (1930) 209-221; H. Leclercq, "Porphyre de Gaza", *DACL* 14 (1939) 1464-1504; J. Rougé, "Tempête et littérature dans quelques textes chrétiens", *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 12 (1962) 55-69; M. Gigante, "Sul Testò della 'Vita di Porfirio'", *Studi medievali in onore di A. de Stefano*, Palermo 1956, 227-229; G. Couilleau, "Marc le Diacre", *DSP* 10 (1980) 265-267; F. Scorza Barcellona, "Mark the Deacon", *EEC* 1 (1992) 527; R. Van Dam, "From Paganism to Christianity at Late Antique Gaza", *Viator* 16 (1985) 1-20; G. Mussies, "Marnas God of Gaza", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 2, vol. 18.4, 1990, 2412-2457; F. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, c. 370-529, 1, Leyden 1995, 188-243, 246-282.

ISAIAH OF GAZA (AND/OR SCETE?)

LIFE

Isaiah was an Egyptian, who may have spent some time in Scete, but finished his life on 11 August 491 as a solitary in Gaza. His *Vita*, ascribed to the historian Zacharias, survives in Syriac (BHO 550). His principal work is the *Asceticon*, a collection of discourses on the ascetic life, which became very popular and were anciently translated into most Christian languages.

Studies: H. Keller, "L'abbé Isaïe-le-Jeune", *Irénikon* 16 (1939) 113-126; L. Regnault, "Isaïe de Scété ou Isaïe de Gaza?", *RAM* 46 (1970) 33-44; D.J. Chitty, "Abba Isaiah", *JThS* new series 22 (1971) 47-72; L. Regnault: *DSP* 7 (1971) 2083-2095; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 1 (1992) 417.

WORKS

1. *Asceticon*

The complete Greek text of this was not published until this century, and there is still no critical edition. It was, however, very popular, and formed the basis for the sayings of Abba Isaiah found in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*: it was also the source of a brief treatise ascribed to Isaiah the Solitary in the *Philokalia* of Nikodimos the Hagiote and Makarios of Corinth. Most of the *Asceticon* is preserved in the 11th-century *Synagoge* of Paul Evergetinos. Fragments of it survive in most ancient Christian languages. In his edition of the Syriac versions, Draguet has argued that the core of the *Asceticon* goes back to a 4th-century Scetiot monk called Isaiah, a view independently refuted by Chitty and Regnault.

Editions: For full details see CPG 5555; PG 40, 1105-1206 (Latin only); Greek edition from cod. Hierosol. 109, § xvii, ed. Augoustinos Iordanites, *Τῶν ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Ἰσαΐου λόγοι κθ'*, Jerusalem 1911 (2nd ed., S. Schoinas, Volos 1962); Syriac edition by R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, CSCO 289-290 / Syr. 120-121, Louvain 1968.

Translations – French: *Abbé Isaïe: Recueil ascétique. Introduction et traduction française par les moines de Solesmes*, Collection Spiritualité orientale 7, Bégrolles 1970. Of the Syriac versions: R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascéticon syriaque d'Abba Isaïe*, I. *Introduction au problème isaïen. Version des logoi I-XIII avec les parallèles grecs et latins*, CSCO 293 / Syr. 122, Louvain 1968; II. *Version des logoi XIV-XXVI avec les parallèles grecs*, CSCO 294 / Syr. 123, Louvain 1968.

English (of the selection in the *Philokalia*): G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, I, London-Boston 1979, 22-28.

2. *On the degrees of the monastic life*

This brief fragment on the degrees of the monastic life, preserved in Syriac and published by Graffin, seems to be independent of the *Asceticon*.

Edition: CPG 5556; F. Graffin, "Un inédit de l'abbé Isaïe sur les étapes de la vie monastique", *OCP* 29 (1963) 449-54.

JOHN RUFUS

LIFE

John Rufus (of Beit-Rufin, or of Antioch) was a Christian Arab from Southern Palestine, probably from Ascalon, who, having studied law at Berytus (Beirut), was ordained priest by Peter the Fuller, when patriarch of Antioch between 476 and 478, and became his syncellus. When Peter

was driven from Antioch, John headed south to Jerusalem and the surrounding district, where he came to know the solitary Isaiah (of Gaza) and Peter the Iberian, bishop of Maiuma near Gaza from 452 to 489 and a strident opponent of the Council of Chalcedon. He succeeded Peter as bishop of Maiuma after his death.

Studies: E. Schwartz, *Iohannes Rufus, ein monophysitischer Schriftsteller*, Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Kl., 1912, Abh. 16; J.-M. Sauge, T. Orlandi, "John of Maiuma": EEC 1 (1992) 445 f.

WORKS

John Rufus' various works, originally composed in Greek, only survive in Syriac translation.

1. *Life of Peter the Iberian*

Editions: CPG 7505; BHO 955; R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer, ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1895.

Translation: Raabe, *op. cit.* (to be used with caution).

2. *Panegyric of Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem*

John Rufus' panegyric of Theodosius, the monk who was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem to replace Juvenal after the latter's acceptance of Chalcedon in 451.

Edition: CPG 7506; BHO 1178; "De commemoratione quomodo beatus Theodosius episcopus Hierosolymorum ad dominum migravit", E.W. Brooks, *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum*, CSCO 7 / Syr. 7 (Syr. III, 25), Paris 1907, 21-27.

Translation - Latin: E.W. Brooks, CSCO 8 / Syr. 8 (Syr. III, 25), 15-19.

3. *Plerophoriae*

John Rufus' most extensive work is his *Plerophoriae* ("Assurances"), a collection of visions, miracles and prophecies, based on oral traditions close to Peter the Iberian, exposing the "Great Apostasy" that had been committed at the Council of Chalcedon. Composed while Severus was patriarch of Antioch (512-518), it was very influential in Monophysite circles and was made use of by historians such as Zacharias the Rhetor, Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē and Michael the Syrian. Apart from the Syriac version, a fragment of the *Plerophoriae* also survives in Coptic (cf. p. 562).

Edition: CPG 7507; F. Nau, *Jean Rufus, évêque de Maiouma. Plérophories*, PO VIII, 1, Paris 1912; Coptic fragment: T. Orlandi, *Koptische Papyri theologischen Inhalts*, Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 9, Vienna 1974, 110-120.

Translation - French: F. Nau, *ed. cit.*

AENEAS OF GAZA

LIFE

Aeneas was born at Gaza of a rather upper-class family (Procopius of Gaza, *Ep.* 82 in Hercher, *Epistol. Graeci* 564, 15-16, calls him "of good stock"). His exact date of birth cannot be established, but can presumably be put around 450. As E. Legier has observed (*OrChr* 7 [1907] 352-354), Aeneas composed his main work, the *Theophrastus*, soon after 484, when he must have reached full maturity (in *Theophr.* 66, 11-67, 16 Colonna = PG 85, 1000 A2-1001 B3, the persecution of the orthodox by the Vandal king Huneric, which occurred in 484, is presented as a very recent fact; cf. also M.E. Colonna, *Theophrastus* VIII); and Zacharias Scholasticus says in his *Life of Severus* (PO II, 90) that, on his own return to Berytus after renouncing the monastic life, he was the bearer of a letter to Zenodorus from Aeneas, "a great and learned sophist": so in the years between 488 and 491, to which period we can date this episode in Zacharias' life, Aeneas already enjoyed a great reputation and could not have been less than forty years old.

Having spent his youth probably at Gaza, Aeneas went to Alexandria, devoting himself mainly to the study and practice of rhetoric: he took part in playful rhetorical disputes on the banks of the Nile with Stephen, his fellow-student and recipient of *Ep.* 15 (10, 2-3 Massa Positano). He also cultivated philosophical studies, his teacher being the Neoplatonist philosopher Hierocles (at the beginning of the *Theophrastus*, Euxitheus, in whom Aeneas himself is adumbrated, is presented as his pupil, 2, 9-10. 20 Colonna = PG 85, 873 A5-8, 876 A4-5). As appears from *Epp.* 9 and 16, Aeneas was friends not just with Stephen, but also with Sopater – the famous rhetor whose school was frequented by Severus of Antioch and Zacharias Scholasticus (*Vita Sev.*, PO II, 12) – and with Sarapion, the deacon who was involved in the religious disturbances that broke out at Alexandria following the Emperor Zeno's publication of the *Henoticon* (cf. Zach. Schol., *Hist. eccl.* VI, 1, p. 86, 24; VI, 4, p. 91, 1 Ahrens-Krüger); it is to these that the "dramatic event" mentioned at the beginning of *Ep.* 16 (11, 1 Massa Positano) must allude. After his stay in Egypt, Aeneas returned to Gaza and made a living from his school of rhetoric, for which he openly admitted nourishing a great passion (*Ep.* 13, p. 9, 7-8; *Ep.* 16, p. 11, 12-14). As a rhetor he acquired great form, if it is true that he held his addresses in the public theatre in the manner of the sophists of Gaza (*Ep.* 16, p. 11, 14-15). He was a man of the world, preferring the busy life of the city to the solitary, retired life of the country, as is shown by *Ep.* 2 addressed to Cassus, whom he exhorts not to remain isolated in his rural hermitage. He also rejected the pre-established agreement, the silence that excluded any kind of

dispute and debate, on which he believed man's intellectual life depended (this attitude is very visible in *Ep.* 16 to Sarapion, p. 11, 8-11, and in the brief *Ep.* 22 to Diodorus Scholasticus).

Aeneas excelled not just in the teaching of rhetoric, but also in that of law. His pupil Ponto, whom Aeneas was able to recommend to a powerful figure, the ex-consul Marinianus (*Ep.* 11), was expert in both rhetoric and law. Other illustrious pupils of his were the sophists Epiphanius – recipient of *Epp.* 12 and 13 and son of Ulpian, a contemporary of Proclus and Aeneas – and Theodore, to whose school young Athenians went to learn the pure Attic idiom (*Ep.* 18).

Zacharias Scholasticus speaks of Aeneas with great respect: “a great and learned sophist” he calls him, as we have seen, in the *Life of Severus* (PO II, 90); and in the *Life of Isaiah* (CSCO 7 / Syr. 7 [Syr. III, 25], p. 8, 21-29 of E.W. Brooks's Latin version) he mentions that Aeneas, “a sophist of the city of Gaza, a most Christian man, very learned and outstanding in every field of knowledge”, used to consult Isaiah on certain doubtful phrases of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus; Isaiah explained their thought to him, demonstrating their errors and confirming the truth of Christian teaching.

Aeneas' fame brought him into contact with the other famous sophists, such as Dionysius of Antioch – author of a collection of 85 letters edited by Hercher (*Epistol. Gr.* 260-274) and recipient of *Ep.* 17 – and Zoneus, a protégé of Procopius of Gaza and recipient of *Ep.* 4 (on whom cf. Suidas, *Lex.* 464b 16-19 Bekker). But his most important friends were Procopius of Gaza and his brother Zacharias, better known as Zacharias Scholasticus or Zacharias of Mytilene.

In two of his letters to Zacharias (*Epp.* 82-83 in Hercher, *Epistol. Gr.* 564-565), Procopius sheds light on an important aspect of Aeneas' personality, that connected with his activity as a lawyer. In *Ep.* 82 he describes him as a jurist of great integrity who, appointed by some towns as superintendent of courts and super-prefect, was treated with contempt by the governors because he did not shower them with gifts, as was customary, and so lost his position. Procopius hopes Zacharias can quickly restore him to this post. In *Ep.* 83 the emphasis is on the deep gratitude of the “most fluent Aeneas”, now certain to see the request made in the previous letter soon satisfied. That Aeneas was indeed a high magistrate and a super-prefect seems clear from two letters, *Ep.* 3 in which he enjoins the priest Alphius not to advance claims on a piece of land, and *Ep.* 24 in which he orders the praetor Marcian to suppress the brigandage that infests the surroundings of the city.

Aeneas' comfortable life (*Ep.* 25 praises his villa's irrigation system, designed and built by the architect Julian) was upset by severe renal problems, which he laments in *Epp.* 19 and 20 addressed to Gessius, a

famous doctor who lived in the reign of the Emperor Zeno, mentioned not just by Suidas (*Lex.* 241a, 12-41 Bekker) but also by Zacharias Scholasticus in his *Ammonius* and by Procopius of Gaza in some of his letters (cf. Legier, cit. 367, n. 2). It was probably this illness that led to his death, which must have occurred soon after 518, the year in which the *Life of Severus* was composed: in this work Zacharias Scholasticus does not speak of Aeneas using the attributes usually reserved for people now dead (on all these biographical facts cf. especially Legier, *op. cit.*, 349-369).

WORKS

In the *Lexikon Suidae* (under the heading Αἴνικος 42, 32-33 Bekker) there appears attributed to the sophist Αἴνιος a work entitled αἱ Μετάβολοι. It cannot be established for sure whether this Αἴνιος was or was not identical with Aeneas of Gaza; equally uncertain is the meaning to be given to αἱ Μετάβολοι (the correct spelling could be οἱ Μετάβολοι, “the traffickers”, “the inconstant”, or αἱ Μεταβολαί, “the traffic”, “the changes”). In *Ep.* 12 (8, 4-6) Aeneas mentions some λόγοι (“discourses”) “interpreters of thought”, sent to Epiphanius: these could be model discourses that have not survived, on the type of those composed by Himerius or Libanius (cf. Legier, *op. cit.*, 369). A collection of 25 letters to pupils and acquaintances and the dialogue *Theophrastus* are his only surviving works.

1. *Epistles*

The *Epistles* are not just sources of valuable information on the activity and personality of Aeneas, but also important evidence of late antique and Byzantine rhetoric. A glimpse at the *apparatus fontium* of L. Massa Positano's edition and the related commentary serves to give an idea of the echoes of classical authors woven into them (e.g. Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Polybius, Isocrates, Menander, Apollonius Rhodius, Arrian, Lucian, Libanius, Julian); also interesting are the parallels with other earlier or contemporary collections of letters (like those of Alciphron, Synesius, [Crates], Procopius of Gaza and Dionysius of Antioch).

2. *Theophrastus*

Also richly interwoven with echoes of earlier authors (cf. the *apparatus fontium* of M.E. Colonna's edition) is his major work, *Theophrastus*, a dialogue that Aeneas imagines taking place soon after the persecution of the orthodox Christians by the Vandal king Huneric in 484 (66, 11-67, 16 Colonna = PG 85, 1000 A2-1001 B3). The characters in the dialogue

are Aegyptus, Theophrastus and Euxitheus. Aegyptus is a colourless, secondary figure, who comes in only at the beginning and then disappears almost completely. The dialogue's true protagonist is Euxitheus, Aeneas' faithful mouthpiece: to him are reserved the refutation of philosophical doctrines not consonant with the truth of the Christian faith, and the exposition and defence of the doctrines considered perfectly "orthodox". Theophrastus, presented at the beginning as a teacher to whom Euxitheus turns in the guise of a pupil desiring to learn, is assigned the task of enunciating certain philosophical doctrines and formulating objections to the contents of the Christian faith. The procedure followed in the *Theophrastus* thus follows that characteristic of Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*, a dialogue whose two protagonists – Gregory and his sister Macrina – have respectively the task of manifesting doubts and illustrating the Christian doctrines that resolve them. The main themes dealt with are: 1) the refutation of the two Platonic doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul and metempsychosis; 2) apparent evils and true happiness, providence and the reason for suffering; 3) the reasons for the utility of the different times of human death; 4) the immortality of human souls; 5) their number, which is fixed and not infinite; 6) *creation ex nihilo*, closely connected with the creation of matter; 7) the origin of the world in time, its consumption and its rebirth in a perfect condition; 8) the sojourn of the soul in a single human body, that destined to rise and enjoy immortality; 9) rejection of the resurrection of animals; 10) the existence of some cases of resurrection in this life, proof of the future resurrection (cf. also M.E. Colonna, introd. XIV n. 1 and the πινάξ on p. 1 of his edition).

PHILOSOPHICAL AND PATRISTIC SOURCES; HIS THOUGHT

To S. Sikorski (see BIBLIOGRAPHY b) goes the credit for having shown in a precise enquiry, conducted on precise textual comparisons (nearly always synoptic), the wide use in the *Theophrastus* of philosophical and patristic authors, particularly Plato, Plotinus and Gregory of Nyssa. But the most profound and exhaustive research on the close links between Aeneas and the Platonic tradition on basic questions like the idea of God, the Trinity, the creation of the world *ex nihilo*, dependent on the divine free will and occurring at a definite moment, as well as its future preservation, is that of M. Wacht (see BIBLIOGRAPHY b) who also examines Aeneas' position within the patristic tradition as regards his critique of the Neoplatonic theory of *creatio ab aeterno*, and his views on the rebirth, following its dissolution, of a world that is *per se* corruptible. Wacht wants to bring out not just the agreements, but also the discrepancies between Neoplatonic theology and cosmology on one hand and the views upheld by Aeneas on the other; and he does not fail to show up the more

specifically Christian traits of Aeneas' conception of God (pp. 48-50, 55-62) and to gauge the extent of his orthodoxy. On this last point, however, we cannot share Wacht's view that Aeneas had not understood the clear Nicene distinction between γέννημα and ποίημα in that he compares the origin of the Son and the Holy Spirit to the creation of intelligible essences and the subsequent creation of the sensible world while affirming the full consubstantiality of the second and third persons (p. 96): in *Theophrastus* 44, 10 Colonna (PG 85, 960 A 10) Aeneas uses precisely the term γέννημα.

Without going into details here about the close discussion between Euxitheus and Theophrastus on the ten subjects listed above (cf. WORKS), it is useful to record the most important doctrinal points in which Aeneas' dependence on the Platonic-Stoic and patristic tradition is evident, following the order in which they are presented one by one in the dialogue. 1) The Greek philosophers contradict each other and are not even consistent with themselves (8, 8-9; 9, 6-7; 10 Colonna = PG 85, 884 A7-9, B5-6.10): the author of the *Cohortatio ad Graecos* had used the same polemical argument at the start of his seventh chapter. 2) Poverty, illness and death are not evils, but causes of good (20, 1-15 = 908 A2-B5). 3) Virtue is the only source of happiness, and is not absolutely subject to external factors (20, 17-21, 2 = 980 B7-C1): these are two characteristic motifs of the Platonic-Stoic tradition. 4) Merits depend not on necessity, but on free will (21, 11-13 = 909 A9-B1): this idea had been emphasized especially by Middle Platonism, and accepted by Justin and Clement. 5) Just as life according to nature is a good, so life against nature is an evil (23, 13-14 = 913 A9-11): this basic axiom of Stoicism also assumes great importance in Philo, Clement, Plotinus and Porphyry. 6) To live surpassing nature is a highly praiseworthy thing (23, 14 = 913 A11-12): this ideal of Platonic ancestry (the intelligible is superior to the sensible, the realm of nature) is clearly championed by Philo. 7) Everything is ordered in accordance with the law established by the benevolent demiurge-legislator, and every being, performing its own natural functions, concurs to the preservation of this order (23, 23-24, 3 = 913 B13-916 A7). This motif is typical of the Stoa, whence Philo inherited it. 8) The power and dominion of reason are marked by order, just as disorder is characteristic of the irrational that does not conform to reason (24, 6-7 = 916 A11-B2). 9) While reason can be likened to the charioteer, wrath and concupiscence are like the two horses of the chariot (24, 9-10 = 916 B5-6). 10) God is not responsible for the wrongs done by the wicked (25, 5-7 = 917 A15-B1). The doctrines of these last three points are present throughout the Platonic tradition. 11) God leads disorder to order and obliges it to harmonize with the all (25, 10-14 = 917 B5-920 A1): this is a motif that, beginning with the *Timaeus*,

recurs constantly in Philo, Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism. 12) While giving rise to beings in creation, God always remains what he is and sees no diminution in his own potency (35, 13-14 = 944 A12-13; 39, 17 = 949 B3-4; cf. 44, 7 = 960 A7 apropos of the generation of the Logos): this property of the first principle is basic in the theology of Platonism and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. 13) God creates the intelligent powers and the sensible universe by a simple act of his will (37, 3-6 = 944 C2-6; 46, 1 = 961 C1-2; 49, 1-2 = 968 A10-11): the importance of God's volition, true cause of creation, takes on a heavy emphasis in Clement and also appears in the Cappadocian Fathers, in Hierocles (whose source may be Ammonius Saccas) and Pseudo-Dionysius. 14) God's creative power, while producing the beings, "remains in itself" (37, 9-10 = 945 A5; cf. 44, 8 = 960 A7-8 apropos of the generation of the Logos): this is an idea characteristic of Neoplatonic theology and Pseudo-Dionysius. 15) God the demiurge comprises everything in himself and produces everything by his art and knowledge (37, 11-14 = 945 A8-12): this Platonic-Stoic motif reappears in Neoplatonism, Philo, the Alexandrian and Cappadocian Fathers and Pseudo-Dionysius. 16) Movement is characterized by desire for the unique, perfect principle, from which it originates and to which it tends to return (43, 8-9 = 957 B3-5): this doctrine, of Aristotelian ancestry, recurs constantly throughout Neoplatonism and Pseudo-Dionysius. 17) The universal God, principle of everything, is not a sterile source (44, 1-3 = 957 D3-960 A2): the identification of the good with a source that is never sterile is characteristic of Neoplatonic theology and Pseudo-Dionysius. 18) From the beginning the Father generated the Logos-wisdom impassibly and integrally (44, 5-9 = 960 A4-9): the generation, *ab aeterno* and free from passions, of the intelligence by the one-good and of the Logos by the Father is present in Plotinus and the patristic tradition, from Origen to the Cappadocians. 19) The generated Logos is of the same substance as the Father, being absolutely simple and without commixture (44, 10-11 = 960 A11-12): while the consubstantiality of the Son was sanctioned by the Nicene Creed and confirmed by Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers, the absolute lack of commixture in the divinity (which is the same thing as its simplicity) is a constant datum of the "negative theology" of the Platonic and patristic tradition. 20) The Son grasps everything in his thought (44, 13 = 960 A14-15): the presence of the totality of beings in the divine intelligence is a characteristic trait of Philo's theology, Neoplatonism and the Greek Fathers. 21) As well as the Son, God has also produced the Holy Spirit, itself consubstantial (44, 14-15 = 960 B2-4): the co-eternity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit are clearly affirmed by the Cappadocian Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen. 22) By means of the Holy

Spirit the Father holds everything together, draws it and directs it towards himself (44, 17-19 = 960 B5-9): the doctrine of the divine spirit (or power) which holds everything in itself is of Stoic origin and recurs constantly in Philo and the Platonic and patristic tradition; typical of Neoplatonism, and especially of late Neoplatonism and Pseudo-Dionysius, is the image of God who draws and directs everything towards himself. 23) The divine monad-triad is outside time and is a single essence, subject to neither growth nor diminution (44, 20-21 = 960 B9-12): in Philo, Neoplatonism and the Greek Fathers, God is outside time; the idea of God as one and three, clearly enunciated by the Cappadocian Fathers and Synesius, is already present in the *Chaldaean Oracles* and in Porphyry; the unicity of God's substance is a fundamental point of the theology of the Cappadocians; and the absence of growth and diminution in His οὐσία is a Platonic-Aristotelian doctrine and recurs in the Cappadocian Fathers. 24) The single divine essence created the intelligent essences before time (44, 21-22 = 960 B12-13): this idea is already present in patristic tradition (cf. references in Wacht, 66 n. 13). 25) The higher powers are able to enjoy the *summum bonum* (44, 23-24 = 960 B14-C1): the idea of "enjoyment" of the *summum bonum* by beings occurs in the pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo* and recurs in Pseudo-Dionysius and Neoplatonism. 26) The *summum bonum* does not admit envy into itself (44, 24-25 = 960 C2-3; 49, 7 = 968 B2): this is a doctrine characteristic of Plato and the Platonic tradition. 27) The production of the Logos, the Holy Spirit and the intelligent essences by God before time (cf. *supra*, nos. 18, 21, 24) demonstrates that He was never inert before the creation of the sensible world (44, 25 = 960 C3): the reason for the perennial generative power of the one-being is basic in Neoplatonism, though Aeneas tends to emphasize the importance of divine free will (cf. *supra*, no. 13). 28) Time originated from heaven (45, 1 = 960 C4): the idea of time as product of the movement of the visible heaven is characteristic of the *Timaeus* and of Neoplatonism. 29) As Porphyry and the *Chaldaean Oracles* also teach, matter is not ingenerate, but is transmitted by God to the universe, and hence made by Him harmonious and ordered; Porphyry rightly rejected as "atheistic" the theory that makes matter one of the principles (45, 3-9 = 960 C7-961 A9): the doctrine of the creation of matter by God, already present in the *Chaldaean Oracles* and in Porphyry, as well as in some Neo-Pythagorean circles and in Philo's *De providentia*, must in all probability have been maintained by Clement, his teacher Pantaenus and Ammonius Saccas, and was taken up by Origen, Gregory of Nyssa and later Neoplatonism. 30) If matter is not a principle, but was born last, nor can the sensible universe, created with it, be ingenerate and without a temporal beginning. Plato had maintained in the *Timaeus* that the universe was born; Plotinus

had considered the demiurge as preceding matter, deriding Anaxagoras who had put them on the same level; and Atticus, Plato's great admirer, had asserted that the cosmos is neither ingenerate nor eternal, but is born of God, who is anterior to it and more perfect and powerful, and had considered ridiculous the Aristotelian theory that conceived the cosmos as ingenerate and indestructible (45, 9-15 = 961 A9-B2; 46, 12-47, 2 = 964 A7-B12): considering the universe as generated and chronologically posterior to the demiurge, Aeneas fully agreed with those Middle Platonists who interpreted the *Timaeus* literally, such as Plutarch and Atticus (the latter is explicitly named by him). 31) The corporeal universe, composed and held together, is by nature brought to dissolution, but is preserved by the demiurge, who makes immortal what is in itself subject to corruption (48, 4-7, 49, 16-19 = 965 C2-6, 968 C1-5): that the visible world is preserved by the will of God is maintained in the *Timaeus* by Plato, to whom Euxitheus himself appeals (40, 14-16 = 925 B7-9). 32) The higher beings take care of the lower and depend on the supreme principle (50, 15-17 = 969 B5-7): the motif of the providence exercised by higher beings towards the lower recurs in Hierocles, Proclus and Pseudo-Dionysius; and the idea of the dependence of beings on the supreme principle, Aristotelian in origin, is common in Neoplatonism and Pseudo-Dionysius. 33) God the demiurge transforms into immortality the corruption of the universe, which after its end will be reborn to new life, no longer subject to death or to evil, exactly as will happen to the risen man; and so the Stoic theory of successive conflagrations and rebirths of the universe is only partly acceptable, since in reality it dies and is reborn only once (51, 15-23 = 973 A5-B2; cf. 43, 13-14 = 957 B11-12): this close parallel between the resurrection of the universe and that of man can be traced back to the Stoic idea, also present in Philo and Gregory of Nyssa, of man as microcosm, exactly corresponding to the macrocosm represented by the universe. 34) The spectres that gather like shades around tombs are in fact not souls, but demons (53, 14-54, 1 = 976 B1-10); the existence of souls that wander around sepulchres is already affirmed in the *Phaedo*; this belief was repeated by Gregory of Nyssa in *De anima et resurrectione*. 35) The body of the dead person dissolves into the elements of which it is composed (55, 11-18 = 977 A12-B5): the same Stoic idea recurs in Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*. 36) The rational principle of the soul, which is immortal and is like the form of the body, is able to reawaken matter and adorn it, restoring it to its previous condition and its bodily form (58, 21-59, 2 = 981 C5-9): the theory of the recomposition of the mortal body by the rational principle is present in Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*, which applies to the human body the Stoic theory of the recomposition of the universe by the Logos. 37) Suffering becomes

learning (61, 9 = 988 B9): this idea, very common in Greek thought, is reflected in the Platonic doctrine of punishment as a means of education, taken up by the Platonic and patristic tradition.

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scolastico", *AAT, Classe di sc. mor., stor. e filol.* 112 (1978) 117-135, 137-167; Idem, "La risurrezione dei morti in Enea di Gaza e in Zacaria scolastico", *Aug* 18 (1978) 273-278; N. Aujoulat, "Le De Providentia d'Hieroclès d'Alexandrie et le Théophraste d'Énée de Gaza", *VC* 41 (1987) 55-85; Idem, "Problèmes de chronologie", *Koinonia* 10 (1986) 67-80; A.M. Milazzo, "La chiusa del Teofrasto di Enea di Gaza. Il meraviglioso come metafora", *Sicul. Gymn.* 40 (1987) 39-70; Idem, "Un tema declamatorio alla scuola di Enea", *Sicul. Gymn.* 42 (1989) 241-263; Idem, "Dimensione retorica e destinatari nel Teofrasto di Enea di Gaza", in *Retorica della comunicazione nelle letterature classiche*, ed. A. Pennacini, Bologna 1990, 33-71; Idem, "I personaggi del dialogo di Enea di Gaza: storicità e tradizione letteraria", in *Σύνδεσμος. Studi in onore di R. Anastasi I*, Catania 1991, 1-19.

ZACHARIAS SCHOLASTICUS

The ecclesiastical historian Zacharias was born around 465 at Maiuma near Gaza, a town in southern Palestine, which at that time saw the flowering of an important, if ephemeral, literary school; his brother, Procopius of Gaza, was the author of exegetical works and a man of wide learning. Educated at Alexandria in 485-487, Zacharias studied law at Berytus (Beirut) in 487-492, and then practised as a lawyer at Constantinople, for which he received the epithet Scholasticus, i.e. advocate, in Latin Rhetor. In the capital he was called to hold important posts in the state apparatus and was legal adviser at court. As a young man in Alexandria, he had known Severus, the future Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (512-518): they had gone on to study law together. After having helped in his conversion from paganism and shared with him an austere regime of life during their studies at Berytus, Zacharias did not follow him in his choice of monasticism, though at the time of his departure for Constantinople (492) he was a Monophysite and favoured the solution to the post-Chalcedonian controversy laid down in the document known as the *Henoticon* (482). From those ideas he progressively distanced himself: this coincided, perhaps not fortuitously, with the decline of Monophysite fortunes at court. From 527 to 536 he was metropolitan of Mytilene on the isle of Lesbos, and as such he took part in the Synod of Constantinople of 536, at which Patriarch Anthimus and other prominent Monophysites were condemned, among them Severus, his old companion in studies and religious faith.

Zacharias' literary work is articulate and important. To his youthful years, perhaps those spent at Berytus, must be ascribed the *Ammonius*, a dialogue entitled from the name of the pagan sophist whose lessons Zacharias had attended at Alexandria: its theme is the *opificium mundi*, the creation of the world in time. The *Life of Severus*, written originally in Greek in c. 515 but preserved only in a Syriac version, is properly an apologia aimed at defending his friend, recently elevated to the Antiochene see (512), from the accusations of detractors who chided him for his

pagan origins. It is a document of the greatest interest for our knowledge of civil and social life in late antiquity and particularly of the scholastic system in the years of the decline of paganism. Ascribable to the same years, the *Life of Isaiah of Gaza* (of disputed attribution), also known only in a Syriac version, is in practice a hagiographical text devoted to the virtues and deeds of the ascetic who died in 488. In it the author claims to produce first-hand evidence, collected from the protagonist's own lips. Similar considerations hold good for the *Life of Peter the Iberian*, a monk of the deserts of Palestine and Egypt who died in 488, known from a few fragments in a Syriac version. To the last phase of Zacharias' life can be ascribed two different works of anti-Manichaean polemic, *Adversus Manichaeos* and *Capita VII contra Manichaeos*, known from sparse fragments and written probably on the occasion of Justinian's edict against that religious community (527).

Zacharias' name is linked especially with an *Ecclesiastical History*, of which the Greek original is lost, widely used by Evagrius Scholasticus for Books II-III of his historical work. Of the text we know at least a Syriac version, which maintains the attribution to Zacharias but is really a compilation in 12 books, from various sources, on the events from the creation of the world to 569. The reworking of Zacharias' material is recognizable in Books III-VI, relating to the period between the Council of Chalcedon and the end of the reign of Zeno (450-491). As has already been said of other works, in this case too Zacharias manifests his marked inclination to relate facts of which he was an eye-witness. This allows us to date the work to the months around his arrival at Constantinople (492) and to emphasize the substantial credibility of this author as a historical source.

Editions and studies: CPG 6995-7001; M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacharia Scolastico, Ammonio. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commentario*, Naples 1973; M.-A. Kugener, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scolastique*, PO 2/1 (6), Paris 1903; E.W. Brooks, *Vitae virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum*, CSCO 7 / Syr. 7, Paris 1907, 1-18 (text) and CSCO 8 / Syr. 8, Paris 1907, 1-10 (Latin tr.); S.N.C. Lieu, "An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism. The Capita VII contra Manichaeos of 'Zacharias of Mytilene'. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary", *JbAC* 26 (1983) 152-218; E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, CSCO 83-84 / Syr. 38-39, Louvain 1919-1921, ²1953 (text), and CSCO 87-88 / Syr. 41-42, Louvain 1924, ²1953 (Latin tr.); PG 85, 1011-1178; G. Bardy, *DTC* 15, 3676-3680; W. Bauer, "Die Severus-Vita des Zacharias Rhetor", *Aufsätze und kleine Schriften*, Tübingen 1967, 210-228; P. Allen, "Zachariah Scholasticus and the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Evagrius Scholasticus", *JTS* 31 (1980) 471-488.

PROCOPIUS OF GAZA

A Christian sophist, brother of Zacharias Scholasticus, he lived between the 5th and 6th centuries. Born in 465 at Gaza in Palestine, he completed

his education in his home town and at Alexandria. He was soon called home to hold the teaching chair to which he remained faithful for the rest of his life. As his pupil and successor Choricus attests in his commemorative address, Procopius enjoyed great esteem for his teaching and publications, but also for his availability and simplicity. He possessed a theological education so sound as to be considered and honoured as a bishop. He died soon after 530. In his teaching he displayed a linguistic preparation based on the classical writers and a markedly rhetorical personality. An important example of this is his panegyric on Anastasius I, pronounced on the occasion of the inauguration of a monument. Of his many rhetorical exercises (*ekphraseis*), only two are edited: the description of the artistic clock in the market-place at Gaza (ed. H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza*, Berlin 1917) and that of a series of late antique paintings at Gaza (ed. P. Friedländer, Vatican City 1939). Procopius' correspondence, published in the author's lifetime as an exemplary collection of masterpieces of Atticist stylistic purity, consists of 163 letters: though they sin by abstractness, they make clear the spiritual links between Gaza and the cultural centres of the Mediterranean. Procopius also left a great mass of theological writings, which still largely await an editor.

Attempts made to distinguish Procopius the sophist from Procopius the theologian are undoubtedly mistaken. Procopius is the first of the series of authors of *Catena*e (cf. Ch. 9: GREEK EXEGETICAL CATENAE, *passim*). An adherent of Alexandrian theology, Procopius made extensive use of Origen, repudiating the Antiochene Theodore. To his great *Catena* on the Octateuch and the other historical books of the OT, which Photius knew complete, he gave the title *Eklogai exegetikai*; what remain are the salient parts of an extract prepared by Procopius himself under the title *Epitome eklogon*. Under Procopius' name go two commentaries on the *Song of Songs*: one is authentic, while the other is a fragment of the *Catena* of the Three Fathers, based on Nilus, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor. The *Catena*e on Isaiah and Ecclesiastes survive, rather lacunose. The *Catena* on Proverbs handed down under Procopius' name is spurious. The fragments (edited by A. Mai, *Nova Patrum bibliotheca*, IV, 2, Rome 1847, 155-201 and VII, 2, Rome 1854, 1-81), from a genuine work of Procopius, suggest a dual recension, as does the commentary on the Octateuch. A polemic against the Neoplatonist Proclus, of which fragments remain (A. Mai, *Classici auctores e Vaticanis codicibus editi*, 4, Rome 1931, 274 ff.), and a passage of Christian apologetic developed with dialectical method, have been demonstrated as genuine by the most recent studies, dissipating previous doubts. A description of Hagia Sophia, however, more probably belongs to Procopius of Caesarea; a monody on that church's collapse due to an

earthquake is probably the work of Michael Psellus. In the earliest editions, both writings are assigned to Procopius.

Editions and studies: CPG 7430-7448; PG 87, 21-2842 (including the spurious works); A. Garzya, R.L. Loenertz, *Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes*, Ettal 1963; S. Leanza, *Procopii Gazaei catena in Ecclesiasten*, CCG 4, Turnhout 1978, 1-50; PW 23, 259-272; EC 10, 85; Beck, 414-416; O. Veh, *Prokops Verhältnis zum Christentum*, TU 125, 1981, 579-591; G. Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes", *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondésert, Paris 1984, 361-386, esp. 363-368; F. Petit, "Eusèbe d'Émèse et Théodore de Mopsueste: l'apport de Procope de Gaza", *Muséon* 104 (1991) 349-354; other bibliography on the chapter on *Catena*e.

SYMMACHUS

This otherwise unknown exegete lived in the 5th century and is the presumed author of a *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, of which a large fragment remains in a Syriac version. Some 356 scholia of the type III *Catena* on Proverbs, brief and often paraphrasing the biblical text, have the lemma Σύ; they have a predilection for allegorical and moral interpretation with ascetic interest; they probably belong to an author who lived before Procopius, since they are also handed down in his *Epitome*, anonymously or under the lemma ἄλλος. Mai, who edited the *Catena*, doubtfully resolved the sigla into Σικυδίτου; but Sikydites, whom we know of as possible compiler of a *Catena* on the OT, could hardly be identified with Σύ or with the compiler of type III. Faulhaber resolved it into Συμεῶνος or, better still, Συμμάχου; but the known Symmachus, who lived in the 5th century, presumed author of *Commentaries* on the *Song of Songs*, does not appear to have commented on Proverbs. More convincing is the hypothesis of Leanza, that latent in these sigla is the name of Evagrius, Εύ. The *Catena* is attested in the 12th-century cod. Vat. gr. 1802.

Editions and studies: CPG 6547; C. Van den Eynde, *La version syriaque du Commentaire de Grégoire de Nysse sur le Cantique de Cantiques*, Louvain 1939, 77-89 (text); 104-116 (French tr.); M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied- Proverbien- und Predigercatenen*, Vienna 1902, 90-94; G. Mercati, "Pro Symmacho", *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, ST 95, Rome 1941, 91-93; M. Richard, "Les fragments du commentaire de S. Hippolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon", *Muséon* 78 (1965) 286-287, and 80 (1967) 356, n. 41 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout-Leuven 1976, n. 17).

CHORICIUS OF GAZA

Choricus of Gaza was the disciple and successor of Procopius of Gaza, whose close friend he was and whose funeral oration he delivered. He spent the whole of his life in Gaza, which was then, in the 6th century

AD, at the height of its fame. He composed encomia for Marcianus bishop of Gaza and other notables, a funeral oration for Marcianus' mother Mary, and epithalamia for several of his pupils. In addition there survive declamations on various mythological and historical subjects, and popular discourses on various philosophical subjects. Although undoubtedly a Christian, his writings display no interest in theology. As a rhetor, he was regarded as a model for later Byzantines.

Editions: CPG 7518; R. Foerster, E. Richtsteig, *Orationes, declamationes, dialexes*, Leipzig 1929.

Studies: Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 160 (ed. Henry, 2, 121-123); H. Gärtner: *Der Kleine Pauly Lexikon der Antike* 1 (1964) 1159-1160; D. Stiernon: *EEC* 1 (1992) 201.

BARSANUPHIUS AND JOHN

LIFE

Barsanuphius and John were two recluses who became much sought after for their spiritual advice and had a deep influence on later monastic tradition in the East. Barsanuphius was born in Egypt in the latter half of the 5th century, and began his monastic life in the coenobitic monastery at Thavatha, south of Gaza, founded by Seridos who became its first hegumen. He later withdrew into solitude, while preserving links with his monastery. John, called "the Prophet", who had been hegumen of Merosaba, also came to live in solitude close to Barsanuphius. Even in their solitude they were in great demand for their counsel from monks of their own and other monasteries, laity and even bishops, but they refused to see anyone except Seridos, who became their go-between and secretary. This arrangement continued until Seridos' death sometime (shortly?) after 542; John died a fortnight later, and Barsanuphius withdrew from the world completely.

Studies: S. Vailhé, "Les lettres spirituelles de Jean et de Barsanuphe", *EO* 7 (1904) 268-276; Idem, "Saint Barsanuphe", *EO* 8 (1905) 14-25; Idem, "Jean le Prophète et Séridos", *EO* 8 (1905) 154-160; D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966, 132-140; F. Neyt, *Les lettres à Dorothee dans la correspondance de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza*, dissertation, Louvain 1969; Idem, "Citations 'Isaïennes' chez Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza", *Muséon* 89 (1971) 65-92; S. Tugwell, *Ways of Imperfection*, London 1984, 83-92; L. Elia, *Usò e Interpretazione della sacra scrittura negli scritti di Barsanufio di Gaza*, thesis, Rome 1997; I. Hausherr: *DSP* 1 (1932) 1255-1262; J.-M. Sauget: *EEC* 1 (1992) 112.

WORKS

Questions and Answers

Their spiritual advice survives in the considerable correspondence that was occasioned by their refusal to see anyone: this was collected, together

with the questions put to them by those who sought their advice, and thus takes the form of "questions and answers", ἐρωταποκρίσεις. The correspondents for the most part remain anonymous, while Barsanuphius and John are referred to as the "Great Old Man" and "the Other Old Man". Of this correspondence 850 items survive, mainly in Greek, though two survive only in a Georgian version (five of the items are misattributed). As their French editor comments: "ce que les Apophtegmes des Pères nous laissaient seulement entrevoir en quelques lucurs fugitives, en de rares instantanés, se déroule ici sous nos yeux comme un film nous montrant au fil des jours les aspects les plus cachés de la vie ordinaire du commun du moine qui poursuit pas à pas son humble effort d'ascèse et de prière, soutenu par les conseils, les leçons et les encouragements de son Père en Dieu" (Regnault-Lemaire, 6). Among their spiritual disciples they counted Dorotheus, who is identified as the recipient of the longest sequence of responses (Regnault-Lemaire, 252-336). They are particularly significant in their opposition to Origenism and Evagrianism (cf. *ibid.*, 600-607), and bear witness to the popularity of Gregory Nazianzen among the Origenists (*ibid.*, 604).

Editions: CPG 7350; PG 86, 892-901; 88, 1255-62 (fragments); Nicodemos the Hagiorite, Venice 1816, 2nd ed. (with minor improvements) by S. Schoinas, Volos 1960; crit. ed. with English tr. by D.J. Chitty, *Barsanouphios and John: Questions and Answers*, PO 31 (1966), 449-616 (only chapters 1-124).

Translations – English: D.J. Chitty, *op. cit.* (incomplete).

French: *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance, recueil complet traduit du grec par Lucien Regnault et Philippe Lemaire ou du géorgien par Bernard Outtier*, Solesmes 1972 (from a fresh collation of two MSS: Paris gr. 873 and Sinai 410).

DOROTHEUS OF GAZA

LIFE

Dorotheus is the best known of the disciples of Barsanuphius and John. He was born in the early years of the 6th century, and became a monk at Seridos' monastery at Thavatha, where he became a disciple of the two Old Men. After the deaths of John and Seridos, Dorotheus left Thavatha and founded his own coenobitic monastery somewhere between Gaza and Maiuma. Most of his writings have been lost.

WORKS

1. *Instructions and Letters*

There survive fourteen *Instructions* (*Didaskalíai*) arranged by subject, and three further *Instructions* for Lent, Easter and the feasts of the martyrs (the latter two comment on passages from sermons by Gregory Nazianzen).

There are also sixteen letters (some of which appear in the manuscripts as *Instructions*), and a collection of eighteen of his *apophthegmata* (which appears in some manuscripts, too, as a further *Instruction*).

Editions: CPG 7352-7355; PG 88, 1617-1841; L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza. Oeuvres spirituelles*, SCh 92, Paris 1963, 146-530.

Translation – French: L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *op. cit.*

2. Life of Saint Dositheus

The *Vita* of one of Dorotheus' disciples, Dositheus, although not in its present form by Dorotheus himself, is clearly based on Dorotheus' knowledge of him, and is invaluable for the picture it gives of monastic life at Thavatha.

Editions: CPG 7358-60; PG 88, 1612-1617 (preface and letter); L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *op. cit.*, 106-144.

Translation – French: L. Regnault, J. de Préville, *op. cit.*

TEACHING

Dorotheus' spiritual teaching is a synthesis, drawing on the teaching of the Desert Fathers, Mark the Hermit and Isaiah of Gaza, as well as the Cappadocian Fathers and St John Chrysostom. It betrays scarcely any awareness of the controversies over Christology and Origenism that preoccupied many of his contemporaries. His teaching was greatly valued by the 8th/9th-century monastic reformer, St Theodore of Stoudios, through whom he had great influence on Byzantine and Slav spirituality.

Studies: L. Regnault, "Monachisme oriental et spiritualité ignatienne", *RAM* 130 (1957) 141-149; P. Canivet, "Dorothee de Gaza est-il un disciple d'Evagre?", *REG* 78 (1965) 336-47; J.M. Szymusiak, J. Leroy: *DSp* 3 (1957) 1651-1664; D. Stiernon: *DHGE* 14 (1958) 686-687.

THEOGNIUS, PRESBYTER OF JERUSALEM

Under the name "Theognius, presbyter of Jerusalem", the palimpsest codex Paris gr. 443 hands down in incomplete form a *Homilia in ramos palmarum*, which seems to be preserved entire in a still unedited Old Church Slavonic version. It is a text of no particular originality, as appears from an analysis of the exegetical themes, which it touches on in rapid and summary form. A brief Christological reference (§ 6) may perhaps show us the background of the doctrinal controversies of the 5th century, since it clearly affirms Jesus Christ's two natures, human and divine, also specifying that, as God, he has united human nature to himself "without change" (*atreptōs*). The homily thus uses one of the four famous adverbs contained in the definition of Chalcedon.

Largely by taking into account this detail and the liturgical ambience of Jerusalem, it has been proposed to identify the author with Theognius, monk and then bishop of Betylios, who died around 522. The character is known to us through two *Vitae*: a longer one by Paul of Elusa and a shorter one by Cyril of Scythopolis. Theognius, a monk originally from Anatolia (Armenia Secunda), went to Jerusalem around 454/455 in the wake of the conflicts there between the anti-Chalcedonian monks and Bishop Juvenal. He was accepted into the monastery founded by Flavia on the Mount of Olives and attached to the church of St Julian. On the death of the foundress, he refused to take the post of hegumen of the monastery and preferred to withdraw to the desert of Judaea, at first with Theodosius the Coenobiarch and then in a cave, until he founded a coenobium of his own. Finally Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem (494-516) consecrated him bishop of Betylios, but he alternated between episcopal ministry and sojourns in the desert, so as not to betray his monastic vocation. His monastery still existed at the end of the 6th century, as we see from the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus (ch. 160). Theognius may also have been the same monk of whom an apophthegm is handed down in codex Sin. gr. 1608 (f. 46v).

Editions and studies: CPG 7378; J. Noret, "Une homélie inédite sur les rameaux par Théognios, prêtre de Jérusalem (vers 460?)", *AB* 89 (1971) 113-142; Paul of Elusa, *Vita Theognii*, ed. I. Van den Gheyn: *AB* 10 (1891) 78-113; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theognii*, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig 1939; Perrone; C. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur*, Vienna 1981, 267; A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*, Barcelona 1991, 169.

PSEUDO-GREGENTIUS

A saint of the Byzantine church (19 December), Gregentius was supposedly the bishop of Taphar or Zafâr in the land of the Himyarites (Yemen, Southern Arabia) in the mid 6th century. Many of the details of his life in the biography composed by Palladius, bishop of Najrân (BHG 705d), are legendary and untrustworthy. Gregentius is said to have been born in Moesia and, after travelling to Italy, to have gone to Alexandria. From there he was sent by the patriarch to the land of Himyar after the martyrdom of the Christians at Najrân in 524 and the Axumite (Ethiopian) intervention which resulted in the defeat of the Jewish Himyarite king. While it has been argued by some scholars that the bishop sent to Himyar was not called Gregentius, that he was not born in the West but in the East, and that he was a Monophysite not a Chalcedonian, it may be that the Arabian part of the biography is somewhat more factual than the rest. There we find a list of churches which Gregentius is said to have consecrated with the Axumite King Kaleb Ella Asbeha (Elesboam), in the push to re-establish Christianity in Arabia during the period when, under Justinian, the Ethiopians dominated Yemen.

Included in the *Life of Gregentius* are two works, the *Laws for the Himyarites* (CPG 7008) and the *Dispute with Herban the Jew* (CPG 7009), which are very probably not his, but later compilations. The *Laws* were ostensibly commissioned by the Ethiopian vassal king, Abraham, but more likely derived from Byzantine attempts to consolidate influence there, possibly in connection with the trade route to India. However, some scholars argue for their authenticity. The *Dispute* is a lengthy theoretical discussion between a Christian bishop (Pseudo-Gregentius) and a Jewish rabbi, Herban, which is Chalcedonian in tone and includes an account of miraculous events at its conclusion.

Editions: *Vita Gregentii* (BHG 705d): extracts in A.A. Vasiliev (ed.), "Žitie sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskogo", *Viz. Vrem.* 14 (1907-1909) 23-67; PG 86, 568-784. CPG 7008: *Leges Homeritarum*: PG 86 (1), 568-620 (= J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca* 5, Paris 1833, 63-117). CPG 7009: *Disputatio cum Herbano Iudaeo*: PG 86 (1), 621-784 (= N. Gulon, Paris 1586).

Translations – French: R. Dareste, "Lois des Homérites", *Revue Historique* 29 (1905) 157 ff.

Russian: A.A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.* (extracts).

Studies: Beck, 386, 407; E. Mangelot, *DTC* 6 (1920) 1775-1776; R. Janin: *BS* 7 (1966) 167-168; A. d'Emilia, "Intorno ai Nόμοι τών Όμμερητών", *Atti Congr. Int. Dir. Rom.*, 1, Verona 1953, 181 ff.; E. Patlagean, "Les moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIII-IX siècles)", *Studi Medievali* 5 (1954) 579-602; A.K. Irvine, "Homicide in Pre-Islamic South Arabia", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 30 (1967) 277-291; N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien*, Berlin-Amsterdam 1969, 201; H. Hunger, *Der hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 2, Munich 1978, 428; I. Shahīd, "Byzantium in South Arabia", *DOP* 33 (1979) 23-94; R. Aubert: *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1385-1386; *ODB* 2, 874; A. Labate: *EEC* 1 (1992), 361.

ZOSIMAS

Zosimas was a monk from Phoenicia, who became a monk in the Laura of St Gerasimus in the Jordan Plain and later settled near Caesarea. According to the historian Evagrius he had clairvoyant knowledge of the earthquake at Antioch in AD 526 (*HE* 4, 7). There survives a collection of his sayings, put together by Dorotheus.

Editions: CPG 7361; PG 78, 1680-1701 (incomplete); Augoustinos Iordanites, in *Néa Siών* 12 (1912) 697-701, 854-865; 13 (1913) 93-100 (as a separate edition: Jerusalem 1913).

Studies: K. Kunze: *BS* 12 (1969) 1499-1500; A. Solignac: *DSP* 16 (1994) 1658-1659.

PETER OF JERUSALEM

Peter, patriarch of Jerusalem from 524 to 552, was a prominent figure in the politico-ecclesiastical affairs of Palestine in the reign of Justinian.

In 531 he sent a mission to Constantinople, headed by Sabas, to ask for imperial intervention in favour of the Palestinian Church hard-pressed by the Samaritan revolt of 529. In September 536 he held a meeting of the Palestinian bishops in Jerusalem to approve the Acts of the anti-Monophysite synod held at Constantinople some months earlier, in which the representatives of the Church and of Palestinian monasticism had played an important role. This was also acknowledged by the synodal letter addressed to Peter by Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, which attested his zeal for orthodoxy and the fame he enjoyed in the capital thanks to the priest Eusebius, an influential adviser of Justinian. The concluding document of the Synod of Jerusalem contains an important profession of Chalcedonianism. But Peter's authority was severely tested in the course of the second Origenist controversy. While he initially made himself an interpreter to Justinian of the position of the anti-Origenist monks, thus opening the way to the first condemnation of Origen (February 543), he later had to suffer the revenge of the Origenists against their opponents. An appeal by the desert monks to the court, inspired by Peter, to try to prevent the condemnation of the Three Chapters, had no success, nor did the protests that followed the edict of 544. A journey to Constantinople, undertaken for this end, resulted instead in his forced adhesion to the decree on the Three Chapters and his acceptance of collaborators imposed on him by the Origenist Theodore Ascidas. In accordance with the close relations he had formed with the Palestinian monasticism of his time, Peter must have been the bishop of Jerusalem who turned to John the Prophet, the recluse and fellow-ascetic of Barsanuphius of Gaza, asking his advice on the forms of ecclesiastical ordinations and the pastoral problems arising out of an imperial decree against pagans and dissident Christians (529).

Of Peter there survives a homily *In Nativitatem* in Georgian translation and a small fragment *De ieiuniis* handed down by John of Damascus (*De sacris ieiuniis*). The text of the homily, known only from a single manuscript, is in many points unclear, even in the light of Peter's positions attested from other sources. In particular, the points adduced by M.-J. van Esbroeck – which would make the patriarch of Jerusalem a "Protocist", i.e. a converted Origenist and opponent of the "Isochrists" condemned at the Council of 553 – are far from persuasive. The most interesting part of the homily, from the doctrinal point of view, after its resumption of the main themes linked to the Nativity (the Annunciation, the Magi and the shepherds), takes the form rather of a profession of Chalcedonianism close to the language of the Synod of Jerusalem of 536. Indeed Peter insists on the motif of the union of the two "essences" or "natures" of Christ, confirming his rejection of both the Nestorian and the Eutychian Christologies.

Editions and studies: CPG 7017-7018; ACO 4/3/2, 387-388; I. Abuladze, *Mravalthavi*: Bulletin de l'Institut Marr de langue, d'histoire et de culture matérielle, Tiflis 1944, 307-316; PG 95, 76B; ACO 3; Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, *Erotapokriseis*, ed. S. Schoinas, nos. 813-830; F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrhundert und das 5. allgemeine Concil*, Münster 1899; M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens. Étude descriptive et historique*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1975, 303-304; Perrone; M.-J. van Esbroeck, "L'homélie de Pierre de Jérusalem et la fin de l'origénisme palestinien en 551", *OCP* 51 (1985) 33-59.

JOHN OF SCYTHOPOLIS

John, also called Scholasticus, lived in the 6th century and seems to have been bishop, between 536 and 548, of Scythopolis in Palestine (near the modern town of Beit She'an, in Galilee). The dates are deduced from those of his predecessor and his successor. He succeeded Theodosius, who had been present at the Council of Jerusalem in 536 (ACO 3, 188), and was succeeded by Theodore, previously hegumen of the New Laura, who was consecrated in 548. Leontius of Jerusalem, writing between 538 and 544, cites him as having unmasked a false Apollinarist text used by the Monophysites, in *Contra Monophysitas*, written before the Three Chapters controversy (PG 86, 1865 BC). John is also mentioned by other authors of the same period; and since in his surviving work, the *Scholia*, he speaks of the Origenists as his contemporaries, this must be put before 553.

John was the first to comment, by scholia and marginal notes, on the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, about a generation after their composition; with the scholia of Maximus the Confessor, they were translated into Latin and added to the margins of the Latin version of Dionysius' works made by Eriugena and printed in the *Patrologia Graeca*; but recently the Greek version of John's scholia and their Syriac translation have also been discovered. The recovery of the authentic text now better enables us to evaluate their importance.

There are about 600 scholia. An important part is the *Prologue*, an introduction to Dionysius' work, where John defends the integrity of the work and its orthodoxy, but also explains the reasons for his annotations. Many themes mentioned in the Prologue are subsequently developed in the course of the commentary. The scholia, which vary in length and are sometimes repetitive, must be seen in their entirety, bearing in mind the text commented on and the theological debates of the time, in which John took an active part, particularly on the Christological problems. His observations were used by successive commentators and had a great influence on the reading of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; for this reason, and for his other lost works, he was considered a defender

of the doctrine of two natures in Christ, according to the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon, against the Monophysites.

John also composed other theological works, all lost, in which he fought against the Nestorians, or supposed Nestorians, and against the Monophysites, to defend the Christological doctrine of Chalcedon. The first, a *Defence of Chalcedon*, was written before 518, since it is named by Severus of Antioch immediately after that year; Severus criticizes its distorted use of a passage of Ambrose of Milan. Photius mentions another work, *Against those who have Separated from the Church*, written in response to a Monophysite work against Nestorius (*Bibl.*, cod. 95) at the request of Julian of Bostra (cf. P. Rorem-Lamoreaux, 31). A third work, in three books, criticized by Basil of Cilicia, who accuses John of moral laxity, theological insufficiency and Manichaeism (Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 107), is entitled *Against the Nestorians*. There also survives a long fragment from Book VIII of the *Contra Severum*, cited in later texts including the Lateran Council of 649 (ACO series 2: 1, 314.1-5), in which he defends Pope Leo, who maintained that the two natures in Christ preserve the characteristics they had before the union. Photius praises John for the clarity and purity of his style and for his struggle against heresy by means of citations (*Bibl.*, cod. 95). John abundantly cites sources, pagan and Christian, showing a broad culture.

Editions: CPG 6850-6852; *Apologia* (fragment): J. Lebon, CSCO 94 / *Syr.* 46, Louvain 1952, 202-204 (Syriac tr.); *Contra Severum* ACO 10, 1107 f.; Mansi 11, 437-440; F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, Münster 1907 (repr., 1981), 85 f.; *Scholia*: PG 4, 5-432; 527-576. A new edition by B.R. Suchla is forthcoming.

Studies: F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller seiner Zeit*, TU 3, 1-2, Leipzig 1887, 269-272; Perrone, 240-249; Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983, 17-29; H.U. von Balthasar, "Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis", *Scholastik* 15 (1940) 16-38; Idem, "Das Problem der Dionysius-Scholien", *Kosmische Liturgie*, Einsiedeln 1961², 644-672; B.R. Suchla, "Die Ueberlieferung des Prologs des Johannes von Skythopolis zum griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum", *NAWG.PH* 1984, 4, 177-188; Eadem, "Eine Redaktion des griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum in Umkreis des Johannes vom Skythopolis, des Verfassers von Prolog und Skolien. Ein dritter Beitrag zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des CD", *NAWG.PH* 1985, 4, 179-194; Eadem, *Verteidigung eines platonischen Denkmodells einer christlichen Welt: Die philosophie- und theologiegeschichtlichen Bedeutung des Scholienwerks des Johannes von Skythopolis zu den areopagitischen Traktaten*, Göttingen 1995; P. Rorem, J.C. Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus: Annotating the Areopagite*, Oxford 1998; B.R. Suchla: *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg 1998, 357-358; R. Aubert: *DGHE* 27, 617-619.

THEODORE OF SCYTHOPOLIS

Theodore's biographical profile is known to us from Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Sab.* 89): hegumen of the New Laura in the Judaeen desert, he

first became Guardian of the Cross at Jerusalem and then metropolitan of Scythopolis (c. 548), thanks to Theodore Ascidas' support for the "Isochrist" party during the decade of Origenist hegemony over the Church of Palestine, which lasted until the Council of Constantinople in 553. At this council Theodore retracted his Origenist convictions in a *libellus* presented to the Emperor Justinian and the four Eastern patriarchs (probably towards the end of 552): it is an important source of knowledge of the doctrines of the 6th-century Palestinian Origenists.

The retraction, which had been requested from Theodore, takes the form of 12 anathemas, preceded by a prologue in which he clarifies the reasons that led him to this step: a deeper knowledge of the Bible and the tradition of the Fathers had helped him understand the Origenist errors of pre-existence and apocatastasis. On the other hand, going beyond these traditional doctrines, already condemned in Justinian's edict of 543 (*Ep. ad Menam*), three of the anathemas reflect the new developments in contemporary Palestinian Origenism. These are the idea that the kingdom of Jesus Christ will have an end (IV); assimilation and union with Christ – the characteristic doctrine of the Isochrists (XI); and the claim that all bodies, including that of Christ, will be dissolved (XII). In substance, we have here the most typical positions of the Isochrists, which would be shortly be the subject of a detailed refutation at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Comparison with the 15 anathemas of 553 shows that, compared with Theodore, the other text is theologically better developed, because of the presence of the key notion of *henas* and the consequent reflection on number and on names (the former, especially, has a clear Evagrian flavour) and also because of the proposed interpretation of Phil 2, 6-11.

Editions and studies: CPG 6993; PG 86, 232-236; F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrhundert und das 5. allgemeine Concil*, Münster 1899, 125-129; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalai Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962, 128 ff.; Perrone, 213-214; B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983; J. Irmscher, "Teodoro Scitopolitano. De vita et scriptis", *Aug* 26 (1986) 185-190; B. Daley, "What Did 'Origenism' Mean in the Sixth Century?", *Origeniana Sexta*, Leuven 1995, 626-638.

CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS

LIFE

Cyril was born about 525 in Scythopolis (modern Beit She'an) of devout parents, his father John being a lawyer involved in the administration of the diocese. When Sabas, founder of the Great Laura, passed through Scythopolis on his way back from Constantinople in late 531, he blessed

Cyril and, according to Cyril's own account, marked out the young boy as one who was to be of service to him in the future. Sabas died in 532, but later Cyril became a reader and was tonsured, and in 543 received the monastic habit from George, hegumen of the monastery of Beella, close to Scythopolis, to whom he dedicated two of his works. He immediately departed for Jerusalem with his hegumen's blessing, ostensibly to attend the consecration of the New Church of the Mother of God, but really to embrace the monastic life in the Judaeian desert. Following his mother's advice, he sought the counsel of John the Hesychast, whose life he was later to write. Instead of being welcomed at the Great Laura, where he found John, he was advised to join the coenobium of St Euthymius to prepare for the solitary life. But Cyril sought the solitary life straightaway, at the Laura of Calamon in the Jordan desert, where he fell ill. After six months, John appeared to him in a dream and sent him to the monastery of St Euthymius. There he remained for ten years, until in February 555 he went, as one of the group of Orthodox monks, to reclaim the New Laura from the Origenists after their condemnation at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. He stayed there for two years, and in 557 went to the Great Laura. It is likely that he died two years later in 559.

WORKS

Cyril is the great historian of Palestinian monasticism. He wrote the lives of seven monks: two long ones of the great founders of the Palestinian lavritic life, Euthymius and Sabas, and five shorter ones. His works were translated into Georgian, Arabic and sometimes Old Church Slavonic (his enthusiasm for Chalcedon prevented them finding an audience in Syriac or Coptic).

Cyril's own life almost overlapped the great period of Palestinian monasticism he described, and he was proud of his contacts with such as Sabas, John the Hesychast and Cyriacus. This period was torn by two doctrinal controversies – that over Chalcedon, between those who accepted it and those who were convinced that it had betrayed Cyril, and that over Origenism (or, more properly, Evagrianism) – both controversies that Justinian had sought to resolve at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. On both these issues Cyril was strongly committed to Orthodoxy, and he sought to show that true monasticism is opposed to both the Aposchists (as he calls the Monophysites) and the Origenists. But his accounts are more than propaganda, and have proved themselves as valuable historical sources. In his care for historical accuracy and sober enthusiasm for the miraculous, as well as in his commitment to Chalcedon, he foreshadows the circle of hagiographers associated with John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria.

Studies: T. Hermann, "Zur Chronologie des Kyrill von Skythopolis", *ZKG* (1926) 318-339; E. Stein, "Cyrille de Scythopolis à propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", *AB* 62 (1944) 169-186; R. Draguet, "Réminiscences de Pallade chez Cyrille de Scythopolis", *RAM* 98-100 (1948) 213-218; G. Garitte, "Réminiscences de la Vie d'Antoine dans Cyrille de Scythopolis", *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Rome 1957, 117-122; Averil Cameron, "Cyril of Scythopolis: Vita Sabae 53: a note on *kata* in late Greek", *Glotta* 66 (1978) 87-94; B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Études Augustiniennes, Paris 1983; J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631*, Oxford, 1994; I. Hausherr, *DSP* 2, 2 (1949-1953) 2687-2690; J.-M. Sauget: *EEC* 1 (1992) 215 f.

1. *Life of Euthymius*

Of the monks whose lives Cyril recorded, Euthymius was the most remote historically, although, as founder of the coenobium Cyril joined after his premature attempt at the eremitical life, Cyril clearly felt some affinity with him, which is brought out in the *Vita* by the way in which Cyril sees his own life as modelled on that of Euthymius. About a third of the *Vita* is concerned with the posthumous influence of Euthymius, through the monastery he founded and its traditions, as well as through the miracles worked by his relics. For Euthymius' life, Cyril had to rely on oral traditions, but in Cyriacus, a hermit who lived to a great age, and whom Cyril had known towards the end of his life, he had a direct link with Euthymius.

Editions: CPG 7535; BHG 647-648b; E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49, 2, Leipzig 1939, 3-85.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, Paris 1962, 55-140.

English: R.M. Price, with introduction and notes by J. Binns, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine by Cyril of Scythopolis*, CSS 114, Kalamazoo (MI) 1991, 1-92.

2. *Life of Sabas*

Sabas, whom Cyril had encountered as a child, was the founder of the Great Laura outside Jerusalem, and a disciple of Euthymius. For this *Vita*, Cyril is, as he makes plain, dependent on oral traditions that he has diligently collected.

Editions: CPG 7536; BHG 1608; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 85-200.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/2, Paris 1962, 13-130.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 93-219.

3. *Life of John the Hesychast*

John the Hesychast was the monk whose advice Cyril's mother commended to her son. Although he ignored John's advice, it was in response to an appearance of John in a dream that Cyril eventually made

his way to the coenobium of St Euthymius. Before becoming a monk in the Holy Land, John had been bishop of Colonia in Armenia Prima for eight years, and at the Great Laura kept his episcopal status a secret until towards the end of his life.

Editions: CPG 7537; BHG 897; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 201-222.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/3, Paris 1963, 13-34.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 220-244.

4. *Life of Cyriacus*

Cyriacus was a disciple of Euthymius and the source for several of the stories Cyril tells of him. Cyril himself came to know Cyriacus, and much of the *Vita* is devoted to an account of his contact with him.

Editions: CPG 7538; BHG 463; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 222-235.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/3, Paris 1963, 39-52.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 245-261.

5. *Life of Theodosius*

Cyril's brief *Vita* of Theodosius the Coenobiarch makes use of the much longer and more diffuse *Vita* of the saint by his disciple Theodore of Petra.

Edition: CPG 7539; BHG 1777; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 235-241.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/3, Paris 1963, 57-62.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 262-268.

6. *Life of Theognius*

Another brief *Vita* of Theognius, disciple of Theodosius and bishop of Betylios, based on the longer life by his disciple, Paul of Elusa.

Editions: CPG 7540; BHG 1787; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 241-243.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/3, Paris 1963, 65-67.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 269-272.

7. *Life of Abraamius*

A *Vita* of Abraamius, who founded a monastery at Kratea, where he later became bishop on his return from the Great Laura, whither he had fled because of his popularity. The end of this *Vita* is missing in the Greek text, but survives in an Arabic version.

Editions: CPG 7541; BHG 12; E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 243-247 (Arabic version: BHO 18); G. Graf, "Monumentum christianum uetus", *al-Mashriq* 8 (1903) 258-265.

Translations – French: A.J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient* III/3, Paris 1963, 73-79.

English: R.M. Price, *op. cit.*, 273-281.

8. *Life of Gerasimus*

The *Vita* of Gerasimus, the 5th-century monk who founded a monastic settlement consisting of a coenobium supporting a laura of hermits, discovered at the end of the last century, was attributed by its editor to Cyril of Scythopolis, though that attribution is now widely rejected.

Editions: CPG 7543; BHG 693; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 4, St Petersburg 1897, 175-184.

Studies: H. Grégoire, "La Vie anonyme de s. Gerasime", *ByzZ* 13 (1904) 114-135; B. Flusin, *op. cit.*, 35-40; J. Binns, *op. cit.*, 47-49.

THEODORE, BISHOP OF PETRA

Theodore was a monk at the coenobium of Theodosius the Coenobiarch, during the latter's hegumenate, and later became bishop of Petra, the capital of the province of Arabia. He wrote a life of Theodosius, which Cyril of Scythopolis knew and used. It is a flowery encomium of Theodosius, in marked contrast to Cyril's *Life of Theodosius*.

Editions: CPG 7533; BHG 1776; H. Usener, *Der hl. Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1890, 3-101.

Translation - French: A.J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, III/3, Paris 1963, 103-160.

Studies (including emendations to Usener's text): K. Krumbacher, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios*, SBAW, Phil.-hist. Abt., Munich 1892, 220-279; J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, *ByzZ* 6 (1897) 357-374; E. Rolland, "Une copie de la Vie de saint Théodose", *Recueil de travaux de l'Université de Gand* 23 (1899) 24-40; A.J. Festugière, *op. cit.*, 83-101.

PAUL OF ELUSA

Paul was a native of Greece who, after going to the Holy Land presumably on pilgrimage, joined the coenobium founded by Theognius († 522), a disciple of Theodosius the Coenobiarch and later bishop of Betylios, a town on the coast about 90 miles from Jerusalem. Paul later became a solitary at Elusa, a town near to Beersheba. He has sometimes been identified with Paul the Greek ("Helladikos"), and also with a Paul who later became hegumen of the coenobium of St Theodosius, both mentioned by John Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale* 163, 160). He left: 1) the *Life of St Theognius, bishop of Betylios*, a life of his master Theognius, which Cyril of Scythopolis knew and used; 2) a letter.

Editions: *Life*: CPG 7530; BHG 1786; I. van den Gheyn, "Acta sancti Theognii episcopi Beteliae", *AB* 10 (1891) 78-113 (emendations: *AB* 11 [1892] 472). *Letter*: CPG 7531; V. Lundström, *Anecdota Byzantina e codicibus Upsaliensibus cum aliis collatis*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1902, 17-23.

JOHN OF CAESAREA

John the Grammaticus, subsequently a presbyter, of Caesarea (probably in Palestine), was the first systematic representative of so-called "Neochalcedonianism". Apart from his profession, signalled by the epithet that accompanies his name and ridiculed by his antagonist Severus of Antioch, we possess no other biographical knowledge of him. Indeed it is unsure that his activity should be connected with the synod held at Alexandretta in c. 515 and the synodal letter it issued, as claimed by a marginal gloss in Philoxenus' letter to the lector Maro of Anazarbus (between 515 and 518). The distinction made in the synodal letter between the definition of faith and the anathemas of Chalcedon, accepting the latter but condemning the former, is contrary to the theological line championed by John. Nor should we credit the remark of Leontius of Jerusalem (*Contra monophysitas*, PG 86, 1848D) which made the Grammaticus bishop of Caesarea, in fact confusing him with John of Choziba (also called Grammaticus), who was metropolitan at the time of his literary activity.

The work of Grammaticus was not monopolized by the writing of treatises in defence of the council, represented respectively by his important *Apologia for the Council of Chalcedon* and his subsequent 17 chapters *Against the Acephali* (of which nos. 12-17 also occur in the anti-Monophysite aporiae of Anastasius the Sinaite). While the fragment of a treatise *Against the Aphthartodocetists*, surviving thanks to a florilegium, is still Christological in scope, John of Caesarea also ventured onto other fronts. He was particularly active in anti-Manichaean polemic: after composing two *Homilies against the Manichees* presumably while still young, he would seem to have returned to the same subject (after 527) in a rather more mature form, with the *Dispute of an Orthodox with a Manichee* (CPG 6862). Among the various hypotheses on the authorship of this work, attribution to John of Caesarea still seems the most likely. Finally, a *Catena* on John's Gospel preserves two extracts attributed to Grammaticus (on Jn 8, 44 and 10, 18), but we do not know whether they were taken from a commentary or, more likely, from homilies.

In this collection of writings the most important work, from the point of view of doctrinal history, remains the *Apologia for the Council of Chalcedon*, whose tenor is known to us from its extensive refutation by Severus of Antioch (*Contra impium grammaticum*). Thanks to a comparison with the Syriac text of the extracts, it has been possible to restore to John of Caesarea some fragments handed down in the *Doctrina Patrum* under the name of Eulogius of Alexandria. The *Apologia*, which probably dates from the period between 514 and 518, must have

comprised the following main aspects: 1) exposition of the dogma of the two natures starting from the definition of ontological concepts; 2) historical verification of its legitimacy through appeals to the agreement of 433 between Cyril and the Antiochenes; 3) critique of the Monophysite positions (with particular emphasis on Severus' *Orationes ad Nephaliium*); 4) confirmation through patristic argument, making use of an extensive florilegium.

Of less originality, but also of considerable interest as a further sign of the involvement of Chalcedonian theologians in the debate between Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus, is the fragment of the *Adversus Aphthartodocetas*. It initially comprised a section of aporiae, then a patristic florilegium and finally an exposition of the different meanings of *aphthartos*, equipped with biblical references. Its fundamental thesis stated that if Christ's body was not "susceptible to corruption" (*phthartos*), it could not be considered consubstantial with us, nor could it be proposed as an example for us to imitate. In this treatise John had in mind Leontius of Byzantium's *Dialogus contra Aphthartodocetas* and the anti-Julianist writings of Severus, as can also be gathered from the patristic authorities he adduced in his own support. At the same time Grammaticus shows intentions of greater order and simplification, which accord well with the qualities proper to his profession.

As Severus himself recognized (*Contra impium grammaticum* II, 12), John set himself up as the theologian of reconciliation between the two opposing points of view springing from the 5th-century Christological conflict. This attempt at reconciliation took place on two levels: a) that of ideas, where Grammaticus shows the polyvalence of meanings for controversial terms such as *physis*, which makes apparently contradictory formulae compatible; b) that of theological relevance: with respect to the totality of the mystery there are no unique and conclusive formulations, but both supplement each other in turn; in short, they are simultaneously necessary in order to overcome the unilaterality of a single Christological formulation. The need for a more precise definition of ontological terminology leads Grammaticus to reappropriate the Cappadocian distinction between *ousia* and *hypostasis* and apply it to the two natures in Christ. He sees the terms of the hypostatic union more clearly than does Nephalius, though he is too much conditioned by the appeal to the "anthropological paradigm" (the union of soul and body in man as model for the union of natures in Christ), shared with his opponent Severus of Antioch. It was John who first formulated the idea of the *enhypostasis* of Christ's human nature in the hypostasis of the Logos, which would be further explored by Leontius of Jerusalem.

Editions and studies: CPG 6855-6862; *Severi Antiocheni Liber contra impium Grammaticum*, ed. J. Lebon, CSCO 93-94, 101-102, 111-112 / Syr. 45-46, 50-51, 58-59,

Paris-Louvain 1929-1938; M. Richard, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt*, CCG 3, Turnhout 1977; J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909, 137-163; C. Moeller, "Trois fragments grecs de l'apologie de Jean le Grammaire pour le concile de Chalcedoine", *RHE* 46 (1951) 683-688; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*, dissertation, Bonn 1962, 160-176; S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz. Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz*, Munich 1968; A. de Halleux, "Le 'synode néochalcédonien' d'Alexandrette (ca. 515) et l'Apologie pour Chalcedoine" de Jean le Grammaire. À propos d'une édition récente", *RHE* 72 (1977), 593-600; P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leyden 1979, 115-121; Perrone, 249-260; K.-H. Uthemann, "Antimonophysitische Aporien des Anastasios Sinaites", *ByzZ* 74 (1981) 11-26; Grillmeier, II/2, 54-71 (English ed. 52-72); W. Klein, "Der Autor der Joannis Orthodoxi Disputatio cum Manichaeo", *OrChr* 74 (1990) 234-244; K.-H. Uthemann, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalcedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", *Chalcedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalcedon*, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 60-94.

LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM

Leontius, a 6th-century Chalcedonian theologian long confused with his namesake Leontius of Jerusalem, has now been identified by scholars with the monk of the New Laura, native of Byzantium and head of the Palestinian Origenists, mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis in his *Life of Sabas*. Among the closest followers of Nonnus (the main focus for the Origenists from 519 to his death in 547), Leontius accompanied Sabas on his journey to Constantinople in 531, standing out for his ability in defending the case of the upholders of Chalcedon against the Monophysites. At the same time he also apparently disclosed his Origenist convictions, bringing down on himself, according to Cyril of Scythopolis, Sabas' condemnation. Leontius then stayed for some years in the capital, perhaps taking part in the colloquy of union with the Severians in 532 and the anti-Monophysite synod of 536, representing the monks of Jerusalem and the desert, unless the evidence of the Acts should rather be linked to the person of Leontius of Jerusalem. On his return to Palestine, between 537 and 540 he sought to state the views of the Origenist party, but the difficulties he encountered led him to return to Constantinople, where he died soon after the promulgation of the anti-Origenist edict of 543.

Leontius is the author of a short but important *corpus* of controversial writings all centred on the Christological question. It comprises three main treatises, brought together by Leontius himself with the addition of a prologue: *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, *Dialogus contra Aphthartodocetas*, *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*. The objections aroused by the first of these in Severian quarters obliged the

Byzantine to write the *Epilysis* in reply, while to the same opponents he also addressed the *Triginta Capita contra Severum* or *Epaporemata*, a collection of further *aporiae*. While there is uncertainty about his authorship of the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum*, which denounces the falsifications of patristic texts used by the Monophysites but actually going back to Apollinaris of Laodicea and his disciples, the Byzantine's name is no longer associated with the *De sectis* because of the doctrinal differences that distinguish the two writings.

Among the theologians of the 6th century, Leontius of Byzantium has been considered the "scholastic" *par excellence*, thanks to his mastery of dialectical method, which gives rise to a highly rational and formalized way of arguing. Apart from the fact that this approach is widely shared by his contemporaries, it would be an error to want to make him a systematizer at all costs, since his literary activity also shows traces of polemical occasionality. Besides, this is demonstrated by the different fronts on which he ventured: apart from the Severian Monophysites, his preferred polemical objective, the Byzantine also directed his controversialist zeal against the members of the Antiochene School, thus laying the theological basis for the condemnation of the Three Chapters by Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553). He also felt the need to intervene in a more recent conflict, that relating to "Aphthartodocetism", which from the Monophysite world had also come to affect the Chalcedonian camp. Add to this his profession of Origenism – at least according to the picture painted by Cyril of Scythopolis – which further complicates the profile of the man and invites us to seek possible traces of it in his writings. Moving on these various levels, Leontius reaches results of differing degrees of organic unity, in particular enriching (with the *Dialogus contra Aphthartodocetas*) his own theological discourse with biblical and soteriological implications, elsewhere sacrificed to rigorously ontological and dialectical concerns. Thanks to these, the Byzantine manages to draw a portrait of Christ that faithfully reflects and reinterprets the essential lines of the dogma of Chalcedon. This outcome is consistent with the central problem of his theological reflection, which concerns the whole person of Christ, God and man, in an attempt to understand the manner of the Incarnation.

Finally distinguished from Leontius of Jerusalem, the Byzantine now appears to us the spearhead theologian of the strictest Chalcedonianism. Indeed, rather than submitting to the predominant influence of Cyril of Alexandria – as did the contemporary interpreters of "Neochalcedonianism" – he appeals essentially to the tradition of the Cappadocian Fathers, to Nemesius of Emesa and Pseudo-Dionysius, as well as making use of Neoplatonic and Aristotelian philosophical material for his own

conceptual instrumentation. His efforts are aimed essentially at justifying the dogma of the two natures without sacrificing the Diphysite perspective to the requirements of union. So it is not surprising that Leontius of Byzantium shows a predilection for the formula *henosis kat'ousian* ("union according to essence"), though he knows that the element of unity in Christ can only be the hypostasis of the Logos. Thus the tendentially symmetrical presentation of Christ's divine nature and human nature (which leans, among other things, on the use of the anthropological paradigm) does not, in Leontius, give rise to a *tertium quid*, to be identified, according to some, with Evagrius' *nous*-Christ: in reality the subject of the union is the Logos or Lord, who makes the assumed man participate in Himself. The Byzantine does not ignore the notion of *enhyposstasia*, which the Neochalcedonian theologians were developing in order to explain the manner of the union between human nature and the Logos, but unlike them he does not offer a really innovative contribution to this. His attention is concentrated rather on refining the conceptual distinction between nature and hypostasis with a view to understanding the "manner of the union": it is here, for Leontius, that the essence of the Gospel itself is at stake. His vision of the mystery of the Incarnation makes the most of the permanence of the two substances – divine and human – and the ontological relationship that at the same time ensures their union, in the "hypostatic" or personal reality of Jesus Christ. Despite its formal abstractness, the Byzantine's Christology focuses on the historical concreteness of the person of Christ in all the complexity of its mystery.

Editions and studies: CPG 6813-6820; PG 86, 1268-1396, 1901-1976; F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum*, Münster 1907, 155-164; F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1887; J.P. Junglas, *Leontius von Byzanz*, Paderborn 1908; R. Devreesse, "Le florilège de Léonce de Byzance", *RSR* 10 (1930) 545-576; M. Richard, "Le traité 'De sectis' et Léonce de Byzance", *RHE* 35 (1939) 695-723 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, II, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 55); *Idem*, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", *MSR* 1 (1944) 35-88 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, III, no. 59); *Idem*, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", *REB* 5 (1947) 31-66 (= *Idem, Opera minora*, II, no. 57); S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz. Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzance*, Munich 1968; S. Rees, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS* 19 (1968) 229-242; D.B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington (DC) 1970; J.J. Lynch, "Leontius of Byzantium: A Cyrillian Christology", *ThS* 36 (1975) 455-471; B.E. Daley, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS* 27 (1976) 333-369; P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leyden 1979, 90-103; Perrone, 260-274; *Idem*, "Il 'Dialogo contro gli aftartodoceti' di Leonzio di Bisanzio e Severo di Antiochia", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 1 (1980) 411-442; H. Stickerberger, "Substanz und Akzidens bei Leontius von Byzanz", *ThZ* 36 (1980) 153-161; I. Frácea, *Ho Leontios Byzantios. Bios kai suggrammata. Kritike theorese*, Athens 1984; A. Tuilier, "Remarques sur les fraudes des Apollinaristes et des Monophysites", *Texte und Textkritik*, ed. J. Dummer, Berlin 1987, 581-590;

Grillmeier, II/2, 190-241 (English ed. 181-229); Idem, "Die anthropologisch-christologische Sprache des Leontius von Byzanz und ihre Beziehung zu den 'Symmikta Zetemata' des Neoplatonikers Porphyrius", *ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ (FS. H. Hörner)*, ed. H. Eisenberger, Heidelberg 1990, 61-72; D.B. Evans, "Leontius von Byzanz", *TRE* 21 (1991) 5-10; B. Kattern, "Leontios von Byzanz", *BBKL* 4, 1494-1498; B.E. Daley, "A Richer Union". *Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ*, SP 24, Leuven 1993, 239-265; J.C. Lamoreaux, "An Arabic Version of Leontius of Byzantium's Thirty Chapters", *Muséon* 108 (1995) 343-365; B.E. Daley, "Leontius v. Byzanz": *LTK* 6 (1997) 838; K.-H. Uthemann, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalkedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon*, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 95-106; Idem, "Kaiser Justinian als Kirchenpolitiker und Theologe", *Aug* 39 (1999) 5-83; C. Dell'Osso, *La cristologia di Leonzio di Bisanzio*, Tesi Augustinianum, Rome 2000.

LEONTIUS OF JERUSALEM

Leontius of Jerusalem, monk and controversialist theologian active in the first half of the 6th century, now generally distinguished from his namesake of Byzantium, is recognized today as the most coherent representative of Neochalcedonian Christology, in accordance with the doctrinal line championed by Justinian and the Fifth Ecumenical Council. We know nothing of his life, unless the information on a Leontius who took part in the colloquy of union with the Severians at Constantinople in 532 and the subsequent anti-Monophysite synod of 536, as a representative of the Church of Jerusalem and the desert monks, should refer to the Jerusalemite rather than the Byzantine.

His literary output can be seen as a symptom of the Neochalcedonian search for a *via media* between Monophysitism and Nestorianism. The Jerusalemite left two works of unequal length, directed respectively against those two errors and written in the following order (presumably in the years between 536 and 544): 1) *Contra Monophysitas*, a collection of 63 *aporiae*, with a patristic florilegium, surviving in fragmentary form; 2) *Contra Nestorianos*, a vast work in eight books, of which we have the first seven, also based on the treatment of *aporiae* according to the dialectical approach then in vogue. Yet, looking at the imposing dimensions assumed by this second work (which systematically works through one or maybe more than one Nestorian treatise), we see that in reality the author's polemical intent was unbalanced in the direction of the Antiochene Christology. Unlike Leontius of Byzantium, who took aim mainly at the Severian Monophysites and therefore felt with particular urgency the need to preserve two natures in the union, the Jerusalemite fought especially against the more rigid Diphysite theologians and thus came to emphasize the subject of the union, the *mia hypostasis* of

Chalcedon. Though it contains no references to contemporary politico-ecclesial events, the *Contra Nestorianos* may well (like Leontius of Byzantium's *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*) be considered one of the theological premises for the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

The Jerusalemite's contribution to Neochalcedonian Christology is not confined to the organic restatement of its more typical elements (the authority of the whole Cyril; the use of the dual terminology, "diphysite" and "monophysite"; the Theopaschite formula; the doctrine of *enhypostasia*). He also tries to reach a clarification of ontological notions and, in the light of these, explores the soteriological consequences better than the representatives of this tendency had so far done; he also differs from them in his abandonment of the anthropological paradigm as a model for the union in Christ. Developing, like them, the Chalcedonian distinction between nature and hypostasis, Leontius of Jerusalem clearly indicates the latter as the subject of the union of the two natures: the hypostasis of the Logos unites man with itself in the Incarnation and thus becomes the "common hypostasis" of the two natures, human and divine. So the man in Jesus Christ has his own subsistence thanks to the hypostasis of the Logos, which as such comes to be known as the "common hypostasis" (*hypostasis koine*). Though the Jerusalemite also speaks of a "nature" or "hypostasis of its own" (*physis* or *hypostasis idike*) of human nature, to indicate the individuating "idioms" or properties of that nature, its distinct traits subsist by virtue of its union with the Logos. The latter makes the flesh participate in the divine properties, thus conferring on the man Jesus an absolutely unique character. If his ontological formulation in this respect is not without some uncertainty (Leontius of Jerusalem still oscillates between the notion of hypostasis as "existing apart" and its meaning of "individualized nature", in accordance with the categories worked out by the Cappadocians), the soteriological emphasis that moves his whole thought is very clear and coherent.

The key word is represented here by the motif of "deification": the "man of the Lord" (*ho kyriakos anthropos* – an expression with an Antiochene flavour which the Jerusalemite uses in an original way), having been assumed by the Logos, is brought into a process of divinization, characterized by an intrinsic expansive dynamism. Its effects, in fact, are understood not just in the historical person of Jesus Christ, as regards the man's incapacity to sin and the possibility of working miracles, but, through him and the sacramental action of the Church, extend to all mankind and the whole of creation. To illustrate this process of divinization, Leontius of Jerusalem latches onto another longstanding motif, the image of the red-hot iron, already present in

Origen, with which he tries to illustrate the permanence of human nature in the hypostatic union and at the same time the transformation worked in it by the hypostasis of the Logos.

Editions and studies: CPG 6917-6918; PG 86, 1400-1901; F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1887; M. Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", *MSR* 1 (1944) 35-88 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, no. 59); C. Moeller, "Textes 'monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem", *ETHL* 27 (1951) 467-482; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*, Dissertation, Bonn 1962, 202-215; S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz. Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz*, Munich 1968; A. Basdekis, *Die Christologie des Leontios von Jerusalem*, Dissertation, Münster 1974; A. Grillmeier, "Ὁ κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος. Eine Studie zu einer christologischen Bezeichnung der Väterzeit", *Traditio* 33 (1977) 47-51; P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leyden 1979, 122-141; Perrone, 275-285; L. Abramowski, "Ein nestorianischer Traktat bei Leontius von Jerusalem", *III Symposium Syriacum*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 43-55; P.T.R. Gray, *Leontius of Jerusalem's Case of a 'Synthetic' Union in Christ*, SP 18/1, Kalamazoo (MI) 1985, 151-154; K.P. Wesche, "The Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedonian?", *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987) 65-95; Grillmeier, II/2, 286-327 (English ed. 271-312); K.-H. Uthemann, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalkedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon*, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 106-122.

LEONTIUS SCHOLASTICUS (DE SECTIS)

The name of a certain "Leontius Scholasticus" is connected in the manuscript tradition with the *De sectis*, a work of heresiological and controversialist character whose dating oscillates for scholars between the late 6th and early 7th centuries: indeed some would place it around the middle of the 6th century or even earlier, because of its surprising silence about the Council of Constantinople of 553. Also disputed is whether this Leontius should be considered the real author, or whether, following the tenor of the introductory lemma, this should not be given as a certain "Abba Theodore", whose oral teachings the Scholasticus transcribed and whom M. Richard at first proposed to identify with Theodore of Raithou, the author of the *Proparaskeue*. But Richard's views have won agreement especially concerning the relationship between the *De sectis* and Leontius of Byzantium: important differences in the use of key terms like *enhypostatos* and *hypostasis* and the reserved attitude towards the use of the anthropological paradigm (amply used, on the contrary, by the Byzantine) lead us to differentiate the author of the *De sectis* from his Constantinopolitan namesake. It is thus not possible to consider the *De sectis* a reworking of an earlier work by the Byzantine (according to the theory upheld in his time by Loofs), though it may take

account of some of his writings and, more generally, share with him a strict Chalcedonian line, far from contemporary Neochalcedonian solutions.

The text comprises ten "lessons" (*praxeis*), which from the formal point of view recall the lecture-notes of the commentators on Aristotle. The first specifies the concepts of "substance", "nature", "hypostasis" and "person", followed by an exposition of "theology" and "economy". It is a concise epitome of the Bible and the plan of salvation-history up to the Incarnation. In relation to the "faith" of the Church it then denounces the main Trinitarian (Sabellianism and Arianism) and Christological heresies (Nestorianism and Monophysitism). Opposing ecclesiastical doctrine to such errors, the author emphasizes how this occupies a midway position. The second lesson deals with the biblical canon and the theological errors of Jews and Samaritans who maintain both *mia physis* and *mia hypostasis* in God. The third lesson marks out the Christian times from the Nativity to Constantine and after him, listing the Church Fathers and the errors opposed by them. Note that for the author the Council of Chalcedon is the discriminating moment of the second period. The fourth lesson illustrates the errors of Macedonius, Apollinaris, Nestorius and Eutyches and recalls the reasons for the exile of Dioscorus (his support for Eutyches). Note here that the text has difficulty in hiding its sympathy for two "great men", Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The fifth lesson introduces the factions created after the Council of Chalcedon and records the new problem of Tritheism. From the sixth to the ninth lesson the author refutes the criticisms of those who for historical, philosophical and patristic reasons refuse to accept the Council of Chalcedon, while in the tenth he is concerned with the more recent errors of Gaianites, Agnoetae and Origenists. He gives particular attention to the first of these, once more showing significant points of contact with the kind of argument developed by Leontius of Byzantium in his *Dialogus contra Aphthartodocetas*.

Editions and studies: CPG 6823; PG 86, 1193-1268; M. Waegeman, *Het traktaat de sectis (Ps. Leontius Byzantinus). Textkritische uitgave en vertaling*, Dissertation, Ghent 1982; F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche*, Leipzig 1887; J.P. Junglas, *Leontius von Byzanz*, Paderborn 1908, 5-20; S. Rees, "The 'de sectis': A Treatise Attributed to Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS* 40 (1939) 346-360; M. Richard, "Le traité 'De sectis' et Léonce de Byzance", *RHE* 35 (1939) 695-723 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, II, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 55); Idem, "ΑΙΙΟ ΦΩΝΗΣ", *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 191-222 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, no. 60); J. Speigl, "Der Autor der Schrift über die Konzilien und die Religionspolitik Justinians", *AHC* 2 (1970) 207-230; M. Waegeman, "The Text Tradition of the Treatise 'De Sectis' (Ps. Leontius Byzantinus)", *L'antiquité classique* 45 (1976) 190-196; Idem, "The Old Testament Canon in the Treatise 'De Sectis'", *L'antiquité classique* 50 (1981) 813-818; M. van Esbroeck, "Le De Sectis attribué à Léonce de Byzance (CPG 6823) dans la version géorgienne d'Arène Iqaltoeli", *Bedi Kartlisa* 42 (1984) 35-52; Idem, "La date et l'auteur du 'De sectis'

attribué à Léonce de Byzance", *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Prof. A. Van Roey*, OLA 18, Leuven 1985, 415-424; Grillmeier II/2, 514-523 (English ed. 493-502).

PAMPHILUS THEOLOGUS

Nothing is known of this person from the Palestinian area. From the *Capitulorum diversorum seu dubitationum solutio* surviving under his name and first published by Mai according to Vat. gr. 668, there emerges a Neochalcedonian theologian in line with the orientation expressed by the writings attributed to Leontius of Byzantium, from whom he borrows lexically especially from the *Epilysis*, where a willingness to give credit to the Cyrillian interpretation attenuates more than elsewhere the Diphysite distinction. So we have here an author belonging to that circle, who, while firmly contrary to Monophysitism, fully accepted the ecumenical approach launched by Justinian's religious policy and so worked to construct a Christological system integrated with the more genuine Alexandrian insights: besides, this emperor's authority was manifestly recognized by Pamphilus through a continual appeal to his *confessio rectae fidei*, with the aim of backing up any precise definition of the hypostatic unity. Some extracts from the *Capitulorum diversorum seu dubitationum solutio*, a work to be put not long after 560, have been collected in the *Doctrina Patrum*. To Pamphilus has also been imputed the authorship of an *Encomium sanctae Soteridis*, a Roman martyr, companion of St Pancratius and much venerated at Jerusalem in the 6th century.

Editions: CPG 6920-6921; A. Mai, *Nova Patrum bibliotheca*, II, Rome 1844, 597-693; Diekamp, 44-47; BHG 1642, 1642a; P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Hagiographica*, ST 19, Rome 1908, 113-120.

Studies: M. Richard, "Léonce et Pamphile", *RSPH* 27 (1938) 27-52 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout 1977, no. 58); S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*, Dissertation, Bonn 1962, 225-235; M. Richard, "Pamphile de Jérusalem", *Muséon* 90 (1977) 277-280; Beck, 379, 465; Altaner, 549; A. De Nicola, *EEC* 2 (1992) 638; A. Grillmeier, "Ὁ κωρῆκος ἄνθρωπος. Eine Studie zu einer christologischen Bezeichnung der Väterzeit", *Traditio* 33 (1977) 47-51; Perrone, 283; J.H. Declerck, "Encore une fois Léonce et Pamphile", *Philohistor. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*, ed. A. Schoors, P. Van Deun, OLA 60, Leuven 1994, 199-216.

THEODORE ASCIDAS

Theodore Ascidas was, with Leontius of Byzantium, the most prominent representative of the 6th-century Palestinian Origenists, though, unlike the Byzantine, he exercised a mainly political role without any literary activity on the theological level. A disciple of Nonnus († 547), first teacher and leader of the Origenists of the New Laura in the Judaeen desert,

then head of the same monastery, he took part in the anti-Severian synod held at Constantinople in 536. Thanks to the good offices of Leontius and the zeal he demonstrated in the struggle against the Monophysites, he managed to enter the favours of Justinian who soon nominated him metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia and made him one of his most heeded theological advisers. In this guise Theodore influenced the religious policy of the Empire for some two decades, seeking always to favour and protect his friends of Origenist orientation. To counter Theodore's influence over Justinian, the deacon Pelagius, Roman apocrisiary at Constantinople and future Pope Pelagius I, supported the protest of the Palestinian anti-Origenists which led to the emperor's first condemnation of Origen (543). In response to this, Theodore – after having been obliged to sign the anti-Origenist edict – in turn got the Three Chapters condemned by Justinian (544), thus marking the beginning of a controversy that would culminate in the Council of Constantinople of 553. According to Liberatus (*Breviarium* 24), Theodore's move was dictated by the intention of distancing Chalcedon from the charge of Nestorianism and favouring a union with the Monophysites. In the decade that preceded the Fifth Council, Theodore intervened directly in the ecclesiastical affairs of Palestine, until the split between "Isochrists" (the party to which he belonged) and "Protoctists" ended by weakening the Palestinian Origenists and facilitated the condemnation of 553, aimed mainly at the Isochrists. Nonetheless Theodore was still able to overturn the situation once more to his own advantage, actively intervening in the deliberations of the Council which led to the condemnation of the Three Chapters. After this episode we have no further knowledge of his activity, though he lived until 588.

In the one fragment handed down under his name (Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* IV, 38), Theodore seems to adopt the doctrine attributed to the Isochrists, that at the final restoration there would be a complete assimilation and union with Christ, even while referring to the destiny reserved for the apostles in the apocatastasis. This conception, which took its cue from the model of the hypostatic union of humanity and divinity in Christ, must have drawn down on Theodore the accusation of Monophysite sympathies.

Editions and studies: CPG 6988; PG 86, 2777c-2780d; J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, *Evagrius. The Ecclesiastical History*, London 1898, 189; F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrhundert und das 5. allgemeine Concil*, Münster 1899; R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Vatican City 1948, 204-207; A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaiia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962; D.B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington (DC) 1970; Frend, 279-281; Perrone; B. Daley, "What Did 'Origenism' Mean in the Sixth Century?", *Origeniana Sexta*, Leuven 1995, 626-638.

THEODORE OF BOSTRA

In his hagiographical collection devoted to the celebration of the Monophysite movement, John of Ephesus (*Comm. de beatis orient.* 50) relates that in 543 the Empress Theodora asked Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria in exile in Constantinople, to provide for the spiritual needs of the Arab tribes, vassals of the Empire, following an appeal made to her by the Ghassanid Emir Hareth-bar-Gabala. Theodosius then created two Monophysite bishoprics, the first with jurisdiction over Syria and much of Anatolia, the second over Palestine and the Arabian desert as far as the Persian border (Arabia Secunda). To this end he ordained Jacob, called Baradaeus (i.e. ragamuffin), with metropolitan see at Edessa, and Theodore, a monk of Arab origin, with metropolitan see at Bostra: the episode was decisive for the Monophysite population, which henceforth had a stable organization known into our own time as the Jacobite Church, from Jacob's name. But while Jacob Baradaeus actively exercised his jurisdiction, multiplying successions antagonistic to the hierarchy that had stayed loyal to Byzantine imperialism and was hence called Melkite (from Syriac *melek* = king), Theodore had a purely nominal authority and never managed to install himself in the city whose titular he had been elected, confining himself to residing in the Golan. The two, however, acted in constant communion: in 564, from Constantinople, where he moved about clandestinely, Theodore endorsed, in a formal letter that survives in Syriac, the foundation of an Antiochene patriarchate of Monophysite faith, applauding the election of Paul the Black decided on by Jacob Baradaeus. Together they sustained Paul in the afflictions he suffered from the imperial reaction; in agreement they opposed the school of John Philoponus, which distinguished in the three divine hypostases as many perfectly equal natures: there remain Syriac fragments of two letters written in common, one to Paul to encourage him to resist the persecution of the regime, the other to Monophysite monastic circles warning them against the seductions of Tritheism. In this latter controversy Theodore spent his final energies: between 569 and 570 we find him at least twice at Constantinople, where he confronted the Tritheist Conon of Tarsus and defended the purity of the Nicene position. Here, however he suffered harassment from Patriarch John Scholasticus, from whose designs he was able to save himself only thanks to the benevolent attitude of the Emperor Justin II, who at that time was conceding greater flexibility in the matter of State Chalcedonianism. After 570 we have no further evidence of him.

Editions: CPG 7173-7174; 7201; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, Louvain 1952, 94-96, 165-166, 179-180 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, Louvain 1952, 65-66, 115-116, 179-180 (tr.).

Studies: Honigmann, 157-160, 163-164, 169, 172, 176, 185, 201, 211; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 823 f.; Fliche-Martin 4, 456; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian*, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 41, Leuven 1981, 32, 185; Perrone, 188.

THEODORE OF RAITHOU

Theodore, a monk of the monastic colony near the port of Raithou in the Sinai Peninsula, is considered the last representative of Neochalcedonianism at the end of the 6th century. He was the author of the so-called *Praeparatio*, which comprises a heresiological and a dialectical part. The two parts are not well connected and have been handed down in different traditions. However it is obvious that Theodore intended to combine the faith of Chalcedon with the Christological formulae of Cyril of Alexandria. A *De Trinitate* is sometimes attributed to him, but it is just a summary of Book V of Theodoret's *Fabulae haeticorum*. Some would also identify Theodore as author of the *De sectis*, once attributed to Leontius of Byzantium. In this case the *Praeparatio* would date from the second quarter of the 6th century. Diekamp however puts it in the years 580-620. In the manuscript tradition the *Praeparatio* is sometimes found among the dogmatic treatises of Anastasius I, patriarch of Antioch. Yet it is possible that it was placed among the Anastasian writings only later.

Diekamp's late dating is supported by the research of W. Elert, who identifies Theodore of Raithou with Theodore of Pharan, one of the founders of Monoenergism. The latter's writings, however, are preserved only in fragments. They consist mainly of a letter addressed to Sergius of Constantinople, who had asked for his opinion on the formula *mia energeia*, another letter, almost a treatise, dedicated to Sergius, bishop of Arsinoe, and a collection of patristic passages in favour of the doctrine of one operation in Christ. Maximus the Confessor also cites a work on essence, nature, hypostasis and person (PG 91, 136), which Elert identifies with the *Praeparatio*. In any case Theodore of Pharan was the founder or at least an eminent representative of Monoenergism. He must have died in 649 at the latest, but probably before 638. He may have been that Theodore of whom Photius says that he had read the works of the Areopagite (*Bibl.*, cod. 1). If the identification of Theodore of Raithou with Theodore of Pharan is valid, it follows that the monoenergist movement originated in Neochalcedonian circles.

Editions: CPG 7600-7602; *Praeparatio*: PG 91, 1484-1504; F. Diekamp, *Analecta* = OCA 117, Rome 1938, 173-227; Fragments: Mansi 10, 957-961; 11, 1, 567-572.

Studies: M. Richard, "Le traité 'de sectis' et Léonce de Byzance", *RHE* 35 (1939) 712 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, II, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 55); M. Richard: *DTC* 15 (1946) 282 ff.; W. Elert, "Theodor von Pharan und Theodor von Raithu", *TLZ* 76 (1951) 67-76; W. Elert, *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie*, Berlin 1957, 185-229; Beck, 374, 382 f., 430 f.; Grillmeier, II/2, 514-523 (English ed. 493-502); J. Rist: *BBKL* 11 (1996) 976 ff.

GREGORY OF ANTIOCH

According to the historian Evagrius Scholasticus, Gregory began his monastic career in the monastery of the Byzantines, founded by Abramius of Ephesus in Jerusalem, where he became abbot. The Emperor Justin II (565-578) transferred Gregory to Sinai, where again he seems to have held the post of abbot; here Gregory withstood an attack by the Arabs on his monastery. Gregory also spent some time as abbot in the monastery of Pharan in Palestine, according to John Moschus. In 569/570 the abbot became patriarch of Antioch, again at the behest of the emperor, who had deposed the previous patriarch, Anastasius. Gregory was an influential figure in ecclesiastical and political matters during his time, quarrelling with the *comes Orientis* and suffering opprobrium and a public enquiry as a result. Before 588 he was required to travel to Constantinople to appear before a synod on various – probably trumped-up – charges, but was acquitted. It is likely that ecclesiastical politics were at the bottom of the affair. His services were required when the Roman troops fighting the Persians mutinied, and the patriarch was requested by the Emperor Maurice to negotiate with them. Shortly afterwards, again at imperial request, Gregory went to Martyropolis to persuade the Roman troops to continue the siege of the city. When the Persian king, Chosroes II, fled his kingdom, Gregory and Domitian, metropolitan of Melitene, were sent to meet him and his retinue in a border town, and when Chosroes returned to Persia and was reinstated, he sent Gregory the cross which Chosroes I had previously carried off from Sergiopolis as booty. The patriarch of Antioch dedicated this cross, and another which the Persian king had sent, at the shrine of Sergius, and afterwards made a tour of the border country to win back Monophysites to the Chalcedonian fold. The patriarch died in 593/594 as the result of a drug which he took to relieve gout, and was succeeded by his predecessor, Anastasius.

In the 20th century Gregory has become known to us also as a homilist, thanks to studies which have reclaimed for him homilies which had hitherto been transmitted under other names. To judge from the five homilies which can now be attributed to him, the patriarch was a gifted speaker, a fact which accounts for their translation into various oriental languages. Three of the homilies, CPG 7385-7387, were preached in succession. The so-called *Oratio ad exercitum*, CPG 7388, appears more likely to be the work of Evagrius Scholasticus, and the alleged homily on the Protomartyr Stephen, CPG 7389, which survives only in a Georgian translation, looks more like a letter.

Editions: CPG 7384-7390; PG 10, 1177-1189; PG 61, 761-764; PG 88, 1848-1866, 1872-1884. The *Oratio ad exercitum* is in Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez,

L. Parmentier, *Evagrius. The Ecclesiastical History*, London 1898, repr. Amsterdam 1964, 229-231; for the so-called homily on the Protomartyr Stephen, see N. Marr, *Le synaxaire géorgien. Rédaction ancienne de l'Union arméno-géorgienne*, PO 19 (1926) 689-699; and for the encomium on Saint Stephen, see *ibid.*, 699-715.

Studies: S. Haidacher, "Zu den Homilien des Gregorius von Antiochia und des Gregorius Thaumaturgus", *ZKTh* 25 (1901) 367-369; P. Goubert, "Patriarches d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie contemporains à S. Grégoire le Grand", *REB* 25 (1967) 65-76; M. Aubineau, "Une homélie de Grégoire d'Antioche (570-593), retrouvée dans le Vaticanus gr. 1975", *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 595-597; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 41, Leuven 1981, 217-218, 250, 263; A. Battikha: *EEC* 1 (1992) 363; P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily: Problems and Approaches", M.B. Cunningham and P. Allen, *The Homilist and the Audience: Studies in Christian and Early Byzantine Homiletics*, Leyden 1998, 201-225.

JOHN IV OF JERUSALEM

John was patriarch of Jerusalem from 574 to 594. Before being elected bishop of the Holy City he had been a monk at the monastery of the Acoemetes at Constantinople, a traditional focus of Chalcedonianism in the 6th century. His efforts in defence of the Fourth Council are documented by the letter addressed between 574 and 577 to Abas, *Katholikos* of Albania in the Caucasus (552-596), and preserved in Armenian. In it John exhorts him to resist the pressure of the Armenians who were asking their neighbours to adhere to Monophysitism. Besides opposing the Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion* (perhaps using the apocryphal letters to Peter the Fuller contained in the *Collectio Sabbaitica*), the patriarch of Jerusalem also criticizes the Aphthartodocetist views of Julian of Halicarnassus, which enjoyed some sympathy in the Armenian Church. The doctrinal condemnation of the Armenian Monophysites also justified for John the measures that had been taken to expel them from the Holy Places. The text also contains a passage that has been interpreted as an acknowledgment of Roman primacy.

Editions and studies: CPG 7021; *Ep. ad abatem ep. Albanorum* (Armenian), ed. K. Ter-Mekertschian: *Ararat* 29 (1896) 252-256; A. Vardanian, "Des Johannes von Jerusalem Brief an den albanischen Katholikos Abas", *OrChr* n.s. 2 (1912) 64-77; H. Hurter, "Ein Zeugnis aus dem 6. Jht. für die Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes", *ZKTh* 34 (1910) 218-219; S. Salaville, "Un témoignage oriental en faveur de la primauté et de l'infaillibilité du pape au VI^e s.", *EO* 13 (1910) 171-172; G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Edition critique et commentaire*, CSCO 132 / Subsidia 4, Louvain 1952; R.W. Thomson, *Jerusalem and Armenia*, SP 18, 1, Kalamazoo (MI) 1986, 77-91 (repr. in *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, Great Aldershot 1994).

ZACHARIAS OF JERUSALEM

Successor of the little-known Isaac as Chalcedonian Patriarch of Jerusalem in 609, Zacharias was destined to hold office *in situ* only

until 5 May 614, when the Persian army, accompanied by Nestorian and anti-Chalcedonian bishops, captured the city and removed the patriarch, relics of the True Cross and allegedly 35,000 Chalcedonian Christians to the Persian capital Ctesiphon. Soon after this, Zacharias wrote a letter of consolation, redolent with scriptural citations, to the Chalcedonian church in Jerusalem, his "widowed bride". This is the only surviving work we have from him, and such is its historical significance that it was translated into Georgian and Arabic. Zacharias was replaced by a *locum tenens*, Modestus, the hegumen of the monastery of St Theodosius, who set about restoring the churches and shrines destroyed by the invaders. The relics of the Cross were restored to Jerusalem by the Emperor Heraclius on Good Friday, 21 March 630, an event which Zacharias, dying on 21 February of that year, was unable to witness. On the emperor's order, Modestus was consecrated Zacharias' successor.

Editions: CPG 7825; PG 86, 3228-3233; G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, CSCO 202 / Iber. 11, Louvain 1960, 70-76 (Georgian text); Idem, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614. Recensiones Arabicae, I: A et B*, CSCO 340 / Ar. 26, Louvain 1973, 49-53, 98-101 (Arabic text); Idem, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614. Recensiones Arabicae, II: C et V*, CSCO 347 / Ar. 28, Louvain 1974, 143-145, 185-188 (Arabic text).

Translations – Latin: G. Garitte, CSCO 203 / Iber. 12, Louvain 1960, 46-50; Idem, CSCO 341 / Ar. 27, Louvain 1973, 33-35, 66-68; Idem, CSCO 348 / Ar. 29, Louvain 1974, 97-98, 126-129.

Studies: Beck, 448; O. Volk: *LThK* 10 (1965) 1301; V. Grumel, "La reposition de la vrai croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius. Le jour et l'année", *ByzF* 1 (1966) 139-149; J. Irmscher: *EEC* 2 (1992) 884; C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, *ThéolHist* 20, Paris 1972, 71, 84-86.

MODESTUS OF JERUSALEM

Modestus was hegumen of the monastery of St Theodosius at the time of the Persian invasion of Palestine in 614. Even though, at the command of Patriarch Zacharias, he had brought the imperial troops from Jericho to Jerusalem in the vain hope of saving the city, and had risked his life to bury the monks of the Great Laura who had been massacred on the eve of the sack of the city, he himself survived. After the exile of Zacharias, he was appointed vicar (τοποτηρητής) to the patriarch, and devoted himself to the restoration of churches, shrines and monasteries in Palestine, acting for a time as almoner of St John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria. In March 630, when Heraclius returned to Jerusalem with the true Cross, he was appointed patriarch in succession to Zacharias who had died in exile, but he survived only a few months, dying on 17 December. In his *Bibliotheca* Photius quotes passages from

two of his sermons, one on the Myrrh-bearing Women, the other on the feast of the *Hypapante* (*Bibl.*, cod. 275). He mentions another sermon by Modestus, an encomium on the Dormition of the all-holy Mother of God: however, the text of this sermon attributed to Modestus seems to be spurious. There is also a letter, preserved in Armenian translation, in Sebeos' *History of Heraclius*.

Editions: CPG 7872-7877; PG 86, 3273-3312; R. Henry (ed.), Photius, *Bibliothèque*, VIII, Paris 1977, 118-120; F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebèos*, Paris 1904, 70-73 (with French translation).

Translation – English: R.W. Thomson, *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, Liverpool 1999, 70-72.

Studies: G. Garitte, "La sépulture de Modeste de Jérusalem", *Muséon* 73 (1960) 127-133; B. Kotter: *LThK* 7 (1962) 516; J.-M. Sauget: *EEC* 1 (1992) 564 f.

STRATEGIUS

Strategius was a monk of the Great Laura of St Sabas in Palestine who wrote an account of the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614, the massacre of the population, the deportation of the survivors and of Patriarch Zacharias, who were taken into exile in Persia, and the consequent loss of the true Cross; the account closes with a report by a Christian called Thomas, who remained in Jerusalem and, together with his wife, buried the bodies of the slain, and an epilogue on the return of the true cross to Jerusalem by Heraclius: both these final sections are quite brief. The account survives only in Georgian and Arabic, but it incorporates various documents that still survive in Greek: viz., the encyclical letter from Patriarch Zacharias to Jerusalem and other churches, several passages from an anonymous account of the fall of Jerusalem, the *confession* of Antiochus, hegumen of Mar Saba, and a further fragment from *Homily* 107 of the *Pandect*, as well as the account of the fall of Jerusalem that is incorporated in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Strategius and Antiochus have often been thought to be one and the same person, but Peeters has convincingly argued against this identification.

Editions: CPG 7846; PG 86, 3228-3268; PG 89, 1761-1765, 1849-1856.

Versions – Georgian: N. Marr, *Antioh Stratig. Plenenie Ierusalima Persami v 614 g.*, *Teksty i razyskaniya po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii*, 9, St Petersburg 1909; G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, CSCO 202 / Iber. 11 (text); CSCO 203 / Iber. 12 (Latin tr.), Louvain 1960.

Arabic: G. Garitte, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614. Recensiones Arabicae, I: A et B*, CSCO 340 / Ar. 26; CSCO 341 / Ar. 27, Louvain 1973; Idem, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614. Recensiones Arabicae, II: C et V*, CSCO 347 / Ar. 28 (text); CSCO 348 / Ar. 29, Louvain 1974 (Latin tr.).

Studies: F.C. Conybeare, "Antiochos Strategos' Account of the Sack of Jerusalem in AD 614", *English Historical Review* 25 (1910) 502-516 (contains translation of parts of the Georgian version edited by N. Marr); P. Peeters, "La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 9 (1923-1924) 3-42 (= *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, Subsidia Hagiographica 27, Brussels 1951, 78-116; contains edition of Arabic version); B. Flusin, *Saint Athanase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, II. *Commentaire*, Paris 1992, 129-172 *passim*.

ANTIOCHUS THE MONK

Antiochus was the hegumen of the Great Laura of St Sabas in Palestine, who, around 620, at the request of his compatriot Eustathius, abbot of the Attaline monastery in Ancyra, composed the famous *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures*. Despite the traditional form of this work, the grief at the fall of the Holy City makes its mark, as with a prayer of confession that survives ascribed to Antiochus. The *Pandect of the Holy Scriptures* consists of 130 homilies, forming a compendium on the monastic life. It is traditional in form, relying heavily on the Scriptures and the Fathers, most of whom are cited without acknowledgment. He does, however, acknowledge Irenaeus (the story about the fallen disciple of St John the Evangelist, not preserved in any of Irenaeus' works to have survived, but known from Clement of Alexandria's *Quis dives salvetur*) and Ignatius of Antioch: his unacknowledged sources include Pseudo-Clement's *Epistles to the Virgins*, Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Evagrius' *On Prayer* and Nilus' *Eight Evil Spirits*, as well as allusions to Dionysius the Areopagite. *Homily* 107, on compunction, alludes to the sack of Jerusalem by the Persians and the loss of the true cross. The *Pandect* was a popular work in the Byzantine world and survives also in Arabic and Old Church Slavonic. The dedicatory letter to Eustathius that prefaces this work contains an account of the martyrdom of the forty-four monks of the Great Laura, tortured and put to death by Saracens at Kedron just before the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians. There survives also a long *Prayer* of confession, begging God to turn away his wrath from Jerusalem. In the office of Compline according to the Byzantine rite, there is a brief prayer ascribed to "Antiochus of the *Pandect*".

Editions: *Pandect:* CPG 7842-7843; PG 89, 1421-1849. 2. *Prayers:* CPG 7844; PG 89, 1849-1856.

Studies: G. Bardy: *DSp* 1 (1937) 701-702; J. Gribomont: *EEC* 1 (1992) 52; G. Röwekamp: *Lexikon der antiken Christ. Literatur*, Freiburg 1998, 37 f.

ANTONY THE CHOZIBITE

Antony was the disciple of George the Chozibite, whose *Vita* he wrote. Antony's *Vita* is set against the background of instability in Palestine:

apart from Saracen raids, he describes the Persian invasion and the sack of Jerusalem in 614. George and his disciple stayed on in Palestine, and escaped the harsher fate of some of their fellow monks in Palestine. Antony writes in the knowledge of the restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem in 630. The *Life of George the Chozibite* was written in 630, since it refers to Modestus as patriarch of Jerusalem, a post he held for a few months in that year. Appended to it are the *Miracles of the Mother of God at Choziba* (a locality between Jerusalem and Jericho).

Editions: *Vita:* CPG 7985; C. House: *AB* 7 (1888) 97-144, 336-359 (emendations: *AB* 8 [1889] 209-210). *Miracles:* CPG 7986; C. House: *AB* 7 (1888) 360-370 (emendations: *AB* 8 [1889] 210).

Studies: D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966, 151-152; J. Binns, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631*, Oxford 1994, 53-55; *BS* 6, 534-536; *DHGE* 20, 612-613.

JOHN MOSCHUS

LIFE

John Moschus, or John Eukratas, is known to posterity as the author of the *Spiritual Meadow* (or *Leimonarion*) or "New Paradise", an account of the travels he made with his friend Sophronius through the monasteries of Palestine and Egypt. For John's life we are dependent on an anonymous preface to the *Spiritual Meadow*, supplemented by what can be gleaned from the *Spiritual Meadow* itself. Born in the middle of the 6th century in Damascus, or more probably Cilicia, John, by then already a priest, received the monastic tonsure at the coenobium of St Theodosius near Jerusalem; from there he later withdrew to the lura of Pharan where he spent ten years. He then embarked on the first of his monastic travels with Sophronius, to Egypt and down as far south as the Oasis. This took place in the early years of the reign of Tiberius (578-582). On his return, he spent ten years at the lura of the Ailiotai on Mount Sinai. John then left Sinai and was in Jerusalem for the enthronement of Patriarch Amos in 594, by which time he seems to have been residing at the Great Laura of St Sabas. He then travelled north to Antioch and Cilicia. With Chosroes II's invasion of Syria after the murder of the Emperor Maurice in 602, John left Syria and made his way to Alexandria, where he supported the efforts of John the Almsgiver to claim Egypt for Chalcedonian orthodoxy: efforts that were so successful that during John's patriarchate the number of Orthodox churches in Egypt increased from seven to seventy. After the sack of Jerusalem in 614 and the growing Persian threat to Alexandria, John and Sophronius, together with John the Almsgiver, left Egypt for Cyprus. From there he eventually made his way to Rome, where he died. The *Spiritual Meadow*

itself was composed in Rome and confided to his friend Sophronius (almost certainly the later patriarch of Jerusalem), who was also commanded to bury him not in Rome, but on Sinai or, if barbarian invasions made this impossible, at the coenobium of St Theodosius. Sophronius respected his friend's wishes and arrived with the coffin at Jerusalem at the beginning of the 8th indiction: John was buried at the monastic cemetery of St Theodosius in the very cave where by tradition the Magi had hidden from Herod. By the "8th indiction" may be meant either 619 or 634, probably the latter. It has been suggested recently that by "Rome" the author of the preface meant not ancient Rome, but "New Rome", i.e. Constantinople: a view that has gained wide acceptance (originally proposed in conjunction with the suggestion, based on a passage in John Damascene's *De hymno trisagio*, that John was patriarch-in-exile of Jerusalem from 614 to 634: a view that has found little favour), though there seem to be no compelling reasons for accepting it.

Studies: S. Vailhé, "Jean Mosch", *EO* 5 (1901) 107-116; E. Mihevc-Gabrovec, *Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos*, Ljubljana 1960; H. Chadwick, "John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the Sophist", *JThS* n.s. 25 (1974) 41-74 (= Idem, *History and Thought of the Early Church*, London 1982, no. XVIII); K. Rozemond, "Jean Mosch, patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614-634)", *VC* 31 (1977) 60-67; E. Follieri, "Dove e quando morì Giovanni Mosco?", *RSBN* 35 (= n.s. 25) (1988) 3-39; A. Louth, "Did John Moschos really die in Constantinople?", *JTS* n.s. 49 (1998) 149-154; E. Mioni, *DSp* 8 (1974) 632-640; T. Špidlík: *EEC* 1 (1992) 443 f.

WORKS

1. *Spiritual Meadow*

The *Spiritual Meadow* gives a lively picture of monastic life in Palestine and Egypt at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century: it begs comparison with John of Ephesus's *Lives of the Eastern Saints* and Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, both similar compilations, and provides a sequel to the story of Palestinian monasticism as told by Cyril of Scythopolis. It depicts a world divided between those who support the Council of Chalcedon and those who reject it ("Monophysites": John calls them "Severians" or "Akephaloi"): John's stand is unambiguously Chalcedonian, and many of his stories are propaganda for the Chalcedonians. Its popularity is manifest in the many ancient translations that were made (though, doubtless owing to its strong anti-Monophysitism, there are none into either Syriac or Coptic). The textual tradition is extremely complex, largely because the typical nature of a text depicting the "new paradise" of monasticism led scribes to supplement it with other material: it is therefore difficult to be sure what comes from John's own hand, but, as Henry Chadwick has remarked, "this uncertainty is a relatively unimportant matter in editing the text, so long as the editor is

allowed to err on the generous side." There is as yet, though, no modern critical edition. Because of the fame of John's companion, anciently the *Meadow* was frequently ascribed to Sophronius.

Editions: CPG 7376; PG 87, 2852-3112; H. Usener, *Sonderbare Heilige I. Der Hl. Tychon*, Leipzig 1907, 91-93 (preface); P. Pattenden, "The Text of the *Pratum Spirituale*", *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975) 49-54 (for critical text of chh. 120-122, 132-133, not included in Migne).

Translations – French: M.J. Rouët de Journel, *Jean Moschos, Le Pré spirituel*, SCh 12, 1946.

English: J. Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow of John Moschos*, CSS 139, Kalamazoo (MI) 1992.

Italian: R. Maisano, *Giovanni Mosco, Il Prato*, Naples 1982.

Studies: N.H. Baynes, "The *Pratum Spirituale*", *OCP* 13 (1947) 404-414 (= Idem, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London, 1955, 261-270); P. Pattenden, "The Text of the *Pratum Spirituale*", *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975) 38-54.

2. *Life of John the Almsgiver*

Together with Sophronius, John also wrote a *Vita* of the renowned Chalcedonian Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almsgiver. This *Vita* is lost, but it was used, together with Leontius of Neapolis' *Vita*, as the basis for an anonymous *Life of John the Almsgiver*, which Symeon the Metaphrast used as the basis for his *Vita*. The anonymous *Vita* has been published by H. Delehaye, and from it there can be gleaned something of the contents of the *Vita* composed by John and Sophronius.

Edition: CPG 7647; H. Delehaye, "Une vie inédite de saint Jean l'Aumonier", *AB* 45 (1927) 5-74.

Translations – English: E. Dawes, N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford 1948, 199-206.

French: A.J. Festugière, *Léontius de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1974, 321-329.

SOPHRONIUS OF JERUSALEM

LIFE

Born in Damascus of Syrian parentage in about 550, Sophronius was educated there and became a professor of rhetoric (a "sophist"). In 578, having befriended John Moschus in Palestine, he travelled with him to Egypt. In Alexandria he encountered various important representatives of its intellectual and cultural life, including Stephen of Alexandria, the commentator on Aristotle and later professor of philosophy in Constantinople, as well as some of the monks of the Egyptian Desert. On his return to Palestine, Sophronius became a monk

at the coenobium of St Theodosius, a monastery with which he had family links. Soon, however, he was again on his travels with John Moschus, this time to Sinai, where they spent ten years. In 594, with the election of Amos as patriarch of Jerusalem, they were again in Palestine. After the usurpation of Phocas (602), they travelled north, to Syria and Seleucia, and then, by 608, made their way once again to Egypt. There they spent several years and supported the patriarch John the Almsgiver (610-620) in his attempt to reclaim Egyptian Christianity to the Chalcedonian orthodoxy of the imperial Church. With the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614, they left Egypt and eventually made their way to Rome, on the way spending time at Cyprus, Samos and probably in North Africa as well. In Rome John compiled his *Spiritual Meadow*, and died there, probably in 634. By this time Sophronius seems to have established a monastery in North Africa, which welcomed monks fleeing from Byzantium during the Persian advance on the capital in 626, among them Maximus the Confessor, who regarded Sophronius as his spiritual father.

In 633 Sophronius was back in Alexandria, and there witnessed the monoenergist Pact of Union (the "Nine Chapters"), by which Cyrus of Phasis in Lazika, now Patriarch of Alexandria, had healed the schism between Orthodox and Monophysite in Egypt: something that must have seemed to Sophronius the undoing of the work in which he had shared two decades earlier. He protested to Cyrus to no avail, and then made his way to Constantinople to bring his case to the Patriarch of Constantinople. As a result Sergius issued his *Psephos*, which forbade discussion of either one or two energies or activities in the Incarnate Christ. This hardly satisfied Sophronius, who may then have made his way to Rome, where he found his friend John Moschus dying or lately dead and, in accordance with his wishes, brought his mortal remains back to Palestine, reaching there in September 634. His arrival in Jerusalem led to his election as Patriarch, and in his *Synodical Letter*, addressed to Sergius of Constantinople and Honorius of Rome, while he avoided mention of one or two activities in Christ in accordance with the *Psephos*, his argument made plain the heresy of monoenergism. By now the Arabs were invading the Roman Empire, and the few years of Sophronius' patriarchate saw the fall of the Eastern provinces. He himself surrendered the city of Jerusalem to the Arabs, probably in February 638. Shortly after (by tradition on 11 March 638), he himself died.

Studies: C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem, Vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, ThéolHist 20, Paris 1972; H. Chadwick, "John Moschus and his friend Sophronius", *JTS* n.s. 25 (1974) 41-75 (= Idem, *History and Thought of the Early Church*, London 1982, no. XVII); C. Schönborn: *DSp* 14 (1990) 1066-1073; T. Špidlík: *EEC* 2 (1992) 787.

WORKS

Many of Sophronius' works have been lost, but what survives is of great variety. As well as dogmatic works, such as the *Synodical Letter*, and liturgical sermons, important not only as evidence for the understanding in Jerusalem of the feasts celebrated, there is verse, both classical and liturgical, and a certain amount of hagiography. Many works have been ascribed to Sophronius, falsely or doubtfully, notable among which is the *Life of Mary of Egypt*.

1. *Synodical Letter*

Sophronius' main dogmatic treatise is his *Synodical Letter*.

Editions: CPG 7635; PG 87, 3148-3200; Crit. ed. by R. Riedinger in *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, series II, vol. 2, part 1, Berlin 1990, 410-494.

Translations – French: C. von Schönborn, *op cit.*, 201-209 (partial tr.).

English: P. Allen, *Sophronios of Jerusalem, Synodical Letter and other sixth-century texts*, Translated Texts for Historians, Liverpool, forthcoming.

2. *Letter to Arcadius of Cyprus*

This is another dogmatic treatise surviving only in Syriac translation.

Edition: CPG 7636; M. Albert, C. von Schönborn, *Lettre de Sophrone de Jérusalem à Arcadius de Chypre. Version syriaque inédite du texte grec perdu. Introduction et traduction française*, PO 39, 2, Turnhout 1978.

3. *Liturgical Sermons*

There survive seven of his sermons for the feasts of Christmas, the Annunciation, the Exaltation of the Cross, the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Meeting (or the Purification), John the Baptist, and the Theophany.

Editions: CPG 7637-7643; PG 87, 3201-3353. Critical editions: CPG 7637 (Christmas): H. Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, n.s. 41 (1886) 500-516 (= Idem, *Kleine Schriften* IV, 1913, 162-177); CPG 7641 (Meeting): H. Usener, *Sophronii de Praesentatione Domini sermo*, Progr. Univ. Bonn, Augsburg 1889, 8-18; CPG 7643 (Theophany: not in PG): A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, St Petersburg 1898, 151-168.

Study: T. Nissen, "Sophronius-Studien II", *ByzZ* 39 (1939) 89-115 (emendations).

4. *Praise and Miracles of Cyrus and John*

Sophronius wrote an encomium of the Alexandrian martyrs Cyrus and John, together with an account of seventy of their miracles. The relics of Cyrus and John had been transferred by Cyril of Alexandria to Menuthis to counteract the appeal of the local cult of Isis. There they worked miracles of healing by incubation, and Sophronius himself claimed to have been healed by them.

Editions: CPG 7645; PG 87, 3380-3421 (Praise). CPG 7646; PG 87, 3424-3676 (Miracles); N. Fernández Marcos, *Los 'Thaumata' de Sofronio. Contribución al estudio de la 'Incubatio cristiana'*, Manuales y Anejos de "Emerita" 31, Madrid 1975, 241-400.

Studies: H. Delehaye, "Les saints d'Aboukir", *AB* 30 (1911) 448-450; T. Nissen, "De ss. Cyri et Iohannis vitae formis", *AB* 57 (1939) 65-71; T. Nissen, "Medizin und Magie bei Sophronius, Sophronius-Studien III", *ByzZ* 39 (1939) 349-381; R. Herzog, "Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis", *Pisculi. Festschrift Fr. J. Dölger*, Münster 1939, 117-124; N. Fernández Marcos, *op. cit.*; P. Maraval, "Fonction pédagogique de la littérature hagiographique d'un lieu de pèlerinage: l'exemple des Miracles de Cyr et Jean", *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés*, Paris 1981, 383-397; J. Duffy, "Observations on Sophronius' *Miracles of Cyrus and John*", *JTS* n.s. 35 (1984) 71-90.

5. *Life of St John the Almsgiver*

The *Life of St John the Almsgiver* (CPG 7647), the patriarch of Alexandria whom both John Moschus and Sophronius had known during their stay in Alexandria, was a joint composition with John Moschus.

6. *Encomium of St John the Theologian*

This survives only in fragments (CPG 7648; PG 87, 3364).

7. *Classical verse*

Sophronius wrote twenty-two odes in the classical Anacreontic metre, of which nineteen are complete, and several epigrams, most of which were included in the *Palatine Anthology*.

Editions: CPG 7650; PG 87, 3733-3838; M. Gigante, *Sophronii Anacreontica*, *Opuscula. Testi per esercitazione accademica* 10-12, Rome 1957 (much emended); CPG 7651; PG 87, 3421-3424, 4009BC.

8. *Liturgical verse*

The *troparia* of the Royal Hours for Christmas and the Theophany (Epiphany) are ascribed to him, probably correctly, as well as the great prayer for the blessing of the waters that forms part of the service for the Theophany.

Editions: CPG 7652; PG 87, 4005-4009 (*troparia*); CPG 7653; PG 87, 4001-4004 (prayer).

THEOLOGY

Sophronius is an important figure in history of Christian doctrine: his defence of Chalcedonian orthodoxy in his *Synodical Letter* forms the basis for Maximus the Confessor's later refutation of Monothelism, which became imperial orthodoxy in Heraclius' *Ekthesis* (638). Although, in obedience to Sergius' *Psephos*, he does not spell it out, he argues

that the Chalcedonian doctrine of two integral natures in Christ entails Christ's possession of two natural activities, and he also defends the expression of the Areopagite about Christ's "new theandric nature".

Studies: G. Cosmas, *De oeconomia incarnationis secundum s. Sophronium Hierosolymitanum*, Rome 1940; P. Parente, "Usò e significato del termine Θεοκίνητος nella controversia monotelitica", *REB* 11 (1953) 241-251; C. von Schönborn, *op. cit.*

THEOTECNUS, BISHOP OF LIVIAS

In a manuscript belonging to the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, there is preserved a sermon on the Assumption of the holy Mother of God, ascribed to Theotecnus, bishop of Livias, a village on the left bank of the river Jordan opposite Jericho (present-day Tell er-Ram). We know nothing else about Theotecnus: it is conjectured that he lived at some time in the period 550-650. The sermon is simple in its diction and, in its account of the story of the Assumption of the Mother of God, draws on material from the apocryphal accounts of the Assumption, as well as from the *Protevangelion of St James*. The Assumption is held to be entailed by Mary's incorruptible virginity, and the theological significance of her body is expressed in typological terms as the "spiritual ark [of the covenant]" (para. 21). The encounter between Mary and her Son brought about by the Assumption is expressed in allusions to passages from the Song of Songs.

Editions: CPG 7418; A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la très sainte Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle*, *Archives de l'Orient chrétien* 5, Paris 1955, 272-291 (with French tr.).

Studies: A. Wenger, *op. cit.*, 96-110, and *addendum* of 4 pages (comparing the Greek text with an Arab version) inserted between 270 and 271; Idem, in *Maria: Études sur la S. Vierge*, ed. H. du Manoir, 5, Paris 1958, 936-938; G. Söll, *Storia dei dogmi mariani*, Rome 1981, 192-196 and 429; A. de Nicola, *EEC* 2 (1992) 832 f.

STEPHEN OF BOSTRA

We know nothing about Stephen of Bostra – the city in the Roman province of Arabia, of which he may have been bishop – save for the fragments preserved from his treatise *Against the Jews*, cited by John of Damascus in the florilegium to the third of his treatises in defence of icons, and also preserved in a manuscript now in Milan (Ambrosianus A 84). The text tradition to which the Milan manuscript bears witness was also used by Pope Hadrian I for the citation from Stephen of Bostra in the florilegium he added to his letter to the Byzantine emperor, responding to the invitation to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which came to form part of the *Acta* of that council. Both genre and the citation

by the Damascene in the first half of the 8th century indicate that Stephen belongs to the 7th century. In his treatise he defended the Christian veneration both of images of the saints and of the cross against Jewish accusations of idolatry, and cites the reverence shown to cultic objects in the Old Testament, as well as the reverence owed to men (and angels) who are made in the image of God. He also makes a distinction between different kinds of reverence (*proskynesis*): the worship (*latreia*) we owe to God, and the honour (*timē*) we owe to the saints, an honour that can be expressed through their images. This distinction became an important part of the iconodule defence of veneration of icons, and was sanctioned by the Seventh Ecumenical Council.

Editions: CPG 7790; Mansi 12, 1067-1070; G. Mercati, "Stephani Bostreni noua de sacris imaginibus fragmenta e libro deperdito", *Theologische Quartalschrift* 77 (1895) 663-668 (= Idem, *Opere minori* I, ST 76, Rome 1937, 202-206); B. Kötter, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos* III, PTS 17, Berlin 1975, 174; H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*, TU 139, Berlin 1992, 364-367 (both texts).

Translations – German: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 145-147.

English: D. Anderson, *St John of Damascus, On the Divine Images*, Crestwood (NY) 1980, 96-97.

Italian: V. Fazzo, *Giovanni Damasceno, Difesa delle immagini sacre*, Rome 1983, 155-157; *Vedere l'invisibile, Nicea e lo statuto dell'immagine*, ed. L. Russo, Palermo 1997, 22-23.

Studies: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 145-149, 238-240; J. Darrouzès: *DHGE* 15 (1963) 1211; A. De Nicola: *EEC* 2 (1992) 794.

JEROME OF JERUSALEM

Of the works of Jerome, described as a presbyter of Jerusalem, two fragments survive: one from a dialogue on the Trinity between a Jew and a Christian, and another in defence of the veneration of the Cross. The latter fragment is preserved by John of Damascus in the florilegium to his third treatise in defence of icons, and in the florilegium attached by Pope Hadrian I to his letter to the Byzantine emperor, responding to his invitation to the Seventh Ecumenical Council. The brief fragment on the veneration of the Cross does not present a very coherent argument, but appeals to the veneration of cultic objects in the Old Testament.

Editions: CPG 7815; PG 40, 847-865; Mansi 12, 1070-1072; B. Kötter, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos* III, PTS 17, Berlin 1975, 194; H.G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre*, TU 139, Berlin 1992, 364.

Translations – German: H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 144.

English: D. Anderson, *St John of Damascus, On the Divine Images*, Crestwood (NY) 1980, 103-104.

Italian: V. Fazzo, *Giovanni Damasceno, Difesa delle immagini sacre*, Rome 1983, 185-186; *Vedere l'invisibile, Nicea e lo statuto dell'immagine*, ed. L. Russo, Palermo 1997, 23.

Studies: P. Battifol, "Jérôme de Jérusalem d'après un document inédit", *Revue des questions historiques* 39 (1886) 148-255 (argues for a single treatise); H.G. Thümmel, *op. cit.*, 144-145 (argues against a single treatise); E. Amann: *DTC* 8 (1924) 983-985.

LEONTIUS, PRESBYTER OF JERUSALEM

Two sermons on the Samaritan woman, traditionally attributed to John Chrysostom, have been reattributed to a certain presbyter of Jerusalem, called Leontius, about whom we otherwise know nothing.

Edition: CPG 7911 (= 4674); PG 62, 755-758. CPG 7912 (= 4581); PG 59, 535-542.

Studies: M. Richard, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", *MSR* 1 (1944) 189 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 59); M. Aubineau, "Une enquête dans les manuscrits chrysostomiens", *RHE* 63 (1968) 22.

PANTOLEON THE BYZANTINE PRESBYTER

Pantoleon was a priest-monk of the monastery "of the Byzantines", probably near Jerusalem. There survives a homily attributed to him on the Exaltation of the Cross (BHG 430) which also exists in a Syriac version of the 8th or 9th century, making it certain that Pantoleon is no later than the 8th century. Honigmann has sought to narrow this down still further to 650-750, by supplementing the evidence of the Syriac version with his theory about the introduction of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross into Palestine. If this is correct, then Pantoleon may be the same as the Pantoleon to whom Pope Martin I addressed a letter of reproach after the Lateran Council in 649. Another homily on the Exaltation of the Cross (BHG 427p), as yet unedited, has also been ascribed to Pantoleon.

Editions: CPG 7915, 7918; PG 98, 1265-1269.

Studies: E. Honigmann, "La date de l'homélie du prêtre Pantoléon sur la fête de l'Exaltation de la Croix (VII^e s.) et l'origine des collections homiliaires", *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 36 (1950) 547-559; A. Labate: *EEC* 2 (1992) 640.

TIMOTHY OF JERUSALEM

The name of a "Timothy, presbyter of Jerusalem" appears in manuscript tradition as the author of two homilies on the Presentation: *Oratio in Symeonem* (CPG 7405, BHG 1958), handed down in Greek and Georgian, and *In occursum domini* (CPG 7410), attested only in Georgian (but perhaps also in a Syriac version). Taking as terms of comparison the stylistic peculiarities of the *Oratio in Symeonem*, Timothy has been

proposed as the author of four more homilies (Capelle). These are the *Sermo in cruce et in transfigurationem* (CPG 7406) attributed to a "Timothy, presbyter of Antioch", and three pseudo-Athanasian homilies previously claimed for Proclus of Constantinople: *In natiuitatem praecursoris, in Elisabeth et in Deiparam* (CPG 7407); *In censum siue descriptionem S. Mariae et in Iosephum* (CPG 7408); *In caecum a natiuitate* (CPG 7409). For the first two, the hypothesis was later advanced that they were originally by Amphilochius of Iconium and were reworked by our Timothy (Caro). More recently, however, it has been maintained that Timothy is a fictitious character and that all five discourses should be referred to the homiletic activity of Leontius of Constantinople (Sachot). In this case, the material for comparison is provided by a *corpus* of eleven homilies going under the name of that preacher, more probably by an author who used various names to ensure the transmission of his own creations. This thesis has not so far been accepted by scholars, who tend to place our author's homiletic activity in the 6th or, with greater probability, between the 7th and 8th centuries. Yet uncertainty remains, not just about the extent of the *corpus* (Allen) but also as to whether it originates from Jerusalem or from Antioch, proposed as an alternative.

Its stylistic traits appear to be largely shared by other contemporary texts: it is an oratory with a predilection for repetition, parallelism, anaphora and prosopopeia. Exegetically too, we may note tendencies that converge towards a combination of literal and allegorical exegesis. The *Oratio in Symeonem* has aroused interest by a passage considered to be among the earliest patristic attestations of the doctrine of the bodily assumption of Mary (PG 86, 1, 245CD). Commenting on Lk 2, 35, the homilist declares the *Theotokos* to be "immortal" and speaks of her translation to heaven, reacting thus against the idea that Mary died a martyr's death because of the prophecy of Simeon contained in that Gospel passage.

Editions and studies: CPG 7405-7410; PG 86, 237-252 (*Oratio in Symeonem*), 256-265 (*Sermo in cruce et in transfigurationem*); M. Jugie, *La mort et l'Assomption de la S. Vierge*, Vatican City 1944; B. Capelle, "Les homélies liturgiques du prétendu Timothée de Jérusalem", *EphL* 63 (1949) 5-26; R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el Siglo V*, Marian Library Studies 3-4, I, Dayton (OH) 1971; M. Sachot, "Les homélies de Léonce, prêtre de Constantinople", *RSR* 51 (1977) 234-245; S.J. Voicu, "In sancta Theophania (CPG 1917; BHG 1940) e Leonzio di Costantinopoli", *Nuove ricerche su Ippolito*, SEAug 30, Rome 1980, 137-146; M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne sur la Transfiguration* CPG 4724, BHG 1975, Frankfurt a.M.-Bern 1981; C. Datema, P. Allen (edd.), *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae*, CCG 17, Turnhout-Leuven 1987; A. Olivar, *La predicación cristiana antigua*, Barcelona 1991, 178-179; K.-H. Uthemann, "Timotheos von Jerusalem", *BBKL* 12, 148-150; P. Allen, "The Sixth-Century Greek Homily. A Reassessment", *The Preacher and the Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, Leyden 1998, 201-225.

JOHN CLIMACUS

LIFE

Scarcely anything is known for certain about John of Sinai, the author of the classic of Byzantine monastic spirituality, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. According to the letters that preface the work, he was, when he wrote it, the abbot of the monks of Mount Sinai, i.e. the abbot of the monastery of the Burning Bush (the "Batos"), which later became the monastery of St Catherine. According to the brief life by Daniel of Raithou, John had been professed a monk on Mount Sinai when still young (at the age of sixteen, according to Daniel), beginning by following the lavritic life under the spiritual direction of Abba Martyrius. After Martyrius' death, soon after his profession, John became a hermit in the desert at Tholas, five miles from the main monastery. Apart from a visit to Egypt, when he stayed at a coenobium just outside Alexandria, John spent the whole of his monastic life in the Sinai desert. After (the conventional period of) forty years as a hermit, John became, against his will, abbot of Mount Sinai, a position he occupied until shortly before his death. There is no certainty about when he lived. The influence of the early 6th-century Gaza hermits Barsanuphius and John, and his renown by the time of St Theodore of Stoudios at the end of the 8th century suggest a date in the 6th or 7th centuries: no attempts at greater precision have been convincing.

Studies: F. Nau, "Note sur la date de la mort de S. Jean Climaque", *ByzZ* 11 (1902) 35-37; S. Rabois-Bousquet, "Saint Jean Climaque: sa vie et son oeuvre", *EO* 22 (1923) 442-443.

WORKS

1. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*

This work, also called *The Ladder of Paradise*, after which John acquired the name by which he is known to posterity, St John of the Ladder, was to become one of the most popular works of Byzantine monastic spirituality. It is organized in thirty chapters, representing the steps of the ladder, which begin with the three steps that define the monastic life – renunciation, detachment, and exile – and continue through the basic virtues that need to be cultivated – the virtues of obedience, repentance, remembrance of death, and sorrow – and then the various passions against which the monk must struggle, to the virtues that are the fruit of successful struggle – simplicity, humility, discernment – which lead to the final steps of stillness, prayer, *apatheia* and love. John draws on the sources of traditional Byzantine asceticism, notably Evagrius, the desert fathers and the fathers of the Gaza desert, but belongs to no

school. In contrast to Evagrius, for instance, he makes love the pinnacle of the Christian life. John is one of the first writers to speak directly of the "Jesus prayer" (Ἰησοῦ εὐχή), and in his teaching on the use of this prayer he seems to follow Diadochus of Photiké. In contrast to many other Byzantine spiritual writers (including his possible contemporary, St Maximus the Confessor), he does not use the term deification (θέωσις) to describe the final aim of the spiritual life. The *Ladder* was immensely popular: to this day it is read throughout Lent in monasteries of the Byzantine tradition, and in the Byzantine calendar John's memory is celebrated not only on his feast day, 30 March, but also on the Fourth Sunday of Lent. It was soon translated into many languages – Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Arabic and Old Church Slavonic – and attracted commentary from many, including Photius, Michael Psellus and Nicephorus Callistus. The *Ladder* is prefaced by letters between John Climacus and John of Raithou, to whom it is dedicated, and an anonymous prologue.

Editions: CPG 7850-7852; PG 88, 624-1164; Sophronios, hermit of the Holy Mountain (of Athos), Constantinople 1883; P. Trevisan, *Corona Patrum Salesiana*, series graeca 8-9 (2 voll., Turin 1941); Archimandrite Ignatios, Oropos 1978 (based on a 14th-cent. MS from Stavronikita, cod. 895.30).

Translations – English: Father Robert, Monk of St Bernard's Abbey, *The Holy Ladder of Perfection, by which we may ascend to Heaven*, London 1858 (paraphrase); Archimandrite L. Moore with introduction by M. Heppell, *St John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, London 1959 (revised reprint, without Heppell's introduction: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Boston [MA] 1978); C. Luiheid, N. Russell, *John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, London, 1982.

Italian: P. Trevisan, *op. cit.*

Modern Greek: Archimandrite Ignatios, *op. cit.*

Studies: M.O. Sumner, *St John Climacus: the Psychology of the Desert Fathers*, The Guild of Pastoral Psychology, Guild Lecture 63, London, 1950; J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5, Princeton (NJ) 1954; M. Heppell, Introduction to Archimandrite Lazarus Moore's translation, 1959, *supra* (good on diffusion in the Slav world); I. Hausherr, "La théologie du monachisme chez saint Jean Climaque", *Théologie de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1961, 385-410; Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharas), "De la nécessité des trois renoncements chez St Cassien le Romain et St Jean Climaque", *SP* 5 (= TU 80, 1962) 393-400; D. Bogdanovič, *Jean Climaque dans la littérature byzantine et la littérature serbe ancienne*, Institut d'Études Byzantines, Monographies, Fascicule 11, Belgrade 1968 (in Serbo-Croat, with summary in French); W. Völker, *Scala Paradisi: Eine Studie zu Johannes Climacus und zugleich eine Vorstudie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen*, Wiesbaden 1968; C. Yannaras, *Ἡ μεταφυσική τοῦ σώματος. Σπουδή στὸν Ἰσαάκ τῆς Κλίμακος*, Athens 1971; T.W. Blair, *Climacus and Christianity. A Study of the Effects of John Climacus' Conceptual Commitments on his Perception of Christianity* (dissertation, Duke University, Durham (NC) 1977); Kallistos Ware, Introduction to Luiheid-Russell translation, 1982, *supra*; Josef, metropolitan of New York, *Prepodobni Ioan Lestvicnik: Lestvica*, Sofia 1982; J. Chryssavgis, *The Theology of*

the Human Person in St. John Climacus (dissertation, University of Oxford 1983); L. Petit: *DTC* 8, 1 (1924) 690-693; G. Couilleau: *DSp* 8 (1974) 369-389.

2. *The Shepherd*

This short treatise, sometimes regarded as step 31 of the *Ladder*, is concerned with the role of the spiritual father. This notion is developed under the four categories of doctor, counsellor, intercessor and mediator. It was influential, not least on Symeon the New Theologian at the turn of the millennium.

Editions: CPG 7853; PG 88, 1165-1209; included in the editions cited above.

Translations – English: Archimandrite L. Moore, in the revised translation, Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Boston (MA) 1978.

Italian: P. Trevisan, *op. cit.*

Modern Greek: Archimandrite Ignatios, *op. cit.*

Study: K. Ware, "The Spiritual Father in Saint John Climacus and Saint Symeon the New Theologian", *SP* 18/2, Kalamazoo-Leuven 1990, 299-316.

ANASTASIOS THE SINAITE

LIFE

The most famous monk of St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai was called Anastasios: he lived between the 7th and early 8th centuries and was the author of the *Hodegos* (CPG 7745) and a collection of *Erotapokriseis* (CPG 7746), which was used in the 10th century by a florilegium transmitted by many manuscripts, but also by other anthologies concerning questions of practice of Christian life and spirituality. Also traceable back to him are other writings that have had a minor historical influence on the Byzantine Church. Though we do not yet possess an edition or at least a critical edition for some of Anastasios' works, in the last decades his figure has become clear and accessible to historical research.

The most authentic approach to the work of Anastasios the Sinaite is through the *Hodegos*, i.e. through that work preserved in various manuscripts, which the Byzantine Church used when, in its Christological formulation, it had to distinguish itself from the Monophysites. This work consists of a defence of the Chalcedonian creed, which the author put together from his earlier writings. The *Hodegos* consists of sections of treatises, the initial part of a letter, accounts of public discussions and two smaller dossiers, as well as other material which Anastasios inserted as supplement or appendix. It was to serve as a guide for those dedicated to the defence of the true faith, εὐσέβεια, against the heretics, in particular against the Monophysites. This enables

us to understand the name *Hodegos* – “signpost” or “guide along the right path” – which probably does not go back to the author himself, but which appears in the archetype dating from the early 8th century. Note that neither the division into chapters attested by the archetype, nor the index, go back to the author himself.

That the *Hodegos*, notwithstanding all its caesurae, was composed as a unitary work is shown especially by internal references and by the concluding scholium (XXIV, 122-140) in which Anastasius makes his excuses to the reader and explains his procedure: how he put the work together in a codex, without first writing the text in a rough copy, correcting it, then numbering the lines for the calligraphers and having the text carefully written in the form of a book. Anastasius is aware that in this work for the most part he will repeat himself. Some things incline us to think that, at least partly, he simply introduced a pre-existing text into the codex rather than composing it *ex novo*, or at least carefully revising it. His followers, indeed, asked him to publish a work of this kind to oppose the heretics, in particular the Monophysites, without ascribing any importance to his proceeding with the necessary care, care which he himself did not feel capable of because of persistent illness. The composition of the *Hodegos* from various pre-existing passages also explains why the author could call himself at one time a monk (III, 1, 9), viz. a monk of the monastery of Mount Sinai (X, 3, 37), and at another a presbyter of that monastery (IV, 3).

Editions: (1) *Hodegos* (CPG 7745): *Anastasioi Sinaitae Viae dux*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, CCG 8, Turnhout-Leuven 1981; K.-H. Uthemann, “Eine Ergänzung zur Edition von Anastasioi Sinaitae ‘Viae Dux’: Das Verzeichnis benutzter und zitierter Handschriften”, *Scriptorium* 36 (1982) 130-133; Idem, “Der Codex Athonensis Laurae B 11: Marginalien zur Edition des *Hodegos*”, *Scriptorium* 28 (1984) 104-116 (105, n. 3: errors in the edition); M. Aubineau, “Un nouveau témoin d’Anastase le Sinaïte, ‘Viae dux’ découvert dans le Vat. gr. 1076 (X^e-XI^e s.)”, *RPhLHA* 58 (1984) 79-82; P. Van Deun, “Quelques témoins nouveaux de l’*Hodègos* d’Anastase le Sinaïte”, *REB* 50 (1992) 231-239; (2) *Erotapokriseis* (CPG 7746): no critical edition. J. Gretser 1617 edited the *Quaestiones et responsiones*, now in PG 89, 312-824, cf. M. Richard, *Les véritables “Questions et réponses” d’Anastase le Sinaïte*, Bulletin de l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes 14, 1967/1969, 39-56 (= Idem, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 64); Idem, *Muséon* 79 (1966) 61 f.; *AB* 93 (1975) 147-149; (3) the other works, see below.

Studies: to the bibliography of the two volumes of *Corpus Christianorum*, add: (1) A. Cameron, “New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh-Eighth Centuries”, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. A. Cameron, L.I. Conrad, Princeton (NJ) 1992, 81-105; J. Haldon, “The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief”, A. Cameron, L.I. Conrad, *op. cit.*, 107-147; (2) on CPG 7746: G. Dagrón, “Le saint, le savant, l’astrologue: Étude de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de ‘Questions et réponses’ des V^e-VII^e siècles”, *Hagiographie: cultures et sociétés (IV-XII^e siècles)*, Institut des Études Augustiniennes. Paris 1981, 143-155; J. Haldon,

cit., 116-143; J. Munitiz, “Anastasios of Sinai: Speaking and Writing to the People”, *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. M.B. Cunningham, P. Allen, Leyden-Boston-Cologne 1998, 227-245.

WORKS

1. The *Hodegos* a work of the 7th century

Anastasius’ opponents were the contemporary Monophysites of Egypt, especially the Theodosians (today’s Copts) and the Gaianites, who at the time still possessed their own ecclesiastical organization, as we can also infer from the synodal letter sent by Sophronius of Jerusalem to Sergius of Constantinople (CPG 7635) or from John of Nikiu’s *Chronicle*. It cannot absolutely be ruled out that some things Anastasius says may refer to the period of Byzantine rule. Yet it is probable that most of what we read in the *Hodegos* dates only from the period after the Arab conquest. The Monophysite bishops and their patriarch Benjamin I (626-665) had had to hide in the desert until the victory of Islam and to flee to Upper Egypt – from monastery to monastery – and now it was the turn of the bishops and presbyters of the official Chalcedonian Church of the Empire (the modern Melkites) to be oppressed and persecuted. So Anastasius too withdrew for a time into the desert. In a scholium of a florilegium he laments being there and having to cite *testimonia* from memory, since he had no books available (X, 1, 2, 197-200). At first sight we might think this a clue to the circumstances in which he composed the *Hodegos*. Yet this is improbable for various reasons, since the work was constructed from texts already composed before and the florilegium with the scholium had been inserted at an earlier date.

The *Hodegos* in its present form, as a scholium (XV, 16-21) suggests, was put into writing between 686 and 689. Two scholia (XIII, 6, 19-20; 9, 91) name the followers of Armasius who, after the Sixth Ecumenical Council, appear as defenders of Monothelitism at Alexandria and especially in those territories that had fallen under the rule of Islam. These are the opponents against whom Anastasius fights in his treatise datable to the year 701 (CPG 7749) and in his *Kephalaia adversus monotheletas* (CPG 7756). They are mentioned elsewhere only in an interpolation in Sophronius’ aforementioned synodal letter (CPG 7635). This dating agrees with the enthusiastic declaration contained in *Erotapokriseis* 69 (117) that for seven hundred years the holy cities of Palestine have been entrusted by God to the Orthodox, not to heretics like the Monophysites (PG 89, 769BC).

Editions: (1) *Tractatus adversus Monotheletas, vulgus homilia III* (CPG 7749): ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasioi Sinaitae sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon Opuscula aduersus monotheletas*, CCG 12, Turnhout-Leuven 1985, 3-31; (2) *Capita aduersus Monotheletas*, (CPG 7756): ed.

K.-H. Uthemann, *op. cit.*, 99-157; (3) *Florilegium aduersus Monotheletas* (CPG 7771): ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *op. cit.*, 87-96.

Studies: Presentation of the beginnings of Monothelism in CPG 7749 as source of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and the old *Life* of Maximus the Confessor: J.L. Van Dieten, "Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)", *Enzyklopädie der Byzantinistik* 24, Amsterdam 1972, 179-218; K.-H. Uthemann, "Die dem Anastasios Sinaites zugeschriebene Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis", *AHC* 14 (1982) 69-71; P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΙΑ BYZANTINA 9, Bonn 1988, esp. 161 ff., 189 f.; 421; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge 1992, 205 ff.; on Anastasios' knowledge of Islam in I, 1, 44-49; VII, 2, 117-120; X, 2, 4, 2-12, cf. the Introduction, *ibidem* ccxi f.; S.H. Griffith, "Anastasios of Sinai, the Hodegos, and the Muslims", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 32 (1987) 341-358.

2. Content and structure of the *Hodegos*

If we want to understand the *Hodegos*, we must first get a view of its contents and structure, following the caesurae we come up against in the text.

a) *The fundamental part of the "Hodegos": on the Christological profession of Cyril of Alexandria (III-X, 5)*. The first important caesura in the *Hodegos* occurs at the beginning of an "opus on the orthodox beliefs", which is described in the title as an anthology drawn from the Bible and the Fathers (III, 1, 9-11). To defend Chalcedon against the Monophysites, Anastasios distances himself absolutely from the "heresy of Nestorius": "Today there is no more perfidious heresy" than this (IV, 131-132). To prove this claim, he cites a history of the heresies, which he had sent at the beginning of a letter to the community of the citadel of Babylon, now part of Old Cairo (IV). Next he offers a brief exposition of the ecumenical synods (V), whose nucleus – a synopsis of the first four synods – he had already composed for another occasion, before the production of the *Hodegos*, as its introductory words make clear. It serves for the defence of Chalcedon and emphasizes that that council had confirmed the condemnation of Nestorius at Ephesus (431). Inserting it into the *Hodegos*, Anastasios completes his synopsis with a mention of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, which was aimed against Severus of Antioch, though he does not name this council's intention, the condemnation of the so-called Three Chapters. It is unlikely that this is due to ignorance, since sometimes, as we shall see, Anastasios takes notice of the Antiochene Christology. Chapters IV and V are the basis for an opusculum dating from 687/692 (CPG 7774), which in its present form was not composed by the Sinaite (cf. K.-H. Uthemann, "Die dem Anastasios Sinaites zugeschriebene Synopsis de haeresibus et synodis", *AHC* 14 [1982] 58-94).

Next Anastasios puts the question of the roots of Monophysitism (VI) and of the view expressed by Severus of Antioch before Nephalius

(CPG 7022), that after Nestorius the Christological formula of two natures, as used by the Fathers before the irruption of Nestorius, must be rejected (VII). In fact this is an interpretation of the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria. In his introduction (III, 2, 9-12) Anastasios had already accepted as orthodox his interpretation of the fundamental formula of the Monophysites: "the one nature, become flesh, of God's Logos".

After this seventh chapter there is once more a caesura. Before Anastasios returns to the subject in greater detail, he seeks to confirm by arguments that "nature" and "person" – he prefers the term πρόσωπον – are not identical. Decisive for him is the fact that "nature" (φύσις) – in the normal usage of the Alexandrians – means none other than the truth (ἀλήθεια) of a problem (πρόβλημα). As he rightly notes, Cyril in his defence of the twelve anathemas (CPG 5222) understood "nature" in this sense (VIII, 5). Yet it is not to this passage, but to the previous one (VIII, 1-4), that the next chapter (IX, 1) is linked, in which Anastasios tries to show that the Council of Nicaea (325) had already made a distinction between "nature" and "hypostasis". This may be a later interpolation. Indeed the thought expressed in VIII, 5 connects well with chapter IX, 2, where Anastasios tries to prove that the Fathers too distinguished between nature and person. He begins with Cyril, in whom the Monophysites saw the chief witness against the Council of Chalcedon, and cites the Magna Carta of the union concluded in 433 with the Orientals, Cyril's letter *Laetentur* (CPG 5339) and in particular those words in which he cited the Antiochenes' point of view and accepted it as orthodox.

The reader is expecting a more detailed argument, awaited since chapter VII, on the reason why Cyril understood the formula "one nature of God's Word become flesh" in the sense of the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures. Instead he finds a note about a dramatic work of Anastasios performed at Alexandria (IX, 2, 88-92), where he had made the Monophysites look ridiculous in the eyes of the people (X, 1, 3). At that time he had apparently offered the Monophysites a proposal of union, and they had made a written agreement to consider "nature" and "person" as equal in the Christological profession (X, 1, 1). Anastasios had then read a florilegium of Cyril, first in the original terminology, then with a small variation. He had in fact inserted the word "person" where it was written "nature" (X, 1, 2), to show that the formula of union accepted by the Monophysites, being applied to Cyril, had made him a Nestorian who professed two *prosopa* in Christ. The "people of the Church" applauded and created choruses of mockery against the Monophysites (X, 1, 3).

In this note Anastasios describes three public discussions (διαλέξεις) that he held with the Monophysites at Alexandria. The first two may

already have taken place by the time of the Arab conquest, since the second one, he says, was the result of an initiative by the *Augustalis*, the emperor's representative at Alexandria.

In the first and third of these public discussions (X, 2; X, 4) the subject was Cyril's Christology; in the second, Anastasius tried to demonstrate that the Monophysites attributed to God himself, and not to "Christ's flesh", the passion and death on the cross (X, 3). Though Cyril in his terminology made no clear distinction between "nature" and "hypostasis", he had wanted both these concepts to be understood as meaning none other than "fact", in the sense of "existent reality" (ὄφιστάμενον πρᾶγμα, i.e. ὑπαρξίς). Anastasius thus emphasises that the Council of Chalcedon had been a Cyrillian synod (X, 2, 6-7). In the final public discussion he showed that Cyril had been neither a Monophysite nor a Nestorian. In fact he rejected in Christ either a unity (ἕνωσις) that originated from a confusion (σύγχυσις) or a unity that was made up of "two hypostases". If the latter were true, then Christ's human reality, called "flesh" according to Jn 1, 14, would have been created at the moment of Christ's incarnation, i.e. in the virginal conception (σύλληψις), before God's Logos was united to it. In other words the union was at the same time a creation of the flesh, concretely of the embryo, whose coming into existence cannot be conceived as "pre-creation" (προδιάπλασις). Christ's human reality would, in fact, have been none other than the "human nature" created by the Logos of God Himself. So in another passage he calls the hypostatic union an "existence that has simultaneously two sides" (ἀμφύπαρκτος συνδρομή) of two natures and he sees its paradigm or *typos* in the way everyone is conceived in the maternal womb, without any pre-existence of body or soul (II, 5, 9-18; CPG 7748: II, 2, 34-47). Using this argument against Nestorius' Christology as a basis for the hypostatic union, Anastasius places himself in the tradition of works defending the Council of Chalcedon, which, starting from the settling of this argument, would develop the idea of *enhypostasis*. Yet Anastasius never spoke of an *enhypostasis* of the flesh in the Logos. His conception of Christ's one hypostasis was oriented, as we shall see, towards that Antiochene Christology that came to be accepted by Cyril, and so here Anastasius puts himself on the same line as those Antiochenes who rejected a *προδιάπλασις* in the Incarnation.

After the note on the public discussions, Anastasius resumes the question present since VII, 2, 135, of how Cyril had understood "the one nature of God's Logos become flesh" (X, 5). After having dwelt at length (VIII, 1 - IX, 2; X, 1-4) on the ideas previously expounded (III-VII), he can now express himself in few words, without falling into a misunderstanding about Cyril's terminology, recalling that in his letter to Eulogius (CPG 5344) Cyril had defended the union concluded with the Antiochenes in 433.

Studies: Evidence on the Augustalis: H.I. Bell, "The Aphrodito Papyri", Greek Papyri in the British Museum, IV, London 1910, 64 f., no. 1392; V. Christides, "Continuation and Change in Early Arab Egypt as Reflected in the Terms and Titles of Greek Papyri", BSAA 45 (1993) 65-69; C. Hass, Alexandria in Late Antiquity, Baltimore-London 1997, 345 and 479; on the concept of Enhypostasis: K.-H. Uthemann, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalcedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", Chalcedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalcedon, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 90-93, 97-110, 111 ff.

b) *Two appendices.* Then follow two independent chapters (XI-XII) which are introduced here to supplement what was said earlier. On one hand Anastasius wants to show that the use of the terminology of Cyril – who does not distinguish between the concepts of "nature" and "hypostasis" – as made in the letter to the African bishops (CPG 2133) can be justified as a compromise with regard to the Latin language (XI). On the other he wants to explain his arguments against the Theopaschism of the Monophysites (X, 3) and at the same time to demonstrate what he means by "objective argument" (πραγματική παράστασις), to which he gives the preference over patristic argument because of the many false interpolations in the manuscript tradition.

As starting-point he uses the conception of Christ's death as separation of soul and body. This conception holds a key position in Anastasius' Christology. Here he makes use of this argument as of a "fact" (πραγματικῶς), drawing on a tablet a cross with the crucifixion and the words "God's Logos – the rational soul – the body" and then asking his opponent: "Of these three elements, what died? Be careful! I did not say 'What was crucified?' ". On the cross we see "Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt 16, 16); what suffered the passion and death was solely "the flesh hypostatically united to God's Logos", i.e. Christ's body, not the immortal soul, nor God the impassible Logos (XII, 3), and so neither the "whole Christ", *de facto* the one *prosopon* (XII, 5). Anastasius can indicate with a finger – πραγματικῶς – each word of his inscription, and so it has for him no particular sense of "distinctions on the level of thought" (λεπταί; ἔννοιαί) in relation to Christ (XII, 4), i.e. dividing solely on the level of thought the two natures in the one Christ. Thoughts (ἔννοιαί), in fact, would at least in this case be merely "creations of the intellect" (νοῦ φαντασίαι). Who thinks like this makes the reality of Christ's human nature, the ἀληθὲς πρᾶγμα, a mere appearance – φαντασία καὶ δόκησις (X, 5; XII, 4). Anastasius seems unaware of the fact that with this crude argument he contradicts and at the same time misunderstands Cyril and his defence of the union of 433 (CPG 5340; 5345; 5346).

Studies: A.D. Kartsonis, Anastasis. The Making of an Image, Princeton (NJ) 1986, 40-67.

c) *A treatise on the permanence of the specificity of human nature in divinization.* There follows, as the preamble (XIII, 1) announces, an originally independent text. At first Anastasius makes no connection with what has gone before. Only at the end of the preamble does he twice cite the previous chapter (XIII, 1, 40; 50-51). But at the second mention he introduces an idea (XIII, 1, 52-56) which in the context appears a secondary insertion and suggests a later redaction. Towards the end of the chapter (XIII, 9, 94-97) is a third reference to the previous part: Anastasius asks his readers to confront those opponents who rave about the passion of God with his drawing of the cross (XIII, 3).

The thirteenth chapter shows in the most evident manner that Anastasius' Christology concentrates on the permanence of the specificity (ἰδιώματα, ἰδιότητες) of both natures, in particular the human *physis*, in the hypostatic union. It asks the question of how far we can speak of the Incarnation as of a divinization (θέωσις). So attention turns especially to the reality of Christ's body, and the few cases in which he refers to Christ's soul are additions. In his discussion Anastasius emphasizes the statement of (Pseudo-) Dionysius the Areopagite that Christ did not work everything human in a way that transcended the human. This does not rule out Christ working certain miracles theandrically (θεανδρικῶς). The key to understanding this theandric energy of Christ is, for Anastasius, some words with which Cyril of Alexandria defended the point of view of the Antiochenes after the union of 433 (CPG 5340: XIII, 5, 110-120) and so he repeats the synthesis taken from the previously-cited letter *Laetentur* (CPG 5339). Every time we find the formula of one energy (μία ἐνέργεια) of the Incarnate, this implies its Monophysite interpretation, which understands the one act (μία ἐνέργεια) of God's Logos as a merely divine act and then from the act draws conclusions about the nature, to demonstrate that "the one nature of God's Logos become flesh" could be professed as mere divinity (μόνη θεότης) or divine nature.

In conclusion, Anastasius introduces in this chapter (XIII, 8-10) some otherwise unknown texts by a certain Ammonius of Alexandria (CPG 6982) and by a Nestorian named Maro of Edessa (CPG 6986), whose authenticity there is good reason to doubt. Then he cites a text whose lemma names an Alexandrian presbyter, Ammonius (XIV, 1). There is no reason not to suppose that Anastasius thought this author was the same Ammonius cited previously. We cannot be sure whether this preserves a *testimonium* of the well-known 6th-century exegete, a representative of Neochalcedonianism (CPG 5500-5508). Indeed the author merely expresses his bewilderment at the fact that the Monophysites do not recognize Christ's visible body as nature or reality, but yet profess God's invisible Logos as *ousia*, despite the fact that what is

visible is immediately accessible as "existent *ousia*", while Christ's divinity is accessible only to faith. Anastasius concurs with his opinion and adds a polemic conducted by him mostly in offensive tones: all those who "from Mani to our own day" deny that Christ had a body like all men, do so because they see themselves sullied day and night by the concupiscence of their own body, and therefore believe that the body is impure. Since they are possessed (ἐνεργούμενοι), those who "possess in themselves the power of the devil, which dominates their mind and their body," do not understand that "God's Logos became man" (XIV, 2).

d) *Two dossiers and various supplements (XV-XXIV).* In the following chapters Anastasius provides first two dossiers and then various texts, which establish what was said before. The first dossier refers to the question of the subject of the Incarnation (XV-XVII), the second to the anthropological paradigm of the hypostatic union (XVIII-XIX). The appendix with various supplements (XX-XXIV) contains in the first part one of the many collections of "syllogistic aporiae" that were preserved from the 6th century and which lent themselves to being transmuted into appropriate questions aimed at one's opponents, as Anastasius explains for the first three aporiae (XX). Note that there also exists under Anastasius' name a small collection of such aporiae handed down independently.

The introduction to the following appendix mentions one of the public discussions that took place at Alexandria. Yet it does not make a contribution just to this (X, 2, 6, 4-X, 2, 7, 45), but also to chapter VII. Both passages have to do with the claim of Severus of Antioch before Nephalius (CPG 7022), that after Nestorius the Fathers' profession of two natures had to be abandoned. First Anastasius repeats the explanation expounded by Eusebius of Dorylaeum against Nestorius in winter 428 / 429 (CPG 5940), which compares certain statements of Nestorius to some by Paul of Samosata (XXI, 2). Then he confronts Severus with a citation of Basil of Caesarea (XXI, 3) and explains finally and briefly how his own Christological profession is distinguished from that of Nestorius (XXI, 4).

Chapter XXII consists of three originally independent texts, of which the first two show a very tenuous link with the theme of the *Hodegos*, though Anastasius emphasizes that he has not "said this in an unconsidered or unfounded way" (XXII, 3, 64). There follow two citations of Nestorians, probably 7th-century falsifications. These are in fact an appendix to the question of how Cyril distinguished between "nature" and "hypostasis" (XXII, 4). The one *testimonium* is under the name of Andrew of Samosata (CPG 6385). It reveals a sure knowledge of the opinion expressed by Andrew on Cyril's Christology, yet the

arguments are, in part literally, the same ones used by Anastasius in two of the public discussions at Alexandria (X, 2; X, 4). The same goes for the second citation, which is attributed to the aforementioned Maro of Edessa (CPG 6986).

In chapter XXIII Anastasius confronts the Gaianites, recalling a public discussion, in which once more thanks to tangible arguments (πραγματικὰ ἀποδείξεις) he registered a success: he wanted to prove the transitory nature of Christ's body before the resurrection from the consideration that Christ's Eucharistic body is transitory, both since it cannot be preserved infinitely without corruption and since before being participated in at the communion it is divided into pieces and then eaten.

The *Hodegos* concludes with an appendix to the aforementioned first dossier (XV-XVII) on the question of the subject of the Incarnation (XXIV). In the final redaction Anastasius supplemented this appendix with a long scholium (XXIII, 3, 16-75).

Sources: *Capita XVI contra monophysitas* (CPG 7757), ed. K.-H. Uthemann, "Antimonophysitische Aporien des Anastasios Sinaïtes", *ByzZ* 74 (1981) 11-26.

e) *The introductory chapter of the "Hodegos" and the Monothelite crisis.* Given a glance at the contents of the chapters from III to XXIV, it is clear that this is not a unitarily conceived work and that we have here a defence of Chalcedon against the Monophysites of Egypt, which was published in the late 7th century after the Arab conquest. In the text itself there is never a hint at a conflict within the Chalcedonian Church, or at the fact that it had meanwhile distanced itself from Monoenergism and Monothelitism, that it really did not want to discuss the Council of Chalcedon and that it began its arguments from the hypostatic union of the two natures professed in the one Christ. Exclusively in the two scholia (XIII, 6, 19-20; 9, 91) cited above (cf. p. 315) do we find a mention of that council. Yet, contrary to the opinion of M. Richard, in his polemic against the Monophysite conception of *θέωσις* (XIII-XIV) "the atmosphere of the Monothelite crisis" never appears.

Quite different is the situation of the two originally independent texts with which the *Hodegos* begins. Both in the collection of definitions (I, 3-II, 8) and in that "brief explanation of the Creed" (I, 2) with which Anastasius precedes it, we can discern the debate with Monoenergism and Monothelitism. Without preamble (I, 3), Anastasius' definitions appear in many manuscripts, partially and perhaps originally joined to the *Expositio concisa* (I, 2). Yet, as a collation of nearly all the witnesses has demonstrated, these independently handed down definitions do not add up to a tradition independent of the archetype of the *Hodegos*, and the *Liber de definitionibus* (CPG 2254) handed down under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria is nothing but a reworking of those definitions.

Studies: M. Richard, "Anastase le Sinaïte, l'Hodegos et le monothélisme", *REB* 16 (1958) 29-42, esp. 39; on the background: *Der Neuchalkedonismus als Vorbereitung des Monothelismus*, SP 29, Leuven 1997, 373-413. On the collection of definitions: Idem, *Anastasii Sinaïtae Viae dux*, CCG 8, Turnhout-Leuven 1981, CCXXI-CCXLIII.

f) *Anastasius' "Definitions" and "Etymologies"*. As Anastasius specifies in the introduction to his collection of definitions (I, 3), insofar as they are definitions oriented towards the real datum of fact (πραγματικοῦ ὄρου) he sees them as "sure guides (ὁδηγοί) for the present examination (ὑπόθεσις)" and he laments the fact that only few in his generation have taken the trouble to clarify definitions in preparation for a comparison oriented towards facts. So he starts from an antithesis that goes back to the philosophical and ecclesiastical tradition, about which "the heretics" do not care and, therefore, are led into error by mistaken aprioristic ideas (κοινὰ ἔννοια καὶ φυσιολογία). Philosophy, in fact, comes to a standstill "before the mystery of Christ and the Trinity".

To understand Anastasius' *Definitions*, we must observe that for each common noun, which can be expressed with regard to something (προσηγορία), he makes a triple distinction: the definition, the etymology and the use of the given term, i.e. the proper use and the figurative use. The definition restores the fact (πρᾶγμα) and indicates through this fact (τῷ πράγματι) the *ousia* that is its basis, whether the latter be now knowable to men or, like the *ousia* of God and created spiritual beings, as well as the soul, unknowable.

Anastasius opposes the opinion that it is possible to define "the essence of things", and not just for those realities which show an *ousia* that is unknowable to men. He starts from the fact that etymologies give access to reality and in a sense represent the "key to the world". So it appears that "most προσηγορία, if not all" (ἵνα μὴ λέγω πάντα: II, 4, 173-174) are, insofar as names denote an action (ἐνεργεῖν), "always derived from the ἐνεργεῖται proper to them" (II, 4, 113-115), and therefore do not presuppose any knowledge of their *ousia* or nature. Since Anastasius never names a counter-example, we may say: προσηγορία are ἐνεργητικά, not οὐσιώδεις. They indicate not the essence, but the act and the effects. By ἐνεργητικόν Anastasius intends a relationship with the state of fact (πρᾶγμα), through which the *ousia* is indicated (II, 4, 177-178), i.e. a relationship with that which the definition seeks to determine. By the state of fact the act is constitutive and by the act the way of access is opened to the *ousia* as to a common element (κοινόν). If Anastasius reflects on the relationship between act and *ousia* as nature, then he thinks of the various particular figures of a concrete act, which can be distinguished in the many individual actuations of the act, finally reaching the human act, in fact their κοινόν, and he does not think of the individual actuations, the single act and operation. In other words,

he always wants to discover in the plurality a κοινόν, a particular way of acting. In what way there may be a relationship with an individual who acts or operates, he considers only insofar as there is a common element (κοινόν), which as such implies a relationship with what is particular (ἰδικόν). Yet he avoids the question of the extent to which the act, especially the human operation, is performed by the individual and hence by the hypostasis, and so he shirks the question raised by the monoenergists. His interest is only in the common substrate. He wants in fact to demonstrate that the act, or actions, are determined by a common element that is at their basis, i.e. by a *physis*. "The nature of every state of fact is the common substrate (κοινότης)" (II, 3, 60-61). So Anastasius also considers Christ's human nature only from the point of view of its being the nature common to all men. The statement that Christ "assumed an individual man" means for him nothing but the Nestorian doctrine of two hypostases or of the "divided *prosopa*" (II, 3, 113-119).

The starting-point for Anastasius is a citation that he attributes to Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 32010). It also appears in the *Kephalaia against the Monothelites* (CPG 7756: VII, 3, 5-16) and elsewhere only in a florilegium wrongly attributed to Maximus the Confessor (CPG 7697, 27). It offers a good summary of how Gregory, in the debate with Eunomius (CPG 3135), determined the relationship between *ousia* and energy. This latter indicates the *ousia*, i.e. permits it to be recognized, since it is its actual realization (δύναμις) and its movement (II, 4, 76-79, 175). In other words the relationship of the energy with the *ousia* is constitutive for every act, not just ontologically, but also gnosiologically. Here we have something that according to Anastasius is of general validity (καθολικῶς) (II, 4, 86-88). Thus he can say: "nearly every nature" – if not all (ἴνα μὴ λέγω πάντα) – "has its own προσηγορία by reason of its own essential energy (οὐσιώδης ἐνέργεια)" (II, 4, 140-141). Since man knows truth or reality, i.e. his world, always from its changes and movements, i.e. its acts, even his possibility of speaking of this world of his remains linked to the acts (ἐνεργεῖν) known to him. The names, or "denominations", that man creates for himself serve to distinguish the different actions, and therefore the various acts, which he distinguishes. These are shown to him by the etymologies of the names, which are deduced from a particular act, which they indicate and distinguish from another being and another act. So far the search for etymologies opens up the world and shows the various energies as "access to the meaning and definition" (σημαντικὸν καὶ ἀφοριστικόν) of each reality or nature (II, 4, 86-88). The discovery of the relationship originally intended by a denomination, i.e. its correctness (ὀρθότης), consists in getting back to the specificity of the thought datum of fact (πρᾶγμα: *Cratylus* 428c 1-2) on the basis of the phonetic figure of the

name, in other words in determining (II, 8, 2-3) the cognitive validity of the name (ἡ δύναμις τοῦ ὀνόματος). So Anastasius starts from the consideration of the fact that linguistic signs in their phonetic form are made up of simple elements, which are not derived from the nature of reality, but are established voluntarily by anyone who creates language to distinguish different realities. This is in fact the idea of the source of his 120 or so etymologies, the *Etymologikon* of Orion of Thebes (5th century AD). It was part of the tradition of so-called Neo-Alexandrian grammar and therefore of Philoxenus (first century BC), though he did not keep it intact, but contaminated it with an earlier Stoic tradition. What is decisive is the fact that the phonetic form of the *nomina* is derived from simple verbal elements (ρήματα) or, as Anastasius says, from an act (ἐνεργεῖν).

Studies: K.-H. Uthemann, "Die 'Philosophischen Kapitel' des Anastasios I. von Antiochien (559-598)", *OCPh* 46 (1980) 306-366, esp. 333 (on Anastasius' relationship with the source CPG 1390); Idem, *Sprache und Sein bei Anastasios Sinaites. Eine Semantik im Dienst der Kontroverstheologie*, SP 18, 1, 1985, 221-231; K. Alpers, "Die Etymologiensammlung im Hodegos des Anastasios Sinaites, das Etymologicum Gudianum (Barb. gr. 70) und der Codex Vind. theol. gr. 40", *JOEByz* 34 (1984) 55-68; S. Maleci, "Il codice Barberianus Graecus 70 dell'Etymologicum Gudianum", *Supplemento n. 15a al Bollettino dei Classici*, Rome 1995.

g) *Two energies and two wills in Christ*. The people whom Anastasius attacks, without naming them, in this ontologically, gnoseologically and etymologically based theory, and whom he considers openly heretical, accept the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures and at the same time reject two "natural energies in Christ". The change in the situation since chapter XIII of the *Hodegos* is shown by the fact that Anastasius does not start by mentioning a dual act – divine and human – preserved also in the theandric working of certain miracles and go on to draw conclusions about the natures from the energies, as would correspond to the intention of a theology of controversy directed against the Monophysites. Rather he gives as his presupposition the profession of two natures and, on the basis of the theory expounded, deduces two energies in Christ.

Less unambiguous are Anastasius' definitions of the will (II, 4, 1-20; 54-73), though they present in abridged form only what he declares in the treatise (CPG 7749) and in the *Kephalaia against the Monothelites* (CPG 7756). Looking at the remaining content of the *Hodegos*, these definitions would not be necessary. The same is true, though this is less unequivocal because of chapter XIII, for the definitions of particular affections of the soul (πάθη), such as sadness, dread and fear, or for the "definition" of the faculty of free decision (II, 7, 15-36). Since he was dealing with the hypostatic union as divinization (θέωσις), Anastasius had emphasized in chapter XIII the reality of Christ's body; now however

he emphasizes that Christ's soul is that "form of a slave" that "is governed and dominated by God's Logos hypostatically united to it" (II, 7, 39-47). What he means by this hegemony of the Logos is not explained here.

The fundamental part of the collection of definitions is well adapted to a treatise addressed against the Monophysites. The same is true in itself also of the formal structure of the collection, i.e. for the distinction between the definition respectively of the state of fact, the etymology that leads to the state of fact, and its field of use in the spoken language. Exclusively through the declared theory of the relationship between *ousia* and energy and its Christological application implying the transition from Christ's two natures to his two energies, a new adversary appears in this text, the Monoenergists and Monothelites, who want to hold onto the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures. Whether the collection of definitions was originally conceived for a confrontation with them or whether it was revised at some time in connection with such a confrontation, cannot be decided on the basis of the present form of the text. In any case it deals with problems that have no role in the subsequent chapters of the *Hodegos* (III-XXIV).

Anastasius' brief explanation of the action and will of Christ (I, 2), which is prefaced to the definitions, tries to point out that the concept of "nature" can be understood in both an orthodox and a heretical way (καὶ εὐσεβῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς) in the Christological profession. Yet the explanation deals exclusively with the question of the two energies and wills in Christ, and thus sees an adequate reply to that question as being at the same time a distancing from a heretical interpretation of the profession of two natures. It contains a brief summary of what Anastasius expounds in his anti-Monothelite writings (CPG 7749; 7756). It so happens that in this chapter Anastasius makes no mention of what follows concerning this theme in the collection of definitions. It is an originally independent opusculum, or a part of one.

Since the *Hodegos* in the form in which we have it is introduced by a list of rules of behaviour, which must be observed in discussion with heretics, in particular with Monophysites (I, 1), the work becomes, as we said at the beginning, a sort of "guide" (Ὁδηγός) in the struggle against the Monophysites. This idea returns in the *Hodegos* exclusively in the lemma to the collection of definitions and in passages indicating what must be observed (III, 2), known (V, 2-7) or done (XXI, 2-4) in a discussion with Monophysites.

3. An overall look at Anastasius' Christology

1) In all his Christological works, Anastasius deals with the permanence of Christ's two natures and therefore, in relation to the Christological formula of the Council of Chalcedon, with the profession of the

specificity of the natures in Christ, the single *prosopon*. So he emphasizes especially the permanence of what is proper to human nature. To it belong the acts of body and soul, their "energy", and the desire or will given by the creator to the spiritual soul (*desiderium naturale*). The soul's natural energy consists in the fact that it animates the body; in it are situated will and desire, insofar as it is a spiritual soul (νοερά ψυχή). This profession of the specificity of Christ's human nature is lacking, in his opinion, both in the Monophysites and in the Monoenergists and Monothelites. Their view of the hypostatic union as divinization (θέωσις) "cancels out what is human in Christ". So he invokes above all the authority of Cyril of Alexandria: none of the Fathers had professed as clearly as he had the natures of Christ, how they last eternally with no possibility of being suppressed (ἀνεξάλειπτος διαμονή) after the union (X, 2, 6, 35-64). However he understands Cyril in the perspective of the union concluded with the Antiochenes in 433.

Anastasius creates his own terminology, but also his view of what it means to say that the Logos appropriates (οἰκειοῦται) humanity, largely from the two speeches that Paul of Emesa delivered in 433 before the Alexandrians (CPG 6365; 6366), which led to the union. It is starting from Paul's explanation of the New Testament declarations about Christ, the so-called φωναί (*voces*), that he understands Cyril's summary of the Antiochenes' position in the letter *Laetentur* (CPG 5339) and his defence of the union before Acacius of Melitene (CPG 5340), texts which, as we said above, open for Anastasius the way to Cyril. There are words and miracles of Christ that are to be attributed solely to God, as e.g. the words of remission of sins or the miracles that Christ worked when he was on the cross. An example of this kind is, e.g., the rending of the veil of the temple. Against this, the so-called declarations of Christ's human lowness, of "what happened in his body", show hunger, thirst and passion: "God's Logos remained impassible", without himself suffering any of the πάθη named "and yet he appropriates (οἰκειοῦται) them all". But there is yet a third class of φωναί, according to Cyril: the "intermediate" (CPG 5340). To these belong miracles such as walking on the sea or healing the man born blind, in which God's Logos, according to Paul of Emesa, made "the human nature he had assumed participate" in the divine nature (CPG 6366). In this testimony of Paul of Emesa, Anastasius sees a profession "of the two natures united in a single hypostasis" (VII, 2, 93-97).

In the last-mentioned miracles and especially in the theandric declarations, i.e. in the association (κοινωνία) of the two natures or in their common acting (κοινοπρεπῶς, κοινῶς ἐνεργεῖν) is shown the one *prosopon* of Christ, τὸ μοναδικὸν πρόσωπον, as Anastasius says with Paul of Emesa.

Christ works some miracles, e.g. that of his virginal conception in Mary's womb, solely as God's Logos, others as "God and man at the same time". Always, however, he acts as Logos together with the Father and the Spirit, i.e. in his divinity or divine nature, but not as hypostasis, nor as "One of the Trinity". This is so even though the hypostasis of God's Logos and not the Trinity "became flesh" (XV-XVII), even though all the miracles are those of the one Christ (XIII, 5, 114-120). Anastasius sees a paradigm (εἰκὼν τυπικὴ) "of the one energy and the one will" of Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the acting of man's single soul as a triadic unity of "soul, logos, nous" (CPG 7747: I, 5-6). This statement about the "inner man" as mirror of the Trinity is reflected in a short text, which in many manuscripts is handed down as an extract from the "aporiae" of Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 1781). Anastasius' treatise on the soul as image of the Trinity (CPG 7747) penetrated Byzantium, with that title under the name of Gregory of Nyssa.

Works: (1) *Tractatus de anima, uulgus homilia I de creatione* (CPG 7747): ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasioi Sinaitae sermones duo in constitutionem hominis*, CCG 12, Turnhout-Leuven 1985, 3-31; cf. Idem, "Nochmals zum antiquissimus Ducaei. Ein Traktat des Anastasius Sinaites (CPG 7747) unter dem Namen Gregors von Nyssa (CPG 3218)", *Byzantion* 63 (1993) 401-403; (2) Ps. Gregorius Thaumaturgos, *De deitate et tribus personis* (CPG 1781): Idem, "Die Ἀπορία des Gregorius von Nyssa? Ein Beitrag zur Geistmetaphysik in Byzanz mit einer Edition von CPG 1781", *Byzantion* 63 (1993) 237-327 (text: 311-317).

2) Starting from the three cited classes of φωναί, or Christological declarations in the New Testament, Anastasius builds up his arguments against the Monophysites and also against the Monoenergists who based themselves on Chalcedon. Without indicating in any particularly clear way Leo's *Tome* and its reception into the formula of Chalcedon, stressing the specificity of the two natures, he is nonetheless interested in it. Anastasius' image of Christ is in a sense the mirror-image of that of the Antiochenes and Leo's *Tome*. He can easily accept Cyril's view of God's Logos as the subject of the Incarnation; he can even speak of the incarnation of "One of the Trinity". Who would call in question even Jn 1, 14 and, starting from there, not attribute *kenosis* to God's Logos in accordance with Phil 2, 5-7? And yet he prefers, like the Antiochenes, to call the subject of the Incarnation "Christ", i.e. to use the common name for both natures – τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα –, which, being common, indicates at once the single *prosopon* consisting of two natures.

It is striking that in Anastasius there is never a reference to those ideas by which the so-called Neochalcedonians of the 6th and 7th centuries, starting from the Cyrillian perspective, tried to make the formula of Chalcedon accessible to theological reflection and so posited a connection between Christ's multiple acts and will, as found in the

New Testament declarations (φωναί), and his single hypostasis. For bibliography, see above, paragraph e), p. 323.

A residuum of the idea of a hegemony of the Logos appears in two passages of the *Hodegos* (II, 7, 41-47; XXI, 4, 35-40) and of the *Kephalaia* against the Monothelites (CPG 7756; VI, 3, 63-65), insofar as Christ's soul "is mastered and dominated" by God's Logos. Yet in other passages this idea would be rejected. In fact Anastasius had no need of it, though he shows that Christ through his human will carried out the divine will (CPG 7749: III, 3, 28-41). His human "natural willing and acting" is that which his soul possessed in its original condition as image of God (*op. cit.*, 2, 51-54; CPG 7756: VII, 2, 17-20; X, 2, 67-92) and still possesses, since unlike post-lapsarian bodies which are perishable since the fall caused by sin, he needed no "renewal of being" (ἀνάπλασις) (CPG 7749: III, 3, 90-118; 4, 93-101).

Study: P. Parente, "Usò e significato del termine Θεοκίνητος nella controversia monotelita", *REB* 11 (1935) 241-251.

3) To distinguish himself from Nestorius, Anastasius speaks of "a composite hypostasis" (σύνθετος; V, 44-45), but especially of "a composite *prosopon* in which the property of each of the two natures is kept unconfused, unchanged and undivided" (XXI, 4, 32-34). Conjoined with this formula, for him, are the names of Flavian of Constantinople (X, 2, 7, 55-58) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (X, 2, 2, 12-18), as well as the idea of man's constitution of body and soul: "one (μία) hypostasis can be composed of two natures, as happens for men. Yet from the union of two individual hypostases, no hypostatic union can be derived" (X, 2, 3, 52-55; XXII, 4, 83-86). Anastasius accepts this anthropological paradigm (XXI, 4, 6-10), for which he provides a little dossier in the *Hodegos* (XVIII-XIX). In the creation of man from soul and body (Gen 2, 7) he sees an image or a type for the incarnation of Christ, "of a composite, single, indivisible *prosopon* made up of divinity and humanity" (CPG 7748: II, 1, 32-63). As in human birth soul and body exist simultaneously (ἀμφυπάρκτως), so too in the miracle of the incarnation, i.e. the conception in the Virgin's womb, there is no pre-existence of Christ's human nature, his soul and his body, before the hypostatic union with the Logos (II, 5, 9-18; CPG 7748: II, 2, 34-47). Anastasius rules out the προδιάπλασις, and therefore a union from two hypostases (X, 4, 36-47; XXII, 4, 83-89), that was attributed to Nestorius. So he defines the hypostatic union as a synthesis of two natures by analogy with the body-soul constitution of man. He thus puts himself in the tradition of *apologiae* of the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures and their interpretation of the Cyrillian use of the paradigm. If he calls this synthesis a composite *prosopon* or a personal integrity (προσωπικὴ ὁλότης),

then he understands the Christological image of the Antiochenes accepted by Cyril in 433.

Works: Tractatus de constitutione hominis, uulgus homilia II de creatione (CPG 7748): ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasioi Sinaitae sermones duo in constitutionem hominis*, CCG 12, Turnhout-Leuven 1985.

Studies: M. Richard, "L'introduction du mot 'Hypostase' dans la théologie de l'incarnation", *MSR* 2 (1945) 5-32, 243-270; K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der Hypostatischen Union. Ein Beitrag zu den philosophischen Voraussetzung und zur innerchalkedonischen Transformation eines Paradigmas", *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215-312; Idem, "Definitionen und Paradigmen in der Rezeption des Dogmas von Chalkedon bis in die Zeit Kaiser Justinians", *Chalkedon: Geschichte und Aktualität. Studien zur Rezeption der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon*, ed. J. Van Oort, J. Roldanus, Leuven 1997, 76-80.

4. Appendix: other authentic and spurious texts

1) Eight homilies by Anastasius have survived, of which three have not yet been edited, one exists only in Arabic translation and none in a critical edition. Due to the many witnesses, it is hard to find anyone prepared to venture upon a critical edition of the homily on Psalm 6 (CPG 7751), of which H. Canisius published two recensions. For the other homilies an edition is being prepared. For two of them (CPG 7752; 4583) the question of authenticity has not yet been resolved.

Editions: Homilia (1) *de sacra synaxi* (CPG 7750): ed. F. Combefis, PG 89, 825-849; (2) on Psalm 6 (CPG 7751): ed. H. Canisius, PG 89, 1077-1116; 1116-1144; (3) *in defunctos* (CPG 7752; BHG 2103u): ed. F.C. Matthaëi, PG 89, 1192-1201 (a longer recension under the name of Ephrem: CPG 4028); (4) *de transfiguratione* (CPG 7753; BHG 1999): ed. A. Guillou, "Le monastère de la Théotokos au Sinaï", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 67 (1955) 216-258 (text: 237-257); (5) *in passionem Christi* (CPG 7754; BHGⁿ 416c); unedited (*versio arabica*, ed. L. Cheikho: *al Masriq* 15 [1912] 264-280; German tr.: *Theologische Quartalschrift* 65 [1912] 780-795); (6) *in novam dominicam* (CPG 5058; 7755): unedited; (7) *in ramos palmarum* (CPG 7780): unedited; (8) *de pseudopropheta* (CPG 4583): ed. H. Saville, PG 59, 553-568.

2) Should the monk Anastasius who composed a collection of edifying accounts of monastic life, demonstrating particularly the activity of demons (CPG 7758BC), be identified with the homonymous monk of St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, who composed 42 stories on the monks of his monastery (CPG 7758A)? And was this the same as our Anastasius, author of the *Hodegos* and the *Erotapokriseis*? P. Canart has claimed it on the basis of Vat. gr. 2592, and B. Flusin has sought to establish this thesis on the basis of inter-textual criteria. If it were so, then the 42 *narrationes* ought to date from the time of the Arab conquest. Yet the two passages by which this dating ought to be demonstrated are not clear and do not let us rule out the period of Persian rule. Even agreement with an idea expressed in the *Erotapokriseis* is not sufficient

to let us conclude that they are both by the same author. More likely, therefore, could be the hypothesis expressed by other authors that the Anastasius Sinaites named as the author (CPG 7758A) lived a generation before the author of the *Hodegos*.

Editions: Narrationes (CPG 7758): (1) *Collectio A*, nos. 1-40: ed. F. Nau, "Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints Pères du Sinaï", *OrChr* 2 (1902) 58-89 (text: 60-87); nos. 1-2: *ineditae*: the original order exists in mss. Vat. gr. 2592 and Vat. syr. 623; (2) *Collectio BC: Anastasioi monachi*: nos. 1-9 (B), ed. F. Nau, "Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)", *OrChr* 3 (1903) 56-75; C: *ineditae praeter* no. 4 (ed. F. Nau: *OrChr* 2 [1902] 87-89), no. 11 (ed. F. Nau: *OrChr* 3 [1903] 78-79), no. 15 (ed. F. Halkin, "La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou", *AB* 63 [1945] 62-64).

Studies: P. Canart, "Une nouvelle anthologie monastique: le Vaticanus graecus 2592", *Muséon* 75 (1962) 109-129; B. Flusin, "Démons et Sarrasins, l'auteur et le propos des Diègèmata stèrikta d'Anastase le Sinaïte", *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 381-409.

3) The long, interesting commentary on the *Hexameron* (CPG 7770) does not certainly belong to the author of the *Hodegos*. This thesis runs into a problem coming from the relations that exist between this commentary and the two treatises on the constitution of man in the image of God (CPG 7747; 7748). That these were by one and the same author also seems to be confirmed by one of the scholia on the two treatises named, that on II, 3, 59-69. A careful reading of the text shows sure discrepancies in the data of the commentary, though no solution presents itself for this scholium. Since no new arguments have been put forward since the time of the edition of the treatise, the reader is referred to the Introduction contained in it.

Edition: In *Hexameron* (CPG 7770), I-XI: Latin tr. by Hervetus: PG 89, 851-1052; ed. P. Allixius: PG 89, 1051-1077.

Studies: K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasioi Sinaitae sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon Opuscula aduersus monotheletas*, CCG 12, Turnhout-Leuven 1985, cxxxix-cl (bibliography); recension by J.D. Baggarly: *OCF* 54 (1988) 253-255.

4) In the course of research, the great early 7th-century florilegium called *Doctrina Patrum* has also been connected with the author of the *Hodegos* on account of the scholia, which are attributed to a certain Anastasius. Yet a comparison with his florilegium shows that this is highly improbable.

Edition: F. Diekamp (ed.), *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Münster 1907; 2nd revised ed. by B. Phanourgakis and E. Chrysos, Münster 1981.

5) For the *Disputatio aduersus Iudaeos* (CPG 7772) edited by A. Mai, see what is said about anonymous anti-Jewish writings of the 7th century (see below), and for the remaining texts attributed to Anastasius see the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (7773; 7775-7779).

MARO OF EDESSA (CPG 6986)

In the *Hodegos* (CPG 7745), Anastasius the Sinaite twice cites a Nestorian named Maro of Edessa. Both *testimonia* presuppose the 6th-century Christological debate. So the scholiast of cod. Vindobonensis theol. gr. 166 is mistaken when he says that Maro was the recipient of the letter in which Ibas of Edessa gave an account of the Council of Ephesus (431) and the union of Cyril of Alexandria with the Orientals (CPG 6500). Anastasius claims to have obtained the second citation at Alexandria from a presbyter of the Theodosians, today's Copts. But it is noteworthy that the arguments expounded in both texts are used by Anastasius himself, sometimes *verbatim*, in his debate against the Monophysites.

Editions and studies: CPG 6986; *Fragmenta uulgus Contra Seuerum* (CPG 6986): *Anastasioi Sinaitae Viae dux*, XIII, 10, 98-11; XXII, 5, 1-25, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, CCG 8, Turnhout-Leuven 1981, 255-256, 304.

HESYCHIUS OF SINAI

Hesychius was hegumen of the Monastery of the Mother of God of the Burning Bush on Mount Sinai. When he lived is unclear, but since his sole work, *On Watchfulness and Holiness*, seems to betray awareness of John Climacus and Maximus the Confessor (as well as Mark the Ascetic), he may have lived in the 8th or 9th centuries. *On Watchfulness and Holiness* survives in two recensions: a longer recension of two centuries, in which form it was incorporated by Nikodimos the Hagiorite and Makarios of Corinth in their *Philokalia*, and a shorter recension of 24 chapters, in which the material is presented in a different order and many of the chapters of the longer recension are combined, but only representing about half of the material in the longer recension. It is generally thought that the longer recension is the original. In this work Hesychius displays a warm devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, and commends the use of the Jesus Prayer (Ἰησοῦ εὐχή), without, however, giving any specific formula.

Editions: CPG 7862; long recension: PG 93, 1479-1544; *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Venice 1782, 1, 127-152; 3rd ed., Athens 1957, 1, 141-173; short recension: M. Waegeman, "Les 24 chapitres 'De temperantia et virtute' d'Hésychius le Sinaïte. Édition critique", *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1977) 195-285.

Translation - English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 1, London-Boston 1979, 162-198 (long recension).

Studies: J. Kirchmeyer, "Hésychius le Sinaïte et ses Centuries", *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos 963-1963*, 1, Chevetogne 1963, 319-329; R. Mennes, *Hesychius van Jerusalem. Inventaris van de Griekse handschriftelijke overlevering*, dissertation, Ghent 1971; M. Waegeman, "La structure primitive du traité 'De temperantia et virtute' d'Hésychius le Sinaïte: deux centuries ou un acrostiche alphabétique?", *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 467-478.

PHILOTHEUS OF SINAI

Philotheus was a monk of Mount Sinai, but otherwise, apart from the ascetical writings ascribed to him, little else is known of him. In his writings he alludes to John Climacus, and betrays affinities with Hesychius of Sinai, so he may have lived in the 9th or 10th century. Like them, he lays stress on stillness and guarding the intellect, and commends the use of the Jesus Prayer to this end. His works are: 1) *On Watchfulness*: a collection of forty chapters, included by Nikodimos the Hagiorite and Makarios of Corinth in the *Philokalia of the Holy Ascetics* (Venice, 1782). 2) *The Commandments of the Lord*: a brief ascetical treatise printed in Migne among the works of Philotheus Coccinus. 3) *Ascetic Chapters*: four ascetic chapters are attributed to Philotheus, the last of which is identical with *The Commandments of the Lord*.

Editions: 1) *On Watchfulness*: CPG 7864; *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, Venice 1782, 515-525; Athens 1958, 2, 274-286. 2) *The Commandments of the Lord*: CPG 7865; PG 154, 729-745. 3) *Ascetic Chapters*: CPG 7866; PG 98, 1369-1372.

Translation - English: G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia. The Complete Text compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, 3, London-Boston, 1984, 16-31 (tr. of *On Watchfulness*).

ANONYMOUS SEVENTH-CENTURY WORKS
ADVERSUS IUDAEOS

In the 7th century we observe in the Byzantine Empire an outburst of animosity against the Jews. The latter were dispersed as far as Carthage during the Persian conquest of further territories in Asia Minor in the 610s and 620s, and the fact is that part of the Jewish population had on the whole a good relationship with the Persians and even collaborated with them. In reaction, after the victory over the Sasanids, there were for the first time forced conversions. Surviving anonymous works, in which the Christians express their own arguments against the synagogue, as well as the writings of Stephen of Bostra (CPG 7790), Leontius of Neapolis (CPG 7885) and Jerome of Jerusalem (CPG 7815), reflect, especially from the early 6th century, a change in attitude towards the veneration of images. Alongside the fixed repertory of earlier anti-Jewish literature we now find justifications of the cult of the cross and images of the saints generally. The cross is no longer conceived as a symbol and, in general, religious art is no longer understood as a commemorative sign or didascalical representation, but as a real depiction, from life, of the sacred. The objects themselves now become important: the material cross and the concrete image become the reference-point of a contemplative cult; yet since this is not "learned theology" they are also used for

magical, particularly apotropaic, practices. When Jews point to the first commandment of the Decalogue, this is opposed by those Old Testament narratives in which something analogous is related, e.g. the raising of the bronze serpent or the statues of the cherubim. Much studied nowadays is the account of the conversion of a Jew at Carthage, written in Palestine in the year 634 (CPG 7793). Unclear for now is the influence of the dialogue *adversus Iudaeos* (CPG 7772) attributed to Anastasius the Sinaite, to which H.-G. Thümmel assigned a central importance, among other things, for the so-called *Tropaia of Damascus* (CPG 7797). Attributed to Anastasius in at least one manuscript is a discussion between a monk and two Jews named Papiscus and Philo (CPG 7796). In the Latin translation made in the 12th century by Paschal of Rome this dialogue is called *Opusculum disputationis Iudeorum contra sanctum Anastasium*. Since there is no critical edition of this text, nor of Anastasius of Sinai and the other named writings, the question of the historical context in which the texts were transmitted remains open for now.

Studies: A.L. Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos. A Bird's Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge 1935; J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 30, Athens 1939; A. Sharf, "Byzantine Jewry in the Seventh Century", *ByzZ* 48 (1955) 103-115; H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.-11. Jh.)*, Frankfurt a.M. 1982; V. Déroche, "La polémique anti-judaïque au VI^e et au VII^e siècle", *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 275-311; H.-G. Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der altkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit Byzantium vor dem Bilderstreit*, TU 139, Berlin 1992, 118-149; 330-367; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, Cambridge 1992, 220-227. On CPG 7793: G. Dagron, "Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VII^e siècle, Introduction historique. Entre histoire et apocalypse", *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991) 17-46; (2) CPG 7794: J.N. Birdsall, "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila and the Early Harmonistic Traditions", *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980) 66-77.

V ALEXANDRIAN AND EGYPTIAN WRITERS

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian bishops declared at the Council of Chalcedon: "The fathers of Nicaea established that all Egypt should follow the leadership of the archbishop of Alexandria and that no bishop should do anything without him" (Mansi 7, 53b). This same blind submission, here said of the bishops, was also practised by the monks, for whom Egyptian Christianity took on a "national" aspect, developing the Coptic language and seeking religious and political autonomy from the capital of the East Roman Empire. Yet, as Wipszycka has demonstrated, national conflict between Greeks and Egyptians on a political and cultural level, which could have formed a basis for the incipient religious divisions, simply does not exist. The use of Greek disappeared with the Arabicization of the country.

With the Council of Chalcedon (451) the bishopric of Alexandria lost prestige as the traditional stronghold of orthodoxy, since at that council the Alexandrian bishop Dioscorus was condemned for heresy. From that time until the Arab conquest (641/642) the Alexandrian Church in particular lived in a permanent state of struggle and religious division. Yet the factors behind this were not ethnic, but exclusively theological: on one side were the patriarchs loyal to the Empire (Melkites) with a minority of followers, on the other the Monophysite patriarchs, followed by the mass of the Coptic population. Alexandria often found itself with more than one patriarch. Christianity, in the form of the Monophysite confession, triumphed completely and was merely strengthened by persecution, including the terrible one of Cyrus of Phasis († 642). With the Arab conquest, felt by the Copts as liberation from imperial oppression, the Melkite Christians became a small minority tied to the destiny of the Byzantine Empire, while Coptic Christianity was restricted to a geographical area, inward-looking and with no missionary impetus. Cairo became the capital, and Alexandria lost its intellectual importance. In late antiquity the Alexandrian patriarchate embraced all the Egyptian

provinces (Thebais I and II, Aegyptus I and II, Arcadia, Augustamnica, the two provinces of Libya, and later also Nubia and Ethiopia).

Egyptians continued to write Greek, not just in the 5th century but even later, though sometimes writers came from other parts of the Empire; at the same time Coptic literature, especially monastic literature, grew more important. Most of the monastic literature of Alexandria and its hinterland in the period after Chalcedon is preserved in Coptic. One beacon of Chalcedonian light, however, was John the Almsgiver, originally from Cyprus, who was Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria at the beginning of the 7th century. It has already been remarked that the monastic literature of this period looked back to a Golden Age of Egyptian desert monasticism. This tradition was collected into its canonical form – in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and associated literature – in Palestine and Syria, which became in the 5th and 6th centuries the focus of Eastern Christian monasticism. Of the monks of Egypt themselves, only a few echoes survive in our period.

This chapter is the work of several scholars and deals with literature in Greek by authors from the Alexandrian patriarchate. Coptic literature will be dealt with separately by Tito Orlandi in chapter VII.

W.H.C. Frend, "Nationalism as a Factor in Antichalcedonian Feeling in Egypt", *Studies in Church History* 17 (1981) 21-38; I. Shahîd, *Rome and the Arabs: A Prolegomena on the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs*, Washington (DC) 1984; A.K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs. 332 BC-AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest*, Berkeley (CA) 1986; *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A.S. Atiya, New York/Toronto 1991; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquest*, Cambridge 1992; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993; G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*, Oxford 1993; J.-P. Valognes, *Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient, des origines à nos jours*, Paris 1994; *Christianisme d'Égypte*, Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte 9, Louvain 1995; E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Rome 1996; *L'Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica*, ed. Alberto Camplani, Rome 1997; A. Camplani, "L'Egitto tardoantica", *Mediterraneo antico* 1 (1998) 23-38.

PHILO THE HISTORIAN

A church historian referred to as Philo is mentioned in a fragment supposedly from Peter I, bishop and martyr of Alexandria († 311), preserved in the work *De blasphemia* (CPG 7746 [5]), which is attributed to Anastasius the Sinaite. In another work, *De dignitate sacerdotali*, seemingly the conclusion to the homily of the same Anastasius *De sacra synaxi* (CPG 7750), Philo is additionally called a "philosopher". He seems to have written after the middle of the 4th century and before the 7th century.

Editions: CPG 7512; for CPG 7746 (5) see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 1, St Petersburg 1891. 400-404; G. Mercati, "Un

preteso scritto di san Pietro vescovo d'Alessandria e martire sulla bestemmia e Filone l'istoriografo", *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche* 1 (1905) 165-167, 173-174 (= Idem, *Opere minori*, 2, ST 77, Rome 1937, 429-431, 437-438); for CPG 7750 see F. Nau, "Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)", *OrChr* 3 (1903) 80-81; V.N. Benešević, *Syntagma XIV titulorum*, St Petersburg 1905, 637-640.

Studies: G. Mercati, op. cit.

MARK DIADOCHUS

To him we owe the *Sermo contra Arianos* (PG 65, 1149-1165), characterized by its doctrinal apologetic character, against the Arian doctrine. The *Sermo* defends the Son's consubstantiality with the Father against the ideas of Arius (c. 260-c. 336).

Editions and studies: CPG 6105; PG 65, 1149-1165; Bardenhewer IV, 186; Baumstark, 339, n. 5; F. Scorza Barcellona, *EEC* 1 (1992) 524.

PANODORUS

The father of the Alexandrian school of chronology and a continuator of Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius, Panodorus lived during the patriarchate of Theophilus of Alexandria at the time of the Emperor Arcadius, i.e. between 395 and 408. Like his somewhat younger contemporary Annianus, who continued his work, ending it in 412, he was a monk. His *Chronography* has not survived and is known to us almost solely from its use as the chief source of the 9th-century Byzantine chronographer George Syncellus. The pioneering work on Panodorus was done by H. Gelzer, who, however, underestimated the originality of Syncellus in his use of Panodorus, as R. Laqueur subsequently pointed out.

For his chronology Panodorus based himself on the biblical tradition, but interwove it with secular sources. Although he drew chiefly on Dexippus, Julius Africanus and Eusebius, he also introduced Ptolemy's *Kanon basileiōn* into Christian chronography, as well as the canon of Manetho in the redaction of Julius Africanus and Eusebius, the book of Sothis, and the list of Theban kings by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. Noteworthy is the Egyptian emphasis in his work. Panodorus recast Eusebius' work to include a dating "from Adam" instead of the original calculation of years from Abraham, and introduced a systematic account of primordial history. Using the Alexandrian era for dating, Panodorus computed Christ's birth to the year 5493, and His passion to 5526. Unlike Eusebius he did not arrange his material ethnographically.

The Egyptian Neoplatonic background against which Panodorus wrote influenced his approach to chronography, explaining his departure

from Eusebius. It is above all the combination of pagan and Christian traditions that is characteristic of his development of the genre of chronography.

Editions: CPG 5535; cf. G. Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Constantino-politanus*, CSHB 11-12, Bonn 1829, I, 61, 3-5; 62, 2-5; 63, 11-66, 2.

Studies: J. Van der Hagen, *De cyclo magno paschali seu de periodo DXXXII annorum Panodori, monachi Aegyptii, Dissertationes de cyclis paschalibus*, Amsterdam 1736, 93-106; H. Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 3 vol., Leipzig 1880-1898; R. Laqueur, "Synkellos", *PW* 2, 4 (1932) 1388-1410; O. Seel, "Panodorus", *PW* 18, 2 (1949) 632-635; W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 26, Washington (DC) 1989, 72-105; A. Labate, *EEC* 2 (1992) 639.

ANNIANUS

The *Chronographia* of the 5th-century Egyptian monk Annianus (also written Anianus and Annius), now lost, is known to us from fragments and references in later Byzantine and Oriental historical works, particularly the *Chronographia* of the 9th-century Byzantine chronicler, George Syncellus. Like his fellow monk and chronicler Panodorus, founder of the Alexandrian school of chronology, Annianus lived during the patriarchate of Theophilus of Alexandria at the time of the Emperor Arcadius, i.e. between 395 and 408, but his life also extended beyond this period since his continuation of Panodorus' chronicle (also lost) goes up to the year 412. Both chroniclers were in the tradition of Sextus Julius Africanus and Eusebius. While Annianus followed Panodorus in adapting Eusebius' chronicle to include a dating "from Adam" instead of the system of calculation from Abraham and in introducing a systematic account of primordial history, he disagreed with Panodorus' world era, fixing the Incarnation at 25 March 5501, as opposed to 5493 in his predecessor.

Annianus also began the year on 1 January, not at the spring equinox as in Anatolius of Laodicea (258) or on 29 August as in Alexandrian chronography from 304 onwards; he dated the passion to 23 March, the fifteenth day of the moon in accordance with Synoptic computation, and the resurrection to 25 March 5534 (25 March being also the date of Creation). Annianus' date for the resurrection became normative in Byzantine chronography. His work included an Easter cycle of 532 years, as we know from the *Chronicon Paschale*, and he used a world era of 5492. According to George Syncellus, Annianus criticised Eusebius of Caesarea for inexact chronology, and was himself concise and faithful to apostolic and patristic tradition. The attempt of E. Honigmann to identify Annianus with the deacon of Celeda is to be rejected.

Editions: CPG 5537; cf. G. Dindorf, *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Constantino-politanus*, CSHB 11-12, Bonn 1829, I, 61, 3-5; 62, 2-5, 19; 64, 15; 66, 1-2; 597, 12; L. Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale*, CSHB 7-8, Bonn 1832, II, 112-116; E.W. Brooks, *Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, CSCO 62 / *Syr.* 21 (*Syr.* III, 7), Paris 1910, 16-17, 26-28 (Syriac text); CSCO 63 / *Syr.* 23 (*Syr.* III, 7), 7-8, 15-16 (English tr.); J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1899, I, 2-5, 9, 17, 35, 56, 61, 89, 116; II, Paris 1901, 358 (French tr.); P. Bedjan, *Abu'l-Faradj Barhebraeus, Chronicon Syriacum*, Paris 1890, 3, 14-17, 25, 36, 37 (= *Chronography*, English tr. by E.A.W. Budge, London 1932, 3, 13, 15, 16, 19, 25, 39, 40).

Studies: Krumbacher, 338, 340, 341, 405; E. Bratke, *Zwei Fragmente aus Annianus und der Anfang des Weihnachtsfestes in Aegypten*, *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* 1 (1902) 110-154; S. Salaville, "Anien", *DHGE* 3 (1924) 282; cf. O. Seel, "Panodorus", *PW* 18, 2 (1949) 632-635; E. Honigmann, "Annianus Deacon of Celeda (415 A.D.)", *Patristic Studies*, ST 173, Vatican City 1953, 54-58; Idem, "Le prétendu 'moine Athénée' en réalité le chronographe Annianus", *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 12 (1952) (= ΠΑΤΚΑΠΠΕΙΑ. *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, 4, Brussels 1953, 177-180 n. 3; V. Grumel, *Traité d'études Byzantines*, I, *La Chronologie*, Paris 1958, 92-94; W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 26, Washington (DC) 1989, 72-105; V. Loi, *EEC* 1 (1992) 41.

BARBARUS SCALIGERI AND CHRONOGRAPHUS ANONYMUS

The name *Barbarus Scaligeri* refers to an anonymous Greek Alexandrian chronicle which was translated into execrable Latin in c. 700. Its title reflects both the nature of the Latin and the identity of the humanist who discovered and edited the uncial manuscript (Parisinus Bibliothèque Nationale 4884 [7th/8th century]) in which it is transmitted, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609). A fragment of the Greek, which survives only in one illustrated papyrus folio (P. Berol. 13296) dating from the early 5th century, demonstrates its relationship to the work of the *Chronographus anonymus* preserved in the illustrated papyrus which was bought by the well-known Egyptologist W. Goleniščev from an antique dealer in Gaza at the end of the 19th century.

The *Barbarus Scaligeri*, also known as the *Excerpta Barbari*, is a universal chronicle beginning with Adam and encompassing three parts: the history of the world to the demise of Cleopatra (31 BC); excerpts from lists of rulers, including Persians and Assyrians; and a list of Roman consuls from Julius Caesar to Valentinus (i.e. Valentinian II) Augustus III and Eutropius (387 AD), with a lacuna from Domitian to Diocletian. The final section, which contains a list of emperors as far as Anastasius I (512), is probably not genuine. The sources for the chronicler included Hippolytus and Eusebius, but Sextus Julius Africanus is usually the ultimate source of much information. In its turn the *Barbarus Scaligeri*

probably served subsequent chroniclers like John Malalas, whose use of it, however, is unacknowledged.

The sole folio of the Greek papyrus containing the original text of the chronicle strikingly resembles the format of the uncial papyrus Goleniščev, copied probably in a monastery in Upper Egypt during the first half of the 5th century. The portrayals of saints and of the walls of Constantinople in the former are similar to the pictures of the months, of places, Old Testament figures, emperors, kings and patriarchs, John the Baptist and Christ in the latter, and the exemplum of the *Barbarus* was also about 60 pages long, like the text in the Goleniščev papyrus. We may postulate that the *Barbarus* goes back to a lost Alexandrian chronicle, which would have been the direct source of the Goleniščev papyrus. It is also possible that the illustrations betray older elements: they seem to be painted for mass consumption, which fits in with examples of encaustic and vase-painting of the early Coptic period.

Editions: Barbarus Scaligeri: CPG 5539; *ed. princeps* J.J. Scaliger, *Thesaurus temporum*, Leyden 1606, 44-70; better in A. Schoene, Berlin 1875; Latin with Greek retroversion in C. Frick, *Chronica minora* 1, Leipzig 1892, 183-371; T. Mommsen, *Chronica minora*, MGH AA IX, Berlin 1892, 272-298 (*fasti tantummodo*).

Chronographus anonymus: CPG 5540; A. Bauer, J. Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik, Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Goleniscev*, Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 51, Bd. 2, Vienna 1905.

Studies: H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie: 2. Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus*, Leipzig 1885, repr. New York 1967, 316-329; Bauer, Strzygowski, *op. cit.*; F. Jacoby, *PW* 6, 6 (1909) 1566-1576; L. Bréhier, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 593; R. Klein, *Lex des Mitt* 4 (1989) 156; E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 6, Sydney 1990, *passim*; *ODB* 1, 253; D. Stiernon, *EEC* 1 (1992) 109.

AGATHONICUS OF TARSUS (PSEUDO-)

To Agathonicus of Tarsus (in Cilicia), a person who seems never to have existed, is attributed a corpus of brief texts originally written in Greek but surviving in Coptic (one complete manuscript and other fragments).

This collection of texts comprised various themes: *De fide* (W.E. Crum, 21-25, 76-81) is a catechetical work against the Anthropomorphites. *Disputatio cum Iustino de Resurrectione* (W.E. Crum, 26-28, 82-83) is a disquisition on the resurrection of the body based on Old Testament passages. *Dialogus cum Stratonico* (W.E. Crum, 28-38, 84-94) discusses providence before going on to other subjects. *De incredulitate* (W.E. Crum, 38-41, 94-98) is a treatise in homiletic form which, among other things, seeks to point out the danger to Christians

of reading pagan authors. *Contra Synodum Chalcedonensem* (W.E. Crum, 43-45, 99-102) is an anti-Chalcedonian homily, which often seems like an interpolation of the other pseudo-Agathonician texts.

The redaction of this corpus dates from the early 5th century, though the text underwent many modifications in its Coptic phase of transmission. A fragment of the corpus also exists in Armenian (cod. Matenadaran 8255, f. 52v). The doctrines expounded by the corpus of pseudo-Agathonician texts suggest that they were composed by Egyptian monks. Evagrius is often cited, and in *De incredulitate* and *De fide* the ideas expounded seem to agree with the Evagrian Origenism of the monks of Cellia and Nitria in the late 4th and early 5th centuries (cf. T. Orlandi, *Agathonicus...*). Note finally that many of the mss. are supplemented by other texts, always doctrinal or apologetic in character (e.g. an apophthegm on the Resurrection, one on the *Passio Christi*, etc.).

The texts of Pseudo-Agathonicus, developed in an Evagrian milieu, are of interest in helping us understand better the themes discussed in 5th-century Egyptian monastic circles, and it should be emphasized that some of them can also be traced in Palladius and Cassian.

Editions and studies: CPG 5621-5627; W.E. Crum, *Der Papyroscodex Saec. VI-VII der Phillippbibliothek in Cheltenham*, Strasbourg 1915; W. Erichsen, *Fajumische Fragmente der Reden des Agathonicus Bischofs von Tarsus*, Danske videnskabernes selskab meddelelser 19, n. 1, Copenhagen 1932; T. Orlandi, "Il Dossier copto di Agatonico di Tarso, Studio letterario e storico", *Studies Presented to H.J. Polotsky*, ed. D.W. Young, Beacon Hill 1981, 269-299; T. Orlandi, *EEC* 1 (1992) 17; Idem, "Agathonicus of Tarsus", *L'Egitto Cristiano - Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antico*, ed. A. Camplani, *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 56, Rome 1997, 52-54.

HERMOGENES

Hermogenes was bishop of Rhinocorura (Farma), a town of Augustamnica Prima in Eastern Egypt near the frontier of Palaestina Tertia. He took part in the Council of Chalcedon in 431 (Mansi 6, 874) as a supporter of Cyril of Alexandria's Christological views. He was sent to Rome with Lampetius by the Cyrillian bishops to obtain Pope Celestine's support for their cause. They arrived shortly after the death of Pope Celestine (27 July 432) and were present at the episcopal ordination of his successor, Pope Sixtus (31 July 432), who through them replied to the Eastern bishops and encouraged Cyril in his struggle against Nestorius and his doctrines (Sixtus, *Ep.* 1: PL 50, 583). A single letter of Hermogenes survives, written with three other bishops, in which they lament the abuses committed in the course of the Christological struggles of the time. Hermogenes was in contact with Isidore of Pelusium, who addressed several letters to him (e.g. 1215 and 1253: SCh 422, Paris 1997).



TIMOTHY AELURUS

Timothy II of Alexandria, nicknamed "Ailouros" ("the cat", or more properly "the weasel") due to his emaciated physical appearance, probably caused by monastic asceticism, remained faithful during the episcopate of Proterius (451-457) to the deposed patriarch Dioscorus, whom he had accompanied to the synod of Ephesus in 449. On the death of the Emperor Marcian, the Monophysite party profited from the situation to consecrate him bishop (8 March 457) in place of the Chalcedonian patriarch, who was killed soon after (28 March). The new ruler, Leo I (457-474), consulting the episcopate on the validity of his episcopal ordination and his responsibility in Proterius' murder, received a unanimous vote against the new patriarch (as the so-called *codex encyclius* attests). He therefore sent Timothy into exile (460), first at Gangra in Paphlagonia, then (from c. 464) in Crimea. He was recalled in 475 by the usurper Basiliscus, who welcomed him with full honours at Constantinople. Timothy then sought to exploit the favourable moment to overturn the doctrinal and political results of the Council of Chalcedon, through the promulgation of Basiliscus' *Enkyklion*. In a synod held at Ephesus he obtained the condemnation of the dogma of the two natures and a revision of the privileges granted to the see of Constantinople by canon 28 of Chalcedon. His success was short-lasting, however, since Zeno was soon restored in place of Basiliscus. In any case, Timothy suffered no consequences from this because, returning to Alexandria, he died there on 31 July 477.

A key figure in the historical process that gradually led to the separation of the Egyptian Church from the imperial Byzantine Church, Timothy Aelurus sustained the Monophysite cause from exile through his works of controversy, maintaining contact with the wide front which opposed the Council of Chalcedon but which was already suffering its first internal fractures. His doctrinal position followed the same lines as that of his predecessors Dioscorus and Cyril, but he was the first Monophysite leader to set out, though with no claim to originality, a systematic reply to the "two nature" Christology in the version of it given by Leo's *Tome* and the Chalcedonian definition. In refuting his Diphysite opponents Timothy Aelurus resorted systematically to patristic argument, thus constructing his own reply essentially in terms of a florilegium, though taking care also to give the words of his opponents.

This is the characteristic that distinguishes his two most important works from a literary and doctrinal point of view. The longer of them, handed down in an Armenian version, a Syriac epitome and a very few Greek fragments, takes the form of a *Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon* (CPG 5475) though it might more properly be entitled *On the Unity of Christ*. It is a large florilegium containing a rich mass of

patristic texts from the Alexandrian tradition and from other Doctors of the 3rd to 5th centuries, skilfully put together by the author at the end of his refutation. The method adopted by Timothy essentially envisages three stages: an introductory part composed of patristic citations is followed by passages taken from the *Tome* and the definition of Chalcedon; these he compares with extracts from "Nestorians" (Paul of Samosata, Nestorius, Theodoret) as proof of the substantial identity of the Chalcedonians' views with theirs; finally he concludes with his reply, furnished with citations from the Fathers.

His second work of controversy, handed down by an epitomized Syriac version, may for the sake of brevity be entitled *Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon* (CPG 5482) on the basis of the contents of its initial part, which consists of an extremely detailed reply to the text of the conciliar definition. The second part adopts the same procedure for Leo's *Tome*. In the third part Timothy produces a series of citations of the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus in order to document the coat-turning of the bishops at Chalcedon, with the sole exception of the faithful Dioscorus. To Dioscorus is dedicated the conclusion, in which Timothy celebrates his predecessor's memory and declares that he has followed his footsteps into exile. This work too is dominated by the use of patristic *auctoritates*, primarily Cyril, but with plenty of first-person interjections by Timothy. Against the Chalcedonian profession of two natures in Christ, he defends the formula dear to the Monophysites: "from two natures", before the union of the Word with the animate flesh.

Like Dioscorus before him, Timothy Aelurus takes a stand against the Eutychian tendencies that continued to be rife in the Monophysite camp. Among his letters from exile, this question occupies particularly the *Letter to Constantinople* (CPG 5476), furnished with a large patristic florilegium; the *Letter to the Alexandrians* (CPG 5477) containing the excommunication of two Egyptian churchmen, Isaiah of Hermopolis and Theophilus, who denied the full substantiality of the Incarnate with human nature; and an *Epistle to Faustinus* (CPG 5480), hegumen of the coenobium of Romanus, near Eleutheropolis (Palestine), giving suggestions as to how to proceed towards Diphysites and Eutychians. The sole doctrinal requisite to be demanded of them must be the Nicene profession of faith and that of Christ's consubstantiality with us. The indications provided by Timothy give proof of a moderation towards "apostates" that would meet resistance among extremist Monophysites on his return from exile. He also prepared a *Prayer for the Converted Diphysite Clerics* (CPG 5483). A letter in Ethiopic translation (CPG 5490), addressed to a mother who had lost her three sons one after the other, includes among grounds for consolation an appeal to protagonists of the first Monophysite struggle, such as Dioscorus and the monk Longinus

of the monastery of Ennaton near Alexandria. Finally, John of Maiuma's *Plerophoriae* hand down a Syriac fragment on the legend of Nestorius' death, from a historical work also attested by Coptic texts (CPG 5486); but it is uncertain whether this is a real *Ecclesiastical History*.

Timothy Aelurus' Christological formulation is based on the resumption of the *mia physis* formula in the more general framework of a marked Cyrillianism, which gives great prominence to the systematic use of the tradition of the Fathers. An original tone can be heard in the insistence with which Timothy emphasizes the theme of Christ's dual consubstantiality with God and with us, though this does not attenuate his rejection of "two natures" after the union. To acknowledge Christ's humanity as "second nature" would imply asserting this condition as in some way innate and permanent and therefore proper even to the pre-existent Son. Moreover, "nature" is closely associated with *hypostasis* and *prosopon*, in such a way that to profess a second nature in Christ would end by implying two persons. In the same way we must avoid distinguishing the properties of Christ according to a dual order of attributions.

Editions: CPG 5475-5491; PO 13, 202-217 (*On the Unity of Christ*, Syriac epitome); 218-236 (*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*, Syriac epitome); 236-239 (*Prayer for the Converted Diphysite Clerics*); 241 ff. (*Libellus to the Emperor Leo*); K. Ter-Mekertschian, E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timothy Aelurus, des Patriarchen von Alexandrien, Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre. Armenischer Text*, Leipzig 1908; R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, "A Collection of Unpublished Letters of Timothy Aelurus", *JTS* n.s. 21 (1970) 321-369; Idem, "Timothy Aelurus: Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon", *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to A. Van Roey*, OLA 18, Leuven 1985, 115-166; G. Haile, "An Ethiopic Letter of Timothy II of Alexandria Concerning the Death of Children", *JTS* n.s. 38 (1987) 34-57.

Studies: J. Lebon, "La christologie de Timothée Aelure", *RHE* 9 (1908) 677-702; Idem, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909; F. Cavallera, "Le dossier patristique de Timothée Aelure", *BLE* 4, 1 (1909) 342-359; F. Nau, "Sur la christologie de Timothée Aelure", *ROC* 14 (1909) 99-103; E. Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1431*, ABAW 32, 6, Munich 1927; H.G. Opitz, *Chalcedon*, I, 425 ff.; Frend, 154-174; L. Abramowski, "Ein Text des Johannes Chrysostomus über die Auferstehung in den Belegsammlungen des Timotheus Älurus", *After Chalcedon...*, cit., 1-10; Eadem, "Zur geplanten Ausgabe von Brit. Mus. add. 12156", *Texte und Textkritik*, TU 133, Berlin 1987, 23-28; A.B. Schmidt, "Die 'Refutatio' des Timotheus Aelurus gegen das Konzil von Chalcedon. Ihre Bedeutung für die Bekenntnisentwicklung der armenischen Kirche Persiens im 6. Jh", *OrChr* 73 (1989) 149-165; Grillmeier, II/4, 7-35 (English ed. 7-35); P. Blaudeau, "Timothée Aelure et la direction ecclésiastique de l'empire post-chalcédonien", *REByz* 54 (1996) 107-133.

PETER MONGUS

Peter III Mongus (ὁ μωγγός = the hoarse) was bishop of Alexandria from 477 to 490 in succession to Timothy II Aelurus. Like his predecessor,

he stood out in defence of the Alexandrian theology, hostile to the Christological position of the Council of Chalcedon (451) and historically connected with the anti-Nestorianism going back to the doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria. In agreement with the Emperor Zeno and Bishop Acacius of Constantinople, Peter accepted the decree named *Henoticon*, i.e. "Act of union", promulgated in 482, which was intended to reconcile the Chalcedonian and Monophysite doctrines. The rejection of this document by Pope Felix III and his excommunication of Acacius in 484 produced the rupture known as the "Acacian schism", which saw Alexandria aligned with Constantinople in common defence of a moderate Monophysite position, while the Monophysites of strict observance, dissatisfied with Peter's conciliatory policy, no longer recognized their leader and were called "Acephali" or "headless". But on the whole the bishop's position prevailed and contributed to confirm the markedly non-Chalcedonian aspect of Alexandrian theology.

Of his literary output, two letters remain: one in Greek to Bishop Acacius of Constantinople, the other to his successor Fravita, handed down in a Syriac translation included in the *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Zacharias Scholasticus (or Rhetor). The correspondence in Coptic with Acacius (eight letters of Peter and six of Acacius) must be considered apocryphal.

Editions and studies: CPG 5495-5499; J. Bidez, L. Parmentier, *Euagrius. The Ecclesiastical History*, London 1898, Amsterdam 1964², 115-117 (= PG 86, 2629-2634); E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, II, CSCO 84 / Syr. 39, Louvain 1921, 1953², 11-14 (text), and CSCO 88 / Syr. 42, Louvain 1924, 1953², 7-9 (Latin tr.); Frend, 174-183.

NEPHALIUS

An Egyptian monk of Nubian origin, Nephalius emerged in Palestine at the end of the first decade of the 6th century as the initiator of an aggressive policy against the Monophysites. In this he completely overturned his earlier position when, still living in Egypt, he had encouraged dissent against the Alexandrian patriarch Peter Mongus (482-490) in the name of a more openly anti-Chalcedonian interpretation of the *Henoticon*. He had even expounded his reasons at Constantinople in the presence of the Emperor Zeno. Disappointed in his expectation of an ecclesiastical career in the Alexandrian Church, he found a welcome in that of Jerusalem. Thanks to the support of Patriarch Elias (494-516) and the clergy of the individual dioceses, Nephalius was able to develop a campaign in favour of the Council of Chalcedon directed against the remaining Monophysite groups concentrated in the region of Gaza. Here he probably had to face a public debate with Severus, future Monophysite

patriarch of Antioch (512-518), which had a written sequel. The conflict was then transferred to Constantinople, since the Monophysite monks, protesting against the vexations they suffered from Nephalius' activities, asked the Emperor Anastasius to intervene.

Nephalius was the author of an *Apologia* (*Synegoria*) for the Council of Chalcedon, which is considered to be the first manifestation of that theological orientation commonly known as "Neochalcedonianism". The *Apologia* survives only through the two *Orations against Nephalius* composed by Severus of Antioch in reply to it, themselves handed down in Syriac translation.

His direct experience of both opposing camps led Nephalius to formulate a theological mediation between the supporters and opponents of Chalcedon. He accepted in part the reservations of the latter, recognizing that the conciliar formulations had been conditioned by a concern with rebutting the error of Eutyches, and as a result had been unbalanced in a Diphysite direction. But this did not mean sacrificing the "two natures" formula, rather it led to a re-proposal of it with greater respect for the reasons of its opponents. In this sense Nephalius preferred to speak of "two natures united and not separated", also affirming full convergence with the two formulae most dear to the Monophysites ("from two natures" and "one incarnate nature of the Logos"). It is not clear how much further Nephalius went in arguing his defence of the dogma of 451, whether he reached the point of reflecting on the hypostatic union as well. He does not yet seem capable of focusing the distinction between the concepts of *physis* and *hypostasis*, in connection with the Christological model he outlined.

Editions: CPG 6825; Severus of Antioch, *Orationes ad Nephalius*, CSCO 119 / Syr. 64, CSCO 120 / Syr. 65 (CPG 7022).

Studies: J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain 1909, 118-175; C. Moeller, "Un représentant de la christologie néochalcédonienne au début du sixième siècle en Orient: Néphalius d'Alexandrie", *RHE* 40 (1945) 73-140; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*, Diss., Bonn 1962, 151-159; P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leyden 1979, 105-111; Perrone, 148-151, 234-240; A. Labate, *EEC* 2 (1992) 593; Grillmeier, II/2, 23, 49-54 (English ed. 23-24, 47-52).

OLYMPIODORUS THE DEACON

In a postscript to codex Vat. Barber. gr. 549 of the commentary on Jeremiah, we read that Olympiodorus was consecrated deacon by the Alexandrian bishop John II Niciota (505-515/516). So he must have been born between 470 and 490. He says he wrote his commentaries on Job and Ecclesiastes at the request of Julian and John, persons otherwise unknown. Anastasius the Sinaite calls him a "great philosopher" and "a

philosopher who by his books brought renown on Alexandria, of which he was a deacon" (cf. PG 93, 10, and Hagedorn, *Olympiodor*, XLV). So he was a learned exegete and commented on various biblical books; many abundant fragments of these remain in the *Catena*. The editions of his works are made up from these catenary citations. He commented on the book of Job (CPG 7453; PG 93, 13-469; now edited by D. and U. Hagedorn) (Olympiodorus was much used in the *Catena* on Job by that of Nicetas: from this Young [Iunius] took the fragments for his edition, reprinted in Migne); Ecclesiastes (CPG 7454; PG 93, 477-628); Jeremiah (CPG 7455; PG 93, 628-725); Lamentations (CPG 7456; PG 93, 725-761) and the letter of Jeremiah (CPG 7458; PG 93, 773-780); Baruch (CPG 7457; PG 93, 761-773); and Psalms (CPG 7460). Anastasius the Sinaite also cites a passage of his work *Contra Severum Antiochenum* (CPG 7459; 7771; PG 89, 1189). Other fragments are considered spurious. His exegesis is moralizing in character. Cf. also ch. VIII, *CATENAE*, *passim*.

Editions: CPG 7453-7465; PG 93, 13-780; D. and U. Hagedorn, *Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria, Kommentar zu Hiob*, PTS 24, Berlin 1984; *idem*, *Die älteren Katenen zum Buch Hiob*, PTS 40, Berlin 1994, cf. pp. 97 f.; PTS 48, Berlin 1997.

Studies: U. Bertini, "La catena su Giobbe", *Biblica* 4 (1923) 129-142; C. Zedda, "Sulla paternità origeniana di alcuni frammenti esegetici", *Misc. A. Piolanti*, 2, Rome 1964, 25-35; D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julians*, PTS 14, Berlin 1973; S. Leanza, "Le catene esegetiche sull'Ecclesiaste", *Aug* 17 (1977) 542-552. On CPG 7454: S. Lucà, *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten*, CCG 11, Turnhout 1983, xv; V. Grumel, *La chronologie*, Paris 1958, 86-92; A. Labate, *Catena Havniensis in Ecclesiasten*, CCG 24, Turnhout 1992. On the fragment cited by Anastasius, K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasis Sinaita. Sermones*, CCG 12, Turnhout 1985; Grillmeier, II/4, 106 f. (English ed. 105 f.); *LTK* 7, 1050.

TIMOTHY IV (III) OF ALEXANDRIA

Ascending to the Alexandrian patriarchate in 517, he is inscribed in the list of those who preserved the succession to Timothy Aelurus in the Monophysite faith. Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* IV, 4) informs us of his *Synodica* to Severus, in which, following his predecessors, he expressly rejected Pope Leo's *Tome* and the Chalcedonian Creed, seeing them as a revival of the Nestorianism banned at Ephesus (431). We learn from Liberatus (*Breviarium* 19) that, under his ecclesiastical rule, a controversy broke out in Egypt between Severus of Antioch and Julian of Halicarnassus on the corruptibility or otherwise of Christ's body. According to the Carthaginian historian, Timothy IV sided with Severus, defending the consubstantiality of the human reality of the incarnate Word with our own. Though endorsed by Severus of Ashmunein (*History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, PO 1, 455), this does

not coincide with the evidence of the *De Sectis* (V, 4: PG 86, 1232a), according to which, Timothy IV avoided taking a firm position. The latter view is followed by Maspéro (*Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1923, 79), who holds that the Alexandrian patriarch favoured now Severus, now Julian, according to convenience. Timothy IV died in 535, after taking steps to promote the process of Christianization in areas of pagan survival such as Philae, consecrating an active bishop for that island in the person of Theodore (526). He was succeeded by Theodosius: this led to the schism of Gaianus, whose effects were still lamented by John of Nikiu (*Chron.* 92) in the 7th century.

Of Timothy IV we possess a complete Syriac translation of the *Homilia in Iohannem* 4, 6, of which Greek fragments survive in the *Topographia* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. The same Greek source preserves fragments of six more homilies by our author (*In Matthaeum* 26, 39; *In ecclesia s. Sarapammonis*; *In Theophania*; *In ecclesia s. Theodori*; *In festo Pachon*; *In Iohannem* 16, 7). Of doubtful authenticity are the Syriac texts of an *Anaphora* and an *Ordo baptismatis*, edited respectively by Rucker and Brock, and the Greek fragment of the *Dialogus cum Calonymo* present in the writings attributed to Leontius of Byzantium (PG 86, 276bc; 1849ac).

Editions: CPG 7090-7100; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographie chrétienne* III, intro., text, tr. W. Wolska-Conus, SCh 159, Paris 1970, 307-312; PG 86, 265-269; A. Rucker, *Anaphorae syriacae*, I/1, Romae 1939, 3-47; S.P. Brock, "A New Syriac Baptismal Ordo Attributed to Timothy of Alexandria", *Muséon* 83 (1970) 377-431.

Studies: PW 25, 1357 f.; A. Di Berardino, *EEC* 2 (1992) 841; Fliche-Martin 4, 303, 432 f., 451, 528; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian*, Leuven 1981, 176.

THEMISTIUS, DEACON OF ALEXANDRIA

Themistius, an Alexandrian deacon, was a Severian Monophysite opposed to the doctrine espoused by the adherents of Julian of Halicarnassus, which stated that Christ's body was not subject to human needs, suffering and passion in the same way as ours. According to Liberatus (*Breviarium* 19), during the patriarchate of Timothy IV of Alexandria (517-535) Themistius expressed his belief that "if the body of Christ is corruptible, we should say also that he was ignorant of some things, as when he spoke about Lazarus". When Timothy objected to this, Themistius separated himself from the community and caused a schism. He and his followers were dubbed "Agnoetai", or those who do not know. While the debate was first aired in Alexandria, it may not have begun in earnest until Theodosius of Alexandria moved to Constantinople in 536 and composed his *Tomus ad Theodoram augustam* against

Themistius. From fragments preserved in the Acts of the council of 680/681, it appears that Themistius replied to Theodosius in a first and second *antirrhetikos*, only one of which has survived. Three other works by Themistius, attested by the Acts of the council of 649, directly concern the Agnoetic controversy. First there is a work, about which we know nothing further, written "against those who say that, because of the fact that the one activity of Christ is divine, his humanity had knowledge of everything". Second, there is mentioned a writing "against what was written by Constantine, bishop of Laodicea", which it is tempting to see as a reply to the letter of Constantine of Laodicea († 553) to the Empress Theodora († 548), a work that has only recently come to light. A third work of Themistius attested by the Acts of 649, by the *Doctrina Patrum* and by Maximus the Confessor, is directed against Colluthus. We know from the same Acts and from the *Doctrina Patrum* that Colluthus composed against Themistius a defence of Theodosius' *Tome*. Another opponent of Themistius and his followers was the deposed bishop of Constantinople, Anthimus of Trebizond († after 548) who, while living in the capital, wrote a work against the Agnoetai which he addressed to the Emperor Justinian. From Photius' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 108) we had long known of a debate between Themistius and the Alexandrian monk Theodore, but it is only recently that large fragments of Theodore's work have been edited and translated. According to Photius, Themistius first advanced four arguments to prove the ignorance of Christ. Theodore responded to this. Subsequently Themistius wrote against Theodore a *monobiblion* bearing the title "Kalonymus, alias Themistius, Apology for Theophobius", which Theodore refuted in three tomes.

Four other works of Themistius which survive in small fragments and about which we know nothing further are the *Epistula ad Marcellinum et Stephanum*, *Epistula ad Charisium monachum*, *Epistula ad Salamitanos* and an *Apologia pro viginti capitulis*. In addition, together with the prominent Monophysites Conon of Tarsus and Eugenius of Seleucia in Isauria, he wrote a refutation (not in CPG), now lost, of John Philoponus' tract *On the Resurrection*.

The influence of Themistius' doctrine about the ignorance of Christ was not confined to Monophysite circles nor to Alexandria and Constantinople. Pseudo-Caesarius, a Sleepless Monk writing around the middle of the 6th century in Constantinople, takes issue with the Agnoetai, and the Emperor Justinian may have directed an edict against them. When Damian succeeded to the patriarchal throne of Alexandria in 578, he deemed it necessary to write to the clergy and monasteries of the East to condemn the Agnoetai. Stephen, the Chalcedonian bishop of Hierapolis, who died before 594, condemns those who profess one nature in Christ and who use Scripture to prove Christ's ignorance. And Gregory

of Rome, in his *Letter X*, 21, lists points against Agnoetic teaching. The acuteness, spread and longevity of the debate in the 6th century are thus remarkable.

Themistius' position, taken against the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, was that, just as in Christ there is one nature, will or activity, so too there is one knowledge, because the subject of the act of knowing, i.e. the incarnate Logos, is one. Furthermore, he maintains that there is one theandric activity in Christ, not one divine activity, and one theandric knowledge. While these statements are not necessarily in contradiction with one-nature Christology, Themistius attributed the ignorance in Christ to his humanity, taking his anti-Julianist position to its logical conclusion: namely, that, since the humanity of Christ, being consubstantial with our humanity, was subject to natural needs and suffering, so too was it subject to human ignorance. Patently this doctrine is more easily accommodated by a two-nature Christology, and this explains its attraction for some Chalcedonians. At the same time, it highlights a shortcoming of the one-nature Christology, since, precisely by attempting to do justice to Christ's humanity, Themistius and his followers end up looking like Diphysites, if not Nestorians.

Editions: CPG 7285-7292; *Antirrheticus contra tomum Theodosii*: Mansi 11, 440D (cf. 10, 1117B and PG 91,172B apud Maximum Confessorem), 441D, 441E; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 326.26-34; 327.26-34; *Contra Colluthum*: Mansi 10, 1117C (cf. PG 91,172C apud Maximum Confessorem), 981B (= *Doctrina Patrum* 314, XL), 981C (= *Doctrina Patrum* 314, XLI), 981B, 981C; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 328.1-7; 146.1-7, 9-12, 14-16, 19-22; *Epistula ad Marcellinum et Stephanum*: Mansi 10, 981A, 1120E, 1121A; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 144.35-40; 330.1-5, 6-12; *Ad Charisium monachum*: Mansi 10, 1117D; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 328.9-12; *Ad Constantinum Laodicensem*: Mansi 10, 1117D; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 328.19-21; *Ad Salamitanos*: Mansi 10, 1117C (= *Doctrina Patrum* 314, XXXIX); *Ad eos qui dicunt pro eo quod una est deo decibilis operatio*: Mansi 10, 1120D; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 328.23-28; *Apologia pro viginti capitulis*: Mansi 10, 1120E; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 328.30-32; *Apologia pro Theophobio* (not in CPG): cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 108.

Studies: E. Amman, *DTC* 15 (1946) 219-222; T. Hermann, "Monophysitica", *ZNTW* 32 (1933) 287-294; Grillmeier, II/2, 379-400 (English ed. 361-382); A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 3-102; D. Stiernon, *EEC* 2 (1992) 822.

THEODORE THE MONK

From Photius' *Bibliotheca* (cod. 108) we had long known of a debate between Themistius, the leader of the Agnoetai, and the Alexandrian monk Theodore. With the recent publication of large fragments from Theodore's work, the *Confutatio Brevis*, we are in a better position to document the progress of the argument between the two adherents of

the one-nature Christology concerning the ignorance of Christ. According to Photius, Themistius first advanced four arguments to prove the ignorance of Christ, to which Theodore responded. Subsequently Themistius wrote against Theodore a *monobiblion* bearing the title "Kalonymus, alias Themistius, Apology for Theophobius", which Theodore refuted in three tomes. Photius had read a work of Theodore called *Confutatio Brevis*. Since the apology for Theophobius is cited in the newly edited fragments, the *Confutatio Brevis* has to be identified with the apology in three tomes, and, given that in the text Theodosius of Alexandria is spoken of in the past tense, it may be assigned a date after Theodosius' death in 566. Theodore's refutation of Themistius, then, was not as compendious as its title suggests.

Seven fragments of Theodore's work have survived, indicating that it was composed of a number of *memrē*, each divided into chapters. In the first two fragments the monk argues that, if Christ, as a human being, is ignorant, he is liable to sin. In the third fragment Theodore concludes that the knowledge which Christ had did not come from his humanity, but that the humanity became perfect in knowledge on account of the hypostatic union. Then the monk sums up the evidence of the doctors of the right faith on the matter (fr. 4), before attacking Themistius as self-contradictory (fr. 5). The last two fragments attempt to show as false Themistius' claims that the doctors of the Church, especially Cyril of Alexandria, are contradictory. Theodore's *Confutatio Brevis* helps to illuminate the doctrine of Themistius, demonstrating also the crucial nature of patristic evidence in the Agnoetic debate.

Editions: CPG 7295; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 78-102; cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca* 108.

Translation - Latin: A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *op. cit.*, 92-102.

Studies: T. Hermann, "Monophysitica", *ZNTW* 32 (1933) 287-293; W. Ensslin, *PW*, series 2, 5 (1934) 1916-1917; A. Van Roey, "Unedited Monophysite Documents of the Sixth Century", *SP* 20 (1989) 79; Grillmeier, II/2, 380-383 (English ed. 364-366); A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *op. cit.*, 3-15, 72-77.

COLLUTHUS

Four fragments survive to us of the *Apologia pro Theodosio* of Colluthus, preserved thanks to their citation at the Lateran council and in the *Doctrina Patrum*. Colluthus' work was written in support of the stand that Theodosius of Alexandria had taken against Themistius of Alexandria's ideas on the ignorance of Christ, for we know that Themistius answered it in his *Contra Colluthum*, of which we have five fragments. Because of the purpose for which both of these works were excerpted and used at the council, however, namely the refutation of

Monothelitism, the emphasis in the fragments is rather on the one will or activity in Christ than on Christ's ignorance.

Editions: CPG 7298; Mansi 10, 1117E, 1121A, 1121D (= *Doctrina Patrum* 313, XXXVIII), 1121D-1124A, 1124A; R. Riedinger, ACO ser. II, 1, 330.14-17, 25-28, 30-33; 332.1-5.

Studies: E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1946) 219-221; Beck, 395; A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 6, 10-11, 16; F. Scorza Barcellona, *EEC* 1 (1992) 185.

JOHN PHILOPONUS

LIFE

There is no precise, exhaustive evidence on the life of John Philoponus, which on the whole remains quite obscure. Specialists have differing views even on his birthplace. On the basis of three bits of information – the first provided by B. de Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coisl.*, 53, apropos of Severus of Antioch's polemical work *Contra Grammaticum*, the second contained in Choeroboscus' commentary on Hephaestion, the third represented by a passage of Philoponus himself, *In Aristot. Meteor.* 126, 10-12 (CAG 14, 1 Hayduck) – W. Kroll (*PW* 9, 2, 1764-1765) suggests a Caesarea (no better identified: either that in Cappadocia or in Bithynia or in Palestine). G. Bardy (*DTC* 8, 1, 832), relying on Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccl.* XVIII, 47 (PG 147, 424 c4), considers Alexandria his birthplace, a view shared by R. Sorabji (*TRE* 17, 144) and C. Scholten (*Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi...*[FC 23.1] 8, 11; cf. also 26 n. 55, 28 n. 62, where Kroll's interpretation of his first piece of evidence is refuted: the *impius grammaticus* against whom Severus of Antioch wrote was not John Philoponus, cf. *infra*).

Equally unknown are the years of his birth and death. What are certain are the dates of composition of two works, the *Commentaria in Aristotelis Physicorum libros* (517) and the *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum* (529): Philoponus gives these himself, declaring that he wrote the former in the year 233 and the latter in the year 245 of the era of Diocletian, which began in 284 (*In Phys.* IV, 10, CAG 17, 703, 16-17 Vitelli, where the correct reading is σλγ', attested by codex Marc. gr. 230, and not τλγ', present in other codices; *De aet. m.* XVI, 579, 14-15 Rabe, cf. W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1768; G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1, 832; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 28-29). Another work of Philoponus, the Σύμμκτα θεωρήματα, which he refers to in the *Comment. in Aristot. Physic. libros* (CAG 16, 55; 26; 156, 17 Vitelli), was before 517. Since these three works evidently presuppose a not too brief period of very exacting philosophical studies, his date of birth can probably be put in the second

half of the 480s or the first half of the 490s (cf. also C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 8; the year 470, proposed by Kroll for his approximate date of birth, *PW* 9, 2, 1770, is perhaps too early). His date of death cannot have been much later than his last work, the *De resurrectione*, written around 574 (on its chronology, see R. Sorabji in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, 40; H. Chadwick, *ibid.*, 55; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 29). These conjectural dates suggest that Philoponus' life covered a period of about 90 years, between the late 5th century and the last quarter of the 6th.

It is thus untenable to put Philoponus in the 7th century, as favoured by Fabricius, BG X, 640, and Prantl, *Gesch. der Log.*, 1, 643 (cf. W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1768). This opinion had three causes: the reading τλγ', present in some codices, of *In Phys.* IV, 10 (CAG 17, 703, 16-17 Vitelli, cf. also *supra*), the two false suppositions of Photius and Nicephorus Callistus, and the account given in a 13th-century Arabic work. According to Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 240 (V 166, 4-6 Henry), Philoponus dedicated his *De opificio mundi* (or *Εις την ἐξαήμερον*) to Patriarch Sergius I of Constantinople (610-638); and according to Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccl.* XVIII, 47 (PG 147, 424 c12-d1), the same Sergius I was the recipient of another work by Philoponus, the *Διατητής* (cf. G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1, 832). The fertile 13th-century Syrian writer Gregory Abū'l-Faraj, better known as Bar Hebraeus, says that, after the capture of Alexandria by the Arab caliph 'Umar in 641, Philoponus in vain begged the Arab general 'Āmr ibn al-'As, who held him in great esteem, to spare at least the philosophical books of the Alexandrian library (*Historia compendiosa dynastiarum*, Arabice edita et Latine versa ab E. Pocockio, Oxoniae 1663, p. 180 of the Arabic text, p. 114 of the Latin version; other Arabic sources on this episode and on Philoponus' life, the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Qiftî, are cited and extensively examined by G. Furlani, "Giovanni Filopono e l'incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria", *BSAA* 21 [1925] 58-77; on the Arabic sources relating to Philoponus see also A. Abel, "La légende de Jean Philopon chez les Arabes", *AOB* 10 [1966] 251-280 and G. Troupeau, "Un épitomé arabe du 'De contingentia mundi' de Jean Philopon", AA.VV., *Antiquité païenne et chrétienne, Mémorial André-Jean Festugière*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 10, Geneva 1984, 77, n. 1). On the first point, we have seen (cf. *supra*) that in the passage of *In Phys.* the correct reading is not τλγ' (= 617) but σλγ' (= 517). On the second point, the Sergius to whom Philoponus dedicated the *De opificio mundi* (I, 74, 6-9 Scholten; cf. Photius, *loc. cit.*) and also, according to Nicephorus Callistus, the *Διατητής* was not Patriarch Sergius I of Constantinople but Sergius of Tella, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch from 557 to 560 (cf. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1768; G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1, 832 who however, following Reichardt, *Johannis Philoponi De Opificio*

Mundi libri VII, X, put Sergius' patriarchate in the years 546-549; and esp. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 26, 65, 74, n. 10 and *Antike Naturphilosophie...* [PTS 45], 60-61). The erroneous identification in Photius and Nicephorus Callistus was adopted by Fabricius, BG X, 640, who also followed the reading τλγ' in the passage of *In Phys.* Finally, on the third point, the episode narrated by Gregory Abū'l-Faraj can be ascribed only a legendary character, with no historical foundation. Fabricius and Prantl (*loc. cit.*) both show that they believe it.

Contrary to the opinion of Kroll, for whom Philoponus was of pagan origin and converted to Christianity around 520 (*PW* 9, 2, 1769-1771), it is more likely that he was always a Christian (cf. G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1, 833; E. Evrard: *BAB*, series 5, 39 [1953]; R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 4-5; and C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi I...*, 19-20, 22; Sorabji and Scholten criticize the neat dichotomy maintained by Kroll between a first, pagan period of Philoponus' life, from which would date the various commentaries on Aristotle, and a subsequent Christian period, from which would date his theological works). Philoponus' Christian origin would be proven more by his own name, John, than by his doctrine of the creation of matter by God: R. Sorabji (in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 4, *TRE* 144) considers this doctrine an exclusive Christian prerogative, but it was present outside the Christian ambit in Philo's *De providentia*, some Neo-Pythagorean circles, the *Chaldaean Oracles*, Ammonius Saccas, Porphyry, Iamblichus and Proclus (cf. references in S. Lilla, *Minutiae Clementinae...*, in AA.VV., *Paideia cristiana. Studi in onore di Mario Naldini*, 22, n. 3).

As appears from two testimonies of Choeroboscus (*Proleg. et Schol. in Theodos. Alex. Canones*, 106, 4; 309, 24 Hilgard; Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.*, III, 1177, 849, 9; 1201, 944, 19; cf. W. Kroll, *PW* 9, 2, 1765; C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 25, n. 54), his teacher was an otherwise unknown Romanus Grammaticus; but his education was based chiefly on the intense philosophical studies cultivated in the school of Alexandria. Among the teachers there was the celebrated Ammonius son of Hermias, who numbered among his disciples the physician Sergius of Rish'ayna, translator of the earliest Syriac version of the *Corpus Areopagiticum*, and outstanding philosophers such as Damascius, Asclepius, Simplicius and Olympiodorus (on the cultural milieu of Alexandria, its school and Ammonius, see R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 1-3; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 11-17). Philoponus explicitly recalls him as his teacher in *In Meteor.* (CAG 14, 1. 106, 9 Hayduck; cf. W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1765) and in the preface to his short work *De usu astrolabi* (*RhMPh* 6 [1939] 129, 9 Hase) (cf. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 24). The titles of some of his Aristotelian commentaries (*In An. pr.*,

In De gen. et corr., *In De an.*, *In An. post.*) prove that he heard and wrote down Ammonius' lectures, to which he sometimes added his own personal observations (cf. R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *op. cit.*, 3-4 with n. 12; C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 24). According to Damascius, *Vit. Is.* fr. 316 Zintzen (p. 251), Ammonius had made a financial agreement with the bishop of Alexandria; R. Sorabji, *op. cit.*, thinks Ammonius also gave way on the doctrinal level, on the basis of his assent to the Christian interpretation of Aristotle given by his Christian pupils, foremost among them Philoponus; H.J. Blumenthal, "John Philoponus: Alexandrian Platonist?", *Hermes* 114 (1986) 323, clearly does not believe this hypothesis; cf. also C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 27.

It is likely that the epithet "Philoponus", which regularly accompanies the name "John" in the titles of his works and is regularly ascribed to him, is derived not so much from a supposed membership – for which there is no proof – of a circle of laymen active within the Alexandrian church and called "*Philoponoi*", as from the admiration he aroused by his extraordinary assiduity in study and his immense learning and output. The same epithet was also fastened to other philosophers of the time (cf. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 24, n. 50). According to Simplicius (*In De cael.*: CAG 7. 71, 8; 74, 5; 119, 7 Heiberg), he liked to call himself "grammaticus", an epithet by which other authors also designated him (cf. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 25, n. 53) and by which Simplicius himself pejoratively addresses him (cf. e.g. *In De cael.*: CAG 7. 70, 34; 73, 10 Heiberg; *In Phys.* CAG 10. 1129, 29; 1140, 7; 1156, 30; 1326, 38; 1358, 26. 39 Diels). Another pejorative epithet that Simplicius uses of him is τελχίv, "mischievous, spiteful" (*In De cael.* CAG 7. 66, 10 Heiberg; *In Phys.* CAG 10. 1117, 16 Diels). The laudatory epithet "Philoponos" was changed to the pejorative "Mataioponos" by certain later detractors such as, e.g., Theodore of Alexandria, the Fathers of the Third Council of Constantinople, Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople (on the documentation relating to these epithets, cf. in particular W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1765-1767; R. Sorabji, *op. cit.*, 5-6; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 22-26, who [p. 23] also cites 'Ubaidallah's legendary account which celebrates Philoponus' great strength of will in studying).

Philoponus' position in the church of Alexandria is not very clear (cf. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 26-27). There is no sure evidence to suggest that he was bishop of Alexandria, a hypothesis in which P. Meyer still seems to believe, as is shown by the title of his entry "Johannes Philoponos", *REPhK* 9 (1901³) 310 (cf. G. Bardy, *op. cit.*, 833); the two items provided by the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Qifti, according to which Philoponus was "bishop in one of the churches of Egypt" or "bishop in the church of Alexandria" (cf. G. Furlani, *BSAA* 21 [1925] 59), are the fruit of an error present in the source of the *Fihrist*, whose author must

have confused John Philoponus with Bishop John of Alexandria who anathematized Philoponus in 575 (cf. G. Furlani, *op. cit.*, 63; on this anathema and its text cf. C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 8; and G. Furlani, "L'anatema di Giovanni di Alessandria contro Giovanni Filopono", *AAT* 55 [1919] 188-194, which cites a Latin version of it).

Philoponus was certainly in contact with other leaders of the Monophysite Church, to which he adhered: to the future Monophysite patriarch Sergius of Tella (cf. *supra*) he dedicated three of his works, the treatise *De totalitate et partibus* (or *De universali et particulari*), written soon after 553 (on this dating, which differs from that proposed by Bardy, *op. cit.*, 832, cf. H. Chadwick, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 55), the *Διατητής*, written around 552-553, and the *De opificio mundi*, written between 546 and 560 (on the chronology of these last two works cf. R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 40; H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 55; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 29). Soon after the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553 (or Constantinopolitan council "of the Three Chapters") at which Justinian had tried to reconcile the Chalcedonian doctrine of Christ's two natures with Monophysitism by condemning the three radical anti-Monophysites of the Antiochene school, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrhus and Ibas of Edessa, Philoponus wrote his treatise *Tomi quattuor contra synodum quartam*, of which Michael the Syrian has preserved a summary: confirming his Monophysitism, he showed himself averse not just to the Chalcedonian Christological formula "two natures, one hypostasis", also adopted by Justinian (*ACO* 2/1/2, 129, 31-33 Schwartz, *Contra Monophys.* I, ABAW n.s. 18 [1939] 11, 20-21 Schwartz), but also to the three Antiochene Diphysites Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ibas of Edessa.

As Chadwick points out (*op. cit.*, 48-49), for Philoponus it was contradictory to confirm the Chalcedonian doctrine and at the same time to condemn Theodoret, whose Christology had been accepted by Chalcedon. It was probably to his Monophysitism that Philoponus owed the summons to Constantinople addressed him by Justinian († 565); at the beginning of the *Epistula ad Iustinianum* written in reply around 560 (cf. H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 55) Philoponus turned down the invitation, adducing as reasons his advanced age, his poor health and the unsuitable season (cf. A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum* III, 740; G. Furlani, "Una lettera di Giovanni Filopono all'imperatore Giustiniano", *AIVS* 80 [1920-1921] 1248-1249).

Given his Monophysitism, Philoponus was doctrinally close to Severus of Antioch, whose disciple, according to Arabic sources, he was (cf. Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccl.* XVIII, 49, PG 147, 429 C8-9; the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Qifti, in G. Furlani: *BSAA* 21 [1925] 59). Apropos

of this it must be made clear that "the Grammaticus" (i.e. John Grammaticus of Caesarea) who was the object of a polemical work by Severus (Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coisl.*, 53) was not John Philoponus (this identification is rightly denied by C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi* I..., 26, n. 55; 28, n. 62; cf. also *supra*): Severus was in fact the author of a work in three books *Contra impium grammaticum* (CPG 3, 7024) "in which [he] refutes a defence of the council of Chalcedon written by John of Caesarea" (M. Simonetti: *DPAC* 2, 3181; *EEC* 2 [1992] 773; this work of Severus is also mentioned by the author of an anti-Tritheist opusculum in Syriac, cf. G. Furlani, *Sei scritti antitriteistici*, PO 14, 629). This circumstance is enough to rule out any identity between the *impius grammaticus* (John Grammaticus of Caesarea), upholder of Chalcedonian doctrines, and the irreducibly anti-Chalcedonian John Philoponus. The information provided by Suidas (546 g Bekker; W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1746) that John Philoponus was the author of a work *κατὰ Σεβήρου* is derived from this erroneous identification: the anti-Severian writer in question must be put in the context of the controversy that arose between Severus and John the Grammaticus of Caesarea. Unacceptable, therefore, is the theory of the existence of a controversy between Philoponus and Severus of Antioch, upheld by Bardy (*DTC* 8, 1, 832) on the basis of Suidas' text. Also different from John the Grammaticus of Caesarea is the recipient of an epistle of Severus, whose Greek title has been transmitted in part by Montfaucon (*Bibl. Coisl.*, 57): *Σεβήρου ἐξ ἧς ἔγραψε πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν αἰρετικὸν ἐπιστολῆς ἐπίσκοπον Ἀλεξανδρείας* (where *πρὸς* does not mean "against", but simply "to"). This epistle must be identified with the *Epistula synodica ad Iohannem archiepiscopum Alexandriae* preserved in Arabic (CPG 3, 7070 [15]). Its recipient might have been John Philoponus, improperly called "bishop" or "archbishop" (A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, III, 728, n. 2 suggests an otherwise unidentified John, a follower of the Monophysite Theodosius of Alexandria, on which see T. Orlandi, "Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta", *GiF* n.s. 23 [1971] 175-176).

Though clear traces of Tritheism are present in the *Διατητής* (cf. V. Martin, "Jean Philopon et la controverse trithéite du VI^e siècle", in AA.VV., *Studia patristica*, 5, TU 80, 520-521), the most eloquent testimony to Philoponus' acceptance of Tritheist doctrine is represented by the *De Trinitate* (cf. *ibid.* 520) composed in old age – around 567 – against John Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople (cf. *ibid.* 522-524; R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 40; H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 55; C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 29), and in all probability identical with the *βιβλιδάριον* whose target, according to Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 75, I. 153, 25-30 Henry) was the catechetical

sermon preached by Patriarch John Scholasticus in the reign of Justin II (565-578). Martin (*op. cit.*, 524-525) rightly comes down in favour of this identification. Since the patriarchate of John Scholasticus (565-577) coincides perfectly with the reign of Justin II and the year of composition of the *De Trinitate* comes into this period, there seems no basis to Kroll's theory (*PW* 9, 2, 1792), shared by Henry (*Photius. Bibliothèque*, I, 153, n. 3), that Photius confused two homonymous people, as he did with Sergius (cf. *supra*). His Tritheism must have been the cause of the anathema of 575 launched against Philoponus by John of Alexandria (cf. *supra*; and C. Scholten, *op. cit.*, 8 and 26). Philoponus' death must have occurred a few years after this date.

Biographical outlines can be found in: W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2 (1916) 1764-1771; G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1 (1924) 832-833; R. Sorabji: *TRE* 17 (1988) 144; cf. also R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji, Ithaca (NY) 1987, 3-6; and C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi* 1, *Über die Erschaffung der Welt*, 1 [FC 23. 1], Freiburg i.B. 1997, 8-35.

WORKS

Lists of Philoponus' works can be found in: W. Kroll: *PW* 9, 2, 1772-1795; G. Bardy: *DTC* 8, 1, 833-837; R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, Ithaca (NY) 1987, 231-235 (40 items); C. Scholten, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De Opificio Mundi" des Johannes Philoponos* [PTS 45], Berlin 1996, 429-435 (43 items); Idem, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi* I, *Über die Erschaffung der Welt* [FC 23.1], Freiburg i.B. 1997, 36-43 (43 items). On the chronology of the works cf. in particular R. Sorabji, in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection... cit.*, 40; Idem: *TRE* 17, 147; C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi* I... *cit.*, 29. On the chronology of the theological writings cf. in particular H. Chadwick, "Philoponus the Christian Theologian", in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection... cit.*, 55.

Suidas had already pointed out in his brief entry (546 g Bekker; cf. W. Kroll: *PWK* 9, 2, 1764) the wealth of Philoponus' output and the variety of his subjects (grammar, philosophy, arithmetic, rhetoric, scriptural exegesis, physics, theology). Following his example, Kroll, Bardy, Sorabji and Scholten have conveniently divided Philoponus' works into various categories, corresponding to the different fields of production. The present list follows in its division and numbering Scholten's 1997 list, the most recent and up-to-date (*Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi* I... *cit.*, 36-43), and refers regularly to modern editions, to the numbers of Sorabji's list and to the CPG (though this records only the writings that come into the patristic-theological

sphere). In the lists of Scholten and Sorabji further information can be found on individual works, corresponding to the numbers that mark them.

I. Commentaries on Aristotelian works

1. *In Aristotelis Categorias* (ed. A. Busse, CAG 13, 1, Berolini 1898). Sorabji 1.

2. *In Aristotelis Analytica priora* (ed. M. Wallies, CAG 13, 2, Berolini 1905). Sorabji 2.

3. *In Aristotelis Analytica posteriora* (ed. M. Wallies, CAG 13, 3, Berolini 1909). Sorabji 3.

4. *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum librum primum* (ed. M. Hayduck, CAG 14, 1, Berolini 1901). Sorabji 4.

5. *In Aristotelis libros De generatione et corruptione* (ed. H. Vitelli, CAG 14, 2, Berolini 1897). Sorabji 5.

6. *In Aristotelis De anima libros* (ed. M. Hayduck, CAG 15, Berolini 1897). Sorabji 6.

6a. *Commentaire sur le De anima d'Aristote, trad. de Guillaume de Moerbeke* (ed. G. Verbeke, CLCAG 3, Louvain 1966). Sorabji 6 (I).

6b. According to Gennadius Scholarius, St Thomas Aquinas' commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* was identical with a commentary by Philoponus. Sorabji 6 (II).

7. *In Aristotelis Physicorum libros tres priores. In Aristotelis Physicorum libros quinque posteriores* (ed. H. Vitelli, CAG 16, Berolini 1887; CAG 17, Berolini 1888). Sorabji 7.

8. *In Aristotelis Sophisticos elenchos*, of which Fabricius informs us, BG III, 218; X, 646. Sorabji 8.

9. *In Metaphysica*, spurious. Sorabji 9.

II. Commentaries on Porphyry

10. *In Porphyrii Isagogen*. Sorabji 10.

III. Commentaries on Plato

11. *In Platonis Phaedonem*, lost.

IV. Medical writings

12. Medical works in Arabic translations (of which sometimes just the titles remain). Sorabji 12.

13. *De febri*. Sorabji 13.

14. *De pulsu*. Sorabji 14.

V. Mathematical writings

15. *In librum primum Nicomachi Introductionis arithmeticae* (ed. R. Hoche, Lipsiae 1864). *In librum alterum Nicomachi Introductionis arithmeticae* (ed. R. Hoche, Berolini 1867). Sorabji 15; G.R. Giardina, *Giovanni*

Filopono matematico tra neopitagorismo e neoplatonismo: commentario alla Introduzione aritmetica di Nicomaco di Gerasa, Catania 1999.

VI. Astronomical writings

16. *De usu astrolabi eiusque constructione libellus* (ed. H. Hase, *RhMPh* 6 [1839] 123-173; A.P. Segonds, *Jean Philopone. Traité de l'astrolabe*, Paris 1981, with French tr.). Sorabji 16.

VII. Grammatical writings

17. *De vocabulis quae diversum significatum exhibent secundum differentiam accentus* (cf. Kroll, *PW* 9, 2, 1783; ed. L.W. Daly, Philadelphia 1983; cf. also A. Bravo García: *Estudios Clásicos* 27 [1985] 149-156). Sorabji 17.

18. *Praecepta de accentibus Aelii Herodiani libri De prosodia* (ed. G. Dindorf, Lipsiae 1825). Sorabji 18.

18a. *De dialectis* (ed. C. Consani, *Διάλεκτος: contributo alla storia del concetto di dialetto*, Testi linguistici 18, Pisa 1991).

VIII. Writings on cosmology

19. *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum* (ed. H. Rabe, Lipsiae 1889, Hildesheim 1963²). Sorabji 19; CPG 7266.

20. *De aeternitate mundi contra Aristotelem* (on the Greek, Arabic and Syriac fragments cf. C. Scholten [PTS 45], 432 [FC 23.1], 39-40 under n. 20; English tr. of the fragments in C.W. Wildberg, *Philoponus. Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, London 1987). Sorabji 20.

21. *De aeternitate mundi 2* (English tr. of the *excerpta* in D. Furley, C. Wildberg, *Philoponus. Corollaries on Place and Void with Simplicius against Philoponus on the Eternity of the World*, London 1991). Sorabji 21.

22. *De contingentia mundi sive summarium De aeternitate mundi* (the work survives only in an anonymous Arabic summary; ed. and French tr. by G. Troupeau, "Un épitomé arabe du 'De contingentia mundi' de Jean Philopon", in AA.VV., *Antiquité païenne et chrétienne, Mémorial A.-J. Festugière*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 10, Geneva 1984, 77-88). Sorabji 22; CPG 7274 (cf. also Supplement, p. 416).

23. *De opificio mundi* (ed. G. Reichhardt, *Johannis Philoponi De Opificio Mundi Libri VII*, Lipsiae 1887; C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos De Opificio Mundi...*, cit. [FC 23.1-3], Freiburg i.B. 1997, with facing German tr.). Sorabji 23; CPG 7265 (cf. also Supplement, p. 415).

IX. Writings on philosophical, mathematical and physical questions

24. *Symmikta Theoremata*, lost. 24 Sorabji; 24a Scholten.

25. *De inclinationibus*, lost. 24b Scholten.

On other non-surviving physical writings cf. the references in C. Scholten [PTS 45] cit., 72-76; Idem [FC 32.1...] cit., 41.

X. Monophysite theological writings

26. *Diaetetes* (or *Arbiter*), preserved entire only in a Syriac version (Syriac text with Latin tr. in A. Sanda, *Johannis Philoponi opuscula monophysitica*, Beirut 1930, 3-48, 35-88). Greek fragments are in John of Damascus, Nicephorus Callistus and the *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*. Sorabji 25; Scholten 25; CPG 7260.

27. *Epitome libri Diaetetes* (Syriac text with Latin tr. in A. Sanda, *op. cit.*, 49-62, 89-103; Italian version in G. Furlani, "Il contenuto dell'Arbitro di Giovanni Filopono", *RSFR* 4 [1922] 388-404). Sorabji 26; Scholten 26; CPG 7261.

28. *Dubiorum quorundam in Diaetete solutio duplex* (Syriac text and Latin tr. in A. Sanda, *op. cit.*, 63-80, 104-125). Sorabji 27; Scholten 27; CPG 7262.

29. *Tmemata seu Tomi quattuor contra synodum quartam*, a work preserved only in a summary contained in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian (Syriac text with French tr. in J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, Paris 1899-1910; for the Syriac text cf. in particular *ibid.*, 4, Paris 1910, 218-238; for the French tr., *ibid.*, 2, Paris 1901, 92-121). Sorabji 28; Scholten 28; CPG 7271.

30. *De totalitate et partibus* (Syriac text with Latin version in A. Sanda, *op. cit.*, 81-94, 126-129; Latin version also in G. Furlani, *Il trattato di Giovanni Filopono sul rapporto tra le parti e gli elementi e il tutto e le parti*, *AIVS* 81, 2 [1921-1922] 84-102). Sorabji 29; Scholten 29; CPG 7263.

31. *De differentia, numero et divisione*, spurious (Syriac text and Latin tr. in A. Sanda, *op. cit.*, 95-122, 140-171; Syriac text with Italian tr. in G. Furlani, "Unità e dualità di natura secondo Giovanni Filopono", *Bessarione* 27 [1923] 45-65). Sorabji 30; Scholten 30; CPG 7277.

32. *Epistula ad Iustinianum* (Syriac text with Latin version in A. Sanda, *op. cit.*, 123-130, 172-180; Latin version also in G. Furlani, "Una lettera di Giovanni Filopono all'imperatore Giustiniano", *AIVS* 80, 2 [1920-1921] 1248-1257; a note in Latin in A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, 3, Rome 1840, 739-740). Sorabji 31; Scholten 31; CPG 7264.

XI. Tritheist writings

33. *De Trinitate*, very probably identical with the *De theologia* (Syriac fragments with Latin version in A. Van Roey, "Les fragments trithéites de Jean Philopon", *OLP* 11 [1980] 148-154, 158-161; Syriac text of some fragments and their Italian tr. in G. Furlani, *Sei scritti antitriteistici in lingua siriaca*, PO 14, 685; 693; 698; 701-702; 710; 723; 732; Italian tr. of the fragments also in Idem, "Un florilegio antitriteistico in lingua

siriaca", *AIVS* 83, 2 [1923-1924] 663-664, 665, 667, 668-669, 671, 674; also some fragments in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian: Syriac text in J.-B. Chabot, *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, n. 29], 4, 361-362; French tr. in J.-B. Chabot, *op. cit.*, 2, 330-332). Sorabji 32; Scholten 32; CPG 7268, 7270 (cf. also Supplement, pp. 415-416).

34. *Contra Themistium* (Syriac text of 11 fragments and Latin tr. in A. Van Roey, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 33], 154-156, 161-162; Italian tr. of some fragments in G. Furlani, "Un florilegio antitrinitario...", cit. [cf. *supra*, n. 33], 664-665; 666, 667-668, 674). Sorabji 33; Scholten 33; CPG 7269 (cf. also Supplement, p. 415).

35. *Epistula ad consentaneum quemdam* (text of a Syriac fragment and Latin tr. in A. Van Roey, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 33], 157 and 162; a Syriac fragment with Italian tr. in G. Furlani, *Sei scritti antitrinitari...*, cit. [cf. *supra*, n. 33], PO 14, 736). Sorabji 34; Scholten 34; cf. CPG 7282 (number referring to the *Scripta antitrinitaria* in which the Syriac fragment is preserved; but cf. also Supplement, p. 416, 7275; p. 417, 7276 a 1).

36. Fragment of uncertain provenance, consisting of four Syriac fragments (text with Latin tr. in A. Van Roey, *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, n. 33], 157-158, 162-163). Sorabji 35; Scholten 35; CPG Supplement, p. 417, 7276 a 2.

XII. Writings on the resurrection

37. *De resurrectione* (Greek fragments in Timothy of Constantinople, *De recept. haeretic.*, PG 86, 1, 44 A 5-12, 61 C 3-15 and in Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. eccl.* XVIII, 47, PG 147, 424 D 7-425 A 6; Syriac fragments in A. Van Roey, "Un traité coranique contre la doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la résurrection", in AA.VV., *Ἀντίδοπον, Hommage à Maurits Geerard*, Wetteren 1984, 133-134 [fr. 25], 135 [fr. 30], 135-138 [fr. 32-33]). Sorabji 36; Scholten 36; CPG 7272 (cf. also Supplement, p. 416).

38. *Contra epistolam Dosithei* (two Syriac fragments in A. Van Roey, *op. cit.* [cf. *supra*, n. 37], 134-135 [fr. 29]). Sorabji 37; Scholten 37; CPG Supplement, p. 417, 7276.

XIII. Anti-Arian writings

39. *Contra Andream* (Syriac fragments with Latin tr. in A. Van Roey, "Fragments antiariens de Jean Philopon", *OLP* 10 [1979] 241-246, 246-248). Sorabji 38; Scholten 38; CPG 7273.

39a. *Contra Arianos*, perhaps identical with the preceding (a Syriac fragment with Latin version in A. Van Roey, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 39], 240-241; the same Syriac fragment with Italian tr. in G. Furlani, *Sei scritti antitrinitari...*, cit. [cf. *supra*, n. 33], PO 14, 700). Sorabji 38; Scholten 38; cf. CPG 7282.

XIV. Other theological writings

40. *Disputatio de Paschate*, of not wholly certain authenticity (ed. C. Walter, Lipsiae 1899). Sorabji 39; Scholten 39; CPG 7267.

41. *Contra Iamblichum de status*, lost but recorded by Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 215 (iii. 130, 4-131, 22 Henry). Sorabji 40; Scholten 40.

42. *Refutatio Nestorii*, spurious (mentioned by C. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1, ST 118, Vatican City 1944, 418). Scholten 41; CPG 7278.

43. *De monachatu*, spurious (mentioned by C. Graf, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 42], 418). Scholten 42; CPG 7279.

44. *Contra Theodorum Mopsuestenum eiusque asseclas de Dei infinitudine*, recorded by Philoponus himself in *Opif. m.* I, 17 (i. 150, 9-12 Scholten); VI, 15 (iii. 554, 25-27). Scholten 43.

THOUGHT

Philoponus occupies an outstanding place in the history of proto-Byzantine scientific and theological thought. The great variety of his output reflects the wealth of his interests and his severe, profound cultural formation. A uniform, stringent scientific rigour characterizes his way of treating the various questions he examines, whether in the strictly physical or in the theological or cosmological fields.

Only a brief mention can be made here of Philoponus' physical theories, which, as a series of modern studies has shown (cf. R. Sorabji cited below, also BIBLIOGRAPHY, 2b), at times anticipate those of Renaissance and modern scientific thought, taking as their starting-point a critical rejection of Aristotle. A complete view of them is provided by R. Sorabji in the introductory article to the volume on Philoponus edited by him, which brings together important contributions by various specialists (*Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, 6-31). The following theories deserve particular attention. 1) The universe is not co-eternal with God (cf. also *infra*, on cosmology). 2) Impetus (or initial thrust) is the true cause of the movement of a body, which is not produced, despite what Aristotle maintained, by the action of the surrounding air. 3) Velocity in the void always requires a certain time (removal of a resistance to movement annuls, not the time needed for the movement itself, but only the time necessary to overcome the resistance). 4) Space is a three-dimensional extension (or expansion) which may also be void and cannot just be reduced to what surrounds a body (as had been Aristotle's view). 5) The conception of space and time as infinity must be rejected. 6) The Aristotelian theory of the natural region (the movement of a body towards a particular region is not produced by a force inherent in that region, but by the tendency of a body to realize the order established by God) cannot be accepted.

7) Three-dimensional extension must be applied not just to space, but also to matter; three-dimensionality is not the first property impressed on a prior amorphous substrate, but is already inherent in the first substrate from the moment of its creation (while this new theory is developed in the *De aeternitate mundi* – cf. also *infra*, on cosmology – the Aristotelian doctrine of primordial matter without form or dimensions is still accepted in the *Commentary on the Categories* and the *Commentary on the Physics*). Extension as prime substrate is not an abstract geometrical or spatial extension, but a genuine corporeal extension and, although it always exists in association with measure, is not in itself a measure. 8) The fifth element, aether, of which Aristotle believed the heavenly spheres and the stars consisted, does not exist. Rotary movement is impressed on the heavens not by the fifth element but by God alone. The sun itself is formed not of aether, but of the purest part of the four elements. 9) The sun in itself possesses heat, which is not derived from its friction with the belts of air and fire, a friction produced by its movement. 10) While in Aristotle light has a static character (it is the *entelecheia* of the intermediate transparent element, which makes vision possible and does not undergo displacement), Philoponus attributes to it the same property of “directionality” that Aristotle assigns to colour: as colour for Aristotle, so light has for Philoponus a “directionality” determined by its discontinuous “leaps” through the intermediate transparent element, without this involving any genuine temporal movement (light changes place instantaneously). 11) Central to Philoponus is the idea of creation: not only does it allow the extension of the theory of impetus to the heavens and the heavenly bodies – moved by an initial thrust by God – and the rejection of the theory of “natural region” (cf. *supra*, n. 6); but it also serves to support the theory of space as extension, and of finite space (cf. *supra*, nn. 4-5; references to the passages of Philoponus’ writings that document these theories are given by Sorabji in the article cited above).

In the theological field Philoponus is well known as a Monophysite and Tritheist. His Monophysitism and Tritheism originate in the application to Christology and to the idea of the Trinity of the Aristotelian doctrine of οὐσία as expounded at the beginning of the *Categories*.

According to Aristotle, the one true οὐσία, the real concrete οὐσία, is πρώτη οὐσία, i.e. the οὐσία that is identified with the single individual (ἄτομον, ἐν ἀριθμῷ, τόδε τι, τίς), *Cat.* 2^a 11-13, 3^b 10-13. That only πρώτη οὐσία has a concrete existence is proved by the fact that the δεύτεραι οὐσίαι – which designate the more comprehensive genera or their species not yet identical with single individuals (2^b 29-30) – cannot subsist apart from πρώτη οὐσία, 2^b 5-6, 6b-c, cf. *Met.* Z 1040^b 23-24, 26-27.

The unreserved acceptance of this doctrine makes Philoponus an ardent supporter of the total identity between πρώτη οὐσία or ἄτομον, φύσις and ὑπόστασις understood as *persona* (πρόσωπον). If φύσις is the whole of the characteristic properties of an οὐσία (*Diaet.* in John of Damascus, *Haer.* 83 [PTS] 22), 51, 31-32 Kotter), there is already a perfect equivalence between the two terms, even when they designate the genus, i.e. the properties common to several individuals (*Haer.* 51, 33 Kotter). But just as for Aristotle the more general δεύτεραι οὐσίαι can exist concretely only in πρώται οὐσίαι, i.e. only in single individuals (cf. *supra*), so for Philoponus the more general φύσις – corresponding to the Aristotelian δευτέρα οὐσία – can subsist concretely only in the particular ὑπόστασις, which, as individual thing or *persona* (*Haer.* 51, 34-36), is identical with the ἄτομον (or πρώτη οὐσία) of the Aristotelian-peripatetic school (*Haer.* 51, 37, where appears an explicit reference to the Peripatetics; 55, 165-166, 167-169). There is thus a total identity between φύσις and ὑπόστασις, different names that have a single meaning in that they refer to the same particular entity (*Haer.* 55, 176-177; cf. *Diaet.* 27, 62, 2-4 *Sanda naturam maxime particularem individuorum eandem esse et hypostasim cum proprietatibus sibi adherentibus*). In this Philoponus has a clear precedent in Plotinus, who in *Enn.* V, 1, 8 (II 282, 27 Henry-Schwyzler) calls his three metaphysical realities φύσις (in this passage φύσεσι is nothing but a synonym of ὑποστάσεις, cf. S. Lilla, “The Neoplatonic Hypostases and the Christian Tradition”, in AA.VV., *Studies in Plato and the Platonic Tradition, Essays Presented to John Whittaker*, Aldershot 1997, 137, n. 33). A single ὑπόστασις must necessarily correspond to a single φύσις (*Haer.* 55, 179-180); and two natures cannot enter into a single ὑπόστασις as two separate components (*Haer.* 55, 161-162).

Applied to Christology, this reasoning leads Philoponus to conclude that when two distinct natures – divinity and humanity – unite in the one hypostasis of Christ, they cannot but form a single nature (*Haer.* 54, 150-152). The better to clarify his assumption, Philoponus has recourse to the clear-cut Aristotelian distinction between δύναμις and ἐνέργεια: two elements (in the case of Christ two natures) which unite to form a single composite (in the case of Christ, his ὑπόστασις) are present in it no longer ἐνεργεία, but only δυνάμει (*Haer.* 51, 19-20), i.e. no longer separate, but intimately combined. Inevitable, consequently, is the rejection of the Chalcedonian Christological formula “two natures, one hypostasis” (cf. *supra*), which from Philoponus’ point of view is illogical and contradictory, since while on one hand it admits the unicity of Christ’s hypostasis, on the other it excludes the union of the two original natures in a single nature (*Haer.* 54, 149-154; 55, 171-172; cf. *Epit. libri Diaet.* 7 [93, 10-11 Sanda] *impossibile est, ut unam hypostasim*

Christi afferamus, naturas autem duas). Like other Monophysites (cf. e.g. Severus in Leontius of Byzantium, *Cap. trig. c. Sever.*, PG 86, 2, 1908 B 7-8, *Sol. arg. a Sev. obiect.* PG 86, 2, 1929 D 7-8), Philoponus has no difficulty in admitting that the one hypostasis-nature of Christ is a composite hypostasis-nature, resulting from the combination or union of the two original natures, divine and human (*Diaet.* 41, 79, 31-32 *Sanda dicimus et totius unam esse naturam et hypostasim compositam*, 45, 85, 23 *totalitatem eius unam naturam compositam*, John of Damascus, *Haer.* 52, 77-78 ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δύο φύσεων ἔνωσιν, τῆς θείας φημὶ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας, πρεσβεύομεν). Yet he wants to make clear that while on one hand this single composite nature derives from two original natures (*Diaet.* 41, 79, 30-31 *utriusque naturae, ex quibus constat*: 45, 84, 16-17 *duarum realitatum ex quibus est Christus*; 84, 22 *totalitatem ex duabus naturis resultantem*; cf. Eutyches in Mansi 6, 744 B 1-2 ἐκ δύο φύσεων...πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως), on the other hand it is not in these two natures, whose union in the hypostasis of Christ is no mere accidental cohesion, but an intimate mutual interpenetration (*Diaet.* 45, 84, 22-23 *totalitatem ex duabus naturis resultantem non esse accidentale quoddam meramque essentialium cohaesionem*; 84, 28-30 *de compositis, in primis si in compositionem [efficiendam] mutuo se perpenetrant*): in the same way fire, which is composed of heat, dryness and lightness, is a single nature and is not in these properties; man, while composed of soul and body, is not in soul and body (*Diaet.* 45, 84, 30-85, 1); the whole formed from the parts is not in the parts, especially if these are not localizable but interpenetrate each other totally (*Diaet.* 45, 85, 9-15; cf. *De tot. et par.* 12, 139, 4 *Sanda et necessario etiam totalitas non est in partibus*). The preposition "from" (ἐκ) is thus far more appropriate than the proposition "in" (ἐν), *Diaet.* 45, 84, 29-30 *potius phrasi "ex illis" quam "in illis" uti solemus*, 85, 21-22 *nemo sensu proprio ... utitur phrasi in duabus naturis sed ex duabus* (cf. H. Chadwick in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection...* cit., 47). Philoponus' preference for ἐκ over ἐν has a clear parallel in Dioscorus of Alexandria (*Conc. Univ. Chalced.*, ACO 2/1/1, 130, 13-14 Schwartz; cf. H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 45). The preposition ἐκ had also been preferred by Cyril and had been adopted in the first draft of the Chalcedonian creed; the proposition ἐν, which on the contrary confirmed the clear dichotomy between the two natures in the one hypostasis of Christ and hence Diphysitism, was preferred in the final draft of the creed in order to gratify Pope Leo (on this procedure adopted at Chalcedon and its backstage political intrigues cf. H. Chadwick, *op. cit.*, 44-45).

The preference shown by Cyril and Philoponus for ἐκ (cf. Chadwick, 44 and 47) is not the only point of agreement between their Christological views. In the *Diaetetes*, to describe the nature of Christ, Philoponus

reproduces the formula "one single incarnate nature of the Logos-God" (μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη ὁμολογοῦμεν in John of Damascus, *Haer.* 52, 86-87, 1) which recurs regularly in Cyril (cf. e.g. *Ep.* 40 [PG 77, 192 D11-193 A2], *Ep.* 45 [PG 77, 232 D9], *Ep.* 46 [PG 77, 240 C7, 241 A7-8], *Adv. Nest.* II [PG 76, 60 D11-12]) and is typical of Monophysitism (cf. e.g. Apollinaris, *Ep. ad Iov.* 250, 7-251, 2 Lietzmann; Severus of Antioch, *Ep. ad Paul.*, *Act. Conc. Constant. anni 681*, in Mansi 11, 444 C11-12; *Ep. ad Serg.* I 58, 10-11 Lebon [CSCO 119 / Syr. 64 (Syr. IV, 7)] *unam naturam Verbi incarnatam*); like Cyril, Philoponus maintains that after their union in the one nature of Christ the two original natures are not separable (*Diaet.* 45, 85, 18-19 *quodsi igitur divinitas Christi ab eiusdem anima et corpore non est discreta*; cf. Cyril, *Ep.* 40 [PG 77, 192D1] ἔνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον, *Ep.* 45 [PG 77, 232 C13-14, D5-7] ἔνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον, μετὰ μέντοι τὴν ἔνωσιν οὐ διαιροῦμεν τὰς φύσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων); like Cyril, he compares the unicity of Christ's nature to the unicity of the human person, made of soul and body (*Diaet.* 45, 84, 30-85, 1; cf. Cyril, *Ep.* 45 [PG 77, 233 A4-12]); and, like Cyril, he wants to make clear that the intimate union of the two original natures has not brought about any alteration in the divine nature (*Diaet.* 44, 83, 16-19 *omnino sine mutatione in Christo naturam divinam mansisse... eodem modo res contiget divinitati Verbi, sicut ante unionem cum natura humana ita etiam post unionem*; 83, 26-28 *invariabile et immutabile est, Verbum Deus... sicut est manet*; cf. Cyril, *Ep.* 45 [PG 77, 232 C14] ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, *Ep.* 46 [PG 77, 241 B8-9]).

At the moment when he asserts the impossibility of an alteration of the divine nature of the Logos after its union with human nature, Philoponus on one hand clearly dissociates himself from the radical Monophysitism of Apollinaris and Eutyches, for whom the one composite nature of Christ is consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) neither with divine nature nor with human nature, but with something intermediate between the two (Apollinaris fr. 111 Lietzmann [233, 28-29]; fr. 113 [234, 13-20]; Gregory of Nyssa, *Adv. Apoll.* 163, 7-8; Eutyches, in Mansi 6, 741 A12, B3-4, C7-9 and in Severus of Antioch, *Ep. ad Serg.* II 89, 27-31 Lebon [CSCO 119 / Syr. 64 (Syr. IV, 7)], 86, 8-20; cf. M. Jugie: *DTC* 5, 2, 1601 IV. 3; *EC* 5, 869); on the other he agrees with the moderate Monophysitism of Severus of Antioch, who in his correspondence with Sergius Grammaticus had emphasized this property of the Logos together with its lack of confusion with human nature (*Ep. ad Serg.* I 55, 26-28, 30-31 Lebon [CSCO 119 / Syr. 64 (Syr. IV, 7)] *absque confusione, non quod demutatum sit Verbum*; cf. also Leontius of Byzantium, *Sol. arg. a Sev. obiect.*, PG 86, 2, 1932 A5-6; in the first of these two passages may be observed the same idea, which in the

penultimate passage of Cyril cited above is expressed by the two adverbs ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως). In this way, despite his anti-Chalcedonianism and his Monophysitism, he follows in the wake of the Neoplatonic tradition also followed by Nemesius of Emesa and the Chalcedonian creed, in which the inalterability of the Logos in its incarnation and the impossibility of its confusion with human nature (ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ACO 2/1/2 [129, 30 Schwartz]; cf. Cyril, *supra* cit.) become the foundation of Diphysitism: as Nemesius of Emesa attests in the *De natura hominis*, Porphyry in his Σύμμεκτα Ζητήματα had emphasized that the human soul, of divine origin, is not in the least altered after its union with the body and remains distinct from it (*Nat. hom.* 3, 139-140 [42, 22-43, 1 Morani]). Nemesius of Emesa (*Nat. hom.* 3, 137-141 [42, 9-43, 11 Morani]), Cyril (cf. *supra*), the Chalcedonian creed (cf. *supra*), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (cf. S. Lilla, in AA.VV., *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident*, CEA Sér. ant. 151, 132-134) and moderate Monophysites like Severus of Antioch and Philoponus faithfully applied this Porphyrian doctrine to Christology. The close correspondence between Nemesius of Emesa and Philoponus is demonstrated by the fact that the latter, like the former, compared the union of the two natures in Christ to the union in man between soul and body (*Diaet.* 44, 83, 19-25 *etenim etiam anima rationalis... sub ratione essentiae impassibilis nihilominus et immortalis manet, licet corpori passibili et corruptibili alligata*). On Philoponus' Monophysitism cf. especially T. Hermann, "Johannes Philoponus als Monophysit", *ZNW* 29 (1930) 209-264.

The reasoning that leads Philoponus to Tritheism also follows from the Aristotelian doctrine of πρώτη and δευτέρα οὐσία. If it is true that generic δευτέρα οὐσία is in itself a pure theoretical abstraction of the mind and does not exist apart from the πρώτη οὐσία represented by the individual (Aristotle, *Cat.* 2^b 5-6, 6b-c; cf. *Met.* Z 1040^b 23-24, 26-27 and *supra*), it is also true that the divine οὐσία or nature common to all three hypostases and corresponding to δευτέρα οὐσία – i.e. the divinity called "one God" – has no real existence uprooted from the three hypostases, but exists solely in the human mind which has conceived it by separating it from the individual hypostases (*De Trin.* fr. 1 in A. Van Roey: *OLP* 11 [1980] 158, *omne commune e particularibus intellectu nostro tantum concluditur... Quare et magnus physicus, Aristoteles, dicit: Universale aut nihil est aut ultimum* [cf. *Met.* Z 1041^a; Δ 1016^a 23, 1017^b 24; *Meteor.* I, 339^b 1-2]. *Nihil quidem, quia nullum eorum existentiam propriam habet et nostra idea de illis propria non est substantia... Secundo autem dicantur substantiae ea quae communiter dicuntur*; fr. 2, 158 *nihil eorum quae dicuntur communiter habet suam existentiam nec praeexistit particularibus; sed e contrario ex his*

particularibus anima illud postea conclusit et in ea tantum commune habet existentiam; Contra Themist. fr. 18b *ibid.* 161, *ostendimus enim naturam quae dicitur communis existentiam propriam non habere... sed aut omnino nihil esse – quod verum est – aut in solo intellectu nostro ex particularibus constitui*; fr. 22, 162 *et non existit simpliciter 'Deus'*; fr. 29 of uncertain origin, *ibid.* 162-163 *divinitas et substantia quae in Trinitate adoranda non in re (πράγματι) una est sed in mente et ratione tantum. Et ita unus intelligitur Deus*; fr. 30, 163 *et illic secundum communem substantiam tantum in mente nostra est unus Deus*). Since on the other hand the only οὐσία possessing a real existence is πρώτη οὐσία, represented by the single individual, the single particular thing or person (ἄτομον, ἐν ἀριθμῷ, τόδε τι, τίς, ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, cf. *supra*), in the divine sphere the only things truly to exist are the three οὐσία – hypostases of the Trinity corresponding to the πρώται οὐσία, which, being divine, can be called "three Gods" (*De Trin.* fr. 1, 158 *particularia enim dicantur substantiae principales et primae... ideoque, cum non metaphorice sed proprie loquimur, hypostaseis appellamus substantias*; fr. 8, 160 *numerum pluralem hypostasium esse naturarum et substantiarum*; fr. 9, 160 *quae dicuntur tres hypostaseis Trinitatis et divinitatis necessario sunt substantiae et naturae* [we have already seen how in Plotinus, V, 1, 8, ii.282, 7 φύσσει ταῖς τρισίν is synonymous with ὑποστάσει ταῖς τρισίν]; fr. 29 uncertain, 163 *tres autem substantiae sunt Dei et naturae, cum separentur hypostasibus: et ita alius est Deus Pater, alius Deus Filius et alius Deus Spiritus Sanctus*). Given the impossibility of the existence of a substance-nature without hypostasis, if we admit the real existence of a generic divine substance (or nature), we should also admit the existence of another hypostasis, i.e. a fourth God, which is self-evidently absurd (*Contra Themist.* fr. 25, 162 *Deus enim alius praeter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum quartus cui est hypostasis propria non datur*). Maintaining the complete identity between ὑπόστασις and οὐσία, Philoponus puts himself in a position diametrically opposite to that of the Cappadocians, who had strongly insisted on the difference of meaning between the two terms. For them the divine οὐσία was just the most general οὐσία, common to the three persons, and not to be confused with the particular hypostasis: the three distinct hypostases did not indicate three substances or three divinities, the divine οὐσία being one (cf. the references in S. Lilla, AA.VV., *Storia della teologia*, 1, ed. E. Dal Covolo, 267-269, 285, 304-305).

Yet Philoponus' Tritheism is very different from that refuted by the Cappadocians, which depended on the Plotinian scheme, heralded by Numenius, of the three hypostasis-divinities arranged according to a hierarchical scale; this latter Tritheist conception was not even wholly unrelated to the Origenian doctrine of the Logos as δεύτερος θεός,

corresponding to the δεύτερος θεός of Plotinus and Numenius (cf. S. Lilla, *op. cit.*, 284 with n. 160, 287, 305 with n. 372). In agreement with the Cappadocians, Philoponus emphasizes that the three distinct hypostasis-gods are no different from each other in their substance, but are perfectly consubstantial with each other (*De Trin.* 5a, 159 *non dicimus tres divinitates substantia diversas* [ἕτεροούσια] ... *sed consubstantiales divinitates esse*; 71, 160 *ubicumque doctores* [sc. the Cappadocians] *recusaverunt dici substantias, recusant substantias non consubstantiales et genere alienas*; 7b, 160 *recusant substantias non consubstantiales et quae sunt alienae naturis*; cf. also *Opif. m.* I, 11 [i. 124, 10 Scholten] τὴν ὁμοούσιον εἶναι τὴν τριάδα).

His rejection of Arianism is clear (*De Theol.* fr. 16, 161). Also clear, still in the *De Theologia*, is the polemical allusion to the Sabellian doctrine of the unicity of the hypostasis: consubstantiality necessarily implies not one, but several hypostases (*De Theol.* 16, 161 *etenim consubstantialitas non habetur in uno sed in pluribus*). This Sabellian doctrine is explicitly rejected in the *Contra Themistium* (fr. 22, 162 *et non existit simpliciter Deus, licet qui nunc sabellianisat huic tribuere volunt unicitatem, hypostaseis autem verbo tantum proclamant sicut Sabellius*). Still useful for primary information on Philoponus as a Tritheist is J.M. Schönfelder, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Johannes von Ephesus. Mit einer Abhandlung über die Tritheiten*, Munich 1862, 286-297.

The presence of Neoplatonic doctrines in Philoponus' theology appears particularly marked in the following points: 1) the use of attributes of "negative theology"; 2) the importance given to the divine will in creation; 3) the presentation of the ideas as thoughts of God; 4) the superiority of the good over the beautiful. 1) In *Opif. m.* I, 11 (i. 124, 8-10 Scholten), arguing against Theodore of Mopsuestia, Philoponus reminds him that in the tradition of the Church there are doctrines logically inferable from others, even if not explicitly attested by Scripture; first among these is the negative attributes of God, such as incorporeity and the absence of form, dimensions or parts. Negative concepts are also applied to God in the *De aeternitate mundi*: He is absolute simplicity and is endowed with an energy of infinite power, superior to intelligence and ineffable (5, 13-16; 8, 17; 37, 19 Rabe); He is not born (13, 22) and is immovable and immutable (75, 23-24; 81, 25-26; 615, 26). All these are concepts that, together with many others, are part of the "negative theology" of the whole Platonic tradition, also adopted by Philo and the Greek Fathers. 2) In the creation of the universe God used only His will, without having any need of a substrate (*Aet. m.* 66, 25-27; 76, 23-25; 81, 6-7; 160, 10-11; 367, 17-18; 566, 6-7; *Opif. m.* I, 22 [i. 174, 14-15]); Pantaeus, Clement, Porphyry, Hierocles and perhaps also Ammonius Saccas expressed themselves identically (cf. S. Lilla, *Clement of Alex.*,

224-225; Idem, "Minutiae Clementinae...", in AA.VV., *Paideia cristiana, Studi in onore di Mario Naldini*, 23, 26-28). 3) As in Philo, Middle Platonism, Neoplatonism and some Greek Fathers (cf. S. Lilla, "Die Lehre von den Ideen als Gedanken Gottes...", in AA.VV., 'EPMHNEYMATA, Festschrift für Hadwig Hörner... [Bibl. der Klass. Altertumswiss. N.F. 2. Reihe, 79] 27-50), so too in Philoponus the Platonic ideas are no longer static models, but the fruit of God's noetic activity, the thoughts present in the mind of the demiurge-god; and they are also identical with the Stoic rational principles (the *logoi*), this being a sign of the syncretism that characterizes the whole of late antique thought (cf. *Aet. m.* 36, 18-20; 36, 21-37, 11; 41, 12-20; 76, 21-25, 26-28). 4) Like Neoplatonism, Philoponus too considers the good superior to the beautiful and an expression of God's own nature (*Aet. m.* 80, 28; *Opif. m.* VII, 6 [iii. 612, 6-614, 27]; cf. S. Lilla, "La teologia negativa...", *Helikon* 28 [1988] 242-244, 276; *Helikon* 29-30 [1989-1990] 117, 177-178).

Of capital importance in Philoponus' cosmology are the doctrine of matter and that of the origin of the universe. In that of matter, Philoponus rejects the theory of its existence *ab aeterno*, dominant in classical Greek thought and also appropriated by Middle Platonism. He asserts its origin from God's will, and this doctrine is not just a reflection of the biblical idea of creation – in *Opif. m.* I, 3 (i. 82, 4-5) the phrase of Gen 1, 3 "and God said, Let there be light: and there was light" is cited to demonstrate the immediate actuation of God's will – but is also present in Hellenistic and late antique thought (cf. *supra*, apropos of Aeneas of Gaza, no. 29): matter is not a principle co-eternal with God, but is originated, since it was brought from non-existence to existence by the creative activity of the demiurge, the one true cause, the one true principle (*Aet. m.* 345, 15; 458, 6-7; 15-16; 17-19; 467, 19-20; 468, 2-6; 9-10; in emphasizing the unicity of the cause-principle, εἶναι τὸ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μίαν, 468, 2, Philoponus fully agrees with Clement, Porphyry and Gregory of Nyssa, cf. S. Lilla, "Minutiae Clementinae...", in AA.VV., *Paideia cristiana...*, cit., 22-23, 24-25). It is not the substrate pre-existing the birth of the universe (367, 24). Plato himself never said that matter is eternal, without beginning and not generated (459, 2-5). If it has its sole beginning in the god-demiurge, we must rule out its origin from another previous matter or substrate (458, 7-8; 16-17; 467, 20-21). We must thus reject the Proclian doctrine (*In Tim.* i. 237, 11-12; cf. *Aet. m.* 466, 1-2; 25) that everything originated requires, as well as a form, also a matter or substrate: since matter too is originated, on the basis of this criterion it should in turn derive from a previous substrate; but for this too we would have to postulate a previous substrate, and so we would fall into an absurd *regressio ad infinitum* (*Aet. m.* 468, 10-16). At another point too, Philoponus distances

himself from earlier Greek thought: the true original substrate is not incorporeal matter, without form, dimensions, size or parts, potentially all things, but three-dimensional matter, erroneously identified by the philosophers with the second substrate deriving from the first – the three-dimensional can not originate from what is not three-dimensional, just as the latter cannot originate from the former (376, 18-19; 409, 20-24; 412, 18-19; 20-28; 429, 26; 430, 13; 15-17; 436, 8-9; 15-16; 437, 7-9; 20-24; 438, 7-9; cf. also *supra*, apropos of Philoponus' scientific thought, no. 7).

Just as matter is not co-eternal with God, so neither is the universe eternal, having been brought from non-existence to existence without deriving from a previous substrate (367, 22-25; 27). This is in effect the main thesis of the *De aeternitate mundi*, characterized by a minute and implacable criticism of the Proclian cosmology. In this case too the authority of Plato is decisive: in Plato, not only is the doctrine of the eternity of matter absent (cf. *supra*), but also that of the eternity of the universe (125, 7-8; 459, 5-11). Against Aristotle and Proclus, who had both affirmed the eternity of the cosmos (167, 4-6; 8-10), Philoponus, like the Middle Platonists Plutarch and Atticus (explicitly mentioned together in 211, 10-13), holds in *De aet. m.* 168, 16-19 to the literal interpretation of the famous Platonic passage ἡ γέγονεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τιτος ἀρξάμενος. γέγονεν (*Tim.* 28b 6-7), which had been the object of continual disputes within the peripatetic school and within the Middle Platonist and Neoplatonist schools. A different, forced interpretation of it would be wholly arbitrary and is not sustainable (125, 12-16; 126, 3-9; 618, 22-23): we must rule out the idea that Plato thought of a cosmos which in one way originated as dependent on a cause (this had been the view of Taurus, expounded in 147, 5-6) and in another was ingenerate, since existent *ab aeterno* (126, 10-11); on the contrary, he clearly asserted its true birth, its transition from non-being without implications and limitations (125, 8-10; 11-12; 459, 11-13; 618, 23-25). That this was Plato's true thought finds confirmation in the fact that for him time does not exist *ab aeterno*, but came into being together with the heaven, χρόνος ... μετ' οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν (*Tim.* 38b 6; this phrase of the *Timaeus* is cited in *Opif. m.* I, 3 [i. 88, 15-16]; cf. also *Aet. m.* 555, 12-556, 3, where the Platonic citation is fuller, *Tim.* 38b 6-7, 37e 1-3, and *Aet. m.* 141, 14-142, 2). Philoponus leans on the authority of precisely this Platonic passage to maintain that time, not having existed before the heaven but having come into being at the very instant of its birth (*Opif. m.* I, 3 [i. 88, 8-10]), had a beginning like everything that is originated (*Aet. m.* 620, 18-19) and is not an infinite extension into the past. Only what is finite is spannable, while the infinite is by nature unspannable (619, 10-12; 14-16). Since the universe, to reach the present moment,

must have passed through a temporal extension, if that extension were infinite it would be necessary to suppose a spannable and hence finite infinity, a clearly absurd conclusion (619, 7-14; 24-25). The generated universe has thus reached the present moment via a period of time that is not infinite, but has definite limits (619, 16-21). Moreover, if time were infinite, with its passing its infinity would become ever greater and would multiply (619, 25-620, 2), a fact that conflicts with the very idea of "infinity". On this point cf. R. Sorabji, "Infinity and the Creation", in AA.VV., *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji, Ithaca (NY) 1987, 164-178, in particular 170-171.

Although time did not come into being before the heaven but with the heaven (cf. *supra*) – it had its beginning in the precise instant of creation, *Opif. m.* I, 3 (i. 86, 7-8; 88, 10-12) – nevertheless God's creative work was not characterized by a temporal duration (*Aet. m.* 367, 16-17; 368, 1-2; *Opif. m.* I, 3 [i. 86, 8-9]), since His will had an immediate actuation, *Opif. m.* I, 2 (i. 82, 10-11).

Philoponus' cosmological views as they appear in the *De opificio mundi* have been the object of a full and deep investigation in C. Scholten's important book, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De Opificio Mundi" des Johannes Philoponos* [PTS 45], Berlin-New York 1996, which appeared a year before his edition of that work. Without summarizing the content of the *De Opificio Mundi* and Scholten's study, it is worth calling attention here to some important points. 1) The praise given to Plato, τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄνθος (I, 2 [i. 82, 1-2]), and to his formula ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν (*Theaet.* 176b 1-2), likened to the καθ' ὁμοίωσιν of Genesis (VII, 7 [iii. 522, 2-4]). 2) The interpretation of ἐν ἀρχῇ at the beginning of Genesis: after recording Basil's list of the various possible meanings of this expression and the identification between ἀρχή and σοφία proposed by some interpreters (I, 3 [i. 86-92]), Philoponus compares the ἐν ἀρχῇ of the Septuagint with the ἐν κεφαλᾷ of Aquila's version, which in his opinion would indicate the instantaneous and contemporary birth of the heaven and the earth (I, 4 [i. 92-94]). 3) The distinction between the two expressions κατ' εἰκόνα and καθ' ὁμοίωσιν: while κατ' εἰκόνα, despite what some interpreters had thought (such as Philo, Clement, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa), does not refer to the Son, but to the power of command over other beings granted to man from birth (VI, 5 [iii. 514, 7-516, 2], VI, 6 [iii. 516, 13-518, 30], VI, 7 [iii. 520, 18-19]), καθ' ὁμοίωσιν consists in the imitation of God, the realization of true knowledge and purity (VI, 7 [iii. 520, 19-24]), and is reserved only for those few who make Christ live in themselves and imitate him (VI, 7 [iii. 522, 18-20]). 4) The idea of Plato's dependence on Moses, already very fashionable in Judaeo-Hellenistic and Christian apologetic (I, 2

[i. 80-84]; III, 5 [ii. 290, 23-24]; VI, 21 [iii. 576, 4-26]). 5) His polemical attitude towards Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, erroneously maintaining the simultaneous origin of the angels and the cosmos and denying the spherical nature of the heaven, had wrongly rejected the two Basilian doctrines of the existence of the angelic world before that of the visible world and of the heaven as a sphere with the earth at its centre (I, 8-9 [i. 104-116]; I, 15 [i. 136, 10-13, 138, 1-3]; III, 6 [ii. 294, 4-298, 4]; III, 9 [ii. 306, 1-314, 18]; III, 10 [ii. 314, 19-334, 12]). 6) His angelology, which recalls that of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite: the angels are *per se* incorporeal and, unlike the human soul, do not have an added body that surrounds them (I, 9 [i. 108-116]; I, 15 [i. 136, 10-12]); their birth at the same time as the bodies of this world must be ruled out, just as we must rule out the human soul coming into existence together with its body (I, 10 [i. 116-122]; I, 15 [i. 136, 12-13; 136, 23-138, 1]).

Finally, we must briefly mention the theory of resurrection upheld by Philoponus. What rises will not be the corruptible body that man has in his earthly life: that destined to incorruptibility and eternity will be a different, more noble body. In the same way, this corruptible world will be replaced by another world, wholly new and better (cf. Timothy of Constantinople, PG 86, 1, 44A 10-16, 61C 7-10; Nicephorus Callistus, PG 147, 424D 7-10; 425A 4). This last doctrine is clearly Stoic in origin.

There is evident agreement between Philoponus and Aeneas of Gaza as regards their views on the origin of matter and the cosmos and on the resurrection of man and the universe.

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STEPHEN GOBAR

Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 232) attributes to Stephen Gobar the compilation of a *Florilegium* circulated by John Philoponus. Divided into fifty-two chapters and an appendix, it reviewed disparate aspects of what was philosophically and theologically knowable (from anthropology to dogmatics, cosmology to eschatology), using the method of *sic et non* destined for a brilliant future in medieval scholasticism (point by point comparison between correct magisterium and erroneous doctrine on the basis of conflicting authors). No biographical detail is known about him: we may suppose a theologian active under Justin II (565-578) somewhere between Syria and Egypt.

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COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

The *Topographia Christiana* is the work "of a true Christian", published after 547, as may be gathered from the eclipses of the sun and moon cited in Book VI. Originally handed down anonymously, it was still read

as such by Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 36). In the 10th century the name Cosmas Indicopleustes was discovered, though in his commercial travels the author probably never reached India, but only the coasts of Somalia, Arabia and the Persian Gulf and, around 520, the kingdom of Axum (Abyssinia). What he says about India and Ceylon (Taprobane), where among other things he mentions the presence of Nestorian communities, he knows from the tales of other travellers, especially his friend Sopater. Yet at Byzantium no-one had ever read such an exact description of the universe (κόσμος) and the inhabited world (οἰκουμένη), and consequently the author was thought to have been in India as well. The contents also explain the name Cosmas, which we adopt here for simplicity. In the East the *Topographia* seems to have been handed down perhaps by the 7th century under the name of Constantine of Antioch. Indeed the work of the same title, attributed to Constantine in the *Geography* of Pseudo-Moses of Khorene, contains theories that we also encounter in Cosmas.

As further reading, Cosmas recommends two more works of his which we no longer possess: a detailed description of the earth, which seems also to have dealt with cosmological questions, e.g. the size of the sun, and a treatise on the course of the stars. The first of these he dedicated to a certain Constantine, the second to the deacon Homologos. The latter is probably partly preserved in Book IX of the *Topographia*, the former in extracts in Book VI and in the last two books, XI and XII, which, as the index and the manuscript tradition show, did not belong to the original text of the *Topographia*. Cosmas also composed a *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, before writing Book VIII on the canticle of King Hezekiah (Is 38, 10-20) as an appendix to his depiction of the biblical view of the cosmos.

Cosmas was trying his hand in the *Topographia*: first he composed Books I-V, then Books VI-X in several stages to supplement them, though he had not had the normal "scientific education" of his time, in the sense of ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, and so must have been considered uneducated by his contemporaries. He had attended the lectures which Mar Aba, afterwards *Katholicos* of the Nestorian Church of Persia (540-552), gave at Alexandria on his journey through the Byzantine Empire before he returned to Persia, passing through Constantinople in 532. Mar Aba introduced his audience to the thought of Theodore of Mopsuestia, in particular his exegesis of the Octateuch and his view of salvation-history. He thus communicated to Cosmas the basis for a cosmology which started from the idea that Moses' tabernacle or the tent of the covenant (Ex 25) was the model of the cosmos, and so the universe was nothing but a kind of two-storey building, a cube covered with a roof. Cosmas sought to defend this theory against the spherical image

of the world and thus, as he says, against "the prejudices of the pagans" and of contemporary science.

Decisive for Cosmas was the distinction between two phases of salvation-history, or two modes of human existence (καταστάσεις): that in which man lived until Christ, and that of the future, in which Christ has already come and which is promised to the redeemed – according to Cosmas even the angels were created to serve man. Looking at this distinction, God created two spaces. "Between heaven and earth", which embrace the complexity of the universe (Gen 1, 1), he spread out the firmament (Gen 1, 6), i.e. the second visible heaven, so that there should be two spaces or seats (οἴκου) for man: the temporary one under the firmament, and the eternal one (II Cor 5, 1) in which for the moment, until the end of time, only Christ lives. Like Moses' tent of the covenant, the universe is a large cube, covered with a barrel-vault (καμάρα), which is bounded by the firmament, i.e. the visible heaven. The earth is not a sphere, but is flat and rectangular; it forms the base of the cube. Surrounded by the unconquerable Ocean and thus divided from the "land of the hereafter" by Paradise to the east, "it hangs upon nothing" (Job 26, 7), borne by the strength of God. At its farthest corners (ἄκρα) it rises upwards and thus provides due support for the vault of the sky.

According to Cosmas, pagan science with its spherical model of the world follows only its own hypotheses and conjectures; the true Christian (ὁ ὄντως χριστιανός) "belongs to God, who has spoken through the prophets, the apostles and His own Son" (II, 111). Yet as soon as Cosmas is faced with a concrete objection to his depiction of the cubical world, which he holds to be the depiction of the world also taught by the Bible, he does not seek his reply solely in the Bible, but also in arguments that he takes from scientific debate, partly in some arguments that were also expounded in the context of the spherical cosmology. Thus on one occasion he shows himself informed on the theory of the void associated with Aristotle (*Physics* IV, 215a 31 ff.), yet alien to the latter's intention, so that in empty space, which Cosmas compares to the nothing "over which the earth hangs", there will be no movement. On another occasion he uses the hypothesis, developed in the context of the spherical model of the world, of a north-south inclination of the earth.

While W. Wolska-Conus took into account the possibility that Cosmas in his *Topography* was reacting to that of John Philoponus, C. Scholten was able to argue convincingly that this view is not justified by the text. Much more probably it was John Philoponus, in his work *On the Creation of the World* (CPG 7265), his first commentary on the Hexaemeron, who was replying to Cosmas' *Topography*. Yet he had in mind not just Cosmas, but above all the Antiochene exegesis of the creation story. If he was connected to Basil of Caesarea (CPG 2835) and with him to a

tradition that seemed to have disappeared in 6th-century exegesis, then he sought to demonstrate that the assertions of the Bible were not in contradiction with the spherical model of the world.

Editions: CPG 7468; PG 88, 52-470; W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographie chrétienne*, Tome 1-3, SCh 141; 159; 197, Paris 1968-1973; A. Garzya, *Cosma Indicopleusta, Topografia cristiana*, Libri I-V, with a Preface by W. Wolska-Conus and a Postface by R. Maisano, Naples 1992.

Sources: Photius, *codex* 36 (7 b 7-39); R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 1, Paris 1959, 21-22. For Moses of Khorene: A. Soukry (ed.), *Géographie de Moïse de Corène (d'après Ptolémée)*, Venice 1881, 5-7. For Mar Aba: "Vie de Mara Aba", P. Bedjan (ed.), *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens*, Paris-Leipzig 1895, 206-274; *Histoire Nestorienne* (Chronique de Séert), ed. A. Scher, PO 7, 2, 154-170.

Studies: M.V. Anastos, "Aristotle and Cosmas Indicopleustes on the Void", *Hellenika* 4 (1953) 35-50 (repr. in *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, Variorum Reprints, London 1979, no. 14); B. Schleissheimer, *Kosmas Indikopleustes, ein altchristliches Weltbild*, Munich 1959; Idem, "Zum Problem Glauben und Wissenschaft im sechsten Jahrhundert", *Polychordia, Festschrift F. Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Wirth, Amsterdam 1967, 318-344; W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes. Théologie et science au VI^e siècle*, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 3, Paris 1962 (bibliography); Eadem, "Deux contributions à l'histoire de la géographie", *Travaux et mémoires* 5 (1973) 259-273; Eadem, "Géographie", *RAC* 10, 1978, 155-222, esp. 173-179; 185-187; A. Jacobs, "Kosmas Indikopleustes. Die Christliche Topographie in slavischer Übersetzung", *Byzantinoslavica* 40 (1979) 183-198; H. Wada, "Aus der Beschreibung der Insel Ceylon in der frühbyzantinischen und chinesischen Historiographie", *Antikerezeption, Antikeverhältnis, Antikebegegnung in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. J. Dummer, Stendal 1983, 129-136; J. Oommen Madathil, *Die Theologie des Kosmas Indikopleustes*, Diss., Salzburg 1992; Idem, *Kosmas der Indienfahrer. Kaufmann, Kosmologe und Exeget zwischen alexandrinischer und antiochenischer Theologie*, Thaur 1996; L. Cansdale, *Cosmas Indicopleustes. Merchant and Traveller: Akten des XII. Internat. Kongresses für christliche Archäologie*, JbAC, Erg. 20, 1, Münster 1995, 609-616; P. Odorico, "L'uomo nuovo di Cosma Indicopleuste e di Giovanni Malalas", *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995) 305-315; C. Scholten, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De opificio mundi" des Johannes Philoponos*, PTS 45, Berlin-New York 1996, esp. 64-72, 406-419; Idem, *Johannes Philoponos. De opificio mundi. Über die Erschaffung der Welt*, Fontes Christiani 23, 1, Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1997, 52-62; F.F. Schwartz, "Der Kosmos und Kosmas", *SO* 71 (1996) 216-236.

THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Theodosius I was bishop of Alexandria from 535 to 566 in succession to Timothy IV (III) (519-535). From the time of his predecessor, the Egyptian metropolis had become a sure refuge for Monophysites, persecuted in the rest of the Empire in obedience to Justin's decrees, confirmed by his successor Justinian. In the same years the solidarity of the Monophysite front had been undermined by the controversy between Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus of Antioch. In 535 the

choice of Theodosius, a Severian, to succeed Timothy provoked the violent reaction of the Julianists, who proceeded to elect their own bishop in the person of Gaianus. A few months later, the question was resolved by the intervention of an imperial military contingent: Gaianus was condemned to exile and Theodosius was recognized as bishop, with the decisive support of Theodora, wife of Justinian and supporter of Severus, who in the same year managed to impose the Severian Anthimus as bishop of Constantinople. The reaction of the Chalcedonian party, led by the emperor and Pope Agapetus, was not long in making itself felt. In 536 Severus was expelled, Anthimus deposed and both were condemned by a synod called for that purpose. Theodosius was summoned to Constantinople and detained in the capital for the rest of his life. During his thirty years' forced exile he remained formally bishop of Alexandria and never stopped working for the organization and spread of his Church, despite the obstacles imposed on him by his separation from Alexandria.

Of Theodosius' literary output in Greek, very little remains: extracts from three homilies, handed down in Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Topographia Christiana*, and fragments of a *Tome* dedicated to the Empress Theodora. Much more is known through Syriac versions: fifteen letters addressed to persons and communities throughout the East, documenting the persistent pastoral zeal of the Monophysite bishop separated from his community, an *Oratio theologica* and the preface to a lost *Tractatus theologicus*. To these texts must be added six homilies, still unedited, attributed to Theodosius by the Arabic tradition. The sands of Egypt have preserved, in a Coptic version, a probable fragment of an epistle, as well as four homilies ascribed to Theodosius: two *Encomia* dedicated to John the Baptist and the archangel Michael, the homily *in assumptionem Mariae* and a fragment of that *in festum Novi Anni*. Examination of the two different traditions, Coptic and Syro-Arabic, reveals that the former has preserved works from Theodosius' early output, dating from the Alexandrian period (535-536), while the latter has handed down works written during his Constantinopolitan captivity. The "Alexandrian" works in Coptic, probably translated soon after their original composition in Greek, formed a chronologically ordered collection, modelled on the "cathedral" homilies of Severus of Antioch.

Editions and studies: CPG 7130-7159; W. Wolska-Conus, *Cosmas Indicopleustes. Topographie chrétienne*, 3, Sch 197, Paris 1973, 301-303; Mansi 10, 1121; 11, 273, 445; Diekamp, 314; PG 86, 285-286.

Syro-Arabic tradition: I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, Parisii 1907, Louvain 1952², 5-11, 34-90, 96-98, 114-124, 132-143 (text) and CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, Louvain 1933, 1952², 1-5, 22-63, 66-68, 79-87, 92-99 (tr.); E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori*

vulgo adscripta, 2, CSCO 84 / Syr. 39, Louvain 1921, 1953², 158-163, 168-173 (text) and CSCO 88 / Syr. 42, Louvain 1924, 1953², 107-111; 114-117 (Latin tr.); A. Van Roey, P. Allen, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*, OLA 56, Leuven 1994, 16-60, 105-221, 255-263; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1, ST 118, Vatican City 1944, 421; PG 86, 277-286.

Coptic tradition: T. Orlandi, "Teodosio di Alessandria nella letteratura copta", *GIF* n.s. 2, 23 (1971) 175-185 (with earlier bibliog.); cf. K.H. Kuhn: *Muséon*, 88 (1975) 103-112; 96 (1983) 251-265 (new fragments of the *Encomium in Iohannem Baptistam*); P.J. Sijpesteijn, "A Panegyric on John the Baptist", *Muséon* 96 (1983) 231-237; T. Orlandi, *Omèlie copte*, Corona Patrum 7, Turin 1981, 204-232 (Italian tr.); cf. D.V. Proverbio: *Orientalia* 61 (1992) 78-91 (new fragments of the *Encomium in Michaellem archangelum*); cf. L.S.B. MacCoull: *BASP* 20 (1983) 139-141 (fragment of an epistle?); É. Amman: *DTC* 15, 325-328.

JOHN THE EGYPTIAN

John, a native of Gaza in southern Palestine, spent some years in the Egyptian monastery of Peter the Iberian before becoming bishop of Hephaistos (in Lower Egypt) around 534/536. A member of the Severian tendency, he was close to Theodosius of Alexandria and shared his fate, being exiled after the Constantinopolitan synod of 536, at which Severus and other Monophysite leaders were condemned, among them Anthimus of Constantinople and Theodosius himself. Like him, during his captivity he continued to organize his Church, making clandestine journeys to Asia Minor and weaving a network of relationships among the exiles. At Rhodes he met John, the church historian and future bishop of Ephesus, author of a biographical outline of the bishop of Hephaistos, part of his collection of 58 lives of Monophysite monks.

Of John's literary work there remains an unedited circular letter addressed to the heads of the monastic communities in the East, preserved only in a Syriac version.

Editions and studies: CPG 7200; F. Nau, "Littéraire canonique syriaque inédite", *ROC* 14 (1909) 48-49 (French tr.); E.W. Brooks, *John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints*, 2, PO 18, 4 (89), 526-540 (324-338).

JOHN OF CELLIA

An Alexandrian cleric, he was among the first to receive episcopal ordination at the hand of Jacob Baradaeus, who destined him for the see of Cellia, south of the Egyptian capital, near Scetis. We possess in a Syriac edition the anathema he pronounced in Alexandria in 567 against the Tritheist views of John Philoponus and the fragment of an *Epistula ad Longinum*, in which he assures the new bishop of the Nobadae (569) that he will assist him in his ministry and protect him from any threat. Their fellowship was to be rudely interrupted in 575, when Longinus,

seconding the plan of Paul the Black, favoured the ascent of the Syrian archimandrite Theodore to the patriarchate of Alexandria. John of Cellia represented the heart of the Egyptian forces, who demanded a native titular at the summit of the Monophysite organization: he persecuted his opponents without respite and took steps to repair the damage by obtaining the ordination of Peter, a disciple and former companion in exile of Patriarch Theodosius.

Editions: CPG 7229-7230; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 160-161; 277-278 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 111-112; 194 (tr.).

Studies: G. Furlani, "L'anatema di Giovanni d' Alessandria contro Giovanni Filopono", *AAT* 55 (1919-1920) 188-194; Honigmann, 175, 183, 226-227, 232-233; *EEC* 2 (1992) 444.

LONGINUS OF NUBIA

Between 536 and 545 the Nobadae, left masters of Nubia after forcing the Blemmyae to flee to the steppes between the Arabian desert and the Red Sea, embraced Christianity according to the Monophysite formula, preferring the interpretation of Julian, a presbyter sent them by Patriarch Theodosius, to that of the imperial missionaries. Their pastoral care was at first exercised by Theodore, bishop of the island of Philae: only in 569 did the young Nobadian church obtain its own jurisdiction in the person of Longinus, a member of the Alexandrian clergy and loyal follower of Theodosius who received episcopal ordination at Constantinople (2 June 566) and, after spending some years under detention, went to Nubia. Longinus later played an important role in the schism that afflicted the Monophysite movement during the second half of the 6th century. In 575, at the request of the Alexandrian clerics Theodore (of Copris) and Theodosius and with the blessing of Paul the Black, he presided over the ordination of Theodore in the desert of Mareotis and subsequently laboured hard in Egypt and Syria to contain the claims of Peter, the rival claimant to the see of Alexandria. This earned him the odium of Peter and his successor Damian, who initiated an intense campaign against him among the Nobadae. This denigration had no result; indeed, the tribe of Alwah, neighbour and ally of the Nobadian kingdom, made baptism by Longinus a condition of its own conversion. John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 51-53) attests that in his final years (he died c. 580) he was engaged in suppressing the Phantasiast heresy spread by the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, who in Justin's reign had quarrelled with Severus of Antioch, professing the apparent character of the Passion (Aphthartodocetism), Christ's body being incorruptible by virtue of the theandric fusion resulting from the Incarnation. Of

Longinus there is preserved in Syriac a *Subscriptio Tractatui Theodosii Alexandrini* and fragments of three *Letters* written to the Monophysite archimandrites, to John of Beth Hanina and to Paul the Black.

Editions: CPG 7217-7220; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 84-86; 241-244 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 58-59; 168-170 (tr.).

Studies: Maspéro, 286-288; Honigmann, 224-229; G. Ladocsi, *EEC* 1 (1992) 505; Fliche-Martin 4, 489 ff., 529.

THEODOSIUS, PRESBYTER OF ALEXANDRIA

Archpriest and legal adviser of the Alexandrian Church, he was one of two clerics who in 575, according to John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 9), persuaded Longinus of Nubia to take part in the ordination of the Syrian archimandrite Theodore, thus favouring the plan of Paul the Black, who aimed to extend Antiochene primacy over the Monophysite Church of Egypt. His *Epistula ad Longinum* survives among the *Capitula* of John Claudus, archimandrite of Mar Bassos: handed down in Syriac translation like the whole collection that preserves it, the document recommends its recipient to return to communion with Theodore of Philae: this suggests a deterioration of relations after the bishop of Philae, while approving Theodore's election to the Alexandrian patriarchate, had yet avoided accompanying Longinus to the ordination ceremony.

Editions: CPG 7223; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 272-273 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 190 (tr.).

Studies: Honigmann, 226 f.; J. Irmischer, *EEC* 2 (1992) 829.

THEODORE OF COPRIS

Archdeacon of Copris, a suburb of the Egyptian capital, he has been identified with the other cleric who, according to John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 9), summoned Longinus to Mareotis for the ordination of the Syrian archimandrite Theodore (575). The same source leads us to see him as a nephew of the Alexandrian archpriest Theodosius. Under his name survives an *Epistula ad Longinum* in Syriac fragments.

Editions and studies: CPG 7225; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 273; 276 (text); CSCO 103 / syr. 52, 191; 193 (tr.); Honigmann, 226 f.; A. De Nicola, *EEC* 2 (1992) 824.

THEODORE OF PHILAE

Situated above the first cataract of the Nile, on the border with Nubia, the island of Philae, despite apparently possessing a bishopric since the

4th century, had preserved a sanctuary dedicated to Isis, much frequented by the pagan tribes circulating through the Upper Thebaïd, until 536, when a Byzantine expedition under Narses had inflicted a fatal blow on that cult, converting the temple into a church and transferring the statue of the Egyptian goddess to Constantinople (Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 19). Meanwhile, from 526 the process of Christianizing Philae had intensified with the arrival of Bishop Theodore, who catechized the region according to the Monophysite formula and took steps to ensure the pastoral care of Nubia when the Nobadae, lords of that territory, accepted the Gospel through the preaching of the presbyter Julian (536-545). After Longinus assumed episcopal jurisdiction over the realm of the Nobadae (569), the two bishops marched as one, communicating with Paul the Black and consenting to the nomination of the Syrian archimandrite Theodore as patriarch of Alexandria (575). Yet when Longinus, responding to the appeal of the Alexandrian clerics Theodosius and Theodore, went to Mareotis to consecrate Theodore, the bishop of Philae would not follow him, adducing reasons of health due to advanced age. We possess in fragments the Syriac text of the mandate (*entolikon*) which Theodore of Philae assigned to Longinus, to represent him at the ordination of the other Theodore: beyond his official excuses, a reading of the text betrays his reluctance to move for fear of reprisals, the organizer of which has been identified as Bishop John of Cellia. Perhaps this defection caused a certain ill-will in relations between Longinus and Theodore of Philae, criticized for his weak behaviour.

Editions: CPG 7227; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 274-275 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 192 (tr.).

Studies: J. Maspéro, "Théodore de Philae", *RHR* 59 (1909) 299-317; Honigmann, 175, 224-277, 232-233; A. De Nicola, *EEC* 2 (1992) 826; Fliche-Martin, 4, 528 f.

THEODORE OF ALEXANDRIA

In 575 Paul the Black, exiled in Egypt and with little credit among the anti-Chalcedonian Churches because of his past gestures of surrender to State orthodoxy, cherished hopes of redemption, aiming at the same time to establish Syrian control over the patriarchate of Alexandria, which since the death of Theodosius (566) had been without a Monophysite head. To this end, finding collaborators in the Alexandrian clerics Theodosius and Theodore, he contacted Longinus of Nubia to try and get a suitable individual consecrated. The project reached fulfilment in the desert of Mareotis, near the church of St Menas in the monastery of Rhamis, and the choice fell on the Syrian archimandrite Theodore, despite the initial resistance of the chosen vessel. A sanguinary dispute exploded: Jacob Baradaeus and the majority of the Monophysite

movement recognized Peter IV, who had been ordained in contrast by the nationalist party led by John of Cellia. In reality, Theodore's election continued to represent a banner only for the image of Paul the Black, since the person concerned, a peaceful soul, never did anything to exercise *de facto* his own jurisdiction, living as a humble monk. Completely outside great ecclesiastical events and consequently left in peace by his opponents, he was still alive at the death of Paul the Black (582). The episcopal line inaugurated by Theodore did not survive his person, since Damian, who succeeded Peter in 578, ended by imposing himself on both sides. We possess the entire Syriac text of Theodore's *Synodica*, addressed to Paul the Black after his patriarchal promotion; there are also Greek fragments of the same.

Editions: CPG 7236; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 298-308 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 208-215 (tr.); Mansi 11, 448de.

Studies: Maspéro, 223-243; G. Ladocsi, *EEC* 2 (1992) 822 f.; Fliche-Martin 4, 490 f.; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus. The Church Historian*, Leuven 1981, 33, 38.

PETER IV OF ALEXANDRIA

An expression of the Egyptian nationalism hostile to the designs of Paul the Black, Peter obtained the Alexandrian patriarchate thanks particularly to the favour of John of Cellia (575). He acted rapidly and intensely to guarantee the consolidation of his authority and the expansion of the Monophysite movement: John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 12) attests that he began by arranging the ordination of seventy Monophysite bishops, when the whole of Egypt had had no more than four. In 576, his meeting with Paul the Black culminated in mutual excommunication: Peter gained the support of Jacob Baradaeus, but not of John of Ephesus (*Hist. eccl.* IV, 15-17), who polemically claims that Jacob's intellectual faculties were enfeebled in the management of this affair. Though not recognized in the kingdom of the Nobadae, where Longinus' propaganda in favour of Theodore had taken effect, Peter's behaviour finally gained him support even in some Syrian monasteries. He died on 19 June 577, leaving his followers in difficulties, since only after a year of discussions did they manage to provide him with a solid succession in the person of Damian, a monk of the monastery of Ennaton, near Alexandria. Of Peter there survives, if only in fragments, the Syriac text of the *Synodica*: this enthronement document was addressed to Jacob Baradaeus.

Editions: CPG 7238; I.-B. Chabot, *Documenta ad origines monophysitarum illustrandas*, CSCO 17 / Syr. 17, 230 (text); CSCO 103 / Syr. 52, 161 (tr.).

Studies: Maspéro, 223-245; Fliche-Martin 4, 489 f.; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus. The Church Historian*, Leuven 1981, 33 f.

DAMIAN, PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA

LIFE

Anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria from 578 to 606/607, Damian was a Syrian, perhaps a native of the province of Osrhoene, where his brother was prefect, but he seems to have left Syria early to embrace the monastic life in Egypt. After seventeen years in the monastery of St John the Younger in Scetis, he joined the monastery of Ennaton outside Alexandria, before becoming secretary to Patriarch Peter IV of Alexandria in 575. On Peter's death three years later, Damian was consecrated patriarch, thus becoming the successor of Theodosius as head of the anti-Chalcedonian church, and consequently responsible for the serious challenge presented by the Chalcedonian measures which had been enacted by Justinian I and his successors to restore unity to the fractured Eastern Church. While Damian was successful in restoring the hierarchy of the Egyptian Church, his relations with churches outside Egypt were troubled, as his long and bitter conflict with Peter of Callinicus, patriarch of Antioch (581-591), demonstrates.

A forceful and difficult character, Damian had meddled in the affairs of the patriarchate of Antioch before the consecration of Peter in an attempt to depose the unfortunate Paul of Beth Ukkame (579/580). When the attempt failed, Damian fled to Constantinople, where he ordained bishops and participated in an assembly of the followers of Jacob Baradaeus, the adherents of Paul, the Alexandrians, and John of Ephesus as the representative of "mainstream" anti-Chalcedonianism (580). The assembly, which was an attempt to solve the dissension between the various anti-Chalcedonian groups, was presided over by the Ghassanid phylarch, al Mundhir. An agreement was reached, which Damian, on his return to Alexandria, rejected, sending letters throughout his patriarchate and the East anathematising Paul. Consequently he was in favour of the consecration of Peter in 581, though the hearsay report of the church historian and bishop John of Ephesus that Peter was ordained in Alexandria by Damian is not to be trusted.

During the first four years of Peter's patriarchate, cordial relations seem to have existed between the sees of Alexandria and Antioch. In the *Contra Tritheistas* of Peter of Callinicus we find extracts from Damian's early letters to him which are approving and well-disposed. But then Damian, at the request of his community, composed a work, probably entitled *Adversus Tritheistas*, against certain Tritheist "chapters", and Peter politely asked for clarification, particularly on points of Trinitarian theology. The patriarch of Alexandria took great exception to Peter's reaction and wrote a *Many-lined Letter* or *Many-lined Apology* in response. From this point onwards Damian proved himself intractable,

repeatedly refusing to meet Peter for discussions, despite the various attempts of the latter (if he is to be believed completely). Three meetings which did finally take place resulted in a stale-mate. Damian's clergy and monks joined in the dispute against the Antiochenes, while Peter composed his large work *Contra Damianum*, at the end of which he announced that communion between them was at an end (after Easter 588). The schism between the churches of Alexandria and Antioch lasted until 616, when a reconciliation was effected between Patriarchs Athanasius I of Antioch (594-631) and Anastasius of Alexandria (606/7-618/9), who succeeded Damian on his death on 12 June 606.

Although none of Damian's works survives in its entirety and many of the fragments which are preserved have been transmitted in the polemical writings of Peter of Callinicus, it is possible to reconstruct the theology of the patriarch of Alexandria with some certainty. Doctrinally, Damian's position was that the characteristic properties of the three hypostases in the Trinity, that is, ingeneracy, generacy and procession, are the hypostases themselves. He proposed also that the common substance of the Trinity is distinct from the hypostases, arguing against the Tritheists that each person in the Trinity is not really God in the true sense but in a metaphorical sense. It was easy for Peter and his followers to dub the Damianites "Sabellians" or "tetradites" and, conversely, for the Damianites to label their opponents Tritheists because they insisted on the true divinity of each person in the Trinity. From the surviving fragments of Damian's works the role played by patristic proof-texts in his debate with Peter is evident.

Despite leaving himself open to charges of heterodoxy by the manner in which he formulated his anti-Tritheist position, Damian was energetic in the struggle against heresy within the ranks of the anti-Chalcedonians. In his synodical letter he takes issue with the works of John Philoponus; he also opposed Julian of Halicarnassus and his followers, the Gaianites, the Agnoetai, and the followers of the Alexandrian Sophist Stephen, particularly the Sophist Proba, whom he expelled from Alexandria. The followers of Damian, the Damianites, were also known as the Angelites because they assembled in the Angelicon, the only church left to them in Alexandria after the time of the Chalcedonian patriarch Eulogius (580-607).

During Damian's patriarchate a school of Coptic writers developed, among whom can be mentioned Constantine of Assiut, John of Ashmunein, Rufus of Shotep and, most of all, John of Paralos.

Studies: Maspéro, 278-317; S. Vailhé, *DTC* 4 (1911) 39-40; Honigmann, *passim*; R. Y. Ebied, "Peter of Antioch and Damian of Alexandria", R. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to A. Vööbus*, Chicago 1977, 277-282; Frend, 341-342; K.-H. Uthemann, "Stephanos von Alexandrien und die Konversion des Jacobiten Probos, des späteren Metropoliten

von Chalkedon", C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. Van Rompay (eds), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History*, OLA 18, Leuven 1985, 381-399; C.D.G. Müller, "Damian, Papst und Patriarch von Alexandrien", *OrChr* 70 (1986) 118-142; Grillmeier, II/4, 76-82 (Eng. ed. II/4, 75-81); T. Orlandi, *EEC* 1 (1992) 219; K.-H. Uthemann, "Damianiten", *LTK* 2nd ed., 2 (1994) 1387; Idem, "Damianos", *ibid.* 1388; R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus Contra Damianum I, Quae supersunt libri secundi*, CCG 29, Turnhout-Leuven 1994; *idem*, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus Contra Damianum II, Libri tertii capita I-XIX*, CCG 32, Turnhout-Leuven 1996.

WORKS

1. *Epistula synodica ad Iacobum Baradaeum*

The inaugural epistle which Damian sent to Jacob Baradaeus and the clergy and monks of the East on his ordination in 578 contains the familiar elements of synodical letters. A description of the particulars of the consecration is followed by the confession of the first three councils, as in other anti-Chalcedonian synodical letters. In the doctrinal part, where it was customary to treat Trinitarian theology and then Christology, Damian directs himself first against the Trinitarian theology of John Philoponus, quoting six extracts, four from his *De Trinitate* and two from unnamed treatises. Next the author stresses the unity of Christ with the Father, the two births of Christ, the title of *Theotokos* and the virginity of Mary, as well as the one-nature formula and the confession of one activity in Christ. In the following section, where it was usual to include a heresiology, he treats groups of heretics, chiefly the Chalcedonians, the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, the Tritheists and the Agnoetai. These themes were repeated in whole or in part in two other works of Damian that date from the same year – the *Sermo incathedrationis* and the *Epistula consolatoria*. Given Damian's Syrian origin, the letter may have been composed in Syriac.

Editions: CPG 7240; J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 4, Paris 1901, 2nd ed. Brussels 1963, 358-363 (Syriac text); fragments in W.E. Crum, G.H. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 2, New York 1926, Pl. XV (Coptic text); fragments in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 32 (Syriac text).

Translations – French: J.-B. Chabot, *ibid.*, 2, Paris 1901, 2nd ed. Brussels 1963, 325-334.

English: fragments in W.E. Crum, G.H. Evelyn White 331-337; fragments in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 32.

Studies: M. Cramer, H. Bacht, "Der antichalkedonische Aspekt im historisch-biographischen Schrifttum der koptischen Monophysiten (6.-7. Jahrhundert). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entstehung der monophysitischen Kirche Aegyptens", A. Grillmeier, H. Bacht (eds.), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th ed. Würzburg 1973, 337-338; A. Van Roey, "Les fragments trithéites de Jean Philopon", *OLP* 11 (1980) 135-136; Grillmeier, II/4, 76-77, 79-80 (Eng. ed. II/4, 75-76, 78-79).

2. *Sermo incathedrationis*

A passage from this *Enthronement Sermon*, delivered in 578 and preserved in the *Contra Damianum*, was repeated in Damian's *Epistula synodica* (cf. *Contra Damianum* XV, 224-238). It deals with the significance of the title *Theotokos*, the two births of Christ, and one nature, one hypostasis and one activity in Christ.

Editions: not in CPG; fragments in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 32 (Syriac text), otherwise unknown.

Translation – English: *ibidem*.

3. *Epistula consolatoria*

The fragment from the letter of consolation which Damian composed on the death of Jacob Baradaeus in 578 contains a denunciation of heretics similar to that found in his *Epistula synodica* – Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo, Julian of Halicarnassus, Tritheists and Agnoetai.

Editions: CPG 7241; J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* 4, Paris 1901, 2nd ed. Brussels 1963, 368-369 (Syriac text).

Translation – French: J.-B. Chabot, *ibid.*, 2, Paris 1901, Brussels 1963, 339-342. *Studies*: Grillmeier II/4, 78 (English ed. II/4, 77).

4. *Epistula I ad Petrum Callinicensem*

Two fragments of Damian's first letter to Peter of Callinicus, which was written in response to the latter's synodical letter soon after his consecration in 581, are preserved in Peter's *Contra Tritheistas*. In flowery language the patriarch of Alexandria commends the orthodoxy of his *alter ego*, praising him for not having stepped outside the definitions of the Fathers and the councils. It seems that Damian delayed replying to Peter's synodical letter.

Editions: CPG 7242 (cf. 7251 [2]); R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum. Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, OLA 10, Leuven 1981, 81-82 (Syriac text).

Translation – English: *ibid.*, 54-55.

Studies: see under Peter of Callinicus, pp. 203 ff.

5. *Epistula II ad eundem*

Damian's second letter to Peter, dating from 582, is written in reply to the situation outlined to him by the patriarch of Antioch, who had converted a group of Tritheists, including an archimandrite. In the extract from his letter preserved in the *Contra Damianum*, Damian commends Peter for the terms on which he has negotiated with them, denounces the concept of "one" in theory or contemplation, and anathematizes the "writings" of John Philoponus.

Edition: CPG 7243 (cf. 7251 [4]); R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, cit., 84-86 (Syriac text).

Translation – English: *ibid.*, 57-58.

Studies: see under Peter of Callinicus, pp. 203 ff.

6. *Epistula III ad eundem*

In the extract from Damian's third letter to Peter of Callinicus written in about 585 and preserved in the *Contra Damianum*, the patriarch of Alexandria commends his colleague for having effected the conversion of the Tritheist bishop Elias.

Edition: CPG 7244 (cf. 7251 [7]); R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, cit., 91-92 (Syriac text).

Translation – English: *ibid.*, 62-63.

Studies: see under Peter of Callinicus, pp. 203 ff.

7. *Adversus Tritheitas*

Damian composed the *Adversus Tritheitas* against certain "chapters" written by the Tritheists. Both works are lost, although many fragments of Damian's treatise survive thanks to their inclusion in the *Contra Damianum* of Peter of Callinicus. It was Damian's work that began the debate between the two patriarchs in about 585. Comprising at least twenty chapters, the treatise shows similarities of form and content with the first of the six short anti-Tritheist writings published by G. Furlani. There is a concentration on the inter-relationship between the concepts "hypostasis" and "substance", demonstrating that the definition of these concepts would have played an important part in Damian's argumentation. According to the patriarch of Alexandria, the Church's tradition, as enunciated strictly according to Nicaea by Theodosius of Alexandria, is that, in the Trinity, the one common substance is actual and is not just observed speculatively in the three hypostases. The Fathers use the term "properties" of the three subsisting hypostases in the one common substance, indicating thereby that the hypostases or properties are the divine and substantial ingeneracy (the Father), generacy (Son) and procession (Spirit). A logical consequence of this – or so Damian's opponents would claim – was that, if the hypostasis of the Spirit was indicative of procession, this is the same as saying that the Spirit is procession. In the surviving fragments of Damian's work we again find testimony to the predominant place of patristic proof-texts in the debate between himself and Peter of Callinicus.

Editions: CPG 7245; fragments in R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Petri Callinicensis Patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus contra Damianum*, I, *Quae supersunt libri secundi*, CCG 29, Turnhout-Leuven 1994, *passim*; II, *Libri tertii capita I-XIX*,

CCG 32, Turnhout-Leuven 1996, *passim*; III, *Libri tertii capita XX-XXXIV*, CCG 35, Turnhout-Leuven 1998 (Syriac text).

Translations – Latin: fragments in A. Van Roey, "Le traité contre les Trithéites (CPG 7245) de Damien d'Alexandrie", *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*, OLA 60, Leuven 1994, 229-250.

English: fragments in R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, 1994, 1996 and 1998, *passim*.

Studies: Cf. G. Furlani, *Sei Scritti Antitriteistici in lingua siriaca*, PO 14, Paris 1920, 737-763; A. Van Roey 1994; see under Peter of Callinicus, pp. 203 ff.

8. *Epistula prolixa*

In his reply to the letter which Peter of Callinicus wrote concerning the views put forth in Damian's *Adversus Tritheitas*, the patriarch of Alexandria sets out to justify the contents of his previous work. Claiming that those who have taken exception to the *Adversus Tritheitas* should not "offer mere disparagement and censure" but explain how his words can be taken in a different way and where he departs from the Fathers, he proposes that it is "hazardous and at odds with the Fathers" to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance (of the Trinity) "hypostases". Damian adduces various patristic proof-texts to support his case and challenges Peter and others to prove that the texts are not patristic. His point is that the terms "property", *prosopon* and "hypostasis" signify the same thing.

Edition: CPG 7246 (1); many fragments in R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 32, *passim* (Syriac text).

Translation – English: many fragments in *ibid.*, *passim*.

9. *Apologia secunda*

From Book 2, ch.7 of the *Contra Damianum* we learn that, while Peter of Callinicus was staying at Paralos/Burlus on the eastern border of Egypt in the hope of meeting Damian, the patriarch of Alexandria sent him a *Second Apology* by the intermediary of a certain Zachariah. A passage from this work is quoted, and returned to several times in the course of Book 2. Damian is dealing with the concepts of ingeneracy, generacy and procession, and produces a proof-text from Severus of Antioch's *Contra impium grammaticum*.

Edition: CPG 7246 (2); fragments in R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 29 and 35, *passim* (Syriac text).

Translation – English: fragments in *ibid.*, *passim*.

10. *Epistula per Gerontium allata*

Only a small fragment of this letter survives in Peter of Callinicus' *Contra Damianum*. The letter was another *apologia* addressed by Damian to Peter.

Edition: CPG 7246 (3); fragment in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 35, 405 (Syriac text).

11. *Epistula festalis*

In Book 3, ch. 19 of the *Contra Damianum*, Peter of Callinicus quotes passages from the *Festal Letter* which Damian wrote in the eighth year of his patriarchate, thus 588/589. It contained polemic directed against Peter and his use of patristic proof-texts, particularly passages from Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium* 3, 1 dealing with the concept of generacy.

Edition: CPG 7247 (2); fragments in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 35, 544 (*indices*).

Translation – English: fragments in *ibidem*.

Studies: cf. A. Van Roey, *Le traité contre les Trithéites* (CPG 7245), *cit.*, 229-230 with n. 4, who distinguishes two festal letters.

12. *Epistula ad episcopos Orientis*

The fragments of Damian's letter to the bishops of the East, preserved in *Contra Damianum* 1, 13; 2, 8 and 2, 11, show that Damian was occupied with defining the terms substance, hypostasis, property and *prosopon*, and called on the witness of Basil of Caesarea's *Adversus Eunomium* and Severus of Antioch's *Contra impium grammaticum* to do so.

Edition: CPG 7247 (1); fragments in R. Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *op. cit.*, CCG 29 and 32, *passim* (Syriac text).

Translation – English: *ibid.*, *passim*.

13. *Homilia in nativitatem Christi*

Damian delivered this homily in the presence of the imperial legate Constantine, shortly after an earthquake in Syria (perhaps that of 588, described by Evagrius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 8). From Damian's emphasis on the heretics who speak of three godheads and divide the Father and Son from the Spirit, it seems that Tritheism was still a current problem.

Edition: CPG 7249; fragments in W.E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford 1913, 21-33 (Coptic text).

Translation – English: *ibidem*.

Studies: C.D.G. Müller, "Damian, Papst und Patriarch von Alexandrien", *OrChr* 70 (1986) 139 and n. 75; Grillmeier II/4, 82 (Eng. ed. II/4, 81) and n. 130.

The *Contra Damianum* of Peter of Callinicus also contains fragments from an unspecified apology and an unnamed work.

EULOGIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Eulogius was the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria. A Greek-speaking Syrian, a member of the Chalcedonian clergy of Antioch, he lived for some time at Constantinople, where he frequented Gregory the Great, then Roman apocrisiary at the Byzantine court. Melkite patriarch of Alexandria from 580 to 608, he worked at building new orthodox churches and obliged his Monophysite antagonist Damian to leave Egypt. Yet his authority was confined to the families of the city nobility and the imperial bureaucrats. The popular masses of that rural world, whose struggle against the Diphysite creed concealed the nationalistic pride of a growing Coptic identity, openly opposed him, and in Upper Egypt his jurisdiction was wholly void. The great effort he devoted to theological reflection is shown by the long list of his works known to Photius (*Bibl.*, codd. 182; 208; 225-227; 230; 280), who puts him in the front line not just against the doctrines handed down by the historical leaders of the Monophysite movement (Severus, Timothy IV, Theodosius, Gaianus), but also against the ideas of the Novatianists. This rigorist fringe had always contested the discipline of the official Church, which it accused of laxity, and in Egypt it had caused problems to drag on since the time of the great Melitian schism (early 4th c.), continuing to maintain the irremissibility of *peccato graviora*, sacramental validity *ex opere operantis*, and the Christian community of *sancti* alone. Eulogius' surviving literary output is reduced to some passages from the *Dubitationes orthodoxi* and the *Defensiones* (Συνηγορίαι) preserved in the *Doctrina Patrum*, and a few exegetical fragments (*In Psalmum* 31, 1-2; *In Lucam*; *In Iohannem* 21, 16). Past attempts to attribute to him a *Homily on Palm Sunday* (PG 86, 2913-2938) and a dogmatic treatise *De Trinitate et incarnatione* (PG 86, 2940-2944; *ThQ* 88 [1896] 353-401) proved useless: these two works were subsequently considered to be more probably, the one by Sophronius of Jerusalem († 638), the other by Epiphanius II of Cyprus (late 7th c.). Finally, three fragments of Eulogius have been restored by Moeller to John of Caesarea (*RHE* 46 [1951] 683-688).

Editions: CPG 6971-6979; Diekamp, 152-155, 209-213; PG 86, 2937-2940; 2944-2964; PG 91, 264-265; PG 103, 532-536, 677; 940-956; 1024-1088; PG 104, 325-356; R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 2, 192-195; 3, 105-106; 4, 99-114; 5, 8-64; 8, 188-214.

Studies: S.L. Epifanovic, *Pseudo-Eulogij*, Kiev 1917, 130-141; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalcedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*, Diss., Bonn 1962, 236-241; *DHGE* 15, 1388 f.; Beck, 381 f.; Altaner, 550; T. Orlandi: *EEC* 1 (1992) 297; Fliche-Martin 4, 112, 119, 491 f.; P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus. The Church Historian*, Leuven 1981, 18, 28, 31, 40, 104, 127, 231; M. Maccaroni, *Il primato del vescovo di Roma nel primo millennio*, Vatican City 1989, 340.

JOHN THE ALMSGIVER

Born in Cyprus, perhaps in Amathous, in the second half of the 5th century, into a wealthy family, John first pursued a secular career, married and had children. After the death of his children and then his wife, John renounced his worldly goods and devoted himself to God and to works of charity. In 610, he was appointed patriarch of Alexandria by the Emperor Heraclius and devoted himself to the cause of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, unpopular in a land where most Christians were Monophysites, either Theodosians or Gaiianites. He trained clergy, built churches and devoted the vast wealth of the imperial Church to the poor, building orphanages and hospitals and helping many individuals. Among those who helped John in Egypt were John Moschus and Sophronius. John's endeavours were so successful that it was claimed that during his patriarchate the number of Chalcedonian churches increased from seven to seventy. His charitable works were not limited to Egypt: he also supported the refugees from the Persian attacks on Syria and Palestine, and assisted Modestus, vicar for the exiled patriarch of Jerusalem, in restoring the Holy Places after the sack of Jerusalem in 614. When Egypt itself was threatened by Persian attack, he accepted the offer of Nicetas, the Augustal Prefect of Egypt (whose adopted brother he may have been), to take refuge in Constantinople, but on the way there he settled in Cyprus and retired to Amathous, where he died on 11 November 619 or 620 (probably the latter). His friends John Moschus and Sophronius wrote a *Vita* of John, which is now lost; later, at the command of Arcadius, archbishop of Constantia, Leontius, bishop of Neapolis, wrote a supplement to that *Vita*, which survives. John was buried in the church of St Tychon, a former bishop of Amathous. The only work of John's to have survived is a *Vita* of that bishop.

Editions: CPG 7977; BHG 1859-1860; H. Usener, *Sonderbare Heiligen I. Der heilige Tychon*, Leipzig 1907, 111-149.

Studies: J.-M. Sauge, *EEC* 1 (1992) 447; *Idem*, BS 6, 750-757.

GEORGE OF ALEXANDRIA

George succeeded John the Almsgiver as patriarch of Alexandria, probably in 620. The sole work of his to have come down to us is his *Vita* of St John Chrysostom, which is a compilation based mainly on Palladius' *Dialogue on the Life of St John Chrysostom*, of which it incorporates about a half.

Editions: CPG 7979; F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur S. Jean Chrysostom*, Subsidia Hagiographica 60, Brussels 1977, 69-301.

Studies: C. Baur, "Georgius Alexandrinus", *BZ* 27 (1927) 1-16; P.R. Norton, "The *Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Georgius Alexandrinus", *CPh* 20 (1925) 69-72.

CYRUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Cyrus was originally bishop of Phasis (Sebastopolis). In 626 he adhered to the Christology of Sergius I of Constantinople (610-638), making his contribution to the religious policy of the Emperor Heraclius and his patriarch. He was appointed patriarch of Alexandria, with which he combined the functions of prefect of Egypt and military governor. In 633 he held a synod at Alexandria, promulgating an Act of Union in nine chapters on the basis of Monoenergism: its seventh point made clear in what sense it was possible to speak of two natures while remaining in line with Cyril's "one nature" or with Dionysius the Areopagite's *energeia theandrike* (A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, Breslau 1877, no. 234). Despite imperial support this union with the Egyptian Monophysites was not very successful. In 640, during the Arab advance on Egypt, Cyrus was accused of high treason and deposed by Heraclius. He was restored in 641 and in November he negotiated the capitulation of Alexandria. He died on 21 March 642. Besides the *Kephalaia* there remain three letters of Cyrus to Sergius.

Editions: CPG 7610-7613; Mansi 10, 1004-1005; 11, 560-568.

Studies: Bardenhewer 5, 27 f.; Fliche-Martin 5, 114 f., 117-123, 133, 135, 137 f.; Beck, 292 f.; E. Prinzivalli, *EEC* 1 (1992) 216; *BBKL* 4 (1992) 902 ff. (bibliography).

HYPERECHIUS

Author of a brief sermon addressed to monks, *Adhortatio ad monachos*. This is the source of the sayings ascribed to Hyperechius in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (PG 65, 429-432). The *Adhortatio* is also attributed to Ephraem Graecus (CPG 3963).

Edition: CPG 5618; PG 79, 1473-1489.

Versions: see concordance in L. Regnault, *Les sentences des Pères du désert. Troisième recueil et tables*, Solesmes 1976, 242-243.

Studies: J.-M. Sauge: BS 7, 863-864.

DANIEL OF SCETE

A monk from Scete, called Daniel, appears in several stories about monks and ascetics, as well as in some of the stories in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. The stories were extremely popular and were translated into many Eastern languages. The original Greek versions have been collected by L. Clugnet. Although it is likely that there was an historical Scetiot monk called Daniel, belonging to the 6th century, the character in the stories may not always be identical with this historical figure, and in some cases is probably fictional.

Editions: CPG 7363 (for details of versions); L. Clugnet, "Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel de Scété", *Revue de l'Orient chrétienne* 5 (1900) 49-73, 254-271, 370-391; 6 (1901) 56-87 (introduction); published separately in *Bibliothèque hagiographique grecque*, Paris 1901, and in *Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale*, I, Paris 1901, 1-68.
Studies: G. Garitte, *DHGE* 14 (1957) 70-72; J.-M. Sauget, *EEC* 1 (1992) 220.

JOHN OF NIKIU

Author of a chronicle extending from the time of Adam and Eve to the restoration of the exiled Coptic Alexandrian Patriarch Benjamin in 644, John was the Coptic bishop of Nikiu, near Alexandria. He occupied high ecclesiastical posts, including that of monastic administrator, before he was deposed from these offices for alleged abuse of his powers. His work was composed about 690, placing his birth about the time of the Muslim advance into Egypt.

John's *Chronicle* originally contained 122 chapters, but it has come down to us mutilated and in translation. It was either composed in Coptic, or in Greek with some parts pertaining to purely Egyptian affairs written in Coptic; it was subsequently translated into Arabic, and finally into Ethiopic in 1602. The Ethiopic version is the only one available to us. In this transmission large sections of the work have been lost, notably those dealing with the significant period 610-640, in other words the Persian occupation of Egypt, the dealings of the Chalcedonian Patriarch Cyrus with the Copts, and the Arab incursions into Egypt. In addition, the rubrics which were prefixed by the Arabic translator do not always correspond to the chapter in question. The Ethiopic text which has come down to us seems to be a literal translation of the Arabic.

Despite all these difficulties and the fact that the *editio princeps* of the Ethiopic text was accompanied by a paraphrasing translation, John's *Chronicle* has proven to be extremely valuable to historians of Egypt. His debt to John Malalas is evident, and he may also have drawn on Socrates and the *Chronicon Paschale*. Given his anti-Chalcedonian stance, he attributes the success of the Muslims to the divisions among Christians and to the "persecution which had been brought on the Christians of Egypt" by the Chalcedonian Patriarch Cyrus. Nonetheless, he is the earliest and the only eye-witness account for the period after the Arab conquest in Egypt. Above all John is an annalist who includes in simple language all material available to him.

Editions: CPG 7967; H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou. Texte éthiopien publié et traduit*, Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale 24, 1, Paris 1883, 2nd ed. 1935, 125-605.

Translation – English: R.H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text*, London Oxford 1916, repr. Amsterdam n.d.

Studies: H. Schäfer, "Bruchstück eines koptischen Romans über die Eroberung Aegyptens durch Kambyses", *SAB* 38 (1899) 727-744; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* I, ST 118, Vatican City 1944, 470-472; H.L. Jansen, *The Coptic Story of Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt. A Critical Analysis of its Historical Purpose*, Oslo 1950; M. Rodinson, *Notes sur le texte de Jean de Nikiou*, IV congresso internazionale di studi etiopici. Accad. nazionale dei Lincei, an. 371, 1974, vol. 2, Sezione linguistica, Rome 1974, 127-137 (bibl.); A. Corile, "Giovanni di Nikius, cronista bizantino-copto del VII secolo", *Fest. A.N. Stratos*, 2, Athens 1986, 358-398; E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott, *Studies in John Malalas*, Byzantina Australiensia 6, Sydney 1990, *passim*; *ODB* 2, 1066; T. Orlandi, *EEC* 1 (1992) 446.

AMMONIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

Anastasius the Sinaite twice cites in his *Hodegos* (CPG 7745) the work of a certain Ammonius of Alexandria in which he attacks Julian of Halicarnassus, the theoretician of Aphthartodocetism. In it Ammonius invokes an objection, which "the infidel Jew Philo the philosopher" supposedly raised against Mnason, disciple of the apostles: the Old Testament miracles far surpass all the miracles of Jesus, and many statements in the New Testament show that Jesus cannot be God. That this citation does not come from Philo of Alexandria is evident. An influence of the discussion between a monk and two Jews, Papiscus and Philo, is improbable. So too is the relationship, claimed by J.E. Bruns, with the lost dialogue of Aristo of Pella (CPG 1101). Both in a work "on the priestly dignity" (BHG 1322v), originally handed down in a sermon of Anastasius the Sinaite (CPG 7750), and in an *Erotapokrisis* of the same Anastasius handed down independently (CPG 7746, 5), the source is given as the "ecclesiastical history of the philosopher Philo" (CPG 7512), i.e. "Philo the historian". A scholiast mentions Philo of Carpasia, who lived in the late 4th century, but all that survives of his is a *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (CPG 3810) and a fragment of a *Commentary on the Hexaemeron*, cited by Cosmas Indicopleustes (CPG 7463). Given all this, nothing can be unequivocally determined except that neither of Anastasius' citations come from the exegete Ammonius of Alexandria, active in the 6th century (CPG 5500-5506). However, a third *testimonium* present in the *Hodegos* probably comes from the work *Against the Heresies of Eutyches and Dioscorus* by a certain presbyter named Ammonius of Alexandria.

Editions: (1) *Contra Iulianum Halicarnassensem* (CPG 6982): *Anastasio Sinaiteae Viae dux*, XIII, 8, 23-51; XIII, 10, 12-79, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, CCG 8, Turnhout-Leuven 1981, 243-244; 252-254; (2) *Adversus haereses Eutychii et Dioscori*: *ibid.* XIV, 1, 1-33, CCG 8, 256-257.

Studies: G. Mercati, "Un preteso scritto di san Pietro vescovo d'Alessandria e martire sulla bestemmia e Filone l'istoriografo", *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche* (1905) 162-180 (= *Idem. Opere minori*. 2, ST 77, Rome 1937, 426-438);

M. Richard, "Les textes hagiographiques du codex Athos Philothéou 52", *AB* 93 (1975) 150, 154 (BHG 1322v in a recension of the pseudo-Anastasian *Erotapokriseis* CPG 7746); J.E. Bruns, "The 'Altercatio Jasonis et Papisci', Philo, and Anastasius the Sinaite", *ThS* 43 (1973) 287-294; D.T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, Assen-Minneapolis 1993, 210-211; K.-H. Uthemann, "Was verraten Katenen über die Exegese ihrer Zeit?", *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, ed. G. Schöllgen, C. Scholten, *JbAC*, Erg. 23, Münster 1996, 290.

AMMONIUS ALEXANDRINUS

There are no doubts about the existence of an Alexandrian Ammonius, an exegete who wrote commentaries on the book of Daniel (PG 85, 1364-1381; 1823-1826) and on John's Gospel (PG 85, 1392-1524), but there are no sure data by which to identify him more precisely. He tends to be identified with the presbyter and *oikonomos* of the Alexandrian Church who subscribed a letter to the Emperor Leo in defence of the Council of Chalcedon against Timothy Aelurus. In the *Catenae* on John he is called "presbyter". Since he depends on authors of the 4th and 5th centuries, Reuss identifies him with the other Ammonius of Alexandria (CPG 6982), cited by Anastasius the Sinaite, who would have lived in the first half of the 6th century. Others, such as Elorduy, would identify him with the philosopher Ammonius Saccas: but this would take him back from the 6th century to the 3rd, an opinion not commonly accepted (cf. ANASTASIUS THE SINAITE, p. 320). The exegete seems to have lived between the 5th and 6th centuries. Apart from the two books cited, all we have of him are fragments of other biblical commentaries: on the Psalms (PG 85, 1361-1364), Luke, Acts (PG 85, 1524-1608), I Corinthians and I Peter (PG 85, 1608-1609). The fragments on Matthew (PG 85, 1381-1392) are spurious.

Editions and studies: CPG 5500-5509; T. Zahn, "Der Exeget Ammonius und andere Ammonius", *ZKG* 38 (1920) 1-22, 331-336; J. Reuss, "Der Exeget Ammonius und die Fragmente seines Matthäus- und Johannes Kommentars", *Biblica* 22 (1941) 13-20; Idem, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, TU 89, Berlin 1965, 196-358; Idem, "Der Presbyter Ammonius von Alexandrien und sein Kommentar zum Iohannes-Evangelium", *Biblica* 44 (1963) 159-170; R. Devresse, *DBS* 1, 1137; 1158; 1174; 1203; 1228; Bardenhewer, 5, 83-86; E. Elorduy, "Ammonio en las catenas", *Estudios Ecl.* 44 (1969) 383-432; H. Dörrie, "Ammonios, der Lehrer Plotins", *Hermes* 83 (1955) 439-477, esp. 471 ff.; *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, edd. S. Döpp, W. Geerlings, Freiburg 1998, 23.

VI SYRIAC LITERATURE

by PAOLO BETTILO

PREFACE

There is a passage in the second homily preached by Basil on Genesis in the last years of his life, in the second half of the 370s, that has often drawn the attention of readers, both ancient and modern, and I think it useful to introduce it here to illustrate some nodal problems posed by Syriac Christian literature as a whole and the study of it.

The bishop of Caesarea, commenting on Gen 1, 2 and strongly emphasizing his preference for an identification of the *spirit of God* mentioned in that verse with the Holy Spirit, clarifies its "moving" upon the waters by adducing the explanation of "a Syrian, as far from worldly wisdom as he was close to the knowledge of truth", who understood it in the light of the corresponding term in the Syriac version of the passage. That anonymous witness "said that the word of the Syrians was more expressive" than that of the Greeks and that, "by its kinship with the Hebrew, it came rather closer to the sense of the Scriptures" (cf. A.C. Way, *Saint Basil. Exegetic Homilies*, Washington (DC) 1963, 31 [*Hom.* II, 6, 2]).

The problem of identifying this "Syrian" has often drawn the attention of readers and scholars. The most convincing hypothesis is that lately argued by L. Van Rompay in "L'informatore syrien de Basile de Césarée. À propos de Genèse 1, 2", *OCP* 58 (1992) 245-251: namely, that it was Eusebius, bishop of Emesa. This view is confirmed by a more recent publication by R.B. ter Haar Romeny, whose title it is interesting to record for the purpose of these introductory notes: *A Syrian in Greek Dress – The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*, Lovanii 1997.

This is an important clue. Eusebius, earliest witness to the Antiochene exegetical traditions of which we have a solid literary legacy, was born at Edessa around 300, was trained to read Scripture at Caesarea, particularly by Eusebius (hence in an Origenian atmosphere), and was present at Antioch with Eustathius around 330. In his bilingualism, in

his biblical culture rich in multiple insights, perhaps also in his reluctance to involve himself in the burning theological discussions of the time, often too much dominated by speculative questions alien to him (*Non sum contentiosus, sed et abstineo me a contentione*, he wrote), he is a good witness to the composite environment of the Church of Syria, Hellenized certainly, but not without its own original insights, matured partly (perhaps especially) in a singular familiarity with Jewish traditions. "A Syrian in Greek dress", writes ter Haar Romeny: a Syrian, I would add, at times aware of the dignity and strength that Syriac derived from its closeness to Hebrew. This appears in the case of the exegesis of Gen 1, 2, on which cf. the volume cited above, especially pp. 174-183, though in the texts examined there it is not used, to understand the "moving" of the Spirit, in the way that appears from Basil's passage, but only in an introductory example, which nevertheless allows it to be likened to the Hebrew against the Greek. Strength and dignity of Syriac, it was observed, which even Basil, let us remember, granted to this Semitic language.

So not only did the first "Latin" cultivators of Syriac in the 14th century honour it as the language of Christ, "consecrated by his own divine mouth", and hence a link with a more faithful witness to him, part of a sensibility so much less perplexed than our own over-Hellenized theological traditions (cf. W. Strothmann, *Die Anfänge der syrischen Studien in Europa*, Wiesbaden 1971; A. Van Roey, "Les études syriaques d'Andreas Masius", *OLP* 9 [1978] 141-158); not only do many, even now, often approach the texts of the "Semitic" communities of Syria diligent to gather exemplary traces of Christianities closer to the Jewish root, quickly superseded and yet by no means *minoritaire* among the Greek and Latin Churches, but even Eusebius, even Basil attested both their awareness of a voice clearly identifiable in them, evidence of a familiarity with "Israel" elsewhere more difficult, and their solicitude for it.

Certainly, there are scholars who invite due prudence in cultivating theories that sometimes seem justified more by anxieties of our own (anxieties of the West, even when Christian) than by the texts: when Jesus was born, they insist, "Syria", especially its Roman part, had long been a "Greek" region as to the culture prevalent among its urban elites, nor are we able to discern clearly what else of "native" it may have harboured, so to speak, so that Christianity there underwent substantially those variations and resolutions that it attests elsewhere, at least in the East; after all, they add, it was not the more organized Jewish communities in its cities, whether in Osrhoene or Adiabene or elsewhere, converting (if they ever did convert), that constituted the nucleus, still less the sole nucleus, of the Christian communities that

grew up there (thus especially Drijvers, whose various essays will be cited later). Every working hypothesis must thus be calmly checked, in a study of evidence and texts made slower by the paucity of the evidence of the origins and the complexity of later evidence, all the more at a time, like the present, of profound renewal of studies of the worlds that coexisted, converged or conflicted in the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods.

With this prudence, but also with an awareness of the irreducibility of some data, I have sought to draw up the brief succinct notes, mostly bibliographical, that follow.

INTRODUCTION

What is introduced here is an altogether brief outline only of some of the authors and literary blocs, such as the whole of the anonymous versions of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures, operative and handed down in Syriac. Despite its brevity, it is essential to preface it with a bare minimum of bibliographical information, useful for placing authors and texts within the history – including linguistic history – of those regions and milieus of which they are a valuable witness. It is also worthwhile to precede these notes with some further information on the chief instruments (bibliographical reviews, encyclopedias, monographs, collections of editions of texts, periodicals) available for the study of the literature, events, places, all the evidence of this vast field of the Christian East, to which the reader can easily turn to supplement the absences or insufficiencies of the following pages. Indeed, given the impossibility of providing a complete treatment and bibliography for each period, thematic area, author or text, a fairly selective identification has been made of subjects and their studies, in the latter case mentioning only those works that obey criteria of recognized significance and/or representativeness in the field of scientific output relative to the subject under examination, favouring especially the more recent contributions, which can inform and orient us on the earlier literature. I have tried, however, to be exhaustive in giving editions of the authentic writings of the chosen authors, who, I repeat, are certainly not all of them, nor are they limited to those of whom entire texts have survived.

1. Instruments

a) *Editions of texts*. There are three main collections of Syriac texts: the *Patrologia Syriaca* (PS), promoted by R. Graffin, of which only three volumes were issued at Paris between 1894 and 1926 (Syriac text with Latin version opposite); the *Patrologia Orientalis* (PO), founded by the same R. Graffin with the collaboration of F. Nau and continued

by F. Graffin, whose first fascicle was published at Paris in 1903, while it is now edited at Turnhout (Belgium) for Brepols, and which comprises Syriac texts accompanied by a version now mostly in French or English, as well as texts of the Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian and also Greek patristic literatures; and finally the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO), founded at Paris in 1903 by J.-B. Chabot, who was its first director, and H. Hyvernat, and directed from 1948 by R. Draguet († 1980), who gave a decisive stimulus to the collection, henceforth published at Louvain (Belgium) at the publishing house of Peeters. The *Corpus*, which is subdivided into distinct series, as many as the languages of the Christian East, and also hosts an important section of *Subsidia* or monographs aimed at exploring individual authors, writings, themes or events of the history of the Eastern Churches, divides the edition of the text and its translation, now in a modern language, between two different volumes (on this collection cf. A. De Halleux, "L'apport du CSCO à l'histoire de la littérature syriaque", *Ephram-Hunayn Festival – Baghdad*, Baghdad 1974, 291-298).

Besides these major collections, there are also some minor ones, often concluded, like that of A. Smith Lewis and M.D. Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica*, 12 voll., Cambridge 1894-1907; that of A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies – Christian Documents in Syriac, Arabic and Garshuni with a Critical Apparatus*, 7 voll., Cambridge 1927-1933; and the *Göttinger Orientforschungen – Reihe I: Syriaca*, begun by W. Strothmann in 1971 and published at Wiesbaden. Translations of Syriac texts, often accompanied by extensive introductions and useful notes, are also included in the *Sources chrétiennes* (SCh – Paris) and in the new collection of *Fontes christiani*, published at Freiburg.

Marginally to these brief notes on editions, minimal information on places of custody and catalogues of the vast Syriac manuscript material may be found in A. Desreumaux's recent work, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques*, Paris 1991.

b) *Manuals, bibliographical repertoria, dictionaries, periodicals*. There are many general introductions, more or less exhaustive and accurate, to the whole of Syriac literature, starting with the third, double volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome 1719-1728) by the Maronite Giuseppe Simonio Assemani, the real *de facto* creator of the Vatican Library's Oriental Section, which assembled the mass of information then accessible on all Syriac authors, with the publication of some of their important texts. Among manuals still obtainable today are: R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, Paris 1907 (3rd ed., revised and augmented, of the volume first published in 1899, of which an anast. ed. is now available, Amsterdam 1970); A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der*

syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte, Bonn 1922 (anast. ed., Berlin 1968); I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Rome 1958 (in Latin); P. Bettolo, "Lineamenti di patrologia siriana", A. Quacquarelli, *Complementi interdisciplinari di Patrologia*, Rome 1989, 503-603; M. Albert, "Langue et littérature syriaques", M. Albert, R. Beylot, R.-G. Coquin, B. Outtier, C. Renoux, A. Guillaumont, *Christianismes Orientaux – Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Paris 1993, 299-379; and S. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, Kottayam 1997.

Among bibliographical instruments, we should mention: for monographs and editions earlier than the 1960s: C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum*, London 1962; for recent Syriac studies, the excellent successive restatements of S. Brock, "Syriac Studies 1960-1970 – A Classified Bibliography", *PdO* 1-2 (1973) 393-465; "Syriac Studies 1971-1980 – A Classified Bibliography", *ibid.* 10 (1981/1982) 291-412; "Syriac Studies 1981-1985 – A Classified Bibliography", *ibid.* 14 (1987) 289-360; "Syriac Studies 1986-1990 – A Classified Bibliography", *ibid.* 17 (1992) 211-301; "Syriac Studies 1991-1995 – A Classified Bibliography", *ibid.* 23 (1999) 241-350 (to this essential instrument I henceforth refer anyone who wants conveniently to supplement the bibliographical information appended to each individual subject or author of the present contribution, pointing out that Brock's bibliography, of which a partial publication now exists in a separate volume: S. Brock, *Syriac Studies: A Classified Bibliography [1960-1990]*, Kaslik 1996, is organized by subject and author).

To supplement these instruments, see also J. Assfalg, P. Krüger, *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients*, Wiesbaden 1975 (French tr.: Turnhout 1991). On individual themes or authors of Christian Syria some articles in the following dictionaries are still useful: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris; *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, Paris; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris; *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, Paris; *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York.

Finally, devoted eminently to the literatures, history or problems of the Christian East are the following periodicals: *Le Muséon* (Louvain-la-Neuve); *Oriens christianus* (Wiesbaden); *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome); *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (Leuven); *Melto*, from 1970 *Parole de l'Orient* (Kaslik, Lebanon); *Proche-Orient Chrétien* (Jerusalem); *The Harp – A Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies* (Kottayam/Kerala, India); *Aram* (Oxford). Lastly, the volumes of two further periodicals, whose publication ceased some time ago, but which have hosted many texts and studies of great interest: *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* (Paris 1896-1946) and *L'Orient syrien* (Paris 1956-1967).

2. Language, Milieu and History of the Churches of Syria: Fundamentals

Inscriptions, commercial documents, magic formulae and brief traces of Manichaean scriptures or translations datable from the 2nd to the 4th centuries, alongside more extensive and perhaps also, at least in some cases, older (though very disputed in their dating) "original" texts, enable us to investigate the time, ways and reasons why the Edessene language and script prevailed as the vehicle of all Syriac literature. Among the editions and studies that have recently re-examined or put forward new materials relating to this set of texts and problems, cf. firstly the collection of inscriptions edited by H.J.W. Drijvers, *Old Syriac (Edesseean) inscriptions*, Leyden 1972 (but see now H.J.W. Drijvers and J.F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions from Edessa and Osrhoene. Texts, Translations and Commentary*, Leyden-Boston-Cologne 1999), supplemented by, among others, S. Brock, "Syriac Inscriptions: A Preliminary Check-List of European Publications", *AION* 38 (1978) 255-371; A. Desreumaux, "Pour une bibliographie sur l'épigraphie syriaque", *AION* 40 (1980) 704-708; H.J.W. Drijvers, "New Syriac Inscriptions", *Aram* 5 (1993) 147-161; and A. Desreumaux, A. Palmer, "Un project international: le recueil des inscriptions syriaques", *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1994, 443-447. For evidence connected to commercial activities, see also the writings studied by J. Teixidor in "Les derniers rois d'Édesse d'après deux nouveaux documents syriaques", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 76 (1989) 219-222, and "Deux documents syriaques du III^e siècle après J.-C. provenant du Moyen Euphrate", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1990, 146-166 (on these texts cf. S. Brock, "Some New Syriac Documents from the Third Century A.D.", *Aram* 3 [1991] 259-267). Still in connection with the linguistic history of Edessene Syriac, in its interweaving with other Aramaic dialects and its establishment as the leading literary language in the Christian communities of Syria and Mesopotamia between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, cf. also the studies of L. Van Rompay, "Some Remarks on the Language of Syriac Incantation Texts", *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1990, 369-381, and especially "Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language – The Syriac Version of Eusebius of Caesarea's Ecclesiastical History", *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, ed. G. Goldenberg, S. Raz, Wiesbaden 1994, 70-89 (with extensive bibliography), as well as R. Contini's essay, "Hypothèses sur l'araméen manichéen", *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 34/3 (1995) 65-107 (also with extensive bibliography), which also reports the interesting Manichaean materials later published by M. Franzmann and I. Gardner, "Section B: Syriac Texts", *Kellis Literary Texts*, 1, ed.

I. Gardner, with the collaboration of S. Clackson, M. Franzmann and K.A. Worp, Exeter 1996, 101-177. On the wider problem of the linguistic situation of the Semitic Near East in the Late Antique period, cf. finally F. Millar, "Il ruolo delle lingue semitiche nel vicino oriente tardo romano (V-VI secolo)", *Mediterraneo antico* 1/1 (1998) 71-94, while on overall relations between Syriac and Greek see the studies by S. Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac", *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, ed. A. Dietrich, AAWG 96 (1975) 80-108 (now in S. Brock, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 4, London 1984); "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek", *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977) 406-422 (now in *Syriac Perspectives...* cit., 2); "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning", *East of Byzantium*, ed. N. Garsoïan, T. Mathews, R. Thompson, Washington (DC) 1982, 17-34 (now in *Syriac Perspectives...* cit., 5); and "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria", *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A.K. Bowmann, G. Woolf, Cambridge 1994, 149-160.

Part of the documents cited above and others are put to good use, with reference to an – also cultural – history of (Roman) Syria, in the sections devoted to this geographical area in F. Millar's *The Roman Near East 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge (MA)-London 1993, which includes a well organized bibliography. The same area is covered in the studies of G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord – le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, 3 voll., Paris 1953-1958; L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents*, Paris 1962; and G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VIII^e siècle, un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'Antiquité*, Paris 1992.

On the Church of Persia and its sites, cf. the many works of J.-M. Fiey: *Mossoul chrétienne*, Beirut 1959; *Assyrie chrétienne*, 3 voll., Beirut 1965-1968; *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, CSCO 388 / Subs. 54, Louvain 1977; *Pour un Oriens Christianus novus. Répertoire des diocèses Syriaques orientaux et occidentaux*, Beirut-Stuttgart 1993, and the essays collected in *Communautés syriaques en Iran et Irak des origines à 1552*, London 1979. Cf. also E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, CSCO 127 / Subs. 2, Louvain 1951; Idem, *Le couvent de Barsauma et le patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie*, CSCO 146 / Subs. 7, Louvain 1954.

On the canonistic literature produced by the Churches of Syria, see at least, for the Nestorian world, the materials of a collection of 8th-century conciliar decisions edited in J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des Synodes nestoriens*, Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 37, Paris 1902, and, for the West Syrian or

Jacobite world, the texts published in *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition*, ed. A. Vööbus, CSCO 367 and 375 / Syr. 161 and 163 (English tr.: 368 and 376 / Syr. 162 and 164), Louvain 1975 and 1976, as well as the studies of A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 1, *West-syrische Originalurkunden*, CSCO 307 and 317 / Subs. 35 and 38, Louvain 1970, and W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 1, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*; 2, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrier (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*, SAW 388 and 543, Vienna 1981 and 1989.

Lastly, in these brief introductory notes, come the main literary sources, chronicles and histories produced by Syrian authors, Jacobites, Melkites or Nestorians, or translated into Syriac, on which may usefully be consulted the studies of J.-M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*, CSCO 310 / Subs. 36, Louvain 1970 (with an overall critical review of the sources); S. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976) 17-36 (now in *Syriac Perspectives...* cit., 7); Idem, "Syriac Historical Writing: A Survey of the Main Sources", *Journal of the Iraqi Academy (Syriac Corporation)* 5 (1979/1980) 1-30 (now in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, 1, London 1992 – an extensive survey of the chronicle or historical material present in Syriac literature, excluding biographical or hagiographical writings, monastic histories, historical annotations in the margins of mss., and a few other minor texts; it also contains an essential bibliography of studies relating to the 27 works that it considers; at the end of the book are some additional bibliographical notes, in *Addenda et corrigenda*, 1-2); A. Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur 'Abdin*, Cambridge 1990 (as is clear from the title, the volume is a sectorial historical investigation, relative to a restricted but nodal area and circles of Christian "Syria", but it provides much useful information on various Jacobite chronicles and hagiographical sources; the analytical index allows rapid identification of passages relative to the appraisal of each individual text); Idem, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles – including Two Seventh-Century Syriac Apocalyptic Texts Introduced, Translated and Annotated by S. Brock, with Added Annotation and Historical Introduction by R. Hoyland*, Liverpool 1993.

SYRIAC ECCLESIASTICAL CHRONICLES AND HISTORIES (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

1) *So-called Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*. Fourth section of the *Zuqnin Chronicle* (cf. *infra*, 11); its author, probably Edessene and Jacobite, seems to have written around the end of the second decade of the 6th century. It describes in detail the events of the years 495-506/507 at

Edessa, Amida and all Mesopotamia. There are some separate editions and translations (in English: W. Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, Composed in Syriac, A.D. 507*, Cambridge 1882; F.R. Trombly, J.W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, Liverpool 2000), besides that of the chronicle that hands it down; on the text, cf. A. Palmer's recent essay, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite?", *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für J. Aßfalg*, ed. R. Schulz, M. Görg, Wiesbaden 1990, 272-284, and the study by A. Luther accompanying the German translation, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites*, Berlin-New York 1997.

2) *Chronicle of Edessa*. Anonymous, by a Chalcedonian author "with 'Nestorian' tendencies" (cf. S. Brock, *Syriac Historical Writing*); written soon after 540, it goes from 132/131 BC to AD 540: the text is in *Chronica minora I*, ed. I. Guidi, CSCO 1 / Syr. 1, 1-13 (Latin tr.: CSCO 2 / Syr. 2, 3-11), Paris 1903; anast. ed., Louvain 1955. On this text, cf. now W. Witkowski, "Chronicles of Edessa", *Orientalia Suecana* 33/35 (1984/1986) 487-498.

3) *Chronicle of Arbela*. Anonymous, relating to the affairs of the Churches of Adiabene between 104 and 511, it was published by A. Mingana in *Sources syriaques*, 1, Leipzig 1907 (1-75, text; 76-168, French tr.). Since the mid 1920s, many scholars have increasingly questioned its reliability, culminating in the extreme views of Fiey, who in 1967 maintained that it was a fake constructed by Mingana himself. Though it can certainly not be used to reconstruct the earliest events of the Christian history of Arbela, some (particularly Brock) maintain that for more recent periods it uses authentic valuable material, while stressing the need for further studies before it can be used with security. An anastatic edition is in *Die Chronik von Arbela*, ed. P. Kawerau, CSCO 467 / Syr. 199 (German tr.: CSCO 468 / Syr. 200), Lovanii 1985.

4) *Amida Chronicle to 569*. A section of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Pseudo-Zacharias the Rhetor, of which it constitutes books VII-XII, composed using many important documents from the reigns of Anastasius, Justin I, Justinian and Justin II, it can be attributed to a Jacobite monk who lived probably at Amida, in the second half of the 6th century; it can be read in *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, 2, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 84 / Syr. 39, Paris 1921, 16-218 (Latin tr.: CSCO 88 / Syr. 42, Paris 1924, 11-147; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain 1953).

5) *Chronicle of John of Amida, bishop of Ephesus* (from 542; † 586). The *Chronicle* goes from the time of Julius Caesar to AD 585; composed in three parts, various-sized sections of the first two are incorporated in the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē* (on which cf.

infra, 11): these are included in the section of this text edited in CSCO 104 / Syr. 53; the third part, comprising the years around 571-585, is preserved, with lacunae, in a London ms. and is edited in W. Cureton, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, Oxford 1853, and then in *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 105 / Syr. 54, Paris 1935 (Latin tr.: CSCO 106 / Syr. 55, Paris 1936; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain 1952). John is the author of a second work of great importance for the history of Monophysitism in the 6th century, the *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, written between 566 and 586, and edited in: John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. E.W. Brooks, PO 17/1, 18/4 and 19/2, Paris, respectively 1923, 1924 and 1926; on this text cf. S. Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis. John of Ephesus and The Lives of the Eastern Saints*, Berkeley 1990.

6) *Ecclesiastical History of Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaya*. This is a collection of *Histories of Holy Fathers Persecuted on account of the Truth*, between the 3rd and 6th centuries, written towards the end of the 6th century by one Barhadbeshabba, priest and *badoqa* (examiner of Scripture) at the Nestorian school of Nisibis and later probably bishop of Halwan, to be distinguished from the more or less contemporary Barhadbeshabba, disciple of Henana at Nisibis, to whom we will return on p. 472 (cf. the recent clarification of this distinction in G.J. Reinink, " 'Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth': the School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century", *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. J.H.W. Drijvers, A.A. MacDonald, Leyden-New York-Cologne 1995, 77-89, here n. 15 on p. 81). The edition of the text, edited, with French tr., by F. Nau, is in *La première partie de l'histoire de Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaïa*, PO 23/2, Paris 1932 (chh. 1-18) and *La seconde partie de l'histoire de Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaïa*, PO 9/5, Paris 1913 (chh. 19-32).

7) *Melkite Chronicle*. Anonymous, interested mainly in the ecclesiastical history of the 6th century, though it begins from the story of Adam and goes up to the death of Heraclius (641), compiled around the middle of the 7th century by a compiler keen to "place Severian Monophysitism within the history of heresies and to emphasize its repeated condemnation", it shows strong literary kinship with the later *Jacobite Chronicle to 846* (cf. *infra*, 14). It is introduced, edited, translated and annotated by A. De Halleux, "La chronique Melkite abrégée du ms. Sinai syr. 10", *Muséon* 91 (1978) 5-44.

8) *Anonymous or "Guidi" Chronicle* (from the name of its editor). This is a Nestorian work composed probably around 670/680, somewhere in Khuzistan, important for the history of the last fifty years of the Sasanid

Empire; it was published, on the basis of a Vatican copy of the sole ms. to preserve it, in *Chronica minora*, 1, 15-39 (Latin tr., 13-32): an edition, based on the original, with Arabic version, has recently been edited by P. Haddad (Baghdad 1976).

9) *Rish Melle, or Summary of the History of the World*, by John bar Penkaye. A Nestorian monk trained at the monastery of Mar John of Kamul, living in the second half of the 7th century – the 15 volumes of *Rish Melle* were completed before 693/694 –, John is an author whose identity has sometimes been confused with that of the later, homonymous John of Dalyatha (cf. most recently R. Beulay, "Précisions touchant l'identité et la biographie de Jean Saba de Dalyatha", *PdO* 8 [1977-1978] 87-116, esp. 88-102, with an evaluation of his surviving writings; a version of the first century of his ascetic book known as *The Merchant* can be read in M. Albert, "Une centurie de Mar Jean Bar Penkaye", *Mélanges A. Guillaumont – Contribution à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Geneva 1988, 143-151, who places him, for his prudently presented Christological doctrines, among the "opponents of the official Nestorian Church", recalling the case of Henana of Adiabene – *ibid.* 144). Only books X-XV of the *Summary*, on which cf. T. Jansma, "Projet d'édition du ktaba d-resh melle, de Jean bar Penkaye", *OrSyr* 8 (1963) 87-106, have been published by A. Mingana in *Sources Syriacques*, 1, Mosul 1908, 2-171 (French tr. only of book XV, wholly devoted to the events of the 7th century: 172-203, with index; English tr. of the final section of book XIV and the greater part of XV in S. Brock, "North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye's Rish Melle", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 [1987] 51-75 [now in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, cit., 2]).

10) *Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa* († 708). A continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, it goes from the 20th year of the reign of Constantine up to 692, the year of its compilation; fragments remain, edited in *Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni*, ed. W.E. Brooks, CSCO 5 / Syr. 5, Paris 1905, 261-330 (Latin tr.: CSCO 6 / Syr. 6, Paris 1907, 197-258; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain 1955).

11) *Zuqnin Chronicle, or Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre*. A Jacobite historical compilation in four parts, compiled probably at Zuqnin, a place near Amida (hence the name by which it is now preferably designated), it goes from the beginning of the world to c. AD 775: cf. *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon pseudo-dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 91 and 104 / Syr. 43 and 53, Paris 1927 and 1933 (anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain respectively 1953 and 1952; Latin tr. of the first, ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 121 / Syr. 66, Lovanii 1949; French tr. of the second, ed. R. Hespel, CSCO 507 / Syr. 213,

Lovanii 1989); the fourth part of the chronicle is edited, with a French version, by J.-B. Chabot under the title *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré, quatrième partie*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, fasc. 112, Paris 1895. On this text cf. the two recent studies of W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: A Study in the History of Historiography*, Uppsala 1987, and "Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the Third Part of his Chronicle", *Orientalia Suecana* 40 (1991) 252-275, which is an introduction to the version of this same section of the *Chronicle* subsequently edited by him: Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle, Part III*, Liverpool 1995.

12) *Chronicle to 813*. A brief anonymous chronicle, handed down by a 10th/11th-century ms., which marks the events of the years 775-813. It is edited as *Chronicon anonymum ad annum 813 pertinens* in *Chronica minora*, 3, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 5 / Syr. 5, Paris 1905, 243-260 (Latin tr., ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 6 / Syr. 6, Paris 1907, 185-196; anast. ed. of both volumes, Louvain 1955).

13) *Chronicle to 819*. Written at Qartmin, not long after 818/819, the year with whose events it concludes its notes, which concern just the Christian era, indeed nearly half of it just the 7th and 8th centuries. This chronicle comes down to us in a 9th-century copy made by a certain Severus for his uncle, David, Jacobite bishop of Harran. It appears as *Chronicon anonymum A.D. 819 pertinens*, ed. A. Barsaum, in the edition of the *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (cf. *infra*, 15), CSCO 81 / Syr. 36, Paris 1920, 1-22 (Latin tr., ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 109 / Syr. 56, Paris 1937, 1-16; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain, respectively 1953 and 1952).

14) *Chronicle to 846*. A brief work whose entries go from the creation of the world to 846/847; its final redactor may have been Nonnus of Harran, a Monophysite monk at Qartmin, later ordained bishop of Tur 'Abdin by Dionysius of Tell Mahre not long before his death, which took place in 845 (Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 11), or else David of Harran, "the 26th bishop consecrated by Patriarch John III (846-873)" and probable recipient of the copy of the *Chronicle to 819*, on whose text it partly depends (Palmer, *The Seventh Century*, 83). The work is edited in *Chronica minora*, 2, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO 3 / Syr. 3, Paris 1904, 157-238 (Latin tr. by J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 4 / Syr. 4, 121-180; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain 1955).

15) *Chronography of Elias of Nisibis* (1008-1046). Handed down by a ms. of 1018, in part probably by the hand of the author, a Nestorian, the work is edited in *Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni Opus Chronologicum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 62:1-2 / Syr. 21-22, Paris, respectively

1910 and 1909 (Latin tr.: CSCO 63:1-2 / Syr. 23-24, Paris 1910; anast. ed. of all volumes: Louvain 1954; a French tr. of the text, with index of names, is in L. Delaporte, *Chronographie de Mar Elie bar Shinaya, metropolitane de Nisibe*, Paris 1910).

16) *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*. The work of the Jacobite patriarch Michael (1166-1199); the greatest of the Syrian chronicles, it extends from the creation of the world to the year 1194/1195. It is edited in J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche*, 4 voll., Paris 1899-1910 (anast. ed., Brussels 1963). On a small section of the *Chronicle*, its relationship with that of "Verus Dionysius" of Tell Mahre, whom it cites in that place, and the labours that both works require, cf. now I. Shahîd, "The Restoration of the Ghassanid Dynasty, A.D. 587: Dionysius of Tell-Mahre", *Aram* 5 (1993) 491-503.

17) *Chronicle to 1234*. An anonymous work of the first half of the 13th century, composed probably in the Jacobite monastery of Barsauma partly using materials from the work of Dionysius of Tell Mahre. It is edited in *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO 81 / Syr. 36, Paris 1920 (Latin tr.: CSCO 109 / Syr. 56, Paris 1937; anast. ed. of both volumes: Louvain, respectively 1953 and 1952).

18) *Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus*. The work of the bishop (and "maphrian" of the East) of the Syrian Jacobite Church Abu l-Faraj Griguryus Ibn al-'Ibri, known in the West as Bar Hebraeus (1225/1226-1286), the last great representative of medieval Syrian literature; the chronicle depends in large part on Michael's work, which it continues up to its author's own time. The first part, concerning secular chronography, is edited in E.A.W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-faraj, 1225-1286*, 2 voll. (1: English tr.; 2: facsimile reproduction of ms. syr. Bodl. Hunt. 52), London 1932; anast. ed., Amsterdam 1976; the second part, concerning religious history, is edited, with Latin tr., in *Gregorii barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.B. Abbeloos, T.J. Lamy, 3 voll., Lovanii 1872-1877.

I. FROM THE 2ND TO THE EARLY 4TH CENTURY: CHRISTIANITIES TAKE ROOT IN SYRIA

The establishment of a "Syriac Christianity" as a "third cultural tradition" alongside Greek and Latin, to use an expression of S. Brock (*Eusebius and Syriac Christianity*, cit., 212), is a controversial process, so much so that H.J.W. Drijvers has re-used the phrase polemically, emphasizing that its use is legitimate only if that tradition is understood as "not fundamentally different from what was thought and written in Greek-speaking Syria" (*Early Syriac Christianity... cit.*, 159 and esp. 173), thus *de facto* voiding it of any strong individuality: Syriac, he wrote elsewhere, "is not host to a different culture than Greek; both languages are an expression and vehicle of the same Hellenistic civilization", in all its varied make-up (H.J.W. Drijvers, *Syriac Christianity and Judaism*, 126).

One of the points around which discussion revolves is that of the version of Scripture. Primarily, of the Scriptures of Israel: who was their promoter and author? The Jewish community or one of the Christian communities of Edessa? And if the former, what role did that Jewish milieu play in the evolution of Christianity in Syria? Secondly, of the Christian Scriptures: was the Gospel originally known in Syria a Greek or an Aramaic one? And if, at least fairly early, the Syrian Churches knew (and read) a Greek Gospel or one built on Greek texts and traditions, did they not also accept and welcome more archaic Aramaic traditions, of which we have sure traces? And were these at first not current in Jewish milieus, the very ones probably linked to that version of the Scriptures just spoken of, so that acceptance of Jesus was in no way incompatible with their own tradition, and so that by this route too they would have significantly influenced any future Christian community in the Syriac world? M. Weitzman, for example, reformulating old views, recently maintained, on the basis of a renewed analysis of the variants of the Syriac text, that the *Peshitta* is a Jewish translation and the work of "a single school", which worked between the beginning of the 2nd and, at latest, that of the 3rd century (*From Judaism to Christianity*, 163, 157-158). He also maintained that the Judaism reflected in it differs from rabbinic Judaism and expresses a tradition rooted in "a popular movement, hostile to temple worship, going back to biblical times" (ibid. 165-166). Its heirs, translators of the text, would have adopted Christianity as being more consistent than Rabbinism "with the religious

values most dear to them" (ibid. 167); and their hostility to any gnostic solution (ibid. 158) would also have been transmitted, with the Scriptures, to the Christian community, leaving a decisive mark on it. S. Brock, J. Joosten and others have reinforced these hypotheses on the tendency of the so-called "New Testament".

Against this, Drijvers holds that the Christians of Syria were mainly of gentile origin and explains the progressive assumption by a growing number of them, the "orthodox", not just of Israel's books, which they would have had translated from Hebrew originals, but also of many of Israel's traditions, as part of the encounter that saw them engaging with Marcionite or at any rate "heretical" groups and propaganda. There would be no reason to hypothesize any non-rabbinic Judaism in Edessa, given the links between that city's Jewish community and that of nearby Nisibis, then the seat of a famous academy in which a rabbinic Judaism is attested, nor to hypothesize any particularly active role of that community in the origins and definition of Christianity in Syria (cf. H.J.W. Drijvers, *Syriac Christianity and Judaism*, 138-143; *Early Syriac Christianity... cit.*, 174-175). 2nd-century Edessa, at the height of its intellectual splendour, would, on the contrary, have been characterized mainly by a cultivated, highly Hellenized Christianity like that of Bardesanes, the philosopher and courtier who celebrated the Logos/Christ as regulator of chaos and interior teacher, able to direct man's free mind to good works and control of the body and of worldly affairs, "authentic ideal of the wise, well-educated noble", "representative of the central values of the society at the very centre of power", the court (idem, *Apocryphal Literature...*, 238), or alternatively like that of Tatian and of the apocrypha that would seem to be consistent with his teaching (*Acts of Thomas and Doctrine of Addai*, especially), for whom Christ is not a teacher, but an aid in the struggle against the age, in the *enkrateia* that must dominate the life of a Christian aiming at mystical marriage with his saviour, so that, pure, he may "regain his original immortality", the harmony of an alternative world to that of the present age (ibid. 239).

What should at any rate, incidentally, be emphasized in substantial parts or sections of these or other works, e.g. the *Odes of Solomon*, is the symbolic and poetic character they often assume: a highly elaborate poetry, heavily didactic in character, which is connected with the later works of Ephrem and his school, thus constituting a major trait of the first Christian literature of the Syrian world. A poetry, also, perhaps inside the biblical wisdom traditions, which some connect with the milieu of the scribes "close to the Temple of Jerusalem and its liturgy", thought by some to have been present and active both in theological meditation and in the mission of the primitive Christian community (M.-J. Pierre, "La vierge prédicante...", 256 – for this essay cf. *infra*, STUDIES on the

Odes of Solomon, pp. 428 ff.), or perhaps expressive of a "non-Greek, non-Jewish", native Aramaic tradition (so Palmer in the conclusion of a 1993 essay, "A Lyre without a Voice", cited in connection with the literature on Ephrem's poetry, 391).

Those so far mentioned are not the only groups or movements of Israel operating in all the regions of Roman and Persian Syria, well beyond just the area of Edessa: we have recently and rightly been reminded of the scant attention given by research into the origins of Syriac-speaking Christianity to an author like "Elchasai", who between 116 and 117 produced a "manual of Christian conduct" whose role, e.g., in the Judaeo-Christian communities of southern Mesopotamia has only recently been fully revealed by the so-called Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis (F.S. Jones, *The Astrological Trajectory...*, 185).

Whatever the reasons for the different readings or suggestions and the verdict to be reached on them, it is yet certain that, to repeat Brock's calm concluding observations in the 1992 essay cited above, all that is known for certain or has been handed down to us, reliably datable, about the origins of Syrian Christianity is linked to events at the beginning of the 3rd century, to some fragments of Bardesanes and to the *Book of the Laws of the Countries*, ascribable to his school. This alone is without ambiguity: every other datum or writing presents more or less important problems of interpretation, to do with its authenticity, its dating, its context, its language. In principle, "all that can be said with certainty is that by the end of the 2nd century Christianity was well established in Edessa (probably in various forms), and that by the end of the 3rd century it had spread to the surrounding villages. With the 4th century one particular form of Christianity emerges as 'orthodox' and from that date on we become much better informed, since later generations were only concerned to transmit literature of this particular provenance", for the most part destroying or altering the others and reconstructing, anyway, the history of their own origins (Brock, *Eusebius and Syriac Christianity...*, cit., 224 and 228-229).

The individual items that follow must be read within the problems and limitations brought out by these fleeting suggestions.

Studies: W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, Tübingen 1934 (2nd ed. G. von Strecker, 1964; English tr.: *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, Philadelphia 1971 and London 1972 – on the opinions expressed in this study cf. T.A. Robinson, *The Bauer Thesis Examined. The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church*, Lewiston-Queenston 1988); H.J.W. Drijvers, "Quq and the Quqites. An Unknown Sect in Edessa in the Second Century A.D.", *Numen* 14 (1967) 104-129 (now in Idem, *East of Antioch. Studies in Early Syriac Christianity*, London 1984, xiv); J.B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"*, Oxford 1970; S. Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979) 212-232; W. Cramer, *Der Geist Gottes und des Menschen in frühsyrische Theologie*, Münster

1979; G. Rouwhorst, "Les oraisons de la table dans le Judaïsme et les célébrations eucharistiques des chrétiens syriaques", *Questions liturgiques* 61 (1980) 211-240; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Cults and Beliefs at Edessa", *EPRO* 82, Leyden 1980; Idem, *East of Antioch. Studies in early Syriac Christianity*, London 1984; Idem, "Apocryphal Literature in the Cultural Milieu of Osrhoëne", *Apocrypha – Le champ des apocryphes* 1 (1990) 231-247; Idem, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism", *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Lieu, J. North, T. Rajak, London-New York 1992, 124-146; M. Weitzman, "From Judaism to Christianity: The Syriac Version of the Hebrew Bible", *The Jews among Pagans and Christians...* cit., 147-173; S. Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity", *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, ed. H.A. Attridge, G. Hata, Leyden-New York-Cologne 1992, 212-234; H.J.W. Drijvers, *History and Religion in Late Antique Syria*, London 1994; G. Koshelenko, A. Bader, V. Gaibov, "The Beginnings of Christianity in Merv", *Iranica Antiqua* 30 (1995) 55-70; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Early Syriac Christianity: Some Recent Publications", *VC* 50 (1996) 159-177; G. Rouwhorst, "Jewish Liturgical Traditions in Early Syriac Christianity", *VC* 51 (1997) 72-93; J. Joosten, "La tradition syriaque des évangiles et la question du 'substrat araméen'", *RHPPhR* 77 (1997) 257-272; F.S. Jones, "The Astrological Trajectory in Ancient Syriac-Speaking Christianity (Elchasai, Bardaisan, and Mani)", *Atti del Terzo congresso internazionale di studi "Manicheismo e oriente cristiano antico" – 31.8-5.9.1993*, ed C. Cirillo, A. Van Tongerloo, Turnhout 1997, 183-200.

THE OLD TESTAMENT PESHITTA

As has been observed, perhaps not without some exaggeration, the "Old Testament *Peshitta*", or "simple" or "common" Syriac version (this is the meaning of the adjective *peshitta*) of the Scriptures of Israel ("is the earliest literary corpus in Syriac, with an unequalled influence on all subsequent literature in that language" (Joosten, *La Peshitta de l'Ancien Testament...*, 385). Handed down, in its text closest to the original, by 5th-century mss. and by a 9th-century Florentine codex linked to them, the *Peshitta* depends on a Hebrew source which it translates, also using traditions present in midrashic and targumic literature. The Introduction to this chapter has already mentioned the different interpretations of the circles that produced it; recently, the study of the OT citations in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, composed around 170, establishing their dependence on the text of the *Peshitta*, has strengthened the hypothesis of a pre-Christian formation of the latter, especially in its older parts, such as the Pentateuch. Those more recently translated, such as the books of Proverbs or Psalms, which show evidence of frequent contacts with the Greek text of the Septuagint, would seem to attest a greater proximity to Christian thought, interpretable, according to Weitzman, as the Christianization of the Jewish community that was producing them.

Begun before 150, the *Peshitta* seems to have been completed in the early 3rd century; from then on, indeed, it found a reception only in the Christian communities of Syria. These brief notes on the Syriac version

of the Scriptures of Israel would not be complete without a mention of the translation of their hexaplar text, which Paul, Monophysite bishop of Tella, made between 615 and 617. This version did not supplant that of the *Peshitta*, but was used in biblical exegesis, especially in the West.

Bibliography: P.B. Dirksen, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Peshitta of the Old Testament*, Leyden 1989 (updated in *The Peshitta as a Translation*, ed. P.B. Dirksen, A. Van der Kooij, Leyden 1995, 221-236).

Editions: The first printed edition of the *Peshitta*, from a late manuscript, witness to a state of the text far from the original, edited by Gabriel the Sionite, is in the polyglot Bible published by G.M. Le Jay at Paris in 1645. An edition still widespread through continual reprintings is that edited in 1823 by S. Lee for the British and Foreign Bible Society for the use of the Syro-Oriental community of South India. Recently reprinted by the Trinitarian Bible Society is another edition which appeared at Urmia in 1852, edited by J. Perkins, through the good offices of the Presbyterian Mission, and conceived for the needs of the Nestorian communities of that region. Finally, edited by C.J. David, Syro-Catholic archbishop of Damascus and G. Abdisho-Khayyat, Chaldaean archbishop of Amid, the Mosul edition, later republished, with corrections, by J.-M. Vosté in 1951 at Beirut.

The first scientific edition of the *Peshitta*, from the 1960s, comes from the Peshitta Institute of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Leyden, founded by P.A.H. de Boer. Under the general title *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*, the edition is not yet complete.

Some concordances exist, published by W. Strothmann and his collaborators in the *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, Wiesbaden, on Ecclesiastes or Qoheleth (1973), the Psalms (1976), the Prophets (4 volumes, 1985) the Pentateuch (4 volumes, 1986) and the "Mautabe" (Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ruth, Song of Songs and Job: 6 volumes, 1991), unfortunately based on the Urmia edition. A concordance based on the text edited at Leyden is in preparation (but see that, limited to Ecclesiasticus, edited by M.M. Winter, Leyden 1976, and, for the text of Hosea, P.G. Borbone, F. Mandracci, *Concordanze del testo siriano di Osea*, Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze, Classe Sc. Mor. Stor. e Fil. V/11, Turin 1987), as well as the recent volume ed. by P.G. Borbone, K.D. Jenner, *The Old Testament in Syriac-Peshitta version*. Part V, Concordance, I: Pentateuch, Leyden 1997.

The version by Paul of Tella, known as *graeca* or syro-hexaplar, has been edited by A.M. Ceriani in *Monumenta sacra e profana VII. Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosyanus photolith.*, Milan 1874; cf. also: W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts. Edited, Commented upon and Compared with the Septuagint*, Leyden 1968; the two works by A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A facsimile edition of a Midyat Ms Discovered 1964*, CSCO 369 / Subs. 45, Louvain 1975, and *The Book of Isaiah in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A facsimile edition of Ms St. Mark 1 in Jerusalem with an Introduction*, CSCO 449 / Subs. 68, Louvain 1983; A. De Halleux, "Glanures syro-hexaplaïres dans les florilèges grégoriens", *Muséon* 99 (1986) 251-290; and finally R.J.V. Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*, Atlanta (GA) 1989.

Studies: *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History*, ed. P.B. Dirksen, M.J. Mulder, Leyden 1988; J. Joosten, "The Old Testament Quotations in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels. A Contribution to the Study of the Diatessaron", *Textus* 15 (1990) 55-76; P.B. Dirksen, *La Peshitta dell'Antico Testamento*. Italian ed. by P.G. Borbone. Brescia 1993 (with an ample, if brief, bibliography); M.D. Koster, "Peshitta Revisited. A Reassessment of Its Value as a Version". *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28

(1993) 235-268; M. Weitzman, "Peshitta, Septuagint and Targum", *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1994, 51-84; Y. Maori, *The Peshitta Version of the Pentateuch and Early Jewish Exegesis*, Jerusalem 1995 (in Hebrew); J. Joosten, "La Peshitta de l' Ancien Testament dans la recherche récente", *RHPHR* 76 (1996) 385-395; S. Brock, "The Peshitta Old Testament – Between Judaism and Christianity", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 19 (1998) 483-502; M. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction*, Cambridge 1999.

OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA: II BARUCH AND IV ESDRAS

The undated, perhaps 7th-century, Western Ambrosian ms. that provided the basic text for the Leyden edition of the Old Testament *Peshitta* also contains, among other things, two apocryphal writings, of whose text, in its entirety, it is the sole Syriac witness, but which have left traces in the traditions – including liturgical – of the Eastern Churches. These are the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, known as II Baruch (whose final section, independently circulated, can be read in most Syriac Bibles), and IV Esdras. Whatever their original language may have been, these important apocalypses, probably of the early 2nd century, reached the communities of Syria through translations made from a Greek text. In the case of II Baruch, the Syriac, with the Arabic version that depends on it, is the sole witness of the work.

Editions: *Apocalypse of Baruch*, ed. S. Dederling, in *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*, IV/3, Leyden 1973 (just text, and relatively to chapters 1-77; for the letter, chapters 78-87, cf. now the text, with the notes relative to it, included in *The Arabic Text of the Apocalypse of Baruch*, ed. F. Leemhuis, A.F.J. Klijn and G.J.H. Van Gelder, Leyden 1986, 117-137 [on odd pages, with English tr.] and 151-154; French tr. with important introduction and commentary: P. Bogaert, *L'Apocalypse de Baruch*, 1-2, Sch 144-145, Paris 1969; Italian tr., ed. P. Bettolo, in *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, 2, ed. P. Sacchi, Turin 1989, 147-233); *IV Esdras*, ed. R.J. Bidawid, in *The Old Testament... cit.*, IV/3 (just text; Italian tr. of the Latin version with attention to Syriac variants, ed. P. Marrassini, in *Apocrifi dell'Antico Testamento*, cit., 2, 235-377).

DIATESSARON, VETUS SYRA AND NEW TESTAMENT PESHITTA

The complex problem of the formation of the Syriac New Testament, at least in relation to its evangelical section, the only one we will discuss here, presupposes the acquisition of a few facts. First, we should know that from the first decades of the 5th century the Syriac Churches, probably on the initiative of Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, and at any rate in concomitance with the definitive triumph of the "Catholic" component among them, all read and used a text of the Gospels that had only recently been formed. Previously their liturgical readings, for the gospel pericopes,

had been based on the *Diatessaron*, that harmony of the Gospels composed by Tatian around 170. Between the 1840s and the 1890s, however, two successive discoveries brought to our knowledge two different witnesses (the Syro-Sinaitic palimpsest – late 4th century – and the Curetonian ms. – 5th century) to what seems one and the same version of the “separate gospels”. This version, customarily designated the *Vetus syra*, would have provided the basis for fixing the text of the *Peshitta*, which it predated, and would in turn have been made using, at least in part, the *Diatessaron*, which would thus predate it and would allow it to be dated, approximately, to the 3rd century. Is it possible to go beyond Tatian’s work? It seems that, in constructing his “harmony”, he used not just the “canonical” Gospels, but also a “fifth source”, whose material sometimes agreed with readings proper to texts like the *Gospel to the Hebrews* or the *Gospel of Thomas*. It has been proposed to identify this source with that Aramaic tradition of Palestinian origin, independent of the Greek Gospels, that had first conveyed a knowledge of Jesus to the peoples of Syria, pivoting, to begin with, on the region’s Jewish communities. Certainly, West Aramaic expressions or, more generally, elements left a deep mark not just and perhaps not so much on the *Peshitta* as on the more general exegetical and “spiritual” meditation of the Churches of Syria, as many recent studies have demonstrated (cf. e.g. S. Brock, *The Lost Old Syriac...*).

While these are the probable stages of the gradual formation of the “simple” or “common” version of the Gospels in Syria, we cannot ignore some later developments which, among the West Syrians, more or less radically modified their text, though without prevailing at an ecclesial level. Early in the 6th century, Philoxenus, Monophysite bishop of Mabbūgh, dissatisfied with the text of the *Peshitta* because of the “Nestorian” traits he perceived in some of its readings, got the *chorepiscopus* Polycarp to make a new translation from the Greek Gospels, for dogmatic purposes, of which we have only a few fragments. About a century later, in 616, in a monastery near Alexandria, another bishop of Mabbūgh, deposed from his see on account of his Monophysite faith, undertook a translation of the Greek text of the New Testament, perhaps also using the Philoxenian one: this was Thomas of Harqel, who included in his work those apostolic writings (2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude) not previously included in the canon of the Eastern Churches.

Editions: a) *Diatessaron*: cf. the editions of Ephrem’s commentary on the *Diatessaron*, cited among that author’s works, our main source of knowledge of the evangelical harmony in its Syriac form. b) “*Separate gospels*”: Curetonian ms.: W. Cureton, *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, Hitherto Unknown in Europe*, London 1858; Syro-Palestinian palimpsest: A.S. Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-mepharreshe; Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene*

Palimpsest, Including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other MSS., and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors, London 1910. *Peshitta*: P.E. Pusey, G.H. Gwilliam, *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum, Massorae, editionum denuo recognitum*, Oxford 1901 (this is the text used in editions of the NT edited, from 1905, by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in those sponsored, from 1988, by the United Bible Society – to be supplemented, for 2 Peter, 2-3 John, Jude and Revelation, with J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version Hitherto Unknown*, Dublin 1897, anast. ed., Amsterdam 1981; and *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible, Part I: New Testament*, London 1909, anast. ed., Amsterdam 1973, also used in the complete reprintings of the NT cited above, for the sections indicated). A critical edition of the Syriac NT is in preparation, promoted by the University of Münster (Germany), under the title *Das neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, of which three volumes have appeared: B. Aland (in collaboration with A. Juckel), I, *Die grossen Katholischen Briefe*, Berlin-New York 1986 (cf. the review by A. De Halleux: *Muséon* 99 [1986] 359-362); B. Aland, A. Juckel, II, *Die Paulinischen Briefe, Teil 1. Römer und 1. Korintherbrief*, Berlin-New York 1991 (cf. the review by A. De Halleux: *Muséon* 104 [1991] 389-391); Idem, II, *Teil 2. 2. Korintherbrief, Galaterbrief, Epheserbrief, Philipperbrief und Kolosserbrief*, Berlin-New York 1995. *Versio harqlense*: J. White, *Sacrorum Evangeliorum, Actorum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam catholicarum quam paulinarum Versio Syriaca Philoxentiana*, 3 voll., Oxonii 1778-1803; A. Vööbus, *The Apocalypse in the Harklean Version. A Facsimile Edition of Ms. Mardin Orth. 35, fol. 143r-159v, with an Introduction*, CSCO 400 / Subs. 56, Louvain 1978. The volumes of the Münster edition, cited above, contain the text of the Harqel version. A comparative publication of the texts of the various Syriac versions of the Gospels is now provided by G.A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*, 4 voll., Leyden 1996 (vol. 1 contains an ample *Introduction to the Harklean Text* by A. Juckel, xxxi-lxxxii; on the publication, cf. the review by T. Baarda: *Novum Testamentum* 29 [1996] 405-413).

A concordance of the Syriac NT is offered by G.A. Kiraz, *A Computer-generated Concordance to the Syriac New Testament*, Leyden 1993; cf. *The Concordance to the Peshitta Version of the Aramaic New Testament*, New Knoxville (OH) 1985; and W. Jennings, U. Gantillon, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament*, Oxford 1926, anast. ed., Oxford 1962.

Studies: J. Kerschensteiner, *Der altsyrische Paulustext*, CSCO 315 / Subs. 37, Louvain 1970; B.M. Metzger, *The early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations*, Oxford 1977 (for the *Peshitta* cf. ch. 1); S. Brock, “Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979) 212-232; Idem, “The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harklean Problem”, *New Testament Textual Criticism, Essays in Honour of B.M. Metzger*, ed. E.J. Epp, G.D. Fee, Oxford 1981, 325-343; B. Aland, “Bibelübersetzungen – 4: Die Übersetzung ins Syrische. 2: Neues Testament”, *TRE* 6 (1980) 189-196; A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac II*, CSCO 496 / Subs. 79, Louvain 1987; J. Joosten, *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew. Syntactic Structure, Translation Technique and Inner Syriac Developments*, Ph.D. Thesis Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1988 (now published, Leyden 1996); S. Brock, “The Lost Old Syriac at Luke I: 35 and the Earliest Syriac Terms for the Incarnation”, *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, ed. W.L. Petersen, Notre Dame-London 1989, 117-131; W. Strothmann, “Die Handschriften der Evangelien in der Versio

Heraclensis", *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für J. Assfalg*, ed. R. Schultz, M. Görg, Wiesbaden 1990, 367-375; J. Joosten, "The Text of Mt 13, 21a and Parallels in the Syriac Tradition", *NTS* 37 (1991) 153-159; Idem, "West Aramaic Elements in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110/112 (1991) 271-289; W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance and History in Scholarship*, Leyden 1994; J.P. Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations. A Comparison of the Language and Translation Method Used in the Old Syriac, the Diatessaron and the Peshitto*, Louvain 1994; A. Juckel, "Zur Revisionsgeschichte der Harklensis", *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1992-1994*, Münster 1995, 50-68; S. Brock, "A Palestinian Targum Feature in Syriac", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 46 (1995) 271-282; G. Lenzi, "L'antica versione siriana dei Vangeli dopo centocinquanta anni di ricerca", *Annali di scienze religiose* 3 (1998) 263-278.

ODES OF SOLOMON

This is one of the most interesting works of the very earliest Syriac literature: 42 odes, in very careful writing, probably Syriac in their original redaction, but also surviving in a Greek recension perhaps by the same hand as the former, which the anonymous Christian author circulated under the pseudonym of King Solomon, to signify that the speaker was "the glorious figure of regal wisdom of which he is the type" (M.-J. Pierre, *Odes... - Introduction*, 26). Quite close to Johannine, but also, it is said, to Qumranic vocabulary and themes, they have generally been considered an old document, from the early 2nd century, which the most recent interpreter would refer to an author proceeding from the "Judaean-Christian milieu of Jerusalem, close to the Temple, mindful of traditional ways of writing and interpretation, ascetic in tendency, a composer of liturgical chants, perhaps even linked to the family of Jesus", interpreter of a "rather primitive" sophianic meditation (ibid. 54).

Against this, Drijvers in particular has aimed in many studies to demonstrate that the *Odes* originate from a bilingual 3rd-century cultural milieu, given the anti-Marcionite ideas and traces of an Antiochene Christology characteristic of the 2nd century which they supposedly show, the influence of Tatian's *Diatessaron* and of the encratite interpretation of the Christian tradition which they supposedly condemn. Moreover, he maintains that, with and against the Manichaean *Psalms*, to which they are then compared, they reveal the ferments of an unsettled and lively period among the "Christian" communities of Edessa in the last decades of the 3rd century.

Editions: J.H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon - The Syriac Text. Edited with Translation and Notes*, Chico (CA) 1973; Idem, *The Odes of Solomon. Papyri and Leather Manuscripts of the Odes of Solomon*, Duke University, Durham (NC) 1981; M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos in ihre Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis*, 4 voll., Fribourg-Göttingen 1979-1986 (with German tr.); M. Franzmann, *The Odes*

of Solomon. An Analysis of the Poetical Structure and Form, Fribourg-Göttingen 1991 (with English tr.); M. Lattke, *Oden Salomos. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Teil I - Oden 1 und 3-4*, Göttingen 1999.

Translations - Italian: M. Erbetta, "Le Odi di Salomone", Erbetta I/1, *Vangeli. Testi giudeo-cristiani e gnostici*, Casale Monferrato 1982, 608-658.

French: M.-J. Pierre, *Les Odes de Salomon*, Turnhout 1994 (with introduction and commentary).

Studies: General introduction: M. Petit, "Odes de Salomon", *DSP* 11 (1982) 602-608.

a) *Odes and New Testament*: D.E. Aune, "The Odes of Solomon and Early Christian Prophecy", *NTS* 28 (1982) 435-460; M. Lattke, "The Apocryphal Odes of Solomon and New Testament Writings", *ZNTW* 73 (1982) 294-301; J.T. Sanders, "Nag Hammadi, Odes of Solomon and New Testament Christological Hymns", *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World*, ed. J.E. Goehring et al., Sonoma 1990, 51-66.

b) *Language, milieu and time of redaction*: L. Abramowski, "Sprache und Abfassungszeit der Oden Salomos", *OrChr* 68 (1984) 80-90; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Odes of Solomon and Psalm of Mani", *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions Presented to G. Quispel*, ed. R. Van den Broek, M.J. Vermaseren, Leyden 1981, 117-130; Idem, "Solomon as Teacher: Early Syriac Didactic Poetry", *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 123-134; M. Franzmann, "Portrait of a Poet: Reflections on 'the Poet' in the Odes of Solomon", *Perspectives on Language and Text. Essays... in Honour of F.I. Andersen*, ed. E.W. Conrad, E.C. Newing, Winona Lake 1987, 315-326; M. Lattke, "Die griechischen Wörter im syrischen Text der Oden Salomos", *Aram* 5 (1993) 285-302.

c) *Theology*: H.J. W. Drijvers, "The 19th Ode of Solomon: Its Interpretation and Place in Syrian Christianity", *JTS* 31 (1980) 337-355; M. Franzmann, "Strangers from Above: An Investigation into the Motifs of Strangeness in the Odes of Solomon and Some Gnostic Texts", *Muséon* 103 (1990) 27-41; M. Lattke, "Die Messias-Stellen der Oden Salomos", *Anfänge der Theologie*, Göttingen 1991, 429-445; M.-J. Pierre, "La vierge prédicante de la 33^e Ode de Salomon", *Centre d'études des religions du livre - De la conversion*, ed. J.-C. Attias, Paris 1997, 255-279; Idem, "Les Odes de Salomon, 'chants de la venue du Seigneur'", *Prologues, Entrer en matière*, ed. J.-D. Dubois, B. Roussel, Paris 1998, 149-164.

BARDESANES (BARDAISAN)

The fragmentary state of the material referable to Bardesanes - to whom its attribution is often uncertain, due to the difficulty of discerning between what is his and what is ascribable to disciples more or less close to him, whether chronologically or doctrinally - does not allow a precise, unanimous reconstruction of his teaching. What is certain is the importance of his work, which opened up Edessene Syriac to a wider use than that obtained for it by the activity of the translators of Scripture, Jewish or Christian.

A representative of the city aristocracy, and certainly an outstanding figure at the court of Abgar VIII the Great, Bardesanes was a learned intellectual with a multitude of interests, a clear-sighted interpreter of

the “religious philosophy” of the time and at the same time an elegant writer. Recent studies have emphasized the priority in him of astrological interests, in conformity with a well-attested characteristic of the culture – including the “Judaean-Christian” culture – of that region. How the cultivated, curious and versatile Bardesanes came to adhere to Christianity is hard to say. But his teaching seems to attest some clear positions, taken by him which may be usefully remembered and may perhaps suggest some answer. Against Marcion, for example, he maintains the goodness of God, the one God; against an “asexual” monotheism, however, he seems to affirm the constitutive fecundity of the Divine, its original “doubleness”: God is one, certainly, but is at the same time Father and Mother of life; against Jewish and Christian circles who maintained creation from nothing, Bardesanes insists on the co-presence with God, but beneath him, of fire, light, water, wind/spirit and, at a still lower level, darkness: it was an accident occurring on the intermediate plane of the four original “entities” that produced that state of distressing mixture from which the intervention of God, invoked in a loud voice by the entities themselves, brought the world, in which he then “inserted” a new power, a vital/noetic breath extraneous to them to begin with. Against widely held hypotheses, Bardesanes forcefully affirms the freedom of man, heart of the world, in his divine centre: the all is indeed constrained by a fate that conditions its events; there is indeed in its every entity a nature, which bears down powerfully, but in man there is also freedom – decisive, unshakable and moderating – which raises him beyond nature and fate.

During the time of mixture, with regard to the restoration of the state of original division of the entities – but a restoration that inaugurates a state of indefectible equilibrium –, Bardesanes thus contemplates an “abasement” of the manifold forms, of the divine power, an economy of salvation that delimits distinct spaces and times, in dynamic correlation, at whose centre is humanity and, within that, Christ, teacher and model of truth for the whole. A Christ, moreover, understood in a Docetic way, i.e. as incorporeal and removed from any resurrection of bodies: this is the *eschaton* outlined by the fragments of the Edessene author.

Editions: No writings by Bardesanes survive. Certainly attributable to his school is the *Liber legum regionum*, which can be read, edited by F. Nau with Latin version. in *Patrologia Syriaca* I/2, Paris 1907, 490-658; another edition, with English version, is in H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries. Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen 1965. An Italian translation of the dialogue, dating from 1921, is now republished, with two further studies of Bardesanes by the author of the version, in G. Levi della Vida, *Pitagora, Bardesane e altri studi siriaci*, ed. R. Contini, Rome 1989, 63-111. The text, translated into Greek, was used by Eusebius of Caesarea, who mentions it, attributing it to Bardesanes himself, in *Ecclesiastical History* IV, 30, 2 (datable, in this section of it, to the early 4th century at latest) and cites it more fully in *Praeparatio*

evangelica VI, 10, 1-48, a work seemingly composed in the second decade of the 4th century. The Greek version of the work was then also used in the so-called “basic text” of the Pseudo-Clementine writings, handed down here in *Recognitiones* 9, 19-29, itself drawn up in all likelihood between the 3rd decade of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th (cf. the summing-up of the question of the dating of this work in *Les Reconnaissances du pseudo Clément – Roman chrétien des premiers siècles*, ed. A. Schneider, L. Cirillo, Turnhout 1999, 22-23).

Studies: General introduction: H.J.W. Drijvers, “Bardesanes”, *TRE* 5 (1979) 206-212.

J. Teixidor, “Bardesane de Syrie”, *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques II*, Paris 1994, 54-63; H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen 1966 (a fundamental, though sharply contested, monograph, including a collection of the materials relating to the author it studies); T. Jansma, *Natuur, lot en vrijheid. Bardesanes, de filosof der Arameër en zijn images*, Wageningen 1969; B. Ehlers Aland, “Bardesanes von Edessa – ein syrische Gnostiker. Bemerkungen aus Anlaß des Buches von H.J.W. Drijvers, Bardaisan von Edessa”, *ZKG* 81 (1970) 334-351; H.J.W. Drijvers, “Bardaisan von Edessa als repräsentant des syrischen Synkretismus in 2. Jahrhundert n. Ch.”, *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*, ed. A. Dietrich, AAWG 96, Göttingen 1975, 109-122 (now in *East of Antioch*, London 1984, XII); B. Aland, “Mani und Bardesanes. Zur Entstehung des manichäischen Systems”, *Synkretismus... cit.*, 123-143; E. Beck, “Bardaisan und seine Schule bei Ephräm”, *Muséon* 91 (1978) 271-333; A. Dihle, “Zur Schicksalslehre des Bardesanes”, *Kerygma und Logos. Festschrift für C. Andersen*, ed. A.M. Ritter, Göttingen 1979, 123-135; G. Widengren, “Bardesanes von Edessa und der syrisch-mesopotamische Gnostizismus”, *The Many and the One: Essays on Religion in the Graeco-Roman World Presented to H. Ludin Jansen*, ed. P. Borgen, Trondheim 1985, 153-181; H. Kruse, “Die ‘mythologischer Irrtümer’ Bar-Daisans”, *OrChr* 71 (1987) 24-52; J. Teixidor, *Bardesane d'Édesse. La première philosophie syriaque*, Paris 1992 (on which cf. the perplexed review by A. De Halleux: *Muséon* 106 [1993] 195-197 and the reservations of H.J.W. Drijvers, *Early Syriac Christianity... cit.*, [1996] 162-171); A. Camplani, “Rivisitando Bardesane – Note sulle fonti siriane del bardesanesimo e sulla sua collocazione storico-religiosa”, *Cristianesimo nella storia* 19 (1998) 519-595 (contains a *status quaestionis* and a deeper re-examination of the material on Bardesanes, to be supplemented with a further contribution by Camplani, entitled “Note bardesane”, *Miscellanea Marciana* 12 [1997] 11-43).

MARA

The manuscript that transmits the *Liber legum regionum* also contains a “beautiful” letter (so Y.-M. Duval, *La littérature... cit.*, 241, n.1), “of exceptional interest” (F. Millar, *The Roman Near East... cit.*, 460), good evidence of the spread of Greek culture, and particularly of “popular” forms of Stoicism, east of the Euphrates, probably around the mid 2nd century (though it has also recently been interpreted as a later fake by a 4th-century Christian author who, for apologetic reasons, disguised himself as a pagan intellectual who celebrated Jesus as an example of philosophical life – a theory shared by Brock, in his outline of Syriac literature, 1997, 18). The text is presented as a *Letter of Mara, son of Serapion*, addressed to his son, also named Serapion.

Editions: W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London 1855, 43-48 (English tr., *ibid.* 70-76; German tr., with important study: F. Schulthess, "Der Brief des Mara bar Sarapion", *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 51 [1897] 365-391).

Studies: General introduction: F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge (MA)-London 1993, 460-462.

K.E. McVey, "A Fresh Look at the Letter of Mara bar Sarapion to his Son", *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1990, 257-272.

MELITO THE PHILOSOPHER

The 7th-century Syriac ms. that includes the *Liber legum regionum* and the *Letter of Mara* also contains a *Discourse of Melito the Philosopher*, addressed to Antoninus Caesar. A. Baumstark, in *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur...* cit., 27, suggested that the work should be considered "an original", not translated from Greek. The unknown author, probably from Hierapolis/Mabbūgh, wrote it between the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 3rd century. The hypothesis of a Syriac work was questioned by Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 156-157, who emphasized the author's scant familiarity with Syrian traditions; but on this, cf. now F. Millar, *The Roman Near East...* cit., 247, who, while lamenting the scant attention given to the work, which makes its reading difficult, observes among other things, in connection with the inaccuracies it contains about the pagan mythology of Hierapolis, that "the fact of having been written in Syriac does not necessarily save Christian analyses of pagan cults in Syria from presenting the same concatenation of confused and incompatible elements" that can be found, for example, in parallel observations by the "Greek" Lucian. Cf. also W.J.H. Drijvers, *Early Syriac Christianity...*, 173, on the cultivated and perfectly bilingual milieu of contemporary urban Syria, to which he ascribes Melito's *Apology* as well as the *Letter of Mara* mentioned above, and Brock, who in his 1997 outline of Syriac literature, p. 18, inclines towards an original Greek redaction of the text, calling attention to a citation in it of 2 Peter, a work not present in the first Syriac canon of the NT.

General introduction: F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge (MA)-London 1993, 477-478.

Editions: W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London 1855, 22-31.

Translations – English: *ibidem* 41-51.

Latin: J.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 2, Paris 1855, xxxvii-lvi.

ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS

Early Christian literature knows various accounts of the mission, behaviour and actions, the journeys and martyrdom of the apostles,

composed between the 2nd and 3rd centuries, certainly using a basis of early traditions, but fundamentally with the intention of entrusting the propaganda of the Gospel to the marvellous acts of "divine men", witnesses to the efficacy of the power of God, using and reworking the materials and forms of various literary genres then current.

The *Acts of Judas Thomas* (c. 225) find their original place among these writings, with some of which, in the 4th century, they would come to form a unitary collection, perhaps of Manichaean provenance, but destined for a popularity as great as it was controversial. Though of Syrian composition (but probably not from the Edessa area), the Syriac text that now represents them has been subjected to interventions aimed at reworking them in an "orthodox" sense, so that sometimes the Greek version of them attests a form closer to the original. They tell the story of the preaching, miracles and martyrdom of Thomas in India, characterized by the enrolment of the figure of the apostle within an old tradition about him – perhaps predating the redaction of the canonical Gospels – of which they are one of the main witnesses. In accordance with this tradition, Thomas, type and model of the believer, is the "twin" of Jesus, in the end equal to him, one with him, as already suggested by the Gospel ascribed to him, which was certainly present to the redactors of the writing under examination here. It has been pointed out that the recurrence of images linked to the theme of the twin is continued in the *Acts of Thomas*, which incessantly multiply "the analogies between Jesus and his apostle, to the point that the destiny" of the latter "perfectly reproduces that of his lord and teacher", though the text, perhaps mindful of the "canonical" interpretation of Thomas (but perhaps also of the original perspective of its own tradition), contains "a theological intention aimed at emphasizing both distance and identity" between the two, wishing to indicate in this way that their unity "is above all spiritual" (P.-H. Poirier, *Évangile de Thomas...*, 21).

A work whose themes and encratite emphasis made it very acceptable to the Manichaean communities of Syria (if not produced by them), the *Acts* appear as a reworking of various materials, among which particular importance attaches to the so-called *Hymn of the Pearl*, perhaps originally a text of a narrative from Babylonian Syria, whose very language attests a non-Edessene and hence "pre-classical" Syriac. This tells of a king's son sent to the West to recover a precious pearl, there becoming forgetful of the task entrusted to him, until a letter delivered to him from his parents restores him to self-awareness, so that he gains the pearl and brings it back to his country, thus obtaining his own inheritance – themes all reinterpreted as events of the soul and/or, more originally, of the Saviour/saved.

Editions: W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries with English Translations and Notes*,

2 voll., London 1871 (text: I, 171-333; English tr.: II, 146-298; anast. ed., Amsterdam 1968); P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum syriace III*, Paris-Leipzig 1892 (text only: 1-175; anast. ed., Hildesheim 1968).

Partial critical editions: T. Jansma, *A Selection from the Acts of Judas Thomas*, Leyden 1952; P.-H. Poirier, *L'Hymne de la perle des "Actes de Thomas"*, *Introduction, texte, traduction*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1981.

Translations: A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, Leyden 1962; H.J.W. Drijvers, "Thomasakten", *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2, ed. W. Schneemelcher, 5th ed., Tübingen 1989, 289-367; P.H. Poirier, Y. Tissot, "Les Actes de Thomas", *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, 1, ed. F. Bovon, P. Geoltrain, Paris 1998, 1321-1470.

Studies: General introduction: S. Mimouni, "Thomas (apôtre)", *DSp* 15 (1991) 708-718.

J.D. Turner, "A New Link in the Syrian Judas Thomas Tradition", *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of A. Böhlig*, ed. M. Krause, Leyden 1972, 109-119; R. Kuntzmann, *Le symbolisme des jumeaux au Proche-Orient ancien. Naissance, fonction et évolution d'un symbole*, Paris 1983; H. Kruse, "Das Brautlied der syrischen Thomas-Akten", *OCP* 50 (1984) 291-330; Idem, "Zwei Geist-Epiklese der syrischen Thomasakten", *OrChr* 69 (1985) 33-53; J.M. La Fargue, *Language and Gnosis: The Opening Scenes of the Acts of Thomas*, Philadelphia 1985; D.R. Cartlidge, "Transfigurations of Metamorphosis Traditions in the Acts of John, Thomas and Peter", *Semeia* 38 (1986) 53-66; Y. Tissot, "L'encratisme des Actes de Thomas", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase, Part 2, 25.6, Berlin 1988, 4415-4430; S. Abouzayd, "The Acts of Thomas and the Unity of the Dualistic World in the Syrian Orient", *Aram* 1/2 (1989) 217-252; G. Rouwhorst, "La célébration de l'eucharistie selon les Actes de Thomas", *Omnes Circumstantes: Contributions towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy Presented to H. Wegman*, Kampen 1990, 51-77; G.J. Riley, "Thomas Tradition and the Acts of Thomas", *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers. One Hundred Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting. November 23-26, 1991, Kansas City, Missouri*, Atlanta 1991, 533-542; P.-H. Poirier, "Apousia. Note sur un mot des Actes de Thomas", *Aram* 5 (1993) 427-435; Idem, "Évangile de Thomas, Actes de Thomas, Livre de Thomas. Une tradition et ses transformations", *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 9-26; F. Siegert, "Analyses rhétoriques et stylistiques portent sur les Actes de Jean et les Actes de Thomas", *Apocrypha* 8 (1997) 231-250.

II. THE 4TH CENTURY: THE GOLDEN AGE OF "CATHOLIC" CHRISTIANITY IN SYRIA

The fortunes of the Church of Syria, both in the Western, "Roman" part and in the Eastern, Persian part of this large region, were from the first decades of the 4th century firmly enrolled under the banner of the victory of the so-called "Great Church", in the forms of organization and discipline of the individual Churches and of their communion, and also in terms of their confession of faith. This statement, it must be added, does not exclude a relationship, felt as decisive – and in fact revealed as such –, with the Churches of the Greek and Latin West, with which firstly the dioceses of Osrhoene and Adiabene would have a stronger connection, and then gradually all the regions of Semitic and Iranian Persia.

One contribution to the comparison with the traditions of the "Roman" Churches, themselves engaged in consolidation in this period, was certainly made, from the second half of the 3rd century, by the deportation to Babylonia and Persia of populations from the area of Syria subject to Rome during the victorious campaigns of Shapur I (241-272) against the adverse Empire. Many of the deportees were Christians – laymen, presbyters or bishops – and in the places assigned them they maintained and developed a church life often distinct from that of the communities already present there, though not without stimulus and influence on them. Yet it was the events linked to the claim advanced by the bishops of the capital cities of Sasanid Persia, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have their primacy recognized over the whole Church of the East, that led between the second and fourth decades of the 4th century to a crisis whose resolution was in fact referred to the bishops of the West.

The extent of this intervention must not be overrated, however. While the "Roman" bishops of, e.g., Edessa and Nisibis were present at Nicaea and were witnesses and actors in the introduction of "Nicene" themes and problems into their Churches, the situation of the "Persian" bishops, almost wholly absent from that council and very ill-informed about the debate to which it corresponded, was very different. In the late 330s, Aphrahat, the first great author of the "Catholic" Church of the East of whom we possess knowledge and writings, would attest a "credo" still wholly distant, in its terms and preoccupations, from those that had for some time been pronounced and proposed among the Latins and Greeks,

signifying the altogether different sensibility and tradition of his community. Meanwhile, the sometimes very bloody persecutions, which severely tried the Churches of Persia for many decades from the early 340s, threw their hierarchies into disarray for a long time, constraining them to a thoroughly difficult life, with little chance to cultivate distant relationships, from which they would emerge only at the start of the 5th century, in no small part thanks to the intervention of a "Western" bishop who was a delegate of Theodosius II to the Sasanid court.

Between the first decades of the 4th and the first years of the 5th century, at any rate, we see the first vigorous emergence, of which there is ample evidence, of a Syriac literature, quite varied in its expressions and often clearly referable to individual authors or milieus, prevalently, perhaps, but certainly not solely, from the "Roman" area. An "orthodox" literature, as was said before, which often, in the Passions of martyrs, apocrypha and chronicles that it produced especially towards the end of this period, aimed to emphasize and even "invent" "orthodox" origins and traditions for the Churches of which it was an expression; a literature, however, in which there is ample trace of material that is liturgical, exegetical, homiletic and, if it may be said, "archaic", linked to Jewish, encratite traditions, originally reinterpreted by the Christian communities of the region in the light of their perception of the novelty, the *eschatological* novelty and dignity of life given back to man by Christ – a material, it must be added, in tension with the contexts in which it was inserted and used, contexts that reveal the status of Churches which by now systematically accommodated "secular", "worldly", experiences, contexts that attest the duality, irresolvable within the actual life of believers, of the time of the Church, between presence and imminence of the kingdom. On the other hand, ever greater exposure to the characters and traditions of the Western Churches would involve, particularly at first in the Roman area, an institutional and organizational disciplining and a difficult acculturation into Greek theological debate (where Ephrem, in his criticism of the effrontery and speculative curiosity of the "heresies", would speak in tones not too different from those of Basil – saving only the different capacity to control the philosophical material underlying the discussion). It also involved the adoption and renewal, strong and original, of the monastic experience, in all its complex declension, including the "archaic" traits it fostered and its oft-attested reservations about the salvation-historical significance of the Constantinian turning-point, the presence of a "Christian king" and an "imperial church" in Rome and its territories.

All these themes and problems, obviously, would receive particular attention from the second half of the century, with the gradual reduction and then cessation of the persecutions in Persia, and also in concomitance

with the consolidation in the Roman area, towards the end of that period, of an active work of translation into Syriac of Greek texts: historical, apocryphal, homiletic and monastic.

Studies: A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*. 1, *The Origin of Asceticism. Early Monasticism in Persia*, CSCO 184 / Subs. 14, Louvain 1958; 2, *Early Monasticism in Mesopotamia and Syria*, CSCO 197 / Subs. 17, Louvain 1960 (on the views here expounded cf. the review by A. Adam, now in the volume edited by K.S. Frank, *Askese und Mönchtum in der Alten Kirche*, Darmstadt 1975, 230-254); 3, *A Study of Monasticism in the Near East*, CSCO 500 / Subs. 81, Lovanii 1988; G. Nedungatt, "The Covenanters of the Early Syriac-Speaking Church", *OCP* 39 (1973) 191-215, 419-444; R. Murray, "The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syriac Church", *NTS* 21 (1974) 59-80; Idem, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Cambridge 1975 (repr. with corrections, 1977); Idem, "Some Rhetorical Patterns in Early Syriac Literature", *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus*, ed. R.H. Fisher, Chicago 1977, 109-131; M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation de l'empire iranien dès origines aux grandes persecutions du IV siècle*, CSCO 499 / Subs. 80, Lovanii 1988; N. Koltun, *Jewish-Christian Polemics in Fourth-Century Persian Mesopotamia: A Reconstructed Conversation*, Stanford 1993; S.H. Griffith, "Monks, 'Singles', and the 'Sons of the Covenant'. Reflections on Syriac Ascetic Terminology", *Euloghema. Studies in Honour of R. Taft, S.J.*, ed. E. Carr, S. Parenti, A.A. Thiermeyer, E. Velkovska, Rome 1993, 141-160; S. AbouZayd, *Ihidayutha. A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient. From Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon 451 A.D.*, Oxford 1993; S.H. Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of Syria. The Hermeneutics of Early Syrian Monasticism", V.L. Wimbush, R. Valantasis, *Asceticism*, New York 1995, 220-245.

APHRAHAT (APHRAATES)

The use of the name Aphrahat, Syriac form of the Persian Farhad or Ferhad, to indicate the "Persian sage", author of a unitary *corpus* of 23 *Demonstrations* or *Expositions* which survive entire, appears for the first time only in the middle of the 10th century, in the information-rich lexicon of Bar Bahlul. There is no earlier mention of his name. As George, the learned bishop of the Arabs at Hirta, who died in 724, wrote: "it is impossible to say with certainty who this Persian sage was, i.e. what was his dignity or rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or even what was his name or place of residence". All the same, his work provides various pieces of information about him.

Firstly, it is the product of three distinct periods of composition: the first ten *Expositions* were completed in 337, the next twelve in 344, while the last was brought to an end in August 345, fifth year of the persecution of the Christians "in the land of the East" ordered by the Sasanid ruler Shapur II. Secondly, Aphrahat speaks of himself as a "disciple of the Books", probably a gentile by birth. Furthermore, within the wider Christian community, local and regional, in which he enjoyed sound credit and in whose affairs he intervened authoritatively, he

characterizes himself as a "solitary", a "son of the Covenant", using a terminology that he is among the first to attest, member of an "order" that aimed henceforth to celebrate, free from the distractions of marriage, possessions and work, in service of the Word and in prayer, that heavenly liturgy in which the Kingdom would have its fulfilment. A "solitary" himself, it is to other "solitaries" that he mainly addresses his *Expositiones*.

Two further characteristics should be borne in mind to understand the personality, work and times of Aphrahat. However extraneous to the ecclesiastical affairs and theological discussions of the Western Churches (the creed he expounds, for example, shows no trace of the Nicene creed and its hinterland), he nevertheless not only knows about the Constantinian turning-point that has made the Empire of the Romans "Christian", but he even seems to interpret it providentially. Finally, in the second block of the *Expositiones* he conducts a close defence of the Christian faith against the objections made against it by a "scribe, learned interpreter of the people" (the people *par excellence*, Israel), in a discussion that reacts, probably, to pressure then being exercised by the synagogue on the Churches, at a time of persecution for them.

Editions (with main translations): J. Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes*, PS 1-2, Paris 1884-1907 (includes a Latin tr.; French tr.: M.-J. Pierre, *Aphraate le Sage Persan, Les Exposés*, SCh 349 and 359, Paris 1988 and 1989; German tr.: P. Bruns, *Aphraat, Demonstrationes. Unterweisungen*, Fontes Christiani 5/1-2, Freiburg 1991 – French and German translations both contain ample, important, comprehensive introductions to Aphrahat, with rich bibliography.

Studies: General introduction: G.G. Blum, "Afrahat", *TRE* 1 (1977) 625-635; A. Vööbus, "Aphrahat", *RAC* 4 (1986) 497-506.

a) Aphraates and the Scriptures: T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, 2 voll., Amsterdam 1975; R.J. Owens, *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage*, Leyden 1983.

b) Aphrahat and Judaism: J. Neusner, *Aphrahat and Judaism*, Leyden 1971; J.G. Snaith, "Aphrahat and the Jews", *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E.I.J. Rosenthal*, ed. J.A. Hamilton, S.C. Reif, Cambridge 1982, 235-250; S.D. Benin, "Commandments, Covenants and the Jews in Aphrahat, Ephrem and Jacob of Sarug", *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, ed. D. Blumenthal, Chicago 1984, 135-156; N. Koltun Fromm, "Aphrahat and the Rabbis on Noah's Righteousness in Light of the Jewish-Christian Polemic", *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays*, ed. J. Frishman, L. Van Rompay, Lovanii 1997, 57-71.

c) Theology and sacraments in Aphrahat: E.J. Duncan, *Baptism in the Demonstrations of Aphraates, the Persian Sage*, Washington (DC) 1945; P. Bruns, *Das Christusbild Aphrahats des Persischen Weisen*, Bonn 1990.

d) Aphrahat and the Christian community – *Demonstratio* XIV: J.-M. Fiey, "Notule de littérature syriaque. La démonstration XIV d'Aphraate", *Muséon* 81 (1968) 449-454; G. Nedungatt, "The Authenticity of Aphrahat's Synodal Letter", *OCP* 46 (1980) 62-88; M.-J. Pierre, "Un synode contestataire à l'époque d'Aphraate le Sage Persan". *Centre d'études des religions du livre – La controverse religieuse et ses formes*, ed. A. Le Boulluec, Paris 1995, 243-279.

e) "Sons of the covenant" and "solitaries": cf. the studies cited *supra* in the Introduction to this section, p. 437, and A.J. Van Der Aelst, "À l'origine du monachisme syrien: les 'ihidaye' chez Aphraat", *Fructus Centesimus: Mélanges offerts à G.J.M. Bartelink*, ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, A. Hilhorst, C.H. Kneepkens, Dordrecht 1989, 315-324.

f) Aphrahat's writing: R. Murray, "Hellenistic-Jewish Rhetoric in Aphrahat", *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 87-96.

EPHREM

The one certain date of Ephrem's life is that of his death, which took place on 9 June 373 at Edessa. Here he had arrived from the more easterly Nisibis, soon after the cession of that city, "without inhabitants", to Shapur II by the emperor Jovian in 363 at the conclusion of a war that had opposed Rome to Sasanid Persia.

Ephrem was probably born at Nisibis or thereabouts in about 306. A text datable to the last decades of the 7th century informs us that in Nisibis bishop Jacob, active between c. 303 and 338, had founded a school, perhaps on the model of the schools run by the region's Jewish communities, one of which had operated in the city until about the end of the 3rd century, and had called Ephrem to interpret the Scriptures there. It is certain that Ephrem recalled Jacob as one who had begotten the Nisibene Church and given it the milk of infancy, probably on account of the stronger relationship he had established with the Greek and Latin Churches, sanctioned by his presence at Nicaea; it is also certain that some time later he taught at the school supposedly founded by him, and some of his writings testify to this activity of his. He taught, again, while leading the life of a "solitary", a "son of the Covenant", in the manner of Aphrahat, busily present among the bishops who succeeded each other on the throne of the Nisibene Church, first Babu (338-346), then Vologeses (died 361 or 362), to whom he was particularly close as deacon and also as a mature and authoritative Doctor, and finally Abraham.

Ephrem's concern for the orthodoxy of the Churches of Nisibis and Edessa is a major characteristic of his, attested by the many works, in verse and in prose, devoted by him to confirming the faith of the Christian community, to which he invited particularly the sons and daughters of the Covenant, against the doctrines of Marcionites, Bardesanites, Manichees and Arians, against the persistence of pagan customs, against the Jews, also, by whose exegetical traditions his meditation was nevertheless deeply influenced. For Christians he advocated a strict behaviour, capable of driving back the temptation of wealth and corresponding to the way of deprivation by which the Son had witnessed to the Father.

His active care for the needs of the Church and the city is also evident in the collaboration he lent, during the famine that raged at Edessa between 372 and 373, the year of his death, to the organization of relief for the needy, the distribution of food and the burial of the dead.

General introduction: E. Beck, "Éphrem le Syrien (saint)", *DSp* 4 (1960) 788-800; Idem, "Ephraem Syrus", *RAC* 5 (1962) 520-531; S. Brock, *The Luminous Eye. The Spiritual World Vision of St. Ephrem*, Rome 1985 (and Kalamazoo 1992, with added indexes); A. De Halleux, "Saint Éphrem le Syrien", *RTL* 14 (1983) 328-355.

Bibliographical repertoires (in chronological order): M.R. Roncaglia, "Essai de bibliographie sur Saint Éphrem le Syrien", *PdO* 4 (1973) 343-370; K. Samir, "Compléments de bibliographie éphrémienne", *PdO* 4 (1973) 371-391; S. Brock, *Syriac Studies*, I, 31, 415-417 (23-25); II, 41, 320-327 (30-37); III, 38, 305-308 (17-20); IV, 40, 236-241; V, 39, 273-279.

Editions: On the problem of Ephrem's writings, authentic and spurious, cf. firstly the *status quaestionis* expounded by Beck in "Éphrem le Syrien (saint)", 790-791, and then the more recent contributions of J. Melki, "Saint Éphrem le Syrien, un bilan de l'édition critique", *PdO* 11 (1983) 3-88; and S. Brock, "A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations of the Works of St Ephrem", *The Harp* 3 (1990) 7-29. Particularly important for the poetic works are the essays of A. De Halleux, "Une clé pour les hymnes d'Éphrem dans le ms. Sinaï syr. 10", *Muséon* 85 (1972) 171-199, and "La transmission des hymnes d'Éphrem dans le ms. Sinaï syr. 10, f° 165v°-178r°", *Symposium Syriacum 1972*, Rome 1974, 21-63; cf. also S. Brock, "The Transmission of Ephrem's 'madrache' in the Syriac Liturgical Tradition", *SP* 33, 1997, 490-505.

We will say nothing here about Greek, Latin or other versions of Ephrem, on which cf. D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, "Éphrem grec et latin", *DSp* 4 (1960) 800-819; and J. Kirchmeyer, "Autres versions d'Éphrem", *ibid.* 819-822; on the Greek Ephrem cf. also M. Geerard, *CPG* 2, Turnhout 1974, 366-468.

a) Comprehensive or partial editions between the 18th and early 20th centuries: J.S. Assemani, *S. Patris nostri Ephraem syri opera omnia quae extant... syriace-latine*, vol. 1-3, Romae 1737-1743; J.J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi syri, Rabulae episcopi edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, Oxford 1865 (the edition contains among other things, on pp. 21-58, a letter of Ephrem to Hypatius, now translated and commented by E. Beck, "Ephraem's Brief an Hypatios übersetzt und erklärt", *OrChr* 58 [1974] 76-120; on pp. 113-131 an *Epistula ad montanos* – now edited by Beck in *Sermones IV*, CSCO 334 / Syr. 148 [cf. *infra*, c]) – considered authentic by A. Vööbus, *A Letter of Ephrem to the Mountaineers*, Pinneberg 1947, but rejected by Beck and recently attributed to Isaac of Antioch by E.G. Mathews, "'On Solitaries', Ephrem or Isaac?", *Muséon* 103 [1990] 91-110); P. Zingerle, *Monumenta syriaca*, I, Innsbruck 1869 (limited to pp. 4-12); T.H.J. Lamy, *S. Ephraemi syri hymni et sermones*, 4 voll., Malines 1882-1902.

b) Recent critical editions (with information on their main translations and studies closely related to them):

b.1) Prose writings:
b.1.1) Exegetical works: *S. Ephraem syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii*, ed. R.M. Tonneau, CSCO 152 / Syr. 71 (Latin tr., CSCO 153 / Syr. 72), Louvain 1955 (repr., 1965); Éphrem le Syrien, *Commentaire de l'évangile concordant. Version arménienne*, ed. L. Leloir, CSCO 137 / Arm. 1, Louvain 1953 (Latin tr., CSCO 145 / Arm. 2, Louvain 1954); Saint Éphrem, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant. Texte*

syriaque (*Manuscrit Chester Beatty*, 709), ed. L. Leloir, Dublin 1963 (with Latin tr.; French tr.: Éphrem de Nisibe, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron*, ed. L. Leloir, SC 121, Paris 1966); Saint Éphrem, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant. Texte syriaque* (*Manuscrit Chester Beatty*, 709). *Folios additionnels*, ed. L. Leloir, Leuven-Paris 1990 (with Latin tr.; English tr.: C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. An English Translation of Chester Beatty Syriac Ms 709 with Introduction and Notes*, Journal of Semitic Studies. Supplement, 2, Oxford 1993); *Srboyn Ep'remi Asuroy Meknut'iwn Gorcoc' Arak'eloc' (Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum [Armenian version])*, ed. N. Akinian, Vienna 1921 (English tr.: F.C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts", *The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. Jackson, K. Lake, I. 31, London 1926, 373-453); *Srboyn Ep'remi Matenagrut'iwnk' III (Commentarii in Epistolas Pauli [Armenian version])*, Venice 1836 (Latin tr.: S. Ephraemi Syri Commentarii in Epistolas D. Pauli a patribus Mekhitaristis in latinum sermonem translati, Venice 1893).

b.1.2) Polemical works: *St Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, ed. C.W. Mitchell, A.A. Bevan, F.C. Burkitt, 2 voll., London 1912-1921 (with English tr.; a German tr. with commentary on the section contained in 2, 1-49, can now be read in E. Beck, "Ephräm Rede gegen eine philosophische Schrift des Bardaisan übersetzt und erklärt", *OrChr* 60 [1976] 24-68).

b.2) Rhythmic prose writings: "Ephrem's Letter to Publius", ed. S.P. Brock, *Muséon* 89 (1976) 261-305 (with English tr.; on the letter cf. Brock's study, "An Unpublished Letter of St. Ephrem", *PdO* [1973] 317-323); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Sermo de Domino Nostro*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 270 / Syr. 116 (German tr., CSCO 271 / Syr. 117), Louvain 1966.

b.3) Verse writings:

b.3.1) *Madrache* (Hymns): *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Fide*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 154 / Syr. 73 (German tr., CSCO 155 / Syr. 74), Louvain 1955 (on this text cf. E. Beck's study, *Die Theologie des hl. Ephraem in seinen Hymnen über den Glauben*, Rome 1949); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Carmina Nisibena*, ed. E. Beck, 1, CSCO 218 / Syr. 92 (German tr., CSCO 219 / Syr. 93), Louvain 1961; 2, CSCO 240 / Syr. 102 (German tr., CSCO 241 / Syr. 103), Louvain 1963 (French tr. in P. Féghali, C. Navarre, *Saint Éphrem, les chants de Nisibe*, Paris 1989); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen Contra Haereses*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 169 / Syr. 76 (German tr., CSCO 170 / Syr. 77), Louvain 1957; *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Virginitate*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 223 / Syr. 94 (German tr., CSCO 224 / Syr. 95), Louvain 1962 (English tr. in K.E. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian. Hymns*, New York 1989); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Ecclesia*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 198 / Syr. 84 (German tr., CSCO 199 / Syr. 85), Louvain 1960; *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 186 / Syr. 82 (German tr., CSCO 187 / Syr. 83), Louvain 1959 (English tr. in K.E. McVey, *Ephrem... cit.*); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Paschahymnen (De azymis, De crucifixione, De resurrectione)*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 248 / Syr. 108 (German tr., CSCO 249 / Syr. 109), Louvain 1964 (French tr. and commentary in G.A.M. Rouwhorst, *Les hymnes pascales d'Éphrem de Nisibe*, 2 voll., Leyden 1989); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 174 / Syr. 78 (German tr., CSCO 175 / Syr. 79), Louvain 1957 (the hymns on Paradise are translated into French: Éphrem de Nisibe, *Hymnes sur le Paradis*, tr. R. Lavenant – introduction and notes by F. Graffin, Sch 137, Paris 1968; into English: S. Brock, *St Ephrem the Syrian. Hymns on Paradise*, New York 1990; the hymns against Julian are translated into English in K.E. McVey, *Ephrem... cit.*); *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Hymnen de Ieiunio*, ed. E. Beck,

CSCO 246 / Syr. 106 (German tr., CSCO 247 / Syr. 107), Louvain 1964; *Hymnes de s. Éphrem conservées en version arménienne*, ed. L. Mariès, C. Mercier, PO 30/1, Paris 1961 (with Latin tr.).

b.3.2) *Mēmṛē* (Discourses or sermons): *Des heiligen Ephraem Sermones de Fide*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 270 / Syr. 116 (Latin tr., CSCO 271 / Syr. 117), Louvain 1961 (on this text cf. E. Beck's study, *Ephräms Reden über den Glauben, ihr theologischer Lehrgehalt und ihr geschichtlicher Rahmen*, Rome 1953); Éphrem de Nisibe, *Memṛe sur Nicomédie*, ed. C. Renoux, PO 37/2-3, Paris 1975 (Armenian version; Syriac fragments; French tr.).

c) Dubious or mainly spurious works: *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers. Sermones I-IV*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 305, 311, 320, 334 / Syr. 130, 134, 138, 148 (German tr., CSCO 306, 312, 321, 335 / Syr. 131, 135, 139, 149), Louvain 1970-1973; *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen auf Abraham Kidunaya und Julianos Saba*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 322 / Syr. 140 (German tr., CSCO 323 / Syr. 141), Louvain 1972; Ephraem Syrus, *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam*, ed. E. Beck, CSCO 412 / Syr. 181 (German tr., CSCO 413 / Syr. 182), Louvain 1979.

Studies: a) Ephrem and the Church of his time: S.H. Griffith, "Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa, and the Church of the Empire", *Diakonia. Studies in Honour of Robert T. Meyer*, ed. T. Halton, J.P. Williman, Washington (DC) 1986, 22-52; Idem, "Images of Ephraem: the Syrian Holy Man and His Church", *Traditio* 45 (1989/1990) 7-33. b) Ephrem's symbolic thought: R. Murray, "The Theory of Symbolism in St. Ephrem's Theology", *PdO* 6/7 (1975/1976) 1-20; T. Bou Mansour, *La pensée symbolique de Saint Éphrem le Syrien*, Kaslik-Liban 1988; A. Palmer, "'A Lyre Without a Voice'. The Poetics and the Politics of Ephrem the Syrian", *Aram* 5 (1993) 371-399.

c) Ephremian exegesis: L. Leloir, *Doctrines et méthodes de Saint Éphrem d'après son commentaire de l'Évangile concordant*, CSCO 220 / Subs. 18, Louvain 1961; N. Sed, "Les hymnes sur le Paradis de saint Éphrem et les traditions juives", *Muséon* 81 (1986) 455-501; S. Hidal, *Interpretatio Syriaca. Die Kommentare des Heiligen Ephräms des Syrers zu Genesis und Exodus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer auslegungsgeschichtlichen Stellung*, Lund 1974; T. Kronholm, *Motifs from Genesis 1-11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian. With Particular Reference to the Influence of Jewish Exegetical Tradition*, Lund 1978; D. Bundy, "Revising the Diatessaron Against the Manichaean: Ephrem of Syria on John 1, 4", *Aram* 5 (1993) 65-74; A. De Halleux, "L'annonciation à Marie dans le commentaire syriaque du Diatessaron", *Aram* 5 (1993) 131-145; Idem, "L'épisode de l'annonce à Zacharie dans le commentaire syriaque du Diatessaron", *Muséon* 106 (1993) 255-265; Idem, *Les citations de Mt 2, 1-18, dans le commentaire syriaque du Diatessaron*, Annales du Département des Lettres Arabes, 6B (1991-1992), Beirut 1996; L. Van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation", *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation*, 1, Göttingen 1996, 612-641 (paragraph 3, 622-628, is on Ephrem; a good restatement of the problem, with up-to-date bibliography).

d) Ephrem's theology: N. El-Khoury, *Die Interpretation der Welt bei Ephraem dem Syrer*, Mainz 1976; J. Martikainen, *Das Böse und der Teufel in der Theologie Ephraems des Syrers*, Abo 1978; Idem, *Gerechtigkeit und Güte Gottes. Studien zur Theologie Ephraems des Syrers und des Philoxenos von Mabbug*, Göttingen 1980; E. Beck, *Ephräms Trinitätslehre im Bild von Sonne/Feuer, Licht und Wärme*, CSCO 425 / Subs. 62, Louvain 1981; T. Bou Mansour, "La liberté chez Saint Éphrem", *PdO* 11 (1983) 89-156; 12 (1984/1985) 331-346; S.D. Benin, *Commandments. Covenants and the Jews* (1984) (cited *supra* in Aphrahat, *STUDIES* [b], p. 438).

e) Ephrem, "sons of the covenant", and "solitaries": E. Beck, "Ein Beitrag zur Terminologie des ältestens syrischen Mönchtums", *Antonius Magnus Eremita (356-1956)*, ed. B. Steidle, Rome 1956, 254-267; Idem, "Asketentum und Mönchtum bei Ephrem", *Il monachismo orientale*, Rome 1958, 341-362 (French tr.: "Ascétisme et monachisme chez saint Éphrem", *OrSyr* 3 [1958] 273-298); A. Vööbus, "Le reflet du monachisme primitif dans les écrits d'Éphrem le Syrien", *OrSyr* 4 (1959) 299-306; cf. also the most recent and comprehensive studies cited in the INTRODUCTION to the chapter and in Aphrahat, *STUDIES* (e), p. 439.

f) Liturgy and sacraments in Ephrem: G. Saber, *La théologie baptismale de saint Éphrem. Essai de théologie historique*, Kaslik-Liban 1974; E. Beck, *Dorea und Charis. Die Taufe. Zwei Beiträge zur Theologie Ephräms des Syrers*, CSCO 457 / Subs. 72, Louvain 1984; V. Van Vessel, *L'onction baptismale chez saint Éphrem*, Baghdad 1984; P. Yousif, *L'Eucharistie chez saint Éphrem de Nisibe*, Rome 1984.

CYRILLONAS

An author who is part of the Ephremian tradition, Cyrillonas (c. 400) has been identified by some critics with "the presbyter 'Absamyā, son of the sister of the blessed Ephrem", who had composed "odes and sermons on the incursion of the Huns into the empire of the Romans", as the *Chronicle of Edessa* recites. To Cyrillonas, indeed, we owe a *Hymn on the locusts, on the castigation, on the invasion of the Huns*, which, by the events it refers to, can be placed in the years 395-396 when there was an incursion of the Huns inside the borders of the Empire, affecting even Syria, while the same region suffered from violent earthquakes, drought and famine.

An Edessene, Cyrillonas was certainly one of the best poets of the Syriac tradition. To him we owe six works, including hymns, rhythmical homilies and songs, devoted not just to the invasion of the Huns and a meditation on the meanings of wheat and its growth, but also to biblical themes such as the Washing of Feet, the Last Supper, Easter and Zacchaeus. These texts are full of allusions to Scripture and show, among other things, a habitual use of the separate Gospels, thus confirming, as the date of their composition, the decades spanning the late 4th and early 5th centuries.

Editions and studies: G. Bickell, "Die Gedichte des Cyrillonas", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 27 (1873) 566-598; Idem, "Berechtigungen zur Cyrillonas", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 35 (1881) 531-532 (Italian tr.: C. Vona, *I Carmi di Cirillona. Studio introduttivo - Traduzione - Commento*, Rome-Paris-Tournai-New York 1963; French tr.: Cyrillonas, *L'agneau véritable*, ed. D. Cerbelaud, Chevotogne 1984).

LIBER GRADUUM (LATE 4TH - EARLY 5TH CENTURY)

Published by M. Kmosko in 1926 with a lengthy introduction aiming to place it within the Messalian phenomenon, the *Liber gradum*, as it is

customarily designated, using the Latin version of the title that sometimes accompanies it in the manuscript tradition, has gradually attracted the attention of scholars by the variety and complexity of the themes and traditions present in it, which link it clearly to the Christian culture of Syria between the 4th and 5th centuries, and also by the singularity of the synthesis it presents. A composite book, whose exegetical-theological and paraenetic material is in its present form distributed among 30 distinct "discourses", this text is seen by some as eminently representative of that meditation on the Spirit and its fruits in the life of believers which runs through all the thought of the Syriac Churches. It contains a close discussion on the status of the first Adam, called to lead an angelic life on earth, his mind in heaven, intent on the contemplation/glorification of God; on his distraction from the Creator through giving his attention to the beauty and fecundity of the sensible world, coinciding with the loss of the Spirit and the impossibility, from that moment on, of leading a life conforming in everything to the "perfect will of God", but still – indeed, only now –, in ceaseless confrontation with his own creatural nature, susceptible and capable of justice, in the difficult discernment of good from evil; on his progressive degradation, moving towards situations of ever more irreversible iniquity; on the work of God, who making use of some just men and prophets of Israel, with punishments and violence obliged men to remember Him, even in the time of enmity, until in Jesus, the incarnate Son, who in humiliation and death fulfilled His perfect will, He restored peace, renewed the attitudes of *in principio*, attitudes of charity, not of justice, in self-emptying and abandonment of his links with the world, so that man may once more, even here, be simply prayerful and merciful, accepting and blessing everything after the example of Christ who came for sinners and, innocent, gave himself for them.

While these are some of the leading motifs of the work, whose exegesis of Scriptural passages shows itself surprisingly sober in its attitude to symbolic interpretations and its use of Jewish interpretative traditions (unlike Aphrahat or Ephrem, though very close to them in many of the ideas it insists on), we must add that the circles that produced it and used it attest a sometimes profound discomfort, due to an incomprehension and intolerance towards them on the part of those sectors of the visible Church, the one Church which they themselves confessed, in which, according to their terminology, justice prevailed and men laboured to understand and seek perfection and its works, considered too available to the "far off", especially in times of heresy and persecution.

Edition: Liber graduum, ed. M. Kmosko, PS 1/3, Parisiis 1926 (with Latin tr. and full introduction).

Studies: General introduction: A. Guillaumont. "Liber Graduum". *DSp* 9 (1976) 749-754.

A. Guillaumont, "Situation et signification du 'Liber Graduum' dans la spiritualité syriacque", *Symposium Syriacum* 1972, Rome 1974, 311-322; R.A. Kitchen, "The Gattung of the Liber Graduum. Implications for a Sociology of Asceticism", *IV Symposium Syriacum* 1984, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 173-182; A. Böhlig, "Zur Rhetorik im Liber Graduum", *ibid.* 297-305; A. Kowalski, *Perfezione e giustizia di Adamo nel Liber graduum*, Rome 1989 (a fundamental study, with ample bibliography); C. Stewart, "Working the Earth of the Heart". *The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts and Language to AD 431*, Oxford 1991; L. Wickham, "Teaching about God and Christ in the Liber Graduum", *Logos. Festschrift für L. Abramowski*, ed. H.C. Brennecke, E.L. Grasmück, C. Marksches, Berlin-New York 1993, 486-498; Idem, "The 'Liber Graduum' Revisited", *VI Symposium Syriacum* 1992, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1994, 177-187; D. Juhl, *Die Askese im Liber Graduum und bei Aphrahat. Eine vergleichende Studie zur frühsyrischen Frömmigkeit*, Wiesbaden 1996; P. Bettiolo, "Confessare Dio in perfetta spogliazione. La via del discernimento dei comandamenti nel Liber Graduum", *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 19 (1998) 631-651 (with up-to-date bibliography).

DOCTRINE OF ADDAI

The existing text of the *Doctrine of Addai* is the outcome of the long process of growth of an original narrative nucleus linked to the brief correspondence supposedly exchanged between Abgar, king of Edessa, and Jesus, on the eve of his arrest. Apart from Christ's immediate gift to the king of a portrait of himself, the supposed fruit of this exchange was the sending of the apostle Addai to the court of the capital city of Osrhoene. Here he healed the king and preached the Gospel in front of him, his dignitaries and the whole city, bringing about its conversion and thus founding the Edessene Church. In this account is also inserted a reworking of the legend, datable to the second half of the 4th century, of the rediscovery of the cross by Constantine's mother Helena, which suggests a first discovery of it by the wife of the emperor Claudius, converted to Christianity after seeing the miracles performed by Peter at Rome.

Given that the account of Abgar's conversion is cited by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History*, "it is probable that in the early 4th century there was a Christian legend written in Syriac that enabled the Edessenes to boast of having been evangelized by an apostolic envoy" (A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar...*, 16). This legend, established in the course of the 3rd century and bearing traces of clear anti-Docetist and anti-Manichaean concerns, corresponds well to the need for a "non-polemical" rewriting of the history of Edessene Christianity by a now victorious "orthodox" community (A. Desreumaux, *Abgar...* cit., 227). The material relating to the *inventio crucis* would have been added to this nucleus in the first decades of the 5th century, perhaps by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, with the precise intention not just of further

emphasizing "the status of Edessa as a Christian city", but also of "establishing a link between Edessa and the imperial house and promoting the Monophysite and anti-Jewish ideas" very much present in this layer of the text (H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Protonike Legend...*, 522-523).

Editions: while awaiting the critical edition edited by A. Desreumaux for the *Series Apocryphorum* of the *Corpus Christianorum*, published by Brepols, see the editions of W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the Neighbouring Countries, from the Year after Our Lord's Ascension to the Beginning of the Fourth Century*, London-Edinburgh 1864 (London mss.); and G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle, Now First Edited in a Complete Form in the Original Syriac with an English Translation and Notes*, London 1876 (St Petersburg ms.).

Translations: A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus*, Turnhout 1993 (as well as the translation of the complete Syriac text of the *Doctrine of Addai*, with introduction and bibliography, this also contains that of a Greek version of it, by A. Palmer, and an Ethiopic version, by R. Beylot).

Studies: H.J.W. Drijvers, "Addai und Mani. Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien", *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 171-185; A. Desreumaux, "La doctrine d'Addai, l'image du Christ et les Monophysites", *Nicée II 787-1987*, Paris 1987, 73-80; Idem, "La doctrine d'Addai: le chroniqueur et ses documents", *Apocrypha* 1 (1990) 249-267; Idem, "Abgar, le roi converti à nouveau – Les chrétiens d'Édesse selon la 'Doctrine d'Addai'", *Centre d'études des religions du livre – De la conversion*, ed. J.-C. Attias, Paris 1997, 217-227; H.J.W. Drijvers, "The Protonike Legend and the 'Doctrina Addai'", *SP* 33, 1997, 517-523.

ACTS OF THE MARTYRS

The study of the Syriac Acts of the martyrs is rather complex and hard to recapitulate in a few lines. Suffice to state here, firstly, that we must distinguish clearly between the Western ecclesial sphere and the Eastern or Persian one. First of all, chronologically: in Roman Syria, the persecutions ceased precisely in those first decades of the 4th century that saw their harshest onset among the Sasanids. Secondly, as to quantity and quality of writings, given that Western texts are few, and some of these (the *Acts of Sharbel*, the *Acts of Bishop Barsamya*), while claiming to be contemporary witnesses to the events they narrate, referable to 104, the time of Trajan, are clearly late works from the early 5th century, produced by those same circles that had devised the *Doctrine of Addai* as a "tendentious propaganda" aimed at accrediting the antiquity and orthodoxy of the Christian community present in the capital of Osrhoene (Brock, *Eusebius and Syriac Christianity*, cit., 228). Much more credible, also from Edessa, are the data provided by the *Acts of Shmona and Gurya*, martyred apparently in 297, and that of the deacon Habib, killed probably in 309 – names known to Ephrem and mentioned in the list of martyrs that can be read in a codex written at Edessa in November 411.

Rather more important, both in quantity and as a historical source, is the corresponding literature from the Eastern sector. Here, subjection to a power that aimed to represent an ethnically restricted religious tradition, whose first guardians, jealous of its integrity and position, were tenaciously opposed to communities, whether Manichaean or Christian, that were increasingly extending their presence and influence in those same Persian circles, explains in part the difficulties and even the persecutions to which the Churches were exposed, especially after the Sasanid kings found themselves fighting against a Roman world become Christian, with which they feared the Churches were colluding.

It is thus worth taking a good look at some examples of this extensive literature which, from the 4th century, held up the Acts of the martyrs to the memories of the faithful. The first persecution suffered by the Christians of Persia seems to date from the second part of the reign of Vahram II (276-293), in a context dominated by anti-Manichaean repression, in which probably the Christians were indirectly and marginally involved. From this time comes especially a *Testimony of the Blessed Candida*, a "Roman" taken prisoner who became a wife of the king. Although written probably in the last decades of the 4th century or perhaps even the early 5th, it rests on older materials of great interest (on the problems posed by the dating of the text cf. S. Brock, *A Martyr at the Sasanid Court...*, 171-172; M.-L. Chaumont, *La christianisation...*, 110, suggests an earlier date, proposing it as the work of Milēs of Ray, bishop of Susa, the great accuser of Papa bar Aggai, the disputed bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, in which case the work would predate the great persecution of Shapur II, in which Milēs himself died).

The greatest persecution, however, occurred in the 4th century: for some 40 years, from 339/340, the Churches repeatedly suffered the violence of the king of kings (the date of the start of the persecution, in its bloody phase, is disputed: cf. the summary of M.-L. Chaumont, *op. cit.*, 160 [with note 3], though this, while recapitulating and confirming the views of Nöldeke, Peeters and others on a start to the killings in 340, omits any mention of Devos, *Notes...*, 246-248; cf. also, for a dating from 344, M.-J. Pierre, *Un synode contestataire...*). The texts of the martyrs of these years were in large part collected probably by Marutha of Maipherqat at the beginning of the 5th century (the attribution was strongly contested, but the examination of the Armenian version, attributable to Abraham the Confessor and datable around the middle of the 5th century, "argues in favour of the real existence of a collection by Marutha, made around 410, in a period of peace, starting from several texts earlier than itself" [M.-J. van Esbroeck, *Abraham le confesseur...*, 179], an attribution reinforced by the later Armenian version of the *Acts of Marutha*, dating from the 9th-10th century, which expressly mentions

the redaction by the bishop of "discourses composed well and with wisdom" concerning the martyrs [L. Ter-Petrossian, *L'attribution...*, 130]). One of the major witnesses to the collection is the *Martyrdom of the Blessed Simon bar Sabba'e*, Papa's successor on the throne of Seleucia-Ctesiphon; this is the basis of the information devoted by Sozomen to this catholicos of the Church of Persia, and it differs from a second, more recent *Martyrdom* of the same Simon that appears as an alternative to the first in some examples of the collection.

While Marutha, probably, collected the Acts of the 4th-century martyrs in the first years of the 5th century, we should place "towards the end of the first quarter of the 5th century" a series of four *Passions* relating to the persecutions of the last years of the reign of Iazdkart I (399-420) and the very first years of that of Vahram V (420-438), composed by Abgar, a monk at a monastery six miles from Seleucia, whose superior he may have been and which is repeatedly mentioned in the *Passions*, an author whose authoritativeness is "first-rate" and whose texts are of excellent literary quality and rare sobriety (P. Devos, *Abgar...*, 321-322 and 326-328). They also demonstrate a recurrent trait in similar writings produced by the Church of Persia: "the concern to show the Christians as subjects wholly loyal to the king, though they claim their obligations of conscience towards God" (*ibid.* 323).

This literature cannot be followed further here, but it did not cease, because of the persecutions that repeatedly, though sporadically, tested the Churches of the East in the Sasanid era. An important work by Babai the Great on George, "priest, monk, confessor and crowned martyr", crucified in 615, will be remembered in its proper place. Here we should mention at least the *History of Karkba of Bet Sloh and the Martyrs in it*, which, though presented as a history of that city of Bet Garmai from the time of its foundation, is in fact mainly an account of the persecutions suffered by the Christian community there at the time of Shapur II and then, especially (the section relating to these events occupies about two thirds of the text), of Iazdkart II (428-447), in 445. Written towards the end of the 6th century, the *History* is the work of an anonymous author whom some would identify with Bar Sahde, author of an *Ecclesiastical History* of which we have only a few fragments included in the *Chronicle of Seert* – surviving only in an Arabic version – and in the *Chronography* of Elias of Nisibis, author too of a polemical work against Zoroaster and, it is suggested, of the lost Syriac original of the *Passion of Saint Shirin* († 559), also from Karkha of Bet Sloh, a city of whose Church Bar Sahde may have been bishop (J.-M. Fiey, *Vers la réhabilitation...*, 1964, 219-221; Devos, *La jeune martyre perse...*, 13).

A case apart, finally, is that of the two letters written in 519 by the Monophysite bishop Symeon of Bet Arsham, the "Persian disputer", to

his namesake, hegumen of Gabbula, on the then recent (November 518) martyrdom of some Christians of Yemen, in particular of the city of Najran, put to death by the Judaizing Himyarite king Du-Nuwas. Symeon wrote the letters on the basis of information received from quite credible witnesses, firstly at Hira, capital of the pro-Persian Lakhmid Arabs, and later at Gbita, in the Golan, from the encampment of the pro-Byzantine Ghassanid Arabs. We also owe him an important letter on the spread of Nestorianism in Persia, whose final redaction seems to be later than 518, date of the death of the emperor Anastasius, there mentioned as blessed, but which was perhaps originally composed around 505/506 (cf. "Simeon Beth Arsamensis Epistola de Barsauma episcopo Nisibeno, deque haeresi Nestorianorum", G.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana I – De scriptoribus Syris orthodoxis*, Rome 1719, 345-358; information on Symeon can be read in the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by John of Amida, bishop of Ephesus, on whom cf. *supra*, in the Introduction, *Syriac Ecclesiastical Chronicles and Histories* 5).

Repertory of texts and editions: BHO.

Editions: S.E. Assemani, *Acta sanctorum martyrum*, 2 voll., Rome 1748 (with Latin tr.; anast. ed., Farnborough 1970); W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, London 1864 (with English tr.: anast. ed., Amsterdam 1967); I. Guidi, "La lettera di Simeone vescovo di Beth-Arsham sopra i martiri omeriti", *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, s. 3, *Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 7 (1881) 471-501; P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 voll., Paris 1890-1897; anast. ed., Hildesheim 1968; I.E. Il Rahmani, *Acta sanctorum confessorum Guriae et Schamonaie, adjecta latina versione*, Rome 1899; M. Kmosko, *S. Simeon bar Sabba'e*, PS 1/2, 659-1055, Paris 1907 (with Latin tr.); I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents*, Brussels 1971 (with English tr. of Symeon of Bet Arsham's second letter on the Himyarite martyrs and an extensive study); P. Devos, "L'abrégé syriaque BHO 104 sur les martyrs himyarites", *AB* 90 (1972) 335-359 (with French tr.); S. Brock, "A Martyr at the Sasanid Court under Vahram II: Candida", *AB* 96 (1978) 167-181 (comprehensive study of the edition of the text and of an English version of it).

Studies: G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, anast. repr., Liechtenstein 1966; P. Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, 2 voll., Brussels 1951; J.M. Fiey, "Vers la réhabilitation de l' 'Histoire de Karka d'bet Sloh' ", *AB* 82 (1964) 189-222; P. Devos, "Abgar, hagiographe perse méconnue (début du V^e siècle)", *AB* 83 (1965) 303-328; Idem, "Notes d'hagiographie perse", *AB* 84 (1966) 229-248; Idem, "Sozomène et les Actes syriaques de s. Syméon bar Sabba'e", *AB* 84 (1966) 443-456; Idem, "Les martyrs persans à travers leurs Actes syriaques", *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura – Atti del convegno sul tema: La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, Rome 1966, 213-225; G. Wiesner, *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II*, Göttingen 1967; M.-J. van Esbroeck, "Abraham le confesseur (V^e s.) traducteur des Passions des martyres perses – À propos d'un livre récent", *AB* 95 (1977) 169-179; L. Ter-Petrossian, "L'attribution du recueil des Passions des martyres perses à Maroutha de Maypherqat", *AB* 97 (1979) 129-130; P. Devos, "La jeune martyre perse sainte Shirin († 559)", *AB* 112 (1994) 5-31.

III. FROM THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 5TH TO THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 6TH CENTURY: THE PERIOD OF HELLENIZATION AND DIVISION OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCH

So far, we have often insisted on the impossibility of radically separating the Syrian area from the influence of Hellenism, present in the region since the time of Alexander's campaigns, though in ever-changing relationships and balances with the other cultural themes active in the region. If, then, the period covered by this section is characterized as "period of Hellenization" *par excellence*, we are obliged to indicate the specific sense of this. Three facts will help us understand the reasons for it.

First, in 410 Bishop Marutha of Maipherqat, imperial delegate at the Sasanid court, promoted a synod of the Persian Churches aimed at settling the tensions between Christian community and kingdom and giving form and stable organization to the Churches themselves, in full acceptance of the Nicene faith and canons. The process begun then at Seleucia-Ctesiphon met with no immediate reception, but despite difficulties it was irreversible, bringing to a conclusion the conformation of the Eastern Churches to the Latin and Greek Churches of the West. Second, probably between 415 and 420, a young Syrian from Persia, Narsai, arrived at the great school of Edessa in Roman territory to complete his studies. Here he was put in contact with the ideas and texts of Antiochene authors, taken up as guides to the exegesis of Scripture and the understanding of dogma by the circles gathered around the "Rabban" of the school, Qiore († 436/437), whose theological options, however, were tenaciously opposed by the then bishop of the Edessene Church, Rabbula (412-435). Narsai would recall thus his first contact with the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, recently translated: "The readers of the Books meditated in ignorance until they had read his books: then they understood. We should give the name 'doctor of doctors' to the one, able in intellect, without whom there would have been no doctor capable of giving a good teaching. Through the treasure of his writings all have been enriched; through his commentaries they have acquired the power to interpret".

But the spread of Antiochene doctrines, sign of a more general penetration of "Greek" letters into the Syrian world, did not happen

without meeting resistance, as we have already pointed out. Reserving theological resistance, already operating in Rabbula's actions, for the following pages, we will recall here that an author of those same opening decades of the century, a monk and scholar, John the Solitary, denounced both "the heresy of two sons", introduced into Syria by Antiochene texts, and that taste for "the elegant word" which, in his view, was leading many to read and imitate Greek exegeses of Scripture, declining to uphold that "power of the Word" which the less refined and subtle Semitic understanding and languages seemed better able to receive. Yet, we must add, John himself is a witness to Greek interpretations and to debates in which recourse to Greek knowledge was not at all marginal.

Here we have three different proofs of "Hellenization", the controversial but irreversible new "Hellenization" of the Churches of Syria, both Western and Eastern, increasingly sharing the concerns, problems and forms of expression that characterized the Greek and Latin Churches. And it was this sharing that, in the 5th century, especially from the second half of it, produced a division that would rend ever more deeply – in a way wholly parallel to what was occurring especially in the Greek world – urban and rural communities, bishops and monks, intellectuals and illiterate or semi-literate crowds throughout Syria. "Spew of the Dragon", Antiochene Christology had a singular bitterness for men who, like Rabbula, would find in Cyril the champion of the "simple" faith of the Fathers. The direction of the Edessene school, no less than the episcopal ministry or the leadership of monasteries everywhere, would become objects of struggles, confrontations, schisms – even if their reasons were not always understood, or by everyone.

Yet it would be wrong not to perceive the tones of the tradition of Ephrem or "Addai" present in many voices of the different warring factions, from Narsai to Philoxenus, to give two small examples. They are in part the tones found and cultivated in anti-Arian polemic, or those of the challenge to certain interpretations of the exercise of the ministry in a too worldly Church, interpretations insufficiently true to the meekness and humility of the true pastor, the sons of the "new world"; more generally they are the tones of the spiritual, eschatological dignity of Christian living, delivered from all creatural hierarchy and understanding, fixed as it is on the crucified one, the unique, most real, lovable revealer and proclaimer of divine silence and *arcana*, which persist even in the incarnation of the Son. Diphysites and Monophysites in Syria in fact seem to contend not so much by formulating ever more complex and subtle articulations of Christ's ontological status, as by claiming for their own different and opposing formulae a testimonial potency, in no way traditional, towards a mystery of God and man (and, let us add, of their union), which they fear will be ruined once

they turn aside, as indeed the Fathers teach, from the worship introduced by faith in the Risen One – because the proclamation of the resurrection is the true fire of Christianity.

All these, it must finally be said, are tones that, coming from Syria, would reverberate in the Greek and Latin literatures, through writings that convey them at great length, such as, e.g., the Pseudo-Macarian writings.

Studies: Many of the studies mentioned at the end of the presentation of the previous section, as well as sections of those cited in the General Introduction to this chapter, deal with themes and problems of the 5th century and may be useful to an understanding of it; others, concerning individual authors, but capable of providing a more comprehensive picture of the events of the time in which they worked, will be mentioned in the different paragraphs that follow, to which the reader is referred. It remains to point out some monographs or essays such as: A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalai Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens*, Paris 1962 (an unsurpassed work on Origenism in Syria from the 5th to 8th centuries); G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa, der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe*, CSCO 300 / Subs. 34, Louvain 1969; W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge 1972; R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies. Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug and Jacob of Sarug*, Oxford 1976; P. Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris 1977; J. Gribomont, "Le symbole de foi de Séleucie-Ctésiphon (410)", *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus*, ed. R.H. Fischer, Chicago 1977, 283-294; A. De Halleux, "Le symbole des évêques perses au synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphon (410)" *Erkenntnis und Meinungen II*, ed. G. Wiessner, Wiesbaden 1978, 160-190; S. Gero, *Barsauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century*, CSCO 426 / Subs. 63, Louvain 1981; S. Broek, "L'Église de l'Orient dans l'Empire sassanide jusqu'au VI^e siècle et son absence aux conciles de l'Empire romain", *Istina* 40 (1995) 25-43.

BALAI

To Balai, *chorepiskopos* in the Church of Beroea (Aleppo), a man of "Roman" Syria who lived in the first half of the 5th century, are attributed a number of hymns or *madrashe*. Among those certainly authentic, the one best known and most studied was written on the occasion of the consecration of the church of Qenneshrin, a town south-east of Beroea, the first surviving hymn devoted to such a theme. Of no interest as evidence of the Christian art and architecture of the time, containing no description of the building whose construction it celebrates, the text of the hymn is rich in Ephremian echoes, in particular of the *Hymns on the Nativity*, and is apparently indebted to some motifs present in the very different panegyric devoted by Eusebius to the church of Tyre, included in his *Ecclesiastical History*, of which a Syriac version circulated. But Balai profoundly renews these materials, partly on the model of prophetic texts, such as those of Ezekiel, on the "new temple", read by him in

reference to the church/building. The traditional theme of God's presence in the "church of the heart", which Balai mentions and for which R. Murray, *Symbols of Church...*, 271-274, suggests a parallel especially with the *Liber graduum*, is in fact aimed in an original way, and perhaps with some hesitation (K.E. McVey, *The Sagitha...*, 337), at introducing a "sacralization" of the space. He thus inaugurated the connection, destined for a great future, between God's presence in the church/building, because of the Eucharistic liturgy celebrated there, and incarnation.

Editions: Balai, "Hymns (In dedicationem Ecclesiae – 5 Laudes in Acacium)", bishop of Beroea [Aleppo; † 432], *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae, Balaei Aliorumque Opera Selecta*, ed. J.J. Overbeck, Oxford 1865, 251-269.

Studies: K.V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der religiösen Dichtung Balai's*, Lipsia 1902; R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Cambridge 1975 (repr. with corrections, 1977), 227-228, 271-274; F. Graffin, "Poème de Mar Babai pour la dédicace de l'église de Qenneshrin", *PdO* 10 (1981/1982) 103-121; K.E. McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa in the Context of Other Early Greek and Syriac Hymns for the Consecration of Church Buildings", *Aram* 5 (1993) 329-370.

ISAAC OF ANTIOCH

A letter from Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite shows how by the end of the 7th century the poetic work put under Isaac's name posed problems of attribution: in it Jacob distinguishes texts by three different authors who lived between the late 4th century and the first decades of the 6th.

Some 200 *mēm̄rē* are referred to one or the other Isaac, only some 70 of which are published. In most cases it is impossible to determine their real author with exactness, due to the absence of an overall critical edition and full, reliable studies. The earliest Isaac, a native of Amida, is presented in the manuscript tradition as a disciple of Ephrem or, with more likelihood, of a Zenobius who certainly grew up at Ephrem's school. During a journey to Rome, he would have been a spectator of the games of 404, about which he wrote, and of the capture of the city in 410. Also attributed to him is a discourse on Constantinople, which he would have visited on his return journey.

A second and more famous Isaac, active at Antioch, is known in particular for a long text on an episode of Monophysite propaganda in that city, concerning a parrot which the Monophysites had taught the formula of the *Trisagion* including the "Theopaschite" addition: "Immortal God, crucified for us", whose use is attested at the time of the patriarch Peter the Fuller († 488).

Information about two other "Isaacs" is scantier: one, an Edessene, became a Chalcedonian during the episcopate of Asclepius (522-525),

who, as one chronicle tells, “had persecuted the Eastern monks and whoever did not accept the council of Chalcedon”; the last, a solitary, was presumably the author of the more clearly ascetic texts.

Editions: G. Bickell, *Sancti Isaaci Antiocheni, doctoris syrorum, opera omnia*, 2 voll., Giessen 1873-1877; P. Bedjan, *Homiliae sancti Isaaci syri Antiocheni*, Paris-Leipzig 1903.

Studies: General introduction: F. Graffin, “Isaac d’Amid et Isaac d’Antioche”, *DSP* 7 (1971) 2010-2011. S. Kazan, “Isaac of Antioch’s Homily Against the Jews”, *OrChr* 45 (1961) 30-53; 46 (1962) 87-98; 47 (1963) 89-97; 49 (1965) 57-78; P. Feghali, “Isaac d’Antioche, poème sur l’Incarnation du Verbe”, *PdO* 10 (1981/1982) 79-102; Idem, “Isaac d’Antioche, un hymne sur l’Incarnation” *PdO* 11 (1983) 201-222; S. Brock, “The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai. Index of Incipits”, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987) 279-313; A.C. Klugkist, “Die beiden Homilien des Isaak von Antiocheia über die Eroberung von Bet Hur durch die Araber”, *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 237-256; E.G. Mathews, “‘On Solitaries’, Ephrem or Isaac?”, *Muséon* 103 (1990) 91-110; M.-J. van Esbroeck, “The Memra on the Parrot by Isaac of Antioch”, *JTS* 47 (1996) 464-476; P. Bruns, “Isaak (von Antiochien)”, *RAC* (1998) 931-945; G. Greatrex, “Isaac of Antioch and the Sack of Beth Hur”, *Muséon* 111 (1998) 287-291.

JOHN THE SOLITARY

Many are the problems posed by a coherent *corpus* of monastic writings, attributed in the mss. to one John the Solitary, publication of which began in the 1930s. While since then “interest in this spiritual author has not ceased to grow”, to this day “the mystery that surrounds his person” has not been cleared up; indeed, while most scholars agree in identifying him with a John of Apamea, mentioned by Babai early in the 7th century while citing a letter of his, it must be said that “the latter’s identity remains subject to divergent opinions: was he a 6th-century Syrian gnostic, an 8th-century Mesopotamian Messalian, a 5th-century orthodox, or indeed two or three of these persons together?” (A. De Halleux, *La christologie...*, 5).

A more careful study of the Christological vocabulary of at least part of the published writings has enabled us to date his activity to the first decades of the 5th century, thus distinguishing him from a second John of Apamea, known through Philoxenus’ polemic against him and other representatives of a “radical Origenism” in early 6th-century Syria. Indeed his meditation on Christ bears visible traces of the teaching of Ephrem, well attested in the milieu of the school of Edessa in the early 5th century, while reacting, in a way not unlike, e.g., Rabbula, against a “heresy of two Sons” which can be traced back to the teachings of the Antiochene Doctors, whose authority was increasing at Edessa at precisely that time.

Monk and spokesman of a “learned asceticism”, nourished by the insights of the Greek schools, particularly the Alexandrian, John nevertheless reacted vigorously against a “Hellenization” of the Syriac-speaking Churches, which he considered dangerous and which he characterized as an exaltation of fine speech and dialectical ability and an insidious theological “rationalism”.

His monastic teaching insists strongly on the expectation of the new world, which demands, in the perfect, the complete putting-off of this world, the complete “emptying” of it, in accordance with Jesus’ *kenosis*. Hope is a central theme of John’s meditations. He would also hand down to later generations two further elements, destined to become nodal in the literature of Syrian monasticism: the division of the solitary’s itinerary into three successive moments, put under the headings of corporeity (external discipline), psychicity (discipline of thoughts) and spirituality; and the incipient distinction between purity and limpidity, to connote respectively the order of the demeanour of justice (which corresponds to the first two moments of the previous series) and that of perfection, spiritual fulfilment, to which we have access only in single instants, by anticipation, and which will become actual and effective in the Kingdom.

Editions: Johannes von Lycopolis, *Ein Dialog über die Seele und die Affekte des Menschen*, ed. S. Dederling, Uppsala 1936 (French tr. by I. Hausherr: Jean le Solitaire [Pseudo-Jean de Lycopolis], *Dialogue sur l’âme et les passions des hommes*, Rome 1939); *Briefe von Johannes dem Einsiedler mit kritischem Apparat, Einleitung und Übersetzung*, ed. L.G. Rignell, Lund 1941 (contains three letters; there is a German tr. of the first two, while the third is just summarized; a partial French version is in I. Hausherr, “Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé”, cited *infra*, pp. 205-208 of the 1969 edition); *Drei Traktate von Johannes dem Einsiedler (Johannes von Apameia)*, ed. L.G. Rignell, Lund 1960 (with German tr.); Johannes von Apamea, *Sechs Gespräche mit Thomasios, Der Briefwechsel zwischen Thomasios und Johannes und Drei an Thomasios gerichtete Abhandlungen*, ed. W. Strothmann, Berlin-New York 1972 (with German tr.; on the work, which includes a long introductory study, under the title of *Johannes von Apamea*, cf. T. Jansma’s review, “Neue Schriften des Johannes von Apameia. Bemerkungen zu einer Edition”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 31 [1974] 42-52; it contains six dialogues of Thaumasio with John; a letter of John to Thaumasio; one of Thaumasio to John with a reply, which constitutes the first of three treatises subsequently issued – a French tr. of this material is in Jean d’Apamée, *Dialogues et Traités*, ed. R. Lavenant, SCh 311, Paris 1984); S. Brock, “John the Solitary, On Prayer”, *JTS* 30 (1979) 84-101 (with English tr.; the text is re-edited, from a different ms., in P. Bettiolo, “Sulla Preghiera; Filosseno o Giovanni?”, *Muséon* 94 [1981] 75-89 – with Italian tr.); “John the Solitary, *Kephalaia*”, J.Y. Çiçek, *Martyanuta d-abahata qaddishe d-’idta*, St. Ephrem’s Monastery (Holland) 1985, 99-101; “John the Solitary, *Letter to Hesychius*”, S. Brock, *Malpanuta d-abahata suryaye d-’al slota*, Monastery of St. Ephrem (Holland) 1988, 30-44 (English tr. in S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, Kalamazoo [MI] 1989, 81-98); *Kohelet-Kommentar des Johannes von Apamea*, ed. W. Strothmann, Wiesbaden 1988; M. Nin, “Memra de Juan el Solitario”, *Studia*

Monastica 37 (1995) 19-39 (with Spanish tr.; this is a treatise, numbered by Strothmann among John's authentic ones [*Johannes von Apamea*, 61], *On the economies of God: why the good are afflicted and the wicked and impious prosper in this age*); Idem, "Giovanni il Solitario: due dossologie cristologiche", *Mysterium Christi – Symbolgegenwart und theologische Bedeutung. Festschrift für B. Studer*, Rome 1995, 205-218 (with Italian tr.).

Studies: I. Hausherr, "Un grand auteur spirituel retrouvé: Jean d'Apamée", *OCP* 14 (1948) 3-42 (now in *Études de spiritualité orientale*, Rome 1969, 181-216); P. Harb, "Doctrine spirituelle de Jean le Solitaire (Jean d'Apamée)", *PdO* 2 (1971) 225-260; R. Lavenant, "Le problème de Jean d'Apamée", *OCP* 46 (1980) 367-390; A. De Halleux, "La christologie de Jean le Solitaire", *Muséon* 94 (1981) 5-36; Idem, "Le milieu historique de Jean le Solitaire", *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 299-305; J. Martikainen, "Johannes von Apamea und die Entwicklung der syrischen Theologie", *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 257-263.

NARSAI

Narsai was acclaimed as "harp of the Spirit", for his many well-composed writings, and indeed his work is central for the definition of the theology of the Church of Persia. Born in a village in the region of Ma'alta, at the foot of the mountains of Kurdistan, in the north of Iraq, where from the age of seven to 16, in a period disturbed by persecutions, he zealously frequented the school near the church. After a brief stay in a monastery at Bet Zabdai at the invitation of his uncle, who was hegumen there, he went to the "Roman" Edessa to study at the famous school of that city. At that time, between the second and third decades of the 5th century, the bishop there was Rabbula, a fervent Cyrillian († 435), but the school was run by Qiore († 436/437), who followed the Antioche teachings of Theodore, whose writings were translated at that time through his initiative. Narsai's encounter with the exegesis and theology of the bishop and doctor of Mopsuestia was decisive for him, and he continued the work of his teachers aimed at integrating these insights into more properly local traditions. The episcopate of Ibas († 457) saw his growing success, culminating in his assumption of the direction of the school, probably from 451, amid ceaseless controversies against the "Monophysite" tendency, which had a strong presence in the teaching body, the clergy and, more generally, the Church of the city. Subsequent years saw the latter "party" prevail, marking a growing isolation for Narsai and the circles close to him, to the point of provoking his flight from Edessa, seemingly in 471. He then went to nearby Nisibis, over the border, where the "Antiochene" bishop, Barsauma, persuaded him to stay and open a new school as an alternative to that of Edessa, which he did. The last decades of the century thus saw a clearly Diphysite Christology prevail in the whole Church of Persia, strongly upheld by

Nisibene circles close to the bishop and the school. Narsai directed the school with growing success, despite periods of tension with Barsauma, especially due to some traits of the latter's ecclesiastical policy, aimed at upholding a married clergy, in opposition to the ascetic tendencies of Narsai and the tradition with which he was connected.

The more or less "Chalcedonian" tenor of the ideas and formulae of Narsai's Christology has often been discussed. The first thing to be observed is that it should be set within the Persian Doctor's overall understanding of the divine economy, aimed at restoring and fulfilling, in and from the second Adam, the Creator's initial design: to raise all creation, visible and invisible – recapitulated in the dual nature of man: one not ontologically, but through the friendship by which body and soul mutually grow, fitting themselves to fulfil the one will of their Lord – to the understanding and praise of divine charity, manifestation of the inaccessible God. This voluntary unity, somehow stronger and more perfect than nature's own unity, is the unity of God the Word with the assumed man: they are one, but their unity does not make of the two a new subject. The word of the one is the word of the other; the action of the one is the action of the other, but the very singular unity of God and man that they manifest, and to which they open up mankind and all creation, is in no way a mixture of the two nor a cancellation of the one in favour of the other – both situations that would compromise the effectiveness of the union. A. De Halleux, in a recent essay ("Nestorius – Histoire et Doctrine", *Irénikon* 66 [1993] 38-51 and 163-177), has fixed the limits of the "Nestorian" heresy of Nestorius himself: Narsai, more prudent than the later Nestorius in his ideas, should, perhaps all the more, be seen in the difficulty, both theoretical and practical, of reaching a satisfactory theological formulation of Christological dogma, in the sensibility, in the polemics, in the opposing interests, ecclesiastical and political, of the times he lived in.

Editions: A. Mingana, *Narsai Doctoris Syri Homiliae et Carmina primo edita*, 2 voll., Mosul 1905 (major edition, contains 47 homilies, of the 81 attested by the manuscript collections; 14 of the 47 homilies are translated into modern languages: v. the list in F.G. McLeod (ed.), *Narsai's Metrical Homilies* [cited *in extenso infra*], 8-9, nn. 11-17; on the manuscript tradition of the homilies cf. W.F. Macomber, "The Manuscripts of the Metrical Homilies of Narsai", *OCP* 39 [1973] 275-306); F. Martin, "Homélie de Narsès sur les trois Docteurs nestoriens", *Journal Asiatique* 14 (1899) 446-492, and 15 (1900) 469-525 (text and French tr.; on this work cf. now K. McVey, "The Memra of Narsai on the Three Nestorian Doctors as an Example of Forensic Rhetoric", *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 87-96); *Homélie de Narsai sur la création*, ed. P. Gignoux, PO 34/3-4, Paris 1968 (homilies 49, 61, 62, 63, 64 and 65 of Mingana's list, with French tr.); *Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension*, ed. F.G. McLeod, PO 40/1, Paris 1979 (with English tr.; unpublished homilies); Narsai, *Cinq homélie sur les paraboles évangéliques*, ed. E.P. Siman, Paris 1984

(homilies 27, 33, 47, 48 and 53 of Mingana's list, with French tr.); J. Frishman, *The Ways and Means of the Divine Economy. An Edition, Translation and Study of Six Biblical Homilies by Narsai*, Dissertation, Leyden 1992.

Studies: N. Sed, "Notes sur l'homélie 34 de Narsai", *OrSyr* 10 (1965) 511-524; T. Jansma, "Études sur la pensée de Narsai", *OrSyr* 11 (1966) 147-168, 265-290, 393-429; F. McLeod, *The Soteriology of Narsai*, Rome 1968; T. Jansma, "Narsai and Ephraem. Some Observations on Narsai's Homilies on Creation and Ephraem's Hymns of Faith", *PdO* (1970) 49-68; Idem, "Narsai's Homilies on Creation: Remarks on a Recent Edition", *Muséon* 83 (1970) 209-236; I. Ibrahim, *La doctrine christologique de Narsai*, Rome 1974-1975; F. McLeod, "Man as the Image of God: Its Meaning and Theological Significance in Narsai", *ThS* 42 (1981) 458-468; J. Frishman, "Narsai's Homily for the Palm Festival – Against the Jews", *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 217-229; Idem, "Type and Reality in the Exegetical Homilies of Mar Narsai", *SP* 20, 1989, 169-178; Idem, "The Style and Composition of Narsai's Homily 76 'On the Translation of Enoch and Elijah'", *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1990, 285-297; M.A. Kappes, "The Voice of Many Waters: The Baptismal Homilies of Narsai of Nisibis", *SP* 33, 1997, 534-547.

PHILOXENUS OF MABBŪGH

Born in the second third of the 5th century in the Persian province of Bet Garmai, Xenaias, as he was called before Hellenizing his name during his time in the monasteries of Western Syria, was educated at the school of Edessa in years when the Antiochene and Diphysite tradition inspired by Theodore's teaching still prevailed there. Soon, however, he reacted against the Christological ideas of the school, which he accused of a shameless desire to define the manner of the theandric constitution of the incarnate Word. He thus returned to the concerns that had characterized the traditionalist positions of the episcopate of Rabbula, sharpened on the Alexandrian texts of Cyril and Athanasius, which the latter had already begun to translate. Certainly averse to the radical Monophysite position of a Eutyches, realizing its Docetist outcome and the risk of introducing change and passion into God, Philoxenus yet held that the affirmation of two natures in Christ resolved into a blasphemy against God, limiting Him to becoming a mere part of a composite, and a negation of human salvation itself, given the permanent extraneity of humanity to the divine. Only the Word's becoming "unique and new", its becoming "impassible", free, not essentially subject to corruption and death, can open up to creation a possibility that exceeds it. At the heart of Philoxenus' meditation is the paradox enunciated by the "Theopaschite" form of the *Trisagion*, then recently introduced into the liturgy: "Thou holy God; holy strong; holy immortal, crucified for us, have mercy on us". Decisive Scriptural evidence (Jn 1, 14: "the Word became flesh"; Gal 4, 4: "born [Gk γενόμενον] of a woman, born

under the law"; Gal 3, 13: "having become a curse") and evidence of Christian faith and piety (the Nicene Creed, which insists on the *for us* of the Son's *kenosis*; devotion to Mary *Theotokos*, mother of God) unanimously confirm this irrenounceable and in the end unintelligible confession of the incarnate Word, which alone respects both God's greatness and the integrity of his creature. Outside it there is no Christian novelty, insists Philoxenus, no new proximity of the creature to the Creator, but only, at most, a restatement of the faith of Israel, a faith, moreover, that cuts off the most theologically original elements of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of Sinai, the God in exile with his people.

For this faith in the incarnate Word the bishop of Mabbūgh would fight, first as a monk, from c. 470, then, from 16 August 485, as bishop of the metropolitan see of Euphratesia, Mabbūgh, working tirelessly all over Western Syria, at Antioch, in Constantinople itself. After a long struggle against Flavian, patriarch of Antioch, culminating in his deposition, Philoxenus was responsible for the designation of Severus as his successor in November 512. After this, through a policy of tolerance, he sought to gain the agreement of the bishops to the new religious policy of the patriarchate.

Yet the resistance of many and the accession of Justin I to the imperial throne in 518 were to compromise and finally overturn this patient work of persuasion. Philoxenus, having refused to deny his faith, was exiled to Gangra and then to Philippopolis in Thrace where, old and ill, overcome by the harshness of his reclusion, he died on 10 December 523.

Editions (works arranged in order of their discussion in A. De Halleux, *Philoxène...* [cited *infra*, STUDIES], pp. 117-308):

a) Exegetical writings: Philoxenus of Mabbog, *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, ed. J.W. Watt, CSCO 392 / Syr. 171 (English tr., CSCO 393 / Syr. 172), Louvain 1978; *The "Matthew-Luke Commentary" of Philoxenus*, ed. D.J. Fox, Missoula 1979 (on these two editions cf. A. De Halleux, "Le commentaire de Philoxène sur Matthieu et Luc: deux éditions récentes", *Muséon* 93 [1980] 5-35); Philoxène de Mabbog, *Commentaire du Prologue johannique*, ed. A. De Halleux, CSCO 380 / Syr. 175 (French tr., CSCO 381 / Syr. 166), Louvain 1977.

b) Dogmatic writings:

b.1) Letters: *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbôg (485-519)*, ed. A. Vaschalde, Rome 1902 (with English tr.; the dogmatic letter to the monks, the first letter to the monks of Bet Gogal); I. Guidi, *La lettera di Filosseno ai monaci di Tell 'Addâ*, Atti della Regia Accademia dei Lincei, Cl. di sc. Morali, III 12, Rome 1884 (with analytical summary in Italian); "The Rules of Philoxenus" (fragment of a letter to the monks of Amid), A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism*, Stockholm 1960, 51-54 (with introduction and English tr.); A. De Halleux, "La deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères de Beit Gaugal", *Muséon* 96 (1983) 5-79 (with French tr.); Idem, "Nouveaux textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabbog. I: Lettre aux moines de Palestine; Lettre liminaire au synodicon d'Ephèse", *Muséon* 75 (1962) 31-62, and "II: Lettre aux moines

orthodoxes d'Orient", *Muséon* 76 (1963) 5-26 (in both cases with French tr.); J. Lebon, "Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug", *Muséon* 43 (1930) 17-84 and 149-220 (with Latin tr.); Philoxène de Mabbog, *Lettre aux moines de Senoun*, ed. A. De Halleux, CSCO 231 / Syr. 98 (French tr., CSCO 232 / Syr. 99), Louvain 1963.

b.2) Treatises: *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno et sancta Trinitate incorporato et passo*, I-II, ed. M. Brière, PO 15/4, Paris 1927 (with Latin tr.); III-V, VI-VIII, IX-X, Appendices, ed. M. Brière (†), F. Graffin, PO 38/3 (with Latin tr.), Paris 1977; PO 39/4, 40/2, 41/1 (with French tr.), Paris 1979, 1980, 1982; *Philoxeni Mabbugensis tractatus tres de Trinitate et incarnatione*, ed. A. Vaschalde, CSCO 9 / Syr. 9 (Latin tr., CSCO 10 / Syr. 10), Paris 1907.

c) Ascetical writings:

c.1) Letters: Philoxène de Mabboug, *La Lettre à Patricius*, ed. R. Lavenant, PO 30/5, Paris 1963 (with French tr.); "Letter of Mar Xenaia of Mabûg to Abraham and Orestes, Presbyters of Edessa, Concerning Stephen Bar Sudaili the Edessene", edition with English tr. in A.L. Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leyden 1886, 28-48 (on this letter cf. T. Jansma's study, "Philoxenus' Letter to Abraham and Orestes Concerning Stephen Bar Sudaili", *Muséon* 87 [1974] 79-86); G. Olinder, *A Letter of Philoxenus of Mabbug Sent to a Novice*, Gothenbourg 1941 (with English tr.; there is a short recension of the letter, of which a French version is in M. Albert, "Lettre inédite de Philoxène de Mabboug à l'un de ses disciples", *OrSyr* 6 [1961] 243-254).

c.2) Treatises: A. Thanghe, "Memra de Philoxène de Mabboug sur l'inhabitation du Saint-Esprit", *Muséon* 73 (1960) 39-71 (with French tr.); *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh, A.D. 485-519*, ed. E.A.W. Budge, 2 voll. (vol. 2 has an English tr. of the text; it also contains some further brief texts of Philoxenus, on which cf. A. De Halleux, *Philoxène... cit.*, 173, 175, 179, 183, 185, 186, 249), London 1893-1894 (French tr.: Philoxène de Mabboug, *Homélie*, ed. E. Lemoine, Sch 44, Paris 1956).

Translations (the texts that follow are published only in a modern-language translation): M. Albert, "Une lettre inédite de Philoxène de Mabboug à un Juif converti engagé dans la vie parfaite", *OrSyr* 6 (1961) 41-50; F. Graffin, "Une lettre inédite de Philoxène de Mabboug à un avocat, devenu moine, tenté par Satan", *OrSyr* 5 (1960) 183-196.

Studies: General introduction: A. De Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbôg, sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie*, Louvain 1963 (the major monograph on Philoxenus, it is unsurpassed).

E. Beck, "Philoxenus und Ephräm", *OrChr* 46 (1962) 61-76; L. Abramowski, "Ps-Nestorius und Philoxenus von Mabbug", *ZKG* 77 (1966) 122-125; P. Harb, "L'attitude de Philoxène de Mabboug à l'égard de la spiritualité 'savante' d'Évagre le Pontique", *Mémorial Mgr G. Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968)*, ed. F. Graffin, Louvain 1969, 135-156; Idem, "Le rôle exercé par Philoxène de Mabboug sur l'évolution de la morale dans l'église syrienne", *PdO* 1 (1970) 27-48; Idem, "Les origines de la doctrine de 'la hashushuta' (Apatheia) chez Philoxène de Mabboug", *PdO* 5 (1974) 227-241; L. Abramowski, "Die Schrift Gregors des Lehrers 'Ad Theopompum' und Philoxenus von Mabbug", *ZKG* 27 (1978) 273-290; A. De Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole", *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, Rome 1978, 295-315; Idem, "Monophysitismus und Spiritualität nach dem Johanneskommentar des Philoxenus von Mabbug", *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 (1978) 353-366; J.W. Watt, "Philoxenus and the Old Syriac version of Evagrius' Centuries", *OrChr* 64 (1980) 65-81; A. Grillmeier, "Die Taufe Christi und die Taufe der Christen. Zur Tauftheologie des Philoxenus von

Mabbug und ihre Bedeutung für die christliche Spiritualität", *Fides sacramenti, Sacramentum Fidei: Studies in honour of P. Smulders*, Assen 1981, 137-175; J. Martikainen, *Gerechtigkeit und Güte Gottes. Studien zur Theologie von Ephraem dem Syrer und Philoxenos von Mabbug*, Göttingen 1980; B. Aland, "Monophysitismus und Schriftauslegung. Der Kommentar zum Matthäus- und Lukasevangelium des Philoxenus von Mabbug", *Studien zur Ostkirchlichen Spiritualität: F. von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 1982, 142-166; A. De Halleux, "Le Mamlêla de 'Habbib' contre Aksenâyâ. Aspects textuels d'une polémique christologique dans l'Église syriacque de la première génération post-chalcédonienne", *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Pr. A. Van Roey*, ed. G. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. Van Rompay, Leuven 1985, 67-82; G. Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel. Autour de la philosophie spirituelle de Philoxène de Mabboug*, Paris 1985; R.G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug*, CSCO 514 / Subs. 84, Louvain 1989; S. Peter Cowe, "Philoxenus of Mabbug and the Synod of Manazkert", *Aram* 5 (1993) 115-129.

JACOB OF SARUG

Born in 449 in a small town on the bank of the Euphrates, in the district of Sarug in Osrhoene, Jacob was studying at Edessa towards the end of the 460s, when the conflict between the opposing tendencies, Monophysite and Diphysite, was at its height (it was in 471 that Narsai fled the city). There matured in him a profound anti-Nestorian conviction, which led him not so much to polemic as to the custody of a simple apostolic faith, rejecting any adventurous speculation. The Church is called to rejoice always in the Lord and, mindful of this, cannot endure the darkening or bitterness of conflict. But this does not mean it must not always be outstretched to silently contemplate its Lord, who disorients it and kindles it to amazement now with His greatness, now with His littleness – greatness and littleness of one and the same, the incarnate Word who, by obliging man to confess both His humanity and His divinity, instructs him and introduces him to the knowledge of the Father, to a fulfilment consistent with His perfect will.

Jacob's tone and conduct were thus those of a pastor, anxious to point out God's "humble" way to his community, using images and considerations deeply rooted in Ephrem's legacy to the Churches of Syria. And indeed, returning to the district of Sarug aged about 20, Jacob became, at a date of which all we can say for sure is that it was before 502/503, a presbyter at Haura and as *periodeutes* spent much time visiting the faithful who lived in the villages of the region. Perhaps it was his pacific tones, little inclined to clear and insistent Christological formulations, so different from those of, e.g., Philoxenus and hence unsatisfactory to more radical Monophysite circles, that for many years kept him from greater ecclesiastical responsibilities, despite the great fame he acquired by his poetic activity. Only in summer 518, it seems,

was he consecrated bishop of Batna (or Sarug) by Severus and the bishop of Mabbūgh himself, shortly before the patriarch was obliged to leave Antioch to escape the arrest ordered by Justin (29 September 518). On the other hand, neither then nor later does Jacob seem to have been disturbed on account of his Christological convictions, even in years which saw a profound modification of the region's ecclesiastical order – though its progress and pressure were not uniform – and although he seems to have continued, discreetly, to support the Monophysite movement. An old man, he died in his see on 29 November 521.

Editions: P. Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar Jacobi Sarugensis*, 5 voll., Paris-Leipzig 1905-1910 (there are many translations of individual "homilies", especially in English; for the years after 1960 see the notices in S. Brock's *Syriac Studies*, under "Jacob of Serugh"); Iacobus Sarugensis, *Epistulae quotquot supersunt*, ed. G. Olinger, CSCO 110 / Syr. 57, Paris 1937 (anast. ed., Louvain 1965; French translations of *Epp.* 14, 15, 16, 17 and 32 are in J.-P. Paulin-Martin, "Lettres de Jacques de Saroug aux moines du couvent de Mar Bassus et à Paul d'Édesse", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30 [1876] 217-275; *Ep.* 5 in M. Albert, "Lettre sur la foi aux bienheureux d'Arzoun", *OrSyr* 12 [1967] 491-504; *Ep.* 6 in Idem, "Lettre de Jacques de Saroug au prêtre Jean", *Mémorial Mgr G. Khouri-Sarkis*, Louvain 1969, 115-120; *Ep.* 11 in Idem, "Une lettre spirituelle de Jacques de Saroug, évêque monophysite des V^e et VI^e siècles", *PdO* 3 [1972] 65-75; *Ep.* 2 in J. Obeid, "Deuxième épître de Jacques de Saroug sur la foi", *PdO* 12 [1984/1985] 187-199; a letter of Jacob to Stephen bar Sudaili, with English version, in A.L. Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leyden 1886, 10-27; finally see P. Krüger's study, "Le caractère monophysite de la troisième lettre de Jacques de Saroug", *OrSyr* 6 [1961] 301-308, and P. Albert, "La Lettre 19 de Jacques de Saroug", *SP* 17/3, Oxford 1982, 1351-1358; P. Mouterde, "Deux homélies inédites de Jacques de Saroug", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth* 26 (1944-1946) 1-36 (with French tr.); Jacques de Saroug, *Homélies contre les juifs*, ed. M. Albert, *PO* 38/1, Turnhout 1976 (with French tr.); Idem, "Mimro inédit de Jacques de Saroug sur le sacerdoce et sur l'autel", *PdO* 10 (1981/1982) 51-77 (with French tr.); Jacques de Saroug, *Six homélies festales en prose*, ed. F. Rilliet, *PO* 43/4, Turnhout 1986 (with French tr.); Jacques de Saroug, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, ed. K. Alwan, CSCO 508 / Syr. 214 (French tr., CSCO 509 / Syr. 215), Lovanii 1989.

Studies: General introduction: W. Hage, "Jakob von Sarug", *TRE* 16 (1987) 470-474; K. Alwan, "Bibliographie générale raisonnée de Jacques de Saroug († 521)", *PdO* 13 (1986) 313-383.

H. Connolly, "Jacob of Serugh and the Diatessaron", *JTS* 8 (1907) 581-590; M. Black, "The Gospel Text of Jacob of Serugh", *JTS* n.s. 2 (1951) 57-63; T. Jansma, "Étude sur l'Hexaméron de Jacques de Saroug", *OrSyr* 4 (1959) 3-42, 129-162, 253-284; Idem, "The Credo of Jacob of Serugh. A Return to Nicea and Constantinople", *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 44 (1960) 18-36; Idem, "Encore le credo de Jacques de Saroug. Nouvelles recherches sur l'argument historique concernant son orthodoxie", *OrSyr* 10 (1965) 75-88, 193-236, 331-370, 475-510; A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja'qōb von Serūg*, 1-2, CSCO 344-345 / Subs. 39-40, Louvain 1973; S. Brock, "Baptismal Themes in the Writings of Jacob of Serugh", *Symposium Syriacum* 1976, Rome 1978, 325-347;

A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Ja'qōb von Serūg*, 3-4, CSCO 421-422 / Subs. 60-61, Louvain 1980; S.D. Benin, "Commandments, Covenants and the Jews in Aphrahat, Ephrem and Jacob of Sarug", *Approaches to Judaism in Medieval Times*, ed. D. Blumenthal, Chicago 1984, 135-156; K. Alwan, "L'homme, le 'microcosme' chez Jacques de Saroug († 521)", *PdO* 13 (1986) 51-77; F. Rilliet, "Rhétorique et style à l'époque de Jacques de Saroug", *IV Symposium Syriacum* 1984, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 289-295; S. Brock, "The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai; Index of Incipits", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987) 279-313; K. Alwan, "Le 'Remzo' selon la pensée de Jacques de Saroug († 521)", *PdO* 15 (1988/1989) 91-106; Idem, "Était-il mortel ou immortel, l'homme, avant le péché pour Jacques de Saroug?", *OCP* 55 (1989) 5-31; F. Rilliet, *La métaphore du chemin dans la sotériologie de Jacques de Saroug*, *SP* 25, 1993, 324-331; Idem, "Une victime du tournant des études syriaques à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Rétrospective sur Jacques de Saroug dans la science occidentale", *Aram* 5 (1993) 465-480; T. Bou Mansour, *La théologie de Jacques de Saroug*, 1, Kaslik 1993; 2, Kaslik 1999.

SERGIUS OF RISH'AYNA

Chief doctor at Rish'ayna, perhaps a presbyter, certainly a Monophysite, but impugned and blamed in later Monophysite literature for his supposed luxury and avarice (accusations that may at least in part be explained by his having lent himself, in his last years, to the anti-Monophysite initiatives of the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch), Sergius († 536) was one of the greatest intellectuals and scholars of the Syrian Churches of his time. He studied for some years at Alexandria, perhaps at the start of the 500s, and certainly his writings on the Aristotelian *corpus* bear traces of the Alexandrian reading of the Stagyrite, as followed there in those years by, e.g., an Ammonius, and indeed as it would be followed by later Syrian circles, especially that of the Monophysites at work in the monastery of Qenneshre, founded in 521 by John bar Aphthonia. But Sergius is not known just for his logical and philosophical writings. A doctor, his activity was long concentrated on his version of Galen's works, and indeed he began to expound the thought of the Greek philosopher at the insistent request of a disciple and admirer, Theodore (not the Nestorian Theodore of Merw, as some have written, but the bishop of Karh Guddan on the Tigris: cf. H. Hugonnard-Roche, "Notes...", 124, n. 13), who had been struck by the clarity and force of Galen's arguments, which Sergius, in his reply, traced back to the teachings of Aristotle, foundation of all "scientific" procedure.

This superabundant output must not make us forget the persevering diligence of the doctor of Rish'ayna in the field of theology: he made the first Syriac translation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius, which began to circulate around 520, and prefaced them with a treatise on the spiritual life, written beforehand, strongly Evagrian in tone (and remember

that Sergius retranslated the *Gnostic Centuries* of the Pontic monk, in a version that later Syrian tradition considered impious, but which was much closer than the earlier one to the Greek text, wherever it survives).

Editions: For information on the editions, translations and summaries, mostly by G. Furlani, of Sergius' many writings devoted to the translation of works by Galen and the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De mundo*, the introduction to the Aristotelian *corpus* itself or its individual problems, cf. the data provided by H. Hugonnard-Roche, "Aux origines..." cited *infra*; if the second Syriac version of Evagrius Ponticus' *Gnostic Centuries* is by Sergius, as maintained especially by A. Guillaumont in *Les "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les grecs et les syriens*, Paris 1962, 215-227, it is edited in A. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des "Kephalaia Gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique*, PO 28/1, Paris 1958; P. Sherwood, "Mimro de Serge de Reshayna sur la vie spirituelle", *OrSyr* 5 (1960) 433-459; 6 (1961) 95-115, 121-156 (with French tr.).

Studies: A. Baumstark, *Lucubrationes syro-graecae*, Leipzig 1894 (ch. 1: *De Sergio Resaïnensi librorum Graecorum interprete Syro*, 358-438); P. Sherwood, "Sergius of Reshaina and the Syriac Versions of the Pseudo-Denys", *SE* 4 (1952) 174-184; H. Hugonnard-Roche, "Sur les versions syriaques des Catégories d'Aristote", *Journal Asiatique* 275 (1987) 205-222 (important study for defining the quality, progression and relationships of the various Syriac introductions to and/or translations of the Aristotelian text between the 6th and 7th/8th centuries – Sergius, Paul the Persian, Anonymous [perhaps Jonas, correspondent of Severus Sebokt], Athanasius of Balad, Jacob of Edessa, George of the Arabs – on which it also provides a good bibliography); Idem, "Aux origines de l'exégèse orientale de la logique d'Aristote: Sergius de Resh'aina", *Journal Asiatique* 277 (1989) 1-17 (good presentation, with accurate bibliography, of Sergius' writings and versions on medicine and philosophy); Idem, "Les 'Catégories' d'Aristote comme introduction à la philosophie, dans un commentaire syriaque de Sergius de Resh'aina († 536)", *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 8 (1997) 339-363; Idem, "Notes sur Sergius de Resh'aina, traducteur du grec en syriaque et commentateur d'Aristote", *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism – Studies on the Transmission of Greek Philosophy and sciences Dedicated to H.J. Drossaart Lulofs*, ed. G. Endress, R. Kruk, Leyden 1997, 121-143 (with annotated restatement of the bibliography on Sergius and, in an appendix, 140-143, an up-to-date list of studies).

STEPHEN BAR SUDAILI

In discussing John the Solitary, mention was made of a John of Apamea, distinct from him and representative of those Syrian circles characterized by a gnostic and "radical Origenism", against which Philoxenus conducted a lively polemic. Very probably a disciple of this John, in the early 6th century, was one of the most authoritative spokesmen of this tendency, Stephen bar Sudaili.

Born around 480 at Edessa, Stephen became a monk and at once stood out by the excellence of his conduct and studies. And yet, his considerations on the *eschaton*, which resumed teachings on the final admission of everyone, just or unjust, to the Kingdom, when God would

have become all in all (1 Cor 15, 28), met with a firm though affectionate refutation from Jacob of Sarug, who invited him to abandon them. Stephen however did not modify his way of thinking, and sought support for it from Philoxenus, probably because he knew of the Evagrian interpretations and sympathies of the bishop of Mabbūgh. Rebuked by him too, he found himself obliged to go to Palestine, perhaps to a place near Jerusalem: what is certain is that soon after 512 Philoxenus wrote a letter to the monks of that region to put them on guard against his heretical ideas.

Little is known of his later life. Returning after many years to Edessa, where he died probably around the middle of the century, there he wrote a work, handed down as the *Book of Hierotheos*, certainly after 520 and probably from the early 530s. It must be remembered that Hierotheos was the venerated teacher of Dionysius, according to the pseudo-Dionysian *corpus*, and that that collection of writings began to circulate only after 520 and was translated into Syriac by Sergius of Rish'ayna before 536, the year of his death.

Between Evagrian Origenism and Areopagite theology, then, Stephen worked out his extreme, original meditation, which, once more privileging eschatological themes, culminated in the assertion of the passing away and abolition of all difference and name at the moment of the rising of the eschatological One, in which there will be neither Father nor Son, neither Creator nor creature.

Editions: F.S. Marsh, *The Book which is called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, London-Oxford 1926 (with English tr.; repr., Farnborough 1969, Amsterdam 1979).

Studies: General introduction: A. Guillaumont, "Étienne bar Soudaili", *DSp* 4 (1960) 1481-1488.

A.L. Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudayli, the Syrian Mystic, and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leyden 1886.

IV. FROM THE THIRD OR FOURTH DECADE OF THE 6TH
TO THE END OF THE 8TH CENTURY:
THE CONSOLIDATION OF DISTINCT TRADITIONS
IN BYZANTINE, PERSIAN AND THEN UNIFIED ARAB SYRIA

The periodization into we have chosen to distribute the material provided by Syriac Christian literature emphasizes at this point a transition, in the second quarter of the 6th century, from first definition and crisis to the establishment of the different communities that emerged from the Christological debate and from the more general heightening of distinct theological and exegetical traditions in the Churches of the previous century. In West Syria, the 520s saw the crisis of the first Monophysite period, at the very time when its more or less intransigent protagonists were dying. Only between the third and fourth decades of the century would the Monophysite Churches reorganize themselves, chiefly through the initiative of Jacob Baradaeus, but also thanks to the consolidation of monastic experiences that would increasingly integrate Greek insights, even in the sphere of the “secular” sciences, into the training of the region’s churchmen and monks. A man such as Peter of Callinicus, patriarch of Antioch from 580/581 to his death on 22 April 591, is, in his writings – some Syriac but mostly Greek, though soon translated into Syriac – a good witness to the engagement of the Syrian intellectual elites in the sophisticated theological debate of the time – the Christological argument, certainly, but also, e.g., the anti-tritheist. Many translations, moreover, attest the interest, at least among the Melkites or Chalcedonians and the Monophysites, in an ever more conceptually subtle elaboration of theological and Christological formulae, and the growing weight of “dialectic” in the controversy. They also afford further proof of the close contacts and interrelationship between Alexandrian and Antiochene circles: good evidence of this is the dossier of texts linked to the conversion to Chalcedonian dogma of the Jacobites Proba and John Barbur, who had gone to Alexandria in the train of Peter of Callinicus and were there convinced by Stephen the Sophist, first one, then the other, of the untenability of the Monophysite view (cf. P. Bettolo, *Una raccolta di opuscoli calcedonesi*, 1979, and K.-H. Uthemann, *Stephanus von Alexandrien...*).

Between 520 and 525, accompanied by Thomas of Edessa, a man also passed through Alexandria who from 540 to 552 was to make a

powerful contribution to the restoration of the “Nestorian” Church of the East, shaken in previous decades by a crisis that had considerably weakened it. There Mar Aba would have had contacts with various intellectuals and certainly with Cosmas Indicopleustes, author of the *Topographia christiana*, whose 5th book, in its Christological section where “the cosmographer gives way to the theologian”, bears probable traces, it has been maintained, of the very hand of “one of his Nestorian friends, perhaps Mar Aba, more probably Thomas of Edessa” (Wolska-Conus, in Cosma Indicopleusta, *Topografia cristiana*, 14). And it is interesting to observe that the scornful polemic of Philoponus, in his *De opificio mundi*, written probably in 546-549, against the cosmology (and theology) of Theodore, which he also read in Cosmas, denounces the (presumed) intellectual coarseness of an Eastern “Syrian” tradition careless of Greek culture, its attainments and the problems it posed for Christian exegesis and theology. Whatever judgment may be passed on the actual quality of the teaching of the school of Nisibis and the traditions of the Church of Persia, we must record a second acquisition of Mar Aba’s journey to the West: the *Liber Heraclidis*, which he seems to have got translated between 539 and 540, viz. Nestorius’ *Apologia* in defence of his own Christological doctrine, written on the morrow of the reading of the *Tomus Leonis* and supplemented by an introduction by a later Constantinopolitan author. Nestorius’ text (on which cf. A. De Halleux, *Nestorius...*) would be decisive for the Church of Persia: the formulae that would be imposed in its most intransigent circles, finally to prevail from 612 over the more traditional Theodorian formulae in the whole Church of the East – at least officially, since the resumption of discussions in schools and monasteries would often record their problematic character –, were in fact Nestorian.

The fourth decade of the 6th century thus opened a new process of consolidation of the Christian communities of Syria, in their ever sharper distinction, even mutual aversion, apart from momentary proximities, apart from the welcome that each sometimes accorded to writings, especially monastic, proceeding from the other.

The advent of Islam, following a season of protracted wars between Persia and Byzantium, would oblige the Christian communities to take note of a new domination, whose religious status was both more familiar and more disturbing, due to the apostasies it caused because of its very proximity. But the following notes cease precisely with the first full awareness of the need to develop an apologetic in defence of the Christian faith against the criticisms made by Islam, especially in the Trinitarian and Christological spheres: the 7th and 8th centuries, however, would still be times of exceptional flowering and authoritativeness for the Churches of Syria, even in the literary sphere.

Studies (very selective choice): W. Wolska, *Recherches sur la "Topographie Chrétienne" de Cosmas Indicopleustés. Théologie et science au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1962; L. Abramowski, A.E. Goodman, *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts 1-2*, Cambridge 1972; R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, "The Discourse of Mar Peter Callinicus on the Crucifixion", *JTS* 26 (1975) 23-37 (with English tr.); D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research. A Review of Sources and a New Approach", *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45-86; *Una raccolta di opuscoli calcedonesi (Ms. Sinaï 10)*, ed. P. Bettiolo, CSCO 403 / Syr. 177 (Italian tr., CSCO 404 / Syr. 178), Louvain 1979; J.-M. Fiey, *Chrétiens Syriaques sous les Abbassides*, CSCO 420 / Subs. 59, Louvain 1980; R.Y. Ebied, A. Van Roey, L.R. Wickham, *Peter of Callinicum – Anti-Tritheist Dossier*, OLA 10, Leuven 1981 (with English tr.); K.-H. Uthemann, "Stephanos von Alexandrien und die Konversion des Jakobiten Probos, des späteren Metropolitens von Chalkedon. Ein Beitrag zur Rolle der Philosophie in der Kontroverstheologie des 6. Jahrhunderts", *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History*, ed. C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, L. Van Rompay, OLA 18, 1985, 381-399; L. Sako, *Le rôle de la hiérarchie syriaque orientale dans les rapports diplomatiques entre la Perse et Byzance aux V^e-VII^e siècles*, Paris 1986; S. Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries", essay of 1985 now in *Studies in Syriac Christianity*, London 1992, XII; Cosma Indicopleusta, *Topografia cristiana – Libri I-V*, ed. A. Garzya, with a Preface by W. Wolska-Conus and a Postface by R. Maisano, Naples 1992; A. De Halleux, "Nestorius, histoire et doctrine", *Irénikon* 66 (1993) 38-51, 163-178.

CAVE OF TREASURES

The *Cave of Treasures*, which is attested in many Eastern versions, bears in some mss. the title *Discourse on "In principio" or Book of the Order of Generation from Adam to Christ*. This anonymous work describes, with particular accuracy up to Melchizedek, then mostly rather succinctly, the biblical story from creation to Pentecost, making use of a Haggadic style. The work has reached us in two recensions, one western, the other eastern, which in their present form do not seem to go beyond the 6th century, though many scholars think it likely they are revisions of an earlier text, dating from the 4th or perhaps even the 3rd century. An early date seems suggested particularly by the work's last section, which forms a brief apologia, addressed to "our brother in Christ, the splendid Namosaya", "friend in doctrine" and "brother in the law", aimed at refuting the accusations made by the Jews against Mary, presented as an "adulteress", and their observations on the genealogy of Jesus.

In its parts relating to the book of Genesis, the *Cave of Treasures* shows close parallels with the exegesis of Ephrem and, in those relating to Adam, also with apocryphal literature and Jewish exegetical traditions.

Edition: La caverne des Trésors – Les deux recensions syriaques, ed. Su-Min Ri, CSCO 486 / Syr. 207 (French tr., CSCO 487 / Syr. 208), Lovanii 1987.

Translation – English: The Book of the Cave of Treasures: a History of the Patriarchs and the Kings their Successors from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ, translated from the Syriac text of BM add. ms. 25875 by E.A.W. Budge. London 1927.

Studies: Su-Min Ri, "La caverne des Trésors. Problèmes d'analyse littéraire", IV Symposium Syriacum 1984, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 183-190; G. Anderson, "The Cosmic Mountain. Eden and its Early Interpreters in Syriac Christianity", *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis. Intrigue in the Garden*, ed. G.A. Robbins, Lewiston/Queenston 1988, 187-224 (more general study, containing an analysis of the contribution of the *Cave of Treasures* to the Syrian exegesis of the theme); A. Kowalski, "Il sangue nel racconto della passione di Cristo nella Caverna dei Tesori siriana", *Atti della VI settimana de Studi "Sangue e Antropologia nella Teologia" 1987*, Rome 1989, 163-173; Su-Min Ri, "Le Testament d'Adam et la Caverne des Trésors", *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1990, 111-122; M.E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, Atlanta 1992 (contains a section on this text).

DANIEL OF SALAH

Not much is known of Daniel of Salah, author of a three-volume commentary on the Psalms, only very partly edited, composed around 541/542 and dedicated to a certain John, hegumen of a monastery in the region of Apamea. A Monophysite author, Daniel allows us by his work to understand the procedures of Scriptural interpretation in use in the anti-Chalcedonian Syrian circles of his time. In particular, it is interesting to note his conscious use of some methods and findings of Antiochene exegesis, though this does not prevent him, at a deeper level, from developing a reading of meanings of the text that are not so much historical as prophetic – Christological, but also relating to the affairs of the soul –, explored partly through a comparison between the parallel readings of the Hebrew and the Greek.

Edition: G. Dietrich, Eine jakobitische Einleitung in den Psalter in Verbindung mit zwei Homilien aus dem grossen Psalmenkommentar des Daniel von Salah, Giessen 1901 (with German tr.).

Studies: P. Cowe, Daniel of Salah as Commentator on the Psalter, SP 20, 1989, 152-159; L. Van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation", *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. The History of its Interpretation*, ed. M. Sæbo, Göttingen 1996, 612-641, 639-640; D.G.K. Taylor, "The Manuscript Tradition of Daniel of Salah's Psalm Commentary", *Symposium Syriacum VII*, 11-14 August 1996, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1998, 61-69.

THE SCHOOLS OF NISIBIS AND SELEUCIA-CTESIPHON IN THE 6TH CENTURY

A 16th-c. ms. from Seert hands down a collection of thirteen treatises under the overall title of *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy*, all, or nearly all, that remains of a literary genre quite widespread in the Nestorian schools between 500 and 700. *Explanations* or *causes* were theological discourses of some length, aimed at illustrating both "the reasons for a certain celebration, liturgical or other" (like the inauguration

of the annual courses in a particular school) “and the different aspects of the theological mystery underlying it” (Macomber, *Six Explanations*, CSCO 356 / *Syr. 156*, 1974, VI). Narsai at Nisibis seems to have been the initiator of this type of exposition, but it corresponded well enough to tones already present in the Edessene circles whence it came: enough to mention the single example of Jacob of Sarug’s insistence on the successive moments of God’s essentially educational work with man. Soon, at any rate, put down in writing, these *explanations* enjoyed a wide circulation in all the monasteries and schools of the Church of Persia. The fact of their being originally rooted in a liturgical context, the “economic” or salvation-historical rather than speculative orientation of the theological reflection they attested, the paraenetic tones, tending and exhorting to “virtue”, on which they closed, all led to them becoming the favourite way, through preaching, of admitting the theology of the school into the liturgy of the Churches, and hence of the education and intellectual formation, so to speak, of the Christian community.

In fact we have evidence of these works from texts by later authors, all of them directly or indirectly linked to the school of Nisibis from the time of its direction by Abraham of Beth Rabban (510-569/570) to the rather controversial direction of Henana of Adiabene (572-610), though some of them later taught at the school of Seleucia-Ctesiphon or other lesser schools. They include: Ishai, who wrote an *Explanation (of the Commemoration) of the Martyrs* based on the words of Mar Abraham of Beth Rabban; Mar Aba, catholicos of the Church of Persia between 540 and 552, but before that a teacher at Nisibis and then, towards the end of the 530s, restorer or founder of the school of the capital city of the Sasanid empire, Seleucia-Ctesiphon – we have nothing actually by him, but his discourses were remembered and reworked by his disciples, Thomas of Edessa and Cyrus, in writings that survive; Henana, a great controversial theologian of the Nisibene school in the years of the decisive fixing of the exegetical and dogmatic traditions of the Church of the East, which decided against him between the late 6th and early 7th centuries; and finally his disciple Barhadbeshabba ‘Arbaya, who between 585 and 596 celebrated the greatness of his teacher and of the school he directed, last of the schools willed and raised up by God to instruct men, from the time of creation throughout the whole of his “economy”. After some general bibliographical information, we will give brief notes on the works of these authors and on studies of them.

Studies: A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266 / Subs. 26, Louvain 1965; R. Macina, “L’homme à l’école de Dieu. D’Antioche à Nisibe: profil herméneutique, théologique et kérygmatic du mouvement scoliaste nestorien. Monographie programmatique”, *Proche Orient Chrétien* 32 (1982) 86-124, 263-301; 33 (1983) 39-103; cf. also the 1964 and 1974 studies of W.F. Macomber cited *infra*: c).

a) THOMAS OF EDESSA. Before 540, probably between 538 and 539, at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where he had followed Mar Aba who became “interpreter” of the school founded there (on whom cf. information and bibliography in the introduction to this section, supplemented by P. Peeters’ 1946 essay, “Observations sur la vie de Mar Aba, Catholicos de l’Église Perse (540-552)”, now in Idem, *Recherches d’histoire et de philologie orientales*, Brussels 1951, 117-163), he wrote an *Explanation of the Nativity* and an *Explanation of the Epiphany* (the latter still unedited) inspired by his master’s teachings. He died at Constantinople in c. 543, as Cosmas Indicopleustes tells us in his *Topographia Christiana*.

Editions: *Thomae Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate Domini nostri Christi*, ed. S.J. Carr, Romae 1898 (with Latin tr.).

Studies: P. Bettolo, “Scuola ed economia divina nella catechesi della chiesa di Persia – Appunti su un testo di Tommaso di Edessa († ca 542)”, *Esegesi e catechesi nei Padri (secc. IV-VII)*, ed. S. Felici, Rome 1994, 147-157.

b) ISHAI. A teacher at the school of Nisibis, then probably “interpreter”, or rector, of that of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, by appointment of Mar Aba; member of a Persian embassy, led by Paul of Nisibis, to the court of Justinian apparently between 546 and 547, he was an authoritative and esteemed churchman. Of him there remains a single *explanation*, on the commemoration of the martyrs.

Editions: “Išāi: Traité sur les martyrs”, *Traité d’Išāi le docteur et de Henana d’Adiabène*, ed. A. Scher, PO 7/1, Paris 1911, 15-52 (with French tr.).

c) CYRUS OF EDESSA. A disciple of Mar Aba at Nisibis together with Thomas of Edessa and then, like Thomas, with him at Seleucia-Ctesiphon; he seems to have been part of a group of translators who worked under Mar Aba’s direction, and in particular to have made the version of the *Liber Heraclidis*, containing the *Apologia* with which Nestorius in his years of exile had replied to the *Tomus ad Flavianum*, a version provided with a later anonymous introduction – a decisive text for the development of the Christological debate within the Church of Persia. After Thomas’s death, i.e. after about 543, he continued his work as a writer of *explanations* of the main feasts of the liturgical year, until 551, date of Mar Aba’s return from exile. He finally seems to have founded a theological school at al-Hira, where, according to some witnesses, he brought Mar Aba’s remains for permanent burial.

Editions: *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts by Cyrus of Edessa – An East Syrian Theologian of the Mid Sixth Century*, ed. W.F. Macomber, CSCO 355 / *Syr. 155* (English tr., CSCO 356 / *Syr. 156*), Louvain 1974.

Studies: W.F. Macomber, “The Theological Synthesis of Cyrus of Edessa, An East Syrian Theologian of the Mid Sixth Century”, *OCP* 30 (1964) 5-38, 363-384.

d) HENANA. *Enfant terrible* of the Church of Persia, one of whose greatest theologians he was: from 572, the year he became director of the school of Nisibis, Henana was a protagonist of the contemporary exegetical and theological debate, provoking bitter reactions against what were considered his innovations both on the level of Scriptural interpretation (he promoted an exegesis less “literalistic” than that of Theodore, based apparently on the writings of John Chrysostom) and on that of Christology, rejecting the properly Nestorian doctrine of the Son’s two hypostases. For this, in 596/597 a compact group of students, among them the future Catholicos Isho‘yabh III, abandoned the school. A more decisive factor was that his teaching met open hostility from the circles around Abraham the Great, who before June 571 had founded a monastery on Mount Izla, north-east of Nisibis, which soon became the heart of the revival of Nestorian monasticism. Here, in particular, worked Babai the Great, the major architect of the triumph of strictly Nestorian Christological views, formalized in an assembly of bishops held in 612. Manuscript tradition has preserved only two of Henana’s *explanations*, but we should not overlook the persistence of his influence, which would reach (it is maintained) authors like Martyrius Sakhona in the 7th century or Joseph Hazzaya in the 8th, nor the possibility of finding borrowed fragments of his OT exegeses in the works of later commentators.

Editions: “Henana d’Adiabène: Deux traités sur le Vendredi d’or et les Rogations”, *Traité d’Išai le docteur et de Henana d’Adiabène*, ed. A. Scher, PO 7/1, Paris 1911, 53-82 (with French tr.).

Studies: G.J. Reinink, “‘Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth’: the School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century”, *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*, ed. J.H.W. Drijvers, A.A. MacDonald, Leyden-New York-Cologne 1995, 77-89.

e) BARHADBESHABBA ‘ARBAYA. A disciple of Henana at Nisibis; between 585 and 596, year of the school’s grave crisis, produced by his master’s teaching, he wrote a discourse *On the Foundation of the Schools*, very useful, among other things, for understanding the traditional materials used by the Nestorian doctors for their exegetical work. The identification of this author with that of the *Ecclesiastical History*, on which cf. *supra*, Introduction 2, *Chronicles* 6, p. 416, remains uncertain.

Editions: Mar Barhadbeshabba ‘Arbaya, évêque de Halwan (VI^e siècle), *Cause de la fondation des écoles*, ed. A. Scher, PO 4/4, Paris 1908 (with French tr.).

BABAI THE GREAT

Babai is one of the central figures of the Church of the East in the 7th century. Born in a village of Beth Zabdai, he received his education at

the school of Nisibis, where he also taught before becoming a monk at the Great Monastery on Mount Izla. Called in 604 to become its hegumen, shortly afterwards he was unable to avoid a severe crisis in the community that led to the dispersal of part of the brethren (but this soon led to the foundation of various important monastic communities, including that of Beth Awē in the region of Marga, whose importance grew ceaselessly in the 7th century). Nevertheless his virtue and his doctrine allowed him to play a decisive role in maintaining orthodoxy and discipline in the whole Church of Persia, which in the 20 years between 609 and 628, partly due to the pressure at court of Gabriel of Singar, the king’s physician and favourite, an excommunicated Nestorian accepted among the Jacobites, remained without a catholicos. His vehement polemic against Henana and Justinian and his Christological construction, based on the mere union of *prosopon* in Christ between God and man, two natures and two distinct *qnume* (hypostases?); his learned commentary on the texts of Evagrius, undisputed witness and teacher of spiritual practice and knowledge in the monastic circles of the Church of Persia; his work reforming monasticism itself: all these make him truly the great churchman and Doctor of the Nestorian community in one of its most difficult periods and on the eve of yet profounder transformations, caused by the irruption of Islam into the region.

Editions: “Babai the Great: History of our Father and most Holy Mar Giwargis, Priest, Monk, Confessor and Martyr” (in Syriac), P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, des trois patriarches, d’un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens*, Paris 1895, 416-571 (Syriac text only; German tr. by O. Braun: Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, Kempten, 2nd ed., vol. 37, 221-277; French tr. of just the passages relating to the polemic against Henana: J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale ou recueil des synodes nestoriens*, Paris 1902, 625-634); “Babai the Great: Commentary on the Gnostic Centuries of Evagrius Ponticus”, W. Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus*, AKGWG n.s. XIII/2 (1912), 8-471 (with German tr.; on this commentary, cf. A. Guillaumont, *Les “Kephalaia Gnostica” d’Évagre le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens*, Paris 1962, 259-290); *Babai Magni Liber de Unione*, ed. A. Vaschalde (contains the treatise *De unione* properly so-called and, appended to it, a minor treatise: *Adversus eos qui dicunt: Quemadmodum anima et corpus sunt una hypostasis, ita Deus Verbum et homo sunt una hypostasis*), CSCO 79 / Syr. 34 (Latin tr., CSCO 80 / Syr. 35), Parisiis 1915 (anast. ed. of both volumes, Louvain 1953); “The Rules of Babai”, A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism*, Stockholm 1960, 176-184 (text of an Arabic version with English tr.).

Studies: P. Krüger, “Zum theologischen Menschenbild Babais des Grossen nach seinem noch unveröffentlichten Kommentar zu den beiden Sermones des Mönches Markus über ‘Das geistige Gesetz’”, *OrChr* 44 (1960) 46-74; Idem, “*Cognitio sapientiae*”. *Die Erkenntnis der Wahrheit nach den unveröffentlichten beiden Sermones Babais des Grossen über das Gesetz des Mönches Markus*, SP 5, 1962, 377-381; Idem, “Das Problem des Pelagianismus bei Babai dem Grossen”, *OrChr* 46 (1962) 77-86; Idem, “Das Geheimnis der Taufe in den Werken Babais des Grossen”,

OrChr 47 (1963) 98-110; L. Abramowski, "Die Christologie Babais des Grossen", *Symposium Syriacum* 1972, Rome 1974, 219-245; Idem, "Babai der Grosse: Christologische Probleme und ihre Lösungen", *OCP* 41 (1975) 289-343; A. Guillaumont "Le témoignage de Babai le Grand sur les messaliens", *Symposium Syriacum* 1976, Rome 1978, 257-265; G. Chediath, *The Christology of Mar Babai the Great*, Kottayam 1982.

ISHO'YABH II AND ISHO'YABH III, CATHOLICOI OF THE CHURCH OF PERSIA

Isho'yabh († 646) was born at Gdala, not far from Mosul, in Bet Aramaye, in the second half of the 6th century. Like many, he studied at Nisibis, at the time when Henana was directing the school there. Averse to Henana's teaching, in protest he left the city with many other students in 596/597 and found a welcome at Balad, where Bishop Mark made him head of a school founded at that time. On Mark's death, Isho'yabh succeeded him and in 628 he was a candidate for the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, vacant since 609. As catholicos, in 630 he found himself leading a Persian embassy called to negotiate peace with the victorious Byzantine emperor Heraclius. During his stay with Heraclius, the chronicles narrate that the emperor interrogated him about the faith of the Church of the East, and his replies were recognized by the patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius, present at the meeting, as wholly concordant with the faith of the Greek Church, so much that the emperor "asked him to celebrate mass so that he could receive communion from his hands". The episode aroused strong protests in the Church of Persia, partly because of the omission from the diptychs, read during the liturgy, of the names of Diodore, Theodore and Nestorius, which the catholicos had complied with. Similar perplexities, it must be added, were aroused by other traits of Isho'yabh's teaching, such as his interpretation of the writings of Gregory Nazianzen. Yet it must be observed that he was not alone on this embassy. Among the bishops who accompanied him was another Isho'yabh, bishop of Nineveh, destined to succeed him and particularly intransigent in his orthodoxy, of whom we have some letters full of praise for the catholicos's conduct in these circumstances.

Tensions, whether theological, exegetical or linked to ecclesiastical discipline, thus resurfaced in the Church of the East, and a surviving letter of Isho'yabh himself is good evidence of this. Ample trace of these tensions appears some years later in the activity of Isho'yabh III, the Great († 659), who had accompanied his predecessor to Heraclius in 630. He was born c. 580 in a village of Adiabene, to a great landowner, a friend of that Jacob († 628), a monk in Abraham's Great Monastery on Mount Izla who, expelled from there, had founded a monastery at

Bet Awē in the region of Marga, towards the end of the first decade of the 7th century, which quickly became one of the major ecclesiastical centres of the region and the whole Church of the East. Here, returning from Nisibis, Isho'yabh became a monk and here he became firm friends with another monk close to Jacob, whom he was later to oppose, Martyrius. Becoming bishop of Nineveh in 627/628, metropolitan of Adiabene a decade later and finally catholicos of the Church of Persia from 649, Isho'yabh developed a vast, energetic reforming activity, on which his letters also provide information: he revised and perfected the liturgical cycle; reorganized the celebration of the *memoria* of the saints; paid minute attention to ecclesiastical discipline and rites; and governed the Church intelligently at a difficult time, marked by uncertain relations with the new Arab rulers and a more intense struggle with the Jacobites and heresy, one of whose major aspects was the clash with Martyrius (see *infra*).

Editions: L. Sako, *Lettre christologique du Patriarche syro-oriental Isho'yabh II de Gdala (628-646)*, Rome 1983 (crit. ed., French tr. and study); Iso'yabh Patriarchae III, *Liber Epistularum*, ed. R. Duval, CSCO 11 / Syr. 11, Paris 1904 (Latin tr., CSCO 12 / Syr. 12, Paris 1905 – anast. ed. of both volumes, Louvain 1962).

Studies: L. Sako, "Ishoyabh II's Syro-Oriental Terminology and its Significance", *Christian Orient* 5 (1984) 134-141; J.-M. Fiey, "Isho'yaw le Grand. Vie du Catholicos nestorien Isho'yaw III d'Adiabène (580-659)", *OCP* 35 (1969) 305-333; 36 (1970) 5-46.

MARTYRIUS SAHDONA

Martyrius represents an "ascetic spirituality", "far from mysticism, whether Evagrian or Macarian" (A. De Halleux, "Un chapitre retrouvé...", 258), expressed in an important original work which, rather, preserves traces of pseudepigraphical New Testament literature, the *Expositions* of Aphrahat and non-surviving monastic writings, and is centred on a confession of faith expressed in "biblical terms and in a balanced way, outside any dogmatic precision" (ibid. 259). Born at Halmon in Bet Nuhadra, he became a monk at Bet Awē, probably between 615 and 620. He was very close to Jacob, the monastery's founder, and pronounced the funeral eulogy at his death (628). Consecrated bishop of Mahoze d'Arewan in Bet Garmai between 635 and 640, partly on the recommendation of his friend and admirer Isho'yabh, then metropolitan of Adiabene, Martyrius drew down the latter's wrath for "the foolish error of the one hypostasis" in Christ, professed by him in his *Book of Perfection*, composed in his youth, at the age of 28, as he repeats several times, contradicting the Nestorian formulae, of two hypostases in Christ, that had prevailed in the Church of Persia since the episcopal assembly of 612. In reality, as we observed above, in Martyrius' case this was

not a "heretical" development of the contemporary Christological debate, reopened at Nisibis in those years by a disciple of Henana, Isaiah of Tahal, but the restatement of a wholly traditional formulation of the dogma, with little interest in or care for the reasons and terms of an ever more "scholastic" controversy. From the early 640s, however, Isho'yabh, becoming aware of the work, strongly opposed his friend, finally obtaining his deposition from the see of Mahoze and exile, apparently at Edessa.

Editions: Martyrius (Sahdona), *Oeuvres spirituelles*, ed. A. De Halleux, CSCO 200; 214; 252; 254 / Syr. 86, 90, 110, 112 (French tr., CSCO 201; 215; 253; 255 / Syr. 87, 91, 111, 113), Louvain 1960, 1961, 1965 and 1965 (the first three tomes contain the *Book of Perfection*; the fourth, the books of *Letters to Solitary Friends* and *Spiritual Maxims*); S. Brock, "A Further Fragment of the Sinai Sahdona Manuscript", *Muséon* 81 (1969) 139-154; A. De Halleux, "Un chapitre retrouvé du Livre de la perfection de Martyrius", *Muséon* 88 (1975) 253-296 (with French tr.).

Studies: General introduction: L. Leloir, "Martyrius", *DSp* 10 (1980) 737-742. A. De Halleux, "La christologie de Martyrios-Sahdona dans l'évolution du nestorianisme", *OCP* 23 (1957) 5-32; Idem, "Martyrios-Sahdona. La vie mouvementée d'un 'hérétique' de l'Église nestorienne", *OCP* 24 (1958) 93-128; L. Wehbé, "Textes bibliques dans les écrits de Martyrios-Sahdona", *Melto* 5 (1969) 61-112.

NESTORIAN MONASTICISM

The second half of the 6th century was certainly the period of the revival of Nestorian monasticism, boosted by personalities like Abraham the Great or Abraham of Nathpar. Yet it seems that many themes and many experiences were being stated in the writings and lives of monks of the beginning of the next century, in years when many texts and tracts of earlier Greek and Syrian generations were being recovered and harmonized, texts not just exclusively monastic but in which, at many levels and sometimes in continuity with minor or marginalized traditions, diverging routes took shape, often intersecting and conflicting with former ones.

Whoever reads, e.g., the first sections of the work by Thomas of Marga, a monk at Bet Awē in the Marga region and then metropolitan of Bet Garmai in the 9th century, on the history of the monastery he grew up in, describing the events that led to its foundation by Jacob († 628), previously a monk at the Great Monastery built by Abraham on the Holy Mountain, cannot fail to perceive a tension on which it is useful to insist.

Thomas relates that what caused Jacob's departure from the Mount Izla community was a crisis resolved too precipitately and harshly by Babai the Great at a time when he had recently become the monastery's hegumen, i.e., it seems, in the years immediately after 604. At that time,

in connection with the scandalous conduct of some brothers, there was a clash in the community between zeal and meekness, the determination to eradicate impiety from the Lord's house and the humility of one who knows no other sin than his own nor believes that he has to correct anyone. Jacob, who was found to be mutely upholding this latter line of conduct, was immediately censured and expelled from the monastery, and even some Elders, who defended his cause, gradually abandoned him afterwards. But tension, if not opposition, between "zeal for truth" and "charity that covers sins" was nothing new: it seems to recapitulate the reasons for the difficult cohabitation of the just and the perfect in the one Church, as the *Liber graduum* described; to restate the oscillation between *akribia* and *philanthropia* in the Christological controversies, at which the Syrian Philoxenus, among others, was adept; to foreshadow the tones of Isaac, his paradoxical claim, which would arouse dissent and opposition: "Mercy and justice in one soul are like a man who worships God and idols in the same house". Indeed, while a similar insistence on charity was well prepared by the sayings of Macarius the Egyptian, by Evagrius' exaltation of meekness and humility, by the tones of the pseudo-Macarian literature, whose contacts with Syrian circles are certain – sources all well known and used by Thomas of Marga –, on the other hand ardent militancy and intransigence in doctrine and conduct are certainly not ignored in monastic texts – and the story, told by Babai, of Mar George, "monk, priest, confessor and martyr", crucified in 615, is a wonderful and entirely pertinent example of this.

Babai became a decisive author for later Nestorian monastic tradition, partly because of his learned commentary on the *Centuries* of Evagrius, an author almost universally dear to the Christians and monks of Syria, which he thoroughly integrated into the theology and Christology of the Church of the East, of which he was one of the greatest guardians, one of the most decisive interpreters, especially concerning their rigorously Nestorian recapitulation against Henana, as we have seen. Yet stirrings of less divisive Antiochene Christologies would remain or resurface in the schools and monasteries of that Church, in connection with the "mingling" of man and God in spiritual experience and the *eschaton* of which it allowed a glimpse, based on the "mingling" that had taken place in Christ: for this, such as John of Dalyatha and Joseph Hazzaya would be accused of Messalianism.

But this was not just a recapitulation of the Christological dogma closest, in individual authors, to that of Theodore or John Chrysostom, or of an Evagrius caught in those expressions of his that most insist on the union between Creator and creature. Perhaps, in some circles, it also reflects the presence – more submerged or at least less evident to

us, overwhelmed as it is by the prevalence of "Greek" sources, but no less extensive for that – of different texts. When Isho'yabh III, even before becoming catholicos, reacted, on the basis of Babai the Great's orthodoxy, to the Christological ideas of a Martyrius-Sahdona, who like him had been at Bet Awē, who had even been his friend, he found in him, as we have noted, a writing free from Evagrian echoes, reflecting rather the *Demonstrations* of Aphrahat, rich in the references and allusions to Scripture so infrequent in authors such as Isaac; indebted also to authors like the surprising, anonymous, otherwise unknown creed, "Teacher of Charity", which sings the potency of the harmony / union of brothers, almost another God to God – though meditation on charity leads many, whether an Isaac or a Joseph Hazzaya, to emotion, almost to exaltation.

So then, different routes, emergence of different memories, now polarized and distanced, now converging and interweaving; now kindling conflict and migration, now producing community and communion. Of these routes the authors mentioned below, all in some way close in their interpretations, almost even predilections (e.g. the solitary life strictly understood), are valuable witnesses, often still little studied, in their interweaving with the ecclesial and political events of their time, in their relationship with the nascent and soon to be victorious Islam.

Studies: A recent general introduction to Nestorian monasticism in the 7th and 8th centuries is in R. Beulay, *La lumière sans forme. Introduction à la mystique chrétienne syro-orientale*, Chevetogne s.d. [1987]. Among earlier sources on these monks and authors, see especially, for Thomas of Marga's work cited above, E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas of Marga*, 2 voll. (1 Syriac text; 2, English tr.), London 1893; or P. Bedjan, "Liber Superiorum seu historia monasteriorum auctore Thomas episcopo Margensi", *Liber Superiorum seu historia monastica*, Paris-Leipzig 1901, 1-436 (on Thomas himself cf. J.-M. Fiey, "Thomas de Marga. Notule de littérature syriaque", *Muséon* 78 [1965] 361-366); for the more or less contemporary *Liber castitatis* of Isho'denah of Basra, or Bassora, in southern Iraq (second half of 9th century; his work seems to have been composed between 860 and 870: cf. J.-M. Fiey, "Isho'denah, métropole de Basra, et son oeuvre", *OrSyr* 11 [1966] 431-450), see J.-B. Chabot, "Le Livre de la Chasteté composé par Jesusdenah, Évêque de Baçrah", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 16, Rome 1896, 225-291 (with French tr.); or P. Bedjan, "Liber fundatorum monasteriorum in regno Persarum et Arabum", *Liber Superiorum seu historia monastica...* cit., 437-517.

1. Minor monastic authors

Before passing on to the more important monks, we will give a brief list of minor monastic authors, or presumed such, with a minimum of bibliographical information.

1) *Abraham of Nathpar* (second half of 6th century). Numerous works of his remain, but many of them have been quite wrongly attributed to him: cf. A. Penna, "Abramo di Nathpar", *Rivista degli*

Studi Orientali 32 (1957) 415-431; R. Tonneau, "Abraham de Natpar", *OrSyr* 4 (1957) 337-350.

2) *Abraham of Kashkar*, the Great († 588). Founder, before June 571, of a monastery on Mount Izla; the rules he drew up are in A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism*, Stockholm 1960, 150-162.

3) *Dadisho'*. A native of Bet Aramaye, he was Abraham's successor as head of the Mount Izla community from 588 to 604; he drew up rules, dated January 588, i.e. the very moment of his assumption of the direction of the monastery: cf. A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents...* cit., 163-175.

4) *Babai of Nisibis* (early 7th century). Founder of a "small" monastery on Mount Izla, not far from the "great" one of Abraham, whose disciple he was; among other things we have his letter to Cyriacus, edited by S. Brock in *Malpanuta d-abahata suryaye d-'al slota*, Monastery of St Ephrem (Holland) 1988, 93-114 (English tr. by S. Brock: *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, Kalamazoo [MI] 1989, 138-162; on its attribution to Babai of Nisibis, cf. Isaac of Nineveh [Isaac the Syrian], "The Second Part", *Chapters IV-XLI*, ed. S. Brock, CSCO 555 / Syr. 225, Lovanii 1995, xx-xxi).

5) *Gregory of Cyprus*. A contemporary of Henana of Adiabene, against whom he wrote polemics, and of Babai the Great, whose friend he may have been, he was certainly a major author, of vast learning, little studied: cf. I. Hausherr, *Gregorii monachi Cyprii de theoria sancta, quae syriace interpretata dicitur visio divina*, Rome 1937 (contains an extensive study, as well as the edition of Gregory's seventh treatise, on holy contemplation, with Latin version); and J. Kirchmeyer, "Grégoire de Chypre", *DSp* 6 (1967) 920-922.

6) *Shubhalmaran* (early 7th century). Author of many ascetic and polemical writings, particularly against Gabriel of Singar, the powerful physician and adviser of Chosroes II († 628) who, from a Nestorian, became a Jacobite; one book remains, whose edition is being prepared for CSCO by D.J. Lane, and of which only single, detached pages have so far been published: cf. F. Nau, "À propos d'un feuillet d'un manuscrit arabe", *Muséon* 43 (1930) 85-116; G. Troupeau, "Une page retrouvée du 'Livre des Parties' de Subhalmaran", *Symposium Syriacum* 1976, Rome 1978, 57-61; and S. Brock, the Appendix, "Mingana Syriac Fragments from Sinai", to "Mingana Syriac 628: A Folio from a Revision of the Peshitta Song of Songs", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 40 (1995) 51-53; on the book and its author cf. D.J. Lane, "Mar Shubhalmaran's Book of Gifts as an Example of a Syriac Literary Genre", *IV Symposium Syriacum* 1984, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 411-417; Idem, "A Nestorian Creed: The Creed of

Shubhalmaran”, *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1990, 155-162; Idem, “Admonition and Analogy: 13 Chapters from Shubhalmaran”, *Aram* 5 (1993) 277-284.

7) ‘*Enanisho*’ of Bet Qoqa in Adiabene (7th century). One letter remains, unedited, on which cf. R. Beulay, *Lumière sans forme...* cit., 211.

8) *John bar Penkaye* (second half of 7th century). Cf. the note to his chronicle, the *Rish Melle*, *supra*, Introduction, 2, *Chronicles*, 9, p. 417.

9) ‘*Enanisho*’. Native of Adiabene, a monk, with his brother, at the Great Monastery and then, after a journey to Jerusalem and Scete in Egypt, at Bet Awē, he collaborated with Isho‘yabh III and then, at the request of George, catholicos from 661 to 680/681, wrote a *Paradise of the Fathers* in which he brought together the *Historia lausiaca*, the *Historia monastica* and the collections of sayings and lives of the desert Fathers, edited, not excellently, by E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Paradise, Being the Histories and Sayings of the Monks and Ascetics of the Egyptian Desert by Palladius, Hieronymus and Others. The Syriac Texts According to the Recension of ‘Anan-Isho’ of Beth ‘Abhe*, 2 voll. (1, text; 2, English tr.), London 1904; the crit. ed. of just the *Historia lausiaca* is in *Les formes syriaques de la matière de l’Histoire lausiaque*, ed. R. Draguet, CSCO 389; 398 / Syr. 169; 173 (French tr., CSCO 390; 399 / Syr. 170; 174), Louvain 1978.

10) *Abraham bar Dashandad* (second half of 8th century). At the school of Bashosh, in Adiabene, he taught, among others, the future catholicos Timothy I (consecrated 780) and Isho‘ bar Nun (consecrated 823); there remain a letter to his brother and some counsels, edited in A. Mingana, *Early Christian Mystics – Woodbrooke Studies* 7, Cambridge 1934, text: 248-255; English tr.: 186-197 – according to Mingana, in these pages Abraham cites, anonymously, a text of Simon of Taibutheh.

11) *Nestorius of Nuhadra*. A monk at the monastery of Mar Yozadaq, where John of Dalyatha had taken the habit, he wrote a life of Joseph Hazzaya; in 790, before being consecrated bishop, he had to abjure his “Messalian” errors before Timothy I, who had condemned, among others, John and Joseph (cf. O. Braun, “Zwei Synoden des Katholikos Timotheos I”, *OrChr* 2 [1902] 302-309; text: 304-308); a letter of his survives, unedited, on whose content cf. R. Beulay, *Lumière sans forme...* cit., 217-223.

12) *Berikhisho*’ (late 8th to early 9th century). A monk at the monastery of Kamul, he has left a work in seven tomes, unedited, on which cf. A. Rucker, “Aus dem mystischen Schrifttum nestorianischen Mönche des 6.-8. Jahrhunderts”, *Morgenland. Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* 28 (1936) 38-54, 41-42; on the closeness of his teaching to that of Joseph Hazzaya cf. R. Beulay, *Lumière sans forme...* cit., 223-225.

2. *Dadisho’ Qatraya*

A native of Bet Qatraye, or Qatar, the region facing the Persian Gulf along the north-east coast of the Arabian peninsula, he was a monk and then a “recluse”, as we gather from his own writings, Among the best in Syriac literature for quality, erudition and style, these were composed now in the monastery of Rabkennare, now in that of the Holy Apostles, on which we have no other information, but hypothetically situated on the mountains of Bet Huzaye or Khuzistan. Here he certainly lived for a time in the monastery that Rabban Shabur, born in a village of that region between the towns of al-Ahwaz and Shushtar, had founded near Shushtar probably in the second quarter of the 7th century and where, venerated for his sanctity, he had been visited by Catholicos Isho‘yabh III in the 650s. When Dadisho’ wrote his major work, a commentary on the discourses of Abba Isaiah, Rabban Shabur was certainly dead, but perhaps not long dead, given the various episodes concerning him recorded in the work, which are best explained by personal memory of him, close to his time – though we cannot be sure whether the knowledge was that of Dadisho’ himself or of his informant. At any rate, the way he mentions Babai the Great in some of his other works is such as to suggest that he was considered an author not far off in time, though of a decidedly earlier generation, so we may reasonably suppose that Dadisho’ worked in the third quarter of the 7th century.

A passionate advocate of the solitary life in the strict sense, at a time when it seems to have been little appreciated, as the slightly later evidence of Isaac of Nineveh confirms, Dadisho’ also defends a monastic, “spiritual” reading of Scripture, which diverges from the “historical”, strictly Antiochene, reading of the schools and from the “homiletic” reading, of which the *Causes* or *Explanations* of the liturgical feasts examined above are probably an example. The terms of his meditation, which was developed especially in commenting on the writings of the monastic tradition (he also wrote a commentary on ‘Enanisho’s recently produced *Paradise of the Fathers*), are heavily Evagriian, and sober.

Editions: Dadisho’ Qatraya, “Treatise on the Solitude of the Seven Weeks”, in A. Mingana, *Early Christian Mystics – Woodbrooke Studies* 7, Cambridge 1934, 201-247 (English tr.: 76-143 – as well as the Treatise, the edition contains a series of short opuscula or extracts from further writings); Dadisho’ Qatraya (VII^c s.), *Commentaire du livre d’Abba Isaïe. Logoi I-XV*, ed. R. Draguet, CSCO 326 / Syr. 144 (French tr., CSCO 327 / Syr. 145), Louvain 1972; N. Sims-Williams, “A Sogdian Fragment of a Work of Dadisho’ Qatraya”, *Asia Major* 18 (1973) 88-105; A. Guillaumont, M. Albert, “Lettre de Dadisho Qatraya à Abkosh sur l’hésychia”, *Cahiers d’Orientalisme X – Mémorial A.-J. Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey, Geneva 1984, 235-245.

Studies: A. Scher, “Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Dadisho Qatraya”, *Journal Asiatique* 7 (1906) 103-118; P. Bettiolo, “Esegesi e purezza di cuore. La testimonianza

di Dadisho' Qatraya (VII sec.), nestoriano e solitario", *Annali di storia dell' esegesi* 3 (1986) 201-213; N. Sims-Williams, "Dadisho' Qatraya's Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers", *AB* 112 (1994) 33-64.

3. *Isaac of Nineveh*

Our scanty information on Isaac calls him a native, like Dadisho', of Qatar and a kinsman of a famous exegete of the school of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, Gabriel, active probably in the first half of the 7th century (on whom cf. A. De Halleux, "Gabriel Qatraya", *DHGE* 19 [1981] 563-564). Here, a monk and Doctor, according to one source, he was noticed and taken to Bet Aramaye by George, catholicos of the Church of Persia from 661 to 680/681, during a journey he made to Bet Qatraye in late spring 676 to resolve a schism that had involved the Churches of the region.

Consecrated bishop of Nineveh soon afterwards, just five months later Isaac abandoned his see with the consent of the catholicos, to lead a solitary life. He chose to go to Bet Huzaye and dwelt long years in its mountainous areas, perhaps on Mount Matut, before residing in a monastery close to the city of Shustar, founded by Rabban Shabur who lived until the 650s. Here, an old man, he died and was buried.

A celebrator of solitude and quiet, which, if patiently guarded, permit the silencing of passions and thoughts and the rapid reawakening of the soul's "natural" motions, limpid and good, upheld by meditation on Scripture and the act of frequent genuflection/prostration before the cross, Isaac insists on the comfort which the solitary life, witness of the wholly Christian "great hope" of resurrection, brings to believers, the confusion into which it throws unbelievers, held fast in the bitter gloom of their despair. The solitary life is a life of "emptying", an emptying that conforms to that of Christ (Phil 2, 7); sustained by his charity, it burns up the monk, the believer, giving him discernment of everything, merciful and silent activity, the spiritual silence of knowledge in which for a while he tastes a little of the power of the kingdom – and of this power, of the fire of its love, which burns man's heart and devours all his members, corporeal and psychical, Isaac is one of the acutest and surest witnesses. His many writings, which have reached us distributed into two or three distinct sections, attest his wealth of interpretations.

Editions: Mar Isaacus Ninivita, *De Perfectione Religiosa*, ed. P. Bedjan, Paris-Leipzig 1909 (text only; comprises 82 opuscula, forming the "First Part" of Isaac's writings; English tr.: A.J. Wensinck, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh*, Amsterdam 1923, anast. ed. Wiesbaden 1969; Italian tr. of *Discourses* 1-38 in Isacco di Ninive, *Discorsi ascetici* 1, ed. M. Gallo, P. Bettiolo, Rome 1984); Isaac of Nineveh (Isaac the Syrian), "The Second Part", *Chapters IV-XLI*, ed. S. Brock, CSCO 554 / Syr. 224 (English tr., CSCO 555 / Syr. 225), Lovanii 1995.

Translations: An Italian tr. of the long second section of the "Second Part" of Isaac of Nineveh's discourses, still unedited, is in Isacco di Ninive, *Discorsi spirituali e altri opuscoli*, ed. P. Bettiolo, Magnano (BI) 1990 (besides the four centuries of the *Chapters on Knowledge*, the volume contains a tr. of sections 4, 5, 32, 35, 39 of the "Second Part", edited by Brock, to which is added a short opusculum *On Creation and God* taken from a "Third Part" of Isaac's writings, handed down by a ms. of the Issayi collection in Teheran and not yet studied in its relation to the two previous collections).

Studies: E. Khalifé-Hachem, "Isaac le Syrien", *DSp* 7 (1971) 2041-2054 (to be corrected and supplemented on some points; it offers an overall view, with information on the ancient, medieval and humanist versions and editions of Isaac's writings); S. Brock, "St. Isaac of Nineveh and Syriac Spirituality", *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 7/2, 79-89 (now in Idem, *Studies in Syriac Spirituality*, Poona 1988, 99-108); Idem, "St. Isaac of Nineveh: Some Newly-Discovered Works", *Sobornost/Eastern Churches Review* 8/1 (1986) 28-33 (now in Idem, *Studies... cit.*, 109-113); Idem, "St. Isaac of Nineveh (St. Isaac the Syrian)", *Studies... cit.*, 114-124; Idem, "Maggnanuta: A Technical Term in East Syrian Spirituality and its Background", *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Geneva 1988, 121-129 (turning on the use of the term in the writings of Isaac and other 7th/8th-century monks: judged innovative, its "prehistory" is traced in texts of Scripture, liturgy and authors of previous generations); P. Bettiolo, " 'Avec la charité comme but' : Dieu et création dans la méditation d'Isaac de Ninive", *Irénikon* 63 (1990) 323-345; S. Brock, "Some Uses of the Term Theoria in the Writings of Isaac of Nineveh", *PdO* 20 (1995) 407-419; H.M. Hunt, *The Soul's Sorrow in Syrian Patristic Thought*, SP 33, 1997, 530-533 (brief, acute contribution devoted, despite the title, just to Isaac of Nineveh); P. Bettiolo, " 'Prigionieri dello Spirito'. Libertà creaturale ed 'eschaton' in Isacco di Ninive", *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 4 (1999) 343-363. Cf. *supra*, GREEK LITERATURE OF SYRIA, pp. 225-228.

4. *Simon of Taibutheh*

We have only minimal information about Simon of Taibutha or Taibutheh, "called Luke, disciple of Rabban Shabur, Huzite", a monk and one of the best physicians of his generation (hence perhaps the nickname Luke). We know, e.g., that he was the author of various works, medical and spiritual, including a lost *Life of Mar Gani*, a discourse on the cell, various minor opuscula and/or extracts, surviving in a single codex, including a tasteful and instructive episode relating to Rabban Shabur, and finally a *Book of Grace* (grace in Syriac is *taibutha*, so he may have been called Simon "of grace" from the book he wrote and by which he was known), in seven centuries, which recounts memories of monks and hermits who had lived and still lived on Mount Matut. Since Mar Gani, whose life he seems to have told, received the monastic habit from Abraham of Kashkar, called the Great († 588), on Mount Izla and then founded a monastery near Kashkar itself, in southern Babylonia; since Rabban Shabur must have lived in Bet Huzaye at least until the 650s; and since Mount Matut, where Isaac of Nineveh lived soon after 676 before going down to the monastery of Rabban Shabur, is in that

same region, where was also the city of Bet Lapat or Gondisapor, then famous for its schools of medicine and theology, both subject to the jurisdiction of the local bishop: all these allow us to place Simon in the last third of the 7th century, in Bet Huzaye, in circles very close to those that gathered around Rabban Shabur or, more precisely, around the monastery he had founded.

A learned monk, like others of his generation (he commented on Pseudo-Dionysius, he knew Evagrius, Mark, Isaiah, Macarius and Basil), he insisted particularly on the teaching of the “good of the soul”, poverty and “idioteia”, which alone give believers that “living and intelligible” light which is the light of the humility, meekness and freedom of Christ and of his kingdom, which comes of itself, “not through observances”. The cross of Jesus, cross of ignominy and glory, is in fact the sole “justice of all”, “salvation of all”, nor does the Christian have any other “work” than that of believing this.

Editions: A. Mingana, *Early Christian Mystics – Woodbrooke Studies 7*, Cambridge 1934, 282-320 (English tr.: 10-69 – contains a series of opuscula and extracts from a Book by Simon, which forms section XXXII of a Syriac *Recueil d'Auteurs ascétiques nestoriens du VII^e et VIII^e siècle*, as J.-M. Vosté, in a study appearing under that title in *Angelicum* 6 [1929] 143-206, designates the ms. of 1289, from a copy of which Mingana took the material he published; an Italian tr., including the version of a further unedited section [X] of the collection indicated above, containing a *Discourse Spoken on the Day of the Consecration of a Cell* by Simon, is in Simone di Taibuteh, *Violenza e grazia – La coltura del cuore*, ed. P. Bettolo, Rome 1992).

Studies: G. Bunge, “Mar Isaak von Ninive und sein ‘Buch der Gnade’ ”, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 34/1 (1985) 3-22 (relating to an unedited text which manuscript tradition attributes to Isaac of Nineveh, but which must be returned to Simon, as demonstrated by D. Miller in his introduction to the *Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian*, Boston [MA] 1984, LXXXI-LXXXV, and by the following study); P. Bettolo, “Povertà e conoscenza. Appunti sulle Centurie gnostiche della tradizione evagriana in Siria”, *PdO* 15 (1988-1989) 107-125.

5. John of Dalyatha

John came from northern Bet Nuhadra, the region that coincides with the Nineveh plain, between the Mesopotamian steppe and the mountains of Qardu. In early youth he frequented the monastery, some 20 kilometres from his village, that Mar Afnimaran had founded in the 7th century after abandoning Bet Awē due to an accusation of “Messalianism”, and in which one of his disciples, Maran Zeka, bishop of Hedatta after 741, still lived. John later took the monastic habit in the more distant monastery of Mar Yuzadaq, in Qardu, founded at the time of the catholicos and patriarch Isho‘yabh II (628-645); soon after John’s death, in 790, its monks were caught up in an accusation of “Messalianism”. His teacher here was another disciple of Mar Afnimaran, blessed Stephen, while his

spiritual father was Jacob the Seer, a novice at Bet Awē from 647 to 648 who had then fled that monastery because of the brothers’ “jealousy”. These dates allow us to place John’s novitiate in the first years or decades of the 8th century, in circles perhaps not wholly conformed to the stricter orthodoxy of the Church of Persia. After a period of common life, John retired to the mountain of Bet Dalyatha, probably beyond Qardu, between the mountains that rise to the east and north-east of that region. Here he composed at least part of his works, before old age forced him to return to Qardu, where he died at an advanced age, surrounded by various disciples, in the monastery of Jacob Abila (the monk), which they had rebuilt.

Accused by Timothy I in 786/787 or 790, in a synod to which we will return (see p. 486), of theological and Christological errors (in a homily *On the Contemplation of the Holy Trinity*, it was said, he had upheld Sabellian ideas by speaking of the Son and the Spirit as Powers of the Father, and elsewhere too he had accused of “delirium” those who denied to the nature of the assumed man the vision of the nature of Him who had assumed him), John in fact developed a careful meditation on the divine “glory”, distinct from His essence, which allowed him to “force” the narrower interpretations of the dogmatic tradition of his Church – as formalized in its later pronouncements, which aimed to exclude any transcendence by the creature, even the man Jesus, of creaturely limits – while respecting its letter and requirements. A man of “ardent desires”, he has a style that favours the liveliness and tenderness of the affections and experiences he brings to expression, yet indebted to the teaching of the Macarian or Evagrian texts, long meditated, which he interprets in an original way.

Editions: B.E. Colless, *The Mysticism of John Saba*, Melbourne 1969 (thesis containing an edition, with English tr., of John of Dalyatha’s *Homilies*); R. Beulay, *La collection des Lettres de Jean de Dalyatha*, PO 39/3, Turnhout 1978 (with French tr.).

Studies: General introduction: R. Beulay, “Jean de Dalyatha”, *DSP* 8 (1974) 449-452. B.E. Colless, “Le mystère de Jean Saba”, *OrSyr* 8 (1963) 87-106; R. Beulay, “Jean de Dalyatha et sa Lettre XV”, *PdO* 2 (1971) 261-279; B.E. Colless, “The Biographies of John Saba”, *PdO* 3 (1972) 45-63; Idem, “The Mysticism of John Saba”, *OCP* 39 (1973) 83-102; R. Beulay, “Précisions touchant l’identité et la biographie de Jean Saba de Dalyatha”, *PdO* 8 (1977-1978) 87-116; Idem, *L’enseignement spirituel de Jean de Dalyatha, mystique syrien-oriental du VIII^e siècle*, Paris 1990.

6. Joseph Hazzaya

Joseph was of Persian origin, a Mazdean, son of a “magus” who had become “head of magi”, i.e. in charge of the clergy in a great temple. A native of the city of Nimrod, probably on the Tigris, south of Mosul, aged seven he was captured by the troops of Caliph ‘Umar II (717-720), who had suppressed an insurrection of its inhabitants – which allows

us to place Joseph's birth between about 710 and 713. Sold as a slave first to an Arab and then to a Christian of Qardu, and impressed by the life led by the monks of the monastery of Mar John of Kamul near which he was living, he chose baptism. For his zeal, his master enfranchised him and he became a monk at the monastery of Abba Sliwa in Bet Nuhadra. Retiring later to Qardu to live a solitary life, he was then made hegumen of the monastery of Mar Basima there, which he left for a new retreat, this time in Adiabene, on Mount Sinai, between the Great and Little Zab. Put once more at the head of a monastery, that of Rabban Bokhtisho', near the place of his hermitage, he held this position perhaps until his death at an advanced age. The uncertainty depends on the ambiguity of a notice of the condemnation of him and other monks slightly earlier than himself at the synod that met in 786/787 or 790 under the presidency of Catholicos Timothy I (779-823). It seems that he was removed from his monastery at this time, and this seems confirmed by the fact that he was not buried there, but in that of Mar Athqen.

Joseph was the author of numerous works, part of which he wrote under the name of 'Abdisho', assumed by a brother of his after conversion and entry into monastic life. Little of this has survived, however, and still less is edited. Despite this there is enough evidence to show Joseph as a writer capable of working out a vast, clear synthesis of the themes, thoughts and experiences put forward by earlier authors and monks, though this clear systematic preoccupation, oriented mainly on Evagrian teaching, does not replace or attenuate the effectiveness of his proof of the spiritual conduct of which he writes.

General introduction: R. Beulay, "Joseph Hazzaya", *DSp* 8 (1974) 1341-1349; Rabban Jausep Hazzaya, *Briefe über das geistlichen Leben und verwandte Schriften*, with Introduction and tr. by G. Bunge, Trier 1982 (contains a general introduction to the author and an annotated translation of some of his important writings, still unedited, with good information on their manuscript tradition).

Editions: Joseph Hazzaya, *Writings*, in A. Mingana, *Early Christian Mystics – Woodbrooke Studies* 7, Cambridge 1934, 256-281 (English tr.: 148-184; comprises a "fifth letter" of Joseph, 256-260 [text], 178-184 [tr.], of which a longer, but still partial, version has been edited and translated into French by E. Khalifé-Hachem in "Deux textes du Pseudo-Nil identifiés", *Melto* 5 [1969] 17-59, here 24 ff., from a ms. of far from excellent quality – so G. Bunge in *Briefe...* cit., p. 65, no. 91, who gives a German tr. of it, on the basis of the whole manuscript tradition, on pp. 239-259 [nos. 260-262]; two chapters, perhaps, of a work *On Spiritual Contemplation*, 262-272 [text] 148-162 [tr.] [German tr. in *Briefe...* cit., 263-268, 269-287]; an opusculum on the motions produced in the intellect at the moment of prayer, 272-274 [text], 163-165 [tr.] [German tr. in *Briefe...* cit., 289-294]; and a further letter, the second of the two later edited by Beulay in the appendix to the letters of John of Dalyatha); Joseph Hazzaya, *Two letters*, in R. Beulay, *La collection des lettres de Jean de Dalyatha*, PO 39/3, Turnhout 1978, Appendix II, 500-521 (with French tr.; these are letters 48-49 of John's epistolary *corpus*, to be attributed to Joseph – cf.

ibid., Introduction, 295-297); Joseph Hazzaya, *Lettre sur les trois étapes de la vie monastique*, ed. P. Harb, F. Graffin, with the collaboration of M. Albert, PO 45/2, Turnhout 1992 (formerly edited and translated as a work of Philoxenus: cf. bibliography and discussion of the problem: *ibid.*, Introduction, 263-269).

Studies: A. Scher, "Joseph Hazzaya écrivain syriaque du VIII^e siècle", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 3 (1910) 45-63; A. Guillaumont, "Sources de la doctrine de Joseph Hazzaya", *OrSyr* 3 (1958) 3-24; E.J. Sherry, "The Life and Works of Joseph Hazzaya", *The Seed of Wisdom. Essays in Honour of T.J. Meek*, London 1964, 78-91; R. Beulay, "Des Centuries de Joseph Hazzaya retrouvées?", *PdO* 3 (1972) 5-44; G. Bunge, "Le 'lieu de la limpidité'. À propos d'un apophtegme énigmatique: Budge II, 494", *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 7-18; N. Séd, "La Shekhinta et ses amis 'araméens'", *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Geneva 1988, 233-242 (the study begins by pointing out the targumic uses of the divine *shekhinta* in some places of the *Peshitta* of *Chronicles*, then explores its recurrences in Ephrem, Isaac of Nineveh and Joseph Hazzaya, whom in particular it credits with "having grasped, through the splendour of the Shekhinta, the figure of a Woman, ruler of the Universe" [242]); M. Albert, "La doctrine spirituelle de Joseph Hazzaya", *Centre d'études des religions du livre – De la conversion*, ed. J.-C. Attias, Paris 1997, 205-215.

THE LEARNED TRADITION OF THE JACOBITE CHURCH

1. Jacob of Edessa

Born in a village near Antioch in c. 633, in his youth Jacob entered the monastery of Qenneshre, on the left bank of the Euphrates, opposite Europos, founded in 521 by John bar Aphthonia († 537), learned author of, among other things, a biography of Severus [though cf. p.196], who had made it a centre of Greek and Syriac studies (on him cf. the life edited and translated into French by F. Nau in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 7 [1902] 97-135). Here taught and resided the aged bishop Severus Sebokt († 667), translator at least of Paul the Persian's commentary on the *De interpretatione* of Aristotle, whose writings on logic he had widely discussed in individual letters, following the example of the Neoplatonist Aristotelian authors of Alexandria, and also writer of important works of astronomy (on him cf. G.J. Reinink, "Severus Sebokts Brief an den Periodeutes Jonan. Einige Fragen zur aristotelischen Logik", *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome 1983, 97-107). Jacob later left the monastery and, after a journey to study at Alexandria, settled at Edessa, where in 684 he was consecrated bishop of the local Church by Patriarch Athanasius II, himself a man of study, formed in Severus' school at Qenneshre. His episcopate was brief, however, due to the growing difficulties that his reforming and disciplinary work encountered among the Edessene clergy. After four years, he left his Church and retired to lead a monastic life of study and teaching. He made translations and wrote learned commentaries, rich in

scientific notes, on Scripture, especially the Old Testament. He also compiled a *Chronicle* that continued Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History* (cf. *supra*, Introduction 2. Chronicles 10, p. 417) and composed a philosophical *Enchiridion* dealing with the concepts, essential for Trinitarian theology and Christology, of essence, hypostasis, nature and *prosopon*. His minor writings include one on orthography. Twenty years later, however, on the death of his successor, he was recalled and came back to occupy the see of Edessa, if only for a few months, since soon afterwards he died during a journey, 5 June 708.

Editions: G. Phillips, *Scholia on Some Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa*, London 1864 (with English tr.); *Jacobi Edesseni Hexaameron seu in opus creationis libri septem*, ed. I.-B. Chabot, CSCO 92 / Syr. 44, Paris 1928 (Latin tr. by A. Vaschalde, CSCO 97 / Syr. 48, Louvain 1932); K.-E. Rignell, *A Letter of Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite of Litarb concerning Ecclesiastical Canons*, Lund 1979; M. Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, Cambridge 1981 (contains *An Epistle of Jacob of Edessa*, 145-152).

Studies: General introduction: H.J.W. Drijvers, "Jakob von Edessa", *TRE* 16 (1987) 468-470.

T. Jansma, "The Provenance of the Last Sections in the Roman Edition of Ephraem's Commentary on Exodus", *Muséon* 85 (1972) 155-169; S. Brock, "Jacob of Edessa's Discourse on the Myron", *OrChr* 63 (1979) 20-36; F. Graffin, "Jacques d'Édesse réviseur des Homélie de Sévère d'Antioche d'après le ms syriaque BM Add. 12159", *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, Rome 1978, 243-255; A. Salvesen, "Spirits in Jacob of Edessa's Revision on Samuel", *Aram* 5 (1993) 481-490.

2. George of the Arabs

Born around 640 in a village near Antioch, George received his first education from a *periodeutes*, an itinerant member of the clergy, in this case Antiochene. He probably studied at the monastery of Qenneshre, then the centre of the revival of Aristotelian studies, centred on the Stagyrite's *Organon*, in the Jacobite circles of the Syrian Church – a revival sustained in those years especially by Severus Sebokt, Jacob of Edessa and Athanasius of Balad, from 683/684 to the year of his death (687) patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church. In November 686 or during 687, perhaps at Athanasius' initiative, George was consecrated bishop of the Arab tribes of Hirta. Henceforth, to his scholarly activity he added the writing of homilies, of which some traces survive. In 708, on Jacob's death, George completed his *Hexaameron*. He died in 724.

Editions and translations: George of the Arabs, *Letter to the priest Jesus*, in P. de Lagarde, *Analecta syriaca*, Leipzig 1858, 108-134 (German tr. [partial]: V. Ryssel, *Ein Brief Georgs, Bischofs der Araber, an der Presbyter Jesus, aus dem Syrischen übersetzt und erläutert. Mit einer Einleitung über sein Leben und seiner Schriften*, Gotha 1883; French tr. [partial] by M.-J. Pierre, in: Aphraate le sage persan, *Les Exposés*, 2, SCh 359, Paris 1989, 966-983); V. Ryssel, "Poemi siriaci di Giorgio

vescovo degli Arabi (VIII sec.)", *AAL* 4, 9 (1892) 1-93 (contains, among other things, the long recension of a *memro* on *myron* [1-33] and one on the life of solitaries [34-46]; German tr.: Idem, *Georg des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe*, Leipzig 1891 – which also comprises the translation of various letters, including one to the priest Jacob, his *synkellos*, from which are taken some *scholia* to the discourses of Gregory Nazianzen: cf. A. De Halleux, "Les commentaires syriaques des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze – un premier sondage", *Muséon* 98 [1985] 103-147, esp. 109-112); R.H. Connolly, H.W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy by George Bishop of the Arab Tribes and Moses bar Kepha: together with the Syriac Anaphora of St. James and a Document Entitled "The Book of Life"*, London 1913 (George's text was previously translated by V. Ryssel in *Georg des Araberbischofs Gedichte...* cit., 36-43; his sources are studied in S. Brock, "Some Early Syriac Baptismal Commentaries", *OCP* 46 [1980] 20-61); G. Furlani, "Le categorie e gli ermeneutici di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nazioni", *AAL* 6, 5/1 (1933) 1-66; Idem, "Il Primo Libro dei Primi Analitici di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nazioni", *AAL* 6, 5/3 (1935) 143-230; Idem, "Il Secondo Libro dei Primi Analitici di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nazioni", *AAL* 6, 6/3 (1937) 231-287; Idem, "Il proemio di Giorgio delle Nazioni al primo libro dei Primi Analitici di Aristotele", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 18 (1939) 116-130 (with Greek-Italian tr.); Idem, "Sul commento di Giorgio delle Nazioni al secondo libro degli Analitici Anteriori di Aristotele", *Rivista degli studi orientali* 20 (1943) 229-238 (with Greek-Italian tr.); F. Rilliet, "Une homélie métrique sur la fête des hosannas attribuée à Georges évêque des Arabes", *OrChr* 74 (1990) 72-102; George, Bishop of the Arabs, *A Homily on Blessed Mar Severus, Patriarch of Antioch*, ed. K.E. McVey, CSCO 530 / Syr. 216 (English tr., CSCO 531 / Syr. 217), Lovanii 1993.

Studies: Cf. the pages on George's life and doctrines especially in V. Ryssel, *Ein Brief...* cit., and *Georg des Araberbischofs Gedichte...* cit.; and in K.E. McVey, *A Homily*, introduction to the tr.; D. Miller, "George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, on True Philosophy", *Aram* 5 (1993) 303-320.

THEODORE BAR KŌNAI

Theodore bar Kōnai was a monk at Kashkar, in Bet Aramaye, at whose school, founded probably towards the end of the 6th century, he taught biblical exegesis. The work by which he is known to us, completed probably around 792, bears the title *Book of Scholia*, in accordance with the custom of calling thus the collections of brief clarifications on places or arguments of particular obscurity in Scripture or theological debate. What Theodore proposed was thus the composition of a manual that would introduce students to the exegesis practised in the school, i.e. to the teaching of the Interpreter *par excellence* of Scripture among the "Nestorians", Theodore of Mopsuestia. Of the eleven treatises that compose the work, nine correspond to this project, containing notes in the form of questions and answers on methodological, philosophical-theological and strictly exegetical questions. At the end of the ninth treatise, a copyist's note gives us to understand that here probably ended

a first redaction of the text. There are two further "books", added to the former, in which Theodore draws up an defence of Christianity against Islam (Kashkar was close to the Arab city of al-Wasit, founded in 702, so relations with the Islamic world were particularly intense in the region) and then a list of heresies, which contains some items of extraordinary interest. The *Book of Scholia* survives in two recensions, of differing lengths and with a partly different internal organization of materials.

Editions: A. Scher, *Theodorus bar Koni, Liber Scholiorum (Seert recension)*, CSCO 55 and 69 / Syr. 19 and 26 (Syr. II, 65 and 66), Paris 1910 and 1912 (anast. ed., Louvain 1960; French tr.: R. Hespel, R. Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni, Livre des Scolies I-II*, CSCO 431-432 / Syr. 187-188, Louvain 1981-1982); R. Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni, Livre des Scolies (recension d'Urmiah)*, CSCO 447 / Syr. 193 (French tr., CSCO 448 / Syr. 194), Louvain 1983; R. Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni, Livre des Scolies (recension d'Urmiah)*, *Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu*, CSCO 464 / Syr. 197 (French tr., CSCO 465 / Syr. 198), Louvain 1984.

Studies: L. Brade, *Untersuchungen zum Scholienbuch des Theodoros bar Konai*, Wiesbaden 1975; S.H. Griffith, "Chapter Ten of the 'Scholion': Theodore bar Koni's Apology for Christianity", *OCP* 47 (1981) 158-188; Idem, "Theodore bar Koni's Scholion: A Nestorian 'Summa contra gentiles' from the First Abbasid Century", *East of Byzantium, Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N. Garsoïan, T. Mathews, R.W. Thomson, Washington (DC) 1982, 53-72; S. Gero, "Ophite Gnosticism according to Theodore bar Koni's Liber Scholiorum", *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg, G.J. Reinink, Rome 1987, 265-274; D. Kruisheer, "Theodore Bar Koni's Ktaba d-'eskolion as a Source for the Study of Early Mandeism", *JEOL* 33 (1993-1994 <1995>) 151-169.

VII PATRISTIC TEXTS IN COPTIC

by TITO ORLANDI

INTRODUCTION

Coptic was one of the languages commonly used in late antique Egypt, and is attested especially among the Christians, from the 3rd to the 9th century (cf. A.S. Attiya, in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, s.v. Linguistics, 1-227). The others were Greek (in common use until about the 7th century) and Arabic (from the 7th century on), as well as Egyptian proper, in the state known as "demotic" (until the 5th century?), and Aramaic, used by the Jews. The coexistence of different languages produced a vast phenomenon of bilingualism and multilingualism in the more educated part of the population, and consequently peculiar characteristics in literary output. Coptic probably came into being as an artificial literary language, with the aim of recovering as much as possible of the old Egyptian culture in a Christian world. It was built on the structure of the Egyptian spoken at the time (2nd-3rd centuries), using Egyptian and Greek vocabulary indiscriminately. Greek also had a great influence on its syntactic structure, since Egyptian syntax was of little use in rendering complicated constructs.

It is customary to distinguish in Coptic a number of dialects (Sahidic, Bohairic, Achmimic, Subachmimic, Oxyrhynchite, etc.), but the sense of such a distinction is hard to ascertain, since we do not know with sufficient exactness what sounds were represented by the different graphemes found in the manuscripts, nor is it possible to state with certainty whether the different graphematic systems corresponded to geographically identifiable varieties, or how. At any rate, so-called Sahidic was the literary language *par excellence* up to the 8th century, Bohairic from the 9th century. Literary *corpora* are also found in Subachmimic (Manichaean texts) and Oxyrhynchite (biblical texts).

Texts that may be called patristic form almost the whole of Coptic literature, which arose and developed within the Christian Church of Egypt; and the reasons for any interest the patristic scholar may nourish towards such texts are many and diverse. Coptic texts may be original,

i.e. written and transmitted in Coptic, and as such they are part of the patristic heritage on a par with those written in the other languages of Christendom. Coptic texts may also be translations from Greek originals, and in this case they may interest us as very early evidence of the manuscript tradition of those originals, but also as evidence of their reception in a rather particular environment, as that in which the Coptic language was cultivated seems to have been. Finally we must bear in mind that many texts attributed by Coptic manuscript tradition to Greek patristic authors are in fact original late products of the Coptic milieu, and as such must be evaluated in a still different way from the other cases mentioned above. We must likewise bear in mind that no general agreement has been reached on whether many texts are originals or translations: think especially of the emblematic cases of Antony and Pachomius.

We are thus in the presence of a multiform reality which does not easily lend itself to being summed up in traditional schemata. We adopt the criterion of cultural-historical milieu, remarking only that it has seemed possible to us to assign a certain chronological definition to the various milieus into which we subdivide the treatment, while retaining within them the "transversal" textual typologies: originals, translations, pseudepigrapha.

It is evident that the development of Coptic patristics must be seen in relation to the events of the Church in this period. Above all we must keep well in mind the differences between two historical periods that the Church went through in Egypt. In the centuries from the origins to some decades after the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Egyptian Church was an integral part of what may be called the "international Church" (we would say Catholic, if that adjective had not assumed specific connotations not suited to our case) and participated fully in all its programmes and crises. Events within the Egyptian Church must be seen in the light of what was happening in the international sphere.

In the period after Chalcedon, the Egyptian Church, which only now may properly be called Coptic, sharply separated itself from the other Churches, gradually turned in on itself, and presented characteristics of its own that naturally also influenced its literary activity. Yet it is licit to speak of a *cultural foundation* of the Coptic Church in the period before Chalcedon. Indeed even before its formal detachment from the Churches that formulated and accepted the decisions of Chalcedon, the Egyptian Church presented some particular traits and phenomena that are generally recognized by historians as "Coptic" (or specifically Egyptian) and considered as its own essential heritage by Coptic culture itself.

Bibliography: "Linguistics", *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 7, 1991, 1-227.

1) On the linguistic situation of Christian Egypt: G. Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne*, Paris 1948; R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton

(NJ) 1993; E. Wipszycka, "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine", *REA* 30 (1984) 279-296; Eadem, "La christianisation de l'Égypte aux IV^e-VI^e siècles. Aspects sociaux et ethniques", *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 117-166; Eadem, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, SEAug 52, Rome 1996.

2) T. Orlandi, "Egyptian Monasticism and the Beginnings of the Coptic Literature", *Carl-Schmidt-Kolloquium an der Martin-Luther-Universität 1988*, ed. P. Nagel, Halle 1990, 129-142; Idem, "Le traduzioni dal greco e lo sviluppo della letteratura copta", *Graeco-Coptica*, ed. P. Nagel, Wiss. Beiträge 48, Halle 1984, 181-203; L.-T. Lefort, "La littérature égyptienne aux derniers siècles avant l'invasion arabe", *CDE* 6 (1931) 315-323; G. Steindorff, "Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der koptischen Sprache und Literatur", *Coptic Studies in Honour of W.E. Crum*, Boston 1950, 189-214; C. Schmidt, "Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia", *ZNW* 24 (1925) 218-240.

Grammars: L. Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1880; W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1966; A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte* (Bohairic), Beirut 1904; J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, I, a,b, Leuven 1973; II, a,b, Leuven 1983; T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic*, Macon (GA) 1983; H.J. Polotsky, *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus*, 1, Decatur (GA) 1987; 2, Decatur 1990; A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy. A Course for Academic and Private Study*, Leuven 1988.

Dictionaries: W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939; R. Smith, *A Concise Coptic-English Lexicon*, Grand Rapids (MI) 1983; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965 ff.

Coptic Church: M. Jugie, "Monophysite (-église copte)", *DTC* 10, 2251-2306; B. Spuler, "Die koptische Kirche", AA.VV., *Religionsgeschichte des Orients in der Zeit der Weltreligion*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1 Abt., 8 Band, 2, Leyden-Cologne 1961, 269-308; H. Brakmann, "Die Kopten-Kirche Jesu Christi in Aegypten. Ihre Geschichte und Liturgie", *Die koptische Kirche. Einführung in das ägyptische Christentum*, ed. A. Gerhards, H. Brakmann, Stuttgart-Berlin-Cologne 1994, 9-27; C. Cannuyer, *Les Coptes*, Turnhout 1990; A.S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, London 1968, 2nd ed. Millwood 1980; P. Du Bourguet, *Les Coptes*, Paris 1988, 2nd ed.; corrected 1989; D. Müller, *Geschichte der orientalischen Nationalkirchen*, Göttingen 1981, 269-367; *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity. Studies in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. B.A. Pearson, J.E. Goehring, Philadelphia 1986; F. Winkelmann, *Die östlichen Kirchen in der Epoche der christologischen Auseinandersetzungen (5. bis 7. Jahrhundert)*, Kirchengeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen 1, 6, Berlin 1980; C.W. Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 C.E.*, Leyden etc. 1990, 2nd ed. 1991.

The Muslim Conquest: "L'Égypte musulmane de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane", *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, 2, Cairo 1932, 109-154; S. Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, vol. 6 of W.M.F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, London 1894-1905; A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902; C.F. Petry, *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 voll., Cambridge 1998.

EARLY APOCRYPHA AND JEWISH INFLUENCE

After the translations of biblical books, which represent the first manifestation of Egyptian Christian literature in Coptic but which for

obvious reasons are not considered here, the activity of Coptic *literati* was devoted to the translation of texts of the so-called apocryphal genre. Indeed one of the conventional opinions on Coptic literature is that apocrypha always occupied a considerable place, both in importance and in quantity. In reality we must restore a historical perspective in which the various phenomena can keep their own significance.

While this conventional opinion tends to put on the same level early translations (3rd century?), more recent translations (4th-5th centuries) and texts recycled in homilies or collections made later (in the 7th-8th centuries), we need to identify the real chronological and literary context in which to put surviving apocrypha in Coptic, so as to draw correct critical deductions from it. In fact the translation and later also production of apocrypha follows the whole course of Coptic literature, with all the turnings and interruptions this involves.

The first apocrypha were translated into Coptic from Greek originals in the course of the 3rd (and perhaps early 4th) century, if we accept that the dating of manuscripts can give some clue as to the date of translation. Among the Old Testament apocrypha of early Coptic tradition are two (*Apocalypsis Eliae*; *Visio Isaiae*) whose original comes from a mixed milieu of Jewish and Christian elements, with a presence of national Egyptian influences. This type of milieu seems to be that in which Coptic literature came into being, and this would explain the rapidity with which those texts were translated.

On the other hand, the New Testament apocrypha seem to have been imported from Asia Minor (*Acta Pauli*, *Epistula Apostolorum*, *Acta Petri*), indicating a connection with that milieu. Not, note, a connection of Asia Minor with Alexandrian Christianity, which would be precluded by the known doctrinal rivalry (especially from Origen on), but with some centres of the Nile Valley.

Apocalypsis Eliae. The final redaction from which the Coptic translation was made is certainly Christian; the 3rd and even the 4th century have been suggested, but we must evidently restrict ourselves to the 3rd, and it would be a remarkable case of almost immediate translation and very wide expansion in Coptic, given the antiquity of the manuscripts. Critics, guided by purely internal analysis, have brought out the part played by Egypt in the conception of the text, have drawn deductions from this about the milieu it was composed in; and have also brought out, though with differing nuances, the derivation from purely Jewish traditions. So we find ourselves in a milieu that combines Jewish, native Egyptian and monastic Christian influences.

Editions: G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannt Apokalypse, und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse*, TU 17, 3A, Leipzig 1899; A. Pietersma,

S.T. Comstock, H.W. Attridge, *The Apocalypse of Elijah, Based on P. Chester Beatty 2018*, Texts and Translations 19, Chico (CA) 1979.

Bibliography: W. Schrage, *Die Elia-Apokalypse*, Jüdische Schriften aus hell.-röm. Zeit 5, Gütersloh 1980, *Apokalypsen*, 191-288; C. Schmidt, "Der Kolophon des Ms. Orient. 7594 des Britischen Museums, Eine Untersuchung zur Élias-Apokalypse", *SAB* (1925) 312-321; J.-M. Rosenstiehl, "L'Apocalypse d'Élie", *Muséon* 95 (1982) 269-284; G. Aranda Pérez, F. García Martínez, M. Pérez Fernández, *Literatura judía intertestamentaria*, Introducción al estudio de la Biblia 9, Navarra 1996; G. Aranda, "Ideas escatológicas judías en el Apocalipsis copto de Elías", *Simposio Bíblico Español*, ed. N. Fernández Marcos, J.C. Treballe Barrera et al., Madrid 1984, 663-679; D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt. The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity*, Minneapolis 1992.

Ascensio Isaiae. Both manuscripts contained, as far as can be deduced from what remains, both parts into which the text can be divided in the supposed Greek original (5th-6th c.: P. Amherst, ed. Grenfell-Hunt 1, London 1900), attested in its entirety only by the Ethiopic version (Charles; cf. also the Latin fragments, Leonardi). These two parts derive from sources distinct also in their confessional character. The first part was clearly Jewish (martyrdom of Isaiah); the second Christian (vision and prediction of Antichrist). Possible Essene influences have also been noted. For the dating of the final redaction, we are again in the 3rd century, so, like the former, it is another case of almost immediate translation and wide expansion in Coptic. Here as there, the finding of the text copied outside normal channels of manuscript tradition (the verso of a previously-used scroll [Scherling ms.]) attests its circulation.

Editions: R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2, Oxford 1913, 155-162; L.-T. Lefort, "Fragments d'apocryphes en copte-achmimique", *Muséon* 52 (1939) 1-10; P. Lacau, "Fragments de l'Ascension d'Isaïe en copte", *Muséon* 59 (1946) 453-467; E. Norelli (ed.), *Ascensio Isaiae*, 2 voll., Turnhout 1995.

Bibliography: R.H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London 1900; C. Leonardi, "Il testo dell'Ascensio Isaiae nel Vat. Lat. 5750", *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 1 (1980) 59-74; E. Norelli, *L'Ascensione di Isaia. Studi su un apocrifo al crocevia dei cristianesimi*, Bologna 1994; R. Hall, "The Ascension of Isaiah: Community Situation, Date, and Place in Early Christianity", *JBL* 109 (1990) 289-306.

Apocalypsis Sophoniae. In the remaining fragment, the prophet contemplates the dwelling-place of the just. Maybe the work corresponds to that cited by Clement (*Strom.* V, 11, 22, 2).

Edition: G. Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannt Apokalypse, und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse*, TU 17, 3A, Leipzig 1899.

Acta Pauli. The sole witness to the state of the *Acta Pauli* in their complete and apparently original form is the Heidelberg codex: later tradition, in Greek, Coptic, Latin, etc., would separate the various main

episodes, preserving some as separate texts and getting rid of others. The original redaction will have been composed in Asia Minor towards the end of the 2nd century. If we take into account the time necessary for their reception in Egypt, in this case too their translation into Coptic was quite rapid.

Edition: C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, Heidelb. Pap. Veroff. 2, 5th ed., Leipzig 1905.

Bibliography: C. Schmidt, "Acta Pauli", *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 12 (1936) 352-354; G.D. Kilpatrick, C.H. Roberts, "The Acta Pauli. A New Fragment", *JTS* 47 (1946) 196-199; R. Kasser, "Acta Pauli 1959", *RHPPhR* 40 (1960) 45-57; W. Schneemelcher, "Die Acta Pauli. Neue Funde und neue Aufgaben", *ThLZ* 89 (1964) 241-254.

Epistula Apostolorum. The original redaction, in Greek, is unanimously assigned to the 2nd century. For its place of origin, Schmidt proposed Asia Minor, while Hornschuh at first proposed Egypt, but on the basis of considerations which he himself later declared untenable. The content is strongly anti-gnostic, and Simon and Cerinthos are named in particular. Influences of Judaeo-Essenic type have also been noted.

Edition: C. Schmidt (P. Lacau), *Gespräche Jesu mit seine Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Ein katholisch-apostolisches Sendschreiben des 2. Jahrhunderts nach einem koptischen Papyrus*, TU 43, Leipzig 1919.

Bibliography: M. Hornschuh, *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum*, PTS 5, Berlin 1965.

Acta Petri. The complete original structure of the *Acta Petri* is not known from any surviving text. The remaining passage in Coptic is found in the famous gnostic papyrus together with the *Apocryphon Iohannis*, the *Sophia Iesu Christi* and the *Evangelium Mariae*. It must have belonged to the first part of the *Acta*, while the second part (comprising Peter's martyrdom) would be restored by the Latin *Acta* of the Vercelli codex (6th-7th century). What significance should we give to the inclusion of the Coptic passage in such an openly gnostic collection; and how can we reconcile this with the rather anti-gnostic tendency inferable from the Latin *Acts*, which also bear traces of gnostic influences? The problem remains open for the moment.

Edition: C. Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten in Zusammenhang der apokryphen Apostelliteratur nebst einem neuentdeckten Fragment*, TU 24, 1, Leipzig 1903; W.C. Till (-H.M. Schenke), *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, TU 60, 2, 2nd ed., Berlin 1972.

Bibliography: M. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, Paris 1984.

MELITO AND THE ASIATICS

Contemporary with the work of translating the apocrypha, the genre of the homily began to be tackled. The operation of distinguishing homiletic material translated in the 3rd-4th centuries from that translated later

demands great caution (T. Orlandi, "Patristica copta e Patristic greca", *VetChr* 10 [1973] 327-341); yet we consider it possible and useful even in the present state of research. Note firstly that the majority of homilies translated into Coptic were written in Greek by authors who could not have been known in Egypt before the mid 4th century: the two Gregories, Basil, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, etc. Secondly, the most important homily from before that period is also copied, in Coptic translation, in a 3rd- or 4th-century manuscript, which places a limit on the date of translation.

The texts to be taken into consideration are just three, last relics of an output that was never vast, whose fundamental characteristics these texts can help us understand. They are two homilies by Melito of Sardis: *De Pascha* and *De anima et corpore*, and one falsely attributed to Basil of Caesarea: *De templo Salomonis*.

Melito of Sardis' famous homily *De Pascha* has received progressive recognition in patristic studies since the rediscovery of ancient fragments and codices. But it is not worth describing the matter again, after the exhaustive exposition to be found in S. Hall's recent edition. Note however that in none of the many manuscripts is the text handed down complete.

One aspect very interesting to us is the fact that this text may be considered a fragment of a theology less well-known than its direct rival (I speak of the Asiatic current and the Alexandrian), miraculously saved in a hostile environment, Egypt, from which we would not have expected such love for such a text.

We are back in the context of the 2nd- and 3rd-century Trinitarian controversies, which saw the clash between the so-called "Asiatic" theology and the "Logos-theology", outlined more than once by Simonetti ("Persona nel dibattito cristologico dal III al IV secolo", *Studium* 5 [1995] 531-548). The elements that interest us here are primarily the following: the Asiatic tendency to monarchianism and divine materialism; and the integral spiritualism and subordinationism of the Alexandrians. Simonetti notes that by the beginning of the 4th century "in Egypt, after vehement disagreements, the doctrine of the Logos had now prevailed" (p. 533). It is possible however that this prevalence should be attributed to Alexandria, and that in the Nile Valley the situation was less definite.

However this may be, the number of examples of *De Pascha* in Egypt, in both Greek and Coptic, is certainly extraordinary. Between just the 3rd and 5th centuries (according to palaeographical attributions, which seem reasonable) we count two manuscripts in Greek (one nearly complete and a fragment) and three in Coptic (one nearly complete and two fragments), not counting later examples in Coptic again (two manuscripts), in Georgian (a fragment) and in Latin (an epitome).

Add the fact that in the chief Coptic manuscript the homily is included in a collection mainly of biblical texts, which suggests a liturgical use and hence a great authority given to this text.

All this raises the problem of placing Melito's readers: not in Alexandria, given the well-known contempt shown by Origen for this author. So we must assume that other Egyptian milieus cultivated a sympathy for the Asiatic type of theological or at least spiritual position. We have found traces of such milieus among the monks of Middle Egypt. The authoritative (international Greek) sources, however, have cancelled out any memory of those monks, and not without reason, remembering the Evagrian tendencies of Palladius and the *Historia monachorum*.

The identification of that milieu brings to our attention two more homilies, which appear to be translations made in antiquity (c. 4th century), whose content links them to the Asiatic current. The first is a homily *De anima et corpore*, with various attributions in various languages, but whose author, as Nautin saw very well, must have been Melito. It is lost as a homily on its own in the Greek tradition, save some *excerpta* included in other homilies from antiquity. But we have the complete text (though in different redactions) in Coptic (under the name of Athanasius), in Syriac (under the name of Alexander of Alexandria) and in Georgian (under the name of both).

We will not go into the merit of the redactional differences. We can say that the Coptic seems to give the most complete idea of the original text, which was divided in two parts. The second part is in some sense the more obvious, and speaks of the Saviour's incarnation and passion, in terms very similar to those of *De Pascha*. The first part, however, contains a notable theological passage on the problem of the relationship between body and soul, which is in any case very far from a theology that could be acceptable to a follower of the Alexandrian school.

Similar considerations can be put forward for the third homily in question, Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea's *On Solomon's Temple and the Creation*, which is an exegesis of the biblical passage on the construction of Solomon's Temple, interpreted as an allusion to the creation first of the world and then of man. The text begins with an interesting piece concerning the silence in which the world was created, in contrast to the noise that will accompany its destruction, and contains interesting passages on the "theology of silence" and millenarian theology. The theology of silence seems to have no parallels, after the passages of Ignatius of Antioch, *Eph.* 18 and *Mag.* 8. So the temple is taken as a symbol of man, created directly by God; then the homily speaks of sin, which has caused (or will cause) the destruction of the world and of man, and in particular the ruin of the Jews. Finally it hints at the redemption of Christ, through which man's body is purified again. Above

all, it is the theology of silence that links this homily with the "Asiatic" line going from Ignatius to Marcellus of Ancyra, who was a strong opponent of the Alexandrian approach.

Editions and translations: (1) *Peri Pascha*: CPG 1092; S.G. Hall, *Melito of Sardis, On Pascha and Fragments*, Oxford 1979; O. Perler, *Meliton de Sardes, Sur la Pâque et Fragments*, Paris 1966; M. Testuz, *Papyrus Bodmer XIII, Méli-ton de Sardes homélie sur la Pâque, manuscrit du III Siècle*, Cologne-Geneva 1960; (2) *De anima et corpore*: E.A. Thompson, W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1910; cf. W. Schneemelcher, "Der Sermo 'De anima et corpore'. Ein Werk Alexanders von Alexandrien?", *Misc. Dehn*, Moers 1957, 119-143; T. Orlandi, "La tradizione di Melitone in Egitto e l'omelia De anima et corpore", *Aug* 37 (1997) 37-50.

ANTONY

As we have said, in 4th-century Egypt the Alexandrian school must have been the common doctrinal reference-point, and in fact all the monasticism of the centres that were formed near the Delta (Nitria, Scete, Kellia) was in various ways Origenian; and even the Pachomians, in the south, were aligned on analogous positions, despite the later hagiographical description *post eventum* found in the various redactions of the lives of Pachomius.

It was Antony whom tradition, basing itself on the information given by Athanasius, considered the founder of the monastic movement, Antony who first, inspired by a precise verse of the gospel, retired from the world to lead a life devoted only to religious interests. Among these interests, according to the probably biased picture that Athanasius wished to propose, was the struggle against the demons of the desert and the struggle against the heretics insofar as these were organised in groups; what would not be included in the picture were culture and doctrinal reflection. For this reason Antony has been seen by critics until recent times as a person of great spirituality but completely ingenuous, ignorant even of the Greek tongue, disposed only to help his patriarch for the unity of the Christian people, when it was needed.

Tradition attributes to Antony a number of letters, handed down in various languages. A Greek version is now lost, but existed at the Renaissance; the fullest version is in Arabic. The letters have come down in two collections, a short one (7 letters) and a longer one, of 21 letters. Of the authenticity of the short collection there seems no possibility of doubt, in the present state of evidence. The enlargement, though, will be late. In Coptic some fragments of the short collection have reached us (ed. G. Garitte, *Lettres de S. Antoine. Version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, Louvain 1955).

There are many elements leading us to hold that Antony was linked to the Origenist interpretation of Christian doctrine, so much that

Couilleau can state that "we have to admit that a current that may well be called Origenist *ante litteram* fertilized the monasticism of the origins. After all, the Origenism that Evagrius was to find in the desert of Kellia was not born of spontaneous generation". And we note among other things that Jerome's work opposing a Paul of Thebes to Antony as the first monk is perhaps explained by the intention of diminishing the importance of an "Origenist" figure.

S. Rubenson's book on Antony's letters (*The Letters of St. Antony: Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint*, Lund 1990) represents a turning-point in the evaluation of this long-overlooked *corpus*. Rubenson takes to its extreme consequences a new consideration of Antony's activity and culture. He claims the genuineness of the seven letters attributed to him, and through their study he draws an unedited portrait of the figure of their author. It appears that of an intelligent (though moderate) Origenist, perfectly conscious of the spiritual debates of his time. Even the "Coptic" culture of that period is recognized as much more active and robust than it has normally been held to be. Even if Rubenson's opinions should be discussed and sometimes brought back to a more balanced view of the problems, they are bearers of a highly beneficial renewal.

From the point of view of Coptic literature, there is a possibility that Antony was the first author of original works in Coptic, if we adhere to the hypothesis, at the moment not very probable, that he wrote his letters in Coptic. Since Rubenson's analysis makes it very probable that he knew Greek, there is no reason to think he did not write them in Greek.

Another person suggested as a possible writer of original works in Coptic (Peterson has even thought of attributing some fragments to him) is Hieracas, on the basis of a statement of Epiphanius whose validity, however, is hard to establish (E. Peterson, "Ein Fragment des Hierakas?", *Muséon* 60 [1947] 257-260). In any case the beginnings of original Coptic literature seem to be linked to the Origenist part of Egyptian culture, but more probably in a Pachomian milieu.

PACHOMIUS AND THE PACHOMIANS

The Coptic texts of Pachomius and his first successors contribute to clarifying the historical framework of the origins of Egyptian monasticism, but also to illuminating the beginnings of original Coptic literature, i.e. not translated from Greek. These texts are in fact the earliest examples of such a literature known to us, and we may suppose them the first examples absolutely.

Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that, after the huge labour of translating biblical texts and some homiletic works during the 3rd century.

the rise of an original literature in Coptic took place in a monastic, or more precisely Pachomian, milieu in the first half of the 4th century, at the same time as the evolution and growth in importance of the monastic movement. Hence the interest of these texts for the historian of Coptic patrology, who is led to go beyond their mere content, which is of no literary interest, there to trace the characteristics of original Coptic literature back to its dawn.

Certainly the material at our disposal seems scanty; yet there is reason to think that even what has been lost was not abundant, and indeed that we possess a good deal of the little that was the original Coptic literature of the first half of the 4th century. The interest of students of the Pachomian movement is generally in the *Vitae* and the Rules of Pachomius, and is concentrated on two directives: criticism of "internal" sources, and historical value. Other works directly attributed to Pachomius or his successors has so far aroused little interest (with notable exceptions such as the *Liber* of Horsiesi, for which cf. H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs*, Würzburg 1972, 2nd ed. 1984).

Texts in Coptic attributed to Pachomius and his first successors have long been known. The first to give them his attention was Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e, V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles. Texte copte publié et traduit*, 2 voll., Paris 1888, 1895; while Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt. Edited with English Translation*, London 1913, published the text of an entire catechesis attributed to Pachomius both in the sole Coptic manuscript to give it and in the Arabic version (cf. *infra*). But the classic "complete" edition, until the discoveries of recent years, remained L.-T. Lefort's *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, CSCO 159 / Copt. 23, Louvain 1956 (text); CSCO 160 / Copt. 24, Louvain 1956 (French tr.), which rendered previous editions essentially useless. Lefort on the whole favoured the genuineness of the texts he had collected in that book. In the absence of objective elements, almost no-one I know of opposed decisive criticisms to that opinion. But Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachomien au IV^e siècle*, Studia Anselmiana 57, Rome 1968, was already expressing doubts; and Van Molle ("Confrontation entre les Règles et la littérature pachomienne postérieure", *La Vie Spirituelle*, Suppl. 86 [1968] 394-424; and "Essai de classement chronologique des premières Règles de vie commune connues en Chretiente", *VS*, Suppl. 84 [1968] 108-127) showed herself quite sceptical. Moreover, that there remains among scholars a strong suspicion and a certain unease about these texts is proved by the fact that they were never fully used in studies of Pachomian monasticism.

In fact, even the texts that came to light after Lefort's edition provided few objective elements; and yet the greater quantity of material at our

disposal, together with a degree of progress in our knowledge of the general tradition of Coptic literature (cf. T. Orlandi, "La documentation patristique copte. Bilan et perspectives", J.-C. Fredouille and R.-M. Roberge [ed.], *La documentation patristique. Bilan et perspective*, Laval-Paris 1995, 127-147), may allow us to base our judgments of genuineness on a more solid basis.

Two elements urge the utmost caution in accepting the genuineness of many of the works attributed to Pachomians in late codices. First, the explicit testimonies of Jerome (*Praefatio*, ed. Boon, pp. 3-9) and Gennadius (*De vir. Ill.*, ed. Herding, chh. VII-IX), who knew only the rules and epistles of Pachomius, some epistles of Theodore (only three, i.e. those translated by Jerome, if our interpretation of Gennadius is restrictive; otherwise more than three, to an uncertain number) and the *liber* of Horsiesi. Certainly we must bear in mind the final phrase of Jerome's preface: *cetera autem quae in eorum tractatibus continentur, praelibare nolui...*; yet it does not seem that this can allude to long literary works by Pachomius himself, like the *Catechesis* mentioned above. We cannot suppose Jerome would have overlooked them.

Another element is the extreme poverty of the evidence in other Oriental languages, principally in Arabic (K. Samir, "Témoins arabes de la catéchèse de Pachôme 'À propos d'un moine rancunier' [CPG 2354.1]", *OCP* 42 [1976] 494-508), but also in Syriac (Baumstark, 92).

1. Rules

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 30-36 (French tr., 30-37). The problems raised by the various redactions of the Rules of Pachomius are known and have long been debated. The more recent "critical period" may be said to begin with A. Veilleux's celebrated study, *La liturgie...* cit.; for particular information we may go to M. Van Molle's studies, "Confrontation..." cit., and "Essai..." cit., de Vogüé's summing-up, "Saint Pachôme et son oeuvre d'après plusieurs études récentes", *RHE* 69 (1974) 425-452, and A. Veilleux's recent collection, *Pachomian Koinonia*, 3 voll., Kalamazoo (MI) 1980-1982. In Coptic, after some partial publications by É.-C. Amélineau (*Monuments...* cit.), L.-T. Lefort provided what is now the reference edition. The Coptic tradition is in line with the Greek (and the Latin, after Jerome's translation, ed. A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina*, Louvain 1932) in handing down, since the late 4th century, at least two sets of Rules – the *Praecepta* and the *Praecepta atque instituta* – as Pachomian. One of the manuscripts probably dates from the 6th century, the other from the 8th. We may consider this work "traditionally genuine", to distinguish it from falsifications (cf. *infra*) undoubtedly made at a later date and probably in a non-Pachomian milieu. If there was a falsification for the Rules (or at least for part of them), it was in all probability an internal affair of the Pachomians.

2. Letters

The serious doubts that surrounded the *corpus* of Pachomian letters, known in its time only by Jerome's Latin translation, are disappearing

before the recent discoveries of much of the Greek text (ed. H. Quecke, *Die Briefe Pachoms...* cit. *infra*) and numerous Coptic fragments of what must be considered the original text. The content of these letters has long been known from the Latin translations (Boon, cit.), but we must emphasize here: (a) the fact that it consists largely of biblical citations, and (b) the use of mysterious alphabetical signs whose meaning is not yet clear.

Editions: H. Quecke, *Die Briefe Pachoms, Griechischer Text der Handschrift W.145 der Chester Beatty Library. Anhang: Die koptischen Fragmente und Zitate*, Textus Patristici et Liturgici 11, Regensburg 1975; Idem, "Ein neues Fragment der Pachombriefe in koptischer Sprache", *Orientalia* 43 (1974) 66-82.

Bibliography: I. Opelt, "Die Diktion der lateinischen Pachomiusbriefe", *Eulogia. Mélanges offerts à Anton A.R. Bastiaensen*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, The Hague, St. Pietersabdij 1991.

Pachomius (Pseudo-), *Catechesis*

This long exhortation to a monk (taken evidently as an example for all) touches somewhat on all themes of monastic life and the monk's behaviour. The title that appears in the single manuscript (*To a monk who had felt resentment against another, at the time of Apa Eboneh who had brought him to Tabennesi*) is highly suspect precisely because of its specificity, and shows traits analogous to those of many titles conceived in the course of manuscript tradition, which finally surface in the manuscripts of the 9th-11th centuries. The literary form conforms too much to the classical catecheses of the 5th century, Greek or Coptic, to be acceptable as Pachomian; and the same goes for the content and the breadth of treatment. We believe it was precisely the absence of written evidence of the catechetical work of Pachomius, whose memory yet survived in the Greek and Coptic lives, that gave rise to the production of works like this, around the 6th century, when a certain systematization of Coptic monastic literature began. To this situation we owe the fact that a long passage of this catechesis is also found in a letter attributed to Athanasius (L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 110-120): it may even be supposed that the "Pachomian" text is a cento of passages taken from pre-existing texts, as also happened for works of other authors. We thus concur with M. Van Molle's negative conclusions as to its genuineness ("Confrontation entre les Règles et la littérature pachomienne postérieure", *La Vie Spirituelle*, Suppl. 86 [1968] 394-424).

Editions: W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha...* cit.; L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 1-24 (French tr., 1-26).

Bibliography: A. de Vogüé, "Deux réminiscences du livre de Josué dans la première catéchèse de saint Pachôme", *Studia monastica* 36 (1994) 7-11; K. Samir, "Témoins

arabes de la catéchèse de Pachôme 'À propos d'un moine rancunier' (CPG 2354.1)", *OCP* 42 (1976) 494-508; P. Tamburrino, "Les saints de l'Ancien Testament dans la 1^{re} catéchèse de Saint Pachome", *Melto* 4 (1968) 33-44.

Pachomius (Pseudo-), *Excerpta*

These are contained in miscellaneous late codices, and are thus all the more suspect. In particular we find a complete catechesis on Easter, whose content is wholly general; and another passage, part of which also appears in the *Apophthegmata* (a literarily complex question: see L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., VIII-IX). In this case too we would rule out authenticity.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 26-30 (French tr., 27-30).

THEODORE

Letter for the meeting at Mesore

The venerability of the two manuscripts, the style and the dense, mysterious content lead us not to doubt its authenticity.

Edition: M. Krause, "Der Erlassbrief Theodors", *Studies Presented to H.J. Polotsky*, ed. D.W. Young, Beacon Hill (MS) 1981, 220-238.

Theodore (Pseudo-), *Catechesis*

The manuscript, late and mutilated, does not give the *inscriptio*; but we agree with Lefort that the work was attributed to Theodore by the manuscript and in the form attested there. The moral part of its content is quite general (cf. the *Catechesis* attributed to Pachomius), though there are many precise references to the historical situation of the first period of Pachomian monasticism. But in our opinion its authenticity should be rejected precisely because of the excessive precision of the "historical" information provided, as well as the usual reasons of style. There is too much agreement with the *Vitae* of Pachomius not to suspect a construction *a posteriori*, not counting the fact that a 4th-century orator would have avoided such explicit mention of facts intrinsic to the community (and cf. for this the *Liber Horsiesii*).

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 40-60 (French tr., 39-61).

Theodore (Pseudo-), *Two catecheses*

These are preserved in a single fragment each, of few words. This does not permit useful observations on their content and authenticity.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 37-40 (French tr., 38-39).

HORSIESI

1. *Letters 1 and 2*

Of their authenticity there seems no doubt. From the literary point of view we note especially the sequence of biblical citations with brief linking phrases, common to quite a few of the texts listed here. Yet compared to the letters of Pachomius and Theodore it is possible to observe a greater personal intervention of the author, who enlarges the linking passages in the direction of a more extended homiletic form, like that used in contemporary non-monastic ecclesiastical literature. Something of the sort can be noted in the *Liber*.

Edition: The text, in two Dublin papyri, C. Beatty Library AC.1491 and 1495, is still unedited. Translations in A. de Vogüé, "Épîtres inédites d'Horsiesse et de Theodore", *Commandements du Seigneur et libération évangélique*, ed. J. Gribomont, *Studia Anselmiana* 70, Rome 1977, 244-257; cf. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia*, cit.; and L. Cremaschi, *Pacomio e i suoi discepoli, Regole e scritti*, Magnano 1988.

Bibliography: A. de Vogüé, "Les nouvelles lettres d'Horsiesse et de Théodore. Analyse et commentaire", *Studia Monastica* 28 (1986) 7-50; T. Orlandi, "Nuovi testi copti pacomiani", *Commandements du Seigneur et libération évangélique*, ed. J. Gribomont, *Studia Anselmiana* 70, Rome 1977, 241-243.

2. *Letters*

A single long fragment preserves the second part of a letter and, immediately after, the first part of another. This second letter must have been addressed to Theodore (cf. the title and the opening) and would thus date from the period 350-368. The style is certainly identical with that of the letters, and moreover the final citation of the first of these letters also appears in the *Liber Horsiesii* as its conclusion (Eccl 12, 13-14). The author tends rather to hide behind biblical citations, and all his work consists in the interweaving of biblical phrases joined in groups by a tenuous thread (sometimes a "key word") which represents the subject to be discussed with the recipient. But this subject is not made at all explicit, indeed it almost seems deliberately hidden, so that only one who is already acquainted with the debate or the problems can understand the meaning of the message. This characteristic (L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., XVIII, speaks of "veritable mosaics of biblical citations") leads us to credit the attribution of these letters, partly because it is not at all common to other works of later Coptic literature. In these, as is obvious, biblical citations are indeed often present; but hardly ever in such numbers, arrangement and exclusiveness as to turn the text into a veritable cento with few original linking phrases. As regards content, we seem to recognize in what remains of the first letter the themes: (a) wisdom as woman (probable metaphor for the monastic *synagoge*);

(b) self-styled "inspired" behaviour (as against obedience and respect for superiors); (c) the temple of God (again identifiable with the community). The surviving opening of the second letter seems to be a commendation of Theodore, and thus a confirmation of confidence in the work he was doing as "substitute" for Horsiesi (praise of the sage; the good shepherd).

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 63-66 (French tr., 63-66).

3. Rules

This is the text which, while having quite archaic stylistic characteristics, comes closest to Shenute's type of preaching. Its attribution to Horsiesi was tried by Lefort (xxvi ff.) after Amélineau and Leipoldt had in fact proposed Shenute. We consider Lefort's stylistic and historical analysis to be still valid and that, given for certain the chronological attribution to the period following Pachomius' death, there may at most still be some doubt between Horsiesi and Theodore. Horsiesi remains the most probable, however, and we may think of him opening up new cultural paths after Theodore's death, perhaps to make the management of the monasteries more relaxed (cf. *ibid.*, xxix). The idea of the *Liber*, also later than Theodore's death, may also obey the same intention. In fact even from the point of view of style these are not "rules" following the Pachomian example, but recommendations and exhortations (Lefort: *monita*) grouped together around themes of monastic community life.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 82-99 (French tr., 81-99).

Horsiesi (Pseudo-), *Catechesis on homosexuality*

This text has, like the "catechesis" of Pachomius but still more so, all the characteristics of a fake, written around the 5th-6th century to be attributed to an important person. The genre is that of lamentations for the decline of monasticism, and the style is that typical of Asian derivation, turgid and baroque, with repetitions, anaphoras, invocations and other rhetorical artifices, which Coptic literature would inherit from the Greek school especially after the Shenutian experience.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 75-80 (French tr., 75-80).

Horsiesi (Pseudo-), *Logoi for Holy Saturday*

This series of (at least) five *logoi*, which is not worth dwelling on, also has all the characteristics of a late fake. On works of this type in general, we may add that, if Pachomius and his successors had really practised a literary activity of catechetical type in writing, we ought to have some knowledge of it through the normal channels of "international" patristic tradition.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 66-75 (French tr., 67-74).

Kjarur, *Prophecies*

This text appeared to Lefort himself particularly obscure and mysterious; and in fact it is not possible to give an explicit meaning to the series of phrases of which it is composed (at least in the first part). But, set within the "normal" mysteriousness of Pachomian literature, above all Pachomius' own letters, it does not appear out of place. It must simply be considered a late work emerging from that milieu. It consists, in our view, of two distinct (and perhaps originally detached) parts. The first is a series of phrases, followed by their "explanation"; the second part describes an episode whose protagonists are Apa Besarion and Apa Victor.

Edition: L.-T. Lefort, *Oeuvres de S. Pachôme...* cit., 100-104 (French tr., 100-108).

GNOSTIC TEXTS

The thirteen codices (some incomplete) found in 1945 at Nag Hammadi have aroused great interest because for the first time they allowed direct access to a relatively large quantity of original texts read in Christian communities, to which was applied (rightly or wrongly) the term of gnostic. For this reason their analysis was oriented mainly to the aim of drawing information from them relating to the theories of "classical" gnosticism. To these codices were added, by analogy both of chronology and of cultural milieu, three more (Askew, Bruce, Berl. 8001) that had come to light earlier, but which showed the same characteristics of content. Thorough linguistic analyses have been carried out on these codices because (as we have mentioned) they witness to an early stage of Coptic, which yet appears quite different from the analogous evidence we find in the biblical codices.

In the sphere of properly Coptic patrology the scholar thus finds himself in difficulties, because his task is different. Although studies of gnostic doctrines and linguistic studies represent a considerable help, he is called on to evaluate the significance of these texts with respect to specifically Coptic culture and to reconstruct, as far as possible, the milieu that copied and read them, rather than that – of clear international (Judaeo-) Hellenistic stamp – which produced them in its own time, in Greek. On the other hand the problems are closely linked. We will therefore accept those conclusions of the various specialists that seem more reasonable (on none of the problems has a true consensus yet been reached), but we will contend with another type of perspective.

It is evident that the groups who translated, copied and read this kind of text were several; and this, in a sense, takes interest away from the problem of whether the codices found at Nag Hammadi were part

of a single library and whether they were produced by a single scriptorium (C. Scholten, "Die Nag-Hammadi-Texte als Buchbesetz der Pachomianer", *JbCh* 31 [1988] 144-172). Other more important questions remain open: who were these groups; what was their origin; why they practised this work of translation; whether and how they were dispersed.

Studies: A. Khosroyev, "Die Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi. Einige Probleme des Christentums", *Ägypten während der ersten Jahrhunderte*, Altenberge 1995; A. Camplani, "Sulla trasmissione di testi gnostici in copto", *L'Egitto cristiano: aspetti e problemi in età tardoantica*, SEAug 56, Rome 1997, 121-175.

As to the identity of the gnosticizing groups or communities in Egypt, interested in producing texts in Coptic, there is external evidence that can be set alongside the internal evidence given by the texts themselves. The first observation to make is that the discarded papyri used to make the covers of some of the Nag Hammadi codices come from a Pachomian monastery.

Studies: J.W.B. Barns *et al.*, *Nag Hammadi Codices. Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, NHS 16, Leyden 1981.

This would not in itself have excessive significance, being explainable in many ways; but add to it the fact that Nag Hammadi was in the territory of foundation of the first Pachomian monasteries (primarily pBau, which became the principal monastery), and that some scholars had already suggested the Pachomian communities as a possible receptacle of gnosticizing groups.

Studies: F. Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt", *Gnosis*, ed. B. Aland, Göttingen 1978; A. Veilleux, "Monachisme et gnose. Première partie: le cénobitisme pachomien et la bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi", *Laval Theol. et Philos.* 40 (1984) 275-294.

It is true that, despite some ingenious attempts, the documentation on the Pachomians (*Vitae* of Pachomius and correlated texts) does not seem to justify a gnosticizing orientation for the movement.

But it is also true that: that same documentation alludes to the existence of "Origenist" heretics; the letters of Pachomius contain mysterious elements that make them in some way akin to some gnosticizing texts (and what Palladius says about this, although false on the historical plane, seems to hint under the surface at a gnosticizing atmosphere); it is difficult to think of other centres (known to us) interested, at that period and in that region, in producing work in Coptic.

Add to this that careful examination of a codex containing an interesting collection in which texts relating to the Pachomians mingle with others attributed to the shadowy figure of an Agathonicus of Tarsus (cf. *infra*) has shown that these last were produced (in Greek) by the

Evagrian Origenist milieu of northern Egypt (Nitria) and accepted and translated into Coptic in a Pachomian milieu.

The mingling of late Origenism and gnosticism seems to be the key to understanding the milieu in which to set the gnosticizing Coptic texts. An important testimony of Shenute, written between 430 and 450, informs us that such texts were still widespread at that period, precisely in the monastic milieu of central-southern Egypt.

Studies: T. Orlandi, *Shenute, Contra Origenistas*, Rome 1985; Idem, "A Catechesis against Apocryphal Texts by Shenute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi", *HTR* 75 (1982) 85-95; J.E. Goehring, "Pachomius' Vision of Heresy. The Development of a Pachomian Tradition", *Muséon* 95 (1982) 241-262; Grillmeier, II/1, 46 (English ed. II/1, 41).

It is probable that this survival (still enduring in the 7th century, according to a testimony of John of Paralos) was due to the union of two factors: a certain type of doctrinal and spiritual interests among the first Pachomians, and the flight of the Origenist monks persecuted by Theophilus after 401, which reinforced and perhaps modified those interests.

Studies: A. Van Lantschoot, "Fragments coptes d'une homélie de Jean de Paralos contre les livres hérétiques", *Misc. Mercati*, ST 121, Vatican City 1946, 296-326.

At this point only internal analysis of the texts can provide any confirmations and other information. But this comes up against the perhaps more important problem they pose, in connection with their origin and with the structure that may be recognizable in gnosticism as a historical phenomenon. It is a matter of establishing whether it is possible to identify a number of schools or currents that were recognized as such in their own time, and are not the fruits of our own *a posteriori* evaluation.

Studies: F. Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists", *VC* 25 (1971) 205-223.

For one of them the answer is easy: the followers of Valentinus (not Valentinus himself, it seems) undoubtedly formed a school with precise connotations, which it is easy to recognize in a series of treatises in the Nag Hammadi collection.

Studies: *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism. I. The School of Valentinus. Proceedings of the Conference... Yale, March 1978*, ed. B. Layton, Leyden 1980.

Rather more controversial is the existence (with similar characteristics) of a current which may be called that of the Sethians, whom in several texts, both from Nag Hammadi and in the other codices listed above, it seems possible to define with some exactness, and who would comprise groups whom the heresiologists also call Ophites, Archontics, Barbelognostics and further names.

Studies: H.-M. Schenke, "Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften", *Studia Coptica*, ed. P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, 165-174.

More indistinct are groups who seem more directly linked to Iranian religious speculations, with texts attributed to Zoroaster and Allogenes; or to a particular tradition of Asiatic Christianity, around the (mythicized) figures of the apostles Thomas (especially), Peter, James and Mary. One group of texts is clearly linked to Hermetism, a religious current that grew out of the encounter between old Egyptian culture and Hellenism; but we would like to know better whether this was a particular group, which had close links with nascent Christianity.

To us it seems reasonable to subdivide the gnosticizing Coptic texts among these five groups, almost as a working hypothesis, and to add to them another two for those texts that are not classifiable in this way: the group of purely moral texts, and that of more simply speculative texts (still in a religious sense). This is the criterion that we have adopted in listing and characterizing them.

General bibliography (fundamental works only): G. Filoramo, *L'attesa della fine. Storia della gnosi*, Rome-Bari 1983; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures. A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions*, Garden City 1987; E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels*, New York 1979; B.A. Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1990; J. Ries, *Les Études gnostiques hier et aujourd'hui*, Collection Informat. et Enseignement 17, Louvain-la-Neuve 1982; G.A.G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed. Studies in Gnostic Mythology*, NHS 24, Leyden 1984; M. Tardieu, J.-D. Dubois, *Introduction à la littérature gnostique*, 1, *Collections retrouvées avant 1945*, Initiations au Christianisme Ancien, Paris 1986; *Le origini dello gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina 13-18 aprile 1966*, ed. U. Bianchi, Leyden 1967; J.M. Robinson *et al.*, *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Introduction*, Leyden 1984; *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J.M. Robinson, Leyden etc. 1977; H.-M. Schenke, "Gnosis: Zum Forschungsstand unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der religionsgeschichtlichen Problematik", *Verkündigung und Forschung* 32 (1987) 2-21; K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis, Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion*, Göttingen 1978, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1980; W. Foerster, *Die Gnosis, 2, Koptische und mandäische Quellen*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1971 (= Die Bibliothek zur Alten Welt, Reihe Antike und Christentum), with Introduction, translation and commentary by M. Krause, K. Rudolph (cf. the English tr., with revision, by H. Kuhn: *Gnosis: a Selection of Gnostic Texts*, ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2 voll., Oxford 1972-1974).

Collections: Facsimile Edition of Nag Hammadi Codices (Manichaean Studies); BCNH.

Bibliographies: D. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography, 1948-1969*, NHS 1, Leyden 1971; Idem, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1970-1994*, NHMS 32, Leyden etc. 1997.

1. Valentinian texts

1) *Evangelium Veritatis*. By some wrongly considered the homonymous text attributed to Valentinus by Irenaeus, it develops in exegetical form the theme of the redemption of the cosmos (and humanity) after the fall

of one of the aeons (the name Sophia is never given); and, in homiletic form, various connected themes like that of odour, grace, unction, will, name, place of rest.

Edition: H. Attridge, in *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 voll., NHS 22-23, Leyden 1985, 1, 55-117; 2 (commentary), 39-135.

Bibliography: T. Orlandi, "Rassegna di studi sull'Evangelium Veritatis", *RSLR* 7 (1971) 491-501; J. Helderman, "Das Evangelium Veritatis in der neueren Forschung", *ANRW* II. 25.5, 4054-4106, Berlin-New York 1988; W.C. Till, "Das Evangelium der Wahrheit. Neue Übersetzung des vollständigen Textes", *ZNW* 50 (1959) 165-185; T. Orlandi, *Evangelium Veritatis*, Brescia 1992; K. Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth. A Valentinian Meditation on the Gospel*, New York-London 1960; J.-É. Ménard, *L'Évangile de Verité*, NHS 2, Leyden 1972; H.-M. Schenke, *Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis*, Berlin 1958, Göttingen 1959; S. Arai, *Die Christologie des Evangelium Veritatis. Eine religionsgeschichtlichen Untersuchung*, Leyden 1964; J. Helderman, *Die Anapausis im Evangelium Veritatis*, Leyden 1984; C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi, VII", *JbAC* 21 (1978) 125-146 (cf. pp. 131-146).

2) *Evangelium Philippi*. A collection of passages of very unequal length, which may go from that of a *logion* to that of a small treatise, bearing in mind that it is often hard to find the objective point of separation of these passages. They also seem not to be assembled according to a precise design, but in a rather casual way (saving further examination of the question). In this situation it is not possible to give a summary of the contents. We will confine ourselves to saying that the main subject consists of Christological speculations (of Valentinian type) and that the sacramental themes of baptism and the "nuptial chamber" are widely present.

Edition: B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7*, 2 voll., NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; W.C. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippus*, Patristische Texte und Studien 2, Berlin 1963.

Bibliography: J.-É. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe*, Strasbourg-Paris 1967; H.-M. Schenke, "Das Evangelium nach Philippus", *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, Tübingen 1987, 148-173; G. Sfameni Gasparro, "Il 'Vangelo secondo Filippo': rassegna degli studi e proposte di interpretazione", *ANRW*, II. 25.5, 4107-4166; R. McL. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip*, London 1962.

3) *Tractatus Tripartitus*. The conventional title given by scholars refers to subdivisions that appear in the manuscript. The treatise is in fact divided into three organically conceived parts, which turn on the higher world, the creation of the world and man, the history of man and his salvation. It is a real gnostic theological *summa*: in it appear the most important Valentinian theories, like the fall of the last aeon originating the material world, the tripartite division of men into pneumatic, psychic,

material, etc. But Sophia is not named (the fall is attributed directly to the Logos) and there is no hint of the complicated myth described by Irenaeus. In the third part is a very precise evaluation of the vicissitudes of the people of Israel, and at the end a description of the way of salvation. The first part is peculiar for a clearly philosophical turn to the exposition.

Edition: AA.VV., *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 voll., NHS 22-23, Leyden 1985; R. Kasser, M. Malinine, H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel *et al.*, *Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars I, De Supernis*, Bern 1973; *Pars 2, De Creatione Hominis, Pars 3, De Generibus Tribus*, Bern 1975; E. Thomassen, L. Painchaud, *Le traité tripartite. Texte établi, introduit et commenté... traduit...*, BCNH, Textes 19, Quebec 1989.

Bibliography: H.M. Schenke, "Zum sogenannten Tractatus Tripartitus des Codex Jung", *Zeitsch. f. Äg. Sprache* 105 (1978) 133-141.

4) *De resurrectione*. A treatise in epistolary form for one Reginos, which defends the reality and necessity of resurrection after death. The foundation of the doctrine lies in the death and resurrection of Christ; we rise with our flesh. Moreover we have already had a certain type of resurrection by acknowledging the truth, in this world: we must thus behave as if already risen, not according to the carnal world but according to the spiritual world.

Editions: AA.VV., *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 voll., NHS 22-23, Leyden 1985; B. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi*, Harvard Diss. in Religion 12, Missoula 1979; M. Malinine, H.-C. Puech, *De Resurrectione (Epistula ad Rheginum) Codex Jung f. 22-25 (p. 43-50)*, Zurich-Stuttgart 1963; J.-É. Ménard, *Le Traité sur la Resurrection (NH I.4)*, BCNH, Textes 12, Quebec 1983.

Bibliography: M.L. Peel, *The Epistle to Rheginos, A Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection, Introduction, Translation, Analysis and Exposition*, London-Philadelphia 1969.

2. Sethian texts

1) *Apocryphon Iohannis*. It hands down a revelation made by Jesus to John, to whom he appears at the temple of Jerusalem. It is divided into two parts: the first is a full account of the creation of the world and of man, in which appear the typical mythological figures of the Sethian milieu; the second is a question-and-answer dialogue on more particular subjects. It must have been a very important work, since the text, in two versions, is transmitted by four codices.

Edition: S. Giversen, *Apocryphon Iohannis, The Coptic Text of the Apocryphon Iohannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex 2*, Acta Theologica Danica 5, Copenhagen 1963; M. Krause, P. Labib, *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, ADAI, Koptische Reihe 1, Wiesbaden 1962.

Bibliography: C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi 5", *JbAC* 19 (1976) 120-138; H.M. Jackson, *The Lion Becomes Man. The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition*,

Atlanta (GA) 1985; M. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, Paris 1984; M. Allen Williams, *The Immovable Race. A Gnostic Designation and the Theme of Stability in Late Antiquity*, NHS 29, Leyden 1985.

2) *Evangelium Aegyptiorum*. A treatise composed of three main sections. The first deals with the creation of the higher world, in accordance with the Sethian mythological scheme; the second with the elect race of Seth, its origin and its salvation through gnosis; the third is a hymn to the supreme Father. Two concluding passages concern the attribution of the work to Seth himself, and a summary history of it.

Edition: A. Böhlig, F. Wisse, *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, NHS 4, Leyden 1975.

Bibliography: C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi 5", *JbAC* 19 (1976) 120-138; J. Doresse, "Le Livre Sacré du Grand Esprit Invisible ou l'Évangile des Égyptiens", *JA* 254 (1966) 317-435; 256 (1968) 289-386; H.-M. Schenke, "Das Aegypter-Evangelium aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex 3", *NTS* 16 (1969-1970) 196-208; Y. Janssens, *Évangiles gnostiques dans le corpus de Berlin et dans la bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Traduction française, commentaire et notes*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1991.

3) *Stelae Seth*. Three hymns, also written by Seth in person and incised on stone steles, found, read, interpreted and handed down by Dositheus (the mythical teacher of Simon Magus). The three hymns are to Adamas, Barbelo and the supreme Father.

Edition: P. Claude, *Les trois Stèles de Seth, hymne gnostique à la Triade (NH VII.5)*, BCNH, Textes 8, Quebec 1983.

Bibliography: M. Allen Williams, *The Immovable Race. A Gnostic Designation and the Theme of Stability in Late Antiquity*, NHS 29, Leyden 1985.

4) *Protennoia Trimorphos*. The character of *Protennoia*, who represents the thought of the supreme Father, is presented in the first person in her three forms, which make her the principle of gnostic revelation. The first is transcendent thought; the second is sound, an as yet indistinct voice that is thus made to known to the All without this being able to understand it; the third is the word (logos), which is revealed in a comprehensible way, but only to gnostics. The three sections are distinct from each other, even graphically, and begin analogously with an introduction in the aretalogical formula "I am...", many times repeated. They then continue with a narrative treatment.

Editions: C.W. Hedrick (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII*, NHS 28, Leyden etc. 1990; Y. Janssens, *La Prôtennoia Trimorphe*, BCNH, Textes 4, Quebec 1978; G. Schenke, *Die dreigestaltige protennoia (Nag-Hammadi-Codex XIII)*, TU 132, Berlin 1984.

Bibliography: C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi III", *JAC* 16 (1974) 109-125.

5) *Hypostasis Archonton*. A treatise divided in two parts. The first, taking its cue from a passage of St Paul (Eph 6 12), speaks of Ialdabaoth, the demiurge and wicked creator of the material world, and creation. In the second, a dialogue between Norea (Noah's wife, a typically Sethian character) and Eleleth (another Sethian character of the higher world) turns on the relationship between the higher and the lower world, and on the role of the mythological characters connected with it (Sophia, Archons, Zoe, etc.).

Editions: R.A. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons. The Coptic Text with Translation and Commentary*, PTS 10, Berlin 1970; B. Barc, M. Roberge, *L'hypostase des Archontes, Norea*, BCNH, Textes 5, Quebec-Louvain 1980; B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, 2 voll.*, NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; P. Nagel, *Das Wesen der Archonten aus Codex 2 der gnostischen Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi*, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 6, Saale 1970.

Bibliography: F.T. Fallon, *The Enthronement of Sabaoth, Jewish Elements in Gnostic Creation Myths*, NHS 10, Leyden 1978; I. Saelid Gilhus, *The Nature of the Archons. A Study in the Soteriology of a Gnostic Treatise from Nag Hammadi (CG II, 4)*, Studies in Oriental Religions 12, Wiesbaden 1985; H.-M. Schenke, "Vom Ursprung der Welt, Eine titellose gnostische Abhandlung aus dem Funde von Nag-Hammadi", *TLZ* 84 (1959) 243-256.

6) *Sine titulo (de origine mundi)*. A very long treatise, consisting of an interpretation or rewriting of the book of Genesis in accordance with the schemes of Sethian gnostic mythology. It speaks of the creation of the lower world, while the higher one is taken as known. The creation of each of the components of the lower world, and of man, is dealt with in great detail, with *excursus* on characters of classical mythology, such as the Phoenix and Eros.

Editions: C.W. Hedrick (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII, NHS 28*, Leyden etc. 1990; B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, 2 voll.*, NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; L. Painchaud, *L'Écrit sans titre. Traité sur l'origine du monde (NH II, 5 et XIII, 2 et Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 [1])*, BCNH 21, Quebec-Louvain 1995; C. Oeyen, "Fragmente einer subachmimischen Version der gnostischen 'Schrift ohne Titel'", *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib*, ed. M. Krause, Leyden 1975, 125-144.

Bibliography: L. Painchaud, "The Redaction of the Writing without Title (CG II 5)", *The Second Century* 8 (1991) 217-234; Idem, "Something is Rotten in the Kingdom of Sabaoth'. Allégorie et polémique en NH II 103,32-106,19", *Acts of the Fifth International Congress of Coptic Studies, 12-15 August 1992, Washington*, ed. D.W. Johnson, 2, Rome 1993, Part I-II, 339-353; M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques, Adam, Eros et les animaux d'Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (2. 5)*, Paris 1974.

7) *Apocalypsis Adam*. Adam informs his son Seth of what happened at the time when he incurred the wrath of the lower God, i.e. the demiurge. He then acquaints him with the revelation received by three heavenly characters on the preservation of the stock of Seth, the elect, and the

coming of the Saviour. The treatise concludes with a very interesting part on the Saviour.

Editions: F. Morard, *L'Apocalypse d'Adam (NH V.5)*, BCNH, Textes 15, Quebec 1985; A. Böhlig, P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex 5 von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg 1963; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

Bibliography: P.-A. R. Linder, *The Apocalypse of Adam, Nag Hammadi Codex V, 5, considered from its Egyptian Background*, Loberod (Sweden) 1991.

8) *Melchizedek*. The text is rather fragmentary. We understand fundamentally that it deals with a revelation received by Melchizedek, which has as its basis the events and characters of Sethian mythology. It does, however, maintain the reality of the Saviour's passion, and the central part contains a hymn, perhaps sacramental, to the supreme Father.

Edition: B.A. Pearson, S. Giversen, *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, NHS 15, Leyden 1981.

Bibliography: J. Helderman, "Melchisedeks Wirkung. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung eines Makrokomples in NHC IX, 1,1-27,10 (Melchisedek)", *AA.VV., The New Testament in Early Christianity*, Leuven University Press 1989, 335-362; W. Myszor, "Melchisedech (NHC IX, 1). Introduction, traduction du copte, et commentaire (en polonaise)", *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 2 (1986) 209-226; C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia*, Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 12, Brescia 1984; H.M. Schenke, "Die jüdische Melchisedek-Gestalt als Thema der Gnosis", *Altes Testament...*, ed. K.W. Troger, Gütersloh 1980.

9) *Tractatus magni Seth*. Jesus reveals in the first person the mysteries of salvation. The situation presupposed is that typical of Sethian mythology, but the subject concerns only the episode of salvation, i.e. the event of Jesus, the facts linked to it and their spiritual significance. The text appears to be the result of reworking. The original nucleus probably spoke only of salvation occurring in the higher sphere of the aeons, while allusions to the concrete event of Jesus were added later, and the author's identification with Jesus seems secondary.

Editions: M. Krause, "Der zweite Logos des Grossen Seth", *Christentum am Roten Meer*, ed. F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, Berlin-New York 1973, 2, 106-151; L. Painchaud, *Le Deuxième Traité du Grand Seth (NH VIII.2)*, BCNH, Textes 6, Quebec 1982.

10) *Norea*. Probably an *excerptum*, it describes the entrance of Norea (a known Sethian figure, daughter of Eve) into the heavenly world.

Editions: B. Barc, M. Roberge, *L'hypostase des Archontes, Norea*, BCNH, Textes 5, Quebec-Louvain 1980; B.A. Pearson, S. Giversen, *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, NHS 15, Leyden 1981.

Bibliography: W. Myszor, "L'ode de Norea (NHC IX, 2). Introduction, traduction, commentaire (en polonaise)", *Studia Theologica Varsaviensia* 1 (1986) 197-203.

3. *Iranian texts*

1) *Zostrianos*. The longest of the Nag Hammadi treatises, it reports, as the opening passage says, "the words of eternal truth spoken to me, Zostrianos". The *subscriptio* is equally explicit: "Words of truth of Zostrianos, God of truth. Words of Zoroaster". Zostrianos receives a revelation through the "messenger of knowledge" who guides him on a heavenly journey, not before the divine gnostic spark in him had led him to doubt the worldly knowledge offered him by the wisdom derived from the God of the material world. The content of the revelation is not dissimilar from the Sethian mythology, yet filtered through a somehow philosophical meditation on the spiritual value attributable to persons and events.

Edition: J.H. Sieber (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, NHS 31, Leyden 1991.

Bibliography: L. Abramowski, "Nag Hammadi 8.1, 'Zostrianos', das Anonymum Brucianum, Plotin Enn. 2.9 (33)", *Platonismus und Christentum*, ed. H.D. Blume, F. Mann, JAC Ergänzt 10, Münster 1983, 1-10.

2) *Allogenes*. Allogenes is another character who receives a revelation and transmits it to his son Messos. The revealer is Youel, the higher light, who takes Allogenes on a kind of spiritual journey. In this case too the content is close to Sethian mythology, enriched by meditations on the spiritual value of facts and persons.

Edition: C.W. Hedrick (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII*, NHS 28, Leyden etc. 1990.

Bibliography: H.-M. Schenke, "Bemerkungen zur Apokalypse des Allogenes (NHC XI, 3)", *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third Int. Congr. of Coptic Studies, Warsaw 20-25 Aug. 1984*, ed. W. Godlewski, Warsaw 1990, 417-424.

4. *Asiatic texts*

1) *Evangelium Thomae*. Despite the title, this is not a Gospel in the canonical sense. It contains no "actions" of Jesus, but only sayings (*logia*). In effect it is a great collection of *logia*, on the model of those that probably underlay the canonical Gospels. The *logia* are sometimes in the form of maxims or proverbs; sometimes in the form of parables; sometimes replies to problems posed by the disciples, hence in rather colloquial form. Consequently their extent also varies considerably, and some are quite long. According to the subdivision of O. Cullmann ("Das Thomasevangelium und die Frage nach dem Alter der in ihm enthaltenen Tradition", *TLZ* 85 [1960] 321-334) they can be distinguished thus: 1) sayings identical (word for word) with the canonical sayings; 2) paraphrases of the canonical sayings; 3) sayings that do not appear in the canonical gospels, but are handed down in patristic texts; 4) sayings altogether unknown, previously.

Of all the texts found at Nag Hammadi, this was the one that most aroused a stir over a possible renewal of the problems concerning the redaction of the Gospels and the sayings of Jesus not collected by the canonical Gospels. After an immense bibliography, we do not feel that any general agreement has been reached as to its milieu of origin and its relationship to the synoptics and to gnosticism.

Editions: J. Leiboldt, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas, koptisch und deutsch*, TU 101, Berlin 1967; B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, 2 voll.*, NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; J. Doresse, *L'Évangile selon Thomas. Les Paroles Secrètes de Jesus*, 2nd ed., Monaco 1988; A. Guillaumont et al., *Evangelium nach Thomas. Koptischer Text herausgegeben und übersetzt*, Leyden 1959.

Bibliography: M. Fieger, *Das Thomasevangelium. Einleitung, Kommentar und Systematik*, Münster 1991; J.-É. Menard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, NHS 5, Leyden 1975; S.L. Davies, *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom*, New York 1983; R.M. Grant, D.N. Freeman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus According to the Gospel of Thomas*, Glasgow 1960; Y. Janssens, *Évangiles gnostiques dans le corpus de Berlin et dans la bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Traduction française, commentaire et notes*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1991; M. Lelyveld, *Les logia de la vie dans l'Évangile selon Thomas*, NHS 34, Leyden 1987; M. Meyer, H. Bloom, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus*, San Francisco 1992; A. Lee Nations, *A Critical Study of the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas*, Ann Arbor 1960; G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, Suppl. NT 15, Leyden 1967; H. McGregor Ross, *The Gospel of Thomas*, New York 1987; R. Summers, *The Secret Sayings of the Living Jesus. Studies in the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas*, Waco (Texas) 1968; R.McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas*, London 1960; R. Kasser, *L'Évangile selon Thomas, Présentation et commentaire théologique*, Neuchâtel 1961; K.O. Schmidt, *Die geheimen Herren-Worte des Thomas-Evangeliums, Wegweisungen Christi zur Selbstvollendung*, Pfullingen-Württ 1966; W. Schrage, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelien-Übersetzungen, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung*, Suppl. ZNTW 29, Berlin 1964; H.E.W. Turner, H. Montefiore, *Thomas and the Evangelists, Studies in Biblical Theology* 35, London 1962; E. Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums*, Theologische Bibliothek Topelmann 6, Berlin 1961; B.E. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, London-New York 1961.

2) *Liber Thomae Athletae*. The apostle Matthias relates a dialogue between Jesus and Thomas. After an exhortation to knowledge of self and consequently of higher things, the subjects dealt with are: invisible things compared with physical, visible ones; how to flee the fire of passion and keep oneself pure; how to make the world accept the Saviour's teachings. The work concludes with a series of "woes" and "beatitudes" pronounced by Jesus.

Editions: R. Kuntzmann, *Le livre de Thomas (NH II, 7)*, BCNH, Textes 16, Quebec 1986; B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, 2 voll.*, NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; J.D. Turner, *The Book of Thomas the Contender from Codex 2 of the Cairo Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi (CG 2, 7)*, SBL Dissertation Series 23, Missoula 1975.

3) *Acta Petri et XII apostolorum*. The apostles (Peter narrates, though he speaks in the first person plural, in the name of the others too) decide to go and spread the preaching to the world. They take a ship and reach a city on an island. They meet a man with a book in his hand, who sells pearls and, after having denied them to rich merchants, invites the poor to follow him to the city to have the pearls. Here, after some adventures, Lithargoel (as he is now called) reappears in the form of a physician, and makes himself recognized as Jesus. After a final dialogue with John on how to have the gifts of the spirit, the work ends.

Editions: M. Krause, P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex 2 und Codex 6*, ADAI, Koptische Reihe 2, Glückstadt 1972; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

4) *Epistula Iacobi*. This is a relation by the apostle James to [...]thos (Cerinthos?) of one of Jesus' appearances after the resurrection. Jesus takes Peter and James on one side and converses with them on various doctrinal subjects. The teaching has at first the form of *erotapokrisis* (the questions are all from James), then of a continuous sermon by Jesus, with short observations that interrupt the discourse here and there.

Editions: AA.VV., *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 voll., NHS 22-23, Leyden 1985; D. Rouleau, *L'épître apocryphe de Jacques (NH I, 2)*, BCNH, Textes 18, Quebec 1987, I-XIV, 1-161.

Bibliography: D. Kirchner, *Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha. Die zweite Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex I*, Berlin 1989.

5) *Apocalypsis Iacobi I*. The numbering that distinguishes the two apocalypses is modern; in the manuscript there is no distinction between the titles. It is really a dialogue between James and Jesus. It begins with an account related by James in the first person, but continues in the third person. The dialogues are really two, with two successive appearances of Jesus, the first with no specifications of place, the second on Mount Gaugelaan. The problem dealt with is always the same: the value of the sufferings undergone by the elect (and of the, only apparent, sufferings of Jesus) and how not to fear them. We meet many doctrines close to the Valentinian tradition (among others, an interesting passage on how to behave towards the wicked powers after death: cf. Irenaeus I, 25, 5, Marcosiani). At the end the martyrdom of James may have been narrated.

Editions: A. Veilleux, *La première Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 3). La seconde Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 4)*, BCNH, Textes 17, Quebec 1986; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979; A. Böhlig, P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus*

Codex 5 von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg 1963.

Bibliography: W. Schoedel, "A Gnostic Interpretation of the Fall of Jerusalem: The First Apocalypsis of James", *NT* 33 (1991) 153-178.

6) *Apocalypsis Iacobi II*. A literarily well-constructed composition: a long discourse of James, in which he reports discourses and appearances of Jesus. There follows an account of the martyrdom of James. Interesting are four hymnic sections (three in the form of aretologies) which contribute to the careful and inspired character of the text. The doctrines have a markedly Judaeo-Christian aspect.

Editions: A. Veilleux, *La première Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 3). La seconde Apocalypse de Jacques (NH V, 4)*, BCNH, Textes 17, Quebec 1986; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979; A. Böhlig, P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex 5 von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg 1963.

Bibliography: W.P. Funk, *Die Zweite Apokalypse des Jakobus aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex 5*, TU 119, Berlin 1976.

7) *Evangelium Mariae*. Missing the beginning and a central part. It starts with the conclusion of an appearance of the risen Jesus to the disciples. They are frightened and irresolute, but Mary comforts them with some revelations made to her by Jesus. The disciples do not believe her, and are admonished by Levi.

Editions: D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979; W.C. Till (-H.M. Schenke), *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, TU 60, 2, 2nd ed. Berlin 1972.

Bibliography: Y. Janssens, *Évangiles gnostiques dans le corpus de Berlin et dans la bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. Traduction française, commentaire et notes*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1991; D. Luhrmann, "Die griechischen Fragmente des Maria-evangeliums", *NT* 30 (1988) 321-338; M. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, Paris 1984.

8) *Apocalypsis Pauli*. After a narrative introduction recounting Paul's meeting with a boy (symbol of the risen Christ) on the mountain of Jericho, Paul narrates in the first person his mystical experience of a journey to the ten (perhaps eight) heavens.

Editions: D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979; A. Böhlig, P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex 5 von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg 1963.

Bibliography: H.J. Klauck, *Die Himmelfahrt des Paulus (2 Kor 12.2-4) in der koptischen Paulusapokalypse aus Nag Hammadi (NHC V/2)*, Studien zum NT und seiner Umwelt A 10, Linz 1985, 151-190.

9) *Apocalypsis Petri*. The risen Jesus predicts to Peter the stormy relationship between the ecclesiastical authorities and the true believers.

Edition: D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

Bibliography: K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate 'Apokalypse des Petrus' (NHC 7.3) und 'Testimonium Veritatis' (NHC 9.3)*, NHS 12, Leyden 1978.

10) *Epistula Petri ad Philippum*. Peter asks Philip to go with him to agree on a common programme for announcing the good news, in accordance with Jesus' instructions. Both go to the Mount of Olives, where Jesus appears and answers questions on the deficiency of the Aeons, on the Pleroma and the Archons. Back in Jerusalem, Peter preaches a sermon to the apostles on the passion (according to blandly Docetist theories). The treatise concludes with a new appearance of Jesus.

Editions: J.-É. Ménard, *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe. Texte établi et présenté*, BCNH, Textes 1, Quebec 1977; M.W. Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip: Text, Translation and Commentary*, SBL Dissertations Series 53, Chico (CA) 1981; J.H. Sieber (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, NHS 31, Leyden 1991.

11) *Dialogus Salvatoris*. After some initial teachings imparted by the Saviour, evidently in an encounter with the apostles after the resurrection, begin the questions of the apostles to which the Saviour replies in Sibylline mode. The apostles mentioned as asking questions are Matthew, Judas (-Thomas) and Mary, in turn. Only at a certain point does their complete group enter as interlocutor. Jesus' initial assertions concern mainly the fact that the fullness of time is already arrived, but he also alludes to a "final dissolution" which must not be feared. The apostles' questions are about that theme and a host of other themes dear to gnostic literature.

Editions: S. Emmel (ed.), *Nag Hammadi codex III.5. The Dialogue of the Saviour*, NHS 26, Leyden 1984.

5. Hermetic texts

1) *Excerptum apocalypticum (ex Asclepio)*. The fundamental nucleus seems to be that devoted first to the Egyptian apocalypse (evils that will come on Egypt at the end of time) and then to individual eschatology, with the restoration of the souls of the pious. This nucleus is preceded by a section dealing with the mystical experience compared with the sexual, and by another dealing with the difference between the pious and the impious, given mainly by correct gnosis. These two sections seem to have been preserved as a mere preface to the part that was really intended to be extracted from the larger treatise.

Editions: J.P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Tome II, Le fragment de Discours Parfait et les Définitions Hermétiques arméniennes (NH VI.8.8a)*, BCNH, Textes 7, Quebec 1982; M. Krause, P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex 2 und Codex 6*, ADAI, Koptische Reihe 2, Glückstadt 1972; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

2) *Dialogus Hermetis et Thot de Ogdoade et Enneade*. Hermes instructs his disciple (initiating him into the mysteries) on some problems to lead him to the ogdoad and then to the ennead. The problems concern the generations of the brethren, by which they are to be recognized; then the supreme being. Then is described the scene of introduction to the ogdoad and then to the ennead. Finally Hermes gives instructions to inscribe a "book" to be placed in the temple of Diospolis, which should contain prayers, revelations and an oath. The text is followed by a Prayer of thanksgiving.

Editions: J.P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte I*, BCNH, Textes 3, Quebec 1978; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

Bibliography: A. Camplani, *Scritti ermetici in copto*, Brescia 2000.

3) *Excerptum ex Platonis Republica*. This is in some sense a translation of the passage from Plato, and as such it would appear to be full of misunderstandings and more or less banal errors. But the text is rather the product of the intervention of a redactor, whose intention was to transform the passage into a short treatise on the problem of justice. Man consists of three parts, and in his moral conduct he must obey the spiritual part.

Editions: L. Painchaud, *Fragment de la République de Platon (NH VI.5)*, BCNH, Textes 11, Quebec 1983, 109-164; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

Bibliography: H.M. Jackson, *The Lion Becomes Man. The Gnostic Leontomorphic Creator and the Platonic Tradition*, Atlanta (GA) 1985.

6. Moral texts

1) *Sententiae Sexti*. A version of the collection of sentences, also known in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian and Georgian.

Editions: R.A. Edwards, R.A. Wild, *The Sentences of Sextus (Sextus Gnomai)*, Texts and Translations 22, Chico (CA) 1981; C.W. Hedrick (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII*, NHS 28, Leyden etc. 1990; P.-H. Poirier, *Les Sentences de Sextus (NH XII.1). Fragments (NH XII.3)*, BCNH, Textes 11, Quebec 1983, 1-108.

2) *Sylvanus*. A collection of maxims (addressed to "my son") of sapiential content, unknown in other languages. The content is partly philosophical, close to Alexandrian Platonism.

Editions: Y. Janssens, *Les leçons de Silvanos (NH VII.4)*, BCNH, Textes 13, Quebec 1983; M. Peel, in B. Pearson (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, NHS 30, Leyden 1996, 249-270.

Bibliography: J. Zandee, *The Teachings of Sylvanus (Nag Hammadi Codex VII, 4)*, Leyden 1991; Idem, *The Teachings of Silvanus and Clement of Alexandria: A New Document of Alexandrian Theology*, Leyden 1977.

7. Speculative and polemical texts

1) *Authentikos Logos*. The Logos in question is the heavenly entity, true spouse of the soul, united with it in the higher world, and then its saviour and redeemer from the unfortunate experiences it encounters in the material world. The treatise goes on at length in its description of the perverse state of souls, prisoners of the material world, and emphasizes the need for salvation through the Logos, not simply by morally correct behaviour, of which even "pagans" are capable.

Editions: G. MacRae, in NHS 11, ed. D. M. Parrott, Leyden 1979, 257-290; J.-É. Ménard, *L'Authentikos Logos: Texte établi et présenté*, BCNH, Textes 2, Quebec 1977.

Bibliography: R. Van den Broek, "The Authentikos Logos: A New Document of Christian Platonism", *VC* 33 (1979) 260-286.

2) *Noema Magnae Potentiae*. The treatise is singular, late in its redaction (4th century?) and impossible to reduce to doctrinal nuclei common to others. The first-person speaker seems to be the supreme Principle, who enunciates an interpretation of the history of the world, as found in the Old Testament, wholly centred on the defence of the aquatic element as opposed to the element of fire. Thus the episodes of creation (spirit of the waters), Noah (saved by means of the flood) and Christ (fed with the breast) are particularly emphasized. The Noema of the title seems to be the direct emanation of the Principle, who concedes right knowledge to the *illuminati*.

Editions: P. Cherix, *Le concept de Notre Grande Puissance (CG VI.4)*, Göttingen 1982; M. Krause, P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex 2 und Codex 6*, ADAI, Koptische Reihe 2, Glückstadt 1972; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

3) *Bronte*. A treatise in the first person. The speaker is the gnostic entity named in the title, who, after a brief exordium on his own provenance, continues with a self-description formulated in the aretalogical style with continual repetitions of "I am...", brief paradoxical antitheses, and recommendations to the faithful, at intervals. As doctrine, there are no particularly significant statements.

Editions: M. Krause, P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex 2 und Codex 6*, ADAI, Koptische Reihe 2, Glückstadt 1972; D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag*

Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4, NHS 11, Leyden 1979.

Bibliography: B. Layton, "The Riddle of the Thunder (NHC VI, 2): The Function of Paradox in a Gnostic Text from Nag Hammadi", *AA.VV., Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity*, Peabody (MA) 1986, 37-54.

4) *Exegesis de anima*. An account of the fall and salvation of the soul, understood sometimes as the one universal soul and sometimes as individual souls, which are yet united in a common substance and a common history. The account is studded with citations from the Bible and Homer.

Editions: B. Layton (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7, 2 voll.*, NHS 20-21, Leyden etc. 1989; M. Scopello, *L'Exégèse de l'Âme. Nag Hammadi Codex II.6*, NHS 25, Leyden 1985; J.-M. Sevrin, *L'exégèse de l'âme (NH II.6)*, BCNH, Textes 9, Quebec 1983.

5) *Testimonium Veritatis*. A treatise of mainly polemical character, aimed against those Christians who were not sufficiently spiritual in their interpretation of the theory of salvation. The author also opposes some gnostic currents. At the beginning is set the clear distinction between those who still feel themselves under the rule of law, and those who understand that Christ came from a Father above the law precisely in order to save men from it. Then the author explains the work of salvation, which in itself comprises a resurrection, and argues against those who await the final resurrection and do not understand that the present salvation is already a resurrection. Then comes polemic against Valentinus, Isidore, Basilides, and against baptism.

Edition: B.A. Pearson, S. Giversen, *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, NHS 15, Leyden 1981.

Bibliography: C. Gianotto, *La Testimonianza Veritiera*, Brescia 1990; K. Koschorke, *Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate 'Apokalypse des Petrus' (NHC 7.3) und 'Testimonium Veritatis' (NHC 9.3)*, NHS 12, Leyden 1978.

6) *Epistula Eugnosti; Sophia Iesu Christi*. These two treatises represent different redactions of an original text, which appears to have been reworked even in the earlier redaction, that of the *Epistula Eugnosti*. It begins with a philosophical polemic on the origin of the universe, but in the subsequent exposition it resorts to customary elements of gnostic myth, which can be compared from time to time with Sethian and Valentinian speculations. In the *Sophia Iesu Christi* the treatise is recomposed in the structure of a dialogue. Apart from this, other redactional differences represent links with the tradition of the text, rather than direct links between the two texts.

Editions: D.M. Parrott (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 3-4 and V, 1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and the Sophia of*

Jesus Christ, NHS 27, Leyden 1991; C. Barry, *La Sagesse de Jésus-Christ* (BG, 3; NH III, 4). *Texte établi, traduit et commenté*, BCNH, Textes 20, Quebec 1993.

Bibliography: D. Trakatellis, *The Transcendent God of Eugnostos. An Exegetical Contribution to the Study of the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi*, Brookline (MA) 1991; M. Tardieu, *Codex de Berlin*, Paris 1984; M. Allen Williams, *The Immovable Race. A Gnostic Designation and the Theme of Stability in Late Antiquity*, NHS 29, Leyden 1985.

8. Various

1) *Paraphrasis Sem*. The title, added later, seems derived from an erroneous interpretation of a phrase in the text. The treatise is linked to the Sethian treatises by the importance given to the names and specific functions of the characters of the myth and the fact that the myth does not seem to have a speculative value, but to be taken as such as a vehicle of saving knowledge. The myth itself, however, is wholly different from the Sethian, and even the person of Shem (to whom the revelation is made) and his stock (that of the elect who are saved) seem to be conceived in competition and in polemic with the stock (and sect) of the Sethians. Derdekeas, the redeemer, describes to Shem the origin of the cosmos through a sexual myth, in which the image of the vagina plays a large part. Then he dwells at length on the description of the various moments in his struggle with Nature, understood as a product of the wicked principle and therefore wicked itself, to bring salvation to the elect stock. Finally he deals with salvation, the way in which it operates and, on the contrary, those who cannot be saved. The myth of the origin of the cosmos derives from a clearly dualistic conception, as opposed to the more unitarian one of the Sethians.

Edition: M. Krause, "Die Paraphrase des Seêm", *Christentum am Roten Meer*, ed. F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, 2, Berlin/New York 1973, 2-105.

2) *Marsanes*. Another treatise close to the Sethian tradition, but which we hesitate to classify as Sethian because of the greater weight given to philosophical speculation. This apocalypse is named from Marsanes, a figure also known through Porphyry and Epiphanius, who attribute a revelation to him. Marsanes is the protagonist of a journey to the heavens. Unfortunately the text is rather incomplete: the account of the revelation seems to have been preceded by an exposition of thoughts on gnosis made by Marsanes himself, and followed by a complex exposition on the value of the letters of the alphabet.

Edition: B.A. Pearson, S. Giversen, *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, NHS 15, Leyden 1981.

It is evident that, while it is possible to recognize in these texts a derivation from the groups into which we have organized them, they are also the

fruit of a work of speculative and linguistic-literary restructuring (including the work of translation) that has left an mark of intersecting relationships and movement towards some degree of unitary systematization, which appears particularly in those that seem to be later, like the *Pistis Sophia* or the *Books of Ieu*.

It would therefore be important to direct our studies towards the scholastic culture demonstrated by the final redactors of the gnosticizing texts. In fact neither they nor the various redactors who intervened at an earlier stage, nor the readers of such texts, were very highly cultured. Plotinus' attitude to them (in the famous *Ennead* II, 9, cf. T. Orlandi, "Plotino e l'ambiente dei trattati di Nag Hammadi", *Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Rendic. Scienze Morali* 8.34 [1979] 15-26) seems revelatory. So it is all the more probable that their reflections are based on a mentality and an instruction acquired through the most normal vehicles of the time, i.e. the school, in the most banal meaning of the term.

There is no question of trying to recognize behind each literary citation or reminiscence the use of anthologies, or even of the Bible or Homer, as has unfortunately become prevalent among many critics. Rather, having once identified what must have been the normal reading of 2nd- to 5th-century scholars (and we may easily imagine Homer first of all, and then Plato, and for religious persons the Bible), it would not be inopportune to consider what, starting from them, any person of average intelligence could puzzle out on his own account, in an atmosphere that determined a certain type of deduction, and in contact with texts that, as we have seen, came from quite different milieus.

From the literary point of view, we observe the (re)formulation of texts by means of certain well-established genres: first the apocalypse, a revelation by one person to another which allowed the author to range over the most varied themes, and so to incorporate passages of disparate provenance. Then the gospel, understood as a free collection of sentences, more or less free from themes around which to be grouped. The letter, understood as a feigned personal communication, usually devoted to a particular theme. The supposed historical narration (Acts), clothed in metaphor and allegory. The aretology, or presentation of a divine person in the form of the anaphora "I am...", followed by statements that are often paradoxical but rationalizable if correctly interpreted.

This literary labour (of uncertain beginning and uncertain end) was accompanied by a linguistic one: who can say how much of it was due to the actual translators of the texts? Yet it seems certain that we owe these at least the choice of texts, but especially of the relevant parts of the text (often we have to do with *excerpta*) (cf. the *colophon* of Cod. VII); but it is very possible that they also added part of the structural framework.

MANICHAEAN TEXTS

The discovery in Egypt in 1929-1930 of a group of Coptic manuscripts (the precise number is uncertain; probably seven) comprising Manichaean texts, probably in the ruins of ancient Narmuthis, near the present village of Medinet Madi in the Faiyûm, constituted an important advance in our knowledge of Coptic literature. It is worth discussing these texts at some length, even if they are not properly part of patristic literature.

The manuscripts suffered unfortunate vicissitudes both in the period immediately after their discovery and during the Second World War, and for this reason part of the texts is not yet published, nor is it possible to give a detailed list of their contents. Moreover they had already suffered much (unlike other finds which emerged unscathed from the desert sands) during their stay of more than 13 centuries in an old cellar where they underwent a process of carbonization. The texts will never be able to be reconstructed entirely, but what has been recognized and what may be recovered in future is of great value for our knowledge of Manichaeism. The codices are generally dated to the 5th century; they are written with extreme care, as was customary among the Manichees, and each work is accompanied by *inscriptions*, *subscriptions*, running titles, and decorations.

To the extent of our present knowledge, the works handed down are the following.

1) Codex of the (Manichaean) Psalms, of about 500 pages, now preserved in Dublin. The *Psalms* were liturgical hymns, collected into groups, as the accurate index at the end of the codex attests. There is a complete index of their *incipits* at the end of the volume (cf. M. Krause, "Zum Aufbau des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches", *Manichaica Selecta*, ed. A. Van Tongerloo, S. Giversen, Leuven-Lund 1991, 177-190): group 1, 25 Psalms, title lost; group 2, *Pss* 26-33, entitled "of Herakleides"; group 3, *Pss* 34-82 (uncertain), entitled "Synaxis"; group 4, *Pss* 83-105, "of the soul"; group 5, *Pss* 106-118, title lost; group 6, *Pss* 119-130, "for Sunday"; group 7, *Pss* 131-135, "of Father Herakles"; group 8, *Pss* 136-149, title lost; group 9, *Pss* 150-154, "of Easter"; group 10, *Pss* 155-162, "various"; group 11, *Pss* 163-164, title lost; group 12, *Pss* 165-170, title lost; group 13, *Ps* 171, "of Lord Syrus"; group 14, *Pss* 172-199, "various"; group 15, *Pss* 200-205, "of the night"; group 16, *Pss* 206-217, "of Herakl[es or -ides]"; group 17, *Pss* 218-241, "of the Bema"; group 18, *Pss* 242-276, title lost (called "of Jesus", from their contents); group 19, *Pss* 277-286, "of Herakleides"; group 20, *Pss* 287-289, "various"; group 21, *Pss* 290-297, title lost; group 22,

Pss 298-333, "Sarakoton"; group 23, *Pss* 334-340, "of Herakleides"; group 24, *Pss* 341-360, "of Thomas"; last Psalm not grouped.

Edition: published in part by C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Stuttgart 1938 (= Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, 2).

2) Two great tomes contain the famous *Kephalaia*, or part of them, texts that report the discourses of Manichaeus (this was the form of the name Mani used in Egypt) to his disciples, but which were not written by Manichaeus himself. One of the tomes is now in Berlin (one folio in Vienna) and has largely been published. The other tome is now in Dublin and is unedited, so information on its contents is not accurate. The *Kephalaia* are a sort of anecdotes of various length giving Manichaeus' discourses to his disciples. Their character and contents vary in character. There are historical narrations, as in *Keph.* 1, on the coming of the heavenly apostles from the beginning up to Jesus and Manichaeus; *Keph.* 17, on the three ages of the world, the first man, his coming and the destruction of the idols; *Keph.* 18, on the five wars of good against evil; *Keph.* 76, on the mission of Manichaeus; *Keph.* 77, on the four kingdoms.

Description of the heavenly persons of Manichaean mythology: *Keph.* 7, on the five Fathers; *Keph.* 10, on the 14 aeons; *Keph.* 11, on the Fathers of light; *Keph.* 16, on the five greatnesses; *Keph.* 20, on the name of the Father; *Keph.* 21, on the Father of greatness; *Keph.* 26, on the first man and the envoy; *Keph.* 28, on the 12 horsemen of the Father; *Keph.* 38, on the Nous-light; *Keph.* 46 and 66, on the envoy; *Keph.* 50, on the name of God, the rich man and the angel; *Keph.* 51 and 53, on the first man; *Keph.* 55, 57 and 64, on Adam; *Keph.* 56, on Saklas; *Keph.* 60, on the four fathers; *Keph.* 67, on the illuminator.

Comments on religious behaviour: *Keph.* 79 and 81, on fasting; *Keph.* 81, on judgment; *Keph.* 87 and 93, on charity; *Keph.* 88 and 91, on catechumens.

Explanations of Manichaean imagery: *Keph.* 2, on the similitude of the tree; *Keph.* 4, on the four great days and the great nights; *Keph.* 5, on the five hunters of light and the four of darkness; *Keph.* 6 on the five treasures; *Keph.* 8, on the 14 chariots; *Keph.* 29, on the 18 thrones of the father; *Keph.* 30, on the three garments; *Keph.* 36 and 49, on the wheel of the king of honour; *Keph.* 61, on the garment of water; *Keph.* 62, on the three stones; *Keph.* 72, on the garments; *Keph.* 85, on the cross of light; *Keph.* 90, on the 14 roads; *Keph.* 95, on the cloud.

Explanation of concepts: *Keph.* 3, on happiness, wisdom and strength; *Keph.* 9, on the kiss of peace; *Keph.* 14, on silence and fasting, peace, day, and tranquillity; *Keph.* 19, on the five departures; *Keph.* 31, on the call; *Keph.* 34, on the ten works; *Keph.* 35, on the four works; *Keph.* 39,

on the three days and the two dead; *Keph.* 41, on the three battles; *Keph.* 47, on the four great things; *Keph.* 63, on love; *Keph.* 78, on the four works; *Keph.* 80, on reason; *Keph.* 84, on wisdom.

Explanations on the natural elements: *Keph.* 37, on the three zones; *Keph.* 44, on the tides; *Keph.* 59, on the elements that complained; *Keph.* 65, on the sun; *Keph.* 68, on fire; *Keph.* 69, on the zodiac and the stars; *Keph.* 74, on the living fire; *Keph.* 94, on the purification of the four elements.

Edition: [H.J. Polotsky, A. Böhlig], *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, 1, *Kephalaia*, Stuttgart 1935; 2, *Lieferungen 11/12*, Stuttgart 1966.

3) Another codex was divided between Dublin and Berlin (bloc not restored, now probably lost). It contained an interesting collection of four texts dealing with the vicissitudes of Manichaeus and his disciples, in the historical past and the apocalyptic future. They were published by Polotsky with the title *Manichäischen Homilien*, though they are not homilies in the common sense of the word. (1) The “logos” of prayer, i.e. a lamentation in prayer form over the death of Manichaeus, written probably by his disciple Salmaios. (2) The “logos” of the great war, an apocalyptic narration of the persecutions of the Manichaeans, then their triumph with the restoration of the Manichaean Church, and finally the coming of Jesus and the last judgment, the return of Jesus to the kingdom of light, and the destruction of the material world. The text was perhaps written by the disciple Custaios. (3) the narration of the persecution of Manichaeus by Bahram I and II, and his crucifixion. (4) An apotheosis of Manichaeus, of which only a few pages remain, very damaged.

Edition: some fifty folios, published by H.J. Polotsky, *Manichäischen Homilien*, Stuttgart 1934 (= *Manichäischen Handschriften der Sammlung A. Chester Beatty*, 1).

All the other texts are still unedited, and most of them were lost around 1945, so we have only a preliminary account made before the war: 4, *Synaxeis manichaeorum*, partly in Dublin and partly in Berlin; 5, *Opus historicum manichaeorum*, codex in Berlin, mostly lost; 6, *Epistulae Manichaei*, codex now in Berlin, mostly lost.

The Kellis documents (from the name of a village in the oasis of Dakleh, now called Ismant el-Kharab) are still being found in excavations made since 1987. They consist of codices on wooden tablets, papyrus remains, parchment codices, private letters and written wooden tablets. The languages are Greek, Coptic and Syriac; the texts are mostly non-literary, but there are many classical texts, liturgical and religious Manichaean texts, instruments for translating that give equivalents for words, etc. They probably date from the mid 4th century, and their owners probably belonged to a missionary cell of the first period of Egyptian Manichaeism.

Studies: cf. I. Gardner, “A Manichaean Liturgical Codex Found at Kellis”, *Orientalia* 62 (1993) 30-59.

One final important document is the remarkable little Greek codex now at the University of Cologne (Inv. 4780; ed. Koenen-Römer), a wonderful work of miniature, which contains the life of Manichaeus from boyhood to youth. It illustrates the origins of Manichaean ideas in a milieu surprising for scholars. Its religious-historical implications have been extensively studied, but the results cannot be discussed here.

The Medinet Madi codices, together with the new documents, are important sources for our knowledge of the history of Manichaeism in Egypt. According to a Middle Iranian document, Manichaeus himself had sent his disciple Adda to Egypt with some writings, to preach the new religion. This happened around 250. Other important characters mentioned in our sources (in particular the *Acta Archelai*) are Pappos, Thomas (perhaps the author of several psalms) and especially Scythianus. A rich Saracen merchant, he settled in Egypt to found Manichaean communities, coming from the Red Sea by the caravan route to the city of Hypele, a short distance from Siout (Assiut). Note that the Medinet Madi texts are written in an Assiutic dialect.

General bibliography: J. Ries, *Les études manichéennes. Des controverses de la Réforme aux découvertes du XX^e siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988; H.J. Polotsky, *Manichäismus*, PW Supplementband IV, 1936 = *Collected Studies*, Jerusalem 1971, 699-714; Italian tr. with Preface and up-to-date bibliography: *Il Manicheismo*, ed. C. Leurini, A. Panaino, A. Piras, Rimini 1996; M. Tardieu, *Le Manichéisme*, Paris 1981; S.N.C. Lieu, “Manichaean Art and Calligraphy”, *ZRGG* 37 (1985) 58-62; J. Vergote, “L’expansion du manichéisme en Egypte”, *After Chalcedon*, Leuven 1985, 471-478; L. Koenen, “Manichäische Mission und Klöster in Ägypten”, AA.VV., *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten Symp. Trier 1978*, Mainz 1983, 93-108.

On the Medinet Madi codices: C. Schmidt, H.J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten. Originalschriften des Mani und seiner Schüler*, SAB, 1933, 4-90; J.M. Robinson, “The Fate of the Manichaean Codices of Medinet Madi, 1929-1989”, *Studia Manichaica, II. Intern. Kongr. zum Manichäismus*, ed. G. Wiessner, H.J. Klimkeit, Wiesbaden 1992, 19-62.

Facsimile edition of the Dublin codices: S. Giversen, *The Manichaean Coptic Papyri in the Chester Beatty Library. Facsimile Edition*, I, *Kephalaia*, Geneva 1986; II, *Homilies and Varia*, Geneva 1986; III, *Psalm Book, Part I*, Geneva 1988; IV, *Psalm Book, Part II*, Geneva 1988.

On the Codex Coloniensis (Life of Mani): L. Koenen, C. Römer, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Über das Werden seines Leibes. Kritische Edition*, Opladen 1988; *idem*, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. Abbildungen und diplomatischer Text*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 35, Bonn 1985; AA.VV., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Simposio Internazionale*, Studi e Ricerche 4, Cosenza 1986; AA.VV., *Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis. Atti del Secondo Simposio Internazionale (Cosenza 27-28 maggio 1988)*, Cosenza 1990.

*ORIGENISM AND THE QUESTION
OF ANTHROPOMORPHISM*

We have mentioned the particular situation of the Pachomian convents and their cultural position in relation to the problem of Origenism and at the same time their loyalty to the directives of the Alexandrian patriarchate. These factors were to come into conflict when Theophilus suddenly shifted from Origenism to a position that somehow moved towards anthropomorphite ideas (on these events cf. most recently E.A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton 1992). A document that seems to reflect this situation, and is also interesting on other accounts, is the *Historia Horsiesi*.

Edition: W.E. Crum, *Der Papyruscodex Saec. VI-VII der Philipps-Bibliothek in Cheltenham. Koptische theologische Schriften*, Strasbourg 1915; cf. T. Orlandi, "Due fogli papiracei da Medinet Madi (Fayum): l'Historia Horsiesi", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 13 (1990) 109-126.

It comprises three parts each with its own precise identity, drawn probably from pre-existing texts, with possible redactional interventions. (1) The first part (paras. 1-15) consists of a letter of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria († 412), to Horsiesi, archimandrite of pBau († c. 390), asking him to come to Alexandria to resolve a grave problem that we may call liturgical. (2) The second part (paras. 16-131) consists of an account of the journey of the Alexandrian deacons Faustus and Timothy to deliver the letter and bring Horsiesi to Alexandria; the record of a first dialogue between Theophilus and Horsiesi; the account of the miracle by which Horsiesi resolved Theophilus' problem; the record of a second dialogue between Theophilus and Horsiesi during a banquet; and the text of a letter that Theophilus gave Horsiesi for the monks. (3) The third part (paras. 132-246) consists of a series of *Zetemata* (thus in the text), problems that the two deacons put to Horsiesi during the journey from pBau to Alexandria. This last text is thus not in its chronologically correct place, but is in some sense an appendix.

Of the three parts of the *Historia*, the one that shows a precise literary connotation is the third. It belongs to a well-defined literary genre, that of *aporiai* or *erotapokriseis*, also mentioned in the title, *Zetemata*; it touches on questions of specific interest, not necessarily having anything to do with monasticism; it is self-enclosed and does not lean on any other text for support. On the contrary, in the second part there is an explicit reference to it, saying that it is placed "further on" (para. 26). We are of the opinion that the text of the *Zetemata* already existed and that at a later date someone who had an interest in attributing a certain episode to Horsiesi incorporated it to give greater authority to what he was compiling.

To us it seems that underlying the text were problems concerning the relationship between the Pachomians and the Alexandrian patriarchate. From this point of view, the central passage in the whole text is that containing the first dialogue between Theophilus and Horsiesi (paras. 29-51), constructed in quite a sophisticated way on the relationship between the archbishop and the Pachomian archimandrite, and especially on the fact that each of the two characters emphasizes the other's spheres of primacy. The redactor of the text, as we have it today, had been led to his work by the aim of clarifying, in what seemed to him the most opportune way, the relations between the Pachomian organization and the Alexandrian patriarchate. There is no doubt that the redactor saw the problems from the point of view of the Pachomians, and so must have belonged to the Pachomian community or been very close to it.

As for placing the text chronologically, it seems to us that it must be set within the dispute between Theophilus and various groups of monks over the anthropomorphite exegesis and over Origenism. This dispute certainly left an aftermath of misunderstanding between the archbishop and the monks, in particular the Pachomians, which there must have been a perceived need to clear up. This may have been the spur for our unknown redactor, whose work (if the hypothesis is exact) must be put towards the end of Theophilus' patriarchate or right at the beginning of Cyril's, i.e. between 410 and 420. For the *Zetemata*, on the other hand, we propose a date in the second half of the 5th century (Horsiesi died in c. 380).

To a similar milieu belongs a group of extremely interesting texts consisting of the *corpus* attributed to the fleeting figure of Bishop Agathonicus of Tarsus. It helps us understand some of the cultural events that brought Coptic literature into the Origenist dispute.

Complete edition: W.E. Crum, *Der Papyruscodex Saec. VI-VII der Philipps-Bibliothek in Cheltenham. Koptische theologische Schriften*, Strasbourg 1915. On the whole question cf. T. Orlandi, "Il dossier copto di Agatonico di Tarso. Studio letterario e storico", *Studies Presented to H.J. Polotsky*, ed. D.W. Young, Beacon Hill (MS) 1981, 269-299; A. Guillaumont, *Les "kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les grecs et les syriens*, Paris 1962.

Edition: Cf. ed. W. Erichsen, *Fajumische Fragmente der Reden des Agathonicus Bischofs von Tarsus*, Copenhagen 1932.

In fact the texts, which are by one or more unknown authors, despite their attribution to an Agathonicus who certainly never existed, come from the milieu of Evagrius, in which the problem of gnosticism, as it had become in the 4th century, was much debated. This type of polemic was also faced in the same period by Shenute, greatest representative of southern Egyptian culture, of Pachomian derivation. He, however, was resolutely on the side of the anti-Origenists, and cited with evident

satisfaction Theophilus' festal letter of 401 on the subject, combining it with long anti-gnostic considerations. Our author and his milieu seem to us halfway between the gnosticizing Christian circles and the attitude of Shenute and the hierarchy in Alexandria. It is interesting to note that a polemic with the ecclesiastical hierarchies was probably supposed by the gnostic theories.

1) *Contra Anthropomorphitas (Fides Agathonici)*. Doubts which the author had to overcome before deciding to write, since the inspiration might have come to him from a demon rather than from God. Problem of the anthropomorphism of God, negatively resolved. The solution of the problem is given as an aid to the correct way to pray. Some redactors have later interfered with the text, transforming the work in an anthropomorphite sense through cuts and additions, completely denaturing it, for obvious reasons of theological changes taking place in a milieu that yet wished to preserve the *corpus* of Agathonicus.

2) *Contra Iustinum Samaritanum*. Diatribe between Agathonicus and Justin the Samaritan, who initially disbelieves in the resurrection, but is convinced by the arguments Agathonicus puts forward, all based on the Old Testament. At the end he asks to be baptized.

3) *De Providentia contra Stratonicum*. Historical prologue on the Council of Ancyra and the origin of the dispute that followed. Agathonicus' dispute with Stratonicus, Eunomius, Polyphanes and other Cilicians, which begins with the theme of providence and goes on to deal briefly with many ecclesiastical and monastic themes; power of sinners; whether rich and poor sinners suffer the same fate; those who buy bishoprics; those who consult astrologers; vain oaths; Christian magi; corporeal communion; homicide; malefactors; judgment on communion; adultery; purification; those involved in the world; enchantments; gluttons; unbelievers; victims of slander; pledges; God's mercy; theatrical shows; the worldly; needy priests. An apophthegm attributed to Agathonicus, alluding to the category of monks who live on rocky spurs (this may be a later addition).

4) *De incredulitate*. A treatise in homiletic form. The author's difficult situation. He writes to help brethren who find themselves in a similar situation. Comparison of Scriptural phrases to phrases of unbelievers on various kinds of moral argument. Deviation of some Christians who read pagan texts like Homer and Socrates (evidently Plato). A redactor has joined this text to the *De providentia*, giving the whole a homiletic form. He has also interfered with the text, producing some interesting variants, due to theological convictions.

*PAUL OF TAMMA
AND ANTHROPOMORPHITE MONASTICISM*

In 4th-century Egypt the Alexandrian school must have been the common doctrinal reference-point, and in fact all the monasticism of the centres that grew up near the Delta (Nitria, Scete, Kellia) was in various ways Origenian; and even the Pachomians, in the south, were aligned on analogous positions, despite the later *post eventum* hagiographical description found in the various redactions of the lives of Pachomius.

In some Coptic texts, however, whose true historical and doctrinal significance has only recently begun to be studied (T. Orlandi, A. Campagnano, *Vite di monaci copti*, Rome 1984), we have proof that, probably from the time Christianity started expanding along the Nile Valley, groups existed which harked back to the Asiatic school, and they would always faithfully maintain this position until, at the time of the definitive crisis of 401, they formed the winning side in the theological and exegetical dispute fought out within Origenism. The fact that the texts giving us this information are in Coptic probably testifies that elements of social and perhaps ethnic conflict between the Egyptian Chora and the metropolis of Alexandria were not extraneous to the doctrinal conflict.

As far as we can see, the dispute also had considerable importance for Coptic literary activity, which began to develop precisely at this time. We may even say that it was the centre of interest to which the representatives of the two antagonistic positions referred. The text that more than any other reflects the "Coptic" point of view is the *Life of Aphu*, anchorite and then bishop of Oxyrhynchus between the 4th and 5th centuries, which provides us with information on a figure wholly ignored by the culture of international Christianity, yet who must have had his importance in the Egypt of that time (ed. F. Rossi, "Trascrizione di tre manoscritti copti del Museo Egizio di Torino", *Mem. Acc. Scienze Torino*, II.37 [1886] 65-175; Italian tr. in T. Orlandi, A. Campagnano, *op. cit.*, 55-65; cf. T. Orlandi, "La cristologia nei testi catechetici copti", *Cristologia e catechesi patristica*, ed. S. Felici, 1, 213-229, Rome 1980). The basis of the narrative is probably historical. Some apophthegms of Aphu are preserved and he is also mentioned in the *Vita* of Paul of Tamma. Many exaggerations must be blamed on the intentions of the redactor and the customs of the literary genre. It seems reasonable to suppose an original Greek text, no longer preserved, soon translated into Coptic.

The figure of Aphu is undoubtedly one of the most interesting that Coptic evidence provides. He was an ascetic devoted to an extraordinary type of asceticism, which consisted in living among a herd of buffaloes.

near the city of Oxyrhynchus, going down to the city only once a year for the Easter celebrations. One Easter (I think he alludes to the fateful one of 399) he heard the reading of the Paschal letter in which Theophilus expressed himself (according to the text of the *Vita*) thus: "As if to elevate the glory of God, he recalled the inferiority of men, and the one who spoke (in fact it was the reading of the Festal Letter, as we then understand) said: It is not the image of God that we men bear". Aphu went directly to Theophilus at Alexandria to contest these ideas: "... he heard a phrase in it (= in the letter) that did not agree with the scriptures inspired by God". There followed an exegetical debate, at the end of which Theophilus was convinced and sent a rectification (allusion to the letter of 401?) in an anti-Origenist sense. The impression made on the archbishop was such that, when the bishop of Oxyrhynchus died, he decided, against the advice of the citizens, that Aphu should be consecrated as the new bishop. As such he spent the rest of his life, but remained in the desert and visited the city rarely.

In this case, only one of the aspects of the polemic around Origenism has been taken into consideration. But this, however much less interesting than the pre-existence of souls or subordinationism, must have been one of the main aspects for monastic circles, and perhaps the one on which the essential game was played out. In any case, the two opposing sides and their respective behaviour are presented clearly and according to a typically Coptic point of view. Aphu appears in other Coptic sources in company with other interesting figures, who fall completely outside the "international" evidence. Of these the most interesting is Paul of Tamma.

Paul of Tamma is one of those figures of Egyptian monks of whom the great Greco-Latin tradition (Palladius, Cassian, *Historia monachorum*, *Apophthegmata*) has left no memory. That this signifies little as regards their importance, at least relatively to their time and place, is attested by the analogous fate suffered by the great Shenute. That it makes it difficult and almost prevents us from placing these figures in the general context of Egyptian monastic history and spirituality (the discrepancy of ideas between Coptic and Greco-Latin sources is quite large) is an undeniable fact, however displeasing. We believe that modern historical reconstructions of that period, based solely on Greco-Latin sources, smack of their unilaterality, and perhaps of a conspiracy by them to conceal persons and attitudes of a part of Egyptian monasticism, which were somehow unwelcome.

Two Coptic codices (surviving in fragments) contained a text on Paul's life, or which at least narrated some episodes of it (the most extensive fragments come from a codex of the White Monastery [sigla CMCL = MONB.FI], in large part published by Amélineau 1888, 759-769

and 835-836 [= pp. 67-68 and 83-96 of the ms.]. Two leaves from Michigan University Library, 158.44, are unedited [pp. 59-62 of the ms.]). Later on, a summary of the text available at the time of compilation (12th century) was included in the Coptic-Arabic synaxarion. We hold that there were originally two different and independent texts. While that attested by the synaxarion is of little interest, that of the two Coptic manuscripts shows us the work of a milieu concerned to gather up memories relating to a number of monks, putting them in close connection with each other, even by forcing the historical reality. These monastic authors were, however, as we have said, forgotten by the Greco-Latin tradition.

It is hard to establish what historical information can be drawn from such documents. In general it seems to me that a specifically Middle Egyptian tradition emerges, relating to monastic communities in the territory between Memphis and Shmun, whose main personalities were Paul, Apollo, pHib, Anup, (p)Amoun and Aphu. These people must be put at the beginning of the 4th century, and it seems their activity can be considered in contrast with the analogous initiatives of the Scetiotes (from whom Kellia and Nitria derive) to the north and the Pachomians (from whom Shenute derived) to the south. Later Ieremias, with his companion and disciple Enoch (and perhaps an Ama Sibylla), would attach themselves to the memory of these people (and perhaps especially to Apollo) in order to found a new community, loyal to the anti-Chalcedonian party.

Paul of Tamma is the only one of the people mentioned above of whom works, and not just accounts of his life, have survived. It is possible to think that he was considered the inspirer or cultural spearhead of the group that we have identified. The edition of what survives can be found in T. Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma, Opere*, Rome 1988.

1) *Epistula*. A brief text handed down complete, comprising recommendations for anchorites.

2) *De cella*. This long exhortatory text appears in two different redactions. The first, substantially complete (there are brief internal gaps due to the state of preservation of the manuscript), is that of MU0166; the second lacks the opening section (the beginning of the text corresponds to para. 49 of the first redaction), goes on parallel with the first redaction up to para. 98 (which represents almost the end of the first redaction), then has a long passage missing in the other (para. 99-125).

3) Other fragmentary passages deal with poverty, judgment, humility.

The literary genre of all these works comes under that of monastic rules and exhortations, attested especially by the *Letters* of Antony, Ammonas and Macarius the Egyptian and the writings of Pachomius,

Theodore and Horsiesi. What seems to distinguish Paul's style is a basic element in a literary text, viz. the organization of the reasoning, which in Paul is almost wholly lacking. His work consists of single *sententiae* joined together apparently without a leading thread. There are hints here and there, and there are groups of *sententiae* united around a concept, but there are no – even potentially – demonstrative arguments consisting of more than the mere citation of Scripture. We are close to the Pachomius of the *Letters* (and the *Rules*), to what we may presume to be the primitive texts behind the collection of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, to some letters of Ammonas and Macarius the Egyptian (whether or not genuine). We are far, however, from the ascetic writings of an Isaiah or of more important Greek authors like Basil or John Chrysostom.

The theological or spiritual character of Paul's works has recently been studied by M. Sheridan, "The Development of the Interior Life in Certain Early Monastic Writings in Egypt", *The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism. Acts of the International Colloquium held in Cracow-Tyniec 16-19th November 1994*, ed. M. Starowieyski, Cracow 1995, 79-89. Apart from elements common to all early Egyptian monasticism (in particular, attention to oneself, προσοχή, and vigilance, νήψις), he brings to light some specific characteristics: the quality and nature of thoughts, and especially the struggle against vain thoughts; the struggle against the passions for purity of heart and tranquillity; some interpretations of Scriptural passages. Sheridan finds analogies between these last and the Origenist milieu. How far this conflicts with the distinction of milieus we have proposed, is premature to judge.

The figure of Apollo (nowadays called "of Bawit") is also unknown to the sources that circulated in international Christian culture. But he must have been very important, as can be gathered from what remains of the chief monastery that referred itself to him (the monastery of Bawit) and from the Coptic text of his *Vita*, attributed to his companion Papohe, who held the post of *oikonomos* of the monastic group at Shmin (Achmim, Lycopolis). The text (ed. T. Orlandi, A. Campagnano, *Vite dei monaci Phif e Longino*, Milan 1975; cf. R.-G. Coquin, "Apollon de Titkoo oulet Apollon de Bawit?", *Orientalia* 46 [1977] 435-446) has a "double beginning", which reveals a first redaction in the form of a genuine life of Apollo and a second in the form of an encomium of pHib. It should be noted, however, that even in the first redaction the main episode was that of the institution of the rite of *metanoia*, which gravitated round pHib (already deceased). The relationship between the two manuscripts that transmit the text (of the second, only fragments of the initial part survive) has still to be studied. It is possible that the fragmentary manuscript contained the primitive redaction of the *Vita* of Apollo, before it became an encomium.

The text appears old and substantially trustworthy, though it was subject to a formal revision to make it fit for the commemoration of pHib. Apollo was originally an anchorite of solitary type who, after a period of "novitiate" with a certain Apa Petra, settled at Titkoo (near Shmun) with a companion, pHib, and then with Papohe, who was to write his life. After some time the three resumed an itinerant life, from time to time gathering groups of followers around themselves in the various localities where they stopped for a short time. In the end we can count three monasteries that referred themselves to Apollo: one in the locality of Tahrug, one called "of Apa Pamin", and one in the locality of Titkoo, where pHib died and where the rite of *metanoia* took place. To these must be added Bawit (unless it is the same as Titkoo), known from excavations, and perhaps others. In short, the text shows us the gradual transition from "wild" anchoritism to a form that was organized, though – probably – without a rule.

THE "HISTORIAE MONACHORUM"

The genre of *historiae monachorum*, records of journeys in the Nile Valley to visit more or less celebrated monks whose life, anecdotes and spirituality they narrated, is well-known in Greek and Latin patristics (cf. *Historia monachorum*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, Subsidia 191, Brussels 1971, 2, 205-224; *Historia lausiaca*, ed. C. Butler, TSt 6, Cambridge 1898-1904; cf. also the *Historia monachorum sinaitarum*, ed. F. Combefis, *Illustrium martyrum lecti triumphi*, Paris 1660, 88-132).

What interests us in them is the record of the author's journey, aimed at describing the anchorites' way of life; at a given moment the account centres on one particular anchorite, who was evidently considered more worthy of attention. As well as edifying readers and listeners, the texts served to keep up the memory of the saints. Analogous texts found in Coptic, of the same literary genre, give us knowledge of monastic figures who are completely ignored in the Greek and Latin tradition, bringing to light, we believe, a dialectic of milieus that needs further exploration. The narrator of the *Historia monachorum apud Syenas* (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915, 432-502) or *Vita Aronis*, who narrates in the first person, is a monk Papnute who travels to the "region of the South" in search of anchorites whose lives he can report. All the first part of the text is devoted to various stories and problems of anchoritic life (the account's main geographical centre is Syene). In the second part Papnute is led by the anchorite pSeleusius to Isaac, Aron's disciple, who lives in an islet of the (first) cataract – i.e. slightly south of Philae – and tells him first the story of the conversion of Philae and of its first bishops, then the life of

Aron, with many miraculous episodes. In the context of this whole second part, the Nubians, among others, are repeatedly named. As for the original intentions of whoever originally drew up the text, we may note that despite the variety of themes dealt with and personalities presented, and despite its being really quite complicated, it is presented with a very unitary construction and does not seem to have been formed from the union of pre-existing texts. It shows a markedly monastic character; the problems it deals with are essentially those typical of early Egyptian monasticism: choice of anchoritic or community life, relations between elders and disciples, choice of residence, practice of continuous penance, etc. Even when they become bishops, Macedonius, Mark, Isaiah and pSulusia remain primarily (and the text emphasizes this) monks, they do not live in their city, they seem uninterested in the life of the urban clergy. The conversion of Philae is an episode inserted *ad abundantiam*, it is not what led to the decision to write the work; all the more probable, therefore, that it was not invented, but derived from what we may call a sincere tradition. In it moreover we find an important historical reference, since it speaks of one Mark, attested as bishop of Philae in the writings of Athanasius.

Another text of the same genre is represented by the *Historia monachorum* or *Vita Onophrii* (ed. E.A.T.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, Edited with English Translations*, London 1914, 205-244). While there are no precise historical references in it, the setting is that of the second half of the 4th century. The description of the life of the anchorites is valuable in supplementing our evidence of the various types of Egyptian asceticism of that period. The original text is the Greek, but all that seems to survive of it is the part that could serve in particular for Onophrius' feast. With the expansion of the saint's cult, it became particularly famous and was also translated into Latin. The Coptic translation must be very early and restores the complete text in its true form of *Historia monachorum* and not of *bios*. The content comprises a journey of Papnute, who meets Timothy, who has preferred the solitary life to the coenobitic. He then meets Onophrius and narrates his life and death, at which he was present. He then meets four anonymous anchorites and recounts their story too, as he does for four more anchorites of Pemje (Oxyrhynchus).

THE "GNOMAI OF NICAEEA" AND THE "DIDASCALIA"

These two texts have been joined in the Coptic tradition with the collections of conciliar canons, as if belonging to the Council of Nicaea, for reasons that are not easy to understand fully. Their character puts them rather within the monastic tradition. Of the first, if (as is probable)

it was written in Greek and then translated into Coptic, no part of the (supposed) original Greek text has survived.

At the bottom of one of the manuscripts (Turin papyrus) is the attribution: *Athanasiou logou*, but this should not be relied on. It deals with free will (*prohairesis*); attendance at Church; women and guile; men and elegance; virgins; behaviour of Mary; chastity in men; one's neighbour; various recommendations.

The second text, *Didascalia Patrum Nicaenorum*, or *Syntagma doctrinae*, has a very complex tradition in many languages, starting from Greek, and is attributed to Athanasius, Epiphanius, Basil and Evagrius of Pontus. It contains recommendations of conduct, moral and doctrinal.

Editions and studies: (a) Cf. F.A.J. Haase, *Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa*, Stud. Gesch. Altertums 10.4, Paderborn 1920; G.L. Dossetti, *Il Simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica*, Rome 1967; F. Rossi, "Trascrizione di alcuni testi copti tratti dai papiri del Museo Egizio di Torino", *Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino*, II.36 (1885) 89-192; cf. J. Lammeyer, *Die sogenannten Gnommen des Concils von Nicäa*, Inaugural Diss., Freiburg, Beirut 1912; C. Lenormant, "Mémoire sur les fragments du premier concile de Nicée conservés dans la version copte", *Mem. Acad. Inscr.* 19.2 (1985) 202-265; b) F. Rossi, "Trascrizione di alcuni testi copti tratti dai papiri del Museo Egizio di Torino", *Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino*, II.36 (1885) 89-182; ed. Arnold 1685 = Montfaucon, PG 28, 836-845; P. Battifol (ed.), *Didascalia 318 Patrum pseudepigrapha*, Paris 1887; Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* 4, 1858, 456; Munitiz, CCG 5, 1979, 91.

SHENUTE

LIFE

Shenute was archimandrite of the monastery of Atripe at Sohag (Upper Egypt; near Shmim = Panopolis = Achmim), also called the Monastery of Apa Shenute, and then the White Monastery (Deir el-Abiad, the name by which it is known today).

General bibliography: J. Leipoldt (-W.E. Crum), *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia*, 3-4, Paris 1908, 1913; É. Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Schenouti*, MIFAO 23, Cairo 1911; É.-C. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi*, 2 voll. in 6 fasc., Paris 1907-1914; J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums*, TU 25, 1, Leipzig 1903; H. Guerin, "Sermons inédits de Senouti", *Revue Égyptologique* 10 (1902) 148-164; 11 (1905) 15-34. Cf. also P.J. Frandsen, E. Richter-Aeroe, "Shenoute: A Bibliography", *Studies Presented to H.J. Polotsky*, ed. D.W. Young, Beacon Hill (MS) 1981, 147-176; P. Ladeuze, *Étude sur le cénobitisme pakhomien pendant le 4^e siècle et la première moitié du 5^e*, Louvain 1898; P. Ladeuze, "Schenoudi", *RHE* 7 (1906) 76-83 (review of Leipoldt's volume, *Schenute von Atripe...* cit.); S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 5 voll., Ann Arbor 1993; T. Orlandi, *Shenute, Contra Origenistas*, Rome 1985; "A Catechesis against Apocryphal Texts by Shenute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi", *HTR* 75 (1982) 85-95; H.F. Weiss, "Zur Christologie des Shenute von Atripe", *Bulletin de la société d'archéol. copte* 20 (1971) 177-209; L.-T. Lefort, "Catéchèse christologique de Chenoute", *Zeitsch. f. Aeg. Sprache* 80 (1955) 40-45.

His dates of birth and death are probably 348 and 466. Other dates deducible in all probability from the sources are: 371, he becomes a monk; 388, he becomes archimandrite; 431, he is present with Cyril at the Council of Ephesus. Little is known objectively about Shenute's life. Some dates can be inferred from a passage in a homily of his, preached in the year of the Council of Ephesus (431; ed. Leipoldt, no. 31), in which he states that he has "read the Gospel continually" (evidently been a monk) for 60 years, and "announced it" (evidently been archimandrite) for 43. The date of his death is inferred from a passage of Besa (ed. Kuhn, p. 41, n. 16) which alludes to the year of indiction, leaving open two possibilities: 451 (or 452) and 466. The first date enjoyed greater favour (and is often repeated even today) until a note of Bethune-Baker (J.F. Bethune-Baker, "The Date of the Death of Nestorius: Shenute, Zacharias, Evagrius", *JTS* 9 [1908] 601-605; cf. now S. Emmel's corrections in *Shenoute's...* cit.) based on Nestorius' *Book of Heraclides* (then recently discovered) made 466 the accepted date.

Shenute took part in the Council of Ephesus, in Cyril's entourage. Other objective items have no precise chronological information: he corresponded with Patriarchs Timothy and Dioscorus; he was in touch with Nestorius when the latter was exiled to Egypt (cf. *Historia ecclesiastica coptica*); he left the direction of the monastery to Besa some years before dying (cf. Pseudo-Dioscorus, *In Macarium*). The sources are generally hagiographical in character, and thus often built on commonplaces. After they have been purged of these, elements remain which, though not objective, may characterize his spirituality compared with that of his time.

Over time Shenute acquired great fame and authority even outside his own White Monastery. He became a point of reference for the whole region, both for the population and also for the civil magistrates. Some works show him getting to grips with the problems of his time: famines, in which he literally had to help the population survive; raids by desert nomads (mostly the Blemmyes, well-known from many sources), in which he had to protect the people, as far as possible, using the structure of the monastery (which must have been very extensive, far beyond what remains of it today) as a place of defence. He also took on the defence of the peasants against the abuses of landowners, and against the misappropriations of the army. But still more interesting is what appears from other works in which Shenute is the object of visits by magistrates, who expect him to provide moral teachings on the performance of their duties and ask him questions of a nature that we should consider extraordinary, like that of the measurement of heaven and earth.

LITERARY CHARACTER

Shenute is the greatest original author of Coptic literature; he took from the Pachomians the idea of producing work in Coptic, but fully accepted Greek literary genres and rhetorical modes, as they prevailed at Alexandria. His catecheses and letters are an integral part of the patristic literature of the time, save for the specific nature of the contents (though these too mostly coincide). His style, whose vehemence and sometimes obscurity have often been exaggerated, he has in common with contemporary ecclesiastical writers. If we note a lack of balance compared with the greater maturity of the latter, we must consider the enormous effort it must have cost to bring Coptic (which until then, as far as we can make out, had been experimented with only for translations) to the rank of a fully autonomous literary language.

With this operation, of such importance in bringing about the decisive turning-point of Coptic literature and culture, Shenute obtained the dual result of maintaining both a certain cultural tradition of Egyptian monasticism and a certain cultural tradition of the Alexandrian theological school, thus going counter both to the wishes of the patriarchate (which, especially from Theophilus on, did not tolerate individual initiatives in its own domain) and to the tastes of Nile Valley Christianity.

The acceptance of Greek literary culture and its rhetoric emerges clearly from the plan and style of Shenute's works, apart from the obvious personal characteristics found in it, and have often obscured other factors which we, however, wish to stress. He was also involved in organizing the large-scale translation of 4th- and 5th-century Greek patristic texts, though we have no objective proofs of this. At this point we should also mention the activity of preparing "standardized" biblical translations, which from the 6th century on would supplant previous redactions, more or less individual or officially accepted by the Church.

The reconstruction of his works in their complete text and of the Shenutian *corpora* from the fragmentary material at our disposal is a goal that remains ideal in its entirety (since many are destined to remain forever fragmentary, and many others are lost) but is realistic at least in part. Research conducted from the 1950s to the present has obtained results that alter some harsh judgments uttered by Leipoldt, but also by Ladeuze and before that by Amélineau. We believe that a calm reading of the major works in their entirety (and not just in fragments) would overturn this type of judgment.

Unfortunately a full understanding of Shenute's literary work is still impeded by the unsatisfactory state of the work of publishing his writings. Yet a fundamental stage has recently been marked by the study of S. Emmel, in which he demonstrates that two great collections were

established at the White Monastery comprising all the works considered important. Though the distinction between the types of text chosen to make up each of these collections is not very clear, the present state of studies allows us to note that the first, that of the so-called "canons", was characterized by works concerned mainly with the life of the monastic community; while the second, that of the so-called *logoi*, contained works of more varied interest.

THEOLOGY

Evidence of Shenute's theology has been produced, first by Lefort and then by Orlandi, that shows us an undeniably speculative Shenute. One very important work is the *Christological catechesis*, or *De natura Christi* (ed. Lefort; Italian tr. by T. Orlandi, "La cristologia nei testi catechetici copti", *Cristologia e catechesi patristica*, ed. S. Felici, 1, Rome 1980, 213-229). This speaks of Christ's existence before his birth from Mary; it discusses various objections, in particular that of the Jews, to whom Christ said that he existed before Abraham. It then deals with the following arguments: the Word and the creation of the world; the pre-existence of Christ; the incarnation; again creation and Christ; the meaning of *Theotokos* against Nestorius; the reality of the Eucharist; faith. All the problems are resolved on the basis of the "true" interpretation of passages of Scripture, and essentially by invoking the principle that God can do anything, and that we must just take note of it, listening to the Scriptures. Note that Shenute claims to have dealt with these themes many other times, and to be resuming them on this occasion at the invitation of some interlocutors.

Still more extensive is the set of problems faced in the treatise *Against the Origenists* (T. Orlandi, *Shenute, Contra Origenistas*, Rome 1985), written on the occasion of a sort of anti-heretical crusade proclaimed by Patriarch Dioscorus in Upper Egypt around 445: the use of "apocryphal" books by heretics, gnostics and Origenists; the theory of plurality of worlds (which he opposes); the significance of man's suffering, which does not contradict God's goodness; heretical theories on Easter; the eternal co-existence of the Father and Son; the pre-existence of souls (which he opposes); again the incarnation and the Eucharistic mystery.

To these two treatises may be added two more, one *Against the Melitians* (ed. Guerin, "Sermons inédits de Senouti", *Revue Égyptologique* 10 [1902] 148-164; 11 [1905] 15-34, II, pp. 17-18), i.e. against those who take the Eucharist in cemeteries and many times a day, and confuse the Eucharist with carnal meals. These are the Melitians. There are some "false brethren" who maintain that communion need not be taken on Sunday. Arguments against these claims. – The other treatise is *Against the Manichaeans* (Amélineau I, 5); it comments on Mt 11, 13

and Lk 17, 16 against the Manichaean interpretation: validity of the Old Testament too. Exegesis of the verse on new wine etc.; he defends the inspiration of the Old Testament, alongside the New.

Then there is the *Contra hellenas et haereticos*, or *De destructione templi, sermo dictus in Antinoe* (ed. Leipoldt, n. 25; Amélineau I, 11): the idolaters are worse than demons, since the demons did at least once recognize Christ, while they do not recognize him. Against those who do not recognize God: *hellenes* and heretics. These accused the Christians as in their time they accused the prophets. The heretics are the descendents of all those punished, from the flood on. The Christians trust in God. He continues the comparison between Christians (friends of God etc.) and heretics protected by demons. The pagan kings too were wicked, the Christian kings good. Action of the Christians in destroying idols. Their joy in doing so. The pagans are in darkness, the Christians in the light. Even Christians sin, however. The need to return to the right path. The prophets and apostles have not been made to repeat it. On the resurrection of the dead. This incites us all the more to return to the right path. Against heretics. Against sinners. Final punishments. Against idolaters. Function of the sun and moon. Divinity of Christ. We must have no fear of *hellenes* and heretics. Against heretics.

All in all, Shenute's theological position can be defined as an enthusiastic acceptance of the position of the Alexandrian patriarchate following the anti-Origenist *volte-face* of Theophilus. What their relationship was before that is hard to say (and moreover it is probable that before 399 Shenute had not yet acquired the authority of his later years); but we suspect that, unlike the Pachomians, he was quite close to those literalistic-materialistic exegetical milieus (cf. *supra*) that favoured Theophilus' *volte-face*. We have no evidence of Shenute's position on Chalcedon, but everything leads us to believe that the position taken by his successors was in line with his spiritual heritage. On all this cf. now the fundamental contribution of A. Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus...* cit., II/4, 170-234 (English ed. II/4, 167-228).

MORALITY

The greater part of Shenute's activity was aimed at addressing, correcting, encouraging and punishing the vast crowd of monks under his authority, especially concerning their moral and practical, rather than intellectual, life. This is the picture painted by the *Vita* written by Besa, for which we find objective confirmation in the innumerable sermons and fragments of sermons preserved in manuscripts. So far, it is these to which scholars have given their main attention; but here too the fact that we do not possess the works in their entirety has impeded the formation of a sufficiently critical judgment. Though the subjects dealt

with do not arouse particular interest, we feel that a study of the general structure of the sermons and the concatenation of subjects can reveal original characteristics worthy of note, especially in the historico-spiritual context of the 5th-century Egyptian monastic world.

1) *Contra Diabolum (Adversus Saturnum I, De visionibus Diaboli)*. Addressed wholly to the devil in the second person. On the spirit of impurity that comes in dreams. Sins against nature. Disguises of the devil. Tricks of the devil: he announces the end of the world. The devil appears to sleepers because he knows that if they were awake they would recognize him. Blessed are those who recognize the devil. The devil likened to the serpent. No need to fear the visions of the devil: Shenute knows them. The devil's expulsion from heaven.

Editions: Chassinat; P. Du Bourguet, "Diatribes de Chenoute contre les démons", *BSAC* 16 (1961-1962) 17-72.

2) *De castitate et Nativitate*. These may perhaps be two distinct homilies. Possibility of doing good and evil. To monks, on chastity (citation of Athanasius). Shenute does not rebuke for his own pleasure, but to obey God's commandments. The teachings come from God, even if spoken by the mouth of a man. Example of John the Baptist and Herod. On Christmas. Glorification of Christ.

3) *De certamine contra Diabolum. De essentia Diaboli*. Name and essence of the demons. Function of the demons: to put the just to the test. Interpretation of a passage of Scripture on the flood. Christians await help from God. Recommendations. Again on the function of temptations. The Holy Spirit and the angels help men recognize the devil. Ways of fighting the devil. God wishes us to defeat the devil, and not vice versa. Function of the Saviour.

Editions: Chassinat; K. Koschorke, S. Timm, F. Wisse, "Schenoute, De certamine contra diabolum", *OrChr* 59 (1975) 60-77.

4) *De disoboedientia*. We are sinners. Biblical examples. Even in the sanctuaries of the saints, before whom we are ashamed. We take issue with those who deny God, but do the same things. Again on sins. Avidity and riches. To clerics. The gods. Biblical examples of priests punished. Against those who do violence to others. Against pagans and heretics. To women. Addresses disobedience personified. Other sinners. Not only pagans are defeated by the devil. Disobedience. Sodomites. Heretics. Other sins.

Edition: Amélineau I, 6, p. 225.

5) *Quaestiones coram Chosroe duce I*. Shenute describes his conversations with Chosroas and his men: e.g. on the Arians, on what is good for soldiers. Then he gives Chosroas' demands and various

questions. On eating before making communion. Great complaint against sins, even by those who bear the *typos* (uniform?). Opinion of Chosroas. Shenute continues: each must perform his *metier*. The soldier does his duty, the monk lives in his order. But once before Shenute had rebuked a commander because his soldiers were behaving worse than barbarians. Shenute must keep himself pure and continue to preach against sins, even those of soldiers. Finally: question of the measurement of heaven and earth. Long explanation.

Editions: Chassinat; P. Du Bourguet, "Entretien de Chenoute sur des problèmes de discipline ecclésiastique et de cosmologie", *BIFAO* 57 (1958) 99-142.

6) *Quaestiones coram Chosroe duce 2*. Shenute tells how Chosroas interrupted him while he was speaking. He asked: how does the devil defeat us with his temptations? Reply: man's nature is good, and if he is careful he does not fall into sin. The two voices of good and evil and those who follow one or the other. The devil in the New Testament. The last judgment. Function of the devil: temptations. Shenute changes the subject: punishment of sinners. Flood. Exhortations.

Edition: Chassinat.

7) *Ad Flavianum de iudicibus*. (An *Epistula ad Paganum* is inserted – Bakanos). Eulogy of the governor Flavian. Main theme: justice and charity, which must be the qualities of a magistrate. The case of Shenute-Paganos. Relations between monks and laity. Other themes: fasting and prayer. Shenute recalls other talks he gave to magistrates. Dioscorides, Heraklammon, Theodotus, Aelian, Count Andrew are named. Against idolaters.

Editions: Chassinat; P. Du Bourguet, "Entretien de Chenoute sur les devoirs des juges", *BIFAO* 55 (1955) 85-109; P. Cherix, *Étude de lexicographie copte. Chenoute, Le discours en présence de Flavien (les noms et les verbes)*, Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 18, Paris 1979.

8) *De officiis magistratum coram Heraclammone. De modestia clericorum et magistratum*. An account of what he said to Heraklammon (evidently in Greek!). Then other subjects: blessed is he who stays in the paths of justice. We aspire to high offices but overlook the duties they involve. Shenute explains why he did not want to become a bishop. He recalls when he went to Ephesus. Against certain habits of the rich, how they treat their servants. What difference is there between a *dux* who prays and a *dux* who stands on the *bema* to judge? Be careful to judge rightly! Value of command. Example of Herod and John the Baptist. *Excursus* on John the Baptist. God is everywhere. Against sinners and pagans. Against the Jews. On the Church. Again against the Jews.

Editions: Chassinat; Leipoldt, no. 15

9) *De officiis. Exhortationes*. Occasion on which the treatise was written: need to be worthy of one's position. (Contrary) example of Judas. Adam and Eve. If clerics do ill, what will the laity do? Sinners are like Judas. God's wrath. Love of neighbour. Some esteemed on earth are damned in heaven. Recommendations.

Edition: Amélineau II, 2 (= 17 of the wrong numbering), second part.

ACTIVITY AGAINST THE PAGANS

Polemic against pagan elements, still deep-rooted and widespread, is also well attested in Shenute's works. On the theoretical level, there are innumerable passages in which he opposes the *hellenes*, both for their behaviour and for their doctrines. He naturally had a doctrine of his own on the nature and action of demons, which he expounds at length in at least two sermons (Chassinat 3 and 4). This polemic naturally had practical implications, even quite brutal ones, which involved the destruction of places of worship and other acts of oppression, quite in the spirit of the time. These are mentioned appreciatively by some of the historico-hagiographical sources (cf. e.g. Besa, *Vita Sinuthii*, 83-85) and Shenute himself devotes an entire sermon to them (Chassinat 1), in which he openly expresses the joy of the Christians in destroying idols. This aspect of Shenute's activity has become a commonplace perhaps over-emphasized, since it must be considered in the context of a time when this kind of thing happened frequently, even at the orders of the civil authorities, and even among adverse Christian communities. Apropos of this it must be said that Shenute himself probably worked to destroy heretical and apocryphal texts that circulated in his neighbourhood, and perhaps to disperse the last remaining gnosticizing groups in 5th-century Upper Egypt.

Noteworthy is *Adversus Saturnum II. Contra magistratum gentilem*. This is a bitter polemic against a certain pagan (perhaps a magistrate) who seems to have importuned the monks.

Editions: Chassinat; Leipoldt, no. 24.

Contra idolatras. A long homily against the pagans.

Edition: Amélineau I, 7.

HOMILETIC TRANSLATIONS

The part of Coptic literature that consists of texts attributed (in the titles found in manuscripts) to 4th- and 5th-century Church Fathers, or of hagiographical texts that are at least given as composed in that period, and which thus ought all to be translations from Greek originals, has

always been the most awkward for scholars to deal with. On one hand, it seems to constitute almost the whole of the literary material in Coptic; and a literature made up of translations discourages *a priori* any historical and exegetical study that does not refer to the originals. On the other hand, the attributions of authors provided in the manuscript titles seem largely untrustworthy, so that to the character of translation is added that of pseudepigraph.

But we should take into account a fundamental fact by which the picture, while not improving qualitatively from the point of view of patrology, may reacquire a "normality" of its own in terms of literary history. The pseudepigraphical texts are not translations, and were written by Coptic authors working clandestinely during the period of Arab rule, between the 7th and 9th centuries. This eliminates them from our horizon, and at the same time shifts the centre of gravity of original Coptic literature to a later date (in this perspective Shenute no longer represents the golden age, but is a precursor); but it recovers Coptic literature as fruit of an original activity, no matter what significance and value may be adjudged to it.

What the patrologist must bear in mind, however, is that the titles appearing in the manuscripts must be kept distinct from the texts they refer to, and attribution and genuineness must be studied from time to time as a problem in itself. From a methodological point of view, these titles cannot be invoked, I do not say as proof, but even as a hypothetical basis for the attribution of a text. Any coincidence between the real author of a text and the author to whom it is attributed in the manuscript or manuscripts is usually pure chance. So what must be evaluated is the *de facto* situation presented by the texts themselves, apart from their titles, compared to what we know of Greek patristic literature. Here we will deal with those texts that:

(a) correspond to a 4th-to-6th-century Greek patristic original known to us; or

(b) appear to have been translated from Greek in that same period (4th to 5th century), even if the original is unknown.

In both cases the author to whom they are attributed in Coptic tradition may or may not be the authentic one. In many cases, moreover, whether the Greek original be known or not, many texts are destined to remain irremediably anonymous: particularly the hagiographical ones (Lives and Passions).

One observation must be made even about any "original" extracts (i.e. going back to 4th/5th-century Greek texts), even long ones, that may be contained in the fakes constructed in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is not possible, in the present state of studies, to indicate them here, since they are not sufficiently certain.

The work of translation performed in Coptic was done according to criteria, and in conditions, such as to render them very different from that performed for the analogous literatures of the Christian East; Syriac, Armenian and Georgian (Arabic and Ethiopic cannot be compared since they were formed in different historical conditions, and often derived from the Greek only secondarily). In Syriac, Armenian and Georgian, together with translations of individual homilies (usually for liturgical use) we find systematic translations of the *corpora* of the most important authors, and we often know the individuals who made the translations or inspired and suggested them. In Coptic, however, no text tells us anything about such individuals (though they must have existed, and may even have been among those known to us, but not under this aspect) and the choice of texts obeys criteria that from our point of view are rather disappointing.

In vain would we search for fundamental works like the Armenian translation of Irenaeus or the Syriac translation of Athanasius; not to mention the fact that all the finest or even what may be called the most "normal" work of the Cappadocian Fathers, of Cyril or any other great Father, which is present in Syriac, Armenian and Georgian, is almost wholly absent in Coptic.

This admission should not, however, suggest a disparagement of the quality of the culture of the Copts, for the very simple reason that the Copts in this period participated indiscriminately in both Greek-language culture and Coptic culture. As in the case of biblical translations, we do not believe that the sole aim of the translations was to bring some Greek texts to the level of people who did not know Greek (even if in some cases this may have been one of the aims). We believe that the most distinctive purpose was to construct a sector of spiritual literature in a language that the Egyptians could feel personally and intimately their own, even if it remained always somewhat artificial and even if, where necessary, the readers of texts in Coptic could also read texts in Greek.

The translations were mostly made in monastic *scriptoria*; and indeed it is very probable that the majority of them come from Shenute's monastery and through his incentive. The Coptic monks were not, or were only exceptionally, concerned with strictly theological questions, though since their tradition, formed around the 4th- and 5th-century Christological controversies, considered men (rather than theories) as heretical, they might have had an interest in knowing and keeping to the theological anathemas contained in homilies, however moral in content, and even some polemical allusion to their doctrines. But it would be vain to search, in the manuscripts available to them, for works whose fundamental aim was to discuss such doctrines theologically. At the most, in a very few texts, the audience was warned against some popular

gnosticizing texts, which must have had a certain vogue among the Egyptians.

Besides, Coptic monks were not expressly men of study. Unlike their colleagues of East and West, they could not devote themselves to the sciences, whether secular or divine, in their cells. Above all they prayed, and even had to work for their sustenance; but application to a conceptual labour with practical results manifested in written works (which also presupposes the reading of theological texts by earlier authors) was outside the *Rules* of Pachomius and his successors, and above all outside their mentality. It follows that all the texts that have come down to us had an immediate practical aim, not just from the point of view of edifying readers and listeners, but from the point of view of use, i.e. they were books read in the *synaxeis* of monasteries and churches. Hence the immense and immediately evident difference between works handed down in Greek and in Coptic, despite the fact that the beginnings of Egyptian (Coptic) Christianity had known an exquisitely Greek culture.

a) Among the great names of Greek patristics, Athanasius is represented in Coptic by a translation of his *Vita Antonii* and his commentary on the Psalms (*Vita Antonii*, ed. G. Garitte, CSCO 117 / Copt. 13 and 118 / *Copt. 14*, Louvain 1949; *Expositio in Psalmos*, ed. David: ROC 24 [1924] 3-57); but his great apologies against the Arians and his autobiographical, polemical and historical works are completely absent. In their place we have quite a long list of homilies, which yet corresponds not at all to the Greek collection (in PG 28, 905-1100), itself highly suspect. Let us cite, e.g., a homily called *On Soul and Body* (ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, 115-132) which occurs in other languages under the names of Melito of Sardis, John Chrysostom and Alexander of Alexandria (cf. O. Perler: RSR 51 [1963] 407-421; J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris 1965, no. 263). There is also a series of homilies on various subjects, which contain legendary autobiographical passages (cf. *infra*); and some homilies that comment on biblical passages, with no other characteristic than some moralizing digressions on the vices and virtues, one of which, e.g., is handed down in Greek under the name of Basil (on Rom 1, 28, ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, 58-65; cf. PG 31, 1705-1714. Cf. also on Matthew 20, 1-16, ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, 80-89; on John 11, ed. Bernardin: *Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang.* 57 [1940] 262-290; on the Passion, ed. Bernardin: *JTS* 38 [1937] 113-129). We have, it is true, the translation of the Festal Letters (ed. Lefort, CSCO 150 / Copt. 19 and 151 / *Copt. 20*, Louvain 1955; cf. A. Camplani, *Le Lettere Festali di Atanasio di Alessandria. Studio storico-critico*, CMCL, Rome 1989); but other letters transmitted under his name, generally addressed to monks, contain matter of little interest and are not known

to the Greek tradition. There is also a Prayer of Athanasius before dying (ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous...*, 503-511; E. Husselman, in "Studies Crum", *Bull. of the Byz. Inst.* 2 [1950] 319-337), consisting of pious recommendations, with no autobiographical reference.

b) Of Cyril of Alexandria, naturally all the biblical commentaries are ignored; but nearly all the works of Nestorian controversy are also ignored, save just one of the *Apologiae duodecim capitulorum* – an unedited codex, formerly in the White Monastery: Cairo 9721; Rylands 64; Paris 131 (3) 42 –, the *Contra Iulianum* and the *Letters* (but cf. a fragment of festal letter, ed. Till, *Osterbrief und Predigt...*, Leipzig 1931). Attributed to him, to make up for it, is an *Encomium of Athanasius*, full of stories that might even be called extravagant (ed. Orlandi, *Testi copti*, Milan 1968; cf. Elanskaia, *Chronique d'Égypte* 45 [1970] 208-214); and a homily on the Virgin, dense with praises without any originality [ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous...*, 139-146]; cf. A. Camplani, "La prima lettera festale di Cirillo di Alessandria e la testimonianza di P. Vindob. K 10157", *Aug* 39 (1999) 129-138.

c) Of John Chrysostom we have some authentic homilies in certain collections, mainly Bohairic (codex Vat. copt. 57; a fragmentary codex from the White Monastery contains an analogous Sahidic collection); otherwise there are just texts whose original, though Greek, has been recognized as non-authentic, or texts of which in all probability a Greek original never existed. Limiting ourselves to edited works, we list: *De muliere Chananaea*, ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies...*, 133-143 (de Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 434); *In Ioseph patriarcham*, ed. F. Rossi, "Trascrizione con traduzione italiana di due omelie di S. Giovanni Grisostomo [sic]", *Mem. Accad. Scienze Torino*, II.40 (1890) 99-208, (de Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 293); *In castam Susannam*, ed. Rossi, "Trascrizione ... di due omelie di S. Giovanni Grisostomo", cit. (*Papiri copti*, II, 2, 26-38), and Budge, *Homilies*, 46-57 (de Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 176); *In Natalem*, ed. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*, Oxford 1913, 18-21 (PG 61, 763-768); *De paenitentia et abstinentia*, ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies...*, 1-45 (de Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 269); *De paenitentia*, ed. H. de Vis, *Homélie coptes de la Vatican*, 1, Huniae 1992, 200-204 (in the codex, under the name of Severian of Gabala; de Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 462); *In Michaelem archangelum et de latrone bono*, ed. Simon: *Orientalia* 3 (1934) 217-242 and 4 (1935) 222-234; *In Raphaellem archangelum*, ed. Budge, *Miscellaneous...*, 526-533 and 1189-1191; *In Iohannem Baptistam*, ed. Budge, *Apocrypha...*, 128-145; *In Heliam prophetam*, ed. Crum: *TSBA* 9 (1893) 355-404; *In Lucam* 7, 37, ed. Abd al-Masih: *BSAC* 15 (1960) 11-39; *In Victorem*, ed. Bouriant: *MMAFC* 8 (1893) 147-242 (cf. T. Orlandi: *Acme* 23 [1970] 175-178

[= *Miscellanea De Marco*]). – Two exceptions are represented by the homily *In David et Saul III* (ed. Rossi, *Papiri copti*, II, 2, 38 ff.; see PG 54, 695-708) and the treatise *Ad Stelechium de compunctione* (from a Vienna papyrus ed. by Orlandi, *Papiri copti di contenuto teologico*, Vienna 1974 [= *Mitteilung aus der Papyrussammlung der Österr. Nationalbibliothek*, n.s. 9]; see PG 47, 411) which are reliably authentic texts. Hardly anything is preserved of the great New Testament commentaries (only some extracts comprising more specifically "moral" passages, cited *supra*), nor of the homilies most important for his pastoral life and his theological opinions (the homily *De muliere Chananaea* may be authentic; but in Coptic a large part of the preface, which concerned autobiographical events, has been removed from it).

d) Basil of Caesarea (c. 330-379) was well-known among the Copts, both for his life and for his literary activity. Some of his works are found in Coptic translation, sometimes also attributed to other authors (due to a mechanism not infrequent in this tradition); others are attributed to him, but are in all probability not authentic. Here we will list those texts that have a reliably Basilian Greek original. Among the homilies, we have the almost complete text of the first *De ieiunio* (PG 31, 160-184) in a 9th/10th-century Bohairic codex, Vatican Copt. 58, 12 (ff. 178-194) (A. Hebbelynck, A. Van Lantschoot, *Codices coptici Vaticani*, Vatican City 1937, *Bibliothecae Apost. Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti*, pp. 398-399). The Coptic leaves out the initial part and begins at col. 164 of the Greek, following it faithfully or almost so until col. 173, line 6; then it partly departs from it, mostly keeping the same concepts, but often in a different order. So we find ourselves in the presence of a different "redaction" of the homily, perhaps already existing in Greek. That in Coptic this redaction goes back quite far in time is proved by the three Sahidic fragments from the White Monastery (Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Copte 131 [2] 117 and 119; British Library, Cat. Crum no. 174; cf. L.-T. Lefort, "Homélie inédite du Pape Libère sur le jeûne", *Muséon* 12 [1911] 1-22, p. 3), which agree with the relative Bohairic text even where this disagrees with the Greek (e.g. ff. 192-194); they are also of about the 10th century, but Sahidic codices usually attest a state of fact dating from two or three centuries back. It is interesting to note, on the basis of Crum (W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 2, New York 1926, 162, n. 21), that a passage of this redaction (f. 191), on drunkenness, is the same in a Coptic homily attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (now edited by T.-H. Lefort: *Muséon* 71 [1958] 45-50; cf. pp. 42-43).

There is also an almost complete translation of the homily *Quod Deus non sit auctor malorum* (PG 31, 329-353) in a 9th-century Vatican

codex, Copt. 57, 11 (ff. 74-89; cf. the catalogue of A. Hebbelynck, A. Van Lantschoot, cit., p. 372). In this case too the initial part is left out, and it corresponds with the Greek from col. 332 line 20 to the end. The homily is attributed, according to the *inscriptio*, to John Chrysostom; but this is easily explained by the fact that the codex transmitting it is otherwise completely devoted to an anthology of Chrysostom's homilies, into which was inserted in due course this one of Basil, thus shortly destined to become a pseudepigraph. Moreover even in the Greek tradition the name of Chrysostom has often replaced other less well-known but authentic authors of homilies. More interesting is that there may be an allusion to this homily in a catalogue of works by Athanasius, included in Severus of Ashmunein's *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (in Arabic: 10th century; ed. B. Evetts, PO 1/4 [Paris 1907], 422; cf. T. Orlandi, *Studi copti*, Milan 1968, p. 68): a treatise on evil, proving that it comes from the devil and that there is no evil in God. This would mean that in that period, and certainly even a bit earlier, the text was circulating (also) under Athanasius' name, and it would testify to an intersection in the literary tradition of the two authors.

The Greek homily generally called *De misericordia et iudicio* (PG 31, 1705-1714) but which actually contains the commentary on a passage of the *Epistula ad Romanos* (1, 28 ff.) is of uncertain authenticity, though in fact it is contained in a good number of manuscripts (especially from the M family of S.Y. Rudberg, *Étude sur la tradition manuscrite de s. Basile*, Uppsala 1953; on the homily cf. p. 117). Its attribution to Basil is at least very early. A 7th-century Sahidic codex contains the complete translation, but under the name of Athanasius (cod. British Library Or. 5001; cf. W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, 60-64, no. 171; ed. E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, London 1910, 58-65); also under Athanasius' name it is mentioned (we believe) in the catalogue of works included in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. T. Orlandi, Milan 1968-1970, p. 50 n. 4, pp. 52-53): *scripsit etiam de pietate et iudicio*. The translation of the homily, beyond the errors of manuscript transmission, denotes the will to turn Greek concepts and linguistic nuances with precision into a Coptic still not perfectly adapted to these requirements.

Of the great *corpus* of the *Ascetica* the Copts knew the so-called *Prooemium in regulas fusius tractatas* (PG 31, 890), preserved in Sahidic in a palimpsest from the White Monastery (J. Rylands Library, Manchester; cf. cat. Crum, no. 62, fol. 3a); the text given there is abridged, compared to the Greek. Also the so-called *Constitutiones asceticae* (PG 31, 1326-1428), whose Sahidic codex, what remains of it, has been reconstructed by Lefort (L.-T. Lefort, "Les Constitutions ascétiques de s. Basile", *Muséon* 69 [1956] 5-10). The order of the text

is very different from that given by the Greek manuscripts: at the beginning, as a prologue, is a passage that is *extravagans* in the Greek (PG 31, 1509D); then follow in order (save the lacunae between one fragment and another) chh. 24, 4, 8, 29, 30, 33, 34, 19, 2, 17. We are not able to say whether this order corresponds to that of some minor family of the Greek tradition; the translation seems faithful, and made from a Greek text such as is given by the Benedictine edition. The codex itself, also from the White Monastery, contained immediately after the *Constitutiones* the second book of the so-called *De baptismo* (PG 31, 1580-1628), in reality a work that also deals with monastic problems, in the form of questions and answers. Its authenticity is doubtful but, in the shared opinion of Bardenhewer and Gribomont, not at all improbable (Bardenhewer III, 144; Gribomont, *Histoire du Texte des Ascétiques de s. Basile*, Louvain 1953, 306-308). Of the *Canones Basilii* (W. Riedel, Leipzig 1900 – no Greek text has survived), there are in Coptic extensive fragments from two Sahidic manuscripts: the first is a papyrus codex preserved at Turin (cf. the up-to-date information on the codex in T. Orlandi: *Muséon* 87 [1974] 115-127; cf. W.E. Crum: *Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol.* 26 [1904] 57-62); the second a parchment codex perhaps from the White Monastery, preserved in Dublin at the Chester Beatty Library. (Cf. also P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah*, London 1954, no. 31; J. Drescher: *Annales Serv. Ant. Égypte* 51 [1951] 247-256).

e) Of Gregory Nazianzen we have Coptic evidence of three authentic homilies; another by Gregory of Nyssa has passed under his name: *De sacrificio Abrahae*, ed. Chaine: *ROC* 17 (1912) 395-409; 18 (1913) 36-41. The authentic homilies are: *De charitate*, cod. Vatican Copt. 66, no. 12 (PG 35, 857-909); *In Pascham*: cf. W.E. Crum, *Catalogue...*, no. 182; *In Athanasium alexandrinum*, ed. Orlandi: *Muséon* 33 (1970) 351-366.

f) Of Gregory of Nyssa, as well as the homily cited above, attributed to Gregory Nazianzen, there survives the *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione* (CPG 3149 = PG 46, 11-160). We know a single codex of the Coptic text, of which unfortunately only fragments survive. It belonged to the library of the White Monastery (cf. *supra*). What remains is carefully described and published by Coquin and Lucchesi, to whom we also owe the identification (R.G. Coquin, E. Lucchesi, "Une version copte du De anima et resurrectione ('Macrina') de Grégoire de Nysse", *OLP* 12 [1981] 161-201). Only two folios had previously been published by Vergote (J. Vergote, "Zwei koptische Fragmente...", *OCP* 4 [1938] 47-64; cf. also W.C. Till, "Bemerkungen...", *Orientalia* 12 [1943] 328-337) who had thought it a work of Hippolytus of Rome. The codex can be dated to the 10th or 11th century. What remains of the codex

does not allow us to know who the text was attributed to, nor if its redaction corresponded in all its parts to the Greek.

Especially important is the existence of the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Ecclesiasten homiliae VIII* (CPG 3157 = *Opera*, V 277-442 = PG 44, 616-753; cf. T. Orlandi, "Gregorio di Nissa nella letteratura copta", *VetChr* 18 [1981] 333-339; E. Lucchesi, "Les homélies sur l'ecclésiaste de Grégoire de Nysse [CPG 3154], Nouveaux feuillets coptes", *VC* 36 [1982] 292-293). A single codex preserves the Sahidic translation; and unfortunately only fragments, though quite substantial, have survived. They were published long ago (the Naples folios in E. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Shenoudi*, Paris 1907-1914, 2, no. XXI [pp. 415 ff.], the Paris folios in part by J. Leipoldt, *Shinuthii arch. Vita et opera omnia*, 3, Paris 1908, CSCO 42 / Copt. 2, p. 224, together with other fragments from a work genuinely by Shenute [no. 47, *De iudicio finali*]), but unfortunately among the works of Shenute, for reasons that cannot be gone into here. The attribution to Shenute has thus always impeded the recognition of the true author, as well as the true content of the work.

Note that the choice among commentaries on *Ecclesiastes* was immense, starting with that of Didymus, an Egyptian author who, though himself an Origenist (in a vague sense), was considered orthodox until the Council of Chalcedon of 553 (for other commentaries, cf. the research of S. Leanza, *Procopii Gazaei Catena...*, CCG 4, Turnhout 1978). So the choice was neither obligatory nor natural, but (as we believe) dictated by a precise decision, whose purpose is as yet unclear. It seems logical to link the translations of Gregory's two treatises closely together, and at this point perhaps also to add the translation of the *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* and the probable original Sahidic translation of the *De deitate Filii et spiritus sancti*; and to attribute their execution to one of the monastic milieus of the early 5th century. To us it also seems inevitable to recognize this milieu in the party of Egyptian monks of Origenist tendency.

As we have seen, the work of translation went on in an Egyptian Church now theologically more uniform and organized in a complex and perfected way. With the end of the gnostic disputes and the danger of the Melitian schism and the Arian heresy, interest shifted towards the institution of a culture and a practice useful to the slow day-to-day progress of the Egyptian Church in the Nile Valley, which (especially through the influence of some monastic milieus) became ever more "Coptic". Indeed it gradually acquired those characteristics that would identify it spiritually in the period after Chalcedon, when even from an organizational point of view it would be detached from "international" Christianity.

CHALCEDON AND THE PLEROPHORIAE

The abundant century going from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to Damian's accession to the throne (578), though extremely tormented, laid the foundations of the Coptic Church properly so called, distinguishing it from the earlier Egyptian Church. After the refusal of Patriarch Dioscorus (444-454) to accept the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon, at first both the (Alexandrian) Egyptians and the Empire hoped to be able to reach agreement. The see of Alexandria was often contested by two or more bishops, consecrated by different parties, but on the whole they sought to avoid a sharp division in the ecclesiastical organization.

The anti-Chalcedonians themselves knew many differences of opinion within their own ranks. When Zeno's *Henoticon* was accepted by Peter Mongus (477-490), many were not convinced and formed the party of the *akephaloi*, which did not recognize any bishop at Alexandria. Another division was formed because of different theological opinions at Antioch between Severus and Julian (early 6th century), but quickly had repercussions on the Egyptian situation. Indeed after the end of the Acacian schism (Antioch, 519) the Emperor Justin I persecuted the Monophysites of Syria but not (yet) those of Egypt, so that many Syrians (including Severus and Julian) took refuge in Egypt. Here both theologians found followers.

The discord became political at the time of the succession to Timothy IV (III) (535), contested between Theodosius (Severian) and Gaianus (Julianist). The former prevailed, with the help of the emperor, but the party of Gaianites was formed, who would not recognize the election. After the persecution of Justinian (527-565) and thanks also to the work of Jacob Baradaeus (who managed to do repairs after the period of so-called anarchy that followed the death of Patriarch Theodosius in 566), the Coptic Church understood that henceforth it must count only on its own capacity to survive and provide itself with autonomous organization and life.

Of great importance in this period, even more than in previous ones, was the work of the monks, and in particular of some figures who, completely forgotten by the Greek-speaking (even anti-Chalcedonian) tradition, are celebrated in a series of Coptic texts. Some of them (Abraham, Apollo, Manasses) represented the anti-Chalcedonian resistance among the Pachomians, who in their official structure were obliged to align themselves with the imperial Church. They had to abandon their monasteries and found others, which became the centre of Theodosian resistance. These monasteries probably acknowledged as their point of reference the monastery that took its authority from

Shenute, and from this moment the Pachomians would become extraneous to the Coptic Church.

The dogmatic and hierarchical split that occurred in consequence of the Council of Chalcedon naturally also had consequences of a cultural nature, which would lead to the ever more marked detachment of the Coptic literary tradition from the Greek "international" tradition. Yet in the cultural field the effects of the split were not immediate; they began to take substance around the beginning of the 6th century, when the events that followed the exile of Theodosius of Alexandria brought an end to the hopes, not so much of a rapprochement between the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian patriarchates (this was not the main problem), as of the possibility that a normal ecclesiastical life could develop in Egypt, maintaining dogmatic convictions and hierarchies different from those officially approved by the imperial see.

This, probably, was the moment when Greek began to be felt as the language of the oppressors, and Greek patristic culture regarded with suspicion as a vehicle of fallacious and misleading dogmas and historical information. Now, we believe, began to be felt the need to construct a typically Egyptian (Coptic) historical and spiritual culture (theology proper remained a wholly special field) in opposition to that supported by the central government of the Byzantine Empire.

We do not believe, however, that the formal question of language was immediately the central one; it was, as I see it, more a natural historical process, by which the will to differentiate from what came out of Constantinople led first to a closing-off from innovations, from any new works that might come to Egypt in Greek, and then from the Greek language itself.

1) The work that best characterizes this literary period is the so-called *Ecclesiastical History*. This, more than any other, reflects the assertion of a national consciousness of the Egyptian Church, which still considered itself an integral part of the international Church but which was beginning to reflect on its own particular history to find therein its own identity and the reasons for its fidelity to what it considered the true dogmas and the true traditions of Christianity. In the Coptic tradition of later centuries, it has remained the fundamental historical work and the authoritative source from which to draw needed information. It was used by the editor of the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs*, which with its continuation still represents the official historical text of the Alexandrian patriarchate.

As far as can be deduced from the reconstruction of the fragmentary manuscripts, it comprised two distinct parts. The first was a translation of the first seven books of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*,

with some modifications. Known in particular are those relating to the life of Mani, with an "original" insertion perhaps derived from the *Acta Archelai*. The second part, as attested by a manuscript transmitted with its last folio intact, consisted of five books (so the books were 12 in all). It probably began with an account of Diocletian's persecution. Though the text at this point is completely lost, we must suppose that this event found its due importance. The Melitian crisis was reported in a similar way to that found in the *Passio Petri alexandrini*. The Council of Nicaea is then described, and the various phases of the Arian crisis under the pontificates of Alexander and Athanasius, with long *excursus* on the appearance of the cross at Jerusalem and the miracle of the killing of Julian by the phantom of St Mercurius.

In accordance with the principles followed by Eusebius' *History*, a list is made of Athanasius' writings, as is later done with those of Theophilus, Cyril, John Chrysostom and Timothy Aelurus. Theophilus' destruction of the pagan temples is described, in particular that of Canopus, which is turned into one of the major centres of Pachomian monasticism (Monastery of the Metanoia). Then comes an episode concerning an imaginary Bishop Philip of Anatolia in the time of Valentinian and Valens (we have works by him in the Coptic tradition); the story of Arsenius, preceptor of Theodosius' sons and then monk at Nitria; the personalities of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius and the invasion of Alaric (for this episode cf. the *Synaxarion*, ed. J. Forget, 1, p. 14); and the conflict between John Chrysostom and Eudoxia.

Thus we reach the final and crucial part of the *History*. It tells how Cyril was held in great consideration by the imperial court, and how he had the works of Julian the Apostate against the Christians destroyed; then his relations with Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus (dependent on the Alexandrian *Acta* of that council); then the final episodes of Nestorius, his relations with Shenute and his death in Egyptian exile. Finally it describes the tragic events of Dioscorus and the Council of Chalcedon; immediately followed by the tormented period of the two rival bishops Timothy Aelurus and Timothy Salofaciolus (Pshoi, in Coptic). This final part also exists in the Arabic redaction included in the *History of the Patriarchs*. The Coptic fragments and the Arabic text provide a fairly precise idea of what the final part of the *Ecclesiastical History* contained.

Given the chronological limits of the contents, it is probable that the *Ecclesiastical History* was compiled in its present form shortly before or soon after the death of Timothy Aelurus (477). It is possible that the first part already existed in a Coptic translation made in the previous period; the second part may have existed in the form of loose documentation at the patriarchate of Alexandria, but given its markedly

popular content, the final redaction must have been conceived in this period, through the choice of information that might interest the public it was addressed to or that was at least in line with the intentions of the anti-Chalcedonian Alexandrian patriarchate. We hold it probable that this second part too had been written first in Greek, but we also hold probable an immediate translation into Coptic.

Editions: T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alessandria*, testi e docum. per lo studio dell' antichità 17 and 31, 2 voll., Milan 1968-1970. Other fragments: D.W. Johnson, "Further fragments of a Coptic History of the Church: Cambridge OR.1699R", *Enchoria* 6 (1976) 7-18; T. Orlandi, "Nuovi frammenti della Historia Ecclesiastica copta", AA.VV., *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, Pisa 1985, 363-384. The most recent "multimedia" edition can be consulted on the Internet: <http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~cmcl>. Cf. T. Baumeister, "Koptische Kirchengeschichte. Zum Stand der Forschung", *Actes du IV^e Congrès Copte*, ed. M. Rassart-Debergh, J. Ries, 2, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, 115-124; J. Den Heijer, *Mawhub Ibn Mansur et l' historiographie copto-arabe*, Louvain 1989.

2) Another text that well characterizes the historical and cultural climate of these years is Dioscorus of Alexandria, *In Macarium ep. Tkou*. The text, as we have it today, is the result of the manipulation of earlier writings of various provenance in order to construct a homily of the encomiastic genre on Macarius. But this manipulation cannot have been very late: we would attribute it to the 6th century. The tests the redactor drew on were:

(a) an account of the journey of the monk-bishop Macarius with Dioscorus to Constantinople to take part in the council, and then what happened at Constantinople before Macarius' return to Egypt in consequence of the shifting of the Council to Chalcedon. This account feigns to be the work of Dioscorus himself, who speaks in the first person. It is interrupted in a mechanical way by part (b), and does not originally seem to have comprised part (c).

(b) the account of the disorders that took place at the time of Juvenal's return to Jerusalem, after Chalcedon. The episode of Longinus. The story of Andragathe. This source seems to have been a typical collection of plerophoriae, also handed down individually. Indeed the episode of Longinus is also found in Besa's *Life of Shenute* and handed down on its own in Ethiopic. The story of Andragathe refers rather to the Nestorian crisis, and so to the Council of Ephesus rather than that of Chalcedon. Andragathe also appears in the *Vita Petri Iberi*. The author of this part will have been a Peter, probably that of Bardenhewer IV, 80.

(c) the account of the visit of Papnute, no better identified, probably the superior of the Pachomians of the time, to Gangra, where Dioscorus was in exile. First there is a dialogue between Dioscorus and Papnute, then the narration of the "martyrdom" of Macarius.

The work must be seen in the context of the production of so-called *Plerophoriae*, and in particular the *Life of Dioscorus* written by the deacon Timothy. It joins the account of miraculous episodes to a series of doctrinal passages aimed against the decisions of Chalcedon, and especially a marked interest in the monastic world, depicted as the true promoter of the struggle conducted by Bishop Dioscorus. Macarius himself is seen primarily as anchorite rather than bishop (for a summary cf. *Synaxarion*, ed. Forget, I, 88-89).

Editions: D.W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkou attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, Louvain 1980; Italian tr.: T. Orlandi, *Omèlie copte*, Turin 1981.

3) In this context we should also recall the work of Theopistus Diaconus, *Vita Dioscori ep. Alexandriae*.

Editions: F.N. Nau, "Histoire de Dioscore Patriarche d'Alexandrie écrite par son disciple Theopiste", *Journal Asiatique* X, 1 (1903) 5-108, 241-310; W.E. Crum, "Coptic Texts Relating to Dioscorus of Alexandria", *Proceed. Soc. Biblical Archaeology* 25 (1903) 267-276.

4) *The Life of Athanasius*. From the *Historia ecclesiastica* is directly derived a text aiming to celebrate the great Athanasius of Alexandria, evidently as "founder Father" of the Coptic Church. In it history mingles with legend, following typical hagiographical procedures. In the *Vita Athanasii ep. Alexandriae* we find on one hand the information about Athanasius' life that had become the common heritage of Coptic tradition, appearing, e.g., in the *History of the Church* and thence in Severus of Ashmunein's *Arabic History*. On the other hand we find all the accounts of miracles and conversions of entire populations, dependent on a taste formed probably at the time of the production of the so-called *Plerophoriae*.

In this work Athanasius is presented as the founder of orthodoxy, a person in whom is summed up all the authentic teaching of previous eras, and who manages to make this teaching prevail against all enemies, those within the Church but especially those belonging to the sphere of imperial power. Indeed, against all the historical facts, the emperors Constantine II and Constans are described as convinced and converted by Athanasius to the right faith after they had persecuted it.

From the literary aspect, the text appears composed of various documents, some of them certainly pre-existent, joined hurriedly and without too many scruples, so as to leave formal discrepancies, like passages from the autobiography in the third-person narration, etc. Indeed this procedure seems used quite freely in the "plerophoric" texts of this period; for Coptic, see especially the so-called *Encomium of Macarius*. These documents can be identified thus:

(a) relations of Athanasius with Constantine II;

- (b) death of Arius in exile;
- (c) relations with Constans;
- (d) Athanasius' visit to Antony.

Placed among these, as cornerstone and deep reason for the whole construction, are the two "credos" which summarize the whole orthodox doctrine. The first, in which Constantine II sums up Athanasius' teaching, is very brief; the second is the main one, and is put into Athanasius' own mouth.

From this text are derived many others, joined to the so-called "Athanasius Cycle". Closely linked to it is Cyril of Alexandria, *In Athanasium* (ed. T. Orlandi, *Testi Copti*, cit.; cf. Idem, *Omellie copte*, cit.), which belongs totally to the Athanasian cycle and is naturally not a work of Cyril's.

Edition: T. Orlandi, *Testi Copti*. 1. *Encomio di Atanasio*, 2. *Vita di Atanasio*, Milan 1968.

5) *Theodosius of Alexandria*. Theodosius of Alexandria was a person of considerable importance in the religious history of the 6th century (cf. ALEXANDRIAN AND EGYPTIAN WRITERS, pp. 387-389). The main sources of his life and doctrine are: Liberatus (*Breviarium*, PL 68, 1036-1037), Zacharias the Rhetor (*Historia ecclesiastica* IX, 19-26), John of Nikiu (tr. Charles, London 1916, 92, 1-10), Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, 2, 211-219), Leontius of Byzantium (*De sectis* V, 4: PG 86, 1232-1233) and the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs*, ed. Evetts, ch. XIII, PO 1, 455-469. On Theodosius see the studies of J. Maspéro, *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1923, 111-134; E. Amann: *DTC* 15, 325-328. There is also Peter Mongus, *In Theodosium ep. Alexandriae*, whose attribution to Peter Mongus is purely conjectural and is derived from observations internal to the text. The problem still awaits investigation. Disciple and friend of Severus of Antioch, secretary to Timothy IV (III) of Alexandria, on the latter's death he was elected bishop of Alexandria through the direct interest of the Empress Theodora and with the consent of the city's higher clergy (February 535). But part of the clergy and (it seems) the lower orders of the population did not accept the nomination: so they invaded the Cathedral before the investiture ceremony was finished, elected the Julianist Gaianus as bishop and enclosed Theodosius in a monastery. Theodora immediately sent the general Narses to conduct an inquiry into the event, but really to restore Theodosius to the throne, which in fact happened (summer 535). Meanwhile, however, Justinian, who wanted to reconquer Italy, intended to follow an actively pro-Chalcedonian policy; so he summoned Theodosius to Constantinople in an attempt to detach him from the "Monophysites" (c. September 536). He refused, and was therefore held in exile in Constantinople until his death in 566.

In Coptic four homilies have been transmitted under his name:

a) *De Assumptione Mariae V* (ed. M. Chaine, "Sermon de Théodose Patriarche d'Alexandrie sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de la Vierge", *ROC* 29 [1933-1934] 276-314). The homily is divided in two very distinct parts. The first contains the praises of the Virgin, through the citation of New Testament passages whose meaning can be turned in this sense, or through comparison with Old Testament figures. The second part is derived, by the author's explicit declaration, from a book by the apostles Peter and John, found in the "library of St Mark" at Alexandria. It is in fact a literary paraphrase of the *Dormitio Mariae*, known in many languages and many versions.

b) *De festivitate novi anni*. The unedited Sahidic fragment provides the title and the first sentences.

c) *In Iohannem Baptistam* (ed. K.H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on John the Baptist, Attributed to Theodosius Archbishop of Alexandria*, CSCO 268 / Copt. 33 and 269 / Copt. 34, Louvain 1966). In the prologue Theodosius refers to the feast of the previous day, to emphasize the continuity and unity of his magisterium. He also salutes those who have been baptized on that day. Then he goes on to the first fundamental subject of his address, expounding and commenting on Luke's passage on the birth of the Baptist. According to a usage common even in antiquity, he cites the "lemmas" one at a time and then develops their ideas. The second subject of the address is the baptism of Jesus; he passes from commenting on Luke's gospel to that of Matthew. The subject was customary in cases of the sort, as e.g. in Peter of Alexandria's homily *On Baptism*. But Theodosius does not develop it much, perhaps to avoid coming into competition with Peter. Finally he reaches the third part, on the martyrdom of the Baptist. Then comes a brief exhortatory conclusion.

d) *In Michaelem* (ed. W.E. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1915). The homily is divided into a prologue and three different parts. The first part expressly concerns the Archangel: there are a great many homilies on this subject, some of them predating Theodosius and certainly known to him. So he avoids the banal repetition of praises and qualities of the angel, and resorts instead to the rhetorical expedient of introducing many figures of Old Testament Patriarchs, in chronological order, each of whom either narrates episodes in which Michael is the protagonist, or sings his praises. In so doing Theodosius comes close to the genre of gnosticizing narratives on the angels, in accordance with a procedure that we have also emphasized for the previous homily. The second part is quite simply exhortatory, comprising moral recommendations for the faithful. More interesting is the third part, which tells at length the story of Dorotheus and Theopistas, two aged believers for whom Michael worked a miracle. It is probable that Theodosius had a hagiographical source to hand, as

he did in the previous homily for the passion of the Baptist. The homily ends with a brief exhortatory conclusion.

PLEROPHORIAE

Generally when we speak of *Plerophoriae* nowadays we mean the work of John, bishop of Maiuma and former monk of Beth Rufina in Palestine, written in Greek and surviving complete in two Syriac manuscripts drawn on by F. Nau in his edition (*Jean Rufus évêque de Maiouma, Plerophorie*, Syriac version and French tr. by F. Nau, PO 8/1, Paris 1912, repr. Turnhout 1971). Episodes contained in John of Maiuma's collection of *Plerophoriae* are also found in Coptic in fragments derived from four codices (in order they correspond to nos. 26, 27, 51, 59, 64, 70, 71, 87 of the Syriac collection; cf. T. Orlandi, "Un frammento delle Pleroforie in copto", *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano* 2 [1979] 3-12). Two of them (New York and Vienna) probably contained a collection similar to that of John of Maiuma, but with different numbering and hence with omissions, additions or displacements of episodes. Another codex (Cairo) probably just contained episodes referring to the life of Timothy Aelurus. The Michigan codex contained *excerpta* from a collection of similar appearance to that of John of Maiuma, but certainly with some extra material.

The name "plerophoria" (religious and miraculous evidence as proof of the orthodoxy of a given dogmatic system) was given to a literary genre designating passages of varying length that related episodes or the taking of theological positions in accordance with the above definition. Better still, "plerophoria" was the name given to the individual passages. Many collections of this type were produced, entitled *Plerophoriae* pure and simple, or under other titles and guises (e.g. the *Life of Peter the Iberian*, ed. R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, Leipzig 1895), especially in the period immediately after the Council of Chalcedon, when Monophysite milieus particularly loved this literary genre, which allowed them to conduct theological polemic at a level that was not too high and was thus acceptable and pleasing to the less educated layers of the Syrian and Egyptian population, who yet showed themselves quite interested in theological and ecclesiastical events.

We must bear in mind that the individual episodes making up the collections of *Plerophoriae* could easily pass from one collection to another according to the different needs obeyed by the compiler of one or another collection. For example, a famous episode attributed to Longinus, hegumen of Ennaton near Alexandria and proud opponent of the Chalcedonians in the time of Marcian, occurs both in the life of Longinus (cf. *infra*) and in the encomium of Macarius of Tkou attributed

to Dioscorus of Alexandria, and appears independently in Ethiopic under the name of "Prayer of Longinus".

COPTIC PLEROPHORIC TEXTS

Cf. on the monks' lives, which we list here below, the fundamental contributions of A. Campagnano, "Monaci egiziani fra 5° e 6° secolo", *VetChr* 15 (1978) 223-246; and J.E. Goehring, *Chalcedonian Power Politics and the Demise of Pachomian Monasticism*, Institute for Antiquity and Christ, Claremont (CA) 1989.

a) Besa, successor of Shenute at the head of the Monastery of Atripe (White Monastery), wrote many Coptic works, especially letters and catecheses. They are a worthy continuation of Shenute's work and attest a personality of some stature. In the group that concerns us here is his *Vita Sinuthii* (ed. J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Vita Bohairice*, CSCO 41 / Copt. 1, Louvain 1906, repr. 1951), though in writing it Besa must have felt tied to a genre that was not congenial to him. It is a pale reflection of Shenute's vigorous activity, just hinted at in some of the episodes of plerophoric type that make up the text.

b) Stephen, author of the encomium *In Apollinem Archimandritam* (*monast. Apa Isaak*; ed. H. Kuhn, *A Panegyric on Apollo Archimandrite of the Monastery of Isaac by Stephen Bishop of Heracleopolis Magna*, CSCO 394 / Copt. 39 and 395 / *Copt. 40*, Louvain 1978), was bishop of Hnes (Ihnasiya el-Medina, near the Fayûm). He wrote the life of Apollo, an important Pachomian monk of the time of Justinian, who, in consequence of the monastery of pBau choosing the Chalcedonian camp (a forced choice, moreover), left the monastery to found a new one near the Fayûm. The text dwells at length on Chalcedonian polemics, and also mentions groups of Melitians, present in Middle Egypt even at this date.

c) The *Vita Abraham Archimandritae* is anonymous (cf. A. Campagnano, *op. cit.*; cf. *Synaxarion*, ed. Forget, vol. 1, 401 ff., 24 Tobe). The biographer, who calls himself a relation of Abraham, claims to have written the saint's life to make a little work of edification for whoever reads it. As well as the life there is an encomium by an unknown author: *In Abraham archimandritam*. The text is transmitted in two different versions. Given the fragmentary state of the manuscripts, it is even possible they may be two different encomia.

4) Also anonymous is the *Vita Longini Archimandritae* (ed. T. Orlandi, A. Campagnano, *Vite dei monaci Phife Longino*, Milan 1975). After a homiletic introduction, it tells the beginning of Longinus' monastic life in Lycia, in the monastery of Hieronymus, under Lucius; then his change of monastery in search of tranquillity. Lucius and Longinus settle in the *martyrion* of Theoctistus. Two miracles described.

Longinus leaves Lucius and goes to Ennaton, near Alexandria. Unrecognized, he remains a humble servitor. Longinus is recognized; he settles in a cell on his own; he acquires disciples. Arrival of Lucius at Ennaton. Miracle of the woman with breast cancer (= *Apophth.*). Other miracles (= 4 *Apophth.*). Miracle of the sailor (= *Apophth.*). Anti-Chalcedonian episode. Character and works of Longinus; death.

e) *Vita Matthaei Pauperis* (cf. A. Campagnano, *op. cit.*). Prologue: the author reports a discourse of the saint, which he claims to have heard with the other brethren. Matthew does great works of charity and asceticism, and also miracles, in the monastery founded by himself and dedicated to Pachomius.

f) *Vita Moysis Archimandritae*. The life of Moses is written on request, probably that of a religious confraternity. To Moses are attributed some works, in particular rules, still little studied.

g) *Vita Zenobii Archimandritae*. Zenobius was secretary to Shenute, and became hegumen of the monastery of Atripe (White Monastery) after Besa (cf. D.W. Johnson, "The Dossier of Abba Zenobios", *Orientalia* 58 [1989] 193-212).

h) *Vita Iohannis de Lykopolis*. Fundamental on this work are the contributions of Devos ("La servante de Dieu Poemenia d'après Pallade, la tradition copte et Jean Rufus", *AB* 87 [1969] 189-208; "Fragments coptes de l'Historia Monachorum [vie de S. Jean de Lycopolis BHO 515]", *AB* 87 [1969] 417-440; "Feuillets coptes nouveaux et anciens concernant S. Jean de Siout", *AB* 88 [1970] 153-187; "Saint Jean de Lycopolis et l'empereur Marcien. À propos de Chalcedoine", *AB* 94 [1976] 303-316; "Jean de Lycopolis revisité. Nouveaux feuillets du 'Codex B'", *AB* 106 [1988] 183-200). Devos recognizes four codices. The Coptic life was built on the passages on John contained in the *Historia monachorum*, the *Historia Lausiaca* and a continuation under Marcian. Witnesses: Ethiopic Synaxarion and (less reliable?) Arabic Synaxarion. The passage on Marcian recurs in the Syriac *Vita Dioscori* by Theopistus, ed. Nau, *JA* X.1 (1903) 5-108, 241-310, and in the *Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum*. Historically, John died aged 90 soon after Theodosius I (395). The Coptic life takes his life as far as Marcian (450-457). The first part of the life corresponds to the *Historia monachorum*, the part on John (ch. 1). It also tells of John's intervention with Theodosius in defence of Akhmim. John is connected with Shenute. Episode of the defence of Akhmim. Then follows the wholly invented part connecting John with Marcian, against Chalcedon.

i) *Vita Danielis Archimandritae* (ed. I. Guidi, in L. Clugnet [F. Nau, I. Guidi], *Vie [et récits] de l'Abbé Daniel le Scétiote [VI^e siècle]*, Paris 1901; cf. G. Garitte: *DHGE* 14, 70-72; É. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les moines d'Égypte*, Paris 1914, 10-29 and 84-85). There are 11 stories

variously handed down in Greek in different collections of *Apophthegmata*. Some episodes are also found in Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic and one in Armenian. In Coptic they are in the form of *Vita Danielis arch.*, with the addition of two more anecdotes and an anti-Chalcedonian appendix. The historical information to be drawn from these episodes is exclusively chronological (letting us place his life in the first half of the 6th century) and confessional (he was one of the prominent figures of anti-Chalcedonian Egyptian monasticism). Nothing is said about the real events of his life. The text is closely linked to that of the *Vita Longini*: a series of apophthegmatic episodes of the usual type, put next to an anti-Chalcedonian episode and unified in the form of a *Vita*.

l) Pambo of Scete, *Vita Hilariae* (ed. J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends: Hilaria, Archellites, The Seven Sleepers. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Cairo 1947). The prologue is probably a later addition, made in order to turn the text into a homily. In the Ethiopic version (ed. Turaiev, 1903) Pambo is always spoken of in the third person. There is also a Syriac version (ed. Wensinck, 1913). The story begins with Zeno and the *Tome* of Leo. Zeno has two daughters, Hilaria and Theopista. Hilaria decides to become a nun but, to do so, has to go abroad, so she dresses as a man. She arrives at Alexandria and goes to see Shenute together with the deacon Theodore. Pambo (spoken of in the third person) is warned. Pambo and Hilaria. Hilaria stays with Martyrios and learns Coptic. Theopista is taken ill and advised to go to "Hilarion" at Scete. Zeno's letter to the monks of Scete. Theopista meets Hilaria and is cured.

m) Also part of the same plerophoric context is Peter Mongus, *De ecclesia Pachomii*. A single fragment remains in (Sahidic) Coptic; the complete Arabic version (Vat. ar. 172, ff. 99-109), attributed to Timothy Aelurus, is published by Van Lantschoot ("Allocution de Timothée d'Alexandrie prononcée à l'occasion de la dédicace de l'église de Pachôme à Pboou", *Muséon* 47 [1934] 13-56). The Coptic is parallel to ff. 103b-105a of the Arabic ms. (cf. also Budge's ed., *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, London 1899, 81-101). Introduction: praises of Pachomius. Story of Victor of Tabennesi, Cyril of Alexandria and Shenute at the Council of Ephesus. A nun reveals to Victor that he is the son of Theodosius. Theodosius gives Victor a sum to build a church for the monastery. Return of Victor; Chalcedon, exile of Dioscorus, Marcian. Victor dies; his successor Papnute visits Dioscorus at Gangra. Martyrios succeeds Papnute and manages to build the church, which is consecrated under Timothy. A vision of Theophilus, alluded to in the text, is contained in the homily *On the Sojourn of the Holy Family on Mount Kos (Ar. Kos Qam)*, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, surviving only in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic (cf. I. Guidi: *AAL* ser. V, 26 [1917]

381-469; 30 [1922] 217-237, 274-315; Conti Rossini, *AAL* ser. V, 21 [1922-1923] 150-159 and 271-302).

n) Also part of this context is a more properly hagiographic work: *Passio Iacobi intercisi* (= *Persae*). Documentation on James the Persian exists in Syriac, Greek, Coptic, Arabic, etc. The fundamental text on him is a Passion, transmitted in many redactions. The text closest to the original, according to Devos ("Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis. I, La Passion grecque inédite", *AB* 71 [1953] 157-210) is represented by the Syriac redaction; from this would be derived one of the four Greek redactions (the other three would be modifications of it); and through the Greek, directly or indirectly, the other Oriental versions. In Coptic we have fragments of the Passion in Sahidic; in Bohairic we have the complete text (ed. Balestri-Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum*, 1 [text], Paris 1907; 2, Paris 1924) and fragments of another codex. These texts seem to coincide fairly well. His feast was celebrated on the day of 27 Athor. Appended to the Passion transmitted in the complete manuscript is a long passage relating to the translation by Peter the Iberian of James's relics from Jerusalem to a place near Oxyrhynchus. This passage is historically interesting, and attributable to the late 5th century. Another text which in all probability alludes to these events is the homily attributed to Bachaeus, *On the Three Youths of Babylonia*.

DAMIAN AND BENJAMIN

In the first half of the 6th century the Coptic Church had undergone a long and profound crisis, due not just to imperial claims to impose patriarchs adhering to the Chalcedonian confession which the Coptic Church rejected, and consequently to the persecutions and vexations of various kinds that this involved and which had almost led to its dissolution; to these were added internal disputes of various types, and disputes with the (confessionally) sister Syrian Church. The Gaianite crisis and then the Tritheist crisis had been very severe, and left a mark for some time.

Yet this tormented period came to an end, substantially, with the advent of Patriarch Damian, who, though of Syrian origin, succeeded in a meritorious work of reconstruction of the hierarchy and practical and moral renewal of the inner life of the Coptic Church, and on the whole got the upper hand of the various minority currents of Egyptian "Monophysitism". Although vexations by the Byzantine party would be repeated, they would henceforth be opposed and withstood by the Coptic Church with a harmonious awareness of its own being and with confidence in its own historical strength.

All this naturally had its reflections in Coptic culture. It is indeed probable that part of the renewal championed by Damian and his Egyptian collaborators was a cultural programme, whose success, fortunately, can be observed in the no few surviving works produced in this period. That the Copts were aware of this cultural renaissance is attested by an important observation in the chapter of the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs* (the "authoritative" historical text from the 11th century to the present) on the life of Damian: "There were in his time bishops who filled him with admiration for their purity and perfection, and among them John of Paralos, John his disciple, Constantine the bishop and John the blessed recluse". Of all these, and others locatable with more or less precision in this period, some works have been preserved: not many indeed, but enough to make us appreciate the literary effort they produced.

The two fundamental cultural centres were: in the south, Thebes (the Thebes of the Christian monasteries, with the nearby cities of Keft, Siout, etc.). The White Monastery seems to have remained an important catchment area for collecting manuscripts rather than a centre of diffusion of original works. In the north, Alexandria, with the group of monasteries of Scete growing ever more important, and "satellite" towns like Paralos and Pshati (Nikiu). But the two centres must have been in close communication, given that the type and quality of literary products are similar. Also common is the language, Sahidic, which only in the late 8th century would be supplanted, first in the north, then in the rest of Egypt, by Bohairic.

Yet it was the south that produced what could best be called a "literary circle". Indeed a group of works by Pistentius of Keft, Constantine of Siout, John of Shmun and Rufus of Shotep demonstrates an identical concern for certain formal problems, as well as a shared content, springing from a communion of studies and of rhetorical subjects. It was essentially a matter of maintaining in Coptic translation as much of "ancient" Greek patristics as was still consonant with the literary and dogmatic taste of the public it was addressed to; and of producing as much new work as was necessary for the development of the liturgical life of the Coptic Church, which had conquered a space of its own despite the will of the Byzantine emperors.

1) Damian of Alexandria was bishop from 578 to 605. Of Syrian origin, he was elected at the end of a period of grave organizational crisis for the anti-Chalcedonian Egyptian Church, following the provisions taken by Justinian and his successors to restore unity to the Church of the Empire. Damian brilliantly succeeded in restoring the hierarchy of the Egyptian clergy, a lasting work. He was less fortunate in his other grave

problem, that of relations with the other important anti-Chalcedonian Church, that of Syria, creating a theological and personal conflict which was resolved only in the time of his successor Anastasius. Cf. Jean Maspéro (A. Fortescue, G. Wiet), *Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu'à la reconciliation des églises jacobites (518-616)*, Paris 1923, 278-317.

a) *De Nativitate* (ed. W.E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri*, Oxford 1913). Prologue: the feast of the Virgin. Annunciation of Gabriel. Mary's visit to Elizabeth. Birth in the stall. Against the heretics: Platonites; Diphysites. The earthquake. Conclusion.

b) *Synodicon*. The Coptic text is transmitted only by a very damaged inscription in the monastery of Epiphanius (W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 2, New York 1926, 331); the Syriac text is in J.B. Chabot, *Chron. de Michel...*, 2, 325).

2) Constantine of Siout lived under Damian (578-605) and Andronicus (616-622), in the period when the Egyptian Church of anti-Chalcedonian confession enjoyed relative freedom and could reorganize its own spiritual and hierarchical life. He became a monk at S. Macarius, Scete, under the hegumen Daniel (485-575); he also travelled to the Holy Land. He was then consecrated bishop of the important centre of Siout (Lycopolis; Assiut) in Middle Egypt. He opposed the Melitians.

a) *In Athanasium 1* (ed. T. Orlandi, *Constantini Episcopi urbis Siout Encomia in Athanasium duo*, Louvain 1974). Prologue: on the imitation of the virtues of the ancient Fathers; example of Moses. Miracle of the Red Sea. Miraculous salvation of Athanasius. Miracle of the Eucharist. On the Council of Nicaea. Conclusion: literary justification. *In Athanasium 2*. Prologue: on unworthy priests. Athanasian episodes: the lying woman; the flight from the church; Arsenius. Moral teachings: pardoning one's enemies; fraudulent merchants. Conclusion: against the heretics.

b) *In Claudium 1* (ed. G. Godron, *Textes coptes relatifs à Saint Claude d'Antioche*, PO 35, 4 [= 166], Turnhout 1970). Edict of Diocletian. Genealogy of the emperors: Decius the persecutor; Carus and Carinus. Victor, friend of Claudius and son of Romanus. After Numerian is killed, Diocletian reigns. War with the Mazici. Education and portrait of Claudius. War of the Armenians against Diocletian (mention of the localities Ariphoros and Ammotion). Claudius saves Diocletian. Wrangle between Claudius and Diocletian. Claudius and Victor tempted by the devil; they meet Psote. Dialogue between Claudius and Diocletian, who condemns Claudius to exile. Martyrdom of Frumentius. Dialogue with Victor's mother. Claudius in Egypt; Arianus. Death of Claudius in Egypt. Conversion of Arianus at Antioch. Lamentation of Claudius' sister,

Theognosta. End of the persecution. Series of miracles: the *oikonomos* of the sanctuary of Claudius. The fiscal agent of the emperor Anastasius. The man possessed by a demon. Epilogue. The Agrippida-Diocletian theme is absent (but cf. p. 120, 18 of the Godron ed.), as are Basilides and the Theodores. There are references to Psote and Thrace – Ariphoros. Parallels: Eudoxia (Diocletian); Panine and Paneu (Psote).

c) *In Claudium 2*. John's letter to Anastasius. Vain attempts of Melitius. Diocletian at war wants to recall Claudius, but Claudius' body cannot be exhumed. Violent pain of Theognosta. Anastasius takes away his teacher's blood. Posthumous miracles of Claudius: Dionysius the pagan; Daniel the Melitian priest; the three thieves of pManhabin; Antony of Shotep the mage. Final exhortations.

3) John, bishop of Shmun, was a writer in Coptic at the time of Patriarch Damian, as attested by a passage of the historian Severus of Ashmunein and by a phrase of John himself in the Encomium of Antony: "Who is the greatest of priests...? You will say with me that it is Damian". However there are no other attestations of his figure in the Coptic literary tradition. Two works of his survive in Coptic. Both demonstrate an excellent constructive capacity and skill in organizing contents. Their rhetorical style is superabundant and often complicated, in accordance with the taste of the time, distantly derived from that of the "second sophistic". John's most outstanding characteristic, as deduced from his works, is an ardent nationalism, which is evidently also behind his choice of subject in the two surviving homilies. Indeed in Damian's time the Coptic Church tended to be self-enclosed and to consider Egypt as in some sense a privileged region, which could preserve orthodoxy on its own against nearly all the rest of the Christian world. From the literary point of view, we note his participation in the dispute over the legitimacy of going back over subjects already dealt with by the great early Greek Fathers. We are in fact in the period when Coptic tended to prevail as a language for all uses (from the popular to the learned) within the Church, coinciding with the fact that texts in Greek could no longer be trusted from a theological point of view.

a) *In Antonium* (ed. G. Garitte, "Panégyrique de Saint Antoine par Jean évêque d'Hermopolis", *OCP* 9 [1943] 100-134, 330-365). Prologue: legitimacy of going back over subjects already dealt with by the great early Fathers, but in Greek. Praises of Antony and praises of Egypt. Youthful vocation. Ascetic customs. Spiritual heights. Comparison between Antony and the angelic ranks. Other praises. Antony and the ecclesiastical authorities. Prayer to Antony that he may implore God's protection on the faithful. Note that the author avoids drawing a real biography of the encomiated saint, as would become indispensable at a later period.

b) *In Marcum Evangelistam* (ed. T. Orlandi, *Studi Copti. I. Un encomio di Marco Evangelista*, Milan 1968). Prologue, praising the great figures of Egyptian Christianity; paraphrase of the episodes relating to Paul, Barnabas and Mark, from the Acts of the Apostles; legendary relations between Mark and Peter; acts of Mark at Alexandria, according to the apocryphal narratives; exhortatory conclusion.

4) Pisentius of Keft (cf. W.E. Crum, *ROC* 20 [1915-1917] 38-42; Idem, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 1, New York 1926, 223-231). He is the best-known figure of Damian's period, both because a great deal of his episcopal archive has been found (cf. Revillout: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 9 [1900] 133 ff.; *Zeitsch. f. Aeg. Sprache* 17 [1879] 36-39; W.E. Crum, *Epiphanius...*, loc. cit.; etc.), and through his biography, surviving in at least three redactions (Coptic, by John the Presbyter and by Moses of Keft; Arabic, ed. E. de Lacy O'Leary, PO 22, 313-488). Born in 568, a monk at the monastery of Phoebammon (Thebes), bishop of Keft, consecrated by Damian c. 598-601, died 631-632. Attributed to him are the encomium of Onophrius and an *Epistula prophetica* transmitted in Arabic (ed. Périer: *ROC* 19 [1913-1916]; cf. G.G. Abdel Sayed, *Untersuchungen zu den Texten über Pesyntheus Bischof von Koptos [569-632]*, Bonn 1984).

5) Rufus of Shotep. One of the bishops, protagonists of the Coptic literary flowering in Damian's time. Of his life almost nothing is known. He is named in the famous passage where Severus of Ashmunein speaks of those bishops; and he is named in the Synaxarion, in the item on Constantine of Siout, from which we learn that he put on the monk's habit (c. 570?) with Constantine. Constantine himself, in one of his *Encomia of Claudius*, speaks of his journey to Jerusalem with Rufus. His works are preserved only fragmentarily. The fragments are published by M. Sheridan, *Rufus of Shotep: Homilies on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, Rome 1998. There are two commentaries, on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. Sheridan notes that the style is that usual in works of this period (heavy, complicated rhetoric, "second sophistic" Asian style); the exegesis is allegorical in type, but the philological requirements of the text are also taken into consideration. Theologically interesting are an exposition of the economy of salvation; a parallel between Eve and Mary; the insistence on the harmony of the two Testaments; some polemics against the heretics, but especially the Origenian inspiration that pervades the whole work. It thus represents the last late example of Alexandrian exegesis.

VIII PATRISTIC TEXTS IN ARMENIAN (5TH TO 8TH CENTURIES)

by SEVER J. VOICU

INTRODUCTION

The Armenian tradition is of considerable importance for patristic studies. Indeed, despite a history strewn with tragic moments, which led to the destruction of many manuscripts, Armenian literature stands out for having preserved an exceptional number of translations, rewritings and original works, all the more astonishing if we think of the numerical slenderness of potential readers of those works.

This literary activity began in the first years of the 5th century, when Mesrop Maštoc' succeeded in devising an alphabet that could adequately represent the phonetics of Armenian, more complex than those of the surrounding written languages. It was kept up, with a high degree of continuity, practically until the time of the crusades.

However, despite this acknowledged importance, Armenian patristics contains vast unexplored or little-explored areas: not only is the number of unedited texts still very high (especially among translations), but many texts were published for the first and last time in the 19th century, by the Mekhitarists of Vienna and particularly of Venice. These editions, whose aim was often to popularize, albeit at a high level, no longer correspond to the requirements of more recent philology.

For some general questions we must go, with some updating, to two fairly recent works: C. Renoux, "La littérature arménienne", M. Albert *et al.*, *Christianismes orientaux: introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*, Initiations au christianisme ancien, Paris 1993, 107-166 (henceforth: Renoux, "Littérature"); and S.J. Voicu, "La patristica nella letteratura armena (V-X sec.)", A. Quacquarelli, *Complementi interdisciplinari di patrologia*, Rome 1989, 657-696 (henceforth: Voicu, "Patristica").

Also still useful, especially for many minor or late authors, is V. Inglisian's survey "Die armenische Literatur", *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 7, Leyden-Cologne 1963, 156-250 (henceforth: Inglisian, "Literatur").

Abbreviations used in this chapter:

Armenia and the Bible = C. Burchard, *Armenia and the Bible: Papers Presented to the International Symposium Held at Heidelberg... 1990*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 12, Atlanta 1993.

Armeniaca = *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes*, Venice 1969.

Armenian Texts = H. Lehmann, J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Armenian Texts: Tasks and Tools*, Acta Jutlandica 69, 1. Humanities Series 68, Aarhus 1993.

Book of Genesis = J. Frishman, L. Van Rompay, *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*, Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5, Lovanii 1997.

East of Byzantium = N.G. Garsoïan et al., *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, Washington (DC) 1982.

Mélanges Guillaumont = *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Cahiers d'orientalisme 20, Geneva 1988.

Mémorial Der Nersessian = *Mémorial Sirarpie Der Nersessian* (= Revue des études arméniennes n.s. 23), Paris 1992.

Text and Context = S. Ajamian, M.E. Stone, *Text and Context: Studies in the Armenian New Testament: Papers Presented to the Conference on the Armenian New Testament May 22-28, 1992*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 13, Atlanta 1994.

General bibliographies: R.W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, Turnhout 1995; V.N. Nersessian, *A Bibliography of Articles on Armenian Studies in Western Journals, 1869-1995*, Caucasus World, Richmond (Surrey) 1997 (*Bible*: 65-72; *Uncanonical Texts*: 73-74; *Patristics*: 199-215); cf. Renoux, "Littérature", 116-118; Voicu, "Patristica", 657-658.

Political, ecclesiastical and cultural history: cf. Voicu, "Patristica", 658.

History of literature: cf. Renoux, "Littérature", 118-119; Voicu, "Patristica", 658-659.

Grammars, dictionaries and histories of the language: cf. Renoux, "Littérature", 112-116.

Creation of the alphabet: C. Gugerotti, "L'invenzione dell'alfabeto in Armenia: teologia della storia nella Vita di 'Maštoc' di Koriwn", *La traduzione dei testi religiosi. Atti del convegno tenuto a Trento... 1993*, ed. C. Moreschini, G. Menestrina, Religione e Cultura 6, Brescia 1994, 101-126; J.R. Russell, "On the Origins and Invention of the Armenian Script", *Muséon* 107 (1994) 317-331; cf. Renoux, "Littérature", 112-113; Voicu, "Patristica", 659.

Manuscripts, palaeography and codicology, epigraphy: B. Coulie, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Arméniens*, CC, Turnhout 1992; Idem, "Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Arméniens. Supplément I", *Muséon* 108 (1995) 115-130; D. Kouymjian, "Inscribed Armenian Manuscript Bindings: A Preliminary General Survey", *Armenian Texts*, 101-109; Idem, "Armenian Paleography: A Reassessment", F. Déroche, F. Richard, *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris 1997, 177-188; cf. also Renoux, "Littérature", 119-121; Voicu, "Patristica", 659-661.

Papyrus: the only known papyrus (perhaps 5th-7th century) contains a Greek text (grammatical treatises) written in Armenian characters; cf. J. Clackson, "A Greek Papyrus in Armenian Script", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 129 (2000) 223-258.

PATRISTIC TRANSLATIONS

TYPES OF TRANSLATION

Under the weight of Armenia's politico-geographical and cultural-historical situation, long tossed about between the Byzantine and Persian Empires, Armenian translations were made from the 5th century from Greek and Syriac manuscripts. Only later, and rarely, were sources from other linguistic areas (Georgian or Arabic) translated or used. Armenian was in turn the intermediary or model of many Old Georgian translations (dated in general from the 5th to the 8th centuries).

Though texts of a Christian stamp predominate, Armenian transmits many classical works, especially of a philosophical or scientific character, and some works of Hermetic or gnostic origin.

Translations of the 5th to 8th centuries differ greatly in their degree of fidelity to the originals and the way they are rendered into Armenian. Three types can be distinguished: "golden age", "silver age" and Hellenophile. This classification, though, besides not taking many early translations into account, poses problems of method.

The two best-characterized groups of translations are those of the "golden age" and the Hellenophile. "Golden" translations, a terminology with a romantic ring to it, often depart from the letter of the original, sometimes to the extent of rewriting, aiming to obtain a legible and elegant prose. Apart from Scriptural ones, all the translations produced in accordance with this technique are patristic. A consistent historical tradition links them with the initiative of Mesrop and his disciples, hence to cultural centres like Constantinople, Caesarea in Cappadocia and perhaps Antioch, but also to the Syriac-speaking world.

The "Hellenophile" school used the opposite strategy, trying to transfer not just the syntactic structure of the Greek model, but also the etymology of individual words (including preverbs and prepositions), not avoiding neologisms, in a game of calques that is often exasperated and perhaps not always comprehensible to the unprepared Armenian reader of that time. Used mainly, but not exclusively, for texts of a philosophical and scientific nature, the Hellenophile versions are precious from the critical point of view, since they often allow even the individual Greek words they translate to shine through. Three or four groups of Hellenophile translations are generally distinguished, according to their degree of literality, but there is still no consensus on the distinctive traits of these groups and especially on their periodization.

"Silver" translations show less definite outlines and are generally placed between the second half of the 5th century and the early 6th. Their distance from "golden" translations is interpreted as the beginning of a sort of decline of the language, which becomes more literalistic

and starts to accept neologisms calqued on the Greek. Yet what is perhaps more significant about the "silver" translations is their link with Jerusalem, where there was certainly an Armenian community, which may not have entirely adopted the linguistic norm prescribed by Mesrop and his disciples for "golden" translations.

Outside this framework remain hundreds of translations which are moderately literalistic, perhaps more through simple inertia than through choice, and which still await study and classification.

What is the date of these schools of translation? The "golden" versions are generally held to be from the first half of the 5th century, but there are no decisive reasons for supposing them to have ceased abruptly with the first condemnation of Monophysitism by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, a sort of symbolic date for the separation between the Armenian and Byzantine Churches.

For "silver" versions the opposite reasoning applies: they are not necessarily later, but may perhaps reflect a plurality of schools of translation, so that a vague dating to somewhere in the 5th century is acceptable.

Hellenophile translations are certainly later in general (6th to 8th centuries), but their precise dating remains an object of debate. An objection with no satisfactory answer is the appearance of Philonian motifs in Armenian works whose traditional date precedes that generally assigned to translations of Philo (c. 570-580); hypotheses include direct use of Greek sources, the use of an earlier translation, lost or rewritten, of the Alexandrian author, or even the presence of more recent interpolations or revisions (as seems to have happened to many historians). Yet we cannot rule out that the traditional date of the first Hellenophile translations may be too late. This revision and relativization of the chronology so far accepted for Hellenophile translations finds some support in recent works, from which emerges the occasional presence, in "golden age" versions, of linguistic phenomena systematically used by the Hellenophiles.

Selected studies: E.F. Rhodes, "Limitations of Armenian in Representing Greek", B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations*, Oxford 1977, 171-181; L. Ter-Petrosian, *Ancient Armenian Translations...*, New York 1992, 1-46; J.J.S. Weitenberg, "On the Interpretation of Post-classical Armenian Linguistic Data", *Armenian Texts*, 65-74 (orthographic variants in mss.); Idem, "The Language of Mesrop: l'arménien pour lui-même?", *Armenia and the Bible*, 221-231 (dialects in the classical era); Idem, "Linguistic Continuity in Armenian Hellenizing Texts", *Muséon* 110 (1997) 447-458 (classical precedents of typical Hellenophile phenomena); Idem, "Eusebius of Emesa and Armenian Translations", *Book of Genesis*, 163-170 (continuity between classical and Hellenophile versions).

The Hellenophile school: J. Manandean, *Yownaban dproc'ë ew nra zargac'man š rjannerë* [The Hellenophile School and the Phases of its Development], Vienna 1928; N. Akinian, "Yownaban dproc'ë (572-603) [The Hellenophile School

(572-603)]", *HA* 46 (1932) 271-292 [German summary, 376-384]; S. Arevšat'yan, "Hnagoyñ haykakan t'argmanowt'iwnerë ew nranc' patmamšakowt'ayin nšanakowt'iwnë [The Earliest Armenian Translations and their Historical and Cultural Relevance]", *PbH* (1973) 1, 23-37 (four phases, from 450 to 710, for the Hellenophile school); C. Mercier, "L'École hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne", *REArm* 13 (1978-1979) 59-75; A. Terian, "The Hellenizing School: Its Time, Place and Scope of Activities Reconsidered", *East of Byzantium*, 175-186; V. Calzolari, M. Nichanian, "L'école hellénisante", M. Nichanian, *Agēs et usages de la langue arménienne*, Paris 1989, 110-142; R. Sgarbi, "Questioni di traduttologia armena in prospettiva interlinguistica", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il "Romanzo di Alessandro" e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre 1997)*, ed. R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo, *L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale 2*, Alessandria 1998, 273-279.

AUTHORS TRANSLATED

Patristic translations are listed by author, confined to those that have been published or studied. The many surviving unedited versions, or those on which no specific works exist, are recorded only sporadically. For the Greek Fathers, they are given by the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* and its *Supplementum* (1998), but this resource is not available for Syriac authors. The following list also contains Philo and the philosopher Sextus, whom tradition often assimilated to the Church Fathers, and, at the end, the Hermetic writings.

AITHALLA OF EDESSA: *Epistola*.

Edition: I. Thorossian, *Aithallae episcopi Edesseni Epistola ad Christianos in Persarum regione de fide*, Venetiis 1942.

APHRAHAT: *Demonstrationes*.

Edition: G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien*, CSCO 382-383; 405-406; 423-424 / Arm. 7-12, Louvain 1977-1980 (text and tr.; the version, from Syriac, is probably from the second half of the 5th century; in Armenian under the name of Jacob of Nisibis).

Studies: G. Lafontaine, "Pour une nouvelle édition de la version arménienne des 'Démonstrations' d'Aphraate", *Baz* 133 (1975) 365-375.

APOLLINARIS OF LAODICEA: *Fragments*.

Edition: M.G. Grigorian [Grigorean], "Apolinarian hatakotrk' hay astowacabanakan grakanowt'ean mej [Fragments of Apollinaris in Armenian theological literature]", *HA* 101 (1987) 243-277 (citations of Pseudo-Julius in the "Seal of Faith" and the "Book of Letters").

APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (CPG 5560-5615).

Editions: L. Leloir, *Paterica armeniaca a P.P. Mechitaristis edita (1855) nunc latine reddita. I-IV*, CSCO 353; 361; 371; 379 / Subs. 42-43; 47; 51, Louvain 1974-1976 (text and tr.); I. Havener, "The So-Called 'Discourse' of Hyperechius the Solitary in Armenian", *Muséon* 102 (1989) 307-320.

Translation: L. Leloir, *Désert et communion: témoignages des Pères du désert recueillis à partir des Paterica arméniens*, Spiritualité orientale 26, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1978 (selection).

ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA: Many works, authentic and spurious, exist in Armenian; sometimes they are texts or recensions unknown in Greek.

Overall edition: [E. Tayec'i], *S. At'anasi Alek'sandrioy hayrapeti čark', t'owl't'k' ew ěnddimasc'owl'iwnk'* [*Sermons, Letters and Dogmatic Writings of St Athanasius Archbishop of Alexandria*], Venetik 1899 (Armenian only, authentic and spurious works).

Studies: C. Renoux, "Athanasie d'Alexandrie dans le florilège arménien Galata 54 (1^{ère} partie)", *Mélanges Guillaumont*, 163-171; Idem, "Athanasie d'Alexandrie dans le florilège arménien du manuscrit Galata 54 (Deuxième partie)", *HA* 103 (1989) 7-27; R.W. Thomson, "The Transformation of Athanasius in Armenian Theology", *Muséon* 78 (1965) 47-69.

Epistulae ad Serapionem (CPG 2094).

Edition: G.A. Egan, *The Armenian Version of the Letters of Athanasius to Bishop Serapion Concerning the Holy Spirit*, Studies and Documents 37, Salt Lake City 1968.

Dialogus de s. Trinitate IV (CPG 2284; in Armenian under the name of Basil of Caesarea).

Editions: P. Jungmann, "Die armenische Fassung des sog. Pseudo-athanasianischen Dialogus de Sancta Trinitate IV", *OrChr* 53 (1969) 159-201.

Studies: C. Bizer, "Die armenische Version und der griechisch-lateinische Text des pseudathanasianischen Dialogus de s. trinitate IV", *OrChr* 53 (1969) 202-211.

Sermo maior de fide and Expositio fidei (CPG 2803-2804).

Edition: R.P. Casey, *The Armenian Version of the Pseudoathanasian Letter to the Antiochenes and of the Expositio Fidei*, Studies and Documents 15, London 1947.

BASIL OF CAESAREA: as well as individual works transmitted by all sorts of manuscripts, three stable collections exist in Armenian: 1) the *Hexaameron*; 2) the *Book of Questions* (= the "ascetic corpus", comprising the *Rules* and their appendices; 3) the *Girk' Pahoc'*, "Book of Fasting" (collection of homilies and letters, of variable content). Also attributed to him in Armenian is the Pseudo-Athanasian *Dialogus de s. Trinitate IV*.

Cf. G. Uluhogian, "Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea", *Basil of Caesarea Christian, Humanist, Ascetic: A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, ed. P.J. Fedwick, Toronto 1981, 571-588; I.W. Driessen, "Les recueils manuscrits arméniens de S. Basile", *Muséon* 66 (1953) 65-95.

Homiliae in Hexaameron (CPG 2835).

Edition: K. Mowrdyan, *Barsel Kesarac'i, Yalags Veg'aēreay arač'owl't'ean* [*Basil of Caesarea, Homilies on the Hexaameron*], Erevan 1984.

Studies: L.H. Ter Petrosyan, "Barsel Kesarac'u Vec'awreak'i hayeren t'argmanut'yan naxōrinakē [The Model of the Armenian Translation of Basil of Caesarea's Hexaameron]", *PbH* 101-102 (1983) 264-278; R.W. Thomson, *The Syriac Version of the Hexaameron by Basil of Caesarea*, CSCO 550-551 / Syr. 222-223, Lovanii 1995 (perhaps from a Syriac model).

Corpus asceticum (CPG 2875-2877).

Edition: G. Uluhogian, *Basilio di Cesarea, Il Libro delle Domande (Le Regole)*, CSCO 536-537 / Arm. 19-20, Lovanii 1993 (text and translation; the Armenian, very close but not literal, probably dates from the early 6th century; perhaps used at the end of the *Yačaxapatowm* [late 5th century]; in the 8th century, the *Rules* are one of the sources of the canonical collection of John of Ojun).

Studies: G. Uluhogian, "La tradizione medievale armena sull'origine delle Regole di San Basilio", *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 14 (1991) 341-346.

In sanctam Christi generationem (CPG 2913).

Edition: P. Ananean, *Dawit' Tarōnac'i t'argman S. Barsel Hairapeti "I Cnownd P'rkc'in"* [*David of Taron, translator of Bishop St Basil's "In generationem Salvatoris"*], Venice-S. Lazzaro 1982 (translation made at Damascus by David of Taron for Hamazasp Mamikonean c. 654-661).

Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma (CPG 2857).

Edition: J.B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae...*, Venetiis 1827, 370-401 (text and tr.; in Armenian under the name of Severian of Gabala; for another form and a citation, under Basil's name, cf. CPG).

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA: *Scholia de incarnatione Unigeniti* (CPG 5225).

Edition: F.C. Conybeare, *The Armenian Version of Revelation and Cyril of Alexandria's Scholium on the Incarnation and Epistle on Easter*, London 1907.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (PSEUDO-).

Editions: R.W. Thomson, *The Armenian Version of the Works Attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite*. 1-2, CSCO 488-489 / Arm. 17-18), Lovanii 1987 (work of Stephen of Siunik, c. 710-720); L. Leloir, "Lettre apocryphe de Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite à Timothée", *Armenian Studies – Études arméniennes in memoriam Haïg Berberian*, ed. D. Kouymjian, Lisbon 1986, 489-498.

Studies: R.W. Thomson, "The Armenian Version of Ps. Dionysius Areopagita", *Acta Jutlandica* 57 (1982) 115-123; M. Morani, "Remarques textuelles sur la version arménienne du De coelesti hierarchia du Pseudo-Denys", *REArm* n.s. 24 (1993) 59-73; U.R. Jeck, "Philosophische Grundbegriffe des Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita in altarmenischer Version", *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 21-24 septembre 1994*, ed. Y. de Andia, Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 151, Paris 1997, 201-223 (the translation uses pre-existing Armenian philosophical terminology); R.W. Thomson, *Indices to the Armenian Version of the Works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*, Dutch Studies in Armenian Language and Literature 5, Amsterdam-Atlanta 1997; M. Morani, "Traduzioni orientali e filologia greca", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il 'Romanzo di Alessandro' e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre*

1997), ed. R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo, *L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale 2*, Alessandria 1998, 175-187 (esp. 180-181).

EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

Overall edition: Sbrown Ep'remi matenagrowt'iwkn' [Writings of St Ephrem], 1-4, Venetik 1836 (Armenian only; authentic and spurious works; translated from Greek, Syriac or an unknown model).

Commentarius in Genesisim.

Studies: B. Outtier, "Le cycle d'Adam à Alt'amar et de la version arménienne du Commentaire de s. Ephrem sur la Genèse", *REArm* 18 (1984) 589-592; E.G. Mathews, "The Armenian Commentary on Genesis Attributed to Ephrem the Syrian", *Book of Genesis*, 143-161 (from Syriac, but its exegesis is alien to Ephrem).

Expositio in evangelium.

Edition: G.A. Egan, *Saint Ephrem, An Exposition of the Gospel*, CSCO 291-292 / Arm. 5-6, Louvain 1968 (text and tr.).

Studies: G.A. Egan, "A Reconsideration of the Authenticity of Ephrem's 'Exposition of the Gospel'", *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. Granfield, J.A. Jungmann, 1, Münster (Westph.) 1970, 128-134; Idem, *An Analysis of the Biblical Quotations of Ephrem in "An Exposition of the Gospel" (Armenian Version)*, CSCO 443 / Subs. 66, Lovanii 1983.

Commentarius in Diatessaron.

Edition: L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, CSCO 137; 145 / Arm. 1-2, Louvain 1953-1954; Idem, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron, traduit du syriaque et de l'arménien*, SCh 121, Paris 1966 (French translation with commentary).

Interpretatio in Acta Apostolorum.

Editions: N. Akinian, *Ephraem Syri Interpretatio Actus Apostolorum*, Vienna 1921; F.C. Conybeare, "The Commentary of Ephrem on Acts", Idem, *Beginnings of Christianity. 3: The Text of Acts*, London 1926, 373-453 (commented English translation).

Studies: A. Merk, "Der neuentdeckten Kommentar des hl. Ephraem zur Apostelgeschichte", *ZKTh* 48 (1924) 37-58 and 226-260 (especially on the biblical citations).

Commentarius in Epistulas Pauli.

Translation: S. Ephraem Syri commentarii in Epistulas D. Pauli, nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem a Patribus Mekhitaristas translati, Venetiis 1893 (translation only).

Hymni.

Edition: L. Mariès, C. Mercier, *Hymnes de saint Éphrem conservés en version arménienne*, PO 30, 1 (= 143), Paris 1961.

Memre de Nicomedia.

Edition: C. Renoux, *Éphrem de Nisibe, Mēmṛē sur Nicomédie. Édition des fragments de l'original syriaque et de la version arménienne...*, PO 37, 2-3, Turnhout 1975.

Sermo de s. Stephano.

Edition: cf. J.-L. Simonet, "Les citations des Actes des Apôtres dans le 'Sur Étienne premier des serviteurs et prémices des témoins'. Oeuvre présentée sous le nom de Jacques de Saroug en syriaque et sous celui d'Éphrem en arménien", *Muséon* 111 (1998) 59-94 (perhaps authentic; the Armenian was published at Venice, 4, 143-149).

Appendix of works relating to the life of St Ephrem:

1) *Vita* translated in 1101 from Syriac; 2) *Testament of Ephrem* (CPG 3947; literal translation from Greek, c. 11th-12th century); 3) homily *In s. Ephraim* (CPG 3193), attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (free translation from Greek, c. 11th-12th century).

Texts: L. Ter-Pétrossian, *Textes arméniens relatifs à s. Éphrem*, CSCO 473 / Arm. 15, Lovanii 1985.

Translation - French: B. Outtier, *Textes arméniens relatifs à s. Éphrem*, CSCO 474 / Arm. 16, Lovanii 1985.

EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS: *De gemmis* (CPG 3748).

Edition: R.P. Blake, H. de Vis, *Epiphanius, De gemmis: The Old Georgian Version and the Fragments of the Armenian Version*, Studies and Documents 2, London... 1934.

Sermo de Antichristo (CPG 3792).

Edition: G. Frasson, *Pseudo Epiphanius Sermo de Antichristo (armeniaca de fine temporum). Introduzione, testo critico, versione latina e note*, Bibliotheca Armeniaca 2, Venice 1976 (composed in Armenian in the 12th century).

Homilies on the Gospels (cf. CPG 3785).

Edition: F.C. Conybeare, "The Gospel Commentary of Epiphanius", *ZNW* 7 (1906) 318-339; 8 (1907) 221-225 (publishes only extracts; not identified in Greek).

EUSEBIUS OF ALEXANDRIA (PSEUDO-): *Sermones* (CPG 5510-5533).

Editions: G. Lafontaine, "Le sermon 'sur le dimanche' d' 'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie', version arménienne et version géorgienne", *Muséon* 87 (1974) 23-44; Idem, "La version arménienne du sermon d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie 'Sur la venue de Jean aux Enfers'", *Muséon* 91 (1978) 87-104; Idem, "La version arménienne du sermon d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie 'Sur la trahison de Judas'", *Muséon* 91 (1978) 335-353.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA: *Historia ecclesiastica* (CPG 3495).

Editions: *Ewsebiosi Kesarac'woy Patmowt'iw n Ekelec'oy [Eusebius of Caesarea's History of the Church]*, Venetik 1877; E. Preuschen, *Eusebius Kirchengeschichte: Buch VI und VII aus dem armenischen Übersetzt*, TU 22, 3, Leipzig 1902.

Epistula ad Carpianum (CPG 3465).

Edition: A. Vardanyan, "Ewsebeay Kesarac'woy t'owl't ar Karpianos [Eusebius of Caesarea's Letter to Carpianus]", *HA* 42 (1928) 5-24, 97-110, 193-204, 289-302 and 387-401.

Chronicon (CPG 3494).

Editions: J.B. Aucher, *Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon Bipartitum, nunc primum ex armeniaco textu in latinum conversum adnotationibus auctum, graecis fragmentis exornatum*. I: *Historico-chronographica*; II: *Chronicus canon*, Venetiis 1818.

EUSEBIUS OF EMESA: his homilies were translated in the golden age. In Armenian he is often confused with Severian of Gabala.

Commentarii in Octateuchum (CPG 3542; attributed in Armenian to Cyril of Alexandria).

Editions: V. Hovhannessian, *Eusebios Emesac'i*, 1: *Meknowt'iwnek' Owt'amatean groc' dstowacašnjin [Eusebius of Emesa. 1: Commentary on the Octateuch]*, Bibliothèque de l'Académie Arménienne de Saint Lazare 56, Venetik 1980 (text and tr.); R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*, *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 6, Lovanii 1997 (systematic comparison with the surviving Greek tradition).

Studies: L.H. Ter-Petrosyan, "Evsebios Emesac'ow «Owt'amatyani meknowt'yowné» ev t'argmanowt'yan tesowt'yan harc'eré V dari Hay matenagrowt'yan mej [Eusebius of Emesa's 'Interpretation of the Octateuch' and some Considerations on 5th-Century Translations in Armenian Literature]", *PbH* 99 [1982] 4, 56-68; R.B. ter Haar Romeny, "Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis and the Origins of the Antiochene School", *Book of Genesis*, 125-142; Idem, " 'Quis Sit ó Σύροσ' Revisited", *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford... 1994*, ed. A. Salvesen, Tübingen 1998, 360-398; J.J.S. Weitenberg, "Eusebius of Emesa and Armenian Translations", *Book of Genesis*, 163-170.

Homiliae (CPG 3531).

Edition: N. Akinian, "Eusebeay Emesac'woy Čark' [The Homilies of Eusebius Bishop of Emesa], *HA* 70 (1956) 291-300, 385-416; 71 (1957) 101-130, 257-267, 357-380, 513-524; 72 (1958) 1-22 (Armenian only).

Partial editions and translations: 1) *In sanctos apostolos*: E.M. Buytaert, *L'héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Émèse*, Bibliothèque du Muséon 42, Louvain 1949, 91*-92*; 3) *De fide*: J.B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae...*, Venetiis 1827, 2-17; 5) *De passione*: J.B. Aucher, *Severiani...* cit., 428-447; 7) *Ad eos qui dicunt: Cur Christus in carne apparuit?*: E.M. Buytaert, *L'héritage...* cit., 89*-90*.

Studies: H.J. Lehmann, *Per Piscatores – Orsordawk': Studies in the Armenian Version of a Collection of Homilies by Eusebius of Emesa and Severian of Gabala*, Århus 1975, esp. 37-272.

EUTHALIUS DIACONUS: *Editio epistularum Pauli apostoli* (CPG 3642).

Editions: A. Vardanyan, *Matenagrowt'iwnek' Ewt'ali, K'nnowt'iwnek' ew bñagir [Euthaliana: Research and Texts]*, Vienna 1930; A. Vardanyan, "Ewt'atakank' [Euthaliana]", *HA* 38 (1924) 385-408, 481-498; 39 (1925) 1-26, 97-118, 203-226, 329-348, 423-434, 513-530.

Studies: J.A. Robinson, *Euthaliana: Studies of Eulalius Codex H of the Pauline Epistles and the Armenian Version, with an Appendix Containing a Collation of the Eton ms. of the Pseudo-Athanasian Synopsis*, *TSt Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature* 3, 3, Cambridge 1895.

EUTYCHIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE: *De distinctione naturae et personae*.

Edition: P. Ananian, "L'opuscolo di Eutichio patriarca di Costantinopoli sulla 'Distinzione della natura e persona' ", *Armeniaca*, 316-382.

EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS.

Edition: B. Sarghissian, *[Vita e opere del s. padre Evagrio il Pontico]*, Venetik 1907.

Studies: I. Hausherr, *Les versions syriaque et arménienne d'Évagre le Pontique: leur valeur, leur relation, leur utilisation*, *Orientalia Christiana* 22, 2 = OCA 69, Rome 1931.

Kephalaia gnostica (CPG 2432); translated from Syriac.

Gnosticus (CPG 2431).

Edition: A. Guillaumont, C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique, Le Gnostique ou À celui qui est devenu digne de la science. Édition critique des fragments grecs, traduction intégrale établie au moyen des versions syriaques et arménienne*, *SCh* 356, Paris 1989 (French tr.; the Armenian is translated directly from the Greek).

Practicus (CPG 2430); translated directly from Greek.

Epistulae (CPG 2437).

Edition: A. Guillaumont, C. Guillaumont, "Les versions orientales et le texte grec des Lettres d'Évagre le Pontique", *Langues orientales anciennes: philologie et linguistique* 3 (1991) 151-162 (translated from the Syriac).

GREGORY NAZIANZEN: his homilies are amply attested in Armenian, which also preserves other works of his.

Studies: K. Mowradyan, *Grigor Nazianzac'in hay mategrowt'yan mej [Gregory Nazianzen in Armenian literature]*, Erevan 1984.

Orationes (CPG 3010).

Editions: B. Coulie, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni opera: versio armeniaca. I. Orationes II, XII, IX*, *CCG* 28, *Corpus Nazianzenum* 3, Turnhout 1994; A. Sirinian, "La versione armena dell'Orazione 7 di Gregorio di Nazianzo", *Muséon* 107 (1994) 55-106.

Studies: G. Lafontaine, B. Coulie, *La version arménienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte*, *CSCO* 446 / Subs. 67, Lovanii 1983 (on the various Armenian collections, cf. 102 ff.); A. Sirinian, *Contributi allo studio della versione armena dell'orazione 7 di Gregorio di Nazianzo*, *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 11 (1988) 181-190; Eadem, "La traduzione armena dei composti verbali greci nell'orazione 7 di Gregorio di Nazianzo", *Muséon* 106 (1993) 89-118; Eadem, "Sulla riproduzione dei nomi propri nella versione armena dell'orazione 4 di Gregorio di Nazianzo", *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze*

e Lettere. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche 128 (1994) 251-262; B. Coulie, "New Testament and Textual Criticism in the Armenian Version of Gregory Nazianzen", *Text and Context*, 23-33 (on homilies 2 and 38-40).

Scholia Pseudo-Nonni.

Editions: J. Nimmo Smith, S. Brock, B. Coulie, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii*, CCG 27, Corpus Nazianzenum 2, Turnhout 1992; A. Manandian, "(Nonnos) Die Scholien zu fünf Reden des Gregor von Nazianz", *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* 2 (1904) 220-300.

Testimonium fidei (CPG 3115.9).

Edition: B. Coulie, "Le 'Testimonium fidei' de Grégoire de Nazianze en arménien", *Idem, Versiones orientales, repertorium Ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, CCG 20, Corpus Nazianzenum 1, Turnhout 1988, 1-18 (Armenian re-use of Ep. 102. Of the three known recensions, the intermediate one depends on Pseudo-Faustus or on the *Book of Agathangelos*).

GREGORY OF NYSSA: *In s. Ephraim* (CPG 3193; translated very freely from Greek, c. 11th-12th century).

Edition: L. Ter-Pérossian, *Textes arméniens relatifs à s. Éphrem*, CSCO 473 / Arm. 15, Lovanii 1985 (text); B. Outtier, *Textes arméniens relatifs à s. Éphrem*, CSCO 474 / Arm. 16, Lovanii 1985 (tr.).

HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM: silver-age translations.

Commentarius in Iob (CPG 6551).

Edition: C. Renoux, *Hésychius de Jérusalem: Homélie sur Job*. 1-2, PO 42, 1-2, Turnhout 1983.

Homilia in Iohannem Baptistam (CPG 6581a).

Edition: C. Renoux, M. Aubineau, "Une homélie perdue d'Hésychius de Jérusalem sur saint Jean-Baptiste retrouvée en version arménienne", *Muséon* 99 (1981) 45-63 (text and tr.).

HIPPOLYTUS: *Benedictiones patriarcharum* (CPG 1874.1 and 1875).

Editions: M. Brière, L. Mariès, B.-C. Mercier, *Hippolyte de Rome. Sur les bénédictions d'Isaac, de Jacob et de Moïse...*, PO 27, 1-2 (= 130-131), Paris 1954 (text and tr.); L. Mariès, *Hippolyte de Rome, Sur les bénédictions d'Isaac, de Jacob et de Moïse. Notes sur la tradition manuscrite, texte grec, versions arménienne et géorgienne*, Collection d'études anciennes, Paris 1935.

Studies: M. de Jonge, "Hippolytus' 'Benedictions of Isaac, Jacob and Moses' and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *Bijdragen* 46 (1985) 245-260.

IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH: The Ignatian epistles were translated in the golden age and published at Constantinople in the 18th century.

Cf. R. Pane, "Un'antica traduzione dimenticata: la versione armena delle lettere di S. Ignazio di Antiochia", *Muséon* 112 (1999) 47-63.

IRENAEUS OF LYON: *Fragments.*

Edition: C. Renoux, *Irénée de Lyon: Nouveaux fragments arméniens de l'Adversus Haereses et de l'Epideixis*, PO 39, 1 (= 178), Turnhout 1978.

Adversus haereses (CPG 1306).

Edition: A. Rousseau et al., *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, livre IV*, SCh 100, Paris 1965; *Idem, Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, livre V...*, SCh 152-153, Paris 1969.

Epideixis (CPG 1307).

Edition: L.M. Froidevaux, *Irénée de Lyon, Démonstration de la prédication apostolique...*, SCh 62, Paris 1959, 2nd ed. by A. Rousseau, 1995.

Studies: B. Reynders, *Lexique comparé du texte grec et des versions latine, arménienne et syriaque de l' "Adversus haereses" de saint Irénée*, CSCO 141-142 / Subs. 5-6, Louvain 1954.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: many texts, authentic and spurious (some missing in Greek), exist in Armenian under his name. We give only works published outside the great Venetian editions, or those that are subjects of specific studies.

General edition: *Yovhannow Oskeberani Kostandnowpolsi episkoposi čark' [John Chrysostom Bishop of Constantinople, Homilies]*, Venetik 1861 (Armenian only; genuine and spurious texts).

1. Authentic works

Contra Anomoeos homilia II (CPG 4324).

Edition: A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome, Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils. Contre les Anoméens homélie VII-XII*, SCh 396, Paris 1994, 286-315 (partial collation by B. Outtier of the Armenian).

In Isaiam (CPG 4416; the Armenian is longer than the Greek, but the addition is considered spurious).

Editions: *Eranelwoyn Yovhannow Oskeberani meknowt'iw'n Esayeay Margarēi*, Venetik 1880 (text); *In Isaiam prophetam interpretatio Sancti Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem a Patribus Mekhitaristas translata*, Venetiis 1887; J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Isaïe...*, SCh 304, Paris 1983.

In Matthaëum homiliae 1-90 (CPG 4424).

Edition: *Yovhannow Oskeberani Kostandnowpolsi episkoposapeti yawetaranagirn Matt'eos*. 1-3, Venetik 1826; cf. C. de Lamberterie, "Fiançailles arméniennes et germaniques", *Mémorial Der Nersessian*, 91-119 (91-99: terminology).

Pauline commentaries.

Edition: *Yovhannow Oskeberani Kostandnowpolsi episkoposapeti meknowt'iw'n t'it'oc'n Pawłosi [John Chrysostom Archbishop of Constantinople. Interpretation of Paul's Epistles]*, 1-2, Venetik 1862 (in appendix, homilies; some spurious).

Catecheses (CPG 4461).

Cf. A. Piédagnel, *Jean Chrysostome, Trois catéchèses baptismales*, SCh 366, Paris 1990, 104-106 (on the Armenian version of *Catechesis* 2).

2. Spurious works

Oratio de recens baptizatis et in resurrectionem (CPG 3238; published at Venice in 1862).

Edition: M. van Esbroeck, "Archéologie d'une homélie sur la Pâque attribuée à Chrysostome ou Épiphané de Chypre", *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. M.E. Stone, Jerusalem 1976, 165-181 (Armenian text and notes).

De quatruiduano Lazaro (CPG 4322).

Edition: A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome, Sur l'égalité du Père et du Fils. Contre les Anoméens homélies VII-XII*, SCh 396, Paris 1994, 212-234 (B. Outtier's collation of the Armenian; cf. 70-71).

De turture (CPG 4547).

Edition: A. Vardanian, "Yovhannow Oskeberani čar 'I tatrakn' [John Chrysostom's Homily 'On the Turtledove' ", *HA* 36 (1922) 333-344 (golden age translation).

In parabolam de ficu (CPG 4588; in Armenian under the name of Severian of Gabala).

Editions: J.B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae...*, Venetiis 1827, 414-427; cf. D.V. Proverbio, "Osservazioni sulla Vorlage greca della versione armena di CPG 4588 (In parabolam de ficu)", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 55 (1995) 177-192.

In Christi natalem diem (CPG 4650; two Armenian translations, attributed to Proclus and Gregory the Thaumaturge).

Editions: M. van Esbroeck, "Une courte homélie mariale de Proclus conservée en arménien", *Baz* 135 (1977) 718-727; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata. IV*, Parisiis 1883, 156-159.

Studies: M. Aubineau, J. Lemarié, "Une adaptation latine inédite et une version arménienne, attribuée à Proclus, du Ps.-Chrysostome, 'In Christi natalem diem' (PG 61, 737-738; CPG 4650)", *VetChr* 22 (1985) 35-89 (against the attribution to Proclus; critical notes).

De dormitione (CPG 5160 [14]).

Edition: M. van Esbroeck, "Une homélie arménienne sur la dormition attribuée à Chrysostome", *OrChr* 70 (1990) 199-233 (perhaps by John II of Jerusalem).

Studies: M. van Esbroeck, "Une exégèse rare d'Isaïe 29, 11-12 conservée en arménien", *Armenia and the Bible*, 73-78 (reference to *Odes of Solomon* 23).

JOHN OF JERUSALEM: the florilegium *Seal of Faith*, which transmits his *Expositio fidei* (CPG 3621), also attributes to him three spurious homilies of John Chrysostom.

Cf. F.-J. Leroy, "Pseudo-Chrysostomica: Jean de Jérusalem. Vers une résurrection littéraire?", *SP* 10 (TU 107), Berlin 1970, 131-136; S.J. Voicu, " 'Giovanni di Gerusalemme' e Pseudo-Crisostomo: Saggio di critica di stile", *Euntes Docete* 24 (1971) 66-111 (rejects the attribution to John of Jerusalem).

Panegyricus de dominatione sanctae ecclesiae (CPG 3626).

Edition: M. van Esbroeck, "Une homélie sur l'Église attribuée à Jean de Jérusalem", *Muséon* 86 (1973) 283-304.

NEMESIUS OF EMESA: *De natura hominis* (CPG 3550).

Edition: M. Morani, "Contributo per un'edizione critica della versione armena di Nemesio", *MIL* 33 (1973) 195-335.

Studies: M. Morani, "La tradizione armena di Nemesio di Emesa. Problemi linguistici e filologici", *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente*, Rome 1990, 21-31; Idem, "Traduzioni orientali e filologia greca", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il 'Romanzo di Alessandro' e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre 1997)*, ed. R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo, *L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale 2*, Alessandria 1998, 175-187 (esp. 181-187).

NILUS OF ANCYRA.

Cf. J. Muyldermans, "S. Nil en version arménienne", *Muséon* 56 (1943) 77-113 (the attribution is doubtful; see *supra*, p. 575, among *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the "Discourse" of Hyperechius).

PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA: an extensive portion of the Philonian *corpus* exists in Armenian, also comprising works lost in Greek and some *spuria*. The translation probably dates from the first Hellenophile phase (c. 570-580), but the date is problematic since Philo is known to authors who are considered to predate this period. Despite the recent revival of Philonian studies, critical editions and studies of the Armenian tradition are still scarce.

Texts and translations: J.B. Aucher, *Philonis Judaei Paralipomena Armena...*, Venetiis 1826; Idem, *Philonis Judaei Sermones tres hactenus inediti... in latinum fideliter translati*, Venetiis 1822 (I and II, *De Providentia*; III, *De animalibus*).

Studies: G. Grigoryan, "Filon Alek'sandrac'ow ašxatowt'yownneri hay meknout'yownnerë [Armenian Commentaries on the Works of Philo of Alexandria]", *BbM* 5 (1960) 95-116; G. Muradyan, "Some Lexicological Characteristics of the Armenian Versions of Philo Alexandrinus", *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics... 1995*, Delmar (NY) 1996, 279-291; A. Terian, "Notes on the Transmission of the Philonic Corpus", *Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994) 91-95.

De specialibus legibus.

Edition: R. Sgarbi, "Analisi linguistico-filologica dell'interpretazione armena della trattazione greca filoniana intorno all'altare", *MIL* 39, 3 (1989) 97-228.

De providentia.

Edition: G. Bolognesi, "Note al testo armeno del 'De providentia' di Filone", *Armeniaca*, 190-200.

Legum allegoriae.

Edition: C. Mercier, "La version arménienne du 'Legum Allegoriae'", *Armeniaca*, 9-15.

Quaestiones in Genesim.

Editions: C. Mercier, F. Petit, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim e versione armeniaca...* 1-2, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 34A-34B, Paris 1979-1984 (tr.); J. Paramelle, E. Lucchesi, *Philon d'Alexandrie, Questions sur la Genèse II 1-7: texte grec, version arménienne, parallèles latins...*, Cahiers d'orientalisme 3, Geneva 1984 (comparative ed., tr. and commentary).

Studies: J.R. Royle, "Two Problems in Philo's 'Quaestiones'", *REArm* 16 (1982) 81-85.

Quaestiones in Exodum.

Edition: A. Terian, *Philon d'Alexandrie, Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum. I et II e versione armeniaca et fragmenta graeca. Introduction, traduction et notes*, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 34C, Paris 1992 (tr.).

Studies: A. Terian, "Strange Interpolations in the Text of Philo: The Case of the Quaestiones in Exodum", *Heirs of the Septuagint: Philo, Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity: Festschrift for Earle Hilgert*, ed. D.T. Runia, *Studia Philonica Annual* 3, Atlanta 1991, 320-327.

De animalibus.

Edition: A. Terian, *Philonis Alexandrini De animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Studies in Hellenistic Judaism. Supplements to "Studia Philonica" 1, Chico (CA) 1981.

Alexander.

Edition: Philo Alexandrinus, *Alexander, vel, De ratione quam habere etiam bruta animalia (De animalibus): e versione armeniaca*, Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 36, Paris 1988 (tr.).

De uita contemplatiua.

Edition: R. Sgarbi, "Problemi linguistici e di critica del testo nel 'de uita contemplatiua' di Filone alla luce della versione armena", *MIL* 40 (1992) 1, 5-48.

De Iona and De Sampson (spurious).

Editions: H. Lewy, *The Pseudo-Philonic 'De Iona': The Armenian Text with a Critical Introduction*, Studies and Documents 7, London 1936; F. Siegert, *Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten: Ps.-Philon, "Über Iona", "Über Simson" und "Über die Gottesbezeichnung 'wohlätig verzehrendes Feuer'"*. I: *Übersetzung aus dem Armenischen...*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 20, Tübingen 1980.

De Deo.

Editions: F. Siegert, *Philon von Alexandrien: "Über die Gottesbezeichnung 'wohlätig verzehrendes Feuer'" (De Deo): Rückübersetzung des Fragments aus dem Armenischen, deutsche Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 46, Tübingen 1988 (favours its authenticity); cf. also Idem, *Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten...* cit.: F. Calabi, "Serafini, Cherubini, Potenze in Filone

Alessandrino. A Proposito di 'Isaia' 6", *Annali di scienze religiose* 4 (1999) 221-249; R.B. Finazzi, "Note sulla versione armena del De Deo di Filone Alessandrino", *Annali di scienze religiose* 4 (1999) 213-220 (lexicographical observations).

PHYSIOLOGUS: (CPG 3766).

Text: N. Marr, *Fiziolog. Armjano-gruzinskij izvodu...*, Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii 6, Sanktpeterburg 1904.

Studies: W. Lüdtkke, "Zum armenischen und lateinischen Physiologus", *Huschardzan*, Vienna 1911, 212-222; C. Koch, "Eine Notiz zum armenischen Physiologus", *REArm* n.s. 16 (1982) 87-88.

PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: *Oratio 1* (CPG 5800).

Edition: M. van Esbroeck, "L'homélie de Proclus CPG 5800 dans l'ancien Tōnakan arménien", *REArm* n.s. 19 (1985) 49-53.

See also John Chrysostom, *Spurious works*, p. 584 (*In Christi natalem diem*: cf. CPG 4650).

SEVERIAN OF GABALA: in Armenian, where he is confused with Eusebius of Emesa, there are two collections of homilies, probably dating from the "golden age". Individual homilies have been translated with literalist criteria, at undetermined dates. Some Armenian attributions apply to works really by other authors.

Editions: J.B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae...*, Venetiis 1827 (only homilies 2-9 and 11 are authentic); N. Akinian, "Ewsebeay Emesac'woy Čark' [The Homilies of Eusebius Bishop of Emesa], *HA* 72 (1958) 161-182; 449-474; 73 (1959) 1-30; 161-182; 321-360 (Armenian only).

Studies: H.J. Lehmann, "Hosanna – A Philological Discussion in the Old Church", *Armeniaca*, 165-174; Idem, *Per Piscatores – Orsordawk': Studies in the Armenian Version of a Collection of Homilies by Eusebius of Emesa and Severian of Gabala*, Århus 1975, esp. 273-367; Idem, "Severian of Gabala: New Identifications of Texts in Armenian Translation", *Classical Armenian Culture: Influences and Creativity*, ed. T.J. Samuelian, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 4, s.l. 1982, 113-124; Idem, "Severian of Gabala: Fragments of the Aucher Collection in Galata Ms 54", *Armenian Studies – Études arméniennes in memoriam Haïg Berberian*, ed. D. Kouymjian, Lisbon 1986, 477-487 (some spurious); Idem, "What Translators Veil and Reveal. Observations on Two Armenian Translations of One Greek Homily", *Armenian Texts*, 75-84 (two versions of *In Chananaeam et in Pharaonem*: CPG 4202).

SEXTUS PHILOSOPHUS: *Sententiae.*

Edition: J. Dashian, *Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus des Schweigsamen*, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Classe 44, 3, Vienna 1895.

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS: *Historia ecclesiastica* (CPG 6028).

Editions: G.C. Hansen, M. Širinjan, *Sokrates, Kirchengeschichte*. Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller n.s. 1, Berlin 1995; M. Ter Movsēsean, *Sokratay sk'olastikosi Ekelec'akan*

patmowt'iw'n t'argmanec' P'ilon Tirakac'i ew Patmowt'iown varowc' srboyn Silbestrosi episkoposin Hrovmay t'argmanec' abasown Grigori Jorap'orec'woj [History of the Church by Socrates Scholasticus Translated by Philo the Thracian and History of the Life of St Sylvester Bishop of Rome Translated by Abbot Gregory of Dzorapor], Vataršapat 1897.

Studies: M. Shirinian, "Notes on Some Syntactic, Lexicographical and Morphological Particularities of the Armenian Translation of Socrates Scholasticus' 'Ecclesiastical History' (The 'Longer Socrates')", *Muséon* 108 (1995) 79-84 (two Hellenophile redactions).

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS: *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (CPG 6202).

Cf. B. Outtier, "La version arménienne du commentaire des Psaumes de Théodoret. Nouveaux témoins de la tradition directe", *REArm* 17 (1983) 241-248 (under the name of Epiphanius of Cyprus).

Interpretatio in Ezechielem (CPG 6205): attributed in Armenian to Cyril of Alexandria.

THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Edition: S. Der Nersessian, "Armenian Homilies Attributed to Theophilus", *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. Granfield, J.A. Jungmann, I, Münster (Westph.) 1970, 390-399 (author uncertain; only one text may be by the bishop of Alexandria).

TIMOTHY AELURUS: *Against the Council of Chalcedon*.

Edition: K. Ter-Mëkërttschian, E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Älurus' des Patriarchen von Alexandrien Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalkedon festgesetzten Lehre. Armenischer Text mit deutschen und armenischem Vorwort...*, Leipzig 1908 (text only).

Studies: N. Akinian, *Timot'ēos Kowz Hay matenagrowt'ean meġ* [Timothy Aelurus in Armenian Literature], Vienna 1909; E. Ter-Minasyan, "Timot'ēos Kowzi 'Hakačařowt'iw'n ar Sahmanealsni žolovoy'n K'alkedoni" erki t'argmanowt'yan jamanakë [The Date of the Armenian Translation of the 'Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon' by Timothy Aelurus]", *BbM* 5 (1960) 279-291; C. de Lamberterie, "Fiançailles arméniennes et germaniques", *Mémorial Der Nersessian*, 91-119 (91-99: terminology).

CORPUS HERMETICUM.

Edition: J. Paramelle, J.-P. Mahé, "Nouveaux parallèles grecs aux définitions hermétiques arméniennes", *REArm* 22 (1990-1991) 115-134.

Studies: J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. 2. Le fragment du Discours parfait et les Définitions hermétiques arméniennes* (NH VI, 8.8a), BCNH, Textes 7, Quebec 1982.

THE BIBLE

According to tradition, the first biblical translations, the work of Mesrop and his disciples (first half of 5th century), were derived from Greek models whose Constantinopolitan provenance emphasized their

excellence and authority. Yet the history of Armenian biblical translations appears more complex. There are indications of a first, at least partial translation of the New Testament from Syriac models, then revised or perhaps retranslated from the Greek. The Gospels present a more complex situation: many citations show affinities with the *Diatessaron*. Manuscripts of the Old Testament follow the Greek Septuagint, but often with the addition of apocrypha like the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The Armenian tradition preserves hexaplar readings lost in other languages. The earliest New Testament "canon" attested in Armenian is the Syriac, which ignores the Johannine *Apocalypse* and rejects the 2nd and 3rd epistles of John, but accepts the so-called *3rd Epistle to the Corinthians*.

Studies: J.-P. Mahé, "Traduction et exégèse: réflexions sur l'exemple arménien", *Mélanges Guillaumont*, 243-255 (on the two versions of the Scriptures); S.P. Cowe, "Problematics of Edition of Armenian Biblical Texts", *Armenian Texts*, 26-37 (rules out a Syriac *Vorlage* for the first version of the Old Testament).

1. Medieval Scriptural canons

Edition: M.E. Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists I-V", *HTR* 66 (1973) 479-486; 68 (1975) 253-260; 69 (1976) 289-300; 72 (1979) 237-244; 83 (1990) 141-161.

2. Old Testament

Editions: C.E. Cox, *The Armenian Translation of Deuteronomy*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 2, Chico (CA) 1981; J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Lemmaized Index of the Armenian Version of Deuteronomy*, SCSS 32, Atlanta 1990; L.H. Ter Petrosyan, "La plus ancienne traduction arménienne des Chroniques", *REArm* 18 (1984) 215-225; J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Parallel Aligned Text and Bilingual Concordance of the Armenian and Greek Versions of the Book of Jonah*, Amsterdam 1992; B. Outtier, "Fragments d'un manuscrit arménien du Livre d'Isaïe", *Mémorial Der Nersessian*, 5-12 (11th-to-13th-century uncial); S.P. Cowe, "The Armenian Version of the Epistle of Jeremiah: Parent Texts and Translation Technique", *VIII Congress of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Atlanta 1987, 373-391; Idem, *The Armenian Version of Daniel*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 9, Atlanta 1992; C. Cox, "Text Forms and Stemmatology in the Armenian Text of Job", *Armenian Texts*, 38-43 (four groups of mss.).

3. Hexaplae

Editions: B.E. Johnson, *Die armenische Bibelübersetzung als hexaplarischer Zeuge im 1. Samuelbuch*, Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 2, Lund 1968; Y.S. Anasyan, "Une leçon biblique symmachienne dans les manuscrits arméniens de la Bible (pour l'histoire du texte des 'Hexaples d'Origène')", *REArm* 17 (1983) 201-205; C.E. Cox, *Hexaplaric Materials Preserved in the Armenian Version*, SCSS 21, Atlanta 1986; Idem, "The Translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion Found in the Margins of Armenian Manuscripts", *Armenia and the Bible*, 35-45; Idem, *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia*, SCSS 42, Atlanta 1996; Idem, "Travelling

with Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia", *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford... 1994*, ed. A. Salvesen, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 58, Tübingen 1998, 302-316 (irregular distribution in Armenian).

4. New Testament

Editions: J. Molitor, "Die armenische Version des Hebräerbriefs ins lateinische Übertragen und nach Syriazismen untersucht", *OrChr* 62 (1978) 1-17; B.O. Künzle, *Das altarmenische Evangelium*. 1-2, Europäische Hochschulschriften 21, Linguistik 33, Bern 1984.

Studies: S. Lyonnet, *Le parfait en arménien classique, principalement dans la traduction des évangiles et chez Eznik*, Collection linguistique publié par la Société de Linguistique de Paris 37, Paris 1933; L. Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne*. 1, *L'évangile de Matthieu*, CSCO 283-284 / Subs. 31-32, Louvain 1967 (patristic citations that coincide against the Armenian Vulgate); Idem, "La version arménienne du Nouveau Testament", *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5, Berlin-New York 1972, 300-313; H.J. Lehmann, "Some Questions Concerning the Armenian Version of the Epistle of James", *Aarhus Armeniaca* (Acta Jutlandica 57), Aarhus 1982, 57-82; G.A. Egan, *An Analysis of the Biblical Quotations of Ephrem in "An Exposition of the Gospel" (Armenian Version)*, CSCO 443 / Subs. 66, Lovanii 1983; M. Minassian, *Synopse des Évangiles en arménien classique*, Geneva 1986; M. Minasean, *Nor Ktakarani bnagirë ew dasakan hayeren [The Lexicon of the New Testament and Classical Armenian]*, Žnev [Geneva] 1990; M. Minassian, *Le texte du Nouveau Testament et l'arménien classique*, Geneva 1990; J.M. Alexanian, "The Profile Method and the Identifying of Textual Groups within the Armenian MS Tradition", *Armenian Texts* 44-57 (esp. Luke); Idem, "Remarks on the Armenian Text of the Acts of the Apostles", *Text and Context*, 15-22; J.J.S. Weitenberg, "Text Chronological Aspects of the Use of the Article '-s' and '-d' in Gospel Manuscripts M and E", *Text and Context*, 97-113; J.S. Klein, "Indefinite Pronouns, Polarity and Related Phenomena in Classical Armenian: A Study Based on the Old Armenian Gospels", *Transactions of the Philological Society* 95 (1997) 189-245.

Diatessaron

Edition: S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*, *Biblica et Orientalia* 13, Rome 1950.

5. Exegetical catenae

The catena on the Catholic Epistles, important despite its late date (translated from Greek in 1163, revised by Nerses of Lambron in 1176), has been published.

Edition: C. Renoux, *La chaîne arménienne sur les épîtres catholiques*. 1-4, PO 43, 1; 44, 2; 46, 1-2; 47, 2, Turnhout 1985-1996.

Studies: C. Renoux, "L'assomption de Moïse. D'Origène à la chaîne arménienne sur les Épîtres Catholiques", *Recherche et tradition. Mélanges patristiques offerts à Henri Crouzel...*, ed. A. Duplex, *ThéolHist* 88, Paris 1992, 239-249.

THE APOCRYPHA

This is perhaps one of the sectors in which the importance of Armenian stands out most clearly, thanks to many writings or recensions now lost in their original languages. The following list supplements the bibliography of S.J. Voicu, "Gli Apocrifi armeni", *Gli Apocrifi cristiani e cristianizzati* (= Aug 23), Rome 1983, 161-180. For those still unedited, see also: M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Noui Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992.

1. Old Testament Apocrypha

Editions: W.L. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 8, s.l. 1990 (critical edition of the collection published by Yovsepien); M.E. Stone, *Selected Studies in Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha, With Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 9, Leyden 1991; Idem, "Eight New Manuscripts of the Armenian Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", *Text and Context*, 75-82; Idem, "The Textual Affinities of the Epitome of the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs' in Matenadaran No. 2679", *Muséon* 108 (1995) 265-277; Idem, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 14, Leyden 1996; Idem, *Texts and Concordances of the Armenian Adam Literature*, *Early Judaism and its Literature* 12, Atlanta 1996.

IV Esdras

Edition: M. E. Stone, *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra*, *Armenian Texts and Studies* 1, Missoula 1979; Idem, *A Textual Commentary on the Armenian Version of IV Ezra*, *SCSS* 34, Atlanta 1990.

M.E. Stone, *Concordance and Texts of the Armenian Version of IV Ezra*, *Oriental Notes and Studies* 11, Jerusalem 1971; D. Muñoz León, "La Vorlage (¿griega?) de la Versión Armenia del 4.º de Esdras: Un ejemplo de traducción targumizante", *Estudios Bíblicos* 44 (1986) 25-100.

2. New Testament Apocrypha

Editions: J.-M. Rosenstiehl, "Notes sur la Première Apocalypse apocryphe de Jean et d'autres apocryphes arméniens", *REArm* 18 (1984) 599-603; L. Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres. Traduction de l'édition arménienne de Venise*. 1-2, CC, Series apocryphorum 3-4, Turnhout 1986-1992; Idem, "La prière dans les actes apocryphes", *HA* 101 (1987) 295-302; J.-M. Prieur, *Acta Andreae*. 1-2, CC, Series apocryphorum 5-6, Turnhout 1989 (the Armenian preserves passages lost in Greek); L. Leloir, "Les citations évangéliques dans la version arménienne des Actes apocryphes", *Philologia Sacra. Biblische und patristische Schriften für Hermann Frede und Walter Thiele... 2: Apokryphen, Kirchenväter, Verschiedenes*, ed. R. Gryson, *Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* 24/2, Freiburg 1993, 364-377; V. Calzolari, "Particolarità sintattiche e lessicali della versione armena del 'Martirio di Andrea', messa a confronto con Teone armeno", *Muséon* 106 (1993) 267-288; M. van Esbroeck, "Les Actes de Prochore en arménien: un nouveau témoin", *Armenian Texts*, 86-91; V. Calzolari, "La tradition arménienne des

Pseudo-clémentines. État de la question”, *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 263-293; Eadem, “La versione armena del Martirio di Andrea: alcune osservazioni in relazione all’originale greco”, *Studi e ricerche sull’Oriente cristiano* 16 (1994) 3-34 (the Greek leaves out Enkratite passages, and abridges); Eadem, “Notes sur la traduction arménienne du texte syriaque des Actes de Thècle”, *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics... 1995*, Delmar (NY) 1996, 233-243; Eadem, “Un nouveau texte arménien sur sainte Thècle: les Prodiges de Thècle. (Présentation et analyse linguistique)”, *REArm* 26 (1996-1997) 249-271; Eadem, “La trasmissione dei testi apocrifi cristiani in armeno: l’esempio degli Atti di Paolo e Tecla”, *La diffusione dell’eredità classica e medievale. Forme e modi di trasmissione. Atti del Seminario Nazionale (Trieste... 1996)*, ed. A. Valvo, Alessandria 1997, 45-58; Eadem, “Réécriture des textes apocryphes en arménien: l’exemple de la légende de l’apostolat de Thaddée en Arménie”, *Apocrypha* 8 (1997) 97-110; Eadem, “La versione armena del ‘Martirio di Andrea’ e il suo rapporto con la tradizione manoscritta dell’originale greco”, *Muséon* 111 (1998) 139-156 (non-literal version, perhaps 6th-7th century, passages lost in Greek).

HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

Suffice it to mention the existence in Armenian of many hagiographical texts: translations from Greek and Syriac as well as rewritings and original works. To a great extent the situation remains that described nearly a century ago in the *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis* (Subsidia hagiographica 10), Bruxellis 1910, which examined the editions of the 19th century. Cf. Renoux, “Littérature”, 137-138.

The Armenian tradition has been analysed in recent times, especially the sector of texts on the apostles, in connection with the development of studies on the apocrypha (see previous paragraph).

A first idea of the complexity of the Armenian situation can be obtained simply from the description of the manuscripts. Cf., e.g., M.-J. van Esbroeck, U. Zanetti, “Le manuscrit Érévan 993. Inventaire des pièces”, *REArm* n.s. 12 (1977) 123-167 (445 texts of various kinds); M. van Esbroeck, “Description du répertoire de l’homélaire de Muš (Maténadaran 7729)”, *REArm* n.s. 18 (1984) 273-280 (342 texts).

ARMENIAN THEOLOGIANS AND PHILOSOPHERS

Perhaps together with the first translations, and sometimes due to the translators themselves, an original Armenian literature developed, prevalently theological in character. Alongside works motivated by practical intentions appeared works of controversy, first against the pagans and pre-Chalcedonian heresies, then to defend the Monophysite doctrine in its moderate form against the Chalcedonians, but also against the extreme fringes of Monophysitism. Philosophical and rhetorical output came later and closely followed contemporary Greek models.

Many writings listed in this category pose problems of authenticity and integrity. It must be said that these problems are often confronted reductively, in an apologetic or even nationalist spirit, which ill accords with serious scientific investigation.

Studies: for the development of philosophy cf. V.K. Čalojan, *Istorija armjanskoj filosofii (drevnij i srednevekovyj period)*, Erevan 1959; V.K. Čalojan, *Dialektika, ež zakony i kategorii v istorii armjanskoj filosofii*, Erevan 1971; S.S. Arevšatyan, *Formirovanie filosofskoj nauki v drevnej Armenii (V-VI vv.)*, Erevan 1973; V.K. Čalojan, *Razvitie filosofskoj mysli v Armenii (drevnij i srednevekovyj period)*, Moscow 1974.

The following list reflects the traditional chronological succession of authors.

MESROP MAŠTOC’ (361/362-439/440): monk, deviser of the Armenian alphabet, which he conceived as an instrument for evangelization, impeded by the fact that the Scriptures and liturgy were read in Syriac. With the support of Catholicos Isaac, he organized a group of disciples who produced the first “golden age” translations. Mesrop is supposed to have translated only the book of Proverbs.

Of the writings transmitted under his name, only the reply to Proclus of Constantinople, composed together with Isaac, is authentic. Other works, in particular the *Yačaxapatowm*, “Stromata”, are spurious. The legend that Mesrop codified the other two Caucasian alphabets, the Georgian and that of the Caucasian Albanians, seems doubtful, due to lack of corroboration and to its obvious political value.

EZNIK OF KOŁB (first half of 5th century): One of the translators who were Mesrop’s disciples, perhaps also the first original Armenian author. In his apologetic treatise *Against the Heresies* (or also *De Deo*) he opposes, in four books, the pagans, the Greek philosophers, Mazdeism and the Marcionites. To a great extent he depends on Greek (Aristides, Basil of Caesarea, Epiphanius, Hippolytus, Methodius, etc.) and Syriac sources (*Acts of the Martyrs* and Ephrem), but an original synthesis and one of the most successful models of the “classical” language are his own. However, the *Counsels* and other works sometimes transmitted under his name are spurious.

Editions and translations: L. Mariès, C. Mercier, *Eznik of Kolb, De Deo. Édition critique du texte arménien*, PO 28, 3-4 (= 136), Paris 1959; M. Minassian [Minasean], “Eznik Kolbac’i, Čaik’ ěnddēm alandoc’ [Eznik of Kolb, Against Heresies]”, *HA* 101 (1987) 367-469; 102 (1988) 10-45; 104 (1990) 79-125; 105 (1991) 127-193; 106 (1992) 139-187 (Armenian only); A. Orengo, *Eznik of Kolb, Confutazione delle sette (Elc Alandoc’)*. *Introduzione, traduzione et note*, Progetti linguistici, Pisa 1996; M.J. Blanchard, R.D. Young, *A Treatise on God Written in Armenian by Eznik of Kolb (floruit c.430-c.450). An English Translation, With Introduction and Notes*, Eastern Christian Texts in Translation 2, Leuven 1998.

Studies: M. Minassian, "Le manuscrit actuel de l'ouvrage d'Eznik est-il celui de la première édition?", *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. T.J. Samuelian, M.E. Stone, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6, Chico (CA) 1984, 240-249; L. Van Rompay, "Eznik de Kolb et Théodore de Mopsueste. À propos d'une hypothèse de Louis Mariès", *OLP* 15 (1984) 159-175.

ISAAC (SAHAK), catholicòs († 438): promoter of the translating work of Mesrop and his disciples. His are two letters of reply, one to Proclus of Constantinople (composed with Mesrop), the other to Acacius of Melitene. Other writings, homiletic, liturgical and canonical, circulating under his name are spurious.

KORIUN (390?-447): part of the group of translators organized by Mesrop, he wrote the latter's biography, an extremely important source for the first half of the 5th century.

Editions and translations: M. Abegjan, *Koriwn, Vark' Maštoc'i* [*Koriun, Life of Maštoc'*], Erevan 1941 (reprinted with English tr. and concordances, ed. B. Norehad, K.H. Maksoudian); B. Norehad, *Koriun, The Life of Mashtots*, New York 1964; V. Inglisian, *Das Leben des hl. Maschtotz von seinem Schuler Koriun*, Vienna 1963; G. Winkler, *Koriwns Biographie des Mesrop Maštoc'. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, OCA 245, Rome 1994.

Studies: N. Akinian, *S. Maštoc' vardapet. Keank' ew gorcownēowt' iwně, handerj kensagrowt'eamb S. Sahakay* [*Maštots the Doctor. Life and Activity in the Light of the Biography of St Isaac*], Vienna 1949 (German résumé: 431-473).

JOHN MANDAKUNI, catholicos (484/485-498-499): tradition considers him a late translator of Scripture and a liturgical reformer. Many works have been attributed to him, but are of doubtful authenticity.

Editions: *Tearn Yovhannow Mandakownwoy čark'* [*Discourses of the Lord John Mandakuni*], Venetik 1860²; S. Weber, *Ausgewählte Schriften der armenischen Kirchenväter*, 2, Munich 1927, 29-269.

Studies: B. Sargisean, *K'nnadatowt'iwnk' Yovhan Mandakownwoy ew iwr erkasirowt'eanc' vray* [*Research on John Mandakuni and his Works*], Venetik 1895.

JOHN GABELENAC¹, catholicòs (578-579): author of a dogmatic letter handed down by the *Book of Letters* (pp. 29-40) under the name of John Mandakuni.

Studies: S.S. Arevšatyan, "Le 'livre des Êtres' et la question de l'appartenance de deux lettres dogmatiques anciennes", *REArm* 18 (1984) 23-32.

MOSES OF ELIVARD, bishop (second half of 6th century): author perhaps of a letter of Christological content handed down by the *Book of Letters* (pp. 22-28) and traditionally attributed to Moses of Khorene.

Studies: S.S. Arevšatyan, "Le 'livre des Êtres' et la question de l'appartenance de deux lettres dogmatiques anciennes", *REArm* 18 (1984) 23-32.

VRT'ANĒS K'ERT'OEĒ, "grammaticus" (c. 550-617): author of an opusculum against the Council of Chalcedon, handed down by the *Book of Letters* (pp. 119-127), and a treatise against the iconoclasts.

Studies: S. Der Nersessian, "Une apologie des images du septième siècle", *Byzantion* 17 (1944-1945) 58-87.

KOMITAS, catholicòs (c. 611-628): author of a hymn in honour of St Hrip'simē and a *Profession of Faith* handed down by the *Book of Letters* (pp. 212-219), to be supplemented by the edition of the *Yačaxapatowm* (Valaršapat 1894, 300-310). He figures as author of the florilegium *Seal of Faith*, but the known recension must be subsequent to his death, since it cites the works of John of Mayragom.

DAVID ANYALT', the "Invincible" (c. 630): under David's name, but with diverse appellatives, exist many translations of Hellenophile date and some opuscula of a philosophical and exegetical character. The problem of whether they are by one or more person still awaits re-examination. A compact nucleus of philosophical works may have been translated or revised by a single author, who studied at Alexandria under Olympiodorus (Terian).

Editions and translations: *Koriwn vardapeti, Mambrēi vercanoli ew Dawt'i Anyalt' i matenagrowt' iwnk'* [*Works of Koriun the Doctor, Mambrē the Lector and David the Invincible*], Venetik 1833; Y. Manandyan, *Davit' Anyalt', Meknowt' iwn Storogow-teanc' Aristoteli* [*David the Invincible, Commentary on Aristotle's Categories*], St Petersburg 1911; S.S. Arevšatyan, *Davit' Anyalt', Sahmank' imastasirowt'ean* [*David the Invincible, Divisions of Philosophy*], Erevan 1960; Idem, *Davit' Anyalt', Meknowt' iwn i Verlowcakann Aristoteli* [*David the Invincible, Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics*], Erevan 1967; Idem, *David Anaht (Nepobedimyj), Analiz "Vvedenija" Porfirija*, Erevan 1976; P. Ananian, *Dawit' P'ilisop'ac'i erek' growt' iwn-nerē ew anor ašakeri T'eodoros Dakoni anyayt growt' iwně. Tre scritti di Davide il filosofo e un discorso inedito di Teodoro Dacon*, Venice-S. Lazzaro 1985 (Italian résumé, 48-49); B. Kendall, R.W. Thomson, *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy by David the Invincible Philosopher. English Translation of the Old Armenian Version with Introduction and Notes*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 5, Chico (CA) 1983 (*Prolegomena philosophiae*).

Studies: S.S. Arevšatyan, "David l'Invincible et sa doctrine philosophique", *REArm* n.s. 15 (1981) 33-43; *David Anhaghth, the "Invincible" Philosopher*, ed. A.K. Sanjian, Atlanta 1986; S. Ajamian, "An Introduction to the Book of Psalms by David Anaght", *Armenia and the Bible*, 15-21 (prefaces to the Psalms).

JOHN OF MAYRAGOM (c. 668): from the few surviving citations handed down by the *Seal of Faith*, he seems to be a defender of the extreme Monophysitism of Julian of Halicarnassus. Some have thought to restore to him some of the works transmitted under the name of John Mandakuni, but the hypothesis has been abandoned.

ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK (590/600-685): a mathematician, he wrote numerous opuscula, including a *Stichometria*. His treatise *On Weights and Measures* depends partly on Epiphanius of Salamis. His autobiography is interesting for the information it gives on his studies. Under his name also appear spurious works like the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*. A *Chronography* has been conjecturally attributed to him, but then restored to Philo the Thracian.

Editions: A. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'ow matenagrowt'yownë* [*Works of Ananias of Širak*], Erevan 1944; H. Berbërian, "Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'i", *REArm* 1 (1964) 189-194; M.E. Stone, "Armenian Canon Lists II – The Stichometry of Anania of Shirak (c.615-c.690 C.E.)", *HTR* 68 (1975) 253-260.

Studies: P. Lemerle, "Note sur les données historiques de l'autobiographie d'Anania de Shirak", *REArm* 1 (1964) 195-202; H. Bart'ikyan, "Anania Širakac'own veragrivol «žamakagrowt'yan» ev nra banak'ali harc'i šowrjê [The 'Chronography' Attributed to Ananias of Shirak and its True Compiler]", *BbM* 8 (1967) 57-77; M. van Esbroeck, "L'origine de 'pemeniay' chez Anania Širakac'i", *REArm* 18 (1984) 487-489; J.-P. Mahé, "Quadrivium et cursus d'études au VII^e siècle en Arménie et dans le monde byzantin d'après le «K'nnikon» d'Anania Širakac'i", *Travaux et mémoires* 10 (1987) 159-206.

Ašxarhac'oyc', *Speculum mundi* (7th century?): a geographical treatise dependent on Ptolemy's *Geography*, important for its information on the Near and Middle East; it has been attributed, wrongly, to Moses of Khorene and Ananias of Širak.

Editions: A. Soukry, *Ašxarhac'oyc' Movsesi Xorenac'woy – Géographie di Moïse de Corène d'après Ptolémée*, Venise 1881 (reprinted Venise 1967); K. Patkanjan, *Armjanskaja geografija VII veka p. Kh. (pripisyvašajasja Moiseju Khorenskomu)*, St Petersburg 1877.

Studies: R.H. Hewsen, "Armenia According to the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*", *REArm* 2 (1965) 319-342; G.R. Cardona, "Due note all' «Ašxarhaçoyç» armeno", *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 18 (1968) 460-462; Idem, "Una recente ristampa dell' «Ašxarhaçoyç» armeno", *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 18 (1968) 204-206; Idem, "L'India e la Cina secondo l' *Ašxarhaçoyç*", *Armeniaca* 83-97; S.T. Érémián, "La reconstitution des cartes de l'atlas arménien du monde ou *Ašxarhac'oyc'*", *REArm* 14 (1980) 143-155.

MAMBRE VERCANOL, "the lector" (7th century?): traditionally considered one of Mesrop's translator-disciples and the brother of Moses of Khorene, but the date is considered too early by Inglisian, "Literatur", 174. Three homilies for Lent are supposedly his: one *On the Raising of Lazarus* and two *on Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem*, but they are not even certainly by the same author.

Edition: *Mambrëi vercanoli çark'* [*Homilies of Mambre Vercanol*], Venetik 1894.

HISTORIANS

The foundational writings and chronicles are precious evidence of the spread of Christianity in Armenia, as well as the spread of Christian

literature; yet the presence of anachronisms and incongruities and a poor, late manuscript tradition often make their authenticity and integrity problematic. Various unique or very important witnesses date from the 17th century and come from the region of Bitlis (near Lake Van, in eastern Turkey), in particular from a collection made by Vardan, superior of the monastery of Amrdolu; cf. R.W. Thomson, *The History of Łazar P'arpec'i*, Occasional Papers and Proceedings, Atlanta 1991, 4; and G. Winkler, "Die Fälschung armenischer Quellen zur Kirchengeschichte des 5. Jhs", *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag...1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. E. von Schuler, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplement 7, Wiesbaden 1989, 76-94.

From a comparison between the direct tradition, often very scanty, and medieval citations or older fragmentary manuscript evidence, discrepancies emerge whose sole acceptable explanation seems to be the existence of successive revisions or datings.

For a summary overall presentation, cf. J.-P. Mahé, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet: réflexions sur l'historiographie arménienne", *Mémorial Der Nersessian*, 121-153; C. Hannick, "La chronographie grecque de l'antiquité tardive et sa réception dans l'historiographie arménienne", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il "Romanzo di Alessandro" e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre 1997)*, ed. R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo, *L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale* 2, Alessandria 1998, 143-155.

(*General*) edition: V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*. 1-2, Paris 1867-1869 (still irreplaceable in some cases).

History of Agathangelos (c. 460): pseudonym of a presumed secretary of King Tiridates III, eyewitness of the conversion of Armenia by St Gregory the Illuminator in the years around 320. The text, which reveals the influence of various sources, in particular Koriun's *Life of Mesrop*, was translated into Greek in the 6th century and then into other oriental languages, and was widely used by later Armenian historiographical tradition. The recension transmitted by the manuscripts incorporates the so-called *Doctrina Gregorii*, which is a long catechism.

Editions and translations: G. Tër-Mkrtč'ean, S. Kanayean, *Agat'angelos*, T'ip'lis 1909; *Storia di Agatangelo. Versione italiana... riveduta... da N. Tommaséo*, Venice 1843; *Agat'angelay patmowt'iwn* [*History of Agathangelos*], Venetik 1930; G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, ST 127, Vatican City 1946; G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange. Édition critique*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 7, Louvain 1973; R. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary*, Albany (NY) 1976.

Studies: R.W. Thomson, *The Teaching of Saint Gregory: an Early Armenian Catechism*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 3, Cambridge (MA) 1970; G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions", *REArm* 14 (1980) 125-141; N.G. Garsoïan, "The Iranian Substratum of the 'Agat'angelos' Cycle", *East of Byzantium*, 151-174; A. Hultgård, "Change and Continuity in the Religion of Ancient Armenia with Particular Reference to the Vision of St Gregory (Agathangelos §731-755)", *Classical Armenian Culture: Influences and Creativity*, ed. T.J. Samuelian, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 4, s.1. 1982, 8-26; M. van Esbroeck, "Saint Grégoire d'Arménie et sa didascalie", *Muséon* 102 (1989) 131-145; M.-L. Chaumont, "Sur l'origine de saint Grégoire d'Arménie", *Muséon* 102 (1989) 115-130.

MOSES OF KHORENE (late 5th century?): his *History of Armenia* begins with Adam and ends with the death of Mesrop (mid 5th century). Traditionally he is considered a second-generation disciple, almost contemporary with the last events described, but anachronisms of various kinds bring him forward to the late 8th century. Recently the anachronisms have been ascribed to rewritings, bringing the traditional dating back into favour. Other works that appear under Moses' name, such as the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, are spurious.

Editions and translations: *Moïse de Khorène, Histoire d'Arménie. Texte arménien et traduction française. 1-2*, Venise 1841; *Storia di Mosè Corenese. Versione italiana...* retouched... by N. Tommaséo, Venice 1850; M. Lauer, *Moses von Chorene, Geschichte Groß-Armeniens*, Regensburg 1869; M. Abegjian, S. Harowt'iwnean, *Movsēs Xorenac'i Patmowt'iwn Hayoc' [Moses of Khorene's History of the Armenians]*, Tiflis 1913 [fac. repr. with Introduction, ed. R.W. Thomson, Delmar (NY) 1981]; R.W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4, Cambridge (MA)-London 1978; A. Mahé, J.-P. Mahé, *Moïse de Korène, Histoire de l'Arménie: nouvelle traduction de l'arménien classique, L'aube des peuples*, Paris 1993 (from Langlois's edition).

Studies: C. Toumanoff, "On the Date of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene", *HA* 75 (1961) 467-476; E.V. Gulbekian, "The Conversion of King Tradat and Khorenatsi's 'History of the Armenians'", *Muséon* 90 (1977) 49-62; E.R. Anderson, "Movsēs Xorenac'i, History III.65: Two Analogues", *REArm* 16 (1982) 207-211; B.L. Zekiyian, "L' 'idéologie' nationale de Movsēs Xorenac'i et sa conception de l'histoire", *HA* 101 (1987) 471-485; Idem, "Ellenismo, ebraismo e cristianesimo in Mosè de Corene", *Aug* 28 (1988) 381-390; G. Traina, "Il complesso di Trimalcione. Movsēs Xorenac'i e le origini del pensiero storico armeno", *Eurasiatica* 27, Venice 1991 (defence of the early dating); E. Gulbekian, "Some Veiled Allusions in Movsēs Khorenatsi's History", *HA* 106 (1992) 1-13 (on various medieval recensions); Idem, "Movsēs Khorenatsi and Ghazar P'arpetsi", *HA* 108 (1994) 1-7; K. Balekjian, *Remarques sur les dits anachronismes dans le texte des manuscrits-copies de l' "Histoire de l'Arménie par Moïse de Khorène" et la philologie arménienne*, Montreal 1994; G. Traina, "Materiali per un commento a Movsēs Xorenac'i, 'Patmowt'iwn Hayoc', I", *Muséon* 108 (1995) 279-333; 111 (1998) 95-138; G. Sarkissian, "Storiografia armena di età ellenistica", *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il "Romanzo di Alessandro" e altri scritti. Atti del Seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25-27 settembre 1997)*, ed. R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo, L'eredità classica nel mondo orientale 2, Alessandria 1998, 249-256; A.A. Step'anyan,

"Alessandro nella 'Storia degli Armeni' di Movsēs Xorenac'i: fonti e semantica dell'immagine", *ibid.*, 289-294.

PSEUDO-FAUSTUS (c. 470): "Faustus of Byzantium" is the erroneous modern designation of the author of a collection, handed down only in part, of *Epic Histories (Buzandaran patmowt'iwnk')*, once presumed to have come from Byzantium and hence to have been translated from Greek. Now, however, we are convinced of the genuinely Armenian character of the work, which reports facts of the years 330-387, but must have been composed about a century later.

Editions and translations: M.A. Gevorgyan, *Istoriija Armenii Favstosa Buzanda*, Pamjatniki drevnearmjanskoj literatury 1, Erevan 1953; N.G. Garsoïan (introduction), *Ps. P'awstos, Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk' (The Epic Histories), Also Known as Patmowt'iwnk' Hayoc' (History of Armenia) Attributed to P'awstos Buzandac'i...*, New York 1984 (reprint of the 1883 St Petersburg ed.); N.G. Garsoïan, *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*, Cambridge (MA) 1989 (English tr.).

Studies: G. Tēr-Pōlosean, *Mkatolowt'iwnner P'awstosi Patmowt'ean verabereal [Considerations on the History of Faustus]*, 1-2, Vienna 1901-1919; E. Kettelhofer, "Toponyme bei Ps.-Pawstos", *HA* 103 (1989) 65-79.

LAZAR OF P'ARP (late 5th century): author of a *History of Armenia* embracing the period from the 385 partition to 485, when the Persians designated Vahan Mamikonean as lord. It is primarily a work of glorification of Vahan and his clan, whose descent from Gregory the Illuminator it celebrates. Among its sources must be numbered Agathangelos (already interpolated with the *Doctrine of St Gregory*) and Pseudo-Faustus. In turn it would be used by Sebeos and Moses of Khorene, or perhaps by his interpolator. Lazar's language departs from classical models and approaches the norms of the "silver age". Comparison between the complete text, transmitted by a single 17th-century manuscript, and some earlier fragmentary evidence makes the existence of revisions and rewritings practically certain. In particular the so-called "vision of Sahak" has been interpolated (Thomson, 3-4).

Editions: G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean, S. Malkasian, *Lazar P'arpec'i Patmowt'iwn Hayoc' ew T'wt' ar Vahan Mamikonean [Lazar of P'arp, The History of the Armenians and the Letter to Vahan Mamikonean]*, Tiflis 1904; C.F.J. Dowsett, "The Newly Discovered Fragment of Lazar of P'arp's History", *Muséon* 89 (1976) 97-122; R.W. Thomson, *The History of Lazar P'arpec'i*, Occasional Papers and Proceedings, Atlanta 1991.

Studies: C. Sanspeur, "Trois sources byzantines de l'Histoire des Arméniens de Lazare de P'arpi", *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 440-448; Idem, "À travers la tradition textuelle de l'Histoire des Arméniens de Lazare de P'arpi", *REArm* 12 (1977) 85-89; Idem, "Note sur l'édition du fragment de l'Histoire de Lazare de P'arpi, découvert dans le ms. 82 de Léningrad", *HA* 94 (1980) 13-22.

SEBEOS (EUSEBIUS), bishop (first half of 7th century): later testimony makes him the author of a *History of Heraclius*, of which only some fragments are known. He has also been identified, wrongly, with the author of an anonymous *History of Chosroes* (king of Persia, 590-628).

Editions and translations: F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sébéos*, Paris 1904; G.V. Abugaryan, *Patmowt' iwn Sebēosi [History of Sebeos]*, Erevan 1979; C. Gugerotti, *Sebēos, Storia. Traduzione dall'armeno, introduzione e note*, Eurasiatica 4, Verona 1990; *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, 1: Translation and notes by R.W. Thomson; 2: Historical commentary by J. Howard-Johnston, *Translated Texts for Historians* 31, Liverpool 1999.

Studies: J.-P. Mahé, "Critical Remarks on the Newly Edited Excerpts from Sebēos", *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. T.J. Samuelian, M. Stone, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 6, Chico (CA) 1984, 218-239; R.W. Thomson, "Biblical Themes in the Armenian Historian Sebēos", G.J. Reinink, A.C. Klugkist, *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers*, OLA 89, Leuven 1999, 295-302.

ELISEUS the Armenian (c. 660): his *History of the Armenian War* describes Vardan Mamikonean's revolt against the Persians (451). Traditionally put in the 5th century, it must actually be later, given the way it contradicts Lazar of P'arp, whom Eliseus must have used while distorting him in a nationalistic sense to justify historically the autonomy of the Armenian Church.

Other works circulate under his name, some of which reveal a knowledge of the Hellenophile translation of the works of Philo (c. 600?) and whose authenticity is uncertain.

Editions: J. Cappelletti, *Eliseo storico armeno del quinto secolo*, Venice 1840; *Srboy hawn meroy Eli šēi vardapeti Matenagrowt' iwnk' [Works of our Holy Father Doctor Eliseus]*, Venetik 1859; E. Tēr-Minassian, *Eli šēi vavn Vartanay ew Hayoc' paterazmin [Eliseus, On the War of Vartan and the Armenians]*, Erevan 1957; R. Thomson, *Elišēi, History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 5, Cambridge (MA)-London 1982.

Studies: N. Akinian, *Eli šē vardapet ew iwr Patmowt' iwn Hayoc' paterazmi. Matenagrakan-patmakan owsowmnasirowt' iwn [Doctor Eliseus and his "History of the Armenian War". Critical-historical research]*. 1-2, Vienna 1932-1936 (German résumé appended); B.L. Zekiyani, "Eli šē as Witness of the Ecclesiology of the Early Armenian Church", *East of Byzantium*, 187-197; H.H. K'yoseyan, "Eli šēi čaragrakan erkeri albyowmeric' [Sources of Eli šē's Homiletic Works]", *PbH* 123 (1988) 4, 108-112 (from the Armenian translations of Philo and John Chrysostom).

Exhortatio ad monachos.

Edition: B. Outtier, "Une exhortation aux moines d'Élisée l'arménien", *Mélanges Guillaumont*, 97-101 (perhaps authentic, but it seems to know Philo, whose translation would be later).

In transfigurationem.

Editions: L. Leloir, "L'homélie d'Élisée sur la montagne de Thabor", *REArm* n.s. 20 (1986-1987) 175-207; Idem, "Élisée l'Arménien, Discours sur la Transfiguration",

Joie de la Transfiguration d'après les Pères d'Orient, ed. M. Coune, Spiritualité orientale 39, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1985, 135-138 (French tr.; inauthentic according to B. Outtier, "Une exhortation..." cit.).

Quaestiones in Genesim.

Edition: N. Akinian, *Eli šē vardapeti Harc'mownk' ew Patasxanik' i Girs Cnndoc' [Questions and Answers on the Book of Genesis by Eli šē vardapet]*, Vienna 1924 (probably inauthentic).

Homilia de passione Domini.

Edition: R.W. Thomson, "Aspects of Armenian Biblical Exegesis: Eli šē on the Passion", *Text and Context*, 83-95 (on all the attributions to Eliseus).

PHILO TIRAKAÇ'I, "the Thracian" (late 7th century); author of a translation of the historian Socrates and perhaps of a *Chronography* also attributed to Ananias of Širak, who compiled Greek authors such as Eusebius of Caesarea and Hippolytus.

Studies: H. Bart'ikyan, "Anania Širakac'own veragrvoł «žamakagrowt'yan» ev nra banak'ali harc' i šo w rjē [The 'Chronography' Attributed to Ananias of Shirak and its True Compiler]", *BbM* 8 (1967) 57-77.

LEONTIUS THE ARMENIAN (late 8th century): his *History of the Armenians* describes the Arab occupation from 635 to 789. Its first part closely follows the history of Sebeos. The transmitted text has been interpolated with polemical treatises against the Muslims and published in a not very satisfactory condition.

Editions: G. Chahnazarian, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des arabes en Arménie par l'éminent Ghévond, vardabed arménien, écrivain du huitième siècle*, Paris 1856; Idem, *Arš'avank' Arabic'i Hays arareal Levond vardapeti Hayoc' [The Invasion of Armenia by the Arabs told by Leo the Armenian Doctor]*, P'ariz 1857; [K. Patkan'jan], *Istorija Halifov vardapeta Gevonda, pisatelja VIII veka*, Sanktpeterburg 1862; [K. Ezeanc'], *Patmowt' iwn Levondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc' [The History of the Great Leo the Armenian Doctor]*, St Petersburg 1887²; Z. Arzoumanian, *History of Lewond the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, Los Angeles 1982.

Studies: E. Filler, *Quaestiones de Leontii armeni Historia...*, Lipsiae 1903.

Narratio de rebus Armeniae: this work, which exists entire only in a rather late Greek version (11th-12th century), rewrites Armenian history from a pro-Chalcedonian perspective, from the time of Gregory the Illuminator to the union with the Byzantines in 690. Only some citations of it are preserved in Armenian and Georgian.

Edition: G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Édition critique et commentaire*, CSCO 132 / Subs. 4, Louvain 1952.

Studies: E. Gulbekian, "The Date of King Trdat's Conversion", *HA* 105 (1991) 75-87.

FLORILEGIA

The Armenian manuscripts transmit extensive florilegia, whose sources are the translations of patristic works. Their evidence is often precious for reconstructing the tenor of texts lost or corrupted in the direct tradition.

Seal of Faith: undoubtedly the most important of the Armenian dogmatic florilegia, it is attributed in the only known manuscript to Catholicos Komitas, but the surviving version postdates him, since it cites John of Mayragom (c. 668).

Editions: Karapet episc., *Knik' hawatoy êndhanowr sowrb ekelec'woy yowllap'ar ew s. hokekir harc'n meroc' dawanowt'eanc' yawowrs Komitas kat'olikosi hamahawak'eal* [*Seal of Faith of the Holy Universal Church, of our Holy Orthodox and Inspired Fathers, Composed in the Days of Catholicos Komitas*], S. Ėjmiacin 1914; C. Renoux, "Le Sceau de la foi: une lacune en partie complée", *HA* 101 (1987) 285-294.

Studies: J. Lebon, "Les citations patristiques grecques du 'Sceau de la foi'", *RHE* 25 (1929) 5-32; G. Lafontaine, B. Coullie, *La version arménienne des Discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Tradition manuscrite et histoire du texte*, CSCO 446 / Subs. 67, Lovanii 1983, 94-102; M.G. Grigorian [Grigorean], "Apolinarian hatakotork' hay astowacabanakan grakanowt'ean meĵ" [Fragments of Apollinaris in Armenian theological literature]", *HA* 101 (1987) 243-277.

Root of Faith: a relatively less studied collection.

Editions: R.W. Thomson, "The Shorter Recension of the Root of Faith", *REArm* n.s. 5 (1968) 250-260; S. Anassian, "«Armat Hawatoy» – i albiwrneric' [On the Sources of the 'Root of Faith']", *HA* 97 (1983) 83-91, 257-303.

Galata Florilegium: a very extensive collection of extracts, recently discovered and as yet little studied.

Studies: C. Renoux, *Irénée de Lyon: Nouveaux fragments arméniens de l'Adversus Haereses et de l'Epideixis*, PO 39, 1 (= 178), Turnhout 1978; H.J. Lehmann, "Severian of Gabala: Fragments of the Aucher Collection in Galata Ms 54", *Armenian Studies – Études arméniennes in memoriam Haġg Berberian*, ed. D. Kouymjian, Lisbon 1986, 477-487 (not all of them believable).

Girk' t'İtoc': *Book of Letters*: an extensive medieval collection of opuscula mainly of a dogmatic character, of exceptional historical and textual interest. As yet studied and translated to a very partial extent, partly because of the insufficiencies of the first edition, still not replaced.

Edition: *Girk' t'İtoc'* [*Book of Letters*], Sahak Mesropean Matenadaran 5, Tiflis 1901.

Studies: M. Tallon, "Book of Letters (Girk' t'İtoc') / I^{er} groupe: documents concernant les relations avec les grecs", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 32, 1, (1955) 1-146; L. Frivold, *The Incarnation: A Study of the Doctrine of the Incarnation in the Armenian Church in the 5th and 6th Centuries According to the Book of Letters*, Oslo 1981; M.G. Grigorian [Grigorean], "Apolinarian hatakotork' hay astowacabanakan grakanowt'ean meĵ" [Fragments of Apollinaris in Armenian theological literature]", *HA* 101 (1987) 243-277.

LITURGY

Like its literature, the Armenian liturgy was born of the confluence between various traditions, markedly those of Cappadocia, Constantinople, Jerusalem and the Syrian world, before following an evolution of its own. Some testimonies preserved in Armenian are particularly old and of singular importance for the study of comparative liturgy, not just the ritual, represented by the *Jerusalem Lectionary* and its local adaptations, but also baptismal rites and hymnography, whose incipient study has brought out the existence of profound affinities with the Syriac liturgies.

Jerusalem Lectionary: as in other cases, the 5th-century Jerusalem rites were of decisive importance for the Armenian liturgy; the translation of the ritual in use at Jerusalem was used in Armenia until the Middle Ages almost without adaptation.

Editions: A. Renoux, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, 1-2, PO 35, 1; 36, 2, Turnhout 1969-1971; Idem, "Le codex Érėvan 985: une adaptation arménienne du lectionnaire hiérosolymitain", *Armeniaca*, 45-66.

Studies: C. Renoux, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: Le Čaşoc' I: Introduction et liste des manuscrits*, PO 44, 4 (= 200), Turnhout 1989; Idem, "Les lectionnaires arméniens", *La lecture liturgique des Épîtres catholiques dans l'Église ancienne*, ed. C.-B. Amphoux, J.-B. Bouhot, Histoire du texte biblique 1, Lausanne 1996, 53-74; G. Winkler, "Ungelöste Fragen im Zusammenhang mit den liturgischen Gebräuchen in Jerusalem", *HA* 101 (1987) 303-315; C. Renoux, "Office du matin et lectionnaire", *Mémorial Der Nersessian*, 13-25 (Sunday readings at the end of the office).

Rites of Christian initiation.

Translations: C. Renoux, *Initiation chrétienne. 1. Rituels arméniens du baptême*, Sources liturgiques 1, Paris 1997.

Studies: G. Winkler, *Das armenische Initiationsrituale. Entwicklungsgeschichtliche und liturgievergleichende Untersuchung der Quellen des 3. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, OCA 217, Rome 1982.

Hymnology.

Editions: N. Ter-Mik'eleon, *Das armenische Hymnarium: Studien zu seiner geschichtliche Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1905; G.A. Hakobyan, *Šarakanneri žanrė hay miĵnadaryan grakanowt'yan meĵ (V-XV dd.)* [*Hymnology in Medieval Armenian Literature (5th-15th cc.)*], Erevan 1980.

Commentaries on the liturgy.

Edition: C. Renoux, "Les commentaires liturgiques arméniens", *Mystagogie: pensée liturgique d'aujourd'hui et liturgie ancienne. Conférences Saint-Serge. XXXIX^e semaine d'études liturgiques*, ed. A.M. Triacca, A. Pistoia, Bibliotheca "Ephemerides liturgicae", "Subsidia" 70, Rome 1993, 277-308.

LAW

Although it followed an autonomous evolution of its own, Armenian ecclesiastical law shows the influence of Greek and Syriac sources, now sometimes lost or transformed in their languages of origin.

Editions: H. Kaufhold, *Die armenischen Übersetzungen byzantinischer Rechtsbücher*. 1: *Allgemeines*; 2: *Die "Kurze Sammlung" ("Sententiae Syriacae")*, *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 21, Frankfurt am Main 1997 (with a survey of Armenian canonical collections and their sources).

Studies: V. Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk' Hayoc' [Armenian Law]*, 1-2, Erevan 1964-1971; cf. also Renoux, "Littérature", 138-139; A. Bozjan, L. Burgmann, H. Kaufhold, *Bibliographie zur Rezeption des byzantinischen Rechts im alten Rußland sowie zur Geschichte des armenischen und georgischen Rechts*, *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* 18, Frankfurt am Main 1992.

IX

GREEK EXEGETICAL CATENAE

General Characteristics and Psalms by CARMELO CURTI,
the rest by MARIA ANTONIETTA BARBARA

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

With exegetical Catenae we come to a new form of interpretation of the Bible, consisting of collections of extracts from exegetical works on Holy Scripture, packaged by later compilers who drew those extracts from earlier, generally non-surviving exegetical works. So we must be grateful to these compilers of Catenae, who have allowed the commentaries devoted to Scripture by the Church Fathers to reach us, even if, as we shall see, abridged from their original form. The term Catenae for these collections is modern; the ancients usually called them by one of the following expressions: ἐξηγητικαὶ ἐκλογαί (= exegetical extracts), a title given to the various lost Catenae of Procopius of Gaza (early 6th century), who is considered the founder of the catenary genre; συναγωγή τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν (= collection of exegetical extracts), a name given to the Palestinian Catena on the Psalms around the middle of the 6th century; or συναγωγή ἐξηγήσεων (= collection of exegeses) in the 12th century.

On the basis of external appearance, Catenae are distinguished into three classes: marginal, in two columns, and alternate. In the marginal class, the biblical text is written in larger characters and placed at the centre of the folio, backing onto the inner margin, while the exegetical fragments are arranged round it on the three outer margins; it also occurs, infrequently, that the text of Scripture is put perfectly at the centre of the folio, in which case the extracts occupy all four margins. With this class can be ranked a type of Catena formed round a commentary or another already established Catena. In ms. Reg. 44, e.g., the centre of the folio is occupied by a commentary on the Psalms by Hesychius, the margins by catenary fragments on the same biblical book; again, in the centre of Cod. Palat. 20 is a Catena on Luke, in the margins a Catena of Nicetas on the same Gospel. In the two-column class, sacred text and exegesis face each other symmetrically on the two columns of the folio. In alternate Catenae, the text of Scripture, introduced and closed by

quotation marks, which are repeated correspondingly on the margin of the ms., is followed by the exegetical extracts on the whole folio without interruption.

From the point of view of sources, Catenae are distinguished into primary and secondary. Primary Catenae take their material not from catenary sources, but directly from exegetical writings now largely lost, while secondary ones were compiled using texts from one or more primary or secondary Catenae. And since the sources from which the exegetical extracts were drawn, directly in primary Catenae, indirectly in secondary ones, have mostly failed to survive, we must acknowledge that it is thanks to the Catenae that we can recover, at least in fragments – a limitation that appreciably reduces their contribution –, authentic commentaries on the books of Holy Scripture, which would otherwise be irremediably lost.

But the contribution of the Catenae is not exhausted in the preservation of the remains of Scriptural commentaries; sometimes, indeed, they come to the aid of direct tradition and improve its text here and there, either by correcting evident flaws or filling lacunae, caused mostly by homoeoteleuton, or by offering alternative readings sometimes worthy of consideration. Of the many examples that could be adduced, we will confine ourselves to a few. We draw them from that section of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Commentary* on the Psalms that has survived both directly through Cod. Coislin 44 (C), § X (Ps 51 - 95, 3) and through catenary tradition, of which the preferred mss. are the 13th-century Ambrosian F 126 sup. (A) (Ps 83, 4 - 150) and the 12th/13th-century Patmos St John's Monastery 215 (P) (Ps 78, 5 - 150). At Ps 79, 9 [80, 8], C has ...λαός, εἰδωλολατρήσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μακροῖς ξρόνοις μικρούς τε προενεγκάμενος καρπούς; P, instead of μικρούς, attests πικρούς; it is absent in A, where the text begins with Psalm 83, 4. Despite the singular antithesis (μακροῖς ξρόνοις μικρούς τε... καρπούς), P's variant πικρούς should perhaps not be overlooked: in support of his exegesis of Ps 79, 9, Eusebius straight afterwards cites textually Deut 32, 32-35, which does not mention "scarcity" of fruits, but their "bitterness", and we find βότρυς πικρίας, on which the phrase πικρούς... καρπούς seems to be modelled. Considering the palaeographical similarity between π and μ, C might have fallen into an inexactness of reading.

At Ps 80, 8, C has Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ· «Ἐπήκουσά σου ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καταγίδος», ὁ μὲν Ἀκύλας· «Ἐπακούσω σου ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ βροντῆς»; A again lacks this; P next attests: ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος· «Ἐπήκουσά σου διὰ κρυφίου βροντῆς». Several considerations lead me to consider P's text genuine: first, the catenists habitually reduced the proportions of the extracted text rather than increasing them; second, a sign of the lapse of the Symmachian version can be gathered from the μὲν between

the article and Ἀκύλας, which in Eusebius' *usus scribendi* presupposes a δὲ. Indeed, when the Caesarean exegete cites a single hexaplar version, he habitually introduces δὲ between the article and the translator's name (ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας) or else leaves out the particle (ὁ Ἀκύλας); but when he mentions more than one version, he usually expresses himself thus: ὁ μὲν Ἀκύλας...ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος...ὁ δὲ Θεοδοτίων, or just ὁ Θεοδοτίων. Moreover the omission of the Symmachian version in the direct tradition is easily explained by ascribing it to homoeoteleuton (βροντῆς), which is indeed at the back of the majority of the omissions into which even the most careful and scrupulous amanuenses are liable to fall.

At Ps 87, 11-13, C has τῷ πατρὶ δὲ μόνῳ δύναται εἶναι ταῦτα πεπεισμένος... The phrase, clearly wrong, is made comprehensible by the variant δυνατὰ transmitted by A and P in agreement: "having the conviction that these things are possible only to the Father...".

The exegetical fragments that make up the Catenae follow each other in the same order as the verses of the biblical book that is the subject of the commentary, i.e. the first verse (or group of verses) of the book is followed by one or more interpretative extracts, the same for the second verse, then the third, and so on. In the earliest Catenae the authors of the fragments are generally indicated in the body of the text or in its margins; their names are rarely, and only in the earliest mss., written in full: more often they are abbreviated by means of sigla, not always unequivocally clear. Often, either because the amanuensis intended to write these names after he had finished the copying, or because he left this task to a rubricator, the authorial lemmas have been omitted. To assign an authorship to these anonymous texts is not an easy task, especially in the presence of brief fragments, which because of their brevity present no conceptual elements or stylistic connotations such as to encourage their attribution. Minute and patient checks are also imposed on the editor by double or triple attributions, occurring frequently in catenary mss., in order to establish to which of the two or three exegetes indicated by the codex the fragment should be assigned, or indeed to none of them. It is advisable to carry out the same checking operations even for scholia attributed to a single author, especially when the various witnesses disagree on his name; but even in the presence of an unequivocal attribution it is wise to raise reasonable doubts, since the catenary tradition, much more than the direct one, is exposed to manipulations and counterfeiting.

One not unimportant problem concerns the interpretation of authorial lemmas, which, expressed mostly by not always unequivocal sigla, constitute a snare for the editor and have already been the cause of various irremediable errors in the course of manuscript tradition due to the mistaken solutions that have been given for some sigla. Thus it falls

out that there has sometimes been an exchange between the names of Origen and Evagrius, which written in full are different, while in the catenary sigla they bear a certain resemblance: one of the sigla for Origen is $\omega\rho\gamma$ and the usual one for Evagrius is $\epsilon\nu\gamma\rho$. The confusion, produced in the course of manuscript tradition, between the lemmas of the two exegetes has raised problems of attribution of, e.g., the scholia on Proverbs, which have been assigned either entirely to Origen or entirely to Evagrius or been shared between the two Fathers. Banal and disparate exchanges of names may have been caused by accidentally forgetting to write the initial capital letters of authorial lemmas, which were generally added later in different-coloured ink, usually red or green. E.g., the sigla Ἀπολ^\prime (= Apollinaris), deprived of their initial alpha, become πολ^\prime (= Polychronius), and these in turn, deprived of their initial π , become the sigla of Olympiodorus ($\acute{\omicron}\lambda^\prime$). This might explain the alternation, in mss. of the Catenae on Job, of attributions of the same scholia among these three Fathers. To the same accidental omission of the initial letter of the lemma is probably due the confusion of apparently different names such as Origen on one hand and Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrrihus on the other. One of the sigla of the latter two is $\Theta\sigma\rho^\prime$, which, deprived of its initial theta, automatically becomes the sigla of Origen ($\acute{\omicron}\rho^\prime$). Such a confusion of lemmas has given rise, e.g., to the mistaken assignment to Origen of numerous scholia on John's Gospel by Theodore of Mopsuestia; mistakes not avoided by two discerning editors like Brooke and, after him, Preuschen (the editor of the Origenian commentary on John's Gospel for GCS), who, deceived by the lemmas and by Corderius' edition, both unduly endorsed the attribution to Origen of those scholia, which really belong to Theodore. Moreover both editors, sometimes confusing the sigla of Origen ($\Omega\rho$) with that, not very different in some scripts, of Photius ($\Phi\Omega\tau$), published some texts of that patriarch as new Origenian fragments.

The traps set by the Catenae do not end here. In the course of the manuscript tradition, some notes for reading, taken for authorial sigla, have also produced mistaken attributions and still raise serious problems for the modern editor. Such are, e.g., $\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}(\mu\eta)$, which indicates a kind of sentence (and not the non-existent exegete $\Gamma\nu\omega$), or $\acute{\upsilon}\pi(\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\iota\gamma\mu\alpha)$, which introduces a comparison (and does not designate a commentator called $\Upsilon\pi[\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omicron\varsigma]$, who never existed). A different case is that of $\acute{\omicron}\rho$ and $\chi\rho$ (in capitals, with the two letters superimposed ⓪ and ⓧ), which may be the sigla respectively of Origen and John Chrysostom, but may also be notes having the aim of calling the reader's attention to the importance of the fragment: $\acute{\omicron}\rho(\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\nu)$, to call forth admiration, with a value approximating to "Nota bene"; $\chi\rho(\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\nu)$, *aureum*, with a meaning similar to the former. It follows that many fragments, assigned to Origen

on the basis of the sigla $\acute{\omicron}\rho$, may not belong to him, but be untitled and worthy of the reader's attention. Also the lemma $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, frequently encountered in catenary codices, to indicate that a scholium is by the same author as the previous one, should be evaluated with extreme caution, since initially it could refer to an exegete different from the existing one. It is indeed known, in a rather large Catena and perhaps also to make room for new exegetes, for entire scholia with their respective lemmas to be intentionally eliminated. It could thus happen that, with the disappearance of the previous fragment, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ ended up referring to the author of the new fragment, which now preceded the fragment and was different from the initial author. Yet it cannot be categorically ruled out that $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, generally interpreted "by the same author", may in some cases be meant as a reference to the same verse ("of the same verse"). In this case it would correspond more or less to $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ("otherwise", "according to another interpretation") and would introduce another alternative explanation of the verse to that already given (it is known that the same exegete sometimes gave two interpretations of the same verse, not necessarily in opposition).

Given the quantity of snares hidden in the Catenae, we risk easily falling into error and, like the amanuenses, misunderstanding the true meaning of an authorial lemma. Not only this but, even when a sigla is solved exactly, if we take into account that authorial lemmas are not always trustworthy, we should not passively accept the authorship indicated by the Catena, but verify its truthfulness by making use of all available data; it is wise to assure ourselves of the Catena's degree of reliability, then use any argument useful for verification that can be drawn from the extract, from the conceptual to the linguistic-stylistic, from the doctrinal to the exegetical.

Among the causes that have produced confusion in authorial lemmas and consequently mistaken attributions of scholia must be numbered the working system of the copyists. We said above that the initial capital letters of the lemmas were written in ink of a different colour after the copying of the Catena; we have also hinted at the possible false attributions caused by the copyist accidentally forgetting to affix the initial letter to the lemma. If we then also bear in mind that the lemmas were written all together after the completion of the transcription of the Catena and sometimes by a copyist different from the one who had drawn up the text, it is likely that there were confusions and "slippage" of lemmas from one extract to another, and moreover that some scholia remained without lemmas.

Some editors attribute these anonymous fragments to the exegete of the antecedent scholium, in the conviction that the lack of any indication doubtless signifies identity of author, which the amanuensis intentionally

neglected to repeat. Intentionality should probably be excluded, but the omission may likely be attributed to the copyist's lack of attention. However this may be, this criterion of rectifying the anonymity of some scholia has rightly seemed unacceptable. Yet, inspired by it, the editors of Dionysius of Alexandria's scholia on Ecclesiastes have published under his name four anonymous fragments from Procopius of Gaza's Catena on Ecclesiastes, viz. 1, 4; 2, 9-11; 2, 13; 2, 22-23, which, in the Catena, all immediately follow as many fragments expressly attributed to the Alexandrian. Apart from the consideration that, in analogous cases in the same Catena, the names of Dionysius and other exegetes are repeated more than once, the arbitrariness of this criterion has been shown by the fact that one of the four scholia, that on Eccl 2, 22-23, belongs to Gregory of Nyssa. In conclusion, when identifying scholia without any author's name, having ruled out their necessarily belonging to the same author as the previous scholium, in the absence of other convincing arguments it is prudent to leave them as they are, i.e. anonymous scholia. At most we may tentatively suggest that their author may be one of the exegetes represented in the same Catena.

Various mistaken attributions in the Catenae have been corrected thanks to the direct tradition. Thus, e.g., two scholia on Eccl 1, 1 and 2, 3 attributed to Dionysius of Alexandria in the Catena on Ecclesiastes by Procopius of Gaza – author of one of the most trustworthy Catenae – have been restored to Gregory of Nyssa, while two fragments on Eccl 1, 5 and 1, 12-13, assigned to Gregory in the same Catena, have been taken from him; as is well known, we possess Gregory's eight homilies on Ecclesiastes in direct tradition.

But the case of the same commentary reaching us in both traditions, direct and catenary, is not frequent. In the absence of direct tradition, we cannot dispense with a minute and patient check of all the exegetical literature concerning the biblical text to which the extract refers. Not only this, but also, faced with authentic extracts, we must take into consideration the possibility that they may be taken from a different exegetical work from that to which at first sight we would say they belonged. A fragment, let us say, of Eusebius on the Psalms might have been taken by the Catenist not from the famous commentary devoted by the Caesarean exegete to this book of the Bible, but from another, also exegetical, work, e.g. the commentary on Isaiah, or even from another not properly exegetical work. To give a concrete example, in the Catena of Nicetas have been found four long Latin exegetical extracts in Greek translation: three on Luke's Gospel, taken from the *Expositio fidei*, a work whose Ambrosian authorship is disputed; the fourth, also on Luke's Gospel, is attributed to Ambrose and consists of two parts, of which the first puts into Greek *De fide* 2, 7, 58, the second *De incarnationis*

dominicae sacramento 3, 35. Three more fragments, also in Greek version, have been read in the autonomous Catena on Mark's Gospel; two of them, attributed to Ambrose, translate *ad verbum* respectively *De fide* 2, 7, 25-33 and *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 7, 133; the other gives us Augustine's *Enarratio in Psalmum* 93, 19. As we can see, these scholia are not always taken from exegetical works pertaining to the subject of the Catena (the scholium of the Ambrosian *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* and that of the Augustinian *Enarratio in Psalmum* 93 are in the Catena on Mark's Gospel) and sometimes they come from works that are not exegetical at all (like the two extracts from Ambrose's *De fide* in the same Catena on Mark's Gospel).

The compiler of a Catena habitually provides texts of various exegetes in reduced form, without making substantial additions to them; generally he abridges either by skipping the interpretations of entire verses, or by making reductions even in the passages on which his choice falls. The methods of abbreviation he uses are essentially two: either he suppresses words, phrases and entire periods which he judges not indispensable to the meaning, introducing, if he feels the need, link words and short phrases and changing constructions to rectify any damage produced as a result of the suppressions; or he summarizes, rewriting *ex novo* and retaining in the new version some words or phrases characteristic of the exegesis he has abstracted. In both cases he gives us texts that are reduced from the original, but while abridgement by *résumé* reflects only the concepts of the original text, that by 'cutting' also reproduces its style even in the parts that have suffered the cuts. It is obvious that of the two systems the latter is undeniably preferable, since the original is altered slightly and, while abridged here and there, remains genuine, reproducing even the linguistic connotations, *iuncturae* and other stylistic-rhetorical procedures of the exegesis used. We may observe a sagacious application of the *ratio* for 'cutting' in the Palestinian Catena on the Psalms, as it has emerged from the many comparisons made between the catenary witnesses and the direct tradition, for which the same texts have fortunately survived. The compiler of this prestigious Catena habitually worked on the available models by cutting and rarely by abridging, and in the very few cases when he had recourse to the latter, he did so with great scruple and discretion, taking care to alter as little as possible the original *facies* of the texts used. The extent of the cuts made on the models from which a Catena is constructed is varied and oscillating: it goes from very slight interference, consisting of the elimination of some word or short phrase, to more considerable suppressions involving propositions or whole periods. It even happens, though rarely, that the catenist does not interfere at all with some passage but cites it in the integral version of the source.

Just as it is difficult to identify the motives by which a catenist is guided in the reductions made on the texts he works on, it is no less difficult to give an account of the criteria he is inspired by in selecting the passages he transmits. The hypothesis that he alternated extracts of literal interpretation with extracts of allegorical interpretation is often proved wrong by the observation that in quite a few cases two explanations adhering to the same exegetical orientation are put together for the exegesis of a verse (or group of verses). From his choices emerges no clear adherence to principles reducible to a particular exegetical tendency, nor does it appear that they were influenced by doctrinal concerns, since in this case no fragments of non-orthodox or suspect works would have reached us. Having ruled out exegetical orientations and doctrinal concerns, it can in general be hypothesized that the catenist's choices were those of merit, aimed at perpetuating, by including them in his collection, the memory of those exegetes who, in his judgment, were worthy of mention because of excellence attained in the field of interpretation of Holy Scripture. Whatever may have been the criteria that directed the choices of the catenist, we must recognize that the composition of an exegetical Catena was not an utterly mechanical activity, but among those that employed the intellect and *iudicium* of whoever applied himself to it, whether his reductive operations were carried out by 'cutting' or by *résumé*.

We have mentioned above the many snares from which the editor of catenary texts must guard himself. The majority of them, as we have seen, pertain specifically to the manuscript tradition and problems correlated with it: interpretation of authorial lemmas, solving of sigla, authenticity of scholia, etc. To these must be added others imputable to the Catena's compiler. It does happen that, sometimes, however careful and diligent, in his abridging operations he involuntarily tampers with the text of the source in such a way as to require the intervention of the editor who, by eliminating the damage, may make it comprehensible. Here are a pair of examples, taken from my personal experience, involving the compiler of the Palestinian Catena, one of the most sagacious and most careful not to alter the linguistic structure of the original from which he took the scholia he has preserved for us.

One example concerns Ps 120, 5. The author of the extract is John Chrysostom, to whom it is unanimously assigned by the preferred mss. of the Palestinian Catena for this section of the Psalms: A (Ambrosian F 126 sup., 13th century) and P (Patmos St John's Monastery 215, 12th-13th century); the extract also appears under Chrysostom's name in PG 55, 346. For A and P a rapid clarification is required: the two mss. descend independently from the same prototype; A reproduces it faithfully, while P contaminates it with Theodoret's integral commentary

on the Psalms, taken from another (non-catenary) source. Rarely however – for reasons that cannot be gone into – it happens that in P we also find, as well as Theodoret's integral commentary, catenary fragments of the same commentary derived from the source common to the two codices, which in such cases both agree perfectly on the tradition of the Cyrrhan exegete. We will cite from A P the scholium that refers to Ps 120, 5:

Ἀπὸ τῆς μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν παρατάξει ἐστῶτων, παρὰ τὴν χεῖρά σου στήσεται τὴν δεξιάν, ὥστε ἀχείρωτον εἶναι, ὥστε ἐνεργόν, ὥστε τρόπαιον ἰστᾶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μάλιστα αὕτη ἐστὶ, δι' ἧς ἅπαντα ἐνεργοῦμεν. Οὐ συμμαχία δὲ μόνον γενήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκέπη, τὴν ὀλόκληρον αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν ἐγγυτάτην συμμαχίαν διὰ τούτων παραστήσει βουλόμενος.

The expression ἐπεὶ δὲ μάλιστα αὕτη ἐστὶ, δι' ἧς is manifestly corrupt, since the demonstrative αὕτη does not have, either in this or in the preceding expression, the substantive to which to refer. The direct tradition, which presumably offers the integral redaction, reveals the genesis of the corruption. To this end we will give the passage in the version of PG 55, 346, indicating with cursive characters the words, expressions and propositions that the catenist, abridging by 'cutting', has eliminated:

Παραστάτης, φησὶν, ἔσται σου, σύμμαχος, βοηθός. Ὁρᾶς πῶς καὶ ἐνταῦθα βούλεται σε ἐνεργόν εἶναι; Ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς δὲ τῶν ἐν παρατάξει ἐστῶτων, παρὰ τὴν χεῖρά σου στήσεται τὴν δεξιάν, ὥστε ἀχείρωτον εἶναι, ὥστε ἐνεργόν, ὥστε ἰσχυρόν, ὥστε δυνάστην, ὥστε τρόπαιον ἰστᾶν, ὥστε τὴν νίκην αἵρεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα αὕτη ἐστὶ, δι' ἧς ἅπαντα ἐνεργοῦμεν. Οὐκ ἔσται δὲ σοι παραστάτης μόνον, οὐδὲ σύμμαχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκέπη. Πάλιν λέγω διὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν πραγμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς βοηθείας χαρακτηρίζει, τὴν ὀλόκληρον αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν ἐγγυτάτην συμμαχίαν διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ τῆς σκέπης παρίστησι.

As we see from the *plenior* redaction, αὕτη refers to τὴν νίκην of the phrase ὥστε τὴν νίκην αἵρεσθαι, which the compiler of the Catena suppressed without noticing the damage that the elimination of the phrase caused in the context. He habitually remedied such cases in the most economical way, so as not to impair the sense by altering in the least what was given by the source. In this specific case it would have been enough to replace αὕτη with ἡ νίκη. But evidently he did not notice and let it pass.

Moreover it seems that in the extract in question the catenist was not paying full attention, as appears from another distortion of lesser proportions that he fell into at the end of the passage. He replaced the phrase διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς καὶ τῆς σκέπης with διὰ τούτων, not realizing that in the catenary text the demonstrative ends up referring to συμμαχία

and φυλακή, which immediately precede it, rather than to δεξιὰ and σκέπη, on which the passage turns in the integral version.

The other example concerns the scholium on verse 4 of the same Psalm 120. Codex A transmits it anonymously, while P assigns it to Theodoret, under whose name it also appears in PG 80, 1877D, an edition of the Cyrrian exegete's *Interpretatio in Psalmos* generally considered reliable for both authenticity and quality of text. So it is not authorship that leads us to investigate the extract, whose attribution to Theodoret we may peacefully accept, but our attention is drawn by an exquisitely textual question that the Catena's compiler draws us into. The scholium in question goes like this:

Φύσει γὰρ ἄγρυπνος ὁ φύλαξ· σοῦ δὲ σαλευομένου καὶ τοῖς ὀλισθεροῖς ἐπιβαίνοντος, τουτέστι τοῖς βιωτικοῖς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχουσι στάσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς οἶόν τινα νυσταγμὸν δέξεται τὴν ἀμέλειαν. Οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ σου φροντίζει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν πειρωμένοις προήσεται.

Problems are raised by the phrase καὶ τοῖς ὀλισθεροῖς ἐπιβαίνοντος, τουτέστι τοῖς βιωτικοῖς καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχουσι στάσιν. It is attested only by A, whose text, though not exempt from glaring defects, mostly orthographical, generally seems genuine. Its amanuensis shrank from introducing alterations into it by emendations and still less by additions and conscious omissions. So it is likely that he found this phrase in his source, whence, in accordance with his custom, he faithfully copied it. The phrase is not attested in P (nor in PG 80), evidently because the (non-catenary) exemplar from which this ms. took Theodoret's integral commentary did not have it: an athetesis so obvious and awkward would be inadmissible even for a copyist like that of P, however irresistibly subjugated by emendatory impulses. So the phrase is certainly of catenary provenance, i.e. derived from the 'mother' Catena of A – and, apart from Theodoret *plenior*, also of P –, from which A took it; it does not appear in P because this witness, we repeat, took Theodoret from a different exemplar, which transmitted the integral *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. What surprised us was to discover the phrase in question, more or less identical, in Chrysostom's exegesis of verse 3 of the same Psalm 20 (PG 55, 345). In evidence we will cite that part of the Chrysostomian exegesis containing the phrase common to Theodoret's *Interpretatio in Psalmum* 4. We will bring out in cursive characters the words common to both texts:

Τίς δὲ δίδωσιν εἰς σάλον τὸν πόδα; Ὁ πράγμασιν ἐπιβαίνων ὀλισθεροῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρὰν βάσιν, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν χρημάτων ἔρως, οἷος ὁ τῶν βιωτικῶν πόθος.

The manipulation should very probably be blamed on the compiler of the Palestinian Catena, who, contravening his customary correctness, has adapted to the Theodoretan commentary on Ps 120, 4 an expression

taken from John Chrysostom's exegesis of verse 3. The operation, performed moreover in a masterful way, the conceptually extraneous 'body' being coherently grafted onto the context, went unnoticed by the unlearned copyist of A. We must certainly rule out any idea of the operation being due to Theodoret himself appropriating Chrysostom's expression and incorporating it in his commentary; this would not explain how it was preserved in A without leaving any trace in P or in the three codices considered fundamental by Schulze in the Theodoretan edition of PG, correlated, these and that, with Theodoret *plenior*. In conclusion, the manipulation must be imputed to the maker of the Palestinian Catena, who by operating in this way has disavowed his, in many aspects proven, integrity.

The two examples we have dwelt on show evidently that the traps set by the Catenae are many and unsuspected and that the more unforeseeable they are, the harder it is to identify them. In the first example, the damage would not escape the observation of an astute editor, who would somehow try to rectify it by substituting or adding to αὐτή a feminine noun with a meaning close to νίκη, or even νίκη itself, led to it by the immediately preceding expression ὥστε τρόποταιν ἰσῆν. In the second example, however, even a very discerning editor would hardly notice the Chrysostomian phrase introduced so masterfully into Theodoret's scholium by the maker of the Palestinian Catena. Our chance discovery and the identification of its provenance were facilitated by the fact that by frequenting the exegetical Catenae we have learnt the lesson of always doubting everything and submitting every detail, even the least suspicious, to careful and patient verification.

Studies: R. Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *DBS* 1 (1928) 1084-1233; G. Dorival, *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 1, Leuven 1986, vii-xii; 1-98; M. Faulhaber, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken", *Biz* 1 (1903) 151-159; 246-255; 351-371; M. Geerard, "Catenae", *CPG* 4 (1980) 185-259; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, Aus den Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1, 3. 5 (1902); E. Mühlberg, "Katene", *TRE* 18 (1989) 14-21; A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914; C. Curti, "Catenae, Biblical", *EEC* 1 (1992) 152-153; Idem, "I 'Commentarii in Psalmos' di Eusebio di Cesarea: tradizione diretta (Coislin 44) e tradizione catenaria", *La critica testuale greco-latina, oggi. Metodi e problemi. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli 29-31 ottobre 1979)*, ed. E. Flores, Rome 1981, 375-382 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, Catania 1982, 171-179); Idem, "Ancora sulla tecnica di abbreviazione del compilatore della Catena palestinese", *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*, 1, Palermo 1989, 497-515 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 251-271; Idem "La tradizione catenaria e il recupero dei commenti greci alla Bibbia: validità e limiti", *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, Napoli, 16-18 ottobre

1987, ed. A. Garzya, Naples 1989, 159-165 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 275-282; Idem, "Ancora sulla Catena palestinese sui Salmi. Qualche insidia imputabile al suo redattore", *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata*, ed. L. Belloni, G. Milanese, A. Porro, 2, Milan 1995, 1225-1233; S. Leanza, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria", *Metodologie della ricerca...* cit., 247-266; partly reworked in Idem, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria", *Aug* 37 (1997) 25-36.

OCTATEUCH AND KINGS

Octateuch. Two fundamental types of Catena, following Petit. Even before the beginning of the 6th century the fragments, taken from more than one source, were added around Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* and formed a compact whole in which were distinct sections on the individual biblical books. For Genesis, Petit, in giving its integral edition, recognized a single Catena handed down in two recensions: the primary or pure; and the secondary or hybrid, which takes up fragments, often rewritten, of the primary as complement to an Antiochene collection structured around Theodoret's *Quaestiones*. This collection, transmitted by the 9th/10th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Coislin gr. 113, had already been edited by the Belgian scholar.

The Catena of type I Petit hands down fragments sometimes fused with Theodoret's *Quaestiones*. It is attested by the following mss.: Sinai, gr. 2, 10th century, whose Catena on Genesis-Leviticus has been edited separately by Petit; Basel, University library gr. 1, 10th century, on Genesis-Exodus; St Petersburg, Public library gr. 124, 13th century, on Octateuch (the last two, of type I K. - L.); Moscow, Synodal library gr. 385, 10th century, on Gen (type II K. - L.).

The Catena of type II Petit (type III K. - L.) hands down fragments on Genesis-Kings, by authors in part more or less suspected of heresy and not belonging to a precise school; they represent the main exegetical tendencies of the first five Christian centuries, as if the compiler had wanted to provide a convenient exegetical synopsis. More than 30 on Genesis, they are reduced to five on Ruth: Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Hippolytus and Origen, with a fragment each. There are some 50 codices, but the most representative are barely ten, distinguished by Petit into two groups: A and B, the former with a more reliable text than the latter. The Catena, partially edited by Petit, was published in the 18th century as the "Catena of Nicephorus" or *Lipsiensis*.

Kings. The fragments, numerous for Athanasius and others, are down to one for Alexander of Nicaea (on 1 Sam 16, 14). They are edited in the "Catena of Nicephorus" and in part by Devreesse. The Epitome of Procopius of Gaza hands down fragments on Genesis-Judges, Kings

and Chronicles; the authors are almost the same as those of the Catena of Nicephorus, to which the Epitome is akin but not identical. The original Catena, alluded to in the Prologue by Procopius, who lived between the late 5th and early 6th centuries, is lost; and the surviving Epitome is not a Catena (as defined by M. Geerard in CPG 7430; C 3) but a compendium of ἐξηγήσεις, both ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων and from other works, ἐρανισάμενοι, with the merely initial intention of compiling a Catena by condensing the sources by "cutting" them and citing them αὐτολέξει. To a second stage of the work we owe the fusion and rearrangement of the citations; this obtains a "single text", like the Epitome of Procopius on Isaiah, differing from other exegetical works traditionally attributed to the same compiler: the Epitomes on Song of Songs, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, each of which consists of fragments preceded by authorial sigla. It is handed down by some fifteen codices, but only three contain the entire work.

On Leviticus is preserved an Armenian Catena, edited by A. Zanolli; it is a translation of a lost Greek Catena related to the Epitome of Procopius.

Editions: Nicephoros Hieromonachos Theotokis, *Σεπὰ ἐνὸς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὑπομνηματιστῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀκτάτευχον καὶ τὰ τῶν Βασιλειῶν*, 2 voll., Leipzig 1772-1773 (the text is contaminated with the Epitome of Procopius and with *excerpta* of works edited by various Fathers; for Genesis it is based on the secondary recension). Epitome of Procopius: A. Mai, PG 87/1, 21-1220. Latin tr., C. Clauser, Tiguri 1555 (unreliable). Armenian Catena: M. Geerard, CPG 1505.1; 1794.1. R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois (fragments tirés des Chaînes)*, Vatican City 1959; F. Petit, *Catena Graeca in Genesim et in Exodum*, 1, *Catena Sinaitica*, CCG 2 (1977), on whose text see M. Harl: *Byz* 73 (1980) 69 f., and the reservations of S. Leanza: *Orpheus* n.s. 2 (1981) 239 f., confirmed in Idem, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria", *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi, Napoli, 16-18 ottobre 1987*, ed. A. Garzya, Naples 1989, 247-250, 261 f.; F. Petit, *Catena Graeca...*, 2, *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, CCG 15 (1986); Eadem, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse. Édition intégrale*, 1, *Chapitres 1 à 3*; 2, *Chapitres 4 à 11*; 3, *Chapitres 12 à 28*; 4, *Chapitres 29 à 50*, Louvain 1991-1996. Codd.: A. Rahlf's, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914, 377-380 (Octateuch, Epitome of Procopius), 385 (Kings).

Studies: P. Carrara, "Severo di Antiochia nelle Catene esegetiche all Genesi", *Sileno* 14 (1988) 171-178; R. Devreesse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* I (1928): 1099-1114; G. Dorival, *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 1, Leuven 1986, 53, 100-106; L. Doutreleau, "Recherches autour de la Catena Romana de Combéfis (B.N. Suppl. Gr. 428 - Vat. Barb. Gr. 529 - Mosq. 385)", *Corona Gratiarum. Miscellanea patristica, historica et liturgica E. Dekkers O.S.B. XII lustra complenti oblata*, 2, Bruges-The Hague 1975, 367-388; M. Faulhaber, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken", *BiZ* 1 (1903) 247-252 (Kings); M. Geerard, "Catena in Octateuchum et in Reges", CPG 4 (1980), pp. 185 ff.; P. Géhin, "Un recueil d'extraits patristiques: les Miscellanea Coisliniana (Parisinus

Coislinianus 193 et Sinaiticus gr. 461)", *RHT* 22 (1992) 89-130: 105 (exegetical chapters, on Genesis - Exodus, handed down in ms. Coislinianus gr. 193, 11th century); G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 2-20 ("Catenae in Octateuchum et Regnorum libros"); S. Leanza, "L'esegesi del Levitico nella tradizione catenaria", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 13 (1996) 211-227; F. Petit, "La Chaîne grecque sur la Genèse miroir de l'exégèse ancienne", *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für E. Dassmann*, ed. G. Schöllgen, C. Scholten, Münster 1996, 243-253; Eadem, "La Chaîne grecque sur l'Exode. Description générale et problèmes spécifiques", *SP* 30 (1997) 97-101.

PSALMS

For the recovery of the remains of the exegetical writings on the Psalms it is unanimously agreed by specialists on the exegetical Catenae that the preferred source is the so-called Palestinian Catena, whose composition is put in 6th-century Palestine. It is a primary Catena, i.e. it takes material from exegetical works mostly lost in direct tradition, and stands out among all others for the size and quality of the extracts it preserves; it is formed essentially of extracts from the commentaries of Eusebius of Caesarea, Didymus and Theodoret, to whom we must add, but only for parts of the Psalter, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Asterius the Sophist, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Origen and, only for Ps 118, Athanasius. The Palestinian Catena had two editions: one in three volumes (Pss 1-50; 51-100; 101-150), of which only the first two survive; the other in two volumes (Pss 1-76; 77-150), of which only the second is preserved.

Of the three-volume edition only the first, on Pss 1-50, has reached us in good condition in the Catena of type VI in the Karo-Lietzmann classification (henceforth K. - L.), attested in the following mss.: Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci gr. 235, 9th-10th century; Athos, Ivron 597, first half of 11th century; Bucharest, Romanian Academy Library gr. 931 + Constantinople, Panaghia Kamariotissi Patristic Library 9, first half of 11th c.; Munich, National Library gr. 359, 10th-11th century; Rome, Vatican Library gr. 1789, 10th-11th century. According to Richard, the prototype of the whole medieval tradition is the Barocci, from which the other four (or five) codices are derived independently of each other. This excellent witness is vitiated by some lacunae involving Pss 7-8; 27-28; 32-33; 35-38, fortunately remedied by the other mss., thanks to which we are able to restore the whole of the lost text. To these codices have been added two more: Oxford, Auct. 1.1 (= Misc. 179), 17th century, pp. 169-292 (Pss 10-50) and pp. 262-284 (Ps 9); Oxford, Barocci gr. 154, late 15th century, which is an apograph of Barocci 235. The honesty of this Catena has been proved by a check made by Richard on the commentaries of Eusebius, Origen, Theodoret and

Didymus on Ps 37. Fortunately Eusebius' whole commentary on this psalm is preserved under the name of Basil (PG 30, 81-104); Origen's two homilies on the same psalm have reached us in the version of Rufinus, so that with Theodoret's *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, whose edition, reproduced in PG 80, is trustworthy, we have at our disposal three of the four sources used by the catenist. From the check it emerges that all the extracts attributed to these three exegetes in the Catena come entirely from them and that none of the extracts whose lemma indicates Didymus can have come from Eusebius, Origen or Theodoret.

The second volume, on Pss 51-100, was preserved integrally only in the 10th-century Cod. 300 (C. II. 6) of the National Library of Turin, which unfortunately suffered irreparable damage in the fire of 26 January 1904, by which a great many of the folios were burnt and the remains were disordered. D. Barthélemy has sought to reorder them on photocopies, available at the Paris IRHT, but despite this the ms. remains gravely lacunose and, in the recovered pieces, scarcely legible. Fortunately, some years before the fire, Mercati had analysed the contents of ff. 1-21 (Pss 50-55), 208-229 (Pss 83-86) 291-323 (Ps 95-100) and written down annotations, used for the first time by Devreesse in his work *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*. The loss of this ms. is grave, since it seems to have been a notable witness on a par with Barocci 325, at least for its fidelity in indicating authorial lemmas. Future editors will feel its loss, as Mühlberg recently felt it when he published the remains of the commentaries of Apollinaris and Didymus in a generally reliable edition, taking them from the most authoritative witnesses of the Palestinian Catena; its loss fortunately does not affect Eusebius, whose exegesis of Pss 51-95, 3 is preserved entire by direct tradition in the 10th-century Cod. Coislin 44.

The third volume, on Pss 101-150, has totally disappeared; a not dissimilar fate has also befallen the first volume (Pss 1-76) of the two-volume edition. We owe the second volume, on Pss 77-150, to the type XI (K. - L.) Catena, whose opening (Pss 77, 1-78, 3) is found in the 13th-century Cod. Vienna theol. gr. 59. The volume was perhaps attested entire in the 13th-century ms. Milan, Ambrosian Library F 126 sup. (A), which is now mutilated at the beginning and end: it now starts with Ps 83, 4 and lacks the last two extracts on Ps 150, 6. The mutilations of A can be remedied thanks to another witness of the same type XI Catena, ms. Patmos, St John's Monastery 215 (P), 12th-13th century, which is itself mutilated at the beginning, but only by one or two folios, and starts with Ps 78, 3. As pointed out by Richard and confirmed with further evidence by other scholars including the present writer, A and P descend independently from the same prototype, a copy of an uncial ms. But while A faithfully cites the exemplar, P contaminates it by

introducing the integral commentary of Theodoret, which it takes from another (non-catenary) witness related to the 12th-century Cod. Munich, National Library gr. 478, i.e. to Cod. 1 of Schulze, editor of Theodoret's *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (PG 80); P habitually places this commentary before the catenary extracts and immediately after the verse (or group of verses) of the Psalm on which the exegesis turns; for Pss 114 and 115, he also inserts there extensive extracts of Basil's homilies on the Psalms. Extracts of Theodoret were certainly attested in the Catena common to A and P; from it the copyist of A presumably took them, while that of P, who had already transcribed Theodoret's integral commentary on the Psalm verse that was the subject of exegesis, abstained from repeating it in the generally abridged version of the extract. Yet reduplication did occur, though not frequently, so that it sometimes happens that we read in P both the integral and the catenary exegesis; in the tradition of the latter the two mss. naturally agree, as in the transmission of the other exegetes comprised in the Catena. As for the reduplication, we should probably rule out the idea that the amanuensis of P deliberately repeated, as if he wished to offer two *facies*, the integral and the catenary, of the same passage: in that case he would have copied for the second time those extracts that appeared more distorted in the "mother" Catena. But we do not find this criterion applied, nor can we indicate any other criterion that could explain the repetition. It may perhaps have been caused by some moment of distraction affecting the copyist, who might sometimes have failed to identify the abridged extract as the integral text he had previously transcribed. In the Catena common to the two mss. it is likely that the extracts followed each other in the order in which they appear in A, in which Eusebius generally occupies first place, immediately after the Psalm verse to be interpreted, while Theodoret is in second place and sometimes even later. The forgetfulness of P's amanuensis can thus be justified, since between the first and the second transcription there could have intervened maybe more than one extract, i.e. a considerable number of lines, as well as, through the inevitable interruptions in copying, a certain lapse of time. Yet in some cases, presumably after transcribing the extract, he became aware of the repetition and annotated in the margin of the folio one of the following phrases: τοῦ Θεοδώρητου ἐστὶν καὶ προεγράφη, or τοῦ Θεοδώρητου καὶ προέγραψα, or προέγραψα ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Θεοδώρητου ἐξηγήσεσιν. As well as in its arrangement and succession of extracts, A. is also more reliable than P in its text, which, while not exempt from glaring faults, mostly but not all orthographical – which reveal the amanuensis's superficial knowledge of the language –, on the whole reflects more faithfully the text of the original Catena from which both it and P descend. The same cannot be said of the other witness, whose copyist, undoubtedly

more learned, altered the text of the source, frequently interfering with it to eliminate presumed faults or inexactitudes. It ensues from this is that a future editor, assuming the evidence of A as basis for this section of the Psalter, can nourish well-founded hopes of recovering the commentaries, reduced in extent – the catenists habitually abridge the texts they work on – but genuine, of the exegetes on the Psalter represented in the Catena. Moreover A's faults are such that even a not very discerning editor can restore them to the correct form.

The direct tradition of the Palestinian Catena is preserved in a generally good state, yet not such that we can do without the contribution, to remedy its various imperfections, of the indirect tradition, represented by the secondary Catenae, so called because they are made up using material drawn from other Catenae, themselves either primary or secondary. The indirect tradition appears under two forms: a condensed paraphrase of the entire Catena, and collections of extracts, more or less exactly cited, from the primary Catena. The condensed paraphrase of the type VI Catena on Pss 1-50 has reached us in two recensions: one, almost integral, is better preserved in the type III (K. - L.) Catena; the other, in abridged form, appears in its pure state, but only in part, in the 10th-century Cod. Athos, Vatopédi 660 and, mixed with fragments of other provenance, but complete, in mss. Rome, Vatican Ottobonianus gr. 398, 10th century (type IV [K. - L.] Catena), and Moscow, Synodal Library gr. 194, 10th-11th century (Catena of type IV Mühlberg and Geard, type XIII K. - L.). According to Richard, this first part of the paraphrase of the Palestinian Catena, on Pss 1-50, was made from an excellent exemplar, certainly older than Barocci 235. Unfortunately it offers a text vitiated by too many alterations to improve the text of the direct tradition, which has in fact reached us in a good state; but it has the merit of having preserved the authorial lemmas and can serve to reveal the invisible omissions of Barocci and its copies. Its sole fault is sometimes to have simplified the Catena's double or triple attributions without a manifest criterion. In conclusion, thanks to the type VI Catena the contribution of the paraphrase for the section of Pss 1-50 is minimal and, rather than the text, properly concerns other details. However, if we take into account the objective impossibility of fully using Cod. 300 (C. II. 6) of the Turin National Library, the paraphrase will be extremely useful for reconstructing the rest of the Catena, particularly for Pss 51-76, i.e. that section for which, after the incalculable damage suffered by the Turin codex, no other exemplar remains to represent the direct tradition.

The paraphrase of the Palestinian Catena on Pss 51-150 has unfortunately reached us in a worse condition than that on Pss 1-50. Its apparently integral text on Pss 84-89 and a part relating to Pss 61-77

are preserved in the type III (K. - L.) Catena. A number of fragments pertaining to these psalms and some other fragments on Pss 90-91, 93 and 100 are in Cod. Athos, Vatopédi 660. For Pss 101-150 the preferred witness seems to be the Athanasian Catena, so called since it is constructed around Athanasius' commentary. Its best ms. is Rome, Vatican gr. 754 (type XIII K. - L.), closely followed by Cod. Paris, Coislin 10 (type XIX K. - L.) and, for Pss 100-150, mss. Rome, Vatican Ottobonianus 398 (type IV K. - L.) and Moscow, Synodal Library 194 (type XIII K. - L.). Another witness rich in fragments, which progressively decrease in number, on Pss 100-103 is Rome, Vatican gr. 2057 (type II K. - L.). In this paraphrase the section on Pss 51-60 is not represented at all.

This void is remedied in part by resorting to the other branch of the indirect tradition, which provides extracts taken from the Palestinian Catena, generally abridged from it. Of the various forms in which such extracts are presented, only one, which unfortunately is the poorest, is well preserved in direct tradition as far as Ps 71, 9 only in the 10th / 11th-century Cod. Lesbos, Leimon Monastery 49. In it the extracts of the Palestinian Catena are mixed with other elements, among them a series of extracts from the commentary of Metrophanes on Pss 1-6; 8-11; 15-17; 28; 35; 38-40; 51-56 and 67. Apart from this the most frequently represented exegetes are Athanasius and, to a lesser extent, Hesychius, Gregory of Nyssa and Clement of Alexandria, cited at Pss 1; 2; 11; 17; 21; 31; 47. Other commentators are attested once or twice, including Diodore, Isidore and Olympiodorus. The Catena that contains the Lesbos exemplar is found in part in the 11th-century Cod. Vienna, National Library theol. gr. 8, the only ms. of type V (K. - L.): mutilated from Ps 5 to Ps 37, it gives the Catena, though a bit damaged, for Pss 38-42, 2 and 50-118. Finally the Catena of the 13th-century Cod. Athos, Esphigmenou 73 cites it almost integrally on Pss 1-27; 101-103; 118, 42-176 and gives a number of extracts from it on Pss 119-122; 131-132; 136-137; many more on Pss 138-150.

Another much richer collection of extracts from the Palestinian Catena is less well preserved. It is mixed with the Monophysite Catena and is largely cited by the type III (K. - L.) Catena, which seems to have preserved it integrally for Pss 90-118 and gives numerous extracts on Pss 51-60 (not definitely coming from the Catena of the Lesbos ms.) and 78-83. Richard, analysing the commentary on Pss 90-117, discovered many false attributions in it, for which he presumes we must blame the catenist of Catena III or one of his predecessors. In the Monophysite Catena each scholium was provided with authorship, while in the Palestinian Catena many extracts lacked an authorial lemma. By a questionable criterion, the catenist or his predecessor has remedied their anonymity by assigning them to the last exegete cited.

Numerous extracts from the Palestinian Catena are provided by two further compilations. The first is the Catena of Cod. Athos, Lavra B 83 (11th-12th century), which makes use of the type VI (on Pss 1-50) and type XI (on Pss 51-150) Catenae, from which it takes a great many extracts especially on Pss 1-91. Particularly useful are the extracts on Pss 51-76, which are of some use for reconstructing the parts of Cod. Turin 300, sole witness for this section of the Catena, destroyed by the fire of 1904. The other compilation consists of the type VII (K. - L.) Catena, whose author shows a marked predilection for Origen. The extracts preserved from it seem to refer to Pss 1-76, i.e. the first volume on the basis of the division of the Psalter into two volumes. Neither of these compilations would seem to have any affinity with the collection of the Lesbos ms. Richard advanced the hypothesis that at least for some of its parts the first Catena was indebted to the second; while the compiler of the type VII Catena seems to have drawn directly on an exemplar of the type VI Catena.

In conclusion, the indirect tradition of the Palestinian Catena is rich for Pss 1-50, well provided for Pss 51-118 and extremely poor for Pss 119-150. We have already mentioned the generally good *status* of preservation of the direct tradition. It follows that hopes of recovering the remains of the commentaries on the Psalms by the exegetes comprised in the Catenae are well founded.

Editions: Eusebius: Pss 1-118: B. de Montfaucon, PG 23, 71-1396; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 3: *Patres Antenicani*, e typographeo Veneto Mechitaristarum Sancti Lazari, 1883, 365-529; Pss 119-150: A. Mai, PG 24, 9-78: editions to be used with caution, since together with definitely Eusebian material there is some of dubious Eusebian attribution or downright spurious: cf. M.-J. Rondeau, J. Kirchmeyer: *DSp* 4 (1961) 1688-1690. Generally reliable are the commentaries on Pss 37 and 51-95, 3, surviving entire and through direct tradition, that on Ps 37 among Basil's homilies on the Psalms (Garnier, PG 30, 81-104), that on Pss 51-95, 3 thanks to ms. Coislin 44 (10th c.). On this latter commentary, not wholly immune from imperfections and inexactnesses, cf. C. Curti, "Per una nuova edizione dei 'Commentarii in Psalmos' di Eusebio di Cesarea (ms. Coislin 44)", *Idem*, *Due articoli eusebiani* ("Commentarii in Psalmos"), Noto 1971, 11-34; 18 ff. (now in *Idem*, *Eusebiana I. Commentarii in Psalmos*, Catania 1989², 3-17: 7 ff.). Also generally reliable are the Eusebian extracts taken from the excellent Palestinian Catena on Ps 49 (R. Devreesse: *RBi* 33 [1924] 78-81), Ps 118 (M. Harl, *La Chaîne palestinienne sur le Psaume 118* [*Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret*], SCh 189, 190, Paris 1972) and the proemium to the Gradual Psalms (119-133) (G. Mercati, "L'ultima parte perduta del commentario d'Eusebio cesariense ai Salmi", *RIL*, ser. 2, 31 [1898] 1036-1045, now in *Idem*, *Opere minori*, 2, Vatican City 1937, 58-66). R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes*, ST 264, Vatican City 1970, 89-146.

Didymus: A. Mai, PG 39, 1156-1616; *Fragmenta alia*: F. Mingarelli, PG 39, 1617-1622. From the Palestinian Catena: Pss 1-50 (E. Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, 1, PTS 15, 1975, 121-375); Pss 51-150 (E. Mühlberg,

Psalmenkommentare... cit., 2, PTS 16, 1977, 3-367); M. Harl, *La Chaîne palestinienne...* cit. From the Tura papyrus, with German version: Pss 20-21 (L. Doutreleau, A. Gesché, M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde, Psalmenkommentar [Tura-Papyrus]*, 1, PTA 7, 1969); Pss 22-26, 10 (M. Gronewald, *ibid.*, 2, PTA 4, 1968); Pss 29-34 (M. Gronewald, A. Gesché, *ibid.*, 3, PTA 8, 1969); Pss 35-39 (M. Gronewald, *ibid.*, 4, PTA 6, 1969); Pss 40-44, 4 (M. Gronewald, *ibid.*, 5, PTA 12, 1970). R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs...*, cit., 147-210.

Theodoret: J.L. Schulze, PG 80, 857-1997, on which cf. R. Devreesse, "Chânes..." *DBS* 1 (1928): 1135-1137; for the codices see A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914 405-406.

Apollinaris of Laodicea: E. Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare...* cit., 1, 3-118.

Asterius the Sophist: *Commentarii in Psalmos (homiliae XXXI)*: M. Richard, *Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt. Accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae*, SO, fasc. supplet. XVI (1956); Idem, "Corrigenda et addenda", E. Skard, *Index Asterianus*, SO, fasc. supplet. XVII (1962) 9-16; cf. M. Geerard, CPG 2, 137-138, no. 2815; R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs...*, cit., 234-237.

Basil: *Homiliae super Psalmos* 1, 7, 14a, 14b, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, 114; J. Garnier, PG 29, 209-494; *Fragmenta e Catena Nicetae* (type VIII): J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica* 5, 76, 103; *Versio Latina Rufini* (Pss 1 and 59): J. Garnier, PG 31, 1723-1733; 1790-1794; for the codices see M. Huglo, "Les anciennes versions latines des homélies de saint Basile", *RBen* 64 (1954) 129-132. For the fragments in the Catena cf. R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs...*, cit., 237-238; Idem, "Chânes..." *DBS* 1 (1928): 1127. On the codices see S.Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile*, Lund 1953, 53-110; J. Gribomont, *In tomos 29, 30, 31, 32 Patrologiae Graecae ad editionem operum Sancti Basilii Magni introductio*, Turnholti 1959, 1-6; Idem, *In tomos 29... adnotationes*, Turnholti 1959, 10 f. Cf. M. Geerard, CPG 2, 141, no. 2836.

Cyril of Alexandria: *Expositio in Psalmos*: A. Mai, PG 69, 717-1273, with additions, starting from Ps 4, 2, taken from the Catena of Corderius (*Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos a Balthasare Corderio... concinnata*, 3 voll., Antverpiae 1643-1646), enclosed in angled brackets: a not very reliable collection, since it often offers fragments abridged from the originals together with others not authentic and belonging to other exegetes. More trustworthy are the fragments edited by G. Mercati, *Osservazioni a Proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri. Con frammenti inediti*, Vatican City 1948, 140-144; on Ps 2, 7, *ibid.* 144; on Ps 1, 5: *Alla ricerca dei nomi degli "altri" traduttori nelle omelie sui Salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune Catene del Salterio*, Vatican City 1952, 186. Cf. R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs...* cit., 224-233; M. Geerard, CPG 3, 2-3, no. 5202.

Origen: *Selecta in Psalmos*: C. and C.V. Delarue, PG 12, 1053-1685; *Excerpta in Psalmos*: A. Galland, PG 17, 105-149; J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, 2, 444-483 (Pss 1-25), 3, 1-364 (Pss 26-150); R. Cadiou, *Commentaires inédits sur les Psaumes. Étude sur les textes d'Origène contenus dans le manuscrit Vindobonensis 8*, Paris 1936; editions all to be used with extreme caution, since together with definitely Origenian fragments appear many passages belonging to other commentators on the Psalter: cf. H.U. von Balthasar, "Die Hiera des Evagrius", *ZKTh* 63 (1939) 86-106; 181-206; M.-J. Rondeau, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique", *OCP* 26 (1960) 307-348; C. Curti, "Sono di Eusebio alcuni frammenti dei 'Selecta in Psalmos' attribuiti ad Origene?". Idem, *Due articoli eusebiani...* cit., 39-58 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 21-32); R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs...* cit.,

5 and nn. 39, 40, 41; 6, nn. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53; Idem, "Chânes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1120-1122. *Homiliae V* in Ps 36 (PG 12, 1319-1368); *Homiliae II* in Ps 37 (*ibid.* 1369-1388); *Homiliae II* in Ps 38 (*ibid.* 1391-1410), surviving in the version of Rufinus, which a comparison with some fragments handed down in the original language by the reliable Palestinian Catena has revealed as trustworthy. These nine homilies are now also available in E. Prinzivalli's critical edition with Italian tr., *Origene, Homiliae in Psalmos XXXVI-XXXVII-XXXVIII*, Florence 1991, whose Greek text is also reproduced in the edition of SCh 411 (1995), ed. H. Crouzel and L. Brésard. A fragment of a homily on Ps 82 is preserved by Eusebius (*HE* 6, 38). Devreesse has given the *incipits* and *excipits* of a list of authentic fragments contained in PG 12 and 17 and in Pitra, thus clearing the way for the future editor of Origen (*Les anciens commentateurs...* cit., 7-19); he has published all the extracts of Origen on Ps 118 (*ibid.* 19-85) and his few brief fragments on Pss 119-150 (*ibid.* 85-88). After him the Origenian fragments on Ps 118 have been taken from the Palestinian Catena by M. Harl, *La Chaîne palestinienne...* cit.: an edition preferable to Devreesse's text because provided with a precise and exhaustive commentary, as well as for the authorship of the extracts – for some of which she has remedied the anonymity of the preferred witnesses of the Palestinian Catena by making use of the indirect tradition of that same Catena –, but untrustworthy for the text, among other things often vitiated by inexactnesses of various kinds: cf. C. Curti, "Il valore dei codici Ambrosiano F 126 sup. e Patmos 215 per la ricostruzione della Catena Palestinese sui Salmi", *RSLR* 10 (1974) 92-111 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 95-116.) One more mention of the *Tractatus sive Homiliae in Psalmos*, which G. Morin published in 1903 under the name of Jerome and CCL reprinted in 1958 keeping that attribution. It was disputed by V. Peri, *Omelie origeniane sui Salmi. Contributo all'identificazione del testo latino*, Vatican City 1980, for whom they are homilies of Origen translated and adapted by Jerome. He adduces in support of his thesis the fact that Jerome does not mention them in his letter 112 to Augustine, where he lists the commentators on the Psalter. Peri's thesis has met with agreement, but has also aroused lively reactions, among them that of P. Jay, "Jérôme à Bethléem: les *Tractatus in psalmos*", *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient. XVI^e centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem. Actes du Colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986)*, ed. Y.-M. Duval, Paris 1988, 367-380). The *querelle* is still *sub iudice*.

John Chrysostom: we possess 58 homilies on Pss 4-12 (B. de Montfaucon, PG 55, 39-154), 43-49, 103-117, 119-150 (*ibid.* 167-498). Besides these, Chrysostom made other Psalms the object of commentary, as can be inferred from various clues: in the course of his exegesis of Ps 140, he gives us to understand that he has already interpreted Ps 62, 3; moreover, the florilegia offer extracts on Pss 61, 103, 9 and 106, 23-24; again, various codices, mostly Vatican ones, have preserved the exegesis, entire or in part, of Pss 103 and 106, which deserves to be examined with attention to ascertain its value. It would also be right to investigate the original extent of Chrysostom's homilies on the Psalms. The contribution of the Catena to the 58 surviving homilies is generally irrelevant. Cf. R. Devreesse, "Chânes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1132-1133; Idem, *Les anciens commentateurs...* cit., 241; M. Geerard, CPG 2, 553-556.

Studies: C. Curti, "Per una nuova edizione..." cit.; Idem, "Il codice Patmos Monastero S. Giovanni 215 e i 'Commentarii in Psalmos' di Eusebio di Cesarea", *Studi classici in onore di Quintino Cataudella*, 2, Catania 1972, 321-365 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 35-67); Idem, "Il valore dei codici..." cit.; Idem, "Osservazioni sul testo dei

Salmi citato da Eusebio di Cesarea nei 'Commentarii in Psalmos', *Letterature comparate. Problemi e metodo. Studi in onore di Ettore Paratore*, 2, Bologna 1981, 853-864 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 155-168); Idem, "I 'Commentarii in Psalmos' di Eusebio di Cesarea: tradizione diretta (Coislin 44) e tradizione catenaria", *La critica testuale greco-latina, oggi. Metodi e problemi. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli 29-31 ottobre 1979)*, Rome 1981, 373-382 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 171-179); Idem, "Ancora sulla tecnica di abbreviazione del compilatore della Catena palestinese", *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco*, 1, Palermo 1989, 497-515 (now in Idem, *Eusebiana I...* cit., 251-271); Idem, "Ancora sulla Catena palestinese sui Salmi. Qualche insidia imputabile al suo redattore", *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata*, 2, Milan 1955, 1225-1233; Idem, "La Catena palestinese sui Salmi graduali", *Scritti in onore di Alberto Grilli*, Brescia 1990, 93-101 (= *Paideia* 45 [1990] 93-101); R. Devreesse, "La Chaîne sur les Psaumes de Daniele Barbaro", *RBi* 33 (1924) 65-81; 498-521; Idem, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1114-1139; Idem, *Les anciens commentateurs...* cit.; G. Dorival, "L'apport des Chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des Hexaples d'Origène. À propos du Psaume 118", *RHT* 4 (1974) 45-74; Idem, "Origène dans les Chaînes sur les Psaumes: deux séries inédites de fragments", *Origeniana. Premier colloque international des études origéniennes (Montserrat, 18-21 septembre 1973)*, Bari 1975, 199-213; Idem, "La reconstitution du commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Eusèbe de Césarée grâce aux Chaînes exégétiques grecques, en particulier la Chaîne de Nicéas", *Studia Patristica* 15 (1985) 170-176; Idem, *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 4 voll., Leuven 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995; M. Geerard, "Catenae in Psalmos", *CPG* 4 (1980) 188-211; M. Harl, *La Chaîne palestinienne...* cit.; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*. Aus den Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1, 3, 5 (1902); L. Mariès, "Un commentaire de Didyme publié sous le nom de Diodore", *RSR* 5 (1914) 73-78; G. Mercati, "L'ultima parte perduta..." cit.; Idem, *Osservazioni a Proemi del Salterio...* cit.; Idem, *Alla ricerca dei nomi degli "altri" traduttori...* cit.; Idem, *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae. Pars prima: "Osservazioni". Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplatari*, Vatican City 1965; E. Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare...* cit., 3; M. Richard, "Quelques manuscrits peu connus des Chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le Psautier", *BIIRHT* 3 (1954) 87-106 (now in Idem, *Opera minora*, 3, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 69); Idem, "Les premières Chaînes sur le Psautier", *BIIRHT* 5 (1956) 87-98 (now in Idem, *Opera minora*, 3, cit., no. 70); Idem, "Les manuscrits de la Chaîne du type VI sur les Psaumes", *RHT* 3 (1973) 19-38 (now in Idem, *Opera minora*, 3, cit., no. 71); G. Rietz, *De Origenis prologis in Psalterium quaestiones selectae*, Ienae 1914; M.-J. Rondeau, "Le commentaire sur les Psaumes d'Évagre le Pontique..." cit.; Eadem, "Le 'Commentaire des Psaumes' de Diodore de Tarse et l'exégèse antique du Psaume 109/110", *RHR* 176 (1969) 5-33; 153-188; 177 (1970) 5-33; G.M. Vian, "I codici Vaticani del 'Commento ai Salmi' di Atanasio", *VetChr* 13 (1976) 117-128.

BIBLICAL CANTICLES

The fragments are transmitted mainly in the catenary manuscripts on the Psalter, while being independent of the Catenae on the Psalms. Following Schneider, we distinguish two types of Catenae, Hesychian and multiple, on the Canticles, whose number oscillates between fourteen

and nine, according to the canons attested respectively in the 5th and 6th centuries. In the 5th-century Cod. Alexandrinus, London, British Library Royal I. D. V-VIII, ff. 564^v-569, the series of Odes follows an order that reflects the specific liturgical usage of Egypt: Ex 15, 1-19; Deut 32, 1-43; 1 Sam 2, 1-10; Is 26, 9-20; Jon 2, 3-10; Hab 3, 2-19; Is 38, 10-20; Dan 3, 26-45; Dan 3, 52-88; Lk 1, 46-55; Lk 2, 29-32; Lk 1, 68-79; after Is 38 is put the prayer of Manasseh, at the end the old Christian hymn *Gloria*. However, Hesychius of Jerusalem's glosses on the Canticles in the 11th/12th-century Cod. Venice, Marcianus gr. 535 follow a different liturgical order, which reflects that of the Church of Jerusalem and confirms the authenticity of the exclusively Hesychian lemmas set out in the Catenae. Indeed, these glosses are not to be attributed to a compiler who came after Hesychius and combined them by drawing on various exegetes. They are taken from a Commentary of scholiastic type by Hesychius on the Canticles; they were probably composed by the author in the form in which they survive, which excludes the prayer of Hezekiah in Is 38 and perhaps inaugurated in Palestine the process of abridgement of the series of Odes from 14 to 9. The Commentary has been completed, using fragments taken from other works of Hesychius and to a lesser extent from commentaries of other exegetes, in the Hesychian Catena. The glosses must have been attested entire in the 8th-century Cod. Turin, National Library B. VII. 30, largely destroyed in the fire of 1904: there remains of this Catena, "marginal around an author", an extract fortunately made by Faulhaber some time earlier, in which at least six scholia are preceded by the name of Hesychius. Attributed to the same author are a good 147 brief glosses in the Catena of Cod. Oxoniensis Bodleian Misc. gr. 5 (dated c. 950), discovered by Faulhaber, which contains in all 169 fragments, partly taken from other authors: it is a multiple Catena. This type, attested in manuscripts from the 10th century on, contains fragments of the very exegetes present in the Hesychian Catena, e.g. Theodoret, often anonymous. Others are added: e.g., by Macarius of Magnesia; on the Canticles of Jonah and Habakkuk by Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadius of Constantinople, Gregory Nazianzen, Hypatius and Nicholas of Ancyra; one on Hab 3, 1b-2 by Methodius of Patara; four on Jon 2, 2 f., 7 f. by Severus of Antioch; on the Canticles of Luke by Cyril and Severus again, but also by Origen and Victor of Antioch; on the Canticles of Daniel and Luke by Eudoxius. The fragments of the Canticles of Moses are taken from the Catena of Nicephorus on Genesis-Kings: those on the prayers of Isaiah and Hezekiah and the Canticles of Daniel from an archetype close in content to John Drungarius' Catenae on Isaiah and Daniel. The multiple type then spread and formed the nucleus of the Catena in mss. of the 10th and 11th centuries, where Hesychius' glosses

were abridged in favour of the new scholia; into it was fused the Hesychian Catena: "Typenmischung". The catenary mss. also contain a trace of a commentary of Hesychius limited to the two Canticles of Moses in Exodus and Deuteronomy and that of the three young men in the fiery furnace in Daniel: it may be an extract from his now lost commentaries on those books, or from a first commentary of his on the Odes dealing only with these three, which are the earliest attested in the Churches of Syria.

Editions: B. Cordier, *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos*, 3, Antverpiae 1646, 853-962; Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*, Paris 1973, 625-643, 647-671: frr. on the Cantic of Jonah by Hesychius, Cyril, Gennadius, Severus, Hypatius, Nicholas of Ancyra and anonymous; V. Jagič, *Supplementum Psalterii Bononiensis, Incerti auctoris explanatio Psalmorum graeca*, Vienna 1917, 301-320 (Hesychius). NT Canticles: C.F.G. Heinrici, *Beiträge zu Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 3/2, Leipzig 1905, 111-115. Codd.: A. Rahlf's, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914, 399-410.

Studies: R. Devresse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1139 f., 1146 f. (Canticles of Jon and Hab), 1182 f. (NT Canticles); M. Faulhaber, "Eine wertvolle Oxforder Handschrift", *ThQ* 83 (1901) 218-232; Idem, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken", *BiZ* 1 (1903) 357 ff.; M. Geerard, "Catenae in Odas", *CPG* 4, pp. 212 ff.; M. Richard, "Quelques manuscrits peu connus des Chaînes exégétiques et des commentaires grecs sur le Psautier", *BIIRHT* 3 (1954) 87-106 (now in Idem, *Opera minora*, 3, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 69); H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum", *Biblica* 30 (1949) 28-65, 239-272, 433-452, 479-500; G.M. Vian, "Un'antologia esegetica bizantina sui Salmi con inediti di Atanasio e Giovanni Crisostomo", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 6 (1989) 127 f.

BOOKS OF SOLOMON

The fundamental research is that of Faulhaber.

a) *Song of Songs*. Five fundamental types are distinguished, going back to an "Urkatene", which would predate 450. The Catena of type A Faulhaber and Geerard (type III K. - L.) covers 1, 6 - 4, 1. It consists of extracts from the *Homiliae* of Gregory of Nyssa and the Commentary of Nilus of Ancyra; so it is commonly considered a two-author Catena. The 10th/11th-century Cod. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 23, ff. 80-89 contains *excerpta* up to 4, 6 (but on f. 86^v it reads 6, 8 due to confusion in the order of verses) and marginal scholia with infrequent citations of Basil, Antiochus, John Chrysostom, Macarius of Magnesia and Olympiodorus.

In the Catena of type B Faulhaber and Geerard (type IV K. - L.) we distinguish two recensions: B¹ and B². The former, of multiple authorship, transmits extracts from the three Fathers Gregory of Nyssa, Nilus of Ancyra and Maximus the Confessor; it was made between the late 7th

and the 8th century by the same compiler as the Catena of the three Fathers on Ecclesiastes and probably the Catena on Proverbs attributed to Procopius; it was mistakenly edited by Mai under Procopius' name. B², the *recensio plenior*, dates from the late 11th century and to the collection of the three Fathers adds extracts from the ἐρμηνεία of Theodoret of Cyrhus and from that in political verse by Michael Psellus up to 6, 9a.

The Catena of type C Faulhaber and Geerard (type II K. - L.) is represented by the ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή coming down under the name of Procopius of Gaza († c. 530), which is merely an abridged selection of the lost original Catena compiled by Procopius. This conclusion is reached by correctly interpreting the citation of Eusebius of Caesarea's name in the title: it does not contain a reference to type E on which the Epitome supposedly depended, according to a hypothesis formulated in the past; but, since it is accompanied by the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς, it attests that Eusebius' exegesis, like that of the authors cited in the Epitome, was present in the original Catena. These authors are mainly Origen and Gregory of Nyssa; to a lesser degree, Cyril of Alexandria, Philo of Carpasia, Nilus of Ancyra, Apollinaris of Laodicea and Didymus of Alexandria. Following Sovic' and Rosenbaum, the many codices are subdivided into three families, of which the best witnesses belong to the Paris Bibliothèque nationale: gr. 172 (16th century); gr. 154 (12th century); and gr. 153 (11th-12th century).

The compiler of the Catena of type D Faulhaber and Geerard (type I K. - L.) was Polychronius the Deacon, an epitomizer of Catenae who lived some time in the 6th century, after Procopius: his name comes from the *titulus* of the Catena in late codices; he should not be confused with the homonymous bishop of Apamea who died c. 430. Extracted from Procopius' original Catena, type D has more scholia than the surviving Epitome of Procopius; but because of the constant absence of fragments of Nilus, even summarized ones, as compared to type C, Faulhaber held it to be a résumé or an extract of type C in its initial structure without Nilian exegesis: the relation of dependence would be the same as that respectively between Procopius' surviving Catenae on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes and the Catenae compiled by Polychronius the Deacon on the same books. It is not always reliable: here and there the text is freely summarized and contaminated, and the exegesis of different authors who are clearly distinguished in type C is here variously mixed up. Gregory's exegesis predominates at the beginning, up to 6, 8; that of Origen at the end (6, 8 - 7, 13; 8). The best witnesses are Venice, Marcianus gr. 21 (11th century) and Milan, Ambrosian gr. A. 148 inf. (10th-11th century). Identified as an abridged redaction of the Milan Catena are the "summa quaedam commentarii cuiusdam in Cant."

(thus indicated by Langerbeck) of Cantabrigiensis, Trinity Coll. B. 7. 3 (13th century), ff. 213-236; and the ἐρμηνεία of Sinaiticus gr. 311 (dated 1510), ff. 59-71^v.

The Catena of type E Faulhaber and Geerard (type V K. - L.), called that of Eusebius, must be classed among examples of pseudepigraphy. Faulhaber has demonstrated that the compiler is unknown and cannot be Eusebius of Caesarea, since a great many of the scholia are by later exegetes. The absurd attribution to Eusebius is due to a confusion by its editor Van Meurs: he referred the author's name, which appears in the first of the four or five prologues with which the Catena begins, to the *titulus* of the whole Catena; the chronological aberration was then awkwardly justified in *Praefatio* III to the Florentine printing, where the hypothesis was advanced that the compiler was an obscure Eusebius, later than his more famous homonym of Caesarea, to whom the Catena was subsequently attributed. To Eusebius, then, is acknowledged only the authorship, doubted in the past, of the first prologue, i.e. of the first scholium (not, as Devreesse says, of the "dernier scholion"). The Catena's existing structure allows us to recognize a close affinity with type C, though the relation between the two types, which cannot be one of dependence of type C on E, nor *vice versa*, is not unanimously admitted. It stops at the interpretation of 6, 9. Not always reliable on authors' names and in the text, it is taken largely from the *Homiliae* of Gregory of Nyssa, which do not go beyond this same verse, and secondarily from Philo of Carpasia, to whom the last fragment belongs. It is attested in codices that are quite recent and close to each other.

Particularly reliable when it comes to attributions are two so-called anonymous Catena. One, Cantabrigian-Bodleian, gives fragments of Nilus – of whose entire Commentary it is the sole witness –, Theodoret, Gregory of Nyssa and Origen. It is attested in the 11th-century (?) Cod. Cantabrigiensis, Trinity Coll. O. I. 54, of which the 16th-century Cod. Oxoniensis Bodleian Auct. gr. E. II. 8 (= Misc. gr. 36) is a copy, formerly attributed to type C by Faulhaber, to type E by K. - L. and intercalated between types A and C by Sović (see C 85 Geerard). The other Catena is attested in the 14th/15th-century Cod. Barberinianus gr. 388, ff. 130-162^v; it has a heavily Origenian basis; it stops at 8, 11 (f. 159), not at 7, 6 as Rahlfs supposed (237, Sig. 645) following Faulhaber and K. - L. Attributed by both of these to type C, it is in reality a reliable witness of the sub-archetype of Procopius' text and quite likely of the Procopian Epitome itself.

The Syriac Catena transmit fragments of the *Commentarii in Cant.* by John bar Aphthonia, who lived between the late 5th and early 6th centuries; the Catena of the monk Severus, compiled in 861, has fragments of Ephrem and Jacob of Edessa *Philoponos*.

An Ethiopic Catena, attested in the 17th-century Cod. London, British Library or. 743, ff. 21-29 (see C 87 Geerard) transmits a Commentary of very brief scholia, composed perhaps by Abuna Enbâqom (Habakkuk) in the second half of the 16th century; the exegesis is Christological and is drawn from patristic interpretations, through the Greek Catena, and from other autochthonous interpretations.

b) *Proverbs*. We distinguish two types and their one source, i.e. the Epitome of Procopius, which all depend on a lost Catena (or family of Catena) called by Richard "source C"; this might be identical with the original Catena of the sophist of Gaza. Procopius' ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομή (type B Faulhaber and Devreesse; II K. - L.; see C 91 Geerard) transmits mainly fragments of Origen, Didymus, Basil of Caesarea, Eusebius of Caesarea and Evagrius. In structure and title it is parallel to the Epitome of Procopius on *Song of Songs* and is transmitted almost in the same mss. It is unedited. The Catena of type I K. - L., Richard and Geerard (type C Faulhaber and Devreesse) was compiled by Polychronius the Deacon. It frequently cites Polychronius himself, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Origen and Didymus; to a lesser extent Olympiodorus, Evagrius and Hippolytus. Its codices and those of the Procopian Epitome attest two recensions. The Catena of type III K. - L., Richard and Geerard (type A Faulhaber and Devreesse) seemed to Devreesse, following Faulhaber, to be a source of the Epitome of Procopius. It is a medieval Catena of very poor quality, whose lemmas are often wrong. It cites Origen more than 330 times; to a lesser extent Chrysostom and Didymus, the latter mainly up to Prov 17 and on 24, probably from a complete commentary on the same book. From 24 on it gives nearly 150 fragments preceded by the lemma Προκοπίου: their authorship did not appear doubtful to Faulhaber for reasons of internal order; they have no conceptual or stylistic affinity with the Commentary mistakenly edited by Mai under the name of Procopius from the late and incorrect Cod. Vatican gr. 728. Some 356 scholia, brief and often paraphrasing the biblical text, have the lemma Σύ; they have a predilection for allegorical and moral interpretation with ascetic interest; they probably belong to an author who lived before Procopius, since they are also handed down in the Epitome, anonymously or under the lemma ἄλλος. Mai, who edited the Catena, doubtfully resolved the sigla into Συκοδίτου; but Sikydites, whom we know of as possible compiler of a Catena on the OT, could hardly be identified with Σύ or with the compiler of type III. Faulhaber resolved it into Συμεῶνος or, better, Συμμάξου; but the known Symmachus, who lived in the 5th century, presumed author of a commentary on the Song of Songs, does not appear to have commented on Proverbs. More convincing is the hypothesis of Leanza, that latent

in these sigla is the name of Evagrius, Εὐ. The Catena is attested in the 12th-century Cod. Vatican gr. 1802.

The 11th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin 193 (see C 93 Geerard), ff. 1-16^v gives fragments of Hippolytus, Didymus, Apollinaris of Laodicea and Isidore of Pelusium, taken from Richard's "source C". Codd. Venice, Marcianus gr. 23 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, gr. 174, 10th-11th century (type V K. - L.; see C 94 Geerard) have in common three "extracts of Catena": the fragments of the first extract come from Procopius; those of the second and third are nearly all from "source C".

c) *Ecclesiastes*. Six fundamental ones, four of them edited. The marked correspondences shown between the Commentary of Olympiodorus and the Catenae on Ecclesiastes by Procopius, the Barberiniana, that of Polychronius and the Hauniensis, are explained by supposing a common source, i.e. a previous catenary collection, which Faulhaber identified with the original Catena of Procopius. On the other hand the Catena of the three Fathers, mentioned above (type A Devreesse; see C 100 Geerard), seems to have an autonomous tradition; it transmits extracts from Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Thaumaturge (not the Theologian, as said in the *titulus*) and Maximus the Confessor; the exegesis, which for the Nyssan stops at 3, 13, is completed as far as 12, 14 in some codices.

The catenary commentary of Olympiodorus is halfway between the traditional commentary and the Catena (type D Devreesse; see C 103 Geerard). Dating from before 530, Géhin wrongly holds it to be an original commentary with multiple interpretations, all by the compiler himself. In reality it uses at first hand the interpretations of previous Fathers, mainly Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus of Alexandria, always cited anonymously, often introduced by the adverb ἄλλως or by expressions like πρὸς ῥητόν, πρὸς διάνοιαν, and alternating with others by Olympiodorus himself; the rare authorial lemmas that appear in the manuscript tradition represent sporadic identifications by learned amanuenses. Later, and confined to 1 - 4, 8, is the Catena of Procopius (type II K. - L.; B Devreesse; see C 101 Geerard). It transmits extracts from Gregory of Nyssa, Dionysius of Alexandria, Nilus of Ancyra, Origen (three: on 3, 3; 3, 7; 3, 16 f.), Evagrius of Pontus (two: on 2, 26 and 4, 4), Gregory the Thaumaturge (one, on 2, 12, wrongly attributed by Faulhaber to the Nyssan) and Didymus of Alexandria, of which the text does not correspond with the commentary discovered at Tura and, according to Leanza, could be exoteric while the Tura text, by Didymus, would be esoteric. All these authors except the Thaumaturge are cited in the 13th-century Cod.

Venice, Marcianus gr. 22, ff. 67^v-83. Here in the *titulus* the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς precedes their names: even that of Olympiodorus, which was mistakenly expunged by Faulhaber but which goes back to the archetype, since fragments of this author are attested in the other witness to the Catena, Cod. Vienna, National Library theol. gr. 147 (first half of 11th century). These two codices are the only ones to bear Procopius' name on the *inscriptio*; they are the true witnesses to the Catena. They cannot be associated with the 14th-century Cod. Athos, Iviron 676 (Athonite Catena) or with Cod. Vatican Barberinianus gr. 388, ff. 1-130 (Barberinian Catena: see C 104 Geerard), which Géhin holds to be direct witnesses of Procopius' Catena, but which show significant differences from it, pointed out by Leanza: the first has extra fragments; the second attests a Catena also dating from the first half of the 6th century but later than the Catena of Procopius. It often shows a dual redaction of the fragments, and it is impossible to identify the short redaction with the Catena of Procopius, as Géhin would do for Evagrius. The Barberinian Catena cites Evagrius, Origen and Didymus; once each Gregory the Thaumaturge, Nilus and Olympiodorus (respectively on 5, 1e-2b; 2, 24a-c; 6, 9b). After the 6th century it was used, together with the Catena of Procopius and the commentary of Olympiodorus, by Polychronius the Deacon in his Catena (type I K. - L.; C Devreesse; see C 102 Geerard): here are transmitted fragments of Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Thaumaturge and Olympiodorus; and often anonymous ones, some of which Géhin attributes to Evagrius. The codices, some 30 of them, are subdivided by Faulhaber into three families on the basis of the differences or similarities encountered at 1, 11-16.

Almost the whole text of Procopius' Catena is improved and in part recovered through the Catena Hauniensis, which cites it *ad verbum*, but in a more extensive redaction (see C 105 Geerard). It is of the 6th century; it does not contaminate nor does it mix the exegesis of different authors; it does not summarize their thought; it attests scholia mainly of Dionysius of Alexandria, but also of Origen, Didymus and Nilus of Ancyra. It takes its name from its earliest witness, the 10th-century Cod. Hauniensis GKS 6, ff. 126-142^v, and was identified by Labate, who also gave notice of other Catenae. Among these is the Atheniensis, attested in the 13th-century Cod. Athens Ἱστορικὴ καὶ Ἐθνολογικὴ Ἐταιρεία 200, with lemmas, often not reliable, of Gregory of Nyssa, Olympiodorus and Didymus, and anonymous fragments of Gregory of Agrigento. Separate mention is deserved by an anonymous catenary collection preserved in Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin 193, named *Collectio Coisliniana* by its editor, Géhin, who thought to recognize in it Evagrius' lost Commentary on Ecclesiastes. But, partly on the basis of a correct interpretation of the lemma ἄλλος that recurs at intervals,

Leanza has dismissed the view that it is a purely anthological collection of scholia by a single author, while not ruling out that it may contain Evagriean material.

Editions: A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914, 415-420: codd.

Song of Songs: Recension B¹: A. Mai, PG 87/2, 1756-1780; from 6, 9 on. Recension B²: Fronton du Duc, PG 122, 537-685. Epitome of Procopius: A. Mai, PG 87/2, 1545-1754. Types D and E: J. Van Meurs, *Eusebii, Polychronii, Pselli in Canticum canticorum expositiones graece*, Lugduni Batavorum 1617. Further, with bibliography, S. Lucà, "La fine inedita del commento di Nilo d'Ancira al Cantico dei Cantici", *Aug* 22 (1982) 365-403; M.-G. Guérard, *Nil d'Ancyre, Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, 1, SCh 403, 1994, up to 4, *Ide*.

Proverbs: Epitome of Procopius, partial Latin tr.: B. Cordier, PG 87/2, 1779-1880. Type III: A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VII, 2, Romae 1854, 1-81; M. Richard, "Le commentaire du codex Marcianus gr. 23 sur Prov. XXX, 15-33", *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, Padua 1974, 357-370 (now in *Idem, Opera minora* 3, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 84). Pseudo-Procopius: A. Mai, PG 87/1, 1221-1544.

Ecclesiastes: A. Labate, *Catena Hauriensis in Ecclesiasten in qua saepe exegesis servatur Dionysii Alexandrini*, CCG 24, 1992 (with bibliography); S. Leanza, *L'esegesi di Origene al libro dell'Ecclesiaste*, Reggio Calabria 1975, 13-20; *Idem, Procopii Gazaevi Catena in Ecclesiasten*, CCG 4, 1978; *Idem, Un nuovo testimone della Catena sull'Ecclesiaste di Procopio di Gaza, il cod. Vindob. Theol. Gr. 147*, CCG 4, Supplementum, 1983; S. Lucà, *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten commentarius qui dicitur Catena trium Patrum*, CCG 11, 1983. Olympiodorus: Fronton du Duc, PG 93, 477-628.

Studies: R. Devresse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1158-1161 ("Cantique"), 1161 ff. ("Sur les Proverbes"), 1163 f. ("à l'Ecclesiaste"); M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-Proverbien- und Prediger-Katenen*, Vienna 1902 (further the study begun by E. Bratke and H. Achelis); M. Geerard, "Catenae in Canticum canticorum", *CPG* 4, pp. 222 ff., 225 f. ("in Proverbia"), 227 f. ("in Ecclesiasten"); G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 80-87 ("Catenae in Canticum"), 67-78 ("in Proverbia"), 78 ff. ("in Ecclesiasten").

Song of Songs: M.A. Barbàra, "Progetto di edizione critica dei frammenti di Origene sul Cantico. Spoglio delle Catene e stato delle ricerche", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 10 (1993) 446-450, with bibliography; H. Langerbeck, *Gregorii Nysseni In Canticum canticorum*, Leyden 1960, Praefatio, LII, LXIV f.; S. Leanza, "L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello sul Cantico dei cantici", *La poesia bizantina. Atti della terza Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Macerata, 11-12 maggio 1993)*, ed. U. Criscuolo and R. Maisano, Naples 1995, 146-150; *Idem*, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria", *Aug* 37 (1997) 33 f.; H.U. Rosenbaum, "Der Hoheliedkommentar des Nilus von Ancyra, Ms. Ogden 30 und die Katenenüberlieferung", *ZKG* 91 (1980) 187-206, with bibliography; M. Simonetti, "Didymiana", *VelChr* 21 (1984) 129 f.

Proverbs: J. Frickel, "Zu Hippolyts Kommentar zu den Proverbien", *Lecturae cristiane dei Libri Sapientiali. XX Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, 9-11 maggio 1991*, Rome 1992, 179-182; P. Géhin, "Un recueil d'extraits patristiques: les *Miscellanea Coisliniana* (Parisinus Coislinianus 193 et Sinaiticus gr. 461)", *RHT* 22 (1992) 89-130: 96; S. Leanza, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria", *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, Napoli, 16-18 ottobre 1987, ed. A. Garzya, Naples 1989, 253, 256,

n. 28; *Idem*, "La letteratura esegetica..." cit., 26 f.; M. Richard, "Les fragments d'Origène sur Prov. XXX, 15-31", *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou*, Paris 1972, 385 (now in *Idem, Opera minora*, 2, Turnhout-Leuven 1977, no. 23, with bibliography).

Ecclesiastes: S. Leanza, "A proposito di una recente edizione del presunto 'Commentario all'Ecclesiaste' di Evagrio Pontico", *RSLR* 33 (1997) 364-398 (on P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique, Scholies à l'Écclesiaste*, SCh 397, Paris 1993); F. Vinel, "Que reste-t-il des Homélie sur l'Écclesiaste de Grégoire de Nysse dans les Chaînes sur l'Écclesiaste?", *SP* 32 (1997) 220-225.

JOB

The Catenae are formed essentially of extracts belonging to the three authors whose complete continuous exegesis has come down to us in Greek: Olympiodorus, whose *Commentarii in Iob* form the nucleus of Catena Γ; John Chrysostom, represented mainly by the *Commentarius in Iob*, but also by other works (*Ad populum Antiochenum hom. 5; Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt; Epistulae ad Olympiadem; Expositiones in Psalmos; In Matth. hom. 33; In epistulam I Cor hom. 28*); and Julian, a 4th-century Arian, to whom should be ascribed the *Commentarius in Iob* attributed in the past to Julian of Halicarnassus. The Catenae also transmit fragments of Didymus of Alexandria, from the *Commentarius in Iob* which was perhaps never completed or, more probably, was only partly accessible even in antiquity; indeed the extracts, on 1 - 16, 8a, correspond to the *Commentarius* discovered at Tura, which does not seem to have gone beyond 16, 8a. For four fragments, different sources are expressly indicated: ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστήῃ and ἐν Παροιμίαις, i.e. the commentaries also indicated by other Catenae; ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς, of whose existence we learn only here. To a lesser extent, other authors are also represented: Severian of Gabala, whose fragments are taken from his *In Iob Sermones* 1-4 now restored to him; Cyril of Alexandria (three fr.: on 3, 8; 34, 7; 38, 31b), Clement of Alexandria (one on 1, 21), Eusebius of Caesarea (one on 40, 19), Nilus of Ancyra (one on 4, 11); Dionysius the Areopagite, and the three Cappadocians cited through florilegia.

The sources of other fragments are lost. Of these, many anonymous ones should be attributed to Polychronius of Apamea, when they correspond to the Latin *Expositio libri Iob* commonly claimed for Julian of Eclanum, which used it as a source; and when they contain references, typical of the Apamean, to the original Hebrew through a translation called ὁ Ἑβραῖος. In this way U. and D. Hagedorn, the present editors of the Catenae on *Iob*, have also restored to Theodore of Mopsuestia's brother ten fragments handed down under the name of Didymus but not corresponding to the Tura commentaries, and another 23 (on

2, 1 - 3, 26) handed down under the name of Ἀπολινάριος by an easy exchange of the two authors' names. Many other fragments of Origen's lost *Homiliae in Iob* have come down under his name: according to U. and D. Hagedorn, they do not correspond to the Latin in Hilary of Poitiers' *Tractatus in Iob*, which is commonly considered no more than a translation of the Alexandrian; useful, nevertheless, could be a comparison with the *Expositio in Iob* by the priest Philip, which certainly contains Origenian material. Other fragments, little less than 30, belong to Methodius; others to Evagrius, Severus of Antioch and Hesychius of Jerusalem; two to Theophilus of Alexandria, on 2, 9 and 38, 17; one to Theodore of Mopsuestia, on 1, 6.

Lietzmann's initial classification, which distinguished the mss. into two types and is generally accepted by subsequent scholars, is improved by U. and D. Hagedorn. They identify two "Vorläuferkatenen", α and β: α is still recognizable in some mss., especially in Munich, State Library gr. 148 (13th century); β is represented today by numerous witnesses of a rich 10th-century "Γ-Redaktion", subdivided into families. The starting-point is Lietzmann's hypothesis that among the 60 or so mss. we must first of all distinguish the earliest ones, i.e. the "Randkatenen": Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Santa Croce 36, and Patmos gr. 171, which are to be assigned to the 8th century and should attest the original structure of the Catenae on *Iob*. The "Textkatenen" appear in the Γ tradition for the first time in the 10th century, until in the 15th century the marginal type of Catena disappears altogether. The *terminus post quem* of the precursor Catena α is fixed by the date of compilation of the latest works used by it: Olympiodorus' *Commentarii in Iob*, composed in the first half of the 6th century, and Severus of Antioch's *Contra additiones Iuliani*, to be put between 522 and 538. Moreover, since the two earliest mss. belong to catenary types that represent modifications of the precursor Catena α, we may suppose that this was formed in the 6th century and modified soon afterwards. As for the Γ tradition, an amplification of its exegetical material is attested in the 12th-century Cod. Vatican Library Pius II gr. 1 (type I K. - L.; for Bertini, an intermediate type between I and II), which has characteristics of its own: around the foot, which consists of Chrysostom's *Commentarius*, are added other extracts: mainly of Olympiodorus; to a lesser extent, of Athanasius and Isidore of Pelusium; one each of Adrian, Basil of Seleucia, Cyril of Jerusalem and Gregory the Thaumaturge (respectively on 1, 11; 38, 7; 42, 6; 3, 16). The most profound and important elaboration of the Γ tradition is represented by the Catena handed down in some mss. under the name of Nicetas, metropolitan of Heraclea. Marked as type II in the Karo-Lietzmann *Catalogus*, it is attested in the 23 codices listed there and in some others added by U. and D. Hagedorn, who

however do not pronounce on the relations between the witnesses and wish for a separate detailed analysis of them. Using redaction Γ as a basis, Nicetas adds to it fragments partly taken from an earlier catenary tradition often identifiable as the two precursor Catenae α and β: the shorter extracts are grouped together so as to form a larger whole, while the longer ones are dextrously braided together so as always to safeguard expositive coherence despite their heterogeneous origin. Other fragments added by Nicetas are lacking in the other Catenae on *Iob*; they are taken from works of Cyril of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium and Nilus of Ancyra, as well as Dionysius of Alexandria and Ephrem. Still others are taken from an "unknown source" or belong to possible other authors as yet not identified.

The lemmas of the first edition, brought out by Young in 1637, have little credibility, even by comparison with a Latin translation edited some time earlier by Comitoli. There is no basis to the information Comitoli and Young provide, on the basis of different mss., as to the name of the compiler: Comitoli names Olympiodorus, though the latter did not compile Catenae, but wrote commentaries; Young names Nicetas of Heraclea, who revised and made additions.

The Greek Catenae were the inspiration for Yovhannēs Vanakan (1181-1251), a religious of the Armenian monastery of Getik', who compiled the Armenian Catena, attested by more than 50 codices.

Editions: P. Iunius (Young), *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Beatum Job*, collectore Niceta Heracleae metropolita... graece nunc primum in lucem edita et latine versa, Londini 1637. Latin tr.: P. Comitoli, Lugduni 1585; U. and D. Hagedorn, *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob*, I, PTS 40, 1994, on 1, 1 - 8, 2; II, PTS 48, 1997, on 9, 1 - 22, 30. Codd.: A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914, 415-420.

Didymus: P. Young, PG 39, 1120-1153. *Commentarii* discovered at Tura, with German version, on 1-4: A. Henrichs, *Didymos der Blinde, Kommentar zu Hiob [Tura Papyrus]*, 1, PTA 1, 1968 (cf. *ibid.*, Einleitung, 14 f.); on 5, 1 - 6, 29: *Idem*, 2, PTA 2, 1968; on 7, 20c - 11: U. and D. Hagedorn, L. Koenen, *Didymos...* cit., 3, PTA 3, 1968; on 12, 1 - 16, 8a: *Idem*, 4/1, PTA 33/1, 1985. Armenian exegesis: C. Renoux, "La Chaîne arménienne sur le livre de Job", *Le Livre de Job chez les Pères*, Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 5, Strasbourg 1996, 141-161 (French tr., with bibliography).

Studies: M. Aubineau, "Sévère d'Antioche, Homélie cathédrale XXIV, In Ascensionem. Un fragment syriaque identifié (CPG 7037) et deux fragments grecs retrouvés", *RSLR* 24 (1988) 81-92; U. Bertini, "La catena greca in Giobbe", *Biblica* 4 (1923) 129-142: 131 (gives a disputable interpretation of the frequent lemma ἄλλος and ἄλλως), 140 ff. (Cod. Vatican Pius II gr. 1); M.P. Ciccarese, "Sulle orme di Gerolamo. La 'Expositio in Iob' del presbytero Filippo", *Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo. Atti del convegno di studi, Trento, 6-7 dicembre 1995*, ed. C. Moreschini, G. Menestrina, Brescia 1997, 258 n. 50, 267 f.; R. Devreesse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1140-1145; P. Éviex, *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres*, 1, *Lettres 1214-1413*, SCh 422, 1997, 158 (Introduction: fr. on 3, 23; 38, 28; 39, 12);

M. Geerard, "Catenae in Iob", CPG 4, 213 ff.; D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*, PTS 14, 1973, xxvii ff. (Einleitung); U. and D. Hagedorn, *Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria, Kommentar zu Hiob*, PTS 24, 1984, xix-xxxv (Einleitung); Idem, *Johannes Chrysostomos, Kommentar zu Hiob*, PTS 35, 1990, xxvii-xxxvi (Einleitung); G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 87-99 ("Catenae in Iob"; 87-94, 94-99: respectively I type, 29 codd., distinguished into seven families; and II type, 23, which "per familias describere non audeo"); S. Leanza, "Wisdom Books", *EEC* 2 (1992) 878-881: 878 f.; Idem, "Pour une réédition des scolies à l'Ecclésiaste de Denys d'Alexandrie", *Ἀλεξανδρίνα. Mélanges offerts à Cl. Mondésert*, Paris 1987, 239 (fr. edited in the past among the remains of Dionysius of Alexandria, but which do not belong to him); I. Lietzmann, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung*, Freiburg i.Br., Leipzig, Tübingen 1897, 22 f., 65-70.

PROPHETS

The primary study is that of M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften*, Freiburg i. Br. 1899.

a) *Minor prophets*. Two fundamental types. The Catena of Philotheus (type I K. - L.) was compiled perhaps between the second half of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th. Its *terminus post quem* has been fixed on the basis of the authorial lemmas and the prologue, which respectively confer on Theodoret the attribute τοῦ μακαρίου and the title of "saint", honours that were revoked after his condemnation by the Council of Constantinople in 553. Type I would thus be one of the earliest examples of Catenae, if not absolutely the first. But Faulhaber's arguments did not seem convincing to Zuntz, who put the Catena's origin around the 8th century. The Philotheus named in the prologue, "Philotheus, nourished with the study of the (holy) Scriptures", is most likely the Catena's compiler and not a late copyist of it. Of him we know nothing more. To attempt an identification, the first fairly well-known writer of this name to deserve our attention would be the monk of the Mother of God of the Burning Bush, in Sinai, who lived before Symeon the New Theologian. Our Catena is based on two authors, whose commentaries on the minor prophets have come down to us: Theodoret's continuous commentary, and Hesychius of Jerusalem's scholiastic one. Their exegesis is arranged differently in the Vatican Library Codd. Chigianus R. VIII. 54 (10th century) and Ottobonianus gr. 452 (11th century), which are the preferred witnesses of the two families identified in the manuscript tradition: the Chigianus attests the two Fathers' commentaries concomitantly but separately, rather than being a true Catena. Type I, though commonly considered a "two-author" type, also transmits some fragments of two more Fathers, whose continuous commentary on the minor prophets we possess: Cyril and

Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore's name is deformed into Θεόδοτος in the single fragment cited, on Hos 2, 16, taken from the *Commentarii in XII prophetas*. In some codices the fragments of Theodoret and Hesychius are integrated into Theophylact of Achrida's *Expositio in Os, Hab, Ion, Nah, Mich*. In the 11th-century Cod. Vatican gr. 347, the Catena has only a single author, Hesychius: Duval's "type III".

The original source of the other Catena (type II K. - L.) is Theodoret's *Commentarii in XII prophetas*, subsequently supplemented with marginal scholia by other authors: Hypatius of Ephesus, whose 95 fragments concern all the minor prophets and are taken from a *Commentarius* on each prophet; Gennadius of Constantinople, two fragments on Jonah 3 taken from one of the many homilies attributed to him by Gennadius of Marseille (*vir ill.* 90); Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, has two; Gregory Nazianzen has one taken from *Oratio* II, 106 and 109. The Catena is attested in Codd. Florence, Laurentianus Plut. XI. 22 (dated 1285) and Vatican gr. 582 (13th century). Moreover Cod. Turin, National Library B. I. 2 transmits fragments of Cyril, Theodoret and other authors still to be identified. The Syriac Catena attested in Cod. Vatican syr. 103 contains exegesis on Joel ascribed to Ephrem the Syrian: but the sources and authenticity of the fragments are not reliable.

b) *Major prophets*. The compiler is John Drungarius, 7th/8th-century author of the prologues: on Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel he has revised an original Catena, while on Daniel he has composed it for the first time.

Isaiah. Three types are distinguished. The Epitome of Procopius, compiled by the sophist of Gaza, transmits fragments of unnamed authors (Catena of type B Faulhaber); it directly uses the commentaries of the Fathers and is independent of John Drungarius' Catena (type A Faulhaber; I-IV K. - L.). The latter contains some 4200 fragments, mainly by Cyril of Alexandria, taken from the *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*, the *Commentarii in Lucam, in Matthaem, in Iohannem* and the *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*; to a lesser extent, scholia by the four other great commentators on Is, i.e. Basil of Caesarea and Theodore of Heraclea, who with Eusebius of Caesarea and Theodoret of Cyrrihus perhaps represent a first stage of the Catena; the extracts of Severus of Antioch were probably added later. Other citations are also rare: a very brief one of Abbot Apollo, no better identified, on 42, 3; of Josephus Flavius, on 45, 1; of Irenaeus, on 42, 5, from *Adversus haereses* V, 12, 2. Sometimes, when several fragments of the same work by an exegete occur on the same verse, each one is preceded by the authorial lemma (τοῦ Βασιλείου or Εὐσεβίου) and not by a καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα or a τοῦ αὐτοῦ. This has led to the hypothesis that our Catena was compiled in two stages and is a modification, by Drungarius (the second redactor),

of a previous Catena. The latter is identified by Faulhaber with the Catena of the presbyter Andrew (type C), so called from the name of the compiler (or copyist) read in some mss.; he would be later than Maximus the Confessor († 662) who is cited in it, originally at greater length than as it survives. But in reality Andrew's Catena is only one of the many exemplars in which Drungarius' Catena is reproduced. Among these must be counted a constantly abridged redaction, the Catena of Nicetas of Heraclea (type IV K. - L.) according to the attribution of the prologue handed down by the 11th-century Cod. Florence, Laurentianus Plut. V. 9. The other preferred Catena, limited to Is 1-16, was compiled by Nicholas IV Muzalon (type V K. - L.), archbishop of Cyprus, patriarch of Constantinople in 1147-1151 († 1154). The earliest codex to attest it is the 12th-century Cod. Florence, Laurentianus Plut. V. 8. Unrelated to any of the above Greek Catenae is the Armenian Catena attested in ms. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatensis 2150, written in Poland in 1565 by a priest, Gregory.

Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations. The most consulted sources are Olympiodorus' *Commentarii in Ieremiam, in Ieremiae epistolam, in Baruch* and *in Lamentationes*. More than 100 citations of him occur in the Catena on Baruch, against infrequent ones of Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria (not, as Devreesse says, of Jerusalem) and Severus (respectively on 3, 38; 3, 3; 3, 36 ff.). In the Catena on Lamentations nearly 300 fragments belong to Olympiodorus, against a hundred or so of Origen and a few infrequent ones of other authors. For Jeremiah, there are two Catenae: a small one, on Jer 1-4 (type A Faulhaber; cf. G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, 113); and a large one, by John Drungarius (type B Faulhaber; I-II K. - L.). The former, of two authors, transmits only extracts of Theodoret and a Pseudo-Chrysostomic commentary; it is attested in the 15th-century ms. Vatican gr. 675, model for the 16th-century Vatican gr. 1204. The large one draws copiously on Olympiodorus, of whom it transmits more than 800 fragments, but also on the perhaps incomplete commentary of John Chrysostom, to whom it attributes more than 760 fragments, which are largely authentic and wholly different from those ascribed to him in the small Catena. To a lesser extent it contains fragments of Theodoret of Cyrillus, identical to those of type I; Cyril of Alexandria, often preceded by an indication of the source (*De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate; Explanatio in Psalmos; Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam; Commentarii in Matthaeum, in Lucam, in Iohannem*); Victor of Antioch; Origen; Apollinaris; Severus of Antioch; Eusebius of Caesarea; Gregory the Thaumaturge; rarely Theophilus of Alexandria (on 2, 36 and 3, 2, 4); and one each of Hippolytus (on 17, 11, from *De Antichristo*, 54 f.) and Isidore of Pelusium (on 2, 18). Eight fragments are preceded by

the lemma Πολυχρονίου, but their exegetical content is too allegorical for them possibly to belong to Theodore of Mopsuestia's brother, the bishop of Apamea; they should rather be attributed to a homonym, perhaps Polychronius the Deacon, known as compiler of the type-D Catena on the Song of Songs. To Polychronius of Apamea should be attributed the fragments lemmatized in our Catena ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου, as well as another 18 preceded by the same lemma in the Catena on Lamentations; while most of the 46 fragments ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου in the Catena on Baruch would belong to Theodoret. This hypothesis advanced by Faulhaber is unsustainable according to Dieu, who has instead endeavoured to claim for the Apamean the commentary on Jeremiah handed down in the small Catena under the name of Chrysostom, but manifestly spurious and completely different from that of the Πολυχρονίου and ἐξ ἀνεπιγράφου fragments of the large Catena on the same book. The large Catena, whose preferred witnesses are the Vatican Library codices Chigianus R. VIII. 54 and Ottobonianus gr. 452, respectively 10th and 11th century, was edited by Ghisleri. Into it, however, the Theatine intercalated the fragments of the small Catena ascribed to Chrysostom, marking them with an asterisk. On top of this, when the edition was already in the press, he discovered in the library of the Duke of Altemps a late, incorrect ms., the 16th-century Vatican Ottobonianus gr. 7, whose text at ff. 1-49 corresponded to the fragments attributed to Chrysostom in the small Catena. Any doubts he might have had as to the latter's authenticity vanished; and from the Altempsonian ms. he added fragments on 8 ff., 20-52 and other new ones on 1-6 and 11-19, publishing them at the end of his edition: motivated in this partly by the fact that the already-edited text on 1-4 according to the small Catena contained some omissions. The final result of this procedure was not a Catena in the proper sense, but a series of explanations according to the literal, mystical and moral sense. The situation was aggravated in the *Supplementum* provided by Migne: an "almost unusable" edition, in which the passages from the Altempsonian ms., which Ghisleri had taken care to keep separate, were mixed with the others coming from the small and large Catenae; and not a few asterisks and important passages were forgotten. As for the fragments attributed to Chrysostom, already considered inauthentic by the Saint's first editor, Savile (1612), disregarded as "quisquilliae" or "sweepings" (PG 56, 153 f.) by Montfaucon in his re-edition of Chrysostom (1718-1738) and then by Fix in his printing (1834-1839), we have already said that they appeared to Dieu worthy of belonging to an important exegete such as Polychronius of Apamea; and interesting information on them, partly going back to rabbis, was found by Mercati, who studied them and hoped to see a separate edition of them.

Ezekiel. Just one, by John Drungarius (type I K. - L.). It consists essentially of extracts of Theodoret, whose *Commentarius in Ezechielem* is abridged by cutting; Polychronius of Apamea; Origen; to a lesser degree Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea (on 32, 2 and 43, 13), Basil of Caesarea (on 1, 27) and Gregory of Nyssa (on 37, 4). In the prologue John Drungarius claims to have taken the fragments from the three authors chiefly represented, whom he calls "heretics", and from the commentaries of the holy Fathers; also to have used marginal annotations, which he found in a previous Catena and lemmatized with ἄλλος since they were not attributed to any author. There are more than 233 of these, distributed throughout the Catena; they are correlated with each other by internal references, e.g. with a ὡς ἔφαμεν; they belong to a single exegete from the Antiochene area with a good knowledge of archaeology, geography, history, ethnography and languages; they are akin to the fragments of Polychronius characterized by chronological expositions and often seem to form part of them: they fill the lacuna hinted at by a καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα of a scholium of Polychronius, or they become more rare where those of Polychronius are more numerous. So it is a credible hypothesis that the majority of the fragments preceded by the lemma ἄλλος belong to the bishop of Apamea. They could come from a primitive Catena formed around his *Commentarii* (or better *Scholia*) on Ezekiel, or a marginal Catena consisting of these and the extracts of ἀνεπίγραφος/Polychronius on Jeremiah and Lamentations and those of Theodoret on Baruch. Another hypothesis advanced by Faulhaber needs to be verified by a hoped-for general study of Polychronius' activity: whether the exegete himself compiled the original Catena consulted by Drungarius and made particular use of his own explanations.

To the codices indicated by Faulhaber, Karo - Lietzmann have added four more, including the 11th-century Cod. Florence, Laurentianus Plut. XI. 4 (type II), with Catenae on Isaiah to Daniel arranged in a circle around the text of the twelve minor prophets. It contains glosses on Ezekiel attributed to Hesychius, to whom they actually belong for reasons of internal and external criticism; they come from the direct tradition, in which they were kept up until the 11th century, when the manuscript was copied.

Daniel. Just one, by John Drungarius (type I K. - L.), which faithfully reproduces the sources used. Three sections are distinguished: on Susanna (ὄρασις α'); on Dan 1-12 (ὄρασις β' - ια'); on Bel and the dragon (ὄρασις ιβ'). On Susanna, the Catena gives just under 40 fragments of Hippolytus and still fewer of Ammonius of Alexandria and Chrysostom; on Bel and the dragon, some ten extracts of Ammonius and infrequent ones of Polychronius, Chrysostom and Severus of Antioch. More

numerous are the fragments on Dan 1-12, of which some 500 are taken from Polychronius of Apamea's *Commentarii in Danielelem*. To a lesser extent, they come from various works of Chrysostom, as well as the *Interpretatio in Danielelem* of doubtful authenticity; and from Hippolytus' *Commentarius in Danielelem*; perhaps from now lost commentaries on Dan by Apollinaris of Laodicea and Eusebius of Caesarea. There are infrequent fragments of Cyril of Alexandria, three of them edited, on 5, 2 and on 7, 10, 13; of Basil of Caesarea, on 3, 49 and 7, 10; of Origen, on 1, 8 and 4, 25; of Didymus of Alexandria, on 2, 34; of Hesychius of Jerusalem, on 2, 34 and 6, 23; of Athanasius of Alexandria, on 4, 14; of Victor of Antioch, on 2, 45; also present in this section, with a fragment on 9, 24 taken from a citation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Demonstratio evangelica*, is Julius Africanus, whose *Epistula ad Origenem*, together with the *Epistula* replying to Origen's *ad Iulium Africanum*, precedes the section on Susanna in the Catena. More than 100 fragments handed down anonymously or preceded by the lemma ἄλλος give a literal exegesis, but do not seem to be drawn from any one commentary or author; in part they are explanatory notes, perhaps added by the compiler of the Catena.

To the codices indicated by Faulhaber, Karo - Lietzmann have added Laurentianus Plut. XI. 4 and V. 9, both 11th century (type II). Richard has given notice of an Armenian Catena brought to his attention by Dom B. Outtier: composed with the commentaries of Hippolytus, Ephrem and Stephen of Siunia, edited at Constantinople in 1826, it encouraged hope, if compared with the Greek text of Hippolytus' *Commentarium in Danielelem*, of a visible improvement in the latter.

Editions: A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1914, 428 ff.: codd.

Minor prophets: I.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 3, Oxonii 1838 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 35, 37 f., 124 (Nicholas of Anycra); F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik*, Rome 1938, 130-151 (Hypatius); Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*, Paris 1973, 625-644 (Hesychius of Jerusalem), 651 f. (Gennadius of Constantinople), 657-662 (Hypatius); cf. *ibid.* 376, n. 4, and 452, n. 54; M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften*, Freiburg i.Br. 1899, 26 f. (prologue of type I) and 21-26, 32 f. (Hesychius, respectively on Obad vv. 1-21 and Zach 14, 20 ff.); *Idem*, *Hesychii Hierosolymitani Interpretatio Isaiae prophetae*, Freiburg i.Br. 1900, Prolegomena, ix f. (Hesychius on Hos 1, 1-11); M. Geerard, CPG 6557 (Κεφάλαια, attributed by Faulhaber to Hesychius); M. Stark, "Hesychius von Jerusalem, Scholien zum Propheten Joel", *JhAC* 37 (1994) 37-44.

Major prophets: Prologues of John Drungarius' Catenae on Is - Dan: M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen...* cit., 192-196. On Is: B. de Montfaucon, PG 24. 81. On Is - Ezek: E. Klostermann, *Die Überlieferung der Jeremiahomilien des Origenes*, Leipzig 1897, 34-37.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

Isaiah: Epitome of Procopius: J. Curterius, PG 87/2, 1817-2717; codd.: A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichniss...* cit., 433. Prologue of the Catena of Nicholas IV Muzalon: A.M. Bandini, PG 106, 1059-1062.

Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations: M. Ghislerii Romani in *Jeremiam prophetam Commentarii*, 1, in *Ier. 1-10*; 2, in *Ier. 11-52*; 3, in *Lamentationes et in Baruch*, Lugduni 1623.

Jeremiah: M. Ghisleri, PG 64, 740-1037: compilation of fragments by various exegetes. Daniel: A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, I/2, 1825, 161-221 (partial); *ibid.*, I/3, 1825. 1831, 27-56 (from the latter are taken the fragments of PG, distributed according to each author); J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, 2, Typis Tusculanis 1884, 253-268 (on Susanna).

Studies: R. Devreese, "Châines...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1146 f. ("Les petits Prophètes"), 1147-1158 ("Isaïe - Daniel"); M. Faulhaber, "Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken", *BiZ* 1 (1903) 361-367; M. Geerard, "Catenae in Prophetas minores", *CPG* 4, 215 f.; "in Isaiam", 216 ff.; "in Ieremiam", 218 f.; "in Ezechielem", 220; "in Danielelem", 220 ff.; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 99-102 ("Catenae in XII Prophetas"); 102-110 ("in Isaiam"), 111-114 ("in Ieremiam Baruch Threnos"), 114 ff. ("in Ezechielem"), 116 ff. (in Danielelem").

Minor prophets: G. Dorival, *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 1, Leuven 1986, I, 32, 34, 109 f.; S. Leanza, "Uno scoliaste del V secolo: Esichio di Gerusalemme", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 8 (1991) 519-533: 525-533; M. Stark, "Joel", *RLAC* 18 (1997) 397, 399; G. Zuntz, "Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri", *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 545-614: 576 f. (now in *Idem*, "Die Aristophanes-Scholien", Berlin 1975², 88-107).

Isaiah: G. Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux Chaînes", *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondésert, Paris 1984, 361-383: 368-375.

Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations: L. Dieu, "Le commentaire sur Jérémie du Pseudo-Chrysostome serait-il l'oeuvre de Polychronius d'Apamée?", *RHE* 14 (1913) 685-701; G. Mercati, *Alla ricerca dei nomi degli "altri" traduttori nelle omelie sui Salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune Catene del Salterio*, Vatican City 1952, 135-146; D.R. Miller, "Found: A Folio of the Lost Full Commentary of John Chrysostom on Jeremiah", *HSPH* 94 (1992) 379-385, with bibliography.

Ezekiel: L. Vianès, "Les Gloses sur Ezéchiél d'Hésychius de Jérusalem dans le Laurentianus Pluteus XI. 4", *REAug* 41 (1995) 315-323.

Daniel: M. Richard, "Les difficultés d'une édition des oeuvres de S. Hippolyte", *SP* 12 (1975) 56 (now in *Idem*, *Opera minora*, 1, Turnhout-Leuven 1976, no. 11).

Prophetologion: The 11th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin 193, ff. 40^v-64^r, 65-66, hands down an exegetical Catena, or perhaps a curious miscellaneous collection of patristic extracts, not on a particular biblical book but on liturgical readings during Lent: especially on Gen, Prov, Is, but also on other Prophets, Ex and Job. This document, unique in its kind, could be the copy of the marginal notes written on his *Prophetologion* by a monk with access to an admirable library. Its sources are: John Chrysostom's exegesis on Genesis; a two-author exegetical Catena (Hippolytus and Chrysostom) on Proverbs, the same used by catenary types I and II on the same book; a Catena on Job. Occasionally cited are: Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Nicephorus of Constantinople, Olympiodorus.

Studies: P. Géhin, "Un recueil d'extraits patristiques: les Miscellanea Coisliniana (Parisinus Coislinianus 193 et Sinaiticus gr. 461)", *RHT* 22 (1992) 89-130: 98 ff., 113-129.

1. Gospels

The date of composition is disputable, put in the early 6th century for Luke by J. Sickenberger (*Titus von Bostra. Studien zu dessen Lukas-homilien*, Leipzig 1901) and for Matthew, Mark and John by J. Reuss (*Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Münster i.W. 1941).

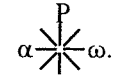
Matthew. Four fundamental types. Type A Reuss and Geerard comprises four Catenae: the first consists mainly of extracts of Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Matthaëum*, but also of Isidore of Pelusium, Cyril of Alexandria and the monk Theodore; the augmented first is enriched by fragments of Photius, Basil, Athanasius, Origen, Maximus and Gregory Nazianzen; the abridged first, compiled at the time of Leo Patricius, who is given as the epitomizer in some late mss. and lived under the emperor Leo VI Σοφός (886-911), comprises numerous mostly anonymous fragments attributable to Chrysostom; the integral, composed early in the 8th century on the basis of the first Catena, hands down fragments of various authors, among them Severus, Theodore of Heraclea and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Around the 10th century six classes of Catenae were formed from the first Catena of type B Reuss and Geerard, attributed to Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea. He, compiler of two more catenary commentaries without authorial lemmas, today represented by the Catenae of type B on Luke and of type first B on John, should probably not be identified with the Peter of Laodicea indicated in late mss. as author of commentaries on Matthew, Luke and John. Predating 1080 is the Catena of type C Reuss and Geerard (IV K. - L.) compiled by Nicetas, metropolitan of Heraclea in Thrace, the last great catenist, with numerous fragments generally preceded by trustworthy lemmas, taken mainly from Chrysostom. This author is also copiously drawn on by the Catena of type D Reuss and Geerard (III K. - L.), composed in the 11th century and attested in the 13th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, gr. 194. Extracts are also provided by the Catenae attested in the following codd.: Athos, Lavra B. 113, 11th century (type E Geerard); Vatican gr. 349 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. gr. 1225, both 11th-century; Rome, Biblioteca dei Lincei A. 300, 12th-13th century. Particularly useful is the Catena of Macarius Chrysocephalus, metropolitan of Philadelphia in 1336-1382, which in λόγοι 14-15 (on 17, 1-9 and 25, 31-46) draws not just on the earlier Catenae, but also on other sources (type V K. - L.). The Coptic Catena called that of Robert Curzon is a translation from a Greek Catena, or rather from a dogmatic florilegium, and was in turn translated into Arabic in a Monophysite monastery in Egypt early in the

13th century. Both Catena, Coptic and Arabic, have no correspondence with any of the known Catena.

Mark. Extracts are transmitted by the *Commentarii in Marcum* attributed to Victor of Antioch, of which two recensions are distinguished. The fragments come mainly from Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Matthaem*, Origen's *Commentarii in Matthaem* and in *Iohannem*, the *homiliae* devoted to Luke by Cyril of Alexandria, and Titus of Bostra's *Commentarii in Lucam*. Some belong to Basil of Caesarea on 9, 50, to Gregory of Nyssa on 15, 29-32, to Ambrose and Augustine, translated into Greek, on 14, 34, also handed down in an autonomous Catena attested in the 13th-century Cod. Vatican gr. 1692. Some 180 extracts are handed down in Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale gr. 194, but few in other autonomous compilations attested in the Roman Codd. Palatinus gr. 220 (10th century), Vatican gr. 349 and Biblioteca dei Lincei A. 300.

Luke. Following Reuss, five fundamental types are distinguished, the earliest of them being type A, transmitted under the name of one Pseudo-Titus of Bostra (type c Sickenberger; I K. - L.; A-B Geerard). In this type and in type B of Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea (type r Sickenberger; II K. - L.; C-D Geerard) Reuss identifies three stages, dated between the 6th and 8th centuries: a "Grundform" and two sub-groups (an "Erweiterte Grundform" and a "Volle Katene"). The catenists drew mainly on Cyril's 156 *homiliae* on Luke, three of which have come down in direct tradition and many in a Syriac version; by comparison with the latter it has been possible to ascertain the authenticity of some of the fragments handed down under Cyril's name, which in part belong to the Alexandrian's other works or are pseudepigrapha. Other sources consulted are Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Matthaem* and the *Commentarii in Lucam* of Titus of Bostra and Origen, as well as the latter's *Homiliae in Lucam*. A source precious for its reliability and the number of its fragments, some 3300 by nearly 70 authors, is the Catena of type C (IV K. - L.; F Geerard), compiled by Nicetas of Heraclea between 1100 and 1117. The extracts, of which more than 870 belong to Chrysostom, are reduced to three for Cosmas of Maiuma (not Indicopleustes, as Geerard suggests); two each for Cyril of Jerusalem (on 3, 3, and 10, 18) and Justin Martyr (on 1, 35 and 5, 10); one each for the monk Alexander on 2, 1, Anastasius (a presbyter, or St Maximus' disciple) on 2, 20, Andrew of Crete on 1, 3, Flavian I of Antioch on 1, 35, Phostorius on 23, 32 f., Gennadius of Constantinople on 6, 3, John the Carpathian on 8, 56, Julius Africanus on 3, 24, Josephus Flavius on 6, 3, Ignatius of Antioch on 3, 21, Isaiah of Scete on 14, 26, Methodius of Olympus on 11, 32, Paul of Emesa on 23, 33, Synesius of Cyrene on 11, 4 and Theodore of Heraclea on 10, 13. Latin exegetes in Greek translation are also mentioned: four times Ambrose; once each Cyprian on 23, 40, John Cassian on 18, 10, Pope Sylvester and

Pope Leo I both on 23, 33. Some fifty fragments on Lk 1 are preceded by the lemma τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων/Ἱεροσολυμίτου and attributed by Sickenberger to Hesychius of Jerusalem. The many codices in which our Catena is attested are divided into three classes: the preferred codex is Vatican gr. 1611, dated 1116-1117. On type C depends the Catena of Macarius Chrysocephalus, λόγοι 1-13 (type V K. - L.); the rare added fragments are preceded by the lemma



The Catena of type D (type p Sickenberger; III K. - L.; E Geerard), 10th-11th century, is earlier than that of Nicetas. It transmits only some fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Photius; and some of Modestus of Jerusalem on 2, 34, 36, Ammonius on 12, 46, Athanasius of Corinth on 24, 40, Caesarius on 6, 1. It abridges or paraphrases the texts, but without altering them. Limited to 1, 1 - 11, 33 is the Catena of type E Reuss (in part corresponding to type II K. - L.), attested in Cod. London, British Bible Society 24 (*codex Zacynthius rescriptus*) which, dating from the 7th-8th century or perhaps not before 750, is the earliest witness to the Catena on Luke. Extracts are also provided by the autonomous Catena of Codd. Vienna, National Library, theol. gr. 301, 11th century (type F Reuss), and Munich, State Library gr. 208, 9th-10th century, on 1, 1 - 2, 40.

John. Six fundamental types. They are formed essentially of extracts from Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Iohannem* and Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentarius in Iohannem*. To these exegetes must be added Ammonius and Origen, the latter represented by the *Commentarii in Iohannem* and perhaps by the *Excerpta in quasdam partes Iohannis* attributed to him by Jerome (*Ep.* 33, 4). Type A comprises four Catena, dated by Reuss from the 5th-6th century to the early 8th: the first has two authors, Chrysostom and Hesychius of Jerusalem; the augmented first adds the fragments of Photius; the abridged first, compiled by Leo Patricius, transmits several fragments without the author's name, but nearly all to be restored to Chrysostom; the integral gives those of many other Fathers, among them Ammonius, Apollinaris and Theodore of Heraclea. Two Catena represent type B: the first, the work of Pseudo-Peter of Laodicea, without authorial lemmas (corresponding to type VI K. - L.); and the integral (corresponding to type II K. - L.), with more than 800 fragments, mainly by Ammonius or preceded by the lemmas ἐκ διαφόρων or ἀνεπίγραφος. Chrysostom is by far the most cited author in the Catena of type C (III K. - L.) and E (corresponding to type IV K. - L.): the one from the early 10th century, with not always reliable lemmas; the other compiled in 1080 by Nicetas of Heraclea, on which depends Macarius Chrysocephalus' λόγοι 16. Extracts of Chrysostom,

Ammonius, Cyril, Theodore of Heraclea and Theodore of Mopsuestia are frequent in the Catena of type F and in the later one of type D attested in the 10th/11th-century Cod. Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana gr. E. 40 (corresponding to type V K. - L.). Fragments are also provided by the Catena attested in the following codd.: Athos, Lavra B. 113 (type G Geerard); Munich, State Library gr. 208; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Suppl. gr. 1225; Vatican gr. 349, gr. 1229 (11th-12th century), gr. 1618 (16th century); and Biblioteca dei Lincei A. 300.

Editions: Matthew: J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin 1957; P. de Lagarde, *Catena in Euangelia aegyptiaca quae supersunt*, Gottingae 1886, 1-82; F.J. Caubet Iturbe, *La Cadena árabe del Evangelio de san Mateo*, 1 *Texto*; 2 *Versión*, Vatican City 1969-1970.

Mark: T. Peltano, *Victoris Antiocheni Commentarii*, Ingolstadt 1580. Recension 1: C.F. Matthaei, *Βίκτωρος πρεσβυτέρου Αντιοχείας και άλλων τινών άγιών πατέρων έξηγήσεις εις τó κατά Μάρκον άγιον εδάγγελιον ex codicibus Mosquensibus*, 2 tt., Moscoviæ 1775; S. Márkfi, *Codex graecus quatuor Euangeliorum e Bibliotheca Uniuersitatis Pestinensis cum interpretatione hungarica*, Pestini 1860, 125-201. Recension 2: P. Possinus, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in euangelium secundum Marcum*, Romae 1672; I.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 1, Oxonii 1840 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 259-447. Coptic Catena: P. de Lagarde, *Catena...* cit., 82-115.

Luke: J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche. Aus Katenen-handschriften gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Berlin 1984 (on whose text cf. M. Aubineau, "Les Catena in Lucam de J. Reuss et Cyrille d'Alexandrie", *ByZ* 80 [1987] 29-47). Coptic Catena: P. de Lagarde, *Catena...* cit., 115-180.

John: J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin 1966. Coptic Catena: P. de Lagarde, *Catena...* cit., 180-232.

Studies: R. Devreesse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1164-1175 ("sur saint Matthieu"), 1175-1181 ("sur saint Marc"), 1181-1194 ("sur saint Luc"), 1194-1205 ("sur saint Jean"); M. Geerard, "Catena in Matthaeum", *CPG* 4, pp. 228-235, 235 ff. ("in Marcum"), 237-242 ("in Lucam"), 242-248 ("in Iohannem"); G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 119-131 ("Catena in Matthaeum"), 131 f. ("in Marcum"), 132-143 ("in Lucam"), 143-151 ("in Iohannem": types I-VII are distinguished, following the directions of E. Preuschen: cf. *ibid.*, 144).

Matthew: F.J. Caubet Iturbe, "La Cadena copto-árabe de los Evangelios y Severo de Antioquia", *Homenaje a J. Prado. Miscelánea de estudios bíblicos y hebraicos*, ed. L. Alvarez Verdes, E.J. Alonso Hernández, Madrid 1975, 421-432; G. Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *REByz* 43 (1985) 216 (Peter of Laodicea's activity must be dated from 940); *Idem*, *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 1, Leuven 1986, 39; 110 (the NT Catena were composed after Procopius of Gaza; it is impossible to prove their existence at the start of the 6th c.); P. Géhin, "Un recueil d'extraits patristiques: les Miscellanea Coisliniana (Parisinus Coislinianus 193 and Sinaiticus gr. 461)", *RHT* 22 (1992) 89-130; 97, 99; P. van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les Chaînes sur l'Évangile de Matthieu", *Philostôr. Miscellanea in honorem C. Laga septuagenarii*, edita ab A. Schoors, P. van Deun, Leuven 1994, 295-328.

Mark: P. van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les Chaînes sur l'Évangile de Marc", *OLP* 25 (1994) 169-173.

Luke: M. Aubineau, "Sévère d'Antioche, Homélie cathédrale XXIV, In Ascensionem. Un fragment syriaque identifié (CPG 7037) et deux fragments grecs retrouvés", *RSLR* 24 (1988) 81-92 (a fr. of the type-C Catena); M.A. Barbàra, "I frammenti attribuiti ad Ambrogio e Agostino nella tradizione catenaria bizantina", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 15 (1988) 279-284; A. Guida, "Il Commento a Luca di Teodoro di Mopsuestia. Frammenti veri e presunti", *BBGG* 45 (1991) 59-68; J. Reuss, "Ein unbekannter Kommentar zum 1. Kapitel des Lukas-Evangeliums", *Biblica* 58 (1977) 224-230: attribution of the τὸ Ἱεροσόλυμων fragments not to Hesychius but to an unknown Antiochene (based on the exegetical differences from the *Commentarius brevis*: but this, previously attributed on the basis of the Catena to Hesychius of Jerusalem – see among others M. Geerard, *CPG* 6553 – is in fact of doubtful authorship).

John: S. Leanza, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria", *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi*, Napoli, 16-18 ottobre 1987, ed. A. Garzya, Naples 1989, 254 f.

2. Acts of the Apostles

The Catena are represented essentially by the mss. of the Catena of Andrew, which also transmits exegesis on the Catholic Epistles and is so called from an indication contained in the 10th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin gr. 25. But Andrew is not the compiler: probably his name was added only later to the codex itself or to a close ancestor of it. Its nucleus consists of Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Acta apostolorum*, to which are added fragments of various works by the same Father: in *Matthaeum*, in *Iohannem*, in *epistulam ad Romanos*, in *epistulam ad Colossenses*, in *epistulam II ad Timotheum homiliae*, in *epistulam I ad Corinthios* and in *epistulam I ad Timotheum argumentum et homiliae*. Also inserted are numerous extracts of Irenaeus, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, Severian of Gabala, Isidore of Pelusium, Severus of Antioch, Ammonius; to a lesser extent, Nicholas of Ancyra on 2, 19 and 7, 43, taken perhaps from his *Commentarii in Amos* and in *Ioel*, and Epiphanius on 8, 9; 10, 13 f.; 11, 4 ff. Rare fragments belong to Apollinaris on 1, 17, Arsenius on 7, 58, Gregory Nazianzen on 2, 3, Gregory of Nyssa on 2, 29, Theophilus of Alexandria on 8, 20 f. Two fragments, on 2, 17 and 13, 40 f., are preceded in the mss. by the lemma of Theodore, monk or presbyter, and should probably be attributed to Theodore of Mopsuestia, who commented on the Acts. A first stage of our Catena is perhaps represented by the 16th-century Cod. Vatican Reginensis gr. 6 which comprises texts of Chrysostom on 2, 4 - 7, 59 together with infrequent fragments of other authors. The mss. used so far are Coislin gr. 25 and Oxford, New College 58, 12th-13th century, the latter reproduced in Cramer's edition. An abridged redaction of Andrew's Catena, without lemmas, is attested by the Commentaries of Pseudo-Oecumenius. These are wrongly attributed to Oecumenius not in the *editio princeps* by Bernardino Donato (Venice 1532) but in the

title of Morel's Greco-Latin reprint (Paris 1631). Oecumenius is not cited at all in the *titulus* of the manuscript *Catena* and is just one of the authors named in the collection. A *Catena* with a Chrysostomic basis and citations of Didymus, Severian, Cyril (of Alexandria) and Severus is also attested by the Commentaries of Theophylact.

Editions: *Catena* of Andrew: I.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 3, Oxonii 1838 (repr. Hildesheim 1967): 425-451, variants of Cod. Coislinianus gr. 25. Commentaries of Pseudo-Oecumenius: F. Morel, PG 118, 43-308. Commentaries of Theophylact: PG 125, 495-1132.

Studies: R. Devreesse, "Chaînes...", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1205-1209; M. Geerard, "Catenae in Actus apostolorum", *CPG* 4, 249 f.; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 152-155 ("Catenae in Acta Apostolorum"); S. Leanza, "Pour une réédition des scolies à l'Écclésiaste de Denys d'Alexandrie", *Μελετήματα. Mélanges offerts à Cl. Mondésert*, Paris 1987, 240, 246 (fr. on Eccl 5, 4 by Dionysius of Alexandria, edited by Feltoe in error as a scholium on Acts 5, 4; it comes from Dionysius' *Commentarii in Eccl.*: for the text see A. Labate, *Catena Hauniensis in Ecclesiasten in qua saepe exegesis servatur Dionysii Alexandrini*, *CCG* 24, 1992, 80 f.); P. van Deun, "Les extraits de Maxime le Confesseur contenus dans les Chaînes sur le Nouveau Testament, abstraction faite des Évangiles", *OLP* 23 (1992) 205-217.

3. Pauline Epistles

According to Staab, the *Catena*e were formed from the 7th-8th centuries on. Their primary source is Chrysostom's interpretation of all the epistles, already attested in the two earliest *Catena*e, which represent respectively the two main groups, on Romans-Corinthians and Galatians-Hebrews. The preferred ms. of the first group is the 10th/11th-century Vatican gr. 762 (type I K. - L.); the other, as far as Heb 13, 17, is attested only in the 11th-century Cod. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin 204 (type IV K. - L.). This last is an important witness to Origen's *Commentarii in Ephesios*, of which it contains extensive fragments perhaps taken directly from a complete edition. Cod. Vatican gr. 762 offers some 60 extracts of Origen's *Commentarii in epistulam Pauli ad Romanos* translated by Rufinus, and as many from the homilies on Cor, of which Jerome informs us (*Ep.* 49, 3). It also transmits a fragment on 1 Cor 4, 4 f. by Eusebius of Caesarea, the sole relic of his *Commentarius in 1 Cor*; extracts of Isidore of Pelusium and Acacius of Caesarea, and very many of Apollinaris, Theodoret and Severian. It provides a long fragment on Rom 7, 18 ff. by Didymus and much of his exegesis on 2 Cor; a hundred or so extracts of Diodore of Tarsus on Rom, from ch. 5 on; the greater number of the surviving fragments of Cyril of Alexandria and of Gennadius of Constantinople's *Commentarii in s. Pauli epistulas*. Many of these last are also handed down in the *Catena* on Rom - 1 Cor 1, 12, attested in the 14th-century Cod. Vienna, National Library, theol. gr. 166 (type VII K. - L.) and perhaps compiled by Nicetas

of Heraclea, to whom the more recent authors cited in it were particularly familiar: Anastasius I of Antioch, John Climacus, John of Damascus, Maximus. The fragments of Cyril come from his Commentary on Rom, lost in direct tradition; another important witness to this is the *Catena* on Rom 6, 6 - Heb in the 10th-century Cod. Athos, Pantocrator 28. Compiled in the 8th-9th century, at times it presents convergences with the other *Catena*e: on 2 Cor, from ch. 6 on, with the *Catena* represented by the aforementioned Cod. Vatican gr. 762; on Gal - Col, with the *Catena* of Cod. Coislin 204, together with which it is an important witness to Eusebius of Emesa's fragments on Gal; elsewhere it is identical with the *Catena* of Pseudo-Oecumenius on Rom-Heb (type VI K. - L.). The latter was formed towards the end of the 8th century and augmented over many recensions until the 9th-10th centuries with fragments at first anonymous, then provided with authorial lemmas and belonging to various authors, from Clement to Photius. That patriarch was among the most-used sources, together with Chrysostom, Theodoret's *Interpretationes*, Oecumenius' *Commentarii in Pauli epistulas* and the *Catena* of Cod. Vatican gr. 762. The codices, numbering about 50, were divided into two groups by K. - L. on the basis of the presence or omission of some citations of Photius. These, quite numerous, are placed after those of other authors on the same verses; sometimes they are added in the margin, as "final link" of the *Catena*e on Paul, but they are absent from mss. after the 11th century. In Donato's edition the lemmas of the ms. considered basic are put in the margin; in PG they are largely reproduced inserted in the text.

To Nicetas of Heraclea we owe the compilation of another *Catena*, on Heb 1 - 8, 11 (type V K. - L.); its preferred ms., the 13th-century Ambros. E. 2. inf., provides precious extracts of Cyril of Alexandria, author of a now lost Commentary on Hebrews; others of Origen (on the Prologue and 1, 8); many of Basil with indication of sources. These sources are also referred to by the Munich *Catena* (type II K. - L.), on Rom 7, 7 - 16, 26, which takes its name from its preferred codex, the 13th-century Munich, State Library gr. 412; perhaps compiled in the 10th century, it cites almost the same authors as Cod. Vatican gr. 762.

Editions: K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenandschriften gesammelt*, Münster i.W. 1933 (repr. 1984), with bibliography.

Studies: C.P. Bammel, "A New Witness to the Scholia from Origen in the Codex von der Goltz", *Origeniana quinta. Papers of the 5th International Origen Congress Boston College, 14-18 August 1989*, ed. R.J. Daly, Leuven 1992, 137-141 (comparison between fr. of the 12th-c. catenary Cod. Vatican Palatinus gr. 204 and the marginal notes of the 10th-c. Cod. Athos, Lavra 184. B. 64, previously studied by E.F. von der Goltz, *Eine textkritische Arbeit des 10ten bzw. 6ten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1899); R. Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1209-1224; P. Éviéux, *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres*, 1, *Lettres* 1214-1413, Sch 422, 1997, 158 f.;

M. Geerard, "Catenae in Pauli epistulas", CPG 4, 250-258; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 157-170 ("Catenae in epistulas s. Pauli"); R.A. Layton, *Origen as a Reader of Paul. A Study of the Commentary on Ephesians*, diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1996 (in the text of Cod. Coislinianus 204 are interpolated marginal glosses, which document between it and its earliest state "two generations of editorial activity", whose final phase took place in the Constantinople area no earlier than the mid 8th c. and involved the insertion of fragments of Origen and three anonymous fr. belonging to Damascene); K. Staab, *Die Pauluskatenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Rome 1926; S.J. Voicu, "Gennadio di Costantinopoli. La trasmissione del frammento In Hebr. 9, 25", *OCP* 48 (1982) 435 ff.

4. Catholic Epistles

Following Staab, we distinguish two moments in the "Urkatene" between the 6th and 8th centuries, represented by the original Commentary and the Catena of Andrew. The former in its initial stage consists of anonymous fragments, in large part to be attributed to Didymus and Severus, who, dying in 538, provides the *terminus post quem* for the Commentary's origin. Preferred witnesses of the initial stage are Codd. Vatican gr. 1270 and 652, the one from between the late 12th and early 13th centuries, the other 14th-century, both mutually related. The Commentary is not an excerpt from Andrew's Catena, as was held in the past; it was used by Pseudo-Andrew, who took other fragments from the extensive literature of all the Christian centuries up to his own time. The works most consulted by Pseudo-Andrew do not belong to Didymus and Clement, the two Fathers who specifically commented on the Catholic Epistles. Clement is never cited; but in the original Commentary we find traces of his *Hypotyposeis*, fragments of which survive in Latin translation thanks to Cassiodorus under the title *Adumbrationes in epistulas canonicas*. Marked with the lemma of Didymus are five fragments (on Jas 1, 1; 4, 6; 1 Pet 2, 7; 3, 12; 3, 16) which in part correspond to the *Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis Enarratio*, fragments of which survive in Latin and which is perhaps identifiable with his Commentary on James-Jude translated into Latin by Epiphanius Scholasticus (cf. Cassiod., *Inst.* 8, 6, 1). Also agreeing with the Latin *Enarratio* are some fifty anonymous fragments of Andrew's Catena, to be attributed to Didymus, transmitted almost identically in the original Commentary, whence Pseudo-Andrew took them. So the *Enarratio* could be not a work of Didymus but the translation of a Greek Catena, witness to the original Commentary later elaborated by catenists. In Andrew's Catena the author most cited, some fifty times, is Chrysostom by various *homiliae*, to which must be added Severus of Antioch by *homiliae* and *epistulae*. To a lesser degree Pseudo-Andrew also transmits fragments of Origen and of Maximus, whose presence provides the *terminus a quo* for the composition of the Catena between the second half of the

7th century and the start of the 8th. He provides extracts of Hesychius of Jerusalem's *Commentarius magnus in Psalmos* and infrequent ones of other authors: Philo of Alexandria on 2 Pet 2, 5, Hermas on Jas 1, 11, Athanasius on 1 Pet 4, 1 and 2 Pet 3, 8, Ephrem on 2 Pet 2, 5, Ammonius on 1 Pet 3, 19 f. Included among some 240 anonymous fragments are the fifty or so attributable to Didymus; they grow denser towards the end of the Catena and the first fragment is preceded by the lemma ἐξ ἀνεργράφου. They probably constituted the "Urkatene", of which a trace remains in the best witnesses of the initial stage of the original Commentary, later elaborated by Pseudo-Andrew with the addition of lemmatized fragments; the progressive diminution of these, and hence the gradual increase in anonymous ones, is explained by our redactor's decreasing diligence in the course of the work or by a mechanical dispersion at the hands of the copyists. Andrew's Catena is attested essentially by three witnesses of a single family: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin gr. 25, 10th century, the earliest and according to Staab the best; Oxford, New College, 58, 12th-13th century, and Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense gr. 1395, 16th century, which are respectively the basis for the editions of the Catena by Cramer and Nicephorus Kalogeras. The latter erroneously published Andrew's Catena as *editio princeps* of the exegesis of Euthymius Zigabenus. Derived in part from Andrew's Catena is a Commentary in dual recension represented by the Commentaries of Pseudo-Oecumenius and the Commentaries of Theophylact.

Editions: Original commentary: C.F. Matthaei, *SS. Apostolorum septem Epistolae catholicae... Scholia ad septem Epistolas catholicas nunc primum edita e codicibus D et H*, Rigae 1782, 181-245. Catena of Andrew: I.A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 8, Oxonii 1844 (repr. Hildesheim 1967), 1-170, 583-596; N. Kalogeras, *Ἐὐθυμίου τοῦ Ζιγαβήνου ἔρμηνεία...*, 2 voll., ἐν Ἀθήναις 1887. Commentaries of Pseudo-Oecumenius: B. Donato, PG 119, 452-721. Commentaries of Theophylact: PG 125, 1132-1288; PG 126, 9-104; C. Renoux, *La Chaîne arménienne sur les Épîtres catholiques*, 1, *La Chaîne sur l'Épître de Jacques*; 2, *La Chaîne sur l'Épître de Pierre*; 3, *La Chaîne sur la première Épître de Jean*; 4, *La Chaîne sur 2-3 Jean et Jude*, PO 43/1, 44/2, 46/1-2, 47/2, 1985, 1987, 1994, 1995.

Studies: R. Devreese, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1224-1228; M. Geerard, "Catenae in Epistulas catholicas", CPG 4, 258 f.; G. Karo, I. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecarum catalogus*, cit., 155 ff. ("Catenae in Epistulas catholicas"); S. Leanza, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria", *Aug* 37 (1997): 33 (a fr. on Jas 4, 10 handed down under the name of Dionysius of Alexandria, in the past considered authentic and published among the remains of this Father, but in reality not his); C. Renoux, "L'assomption di Moïse: d'Origène à la Chaîne arménienne sur les Épîtres catholiques", *Recherches et tradition. Mélanges patristiques offerts à H. Crouzel*, ed. A. Duplex, Paris 1992, 239-249; K. Staab, "Die griechischen Katenenkommentare zu den katholischen Briefen", *Biblica* 5 (1924) 296-353; A. Strobel, "Ein Katenenfragment mit Irenaeus Adv. Haer. V, 24, 2 f.", *ZKG* 68 (1957) 139-143 (fr. on 1 Pet 2, 16 belonging to Irenaeus, exhumed among the many anonymous ones of Andrew's Catena).

5. *Apocalypse*

The best-known codex is the 10th-century Meteora 573, which hands down some forty anonymous fragments, generally attributed by Harnack to Origen; but not a few extracts come from Irenaeus' *Adversus haereses*, some from Clement, one perhaps from Didymus. Of the three surviving commentaries on the Apocalypse, one is by Oecumenius (6th century), who cites Athanasius, the three Cappadocians, Hippolytus, and also Josephus, Aquila and Clement; another is by Andrew, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (second half of 6th century), who cites among others Justin and Papias' *Explanatio sermonem Domini*; the third is by Aretas, who finished its composition c. 895. In c. 950 a contemporary of Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, composed a Σύνοψις σχολική, taking fragments from Andrew's commentary and reworking part of Oecumenius' *Commentaries*.

Editions: Cod. Meteora 573: C. Diobouniotis, A. Harnack, *Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis. Nebst einem Stück aus Irenaeus, liber V, graece*, Leipzig 1912. Commentary of Oecumenius: H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius to the Apocalypse for the First Time from Manuscripts at Messina, Rome, Salonika and Athos Edited*, Ann Arbor (MI) 1928; M. De Groote, "Die Scholien aus dem Oecumenius-Kommentar zur Apokalypse. Kritische Herausgabe", *SEJG* 37 (1997) 111-131 (with bibl.). Commentary of Andrew: J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, 1, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia. Text*, Munich 1955 (with bibliography). Commentary of Aretas: B. Donato, Veronae 1532; I.A. Cramer, PG 106, 493-785. Σύνοψις σχολική: M. De Groote, "Die Σύνοψις σχολική aus dem Kommentar des Oecumenius zur Apokalypse", *SEJG* 32 (1991) 107-119 (with bibliography).

Studies: M. De Groote, "Die Σύνοψις σχολική zum Apokalypse-Kommentar des Arethas. Nebst einem Anhang: die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Apokalypse-Kommentars des Arethas", *SEJG* 34 (1994) 125-134; Idem, "Die 'Quaestio Oecumeniana'", *SEJG* 36 (1996) 67-105; R. Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques", *DBS* 1 (1928): 1228-1231; S. Leanza, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria", *Aug* 37 (1997): 33 (a fr. on 22, 3 edited in the past among the remains of Dionysius of Alexandria, but not really his).

X CANONICAL AND LITURGICAL LITERATURE

canonical section by ANGELO DI BERARDINO,

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INTRODUCTION

The Byzantine Church did not produce a complete canon law, but accepted as authoritative and normative a canonical *corpus* comprising the conciliar decisions, ecumenical and local, and writings of the Fathers. In the first centuries of the Christian communities a considerable portion of liturgical and canonical instructions was written down in specific, easily-used texts; thus arose those texts that go under the name of canonistic-liturgical literature (*Kirchenordnung, Church Order*), i.e. literature of a liturgical and canonical nature which, following the example of the pastoral epistles, offered practical instructions on the practice of liturgical life and the organization of Christian communities for their correct functioning. With liturgical norms it also united disciplinary, ethical and organizational instructions for the various states of life (clergy, the married, virgins, widows, monks).

The Greek-speaking Church, whence these translations came, would very soon have a whole canonical legislation of conciliar origin and a well-organized liturgy, so the older documents were marginalized and sometimes condemned. In subsequent centuries, however, the other Eastern Churches, lacking a complete, well-structured canonical *corpus*, continued to rely on them and transmitted them to later generations. This phenomenon explains the disappearance of the ancient texts in their original Greek form and their preservation in other languages. Many of these texts have already been listed in volumes I and V of *Patrology*. What follows will be a continuation and a supplement to that.

1. *Apostolic Constitutions*

This is the earliest, largest and most important collection of pseud-epigraphical texts of this genre, though it is substantially a compilation which repeats and modifies earlier – sometimes very early – documents: in particular the *Didascalia Apostolica* (1-6), the *Didachè* (7, 1-32) and

the *Traditio Apostolica* (8, 3-45), with the final addition of the *Apostolic Canons*. The beginning of book VIII could be based on Hippolytus' treatise *On Charisms*. But the compiler also drew on other texts, like the *First Letter* of Clement, the Pseudo-Clementines, apocryphal texts, liturgical formularies, the liturgical practice of his time and place, etc.; and also from Jewish liturgical formularies (7, 33-38; 8, 12). It is disputed whether the interpolation of Jewish formularies was done by himself or was pre-existing material. The compiler presents the work as if it were Clement's (8, 46, 13; 8, 47, 85); he has not confined himself to mere juxtaposition of existing texts, but has interfered with them by omissions, interpolations and additions. All the different ecclesiastical institutions are dealt with in this way, and every division of its content cannot but be summary, since the various subject-matters all return elsewhere: Christian behaviour, the hierarchy, reconciliation of penitents, Christian initiation, ordinations, the liturgical year, widows, orphans, martyrs, schisms, charisms, Christian ethics and initiation, the Eucharist. Some subjects, such as martyrs, no longer belonged to the everyday Christian life of the Church, but were dealt with because they were part of the earlier documents. Sometimes the compiler did not manage to amalgamate the diversity of his sources very well and was unable to eliminate certain contradictions left here and there (the apostle James is sometimes given as still alive [2, 55, 2; 6, 12 ff.; 8, 4, 1], sometimes as already dead [5, 8, 1; 7, 46, 2]).

The compiler, while making use of Judaeo-Christian sources, made the *Apostolic Constitutions* issue from all the apostles together, including Paul, and also from typical representatives of the Judaeo-Christian tradition; this indicates that he wished to overcome the existing division between the various Christian tendencies of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Use of polemic against other traditions, condemnation of those who question hierarchical order, calling them back to obedience, and strong assertion of the authority of the apostles tend to overcome diversities and create a disciplinary and institutional unity (cf. Metzger, SCh 320, 50 f.).

Scholars have not succeeded in identifying the anonymous compiler, who certainly had Arian tendencies; various names have been proposed; the most accredited could be a certain Julian, an Arian, who would also be the author of the *Arian Commentary on Job* (CPG 2075) and the interpolator of the *Letters* of Ignatius of Antioch (CPG 1026). This identification is fully accepted by Nautin, who thinks Julian was bishop of Neapolis near Anazarbus (*EEC* 1 [1992] 62 f.); but Metzger inclines towards a group of persons, who were in a position to collect the necessary documentation, bring it together and circulate it (SCh 320, 54). Common opinion puts the compilation of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in Syria,

preferably at Antioch, around 380. The *Apostolic Constitutions* were repudiated by the Quinisext Council (or *in Trullo*) of 691/692 as vitiated by heresy (can. 2). However the same council accepted the final part, which cites the *Apostolic Canons*, in which it is explicitly said that the *Apostolic Constitutions* must be received, a command openly disregarded by the conciliar Fathers.

For bibliography see esp. *infra*, under the 85 *Apostolic Canons*; in Latin cf. E. Hauler and E. Tidner: cf. CPG 1731; PG 1, 509-1156 (the Latin tr. is by J.B. Cotelier, 1724); F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, 2 voll., Paderborn 1905, repr. Turin 1959; P.A. de Lagarde, *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Leipzig 1862, repr. Osnabrück 1962; M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SCh 320, 1985; 329, 1986; 336, 1987; P.F. Beatrice, "Traditions apocryphes dans la Théosophie de Tübingen", *Apocrypha* 7 (1996) 109-122, esp. 111-113 and 121.

Translations - Latin: Cf. F.X. Funk, *op. cit.*, and in PL; E. Hauler, *Didascaliae apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina. Accedunt Canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquiae*, Lipsiae 1900; E. Tidner, *Didascaliae apostolorum, Canonum ecclesiasticorum, Traditionis apostolicae uersiones latinae*, Berlin 1963.

French: M. Metzger, *op. cit.*

English: J. Donaldson, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library 17, Edinburgh 1870, 391-505.

Studies: DACL 3, 2732-2748 (bibliography); DDC 4, 453-459 (bibliography); *Coptic Encyclopedia* 2, 451-453; F.X. Funk, *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen*, Rottenburg 1891; C.H. Turner, "A Primitive Edition of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons: An Early List of Apostles and Disciples", *JTS* 15 (1913) 53-65; Idem, "Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions, 2, The Apostolic Canons", *JTS* 16 (1915) 523-538; D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*, PTS 14, 1973, xxxvii-lviii; P. Sigal, "Early Christian and Rabbinic Liturgical Affinities: Exploring Liturgical Acculturation", *NTS* 30 (1984) 63-90; D.A. Fiensy, *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish. An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Chico (CA) 1985; A. Enermalm-Ogawa, *Un langage de prière juif en grec. Le témoignage des deux premiers livres des Maccabées*, Stockholm 1987; A. Piédagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchèses Mystagogiques*, SCh 126a, Paris 1988, 188 f. (concordances with the Constitutions); D.A. Fiensy, "The Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers: One Hundred Years of Discussion", *Journal for Study of Pseudepigrapha* 5 (1989) 17-27; T. Kopecek, "Neo-Arian Religion: The Evidence of the Apostolic Constitutions", *Arianism: Historical and Theological Reassessments, Papers from the Ninth International Conference on Patristic Studies*, Philadelphia 1985, 153-179; B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin 1992, 114-133; M. Metzger, "Le mariage dans les communautés et l'euchologe des Constitutions Apostoliques", *Le mariage. Conf. Saint-Serge*, Rome 1994, 223-238; Idem, "La fidélité dans le mariage selon le témoignage des Constitutions Apostoliques", *RDC* 44/2 (1994) 1-15; E. Maria Synek, " 'Diese Gesetz ist gut, heilig, es zwingt nicht...' ". Zum Gesetzbegriff der Apostolischen Konstitutionen, Vienna 1997.

The 85 *Ecclesiastical Canons* (or *Apostolic Canons*) formed the final part of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (8, 46) and circulated as an integral part of them. Very often they had a life independent of the collection,

with a name of their own. Their author used the 4th-century Greek councils: Nicaea, Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (c. 319), Antioch (c. 330), Laodicea. Sometimes the author drew directly on conciliar canons, at others the coincidence with the councils was limited just to the same subject.

Since the *Apostolic Canons* were part of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and were not added later, their redaction must go back to the first part of the second half of the 4th century (cf. SCh 320, p. 32) and there are no reasons to doubt that they were by the same author. They contain prescriptions on all the organization of the Christian communities. The final canon is a list of biblical books to be accepted: it does not name the Apocalypse, but includes the two *Letters* of Clement and the "Constitutions in eight books, that were transmitted to you bishops through me, Clement". In their brevity they deal with many subjects in no precise order. Canon 50 presents an extensive theological development to explain triple immersion in baptism; in many manuscripts the digression has been suppressed because of its doctrine on the Holy Spirit; where it is preserved, it appears in two recensions: the longer, lost in Greek but preserved in Eastern translations, is, according to Schwartz and Turner, the original text; the short one is a theologically correct recension (it also uses the term *homoousios*, contrary to the theology of the author).

Not just their claim to apostolicity, but also their practical utility gave the *Apostolic Canons* an immediate success even in official circles. John Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople (565-577), included them at the beginning of his collection. The Council in Trullo (691/692), while repudiating the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in the same canon accepted the *Apostolic Canons* which were their conclusion (can. 2). Their acceptance by the Council in Trullo ensured them an enormous success. They were translated into all the ancient languages: 1) into Syriac and used by both Monophysites (Jacobites) and Nestorians (cf. F. Nau, *La version...*; A. Vööbus, *The Synodicon...*; 2) into Coptic (cf. H. Tattam, *The Apostolic...*, 173-212); 3) into Ethiopic (cf. W. Fell, *Canones...*); 4) into Arabic (PO 8, 664-693); 5) into Armenian (cf. V. Hakobian, *Kanonagirk'...*, 18-66); 6) into Georgian (E. Gabidzashvili, *Didi...*, 216-226); into Old Church Slavonic; 8) into Sogdian. They were translated into Latin, with the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in the course of the 5th century, but this translation does not seem to have enjoyed wide circulation (cf. C.H. Turner). Dionysius Exiguus translated only the first 50 canons into Latin for the first edition of his collection, the *Dionysiana* (PL 67, 141-148). He observed that many did not accept them, yet it seemed to him that popes had used them (PI 67, 142). Many, he says – but does not specify whether in East or West – rejected them. Some canons were in clear disagreement with the traditions of the Latin Church: the rebaptism of

heretics (can. 46 and 47); the re-ordination of heretical clergy (can. 68); the omission of Judith and the Apocalypse from the list of biblical books and the inclusion of Clement's two *Letters* and the *Constitutions* themselves (can. 85). Yet, however the *Decretum Gelasianum* might relegate the *Apostolic Canons* to the apocrypha, those he translated were included in the later canonical collections (F. Maassen, *Geschichte...*, 438-440); seventeen of them would be included in Gratian's *Decretum*.

Editions and translations: CPG 1740; Mansi 1, 29-48; 49-57 (the 50 in Dionysius Exiguus' translation); PG 137, 36-217; Hfl-Lecl 1, 2, 1216-1220; F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et constitutiones apostolorum*, Paderborn 1905, repr. Turin 1959, 1, 564-592; M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, SCh 336, Paris 1987, 274-311 (ed. and French tr.); H. Tattam, *The Apostolic Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic with an English Translation*, London 1848, repr. New York 1965; W. Fell, *Canones apostolorum aethiopice*, Leipzig 1871; F. Nau, *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément traduite en français*, Paris 1913; E. Gabidzashvili, *Didi Sadzuliskanoni*, Tblissi 1975; V. Hakobian, *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*, 1, Erevan 1964; C.H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima*, Oxford 1899-1913, I, 1, 1-34; I, 2, 32n-32nn; E. Hauler, *Didascaliae apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina. Accedunt Canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquiae*, Lipsiae 1900, 93-101; E. Tidner, *Didascaliae apostolorum, Canonum ecclesiasticorum, Traditionis apostolicae uersiones latinae*, Berlin 1963; Joannou, 1, 2, 1-55 (with French and Latin tr.); A. Vööbus, *The Synodicon in the West Syrian tradition*, CSCO 367 / Syr. 161, Louvain 1975, 58-72; CSCO 368 / Syr. 162, 72-83 (tr.); F. Boxler, *Die sogenannten Apostolischen Constitutionen und Canones*, Kempten 1874 (German tr.); J. Donaldson, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library 17, Edinburgh 1870, 391-505 (English tr.).

Studies: F. Nau: *DTC* 2, 1605-1612; G. Bardy: *DDC* 2, 1288-1295; P. Nautin: *EEC* 1 (1992) 62; *Coptic Encyclopedia* 2, 451-453; C. H. Turner, "A Primitive Edition of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons: An Early List of Apostles and Disciples", *JTS* 15 (1913) 53-65; Idem, "Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions, 2, The Apostolic Canons", *JTS* 16 (1915) 523-538.

2. Works dependent on the "Apostolic Constitutions"

The *Apostolic Constitutions* belong to that genre of works of great practical utility, yet subject to continual rereading, rewriting and adaptation to local situations in accordance with the evolution of the Christian communities. These types of text, precisely because of their practical utility, belong to a genre that may be called "living" texts, i.e. subject to undergoing continual, not just successive but even simultaneous regional and local adaptations in different Churches. The rewriting of a text became necessary insofar as it was reread within a different liturgical and canonical tradition. Thus they tried to reconcile different traditions, and the rewritten document preserved the halo of antiquity and authority, both in the old part and in the new. However this genre of texts, while coming under high apostolic authority, which guaranteed their acceptance

and validity, was subject to continual rewriting to meet the new religious, social, liturgical and organizational requirements of its users.

a) The *Epitome* (also called *Constitution Transmitted by Hippolytus*) is a modification and reduction of book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which in this part depend on the *Apostolic Tradition*. Initially it also contained the *85 Apostolic Canons*, still present in the *Syriac Octateuch* and in the Arabic. In some cases the compiler of the *Epitome* prefers to go directly to the source (*Apostolic Tradition*), avoiding the intermediary (*Apostolic Constitutions*), as in the case of the prayer of episcopal ordination and the institution of readers (*Epitome* 4 and 13); this last comes about by the handing over of the book and not the laying on of hands by the bishop. This phenomenon has disconcerted scholars, leading some to place it before the *Apostolic Constitutions*, others at a later period; but an examination of its theology, particularly its Trinitarian theology, urges a later dating. Moreover the compiler has suppressed the liturgical formulae for baptism and the Eucharist (8, 11-15; 29; 32, 17; 35-41) out of respect for the *disciplina arcani* commanded in the *Constitutions* themselves (8, 47, 45); and he has made some expressions orthodox (e.g. *Epitome* 6 as compared to *Const. Apost.* 8, 16, 3). When he gives an account of ordinations, the compiler names Hippolytus and not, as elsewhere, the apostles.

Editions and translations: CPG 1741; F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, 2, Paderborn 1905, repr. Turin 1959, 72-96, cf. XI-XIX.

Studies: E. Schwartz, "Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen", *Schriften der wiss. Gesellschaft in Strasburg*, 6, Strasburg 1910, 2-6, 8-9, 27-39; Hanssens 78 f.; A. Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie*, Paris 1977, 96-98; P. Nautin: *EEC* 1 (1992) 198. Cf. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, Sch 320, Paris 1985, 42; B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique*, Münster 1963, 1989^s, xxvii f.; B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin 1992, 80-86.

b) *Octateuch of Clement*. Name given by P. de Lagarde to a Syriac collection in eight books, which in many respects is a Syriac translation, revision and adaptation of earlier documents; it is substantially based on the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It has reached us in three different recensions: Syriac, Coptic and Arabic. Since all the documents cited were originally in Greek, this must have been the original language of the collection, at least that known to Severus of Antioch († 538). The translator affixed the date of translation, 687, to the end of book II; we do not know when the others were translated, perhaps in the same period. The Syriac recension comprises: 1) the *Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (books I and II); 2) *Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Apostles* (book III); 3) book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (up to ch. 46), with many omissions (books IV-VII); 4) the *85 Canons of the Apostles* (book VIII).

It omits the *Apostolic Tradition*, given by the other two recensions as book III; these give the *Testament* as book I, and the *Ecclesiastical Constitution* as book II.

Editions: CPG 1733; P.A. de Lagarde, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae. Graece et syriace*, Leipzig 1856 (partial ed.), repr. Osnabrück 1967, 2-32; 44-61 (Syriac; Syriac pagination); 20-25; 74-77; 80-89 (Greek).

Translations – French: F. Nau, in *Le Canoniste contemporain*, 30-32 (from 1907 to 1909) (where all Clement's *Octateuch* is translated up to 1913: repr. *La Version syriaque de l'Octateuch de Clément*, Ancienne littérature syriaque, fasc. IV, Paris 1913 – repr. by Pio Ciprotti, Milan 1967, with Introduction).

English: A. Vööbus, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*, CSCO 401-402, 406-407 / Syr. 175-176, 179-180, Louvain 1979, 50-220 (bibliography, p. 402).

Studies: DDC 6, 1065-1066; A. Baumstark, "Über den 'Octateuchus Clementinus', seine Geschichte und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung", *Römisch. Quartalschrift* 14 (1900) 1-45; B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin 1992, 141-148.

c) *Synodos Alexandrina* (better known as *Canones ecclesiastici*) (5th century). A collection of canonical texts of the Alexandrian Church, preserved in Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic), Arabic and Ethiopic, but whose original was in Greek; the Ethiopic translation is derived from the Arabic and is the most complete, though it contains interpolations. In the Arabic translation it forms book I of the two-book collection of the 127 canons of the apostles published by Lagarde. The Coptic collection is divided into 78 canons, 71 in Arabic. The *Synodos Alexandrina* (PO 8, 573-623 [23-113]) comprises: 1) *Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Apostles* (called *Canon of the Apostles* by Botte) (cann. 1-30; Arabic 1-20); 2) *Apostolic Tradition* (also called *Constitution of the Egyptian Church*) (cann. 31-62, Arabic 21-47), also related to the *Testament of O.L.J.C.* and the *Canons of Hippolytus*; 3) part of book VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, with added prayers (cann. 63-78, Arabic 48-71). This part is called *Ecclesiastical Rules* by Hanssens (cf. *La Liturgie...*, 96 ff.).

Editions and translations: CPG 1732. Ethiopic: G.W. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici*, London 1904; H. Duensing, *Der aethiopische Text der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt*, Göttingen 1946. Sahidic: P.A. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, Göttingen 1883, repr. Osnabrück 1972, 209-291; U. Bouriant, "Les canons apostoliques de Clément de Rome", *Rec. de travaux relatifs à la phil. et à l'archéol. égypt.* 5 (1984) 199-216; 6 (1985) 97-115; J. Leipold, *Sahidische Auszüge aus dem 8. Buche der Apostolischen Konstitutionen*, Leipzig 1904; W. Till, J. Leipold, *Der Koptische Text der Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, Berlin 1954 (ed. of the central part). Bohairic: H. Tattam, *The Apostolic Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic with an English Translation*, London 1848, repr. New York 1965. Arabic: G.W. Horner, *The Statutes...* cit. (text and tr.), 89-125; J. Périer, A. Périer, *Les "127 canons des apôtres"*, Paris 1912, repr. in PO 8, 4, Turnhout 1971².

Studies: W. Riedel, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Quellen Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig 1900, repr. Aalen 1968; Hanssens, 31-47 and 519-526; B. Botte, *La Tradition apostolique*, Münster 1963, 1989^s, XII-XXVI; B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, Berlin 1992, 134-140; *Coptic Encyclopedia* 2, 453-456 (s.v. *Ecclesiastical Canons*).

3. Greek canonical collections

Premises. In the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, conciliar meetings were held in various regions of the Empire. The most important for number and provenance of participants was that of Antioch against Paul of Samosata (268). With the end of persecution and the new religious freedom, the Christians could meet freely in conciliar assemblies, often ordered by the emperors, to deal with common problems at a higher level. Conciliar meetings could be of one or more regions, of a part of the Empire, Western or Eastern, or "ecumenical", but they never actually attained total episcopal participation. During the 4th century, most of the more important councils met in the Greek-speaking world, sometimes with some Western bishops taking part. Yet there were also many assemblies in the West, such as Rimini (359) and Aquileia (381), and in Africa, which enjoyed considerable episcopal participation. From the 5th century the separation between the Greek and Latin Churches increased, so that even those councils considered ecumenical, held in the East, registered a scanty Western participation.

Yet of the first councils, whether ecumenical or provincial, we do not possess the *Acta*, which report the debates, but only the deliberations, i.e. the canons or the professions of faith. Only of the "Conference" of Carthage of 411, in which St Augustine took part, is the whole debate preserved (SCh 194, 195, 224, 373). The texts of the 4th and 5th centuries are transmitted in somewhat later collections and hence in a situation of uncertainty, partly determined by the quality and age of the manuscripts. These collections have a private character. Hence their multiplication and diversity. Their compilers were not looking for the totality of earlier conciliar decisions, since they did not aim at a work of study or preservation, but at practical utility. Even the Eastern councils before 691 in Greek are accessible only in the recension made of them by John Scholasticus (565-577), patriarch of Constantinople.

a) Canon 2 of the Council *in Trullo* [in the hall of the imperial palace] (also called Quinisext Council), celebrated at Constantinople between 691 and 692, considered ecumenical by the Eastern Church, gives a list of recognized canonical sources. After accepting the 85 *Apostolic Canons* and rejecting the *Apostolic Constitutions*, it adds: "We also confirm all the other sacred canons that were issued by the holy and blessed Fathers,

i.e., the 318 holy Fathers meeting at Nicaea, those in Ancyra; also those in Neocaesarea, as well as those of Gangra; moreover those of Antioch in Syria and also those of Laodicea in Phrygia; furthermore, the 150 meeting in this imperial city guarded by God [Constantinople], the 200 who met in the metropolis of Ephesus and the 630 holy and blessed Fathers of Chalcedon; equally those of Sardica, of Carthage; again those who convened for the second time in this imperial city [in 394] Also the canons of Dionysius archbishop of the great city of Alexandria; of Peter, archbishop and martyr of Alexandria; of Gregory the Thaumaturge, bishop of Neocaesarea; of Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria; of Basil, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; of Gregory, bishop of Nyssa; of Gregory the Theologian; of Amphilochius of Iconium; of Timothy the First, bishop of Alexandria; of Theophilus, archbishop of the same great city; of Cyril, also archbishop of the great city of Alexandria; of Gennadius, patriarch of this imperial city...., also the canon issued by Cyprian, archbishop and martyr of the land of the Africans, and his synod". Canon 1 of the ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787) referred to this decision of the Trullan, which was thus confirmed.

The Council *in Trullo* thus indicated the canonical sources which, with some adjustments, constitute Byzantine canon law and that of the national Churches that emerged from the Orthodox Church. Cyprian's canon was eliminated, since it required the rebaptism of heretics. The canons of Nicaea II (787), the 7th ecumenical council, were added, but not the 27 canons (Joannou, 1, 289-348) of the Council of Constantinople (869) since, though accepted as the 8th ecumenical Council by Western canonists, it was not considered ecumenical by the Byzantines; its canons are not found in the Byzantine collections.

The canons of the Council *in Trullo* of 691/692 also came to be part of the canonical collection, not without perplexity and difficulty. This council had approved 102 canons formulated by a commission of experts without discussing their contents in a debate in the traditional way. Pope Sergius (687-701), of Syrian origin, would not sign the Acts in the empty space reserved for him in the copy, since they contained some norms in explicit and intentional conflict with the Western tradition (Mansi 12, 3). Can. 13: married clerics could continue to live with their consorts; 36: that the patriarchal see of Constantinople had *aequalia privilegia* with the Roman see; 55: condemnation of the Roman practice of fasting on Saturday; etc. For this refusal of the pope, Justinian II's envoy tried to deport him to Constantinople in accordance with the emperor's wishes, but without success. His successor, Pope Constantine I (708-715), went to the East, where he signed a purged copy.

The Council *in Trullo* took place at a particular moment for the Byzantine Empire: the persistence of paganism, the pressure of Islam

on the Eastern frontiers and of the Slavs on the Northern frontiers. Its intention was to purify the Church from any pollution coming from outside: because *si iudaicae vel graecae improbitatis reliquiae maturo veritatis frumento immixtae sint, radicitus tamquam zizanium evellatur* (Joannou, 1, 109; Mansi 11, 933). Hence the issuing of a vast legislation of unusual breadth compared to that of previous councils.

Even in the East there were doubts about the ecumenicity of the Quinisext Council and hence over the authority of its canons. Many accepted it very quickly, e.g. St John of Damascus (*De imagin. oratio* 3: PG 94, 1417D and 1420A). But perplexities still continued at the time of Nicaea II in 787 (cf. Mansi 13, 41D; PG 100, 848A; 845C). The uncertainty arose from the fact that its canons had not been issued by the ecumenical Council of 680-681. To overcome widespread doubts, the Byzantines quickly had recourse to the idea that the council of 691/692 was a twin council, the mere continuation of that *in Trullo* of 680-681: it had after all taken place in the same hall and with more or less the same participants. Indeed at a later period the term *penthekte* was invented, perhaps by the canonist Balsamon, and translated into Latin by *quinisextus*, the union of the 5th and 6th councils: since the ecumenical Council of Constantinople of 553 and that *in Trullo* of 680-681 had issued no disciplinary norms, that of 691/692 came to be considered as complementing the two previous ones. In any case, with their acceptance by Nicaea II (787), which cited two canons from it, and their inclusion in the so-called *Nomocanon* of Photius (PL 104, 975-1218) and the same Photius' *Syntagma canonum* (PG 104, 441-976), the Trullan canons acquired full legitimacy and authority, enriching Byzantine canon law.

All these documents of canon law, issued at various times and places, show notable discrepancies among themselves; some seem in clear conflict with their tradition, like canons 3, 4, and 5 of Sardica (343), which recognize a right of appeal to the pope by Eastern bishops condemned to deposition by their own provincial synod. The difficulty was resolved by saying that those canons had a contingent value since, during the struggle against Arianism, they were issued to protect the orthodox bishops. At any rate no homogeneous canonical *corpus* was ever produced in the Byzantine Church, in order to avoid juridical conformism to the detriment of *oikonomia* and *akribia*.

Canon 2 of the Council *in Trullo* thus indicates the order of the canonical collection in use at the end of the 7th century, as it had been formed. For the conciliar texts, this order was also confirmed by the Syriac translation made in 500-501 and the Latin one by Dionysius Exiguus, which was based on *graeca auctoritas* (PL 142A). These sources of Byzantine canon law were: 1) the *Apostolic Canons*; 2) the four ecumenical councils, which had issued canons: Nicaea (325),

Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451); 3) "local" councils, all 4th-century and in Greek, but including the Latin Council of Carthage of 419; 4) an anthology of Church Fathers: 4 canons of Dionysius of Alexandria († 265), 10 or 11 canons of Gregory the Thaumaturge († c. 270 [the 11th canon raises perplexities]), 15 canons of Peter of Alexandria († 311), 2 or 3 canons of Athanasius of Alexandria († 373) (can. 3 was not in the *Syntagma XIV titulorum*), 92 of Basil of Caesarea († 379), one of Gregory Nazianzen († 389/390), 8 of Gregory of Nyssa († c. 390), one of Amphilochius of Iconium († 399), 18 of Timothy of Alexandria († c. 385), 14 of Theophilus of Alexandria († 412), 5 of Cyril of Alexandria († 444), one of Gennadius of Constantinople († 471) and lastly one canon of Cyprian († 258). Among the Fathers, those of the Alexandrian Church were decidedly prevalent. To this list were naturally added the 102 canons issued by the council itself. With these new texts the council sometimes modified, interpreted or abolished previous canons. Thus, at the very moment when it was sanctioning previous legislation, it proceeded to adapt it.

b) But how had this vast collection been formed? Not every stage of the process of formation is clear, but we can indicate some fundamental steps. The first coherent nucleus of the collection, called *Syntagma antiochenum* (*Syntagma canonum*, *Corpus canonum orientale*), was formed in the course of the 4th century. When canon 1 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) stated that it accepted the canons established by the holy Fathers in all the councils, it was referring to a precise collection that already existed; during the debate several references were made to such a collection, using the term *Biblios* or similar expressions and using canons from it: e.g., in session XII, canons 95 and 96 (16 and 17 of Antioch – *ACO* 2/1/3, p. 48 [407], Mansi 7, 282), etc. In the *Biblios* were the canons of Constantinople (381) (*ACO* 2/1/3, p. 96 [455]), Nicaea (*ACO* 2/1/3, p. 95 [454]), etc. The bishops of Pisidia, writing to the emperor Leo in 458, refer to canon 83 (Antioch, can. 4) (*ACO* 2/5, p. 51). So this collection, used at Chalcedon and by the bishops of Pisidia, had the same continuous numbering: cann. 1-20 (Nicaea); 21-45 (Ancyra); 46-59 (Neocaesarea: initially 14 canons; can. 13 was later divided in two); 60-79 (Gangra) and 80-104 (Antioch). This circumstance suggests that canon 1 of Chalcedon (451) should be understood as having a general character with no specific reference to a precise collection: not so L'Huillier (*The Church...*, 206 ff.; cf. esp. Ivan Žužek, in *Ius*). We do not possess this collection, nor does the council specify whether it speaks of a particular collection or just any collection, since every collection, as is the fate of works of this sort drawn up for a practical use, was destined to be continually augmented and updated. At any rate

other collections circulated, with canons 4 and 5 of Ancyra united in a single text. In the West too, at least at Rome, a collection including the canons of Sardica (343) existed in 419 on the occasion of the debate over Apiarius and went back some decades earlier.

Moreover every Church, at least the principal ones, must have possessed a canonical collection for use by the bishop and in conciliar meetings. That of Antioch is the best known; that of Amasea is also cited, but Alexandria too must have had its own, to which were added the Acts of Ephesus of 431 and 449 (Honigmann, 75 and 82). Perhaps they were originally formed by putting together the Councils of Ancyra and Neocaesarea (two cities of Pontus, and the collection called *Pontic*), to which was then added that of Gangra of 343 (also a Pontic city). This autonomous collection, compiled by a homoian, circulated at Antioch, where this small *corpus* was augmented (360-378) by the 25 canons of the Council of Antioch of c. 330, thought from the 5th century to be those of the Council of Antioch of 341, called *in encaeniis* (cf. Turner, 2/1, 228; *DDC* 1, 589; L'Huillier, *Church...*, 210 and notes). The canons of Antioch won authority from some – in 404 they were cited by Theophilus of Alexandria and rejected by the followers of John Chrysostom (Palladius, *Dial.* 9, 20; 9, 60; *SCh* 441, pp. 183 and 187) – but were regarded with distrust by others in the 4th century since supposedly issued by a council of heretics in 341. In 379, out of respect and because of its authority, perhaps under Bishop Meletius the canons of Nicaea were put at the beginning of the collection, marking the acceptance henceforth of the Council of Nicaea and the triumph of orthodoxy. The collection was translated into Latin. Subsequently the 60 disciplinary canons of Laodicea were added at the end. We do not know when these canons were inserted in the Antiochene collection, since they are absent from the Latin translation known as *Prisca*. In fact they are the product of a compilation of two different series, as can be deduced from doublets (e.g. canons 10 and 31; 9 and 34, etc.). In 410, at the synod of metropolitan Isaac of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the bishops of Persia also adopted the canons of Nicaea; their decisions confirmed the canons of the “Western Fathers”. Their Antiochene collection already contained the Council of Constantinople (381), and they later added the canons of Chalcedon (451). A Syriac manuscript of c. 500 joins canons 4 and 5 of Ancyra and also contains the Councils of Laodicea, Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon. Severus of Antioch too possessed a similar collection, but without the canons of Chalcedon.

This collection, still a private one, was in chronological order apart from the Council of Nicaea, which was placed at the beginning. This order would influence subsequent collections: cann. 1-20 (Nicaea: 1-20), 21-45 (Ancyra: 1-25), 46-59 (Neocaesarea: 1-40), 60-79 (Gangra: 1-20),

80-104 (Antioch: 1-25), 105-163 (Laodicea: 1-59); later were added the four canons of the ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381) and the two of 382 (also one of 394, called the seventh canon: Honigmann, 77). In the course of the 5th century this collection would be supplemented by the 27 canons of the Council of Chalcedon (451). Yet between the various recensions there could be divergences, e.g. in some there was a fusion between cann. 4 and 5 of Ancyra, as we can deduce by comparing the Syriac translation with that of Dionysius Exiguus. In the *Collectio Dionysiana* Dionysius first of all made a first redaction of his canonical work (ms. Vatican, Palat. lat. 577, published by Strewé). This first collection comprised a list of rubrics, the 49 (50) *Apostolic Canons* and the Councils (Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Sardica, Carthage and Chalcedon, without can. 28). Then he made a second, correct redaction in which the Council of Chalcedon was no longer at the end but between Constantinople (381) and Sardica. In Dionysius' two recensions, based on *graeca auctoritas* (PL 67, 142A), the canons of Constantinople were divided into three instead of the usual four. In fact the council of 381 issued only four disciplinary canons on the Arians; other canons are found in later collections: canons 5 and 6 come from the council of 382 (Grumel, no. 5); 7 is an extract from a letter of the Church of Constantinople to Martyrius of Antioch (cf. Grumel, no. 145) on the reception of penitent heretics into the Church. These canons do not figure in Dionysius Exiguus' Latin translation. During the 5th century the *Apostolic Canons* were added to the Antiochene collection; they already existed in the copy translated by Dionysius.

In the course of the 6th century the Greek collection was again augmented by the insertion of the canons of the Councils of Sardica (Sophia, 343), Carthage (419) and the eight canons of the ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431). This last had published no canons in the strict sense: the first six inserted in the collection are extracts from the synodal letter of the session of 17 July; the seventh is a conciliar acclamation on the intangibility of the Nicene Creed, made on 22 July, stating that there must be no other profession of faith than that of Nicaea; the eighth is a motion on the autocephaly of Cyprus. The Council of Sardica, convoked by the emperors Constans I and Constantius II at the suggestion of Pope Julius, had the scope of examining the question of Athanasius and other bishops; it was presided over by Ossius of Cordova. The Latin redaction of the 21 canons of Sardica differs from the Greek, a diversity thought to go back to the council itself, which made two redactions or translations. The Council of Carthage of 419 has 133 canons, 126 from earlier councils and 7 new ones. So the *Corpus antiochenum* went on growing continually; but until John Scholasticus

it contained no texts of the Fathers. Extracts from the Fathers' works were not yet used in the various recensions of this collection, but only conciliar texts. Because of the need to have precise written norms for the administration of justice and the need for norms in discipline, liturgy and every sort of controversy that might arise, recourse was frequently had to the Fathers (*Corpus antiochenum adauctum*) in those centuries. John Scholasticus was the first to perform such an operation by introducing texts of Basil of Caesarea; his idea was well received and was a success, since others imitated it by inserting texts of other Fathers, in particular those mentioned in the Council in Trullo. Though the decision on which texts of the Fathers to choose did not prevail immediately, as we can see in later collections, yet it made way.

The *Corpus antiochenum*, now lost, the version containing the canons of Constantinople of 381, was translated into Latin in the 5th century. Two versions were made: one called *Isidoriana* (or *Hispana*) and the other *Prisca* (or *Itala*). It was also translated into Syriac, with a first version early in the 5th century. A second was made in 500/501 and included in the *synodicon* of the Syrian Church; this new version gives the acclamation of the Council of Ephesus on the Nicene Creed and the canons of the Council of Chalcedon of 451 (cf. Vööbus and Selb). This collection is also important for reconstructing the original Greek.

c) Use of the collection, as now formed, was not easy because the texts were in chronological order: an order found in both the Latin and the Syriac translation. That of Dionysius reflects the order of the original Greek text, in which the canons were arranged under a continuous numbering. In the first translation the canons of Chalcedon came after those of Sardica and Carthage (cf. Strewe, *Die Canonensammlung...*, 19-22; 61-98); in the second translation they were put before Sardica (PL 67, 171B-176D) but with their own numbering; in the Syriac translation they constituted numbers 167-193.

Around 535 an unknown canonist thought to draw up a systematic collection of all the material at his disposal in 60 titles or rubrics (*Collectio sexaginta titulorum*) instead of in the traditional chronological order. This was after the publication of the *Codex Iustinianus* (529), which follows a systematic order. The collection has disappeared, but we are informed of it by John III Scholasticus, called "of Seremis" from the village of his birth, 60 km. south-east of Antioch. Ordained priest in 559, he was sent to Constantinople as apocrisiarius, a fixed ambassador, by his bishop Domnus III (Domninus) (545-559); in 565 Justinian appointed him bishop of the capital (31 Jan 565 – 31 Aug 577) instead of Eutychius, who returned to the position only after John's death. As patriarch he was acceptable neither to the Monophysites nor

to the Orthodox. Perhaps before being sent to Constantinople, in any case before being elected patriarch, he had revised the *Collectio sexaginta titulorum* in a different order, in 50 titles (*Synagoga quinquaginta titulorum*, CPG 7550) on the model of Justinian's *Pandects (Digest)*: a logical and systematic order with titles above the chapters. In reality the new collection marked no great progress over the previous one, yet it prevailed. In the preface he explains his methodology, vaunting his work over that of "others" who had distributed the canons badly and omitted Basil. Without naming him, he is in fact criticizing the author of the collection in 60 titles. The order of the material proceeds according to the dignity of the subjects: from the patriarch down to monks and nuns; in the last two titles he deals with councils (49) and feasts (50); he does not insert canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon, nor those of the Council of Carthage. He also includes 60 canons from two letters of Basil of Caesarea to Amphilochius of Iconium (*Epp.* 199 and 217). The fact that he reproves his predecessors for omitting Basil, but not for the absence of Sardica and Ephesus, means that the canons of those councils had already been inserted in the collection he used. Yet the canons of Ephesus were not yet in the Greek collection translated by Dionysius early in the 6th century. Moreover in 41 titles of the *Synagoga* he also inserted imperial laws, taken from Justinian's *Code*, from the *Digest* and the *Novellae*, here too introducing an innovation that would meet success, creating the genre of the *Nomocanon*. Being an advocate (*scholasticus*), he had already done something similar at Antioch with 13 *Novellae* of Justinian on ecclesiastical matters, drawing up a collection of them in 87 titles (*Collectio LXXXVII capitulorum*: CPG 7551; I.B. Pitra, *Iuris eccl. Graecorum*, 2, 385-405). In the manuscripts this collection figures as appendix to the previous one. Also added to it is another in 25 titles: this collection existed before him but was enlarged. The position he subsequently occupied as patriarch of Constantinople favoured the circulation of his collection (cf. Grumel, no. 259b), since it became the canonical collection of the principal Eastern see. Justinian's *Novella* 6 had conferred legal value on ecclesiastical laws, so that every jurist had to know them. The experiment of John Scholasticus had favoured the creation of collections that went under the name of *Nomocanon*: a combination of imperial laws (*nomoi*) and canon laws (*canones*).

At the time of Eutychius' second patriarchate (577-582) the *Syntagma XIV titulorum* was composed, a *via media* between the two previous systems: a first part gave all the canonical material in 14 titles with an indication of the canons, while the second part gave their entire content. The collection also added other texts: so-called canon 7 of the Council of Constantinople of 381, canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon of 451, previously omitted, and a text of the Council of Constantinople of 29

September 394 (against the acceptance of a posthumous condemnation of a person not judged in his lifetime; a canon inserted as 135 of the Council of Carthage [Honigmann, pp. 4 ff.]); after Justinian's reconquest of part of Roman Africa, the African canons were also known in the Byzantine world. Canon 2 of the Council *in Trullo* of 691/692 considers the sources of Eastern canon law to be those cited in its first edition, preserved in two manuscripts of Patmos. By the time of Photius the old chronological collections had disappeared from circulation.

Between 629 and 640 the *Syntagma XIV titulorum*, of whose original text there is still no edition, was used under the emperor Heraclius (610-641) to produce, still at Constantinople, the *Nomocanon XIV titulorum* (Pitra 2, 433-640) by an unknown author, perhaps a certain Enantiophanes (*PLRE* 3, 1447, no. 113). The first part (to which the title properly refers) deals with the various subjects of ecclesiastical discipline (hierarchy, worship, administration, heretics, etc.); the second reproduces the texts *in extenso* (the 85 *Apostolic Canons*, ecumenical and local councils, texts of Church Fathers); in the third are the imperial laws up to the time of Heraclius (612-629). Added to this collection are canon 7 of the Council of Constantinople of 381, canon 28 of Chalcedon, an extract from Nectarius' Council of Constantinople of 394 and the canons of the Council of Carthage of 419; also added later was a letter of Cyprian on the rebaptism of heretics. The *Nomocanon XIV titulorum* was revised in Photius' time by the addition of the canons of the Council *in Trullo*, Nicaea II and two more councils that took place in 861 and 879, omitting the canons of the Council of Constantinople of 869/870, considered in the West the 8th ecumenical Council; thus with this second edition the *Nomocanon* assumed its definitive form, fixing the canonical *corpus* of orthodoxy. The *Nomocanon* was translated by St Methodius into Slavonic and later supplemented by Sava, archbishop of the Serbs, becoming the official collection of the Slav Orthodox Churches.

None of the Eastern collections contain papal letters, as happened in the West with the insertion of pontifical decrees, but only texts of some eminent Fathers. Moreover the insertion of imperial laws, an operation not performed in the West, while favouring whoever had to consult the collection, also emphasized the close connection between Church and Empire. The Orthodox Churches, not having worked out an organic canon law, still trust in the old collections; but the canons are not well defined and their number varies according to different manuscripts and different editions; for this reason there is a deeply felt need to have reliable editions of the old canons formulated at particular historical moments. The definition of the Council *in Trullo* of 691 remains the only one with an official character on the whole breadth of ecclesiastical law through a catalogue of recognized and approved canons.

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4. Eastern Christian Liturgies after the 5th Century

Starting from the various doctrinal and cultural currents, the 5th century marked a progressive diversification – or we could just say a mutual distancing – of the various Churches and also of the various liturgical

families. Antioch – divided by a dual patriarchate, Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian – would at any rate still be a source of liturgical influence: in the Middle Ages the Ethiopic liturgy was reformed from Antiochene models. Jerusalem too would have its influence on the Constantinopolitan, Armenian and Georgian liturgies. The various schisms and politico-ecclesial evolutions created a liturgico-ecclesial situation divided into three great groups: an East Syrian group, an anti-Chalcedonian group and a Chalcedonian group. From the 5th century, improvisation tended to disappear and from now on texts and rites became fairly stable. After Chalcedon, the liturgy at Alexandria developed in two directions: the Chalcedonian, in Greek, which came under heavy Byzantine-Constantinopolitan influence in the Middle Ages; and the Coptic, which went its own way and remained faithful to its own anaphorae, Antiochene by origin and tradition but brought to Egypt by anti-Chalcedonian links between Antioch and Alexandria. Alexandria gave rise to the Ethiopic rite, which would in practice be a rite that made its way by accommodating the Alexandrian and Antiochene liturgies and later Byzantine influences. At Antioch, the liturgy – with the influences that came to it from the Jerusalem liturgy through the anaphora of St James – developed in the three great branches mentioned above: the liturgy of Antioch and Jerusalem, consolidated around the West Syrian liturgy, the liturgy of Mesopotamia and Persia, consolidated around the East Syrian liturgy, and the Byzantine liturgy. This process of liturgical unification would be fairly slow even in the Byzantine world: not until the 9th century do we begin to have euchological texts handed down in codices. To understand the evolution of the liturgy, we must trust to descriptions given either by the Fathers in their catecheses or mystagogies, or by liturgical commentators. Chalcedon and the post-conciliar period would mark the liturgical isolation – or independent evolution – of the anti-Chalcedonian Churches as well as the progressive predominance of the Constantinopolitan liturgy over the Greek liturgies, i.e. the liturgies of those Churches that remained Chalcedonian. In these episcopal sees liturgical changes, or changes in liturgical texts or books, were linked at times to socio-political changes, usually violent ones. This era also marks the development not just of the Eucharist but also of the Office, and this mainly around two centres: Jerusalem and Constantinople. At Jerusalem, the mid 5th century saw the first examples of lectionaries, and around the early 7th century the prayer of the Hours – *Horologion* – developed in accordance with the various hours of prayer in the day. In the early 8th century Constantinople had an Office for the cathedral and the parishes. In the 7th-8th centuries the cycle of different weeks – *Octoechos* – developed, and *Typika* were already starting to appear, i.e. books that regulated the liturgical usages of different places.

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5. Eastern liturgical books

The development and codification of liturgical books in each of the Eastern liturgies are linked to the history and the local or national vicissitudes of each of the Churches. If we except the Byzantine rite, of which there are a number of studies for each of the various liturgical books, for the other liturgies often everything is still to be done – historical and philological study, critical editions. Some of the Eastern Churches still use manuscripts in normal liturgical use, due to the impossibility of completing critical editions as well as difficulties of a material and editorial nature. Introductions to the liturgical books of the various Eastern Churches have recently been made in some manuals on liturgy. In this introduction we give the list of the various liturgical books of the Eastern liturgies, dwelling a bit longer on the Byzantine ones, for which we provide an up-to-date bibliography.

Byzantine liturgical books.

Euchologion. A Byzantine liturgical book for the use of bishop, priest and deacon, it contains the proper parts for the Divine Liturgy and also the other sacraments. There are two types of euchologion: the Great Euchologion which contains the parts of priest and deacon for the Divine Liturgy, Vespers and Orthros; and the Little Euchologion, which contains the texts for the sacraments, except the Divine Liturgy and Ordination. *Triodion*, which contains the proper texts from pre-Lent to Holy Saturday. *Pentecostarion*, which contains the proper texts from Easter Sunday to All Saints Sunday, the first after Pentecost. *Octoechos* – book

of the eight tones – , which contains the proper texts for the daily offices, according to the cycle of eight weeks, which follow eight tones, with eight melodies and different texts. *Mineon*, with the proper of the saints for the twelve months of the year. *Apostle*, which is a lectionary with the New Testament readings: Acts of the Apostles, Paul and the Catholic Epistles. *Gospel*, with the gospel texts for the Eucharist and the festive morning office. *Psalter*, divided into 20 *kathismi* or parts, for vespers and morning office. *Horologion*, which is a concise book of Hours, containing the main parts of the office.

Editions: J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*², Graz 1960; M. Arranz, *L'Euclologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI*, Rome 1996; J. Mateos, "Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas. Le Codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IX siècle)", *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant II*, ST 233, Vatican City 1964, 47-76; S. Parenti, E. Velkovska, *L'Euclologio Barberini Gr. 336*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 80, Rome 1995.

Translations and studies: R. Cappuyns, "L'histoire des livres liturgiques grecs", *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 4 (1940) 470-473. French tr. of all the Byzantine liturgical books: D. Guillaume, Rome-Parma 1973-1997. T. Federici, *Libri liturgici orientali. Anamnesis* 2, Casale Monferrato 1978, 217-223; Idem, "Revisione dei libri liturgici nell'Oriente oggi", *Notitiae* 15 (1979) 640-654; P.-M. Gy, "La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine", *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro* 2, Rome 1967, 251-261; A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (VIII^e-XII^e siècles)", *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, 2, Paris 1970, 109-138; C. Korolevskij, "Liturgical Publications of the Sacred Eastern Congregation", *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 6 (1945-1946) 87-96, 388-399; E.G. Pentelakis, "Les livres liturgiques ecclésiastiques de l'Orthodoxie", *Irénikon* 13 (1930) 521-557; A. Raes, "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise", *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant II*, ST 233, Vatican City 1964, 209-222; E. Velkovska, "Lo studio dei lezioni bizantini", *Ecclesia Orans* 13 (1996) 253-272.

The Byzantine Typika. As appendix to the Byzantine liturgical books we present the *typika*. The term *typikon* is given in Byzantine tradition to texts of normative character, whether juridical, liturgical or monastic. At a liturgical level the *Typikon* is the manual indicating the different celebrations for every day – texts of the offices, of celebration of the Divine Liturgy and other celebrations on the various feast-days – both for the annual moveable cycle and for the fixed cycle of feasts of the saints of the calendar. The *Typikon* also contains information on the way the various liturgical celebrations are carried out. The *Typika* are linked to authors whose personalities became normative for other ecclesial and monastic communities (cf. Theodore the Studite). At a monastic level we find two further groups of *typika*: those that take their origin from a spiritual father and founder of a monastery, who practised the monastic life and codified it for those who would follow him, and those that take their origin from the civil – imperial – authority that founded the monastery and established its observance for the monks

who were to live there. Among the former we find the *Typika* of St Sabas at Jerusalem (6th century), of St Theodore the Studite († 826), of Mount Athos (c. 970); among the latter are those of John II Comnenus (1136) and Michael VIII Palaeologus (1280). The Byzantine Churches of Slav tradition refer to the editions of the *Typikon* of St Sabas, while those of Greek tradition refer rather to the *Typikon* of St Theodore the Studite. The principal *Typika* are linked, in origin, to some monastic rule and emerged from various important monastic centres. I would like to say something of three of them: the *Typikon* of St Sabas, at Jerusalem, the *Typikon* of Studion, at Constantinople, and the *Typikon* of the Great Church, also at Constantinople.

The *Typikon* of St Sabas, at Jerusalem, reflects the traditions of the monastic centres of Palestine in its most flourishing era, the 4th-6th centuries, and reflects a heavily monastic liturgy: night vigils, with a prominent place given to Psalm 118 in the offices.... This *Typikon* came to be widespread – thanks to the authority of the founder of the monastery it came from – in the Melkite Churches of Alexandria and Antioch and finally, in the 12th-13th centuries, also in Constantinople, the capital. The *Typikon* of Studion, i.e. the monastery of that name founded in 463 in the capital, also reflects a heavily monastic structure. It was a monastery with strong links to the spiritual tradition of the monks known as Acoemetes, i.e. "sleepless", since the liturgy was celebrated twenty-four hours a day. This *Typikon* also influenced Asia Minor, Mount Athos, Byzantine Italy and even Russia. The *Typikon* of the Great Church also comprised the offices celebrated both in the church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem – until it was supplanted by the *Typikon* of St Sabas – and in the church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople. It contains the Divine Liturgy, vespers, matins and various prayers celebrated during Lent. It also emphasizes the various prayers of both the priests and the people who, usually, participated in responsorial form. This, as we may say, monastic influence on the offices of the cathedrals also came both from the iconoclastic struggles, in which the monks played a predominant role, and from the progressive choice of candidates for the episcopate from among the monks.

Bibliography: J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, 2 voll., OCA 165-166, Rome 1962-1963; P. De Meester, "Les typiques de fondation", *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini (sett. 1936)*, 2, Rome 1940, 489-518; R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au Moyen Âge. Commende et Typika (X^e-XIV^e siècle)", *REB* 22 (1964) 5-44; M. Nin, "Typikon", *Catholicisme, hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, vol. 15 (1988), 415.

East Syrian liturgical books.

The principal East Syrian liturgical books can be grouped under these names and subjects: *Hudra* – cycle – contains the texts for all the offices

of all the feasts. *Gazza* – treasure – contains liturgical compositions for the vigil offices (*lelya*). *Kashkull* – containing everything – gives the texts of the *Hudra* and also those for ferial days. *Warda* – rose – is a collection of poetic texts used as antiphons. *Ktaba daqdam wadbatar* – book of before and after – contains the Sunday texts starting from Easter. *Three lectionaries*: Old Testament, Epistles and Evangelary. *Naqpayatha draze* – supplement of the mysteries – i.e. chants for the celebration of the liturgy.

West Syrian liturgical books.

The West Syrian liturgical books so far published are mainly those edited under the patriarchate of I.-E. Rahmani, West Syrian Catholic patriarch in the first quarter of the 20th century. In recent years the publication of the Syriac text of some liturgical books has begun in the West Syrian Orthodox monastery of St Ephrem in Holland. The main liturgical books are: *Ktobo d'anaphuras* – book of anaphorae – which contains the prayers and anaphorae recited by the priest; *Diaconale*, a book with the parts of the deacon and the responses of the people; *'Atiqto* – old – for the Old Testament readings; *Shliho* – apostle – for the readings of the Pauline epistles, divided into three cycles: Sundays, moveable feasts, fixed feasts and feriae; *Evangelary*, similarly divided into three cycles; *Fanqitho*, a collection of liturgical texts for the feasts of the year, in seven volumes; *Shimo* – simple –, a book for the offices of the week; *Psalter*, containing the psalms to be recited in the offices; *Book of sedrē*, which contains the various collections of *sedrē*. The *sedro* – order – is a text recited by the priest, which contains an introduction and an admonition of homiletic type with reference to the feast being celebrated or the day of the week.

Coptic liturgical books.

A collection of 21 liturgical books has come down to us in the Coptic tradition; this fact indicates a rather poor codification of the texts: *Euchologion*, which contains the formulary of the Eucharistic liturgy with the three anaphorae used, i.e. those of St Basil, St Gregory and St Cyril, of matins and the office of vespers; *Diaconale*, containing the variable parts of the deacon and the people; *Katameros* – lectionary, with three parts: one for Sundays, feast-days and weekdays; one for Lent; one for Easter and Pentecost; *Synaxarion*, a type of martyrology, read at the Eucharistic celebration after the reading of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to indicate the continuity of salvation-history; *Al-Tasafir*, which contains the Arabic translation of the readings and a series of comments on the readings of the mass; *Al-Mawa'iz*, which contains an anthology

of homiletic texts from the patristic tradition; *Al-Hutab*, which contains a series of texts read before the Gospel at mass; *Al-Tamagid*, which contains hymns and doxologies for the feasts of the saints; *Al-Mayamir*, which contains a series of homilies descriptive of the feast being celebrated; *Al-Sirah*, which contains biographies of the saints read after the *Al-Mayamir*; *Book of Procession*, for the processions of the two feasts of the Cross and for Palm Sunday; *Horologion*, which contains the ordinary for the seven Hours of the office; *Annual Psalmody*, which contains the odes and the *Theotokia* for weekdays and the doxologies for feasts of the saints; *Psalmody of Khoiak*, which contains offices proper to the month of Khoiak – before Christmas –, dedicated to Our Lady; *Difnar*, which contains a menology with a little information on the saints being celebrated, and hymns for the feasts of the saints; *Office of Laqqan*, which contains a benedictional for the blessing of water in Epiphany, Holy Thursday and the feast of Sts Peter and Paul; *Liturgy of Holy Week*, which contains the prayers for Holy Week, from Lazarus Saturday to Easter Sunday; *Book of Holy Easter*, which contains the lectionary of Holy Week.

Ethiopian liturgical books.

Missal, with some 20 anaphorae; various *Manuals* for penitence, marriage and anointing of the sick; *Deggua*, antiphonal with the Psalms, antiphons and other texts for the office; *Soma deggaa*, antiphonal for Lent; *Antiphonal* for feast-days; *Synodos*, which contains a list of feasts of the saints.

Armenian liturgical books.

Tonac'oyc', which is the Armenian version of the Greek *Typikon*, i.e. the book that regulates feasts and liturgical celebrations; *Horhrdatetr* – book of mysteries – which is the missal with the liturgy of St Athanasius, the liturgy used in the Armenian Church; *Caoc'*, lectionary with the biblical pericopes for the celebrations; *Zamagirk'*, i.e. the book of Hours, corresponding to the Greek *Horologion*; *Sarakan*, which is the antiphonary with the variable parts of the office, and the *Tagaran*, a hymnary which also gives the variable parts of the Eucharist; *Matoc'*, which is the ritual of the Armenian liturgy; *Pontifical*, with the parts proper to the bishop.

Bibliography: F.Y. Alichoran, *Missel Chaldéen*, Paris 1982; C. Moussess, "Les huit éditions du Missel chaldéen", *Proche Orient Chrétien* 1 (1951) 209-220; Idem, *Les Livres Liturgiques de l'Église Chaldéenne*, Beirut 1955; H. Malak, "Les Livres Liturgiques de l'Église Copte", *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant III*, Vatican City 1964, 1-35; *La bibliographie classifiée de la liturgie syrienne orientale*, ed. P. Yousif, Mar Thoma Yogam / The St Thomas Christian Fellowship, Rome 1990.

6. Eastern anaphorae

In the East we find ourselves with three great families of anaphorae: the Alexandrian, the Antiochene and that called simply Eastern which is also considered a branch of the Antiochene family, though the isolation into which the Churches of Persia and Mesopotamia very quickly fell – 3rd-4th centuries – meant that their liturgical development went its own way.

Alexandrian anaphorae.

At a liturgical level, the Alexandrian Church would be rather sparing in euchological texts. The first anaphoric text of Alexandrian origin is the so-called Strasbourg Papyrus, a fragmentary text dateable to the 4th century, which, with the so-called “Barcelona anaphora”, allows us to reconstruct the celebration of the Eucharist in the setting of 4th-century Alexandria.

For the Greek Egyptian Church we should mention the following anaphorae: anaphora of St Mark; Der-Balyzeh fragment, 6th-7th century; anaphora of the *Euchologion* of Serapion, 4th century; Barcelona anaphora.

For the Coptic Church: anaphora of Cyril of Alexandria; fragment cod. Lovaniensis Copt. 27, 6th century; fragment cod. British Museum Copt. 4.

The anaphoric tradition of the Ethiopic Church is more numerous than that of the other two Alexandrian traditions; it has a number of influences of Antiochene origin: anaphora of our holy fathers the apostles; anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ; anaphora of St John, son of thunder; anaphora of Mary the Virgin, daughter of God; anaphora of the 318 orthodox Fathers; anaphora of Athanasius; anaphora of Epiphanius of Salamis; anaphora of John Chrysostom; anaphora of Cyril of Alexandria; anaphora of Dioscorus of Alexandria; anaphora of Our Lady, Mary Mother of God.

Antiochene anaphorae.

The origin and earliest texts of the anaphorae of Antiochene tradition must be sought in the commentaries of the 4th-century Fathers: Mystagogical Catechesis of Jerusalem, 4th-5th century; Pseudo-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (III, 3, 11, 12); Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Mystagogical Catechesis*, 5th century; anaphora of the *Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*.

For the Byzantine Church: anaphora of St John Chrysostom; anaphora of St Basil; anaphora of St James, brother of the Lord; anaphora of Epiphanius of Salamis; anaphora of St Gregory Nazianzen.

For the West Syrian Church: anaphora of the twelve apostles; Syrian anaphora of St James, brother of the Lord; anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria; anaphora of Severus of Antioch; anaphora of Cyril; anaphora of Ignatius of Antioch; anaphora of John of Bostra; first anaphora of Clement of Rome; anaphora of Julius of Rome; anaphora of Eustathius of Antioch.

For the Armenian Church: anaphora of St Athanasius of Alexandria; anaphora of St Gregory Nazianzen; anaphora of St Isaac; anaphora of St Cyril of Alexandria; anaphora of St James, brother of the Lord.

East Syrian anaphorae.

Although the East Syrian tradition has an Antiochene origin, the anaphorae have undergone a particular evolution. In this tradition we find three anaphorae: anaphora of Addai and Mari; anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia; anaphora of Nestorius.

Editions: A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, *Præx Eucharistica. Textus e variis liturgiis antiquioribus selecti*, Fribourg 1968; A. Piédagnel, *Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchèses mystagogiques*, SCh 126a; R. Tonneau, R. Devreesse, *Les Homélie Catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, ST 145, Vatican City 1945; *Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. I.E. Rahmani, Maguntia 1899; F.Y. Alichoran, *Missel Chaldéen*, Paris 1982; AA.VV., *Anaphorae syriacae, quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt*, cura Pontificii Instituti Studiorum Orientalium editae et latine versae, 3 voll., Rome 1939-1981; R. Roca-Puig, *Anáfora de Barcelona y altres pregaries*, Barcelona 1994.

Studies: AA.VV., *Segno di unità. Le più antiche eucaristie delle chiese*, Qiqajon, Bose 1996; AA.VV., *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident. Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge*, 1-2, Paris 1970; A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, Chevetogne 1953; J.N. Berkens, “Catalogue des manuscrits du fonds patriarcal de Rahmani conservés à Charfet, contenant des anaphores”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 12 (1962) 224-242; B. Botte, “Problème de l'anaphore syrienne des apôtres Addai et Mari”, *OrSyr* 10 (1965) 89-106; Idem, “La structure des anaphores orientales”, *Bulletin du Comité des Etudes (St. Sulpice)* 22, 3 (1958) 233-247; F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western. I. Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford 1896, repr. Oxford-New York 1965; I.-H. Dalmais, “Quelques grands thèmes théologiques des anaphores orientales”, *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, 2 voll., Lex Orandi 46-47, Paris 1970, 179-195; C. Giraud, *Eucaristia per la Chiesa. Prospettive teologiche sull'eucaristia a partire della “Lex orandi”*, Allosiana 22, Brescia 1989; Idem, *La struttura letteraria della preghiera eucaristica*, Analecta Biblica 92, Rome 1989; J. Godart, “Traditions anciennes de la grande prière eucharistique”, *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* 47 (1966) 248-272; 48 (1967) 9-36, 198-218; A. González Fuente, *Pregchiere eucaristiche della tradizione cristiana*, Padua 1983; *L'Eucharistie dans l'antiquité chrétienne*, Textes choisis et présentés par A.G. Hamman, Paris 1981; A.G. Hamman, *Prières eucharistiques des premiers siècles à nos jours*, Foi Vivante 113, Paris 1969; J.M. Hanssens, *Institutiones liturgicae de ritibus orientalibus*, 2-3, *De Missa ritum orientalium*, Rome 1930-1932; W.F. Macomber, “The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari”, *OCP* 32 (1966) 335-371; E. Mazza, *L'anafora eucaristica. Studi sulle origini*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 62, Rome 1992; M. Nin, “The Liturgical Heritage of the Eastern Churches”,

Catholic Eastern Churches: Heritage and Identity, ed. P. Pallath, Mar Thoma Yogam, Rome 1994; Idem, "Liturgia, fonte di vita nello Spirito. Per un approccio liturgico alla teologia, a partire della Lettera Apostolica 'Orientale Lumen'", *Seminarium* 36 (1966) 222-233; H. Paprocki, *Le mystère de l'eucharistie*, Paris 1993; J. Quasten, *Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima*, 6 fasc., Florilegium Patristicum 7, Bonn 1935-1937; J.M. Sánchez Caro, V. Martín Pindado, *La gran oración eucarística: textos de ayer y de hoy*, Madrid 1969; J.M. Sánchez Caro, *Eucaristía e historia de la salvación. Estudio sobre la plegaria eucarística oriental*, BAC 439, Madrid 1983; R. Taft, *The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-Anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom*, OCA 200, Rome 1978², xxxi-xxxiv.

7. Mystagogical commentaries

In the East – after the great mystagogical texts of the 4th-5th centuries – there were various commentaries on the Eucharistic liturgy, whether those of the Byzantine tradition or those of the East Syrian, West Syrian and Armenian traditions. Mystagogical commentaries make an important contribution to the study of the theology of the Eastern anaphorae, due to the fact that, after studying the anaphoric texts for their origin and content, the mystagogical commentaries enlighten us as to the spirit and attitude in which the anaphoric texts were lived at a particular time. In the Byzantine tradition we will mention some of these commentaries. The *Mystagogy* of Maximus the Confessor (580-662), written c. 628-630, seeks to explain to the reader the symbolic meaning of the various parts of the Eucharistic celebration; first the author presents the symbolism of the edifice of worship, and then that of the different parts of the liturgy. The *Ecclesiastical History* attributed to Germanus of Constantinople († 733), which gives much room to a commentary on the Eucharistic anaphora, gives a typically symbolic exegesis of the liturgical texts in line with Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Catechetical Homilies*: the liturgical celebration is a commemoration of Christ's life, especially his death and resurrection, and is at the same time an anticipation of the heavenly liturgy. The *Protheoria*, attributed to Nicholas, bishop of Andida in Pamphylia (11th century), gives a mainly allegorical commentary on the text of the Eucharistic anaphora, seeking always to see the archetypes of which the liturgical ceremonies are a symbol. The *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* by Nicholas Cabasilas (1320-1392), the best-known mystagogical commentary so far, starts from what may be called a real interpretation of the liturgy – the prayers and ceremonies have a significance that is proper to them – before going on to a more symbolic interpretation. This text also becomes important in relation to Western Eucharistic theology due to the fact that it raises two central points: the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist

and the role of the epiclesis in the Consecration. The *Commentary* of Symeon of Thessalonica († 1429) follows the same symbolic line as the same author's *Ecclesiastical History*.

Editions: N. Cabasilas, *Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, SCh 4/4a, Paris 1943/1967; R. Cantarella, *S. Massimo il Confessore. La Mistagogia et altri scritti*, Florence 1990.

Studies: R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 9, Paris 1966; F.E. Brightman, "The Historia Mystagogica and Other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy", *JTS* 9 (1908) 248-267, 387-397; N. Cabasilas, *Commento della Divina Liturgia*, Padua 1984; I.-H. Dalmais, *Place de la Mystagogie de saint Maxime le Confesseur dans la Théologie Liturgique Byzantine*, SP 5, TU 80, 277-283, Berlin 1962; L.M. Gatti, *Massimo il Confessore. Bibliografia*, Milan 1987; G. Gharib, "Nicolas Cabasilas et l'explication symbolique de la liturgie", *POC* 10 (1960) 114-133; "Maxime le Confesseur, *Mystagogie*", *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 466-472, 596-597, 717-720; 14 (1937) 66-69, 182-185, 282-284, 444, 448; 15 (1938) 71-74, 185-186, 276-278, 390-391, 488-492; N. Ozoline, "La symbolique cosmique du temple chrétien selon la mystagogie de Saint Maxime le Confesseur", *Mystagogie: pensée liturgique d'aujourd'hui et liturgie ancienne*, Conférences Saint-Serge. XXXIX Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris 1992, 253-262; E. Steffen, "Importance de l'Anaphore dans les commentaires de la liturgie en Orient", *La prédication liturgique et les commentaires de la liturgie*, Conférences Saint-Serge. XXXVIII Semaine d'Études Liturgiques, Paris 1991, 205-219; A. Troubnikoff, *Commentaires sur la Divine Liturgie*, Meudon 1971.

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