

An annotated critical edition of Demetrios Chrysoloras'

Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic

against Neilos Kabasilas

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at the University of London

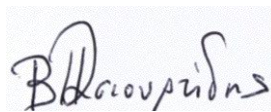
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March 2013

Candidate's declaration:

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

Candidate's signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B. Kourtidis", is written over a light grey rectangular background.

Date: 25 March 2013

To my family

Abstract

The present thesis is an annotated critical edition of the *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas* by the Byzantine scholar and theologian Demetrios Chrysoloras (ca. 1360-post 1440). Composed in the form of an imaginary dialogue this text presents the Orthodox position with reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit, the main doctrinal issue that divided, and still divides, the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. In this fictitious dialogue Chrysoloras 'resurrects' both Kydones (+1397) and Kabasilas (+1363), as well as Thomas Aquinas (+1274), the author who gave rise to their own debate. In this way, three theological discourses, and two perceptions are involved in Demetrios Chrysoloras' work. At the same time this text highlights perspectives of cultural and ethnic identity within Byzantine society.

The thesis comprises an **Introduction** and a critical **edition** of the text.

The **Introduction** is divided into two **Parts (I-II)**. **Part I** gives information on the author and his times, his works and the background of the composition of this text in the context of the ecclesiastical dialogue between Byzantine and Western theologians in this period. This Part also examines the circumstances that gave rise to the composition of this fictitious *Dialogue*, followed by an analysis of its structure and content, a commentary on the arguments put forward by Chrysoloras to refute Kydones' *Antirrhetic* and an evaluation of the *Dialogue* in the wider historical, theological and cultural context.

Part II is devoted to the manuscript tradition. The four codices which preserve the complete text of the *Dialogue*, datable between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are described and studied from the codicological and palaeographical point of view, followed by a palaeographical and textual examination in order to establish their relation.

To help the reader, the **edition** of the text is accompanied by five apparatuses, recording: (a) passages of Neilos' treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit (DPSS III)* and Kydones' *Antirrhetic (Defensio)*; (b) parallel passages in Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* and other works of his; (c) passages from Thomas Aquinas' works cited in the text; (d) *apparatus fontium* recording proverbs and classical, Scriptural and patristic citations in the text; and (e) *apparatus criticus* recording palaeographical and textual observations in the extant manuscripts. The edition is preceded by a brief note on the principles and conventions adopted, and a list of abbreviations and signs used in the *apparatuses*.

The thesis closes with full **bibliography** and **facsimiles** of selected folios of the extant manuscripts.

Table of Contents

Abstract	4
Table of contents	5
Acknowledgements	6
Abbreviations	8
List of Plates	16
Introduction	17
Part I: The Author and the <i>Dialogue</i>	17
The Author of the <i>Dialogue</i>	17
Date and circumstances of the composition of the <i>Dialogue</i>	27
The structure and content of the <i>Dialogue</i>	29
Conclusions	123
Part II: The manuscript tradition	132
Description of the extant manuscripts	132
Palaeographical and textual examination of the <i>Dialogue</i>	150
Relation of the manuscripts	175
Edition	177
The present edition	178
Demetrii Chrysoloniae Refutatio operis Demetrii Cydonis <i>Contra Nilum Cabasilam</i> sub forma dialogi, in quo auctor ipse cum personis Thomae Aquinatis, Nili Cabasilae et Demetrii Cydonis loquitur	189
Bibliography	398
Plates	417

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Σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τουτονί με τὸν ἀγῶνα νῦν
ἀπαιτήσας ... ἂν μὲν οὖν ἀγαθός σοι φανῆται, καὶ Θεῶ, καὶ σοὶ
χάρις· τῶ μὲν, ὡς χαρισαμένῳ μοι, λόγων δύναμιν τι λέγειν
... σοὶ δέ, τούτων ὡς αἰτίῳ μοι καθισταμένῳ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ
τὸν σὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετό μοι σκοπὸν, ἀνέχου ...

Demetrios Chrysoloras, *Dialogue*, Epilogue, 111-117

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Abbreviations

AB	Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων
Ackrill, <i>Aristotle</i>	J.L. Ackrill, <i>Aristotle's Categories and De Interpretatione</i> (Oxford, 1963)
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> ; ed., E. Schwartz, tom. I: <i>Concilium universale Ephesinum</i> , 5 vols. (Berlin, 1927-1929); tom. IV <i>Concilium universale Constantinopolitum sub Iustiniano habitum: Concilii actiones VIII, appendices graecae – indices</i> , vol. 1 (Berlin, 1971)
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
AHC	<i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum</i>
Aldama, <i>Repertorium</i>	J.A. de Aldama, <i>Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum</i> (Paris, 1965)
Anagnostopoulos, <i>Companion</i>	G. Anagnostopoulos, ed., <i>A Companion to Aristotle</i> (Chichester, 2009)
B	<i>Byzantion</i>
Barker, <i>Manuel II</i>	J.W. Barker, <i>Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship</i> (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969)
Barlaam the Calabrian, <i>Against the Latins</i>	Barlaam the Calabrian, <i>Against the Latins</i> , ed. A. Fyrigos, <i>Barlaam Calabro. Opere contro i Latini</i> , 2 vols., ST, 347, 348 (Vatican, 1998), <i>Tractatus A</i> , vol. 2, pp. 498-624; <i>Tractatus B</i> , vol. 2, pp. 246-465
Barnes, <i>Porphry</i>	J. Barnes, <i>Porphry: Introduction</i> (Oxford, 2006)
BSI	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
ByzSt	<i>Byzantine Studies</i>
BV	<i>Byzantina Vindobonensia</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Cammelli, <i>I dotti bizantini</i>	G. Cammelli, <i>I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo</i> , vol. I: <i>Manuele Crisolora</i> (Florence, 1941)
Canart, <i>Les Vaticani graeci: 1487-1962</i>	P. Canart, <i>Les Vaticani graeci: 1487-1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane</i> , ST, 284 (Vatican City, 1979)
Candal, <i>Nilus Cabasilas</i>	E. Candal, <i>Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus sancti</i> , ST, 116 (Vatican City, 1945)
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina

CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
Chrysostomides, <i>Καθηγήτρια</i>	J. Chrysostomides, ed., <i>Καθηγήτρια: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday</i> (Camberley, 1988)
Constantinides, <i>Higher Education</i>	C.N. Constantinides, <i>Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries</i> (Nicosia, 1982)
CparG	E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, eds., <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1839, 1851; repr. Hildesheim, 1965, 1958); Supplementum, eds. L. Cohn, O. Crusius, H. Jungblut (Breslau, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1961 ²)
CPG	M. Geerard, ed., <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols CCSG (Turnhout, 1970-1987) and Supplement, eds. M. Geerard and J. Noret (Turnhout, 1998)
Davies, <i>Thomas Aquinas</i>	B. Davies, <i>The Thought of Thomas Aquinas</i> (Oxford and New York, 1992)
Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact'	J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact on Late Byzantine Theology and Philosophy: The Issues of Method or 'Modus Sciendi' and 'Dignitas Hominiis'', in <i>Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen</i> , eds. A. Speer and Ph. Steinkrüger, <i>Miscellanea Mediaevalia</i> , 36 (Berlin and New York, 2012), pp. 333-410
Demetrios Chrysoloras, <i>Abridged exposition</i>	Demetrios Chrysoloras, <i>Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit</i> , ed. D. Koutsoures, <i>Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρά, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Νεῖλος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης</i> (Athens, 1998), pp. 45-180
Demetrios Chrysoloras, <i>Comparison</i>	Demetrios Chrysoloras, <i>Comparison between the old emperors and the new Emperor Manuel Palaiologos</i> , ed. S. Lampros, 'Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ νέου τοῦ νῦν αὐτοκράτορος Μανουῆλ Παλαιολόγου', <i>ΠΠ III</i> (1926), pp. 222-245
Demetrios Kydones, <i>Antirrhetic</i>	Demetrios Kydones, <i>Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas</i> , in <i>Vaticanus graecus 614</i> , ff. 110 ^r -126 ^v
Demetrios Kydones, <i>Apologia I</i>	Demetrios Kydones, <i>Apologia I</i> , ed. G. Mercati, <i>Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV</i> , ST, 56 (Vatican City, 1931), pp. 359-403
Dendrinis, <i>Annotated</i>	Ch. Dendrinis, ed., <i>An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise On the Procession of the Holy Spirit</i> (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996)

Dendrinios, 'Co-operation and friendship'	Ch. Dendrinios, 'Co-operation and friendship among scholars in the circle of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1390-1425) as reflected in their autograph manuscripts', in <i>Proceedings of the International colloquium Unlocking the potential of texts: interdisciplinary perspectives on Medieval Greek</i> , University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006, published online at http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/pdf/Dendrinios.pdf
Dendrinios, 'Palaiologan scholars at work'	Ch. Dendrinios, 'Palaiologan scholars at work. Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios' autograph. With eighteen figures', in <i>From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10-11 Dec. 2009)</i> , eds. A. Giannouli and E. Schiffer, <i>Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung</i> 29 (Vienna, 2011), pp. 25-53
Dendrinios, 'Reflections'	Ch. Dendrinios, 'Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence', <i>AHC</i> 39 (2007), 135-152
Dennis, <i>Manuel II, Letters</i>	G.T. Dennis, <i>The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus</i> , CFHB, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1977)
Devreesse, <i>Le fonds</i>	R. Devreesse, <i>Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V</i> , ST, 244 (Vatican City, 1965)
<i>Dialogue</i>	Demetrios Chrysoloras, <i>Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas</i> , ed. below, pp. 190-397
Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>Celestial hierarchy</i>	Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>On the celestial hierarchy</i> , eds. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, <i>Corpus Dionysiacum II, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae</i> , PTS, 36 (Berlin and New York, 1991)
Ps-Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>On the divine names</i>	Ps-Dionysius the Areopagite, <i>On the divine names</i> , ed. B.-R. Suchla, <i>Corpus Dionysiacum I: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus</i> , PTS, 33 (Berlin, 1990)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EA	Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια
Emery, <i>The Trinitarian Theology</i>	G. Emery, <i>The Trinitarian Theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas</i> , English trans. F.A. Murphy (Oxford, 2007)
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
Gautier, 'Action de grâces'	P. Gautier, 'Action de grâces de Démétrius Chrysoloras à la Théotokos pour l'anniversaire de la bataille d'Ankara (28 Juillet 1403)', <i>REB</i> 19 (1961), 340-357
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte

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- HTR
- Harvard Theological Review*
- Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*
- J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986; repr. 1990)
- JHS
- Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JÖB
- Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- John Damascene, *Exposition*
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- Lossky, *Image and Likeness of God*
- Manuel II, *Letter to Alexios Iagoup*
- Manuel II, *Letters*
- Manuel II, *DPSS*
- Maximus, Metropolitan of Sardes, *Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον*
- Mercati, *Notizie*
- Mercati, *Per la storia*
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- OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta
- OCP Orientalia Christiana Periodica
- ODB A.P. Kazhdan ed.-in-chief, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford, 1991)
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- PLP E. Trapp et al., eds., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, fasc. 1-12 (Vienna, 1976-1990)

PG	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graecolatina</i> , 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866)
Podskalsky, <i>Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz</i>	G. Podskalsky, <i>Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14.-15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung</i> , Byzantinisches Archiv, 15 (Munich, 1977)
<i>Porphyrogenita</i>	Ch. Dendrinou, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin, eds., <i>Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides</i> (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003)
Porphyry, <i>Isagoge</i>	Porphyry, <i>Isagoge sive quinque voces</i> , ed. A. Busse, <i>Porphyrii isagoge et in Aristotelis categorias commentarium</i> , Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 4.1 (Berlin, 1887), pp. 1-22
ΠΠ	S. Lampros, ed., <i>Παλαιολογία και Πελοποννησιακά</i> , 4 vols. (Athens, 1912-30)
Price and Gaddis, <i>The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon</i>	R. Price and M. Gaddis, <i>The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Translated with an Introduction and Notes</i> , vol. 1, <i>Translated Texts for Historians</i> , 45 (Liverpool, 2007)
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>Regestes</i>	<i>Les registres du Patriarcat de Constantinople</i> , vol. I: <i>Les actes des patriarches</i> , ed. J. Darrouzès, fasc. 6, <i>Les registres de 1377 à 1410</i> (Paris, 1979); fasc. 7: <i>Les registres de 1410 à 1453</i> (Paris, 1991)
Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras'	I. Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras y su homilía inédita sobre la dormición de María', <i>Helmantica</i> 11 (1960), 233-248
Ross, <i>Aristotle</i>	W.D. Ross, <i>Aristotle</i> (London, 1923)
Russell, 'Palamism and the Circle of Cydones'	N. Russell, 'Palamism and the Circle of Cydones', in <i>Porphyrogenita</i> , pp. 153-174
Runciman, <i>The Last Byzantine Renaissance</i>	S. Runciman, <i>The Last Byzantine Renaissance</i> (Cambridge, 1970)
SBN	<i>Studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
SC	Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1924-)
Sherrard, <i>Greek East and Latin West</i>	Ph. Sherrard, <i>The Greek East and the Latin West</i> (London, 1959)
Siecienski, <i>The Filioque</i>	A.E. Siecienski, <i>The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy</i> , Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York and Oxford, 2010).

Soteropoulos, <i>Θέματα θεολογίας</i>	Ch. Soteropoulos, <i>Θέματα θεολογίας τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνος</i> (Athens, 1990)
ST	Studi e Testi
Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i>	Stobaeus, <i>Anthology</i> , eds. O. Hense and C. Wachsmuth, <i>Ioannis Stobaei anthologium</i> , vols. 3-4 (Berlin, 1894, 1909)
Sylvester Syropoulos, <i>Mémoires</i>	Sylvester Syropoulos, <i>Mémoires</i> , 2, 3, ed. V. Laurent, <i>Les «Mémoires» du grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)</i> , Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores, ser. B, 9 (Rome, 1971)
Tinnefeld, <i>Demetrios Kydones</i>	F. Tinnefeld, <i>Demetrios Kydones, Briefe</i> , vol. I/I, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 12 (Stuttgart, 1981)
<i>The Complete Works of Aristotle</i>	<i>The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation</i> , ed. J. Barnes, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J., 1984)
Thomas Aquinas, CEG	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Contra errores Graecorum</i> , editio Leonina Manualis (Rome, 1967)
Thomas Aquinas, SCG	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Liber de veritate catholicae Fidei contra errores infidelium seu Summa contra Gentiles</i> , vols. II-III, eds. C. Pera, P. Marc and P. Caramello (Turin, 1961)
Thomas Aquinas, <i>De Potentia</i>	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Quaestiones disputatae de potentia</i> , ed. P.M. Pession, in <i>Quaestiones Disputatae</i> , vol. 2 (Rome, 1965)
Thomas Aquinas, <i>ST</i>	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa theologiae</i> , editio Leonina Manualis (Rome, 1888)
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> ®, A Digital Library of Greek Literature, University of California, Irvine
Voulgares, <i>Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ</i>	E. Voulgares, ed., <i>Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα</i> , vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1768; Thessaloniki, 1991?)
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien

List of Plates

Plate 1a	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 28 ^r	K
Plate 1b	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 28 ^v	K
Plate 2a	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 29 ^r	K
Plate 2b	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 29 ^v	K
Plate 3	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 1 ^r	K
Plate 4	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 4 ^v	K
Plate 5	Copenhagen, Royal Library, <i>GkS</i> 1985, f. 155 ^v	K
Plate 6	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>Laur.</i> Pluteus 5.12, f. 1 ^r	L
Plate 7	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>Laur.</i> Pluteus 5.12, f. 74 ^r	L
Plate 8	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Par. gr.</i> 1284, f. 42 ^r	P
Plate 9	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Par. gr.</i> 1284, f. 17 ^r	P
Plate 10	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Par. gr.</i> 1284, f. 7 ^r	P
Plate 11	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Par. gr.</i> 1284, f. 40 ^v	P
Plate 12	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <i>Par. gr.</i> 1284, f. 1 ^r	P
Plate 13	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr.</i> 1109, f. 59 ^r	V
Plate 14	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr.</i> 1109, f. 78 ^r	V
Plate 15	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr.</i> 1109, f. 135 ^v	V
Plate 16	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr.</i> 1109, f. 2 ^v	V
Plate 17	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat. gr.</i> 1109, f. 115 ^r	V

Introduction¹

Part I: The Author and the *Dialogue*

The Author of the *Dialogue*

The late Byzantine period (1261-1453) was characterized by intense doctrinal and ecclesiastical disputes interconnected with political conflicts which divided Byzantine society². Broadly speaking, two major groups represented the extreme positions that dominated social and political life in the declining Empire. The anti-Latin party, represented by the majority of the Byzantine people and the Orthodox Church, particularly the monastic community and the lower clergy, refused to negotiate the issue of union between the Greek and Latin Churches with the papacy. This intransigent attitude against the Latins emanated from the bitterness on the part of the Byzantine people after the Latin conquest and occupation of the Empire in 1204, an attitude which persisted after the re-conquest of Constantinople by Michael Palaiologos in 1261 and the re-establishment of Byzantine imperial authority under his dynasty. The proselytising and pro-unionist activities of the members of the opposite, Latinophile, party, coupled with their expressed esteem for Latin scholastic thought, increased the distrust and hostility of their opponents, for in their eyes they had betrayed their faith and country, often to serve their own financial and political interests³.

¹ For a preliminary version of this introduction, see V. Pasiourtidis, 'Theological Encounters and Cultural Identity in Late Byzantium: Demetrios Chrysoloras' unpublished Fictitious Dialogue Refuting Demetrios Kydones' Defence of Thomas Aquinas', in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen*, eds. A. Speer and Ph. Steinkrüger, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 36 (Berlin and New York, 2012), pp. 431-438. References to sections and subsections of the *Dialogue* in the present thesis appear as in the following example: [1.¹²⁻¹³] = Preface, lines 12-13; [2.1.³⁴⁻³⁵] = First Syllogism, first subsection, lines 34-35; [3.2.³⁻⁵] = Fourth Syllogism, second subsection, lines 3-5, etc.

² The most important controversies involved the Arsenian schism (13th c.), the hesychast controversy (14th c.), and the question over the Union of the Churches which dominated the foreign policy of the Palaiologoi emperors until the fall of the Empire to the Ottomans in 1453. See D.M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 1-30; J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986, repr. 1990), pp. 220-247, 252-286.

³ See Ch. Dendrinos, 'Reflections on the failure of the Union of Florence', *AHC* 39 (2007), 135-152 at p. 141. See also D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge, 1993², repr. 1994); P. Gounarides, 'Πολιτικές διαστάσεις της συνόδου Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας', *Θησαυρισματα* 31 (2001), 107-129; A. Papadakis, 'The problem of Religious Union and its Literature', *AHC* 38 (2006), 287-302.

In this climate, exacerbated by the consolidation of the Ottoman power in the Balkans, the Byzantine government opted to continue its negotiations with the papacy using the Union of the Churches as an instrument for securing military aid from the West⁴. A major obstacle in these discussions was the different views held by the two sides concerning the terms of a possible Union. For the Byzantines the basis of a genuine and lasting reunion should be the convening of an Ecumenical Council where the most important theological, ecclesiastical and liturgical points of dispute would be discussed between the Byzantine and Latin theologians in a spirit of equality and mutual understanding. The pre-condition of the reunion on the part of the papacy, on the other hand, was the submission of the Byzantine Church to Rome in return to financial and military help for the defence of the Empire⁵. This pre-supposed the acceptance by the Eastern Churches of the Latin addition in the Creed of the *filioque* clause stating that the third Person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the Father and the Son, as the Latin theologians taught, against the Orthodox view that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, the only source in the Trinity⁶.

The second issue that prevented an agreement for Union involved papal primacy. For the anti-unionist party, the Bishop of Rome was considered *primus inter pares* in spiritual matters, as indeed stipulated in the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils⁷. The papacy, under the influence of German theologians, insisted that this primacy entailed also ecclesiastical affairs, a view which the Orthodox refused to accept, as this went counter

⁴ See S. Andriopoulou, *Diplomatic communication between Byzantium and the West under the late Palaiologoi (1354-1453)* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011).

⁵ See Dendrinou, 'Reflections', pp. 141-142. See also J. Boojamra, 'The Byzantine Notion of the "Ecumenical Council" in the Fourteenth Century', *BZ* 80 (1987), 59-76; J. Meyendorff, 'Was There an Encounter Between East and West at Florence?', in *Christian Unity: the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438/39-1489*, ed. G. Alberigo (Leuven, 1991), pp. 153-175; A. Papadakis, 'The Byzantines and the Rise of the Papacy: Points for Reflection', in *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500*, eds. M. Hinterberger and Ch. Schabel, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, Bibliotheca, 11 (Peeters: Leuven, 2011), pp. 19-42.

⁶ See S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1955); Ph. Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West* (London, 1959); A. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium. The Filioque Controversy in the Patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289)* (New York, 1983, rev. edn. 1997), pp. 83-138, 209-229; J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York, 1983²); idem, 'Theology in the Thirteenth Century. Methodological Contrasts', in *Καθηγήτρια: Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Camberley, 1988), pp. 395-407; A.E. Sicienski, *The Filioque: History of a Doctrinal Controversy*, *Oxford Studies in Historical Theology* (New York and Oxford, 2010).

⁷ Second Ecumenical Council, Constantinople I (381), canon 3; Fourth Ecumenical Council Chalcedon (451), canon 2; Quinisext Council (691-692), canon 36. In general see Hussey, *The Orthodox Church*, pp. 27, 77, 133-6, 167-73, 179-83, chapter VII, *passim*; Maximus, Metropolitan of Sardes, *Τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, AB, 52 (Thessalonike, 1989), pp. 100ff.

to the system of Pentarchy, that is the ecclesiastical equality and independence of each of the five Patriarchates of the ancient Church (Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem; in this order)⁸. These different views over doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters, together with certain different liturgical customs and practices⁹, inevitably created tension between the two sides. For the Byzantines felt that Church Union on these terms would be used as an instrument for the gradual Latinization of the Empire.

Apart from such aims and needs the attempts for Union also reflected, to a certain extent, a real desire to re-join the divided Church of Christ¹⁰. The increasing encounters among Byzantine and Latin intellectuals, and translations of Greek and Latin texts, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards, encouraged the exchange of ideas, also in the field of theology, and laid the foundations for mutual understanding and admiration among the highest intellectual circles¹¹. It is in this context that elements of Latin scholastic thought

⁸ On the dispute over the primacy of the Pope and the arguments employed by both sides, see F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA, 1958); Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West*, pp. 73-107; F. Dvornik, *Byzance et la primauté romaine* (Paris, 1964), English trans. by E.A. Quain, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York, 1966); J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine', *REB* 23 (1965), 42-88; J. Spiteris, *La critica bizantina del primato Romano nel secolo XII*, OCA, 208 (Rome, 1979); Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 97-101; Maximus, Metropolitan of Sardes, *Οικουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον*; J. Meyendorff, 'St Peter in Byzantine Theology', in *The Primacy of Peter: essays in ecclesiology and the early church*, ed. J. Meyendorff (Crestwood and New York, 1992), pp. 67-90; A. Papadakis and J. Meyendorff, *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy. The Church 1071-1453 A.D.* (New York, 1994); T.M. Kolbaba, 'Barlaam the Calabrian. Three Treatises on Papal Primacy. Introduction, Edition, and Translation', *REB* 53 (1995), 41-155. It should be noted that according to Fourth Ecumenical Council Chalcedon (451), canon 9, Constantinople reserves the right to hear appeals from bishops or clergy in other Patriarchates. Cf. the comment on this canon by the twelfth-century canonist Alexios Aristenos (PG 133, col. 88D): 'This privilege, that is, that a metropolitan under the authority of one Patriarch can be judged by another one, is not granted by laws or canons to any of the other Patriarchs apart from that of Constantinople'. I would like to thank Prof. Richard Price for drawing my attention to this.

⁹ See T.M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana and Chicago, 2000).

¹⁰ See Manuel II, *Epistolary discourse on theology addressed to lord Alexius Iagoup*, ed. Ch. Dendrinos, *An annotated critical edition (editio princeps) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' treatise On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996), p. 367.3-10; Manuel II, *DPSS*, pp. 30.12-31.7-13, 91.3-6, 316.3-8ff.

¹¹ See Dendrinos, 'Reflections', p. 141. See also D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966); idem, *Byzantium and the Renaissance* (Hamden, CN, 1973); W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Berlin and Munich, 1980); D.J. Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West: essays on the late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissance and the Byzantine and Roman churches* (Madison, WI and London, 1989); C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia, 1982); S. Mergiali, *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paléologues (1261-1453)* (Athens, 1996); S. Lampakes, 'Οι ελληνομαθείς λόγιοι στο πλαίσιο των πνευματικών αλληλεπιδράσεων Ανατολής—Δύσης από τον 12^ο έως τον 14^ο αιώνα', in *Η τέταρτη Σταυροφορία και ο ελληνικός κόσμος*, ed. N.G. Moschonas (Athens, 2008), pp. 327-341; Ch. Dendrinos, 'Co-operation and friendship among scholars in the circle of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus (1390-1425) as reflected in their autograph manuscripts', in *Proceedings of the International colloquium Unlocking the potential of texts: interdisciplinary perspectives on Medieval Greek*, University of Cambridge, 18-19 July 2006,

were introduced into Byzantium through the translation into Greek of certain theological works by Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274)¹², by the Kydones brothers, Demetrios (ca. 1324-1397)¹³ and Prochoros (ca. 1330-ca. 1370/71), around 1354, a project supported by the theologian Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354)¹⁴. These translations became popular and led a number of distinguished Byzantine intellectuals to convert to Roman Catholicism, including Demetrios Kydones himself, Manuel Kalekas (d. 1410), Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-15.IV.1415) and Maximos Chrysoberges (d. 1410-1429)¹⁵. Moreover, these translations, which proved instrumental in invigorating the

published online at <http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/pdf/Dendrinios.pdf> (last accessed on 3 November 2012).

¹² The bibliography on Thomas Aquinas is abundant. Some recent studies: L.J. Elders, *The Philosophical Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 26 (Leiden, 1990); B. Davies, *The Thought of Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford and New York, 1992); E. Gilson, *Thomism: the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas*, English trans. L.K. Shook and A. Maurer (Toronto, 2002); J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: Spiritual Master*, vol. 2, English trans. R. Royal (Washington, D.C., 2003); T.G. Weinandy, D.A. Keating and J.P. Yocum, *Aquinas on Doctrine: A Critical Introduction* (London, 2004); J.-P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, vol. 1, English trans. R. Royal (Washington, D.C., 2005); G. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, English trans. F.A. Murphy (Oxford, 2007). An extensive and regularly updated bibliography on Thomas Aquinas and his works is accessible online at: <http://www.corpusthomicum.org/> (last accessed on 3 November 2012).

¹³ On Demetrios Kydones see PLP 13876; G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ST, 56 (Vatican City, 1931); R.-J. Loenertz, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès*, ST, 131 (Vatican City, 1947); idem, *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols., ST, 186, 208 (Vatican City, 1956, 1960); idem, 'Démétrius Cydonès I. De la naissance à l'année 1373', *OCP* 36 (1970), 47-72; idem, 'Démétrius Cydonès II. De 1373 à 1375', *OCP* 37 (1971), 5-39; F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, vol. I/I, Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur, 12 (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 4-62; Mergiali, *L'enseignement*, pp. 125-141; F. Kianka, *Demetrios Cydones (c.1324-c.1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the Fourteenth Century* (unpublished PhD Thesis, Fordham University, New York, 1981); A. Glycofydi-Leontsini, 'Demetrios Cydones as a translator of Latin texts', in *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, eds. Ch. Dendrinios, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook and J. Herrin (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003), pp. 175-185; G.T. Dennis, 'Reality in the Letters of Demetrios Cydones', in *Porphyrogenita*, pp. 401-410; J.R. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrios Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society* (Leiden and Boston, 2010). For a list of Kydones' works see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 62-74.

¹⁴ See S.G. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θωμιστικῶν ἔργων. Φιλοθωμιστὰ καὶ ἀντιθωμιστὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ* (Athens, 1967), pp. 23-72. This list has been enriched and updated by J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Latin Philosophical Works translated into Greek', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy*, eds. R. Pasnau and Ch. van Dyke, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 822-826.

¹⁵ See R.-J. Loenertz, 'Les établissements Dominicains de Péra-Constantinople', *EO* 34 (1935), 332-349; idem, 'Les Dominicains byzantins Théodore et André Chrysoberges et les négociations pour l'union des Églises grecque et latine de 1415 à 1430', *AFP* 9 (1939), 11-17, 23-34, 42-49, repr. respectively in idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, 2 vols, Storia e Letteratura, Racolta di Studi e Testi, 118 and 145 (Rome, 1970 and 1978), I, pp. 209-226, II, pp. 83-88, 94-105, 112-118; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 106; N. Russell, 'Palamism and the Circle of Cydones', in *Porphyrogenita*, pp. 153-174; M. Hinterberger and Ch. Schabel eds., *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, esp. the article by C. Delacroix-Besnier, 'Les Prêcheurs, du dialogue à la polémique (XIIIe-XIVe siècle)', *ibid.*, pp. 151-167.

discussions among the Orthodox, Latin and Latinophile theologians, gave rise to a large number of works in defence of, or in opposition to, Thomistic thought¹⁶.

It is in this historical, cultural and theological environment that the eminent theologian Neilos Kabasilas (ca. 1300-1363) undertook to defend the Orthodox position against the Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit¹⁷. Neilos composed three separate works, which can be considered as a single work in three parts, composed some time between 1358 and 1361, before his elevation on the Archbishopal throne of Thessalonike (1361-1363): (1) the *Five Discourses on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (DPSS I)¹⁸; (2) the *Refutation of the Thirty-Four Premises of the Latins on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (DPSS II)¹⁹; and (3) the *Discourse against the Syllogisms of the Latins on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (DPSS III)²⁰. The last work (DPSS III), focusing on Thomas Aquinas' teachings, was in turn refuted by Demetrios Kydones in his *Antirrhetic* (also known as *Defensio Sancti Thomae Aquinatis adversus Nilum Cabasilam*)²¹ shortly after Kabasilas' death²². Kydones' *Antirrhetic* was refuted yet again by Demetrios Chrysoloras some decades later. By then, Kydones, too, was dead. It is this last, hitherto unpublished, text that is edited in the present thesis.

¹⁶ Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 78-172; J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact on Late Byzantine Theology and Philosophy: The Issues of Method or "Modus Sciendi" and "Dignitas Hominis"', in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz*, pp. 333-410, at 333-334.

¹⁷ On Neilos Kabasilas, see PLP 10102; P. Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas et son traité sur le Saint-Esprit. Introduction, édition critique, traduction et notes* (Paris, 1998), pp. 50-95. For an introduction and analysis of the context of Neilos Kabasilas' treatise, see Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas*, pp. 4-181; Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, pp. 103-186. On the date of the composition of the treatise, see Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, pp. 97-103.

¹⁸ Ed. with French trans. by Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, pp. 215-520.

¹⁹ Ed. Kislas, *Nil Cabasilas*, pp. 522-662.

²⁰ Ed. with Latin trans. by E. Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus sancti*, ST, 116 (Vatican City, 1945), pp. 188-385.

²¹ In the introduction of the present thesis (pp. 17-176) we refer to Kydones' text as *Antirrhetic*, while we keep the Latin abbreviated title *Defensio* in the edition (below, pp. 190-397).

²² A critical edition of Demetrios Kydones' *Antirrhetic* is in preparation by Dr Denis Searby (University of Uppsala). Dr Searby kindly provided me with a draft of his edition. All references to Kydones' *Antirrhetic* are to codex *Vat. gr.* 614 (under siglum **D** in our *apparatuses*). On this MS see R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci III: 604-866* (Vatican City, 1950), pp. 22-23. On the manuscript tradition and an analysis of the *Antirrhetic*, see M. Rackl, 'Die griechische Übersetzung der Summa theologiae des hl. Thomas von Aquin', *BZ* 24 (1924), 48-60, at 48-50; Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas*, pp. ix, 16-25; Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, pp. 85-90; G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14.-15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung*, *Byzantinisches Archiv*, 15 (Munich, 1977), pp. 196-204; Tinnfeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, p. 63; Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact'; D. Searby, 'Demetrios Kydones: Defending Thomas or Defending Himself?', in *Knotenpunkt Byzanz*, pp. 439-451. See also the bibliography cited by F. Kianka, 'Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas', *B* 52 (1982), 264-286, at 266-267, notes 6-8. For the date of the composition of the *Antirrhetic*, see Loenertz, *Les recueils*, p. 111; Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, p. 85, note 35.

The information we have about Demetrios Chrysoloras is scanty²³. The assumption that he was a relative of the distinguished scholar, teacher and imperial ambassador Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1355-1415), needs to be re-examined²⁴. Demetrios was born in Thessalonike sometime before 1360. We know nothing about his early education. His close friendship with the scholar and theologian Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425) remained uncontested even when he served, between 1403 and 1408, as representative (μεσάζων) of Manuel's nephew and contender of the imperial throne, John VII Despot in Thessalonike²⁵. Manuel's personal letters to Demetrios offer an insight into their characters and personalities²⁶. During Manuel's journey to the West (1399-1403) Chrysoloras corresponded with him from Constantinople where he remained, serving John VII. It appears that at some point Chrysoloras travelled to the West. This information derives from one of the letters Manuel sent him from Paris in 1401²⁷. The reason for this journey remains unknown. What is certain is that Demetrios was in Constantinople on 28 July 1403, when he delivered his *Thanksgiving Sermon to the Theotokos* (Προσφώνημα εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον εὐχαριστήριον) on the first anniversary of the battle of Ankara, which ended the siege of Constantinople by Bayezid²⁸.

²³ On Demetrios Chrysoloras, see *PLP* 31156; A.K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ορθόδοξος Ἑλλάς* (Leipzig, 1872), p. 87; A. Palmieri, 'Chrysoloras Démétrius', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1923), vol. 2, cols. 2420-2422; I. Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras y su homilía inédita sobre la dormición de María', *Helmantica* 11 (1960), 233-248, at 233-240; W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg and O. Prinz, *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1982), French trans. by J.D. Berger and J. Billen with introduction by J. Fontaine, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 195-196; A.-M. Talbot, 'Chrysoloras, Demetrios', *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 454.

²⁴ G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo*, vol. I: *Manuele Crisolora* (Florence, 1941), pp. 198-201.

²⁵ Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. G.T. Dennis, *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, CFHB, VIII (Washington, D.C., 1977), nos. 43-44, 46, 48 and 50. On the office of *mesazon* see: J. Verpeaux, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ó μεσάζων', *BSI* 16 (1955), 270-296; H.-G. Beck, 'Der byzantinische "Ministerpräsident"', *BZ* 48 (1955), 309-338; F. Kianka, 'Demetrios Kydones and Italy', *DOP* 49 (1995), 99-110, at 101.

²⁶ Manuel II, *Letters*, p. xxxiv, nos. 33, 41, 43-44, 46, 48, 50 and 61.

²⁷ Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 41, p. 109.11-12: καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄπειρος τουτωνὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων μερῶν. For Manuel's journey to the West, see J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969), pp. 165-199; Ch. Dendrinos, 'Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400-1402): Theology, Diplomacy and Politics', in Hinterberger and Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History*, pp. 397-422.

²⁸ Ed. P. Gautier, 'Action de grâces de Démétrius Chrysoloras à la Théotokos pour l'anniversaire de la bataille d'Ankara (28 Juillet 1403)', *REB* 19 (1961), 340-347 (introduction), 348-356 (text); cf. Dennis, *Manuel II, Letters*, p. xxxv. On the siege of Constantinople by Bayezid (1394-1402), see N. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 149-183. For the battle of Ankara (28 July 1402), see K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz: Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte zwischen 1402 und 1422* (Weimar, 1981).

In his account of the Council of Union of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439), the Grand Ecclesiarch of the Church of Constantinople Sylvester Syropoulos recorded an incident related to Demetrios' occupation with astronomy and astrology, which reflects Chrysoloras' loyalty to Manuel and his son and successor as well as his anti-unionist stance. When he was sent to Constantinople by John VII around 1407, Demetrios stayed in the palace. One evening, at dinner, he was asked by the Emperor whether he could foretell anything important about the future. Demetrios responded that according to his calculations the seventh Palaiologan emperor would bring about the Union with the Latins, which would result in suffering for the Christian people. Manuel remarked that the seventh Palaiologos was his nephew, John VII. Demetrios replied that actually it was Manuel's son, John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448)²⁹. Demetrios finally appears, as an imperial delegate, in the Acts of the Synod of April/May 1416, held to elect a new patriarch³⁰.

Demetrios composed a number of works³¹. Most of them have already been published while some still remain unedited³². His philosophical interests are reflected in two short compositions. The first concerns Jesus' saying about Judas Iscariot during the Last Supper (Matthew 26:24). This scriptural citation became the subject of a philosophical discussion between Chrysoloras and Antonio d'Ascoli, some time around 1409. This work, written in the form of a debate, focused on the question: *If it is better to be than not*

²⁹ Sylvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, III, 12, ed. V. Laurent, *Les «Mémoires» du grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438-1439)*, Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores, ser. B, 9 (Rome, 1971), pp. 172-174. Cf. Manuel II, *Funeral Oration on His Brother Theodore*, ed. J. Chrysostomides, CFHB, XXVI (Thessalonike, 1985), p. 244, note 161.

³⁰ Sylvester Syropoulos, *Mémoires*, II, 3, pp. 102-104; J. Darrouzès, ed., *Les registes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. 7: *Les registes de 1410 à 1453* (Paris, 1991), no. 10. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini*, p. 198, erroneously assumed that this Synod was connected with preparations for the Council of Florence. This error, which was repeated by M. Jugie, 'Demetrios Chrysoloras', *Catholicisme*, II (Paris, 1949), col. 1115, Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras', p. 236 and E. Konstantinou, 'Chrysoloras, Demetrios', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, II (Munich, 1983), col. 2051-2052, was corrected by Gautier, 'Action de grâces', pp. 340-341 note 5; cf. G.D. Panagopoulos, 'The Demetrios Chrysoloras' Project: The Critical Edition of His Unpublished Oeuvre', *Orthodoxes Forum* 25 (2011), 131-137 at 132 note 9.

³¹ An incomplete inventory of his works, contained in cod. *Athon. Xeropotamou* 252, ff. 162v-163v (18th c.) (cf. S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. I [Cambridge, 1895], no. 2585, pp. 219-221, 220), was published by S. Lambros, 'Die Werke des Demetrios Chrysoloras', *BZ* 3 (1894), 599-601.

³² For a list of works, see Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras', 240-246, which was updated by Panagopoulos, 'The Demetrios Chrysoloras' Project, 132-134. Chrysoloras' hitherto unedited works are currently under preparation: see G.D. Panagopoulos, 'The Demetrios Chrysoloras' Project', in *Proceedings of the 22th International Congress of the Byzantine Studies, Sofia 22-27 August 2011*, vol. III (Abstracts of free Communications) (Sofia, 2011), pp. 293-294.

to be, how could Christ say of Judas that it would be better for him if he had never been born?³³. In his second philosophical work, composed in the form of a fictitious dialogue, Chrysoloras examines Platonic and Christian perceptions of *right* (δίκαιον) and *wrong* (ἄδικον) and the role of faith and philosophical reasoning in the process of investigating questions concerning man and God. The title of this work in the codex *unicus* (Vat. gr. 1109) contains a lacuna and therefore the title in the printed edition is incomplete (*Dialogue by Demetrios Chrysoloras [...] that it is not right for Orthodox to accuse other Orthodox for any reason*)³⁴.

Demetrios also composed a number of rhetorical works. These include two panegyrics dedicated to the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos: the first, entitled *Comparison between the old emperors and the new Emperor Manuel Palaiologos*, written shortly after the construction of the Hexamilion in 1415³⁵, became the source for his second encomiastic work addressed to the Emperor, composed in the form of *centuria* and entitled *A Hundred Encomiastic Letters addressed to Manuel II Palaiologos*, dated around 1417³⁶. The latter work met with the Emperor's disapproval as Manuel found it flattery; this is recorded in a letter the Emperor sent to his friend³⁷. Chrysoloras also composed a *progymnasma* under the title *Encomium of the flea* (Ψύλλας ἐγκώμιον)³⁸, and more

³³ Ed. F. Tinnefeld, "Es wäre gut für jenen Menschen, wenn er nicht geboren wäre". Eine Disputation am Hof Kaiser Manuels II. über ein Jesuswort vom Verräter Judas. Einleitung, kritische Erstedition und Übersetzung (II)', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 45 (1995), 115-158 (text: Version I, pp. 118-124; Version II, pp. 124-131). Manuel II contributed to this debate with a clarification, composed in collaboration with the priest Euthymios, who a year later ascended the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople (1410-1416). Cf. Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 54, pp. 152-154; Dendrinou, 'Co-operation and friendship', p. 13 with note 53.

³⁴ Ed. D. Koutsoures, *Διάλογος Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, Ὁ δὲ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐτέρων ὀρθόδοξοι ἐτέρων ὀρθοδόξων κατηγορεῖν, ἐν οὐδενὶ πράγματι* (Athens, 1998), pp. 11-32. In the edition correct the erroneous repetition of the word ἐτέρων: FOR ἐστιν ἐτέρων ὀρθόδοξοι ἐτέρων ὀρθοδόξων READ ἐστιν ὀρθόδοξοι ἐτέρων ὀρθοδόξων (front cover pages and p. 11). See below, p. 147.

³⁵ Ed. S. Lampros, 'Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ νέου τοῦ νῦν αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου', *ΠΠ III* (Athens, 1926), pp. 222-245. On Chrysoloras' account of the building of the Hexamilion, see Demetrios Chrysoloras, *Comparison*, pp. 244.25-245.3; cf. Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins*, pp. 261-263. On the construction of the Hexamilion by Manuel II, see Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 310-317.

³⁶ Ed. F. Conti Bizzarro, *Cento Epistole a Manuele II Paleologo: testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario* (*Εἰς τὸν ὄντως αὐτοκράτορα κύριον Μανουὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον ἐπιστολαὶ ρ', ἐφ' ἐνὶ πράγματι*) (Napoli, 1984), pp. 39-65. Cf. M. Treu, 'Demetrios Chrysoloras und seine hundert Briefe', *BZ* 20 (1911), 106-128; Dennis, *Manuel II, Letters*, p. 170, notes 1-2.

³⁷ Manuel II, *Letters*, 61, pp. 170-171.

³⁸ Ed. G. Andres, 'Demetrio Crisoloras el Palaciego: Encomio de la pulga', *Helmantica* 35 (1984), 51-70.

importantly an *Encomium on St Demetrios*³⁹ and an oration *On the Dormition of the Virgin*⁴⁰.

Chrysoloras also composed three theological texts. The first is a *Dialogue on the primacy of the Pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit* between two anonymous interlocutors, a Byzantine and a Latin theologian, who so far remain unidentified, if indeed they are not fictitious persons⁴¹. The other two works defend Neilos Kabasilas' arguments against the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit, as presented in his *DPSS II-III*: (a) an *Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit*⁴², in which Chrysoloras summarises Kabasilas' arguments in *DPSS II-III*; and (b) a *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas' Refutation of Thomas Aquinas' teachings*, which supports Kabasilas' arguments in *DPSS III*. It is the latter work that, as already mentioned, is the subject of the present thesis.

Composed in the form of a fictitious dialogue, this text criticizes Kydones' stance towards Neilos Kabasilas and their compatriots in general, and refutes Kydones' arguments (as expounded in his *Antirrhetic*) concerning the *filioque* question and the use of the syllogistic method in theology, presenting the Orthodox position in these matters. Thus this imaginary dialogue, conducted among the author and three eminent deceased theologians – Kydones (†1397)⁴³, Kabasilas (†1363)⁴⁴ and

³⁹ Ed. B. Laourdas, 'Τὸ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτριον', *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 472-473 θ' - ι' (1957), 342-354.

⁴⁰ Ed. I. Roca Meliá, *Demetrio Crisoloras y su Homilia inédita sobre la dormición de María* (PhD thesis, Pontifical University of Salamanca, 1960), which I have been unable to consult. For a Spanish translation see Roca Meliá, 'Demetrio Crisoloras', 233-287.

⁴¹ Ed. I. Basilicos, 'Ἐνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος Χρυσολωρᾶς', *EA* 29, fasc. 19-23 (Constantinople, 1909), 19 (13.V.1909), 150-151; 20 (20.V.1909), 159-160; 21 (27.V.1909), 166-167; 22 (3.VI.1909), 173-174; 23 (10.VI.1909), 181-183. Internal evidence in this work suggests that it was composed before November 1417 when Pope Martin V was elected at the Council of Constance thus putting an end to the Western Schism: 20 (20.V.1909), p. 160, col. a: ... καὶ ὁ μὲν [Πέτρος] χειροτονεῖ πανταχοῦ γῆς, ὁ δὲ [πάπας] οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ... καὶ ὁ μὲν [Πέτρος] τὰς κλεῖς ἐμπιστεύεται τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὁ δὲ [πάπας] οὐδὲ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῆς.

⁴² Ed. D. Koutsoures, *Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός, ἀφ' ᾧ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Νεῖλος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1998), pp. 45-180.

⁴³ For the date of Demetrios Kydones' death, see T. Ganchou, 'Dèmètrios Kydônès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397-1401): de nouveaux documents', in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII-XV secolo): Atti del Colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, 1-2 dicembre 2000*, eds. Ch. Maltezos and P. Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 435-493 at 479.

⁴⁴ In the *Dialogue* it is stated that Kabasilas was by then dead [13.¹⁷⁻¹⁹]: Ἐτι, διατί μὲν ἐκείνου ζῶντος σιγᾶς, ὅτε δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολογουμένου κατανοεῖς, τότε σοι τὸ κατ' ἐκείνου πόνημα, βουλεύη γίνεσθαι παντὶ γνώριμον.

Aquinas (†1274)⁴⁵—involves no less than three theological treatises and two perspectives, which reflect the content, method and general atmosphere of the, often forceful, theological dialogue and the reception of Thomistic thought in late Byzantium.

⁴⁵ See above, note 12.

Date and circumstances of the composition of the *Dialogue*

An internal clue that allows us to date the composition of the *Dialogue* is the personal remarks Chrysoloras makes against Kydones, especially in the Preface [1.⁷²⁻¹²⁴]. The strong tone of these remarks suggests that the *Dialogue* postdates Manuel II's death, for the simple reason that Chrysoloras' offending comments on the Emperor's friend and mentor, who was by then dead, would have provoked Manuel's dissatisfaction. In the *Dialogue* Kydones, who had died in 1397⁴⁶, appears to have joined Thomas and Neilos in the afterlife. If this hypothesis is correct, the *Dialogue* must have been written sometime after the Emperor's death (21 July 1425), most probably towards the end of Chrysoloras' life, as implied by his remark in the Epilogue of the *Dialogue* that he would soon join the other three interlocutors⁴⁷.

Another clue is that Chrysoloras makes no mention of the Council of Florence in the *Dialogue*. It seems highly unlikely that Demetrios would have failed to comment on, or allude to, such a significant event concerning the Union of the Churches⁴⁸. If this assumption, too, is correct, it seems that Chrysoloras must have composed the *Dialogue* sometime before the proclamation of the Union of the Churches on 6 July 1439. External evidence seems to support this hypothesis. Gennadios Scholarios, in his *Response to Mark Eugenikos' syllogisms on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*⁴⁹, which he must have composed just before the Council of Florence⁵⁰, refers to Neilos Kabasilas' *DPSS III* and to Kydones' *Antirrhetic*, adding that up to that time no theologian had attempted to produce a refutation of Kydones' argument on the distinction of the

⁴⁶ See above, note 43.

⁴⁷ *Dialogue* [13.¹⁰⁶⁻¹¹¹]: Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὦ θαυμάσιε φιλοσόφων, καὶ Θωμᾶς, καὶ Νεῖλος ὁμοῦ, νόμοις ἄλλοις, δουλεύετε νῦν Θεοῦ· καὶ τὴν αὐτῶ πρόπουσαν, ἕκαστος εὗρεν γινῶσιν, οἷς, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν βραχεῖ συνεσόμεθα, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ταύτην, ἂν Θεὸς θέλη· σοὶ δὲ, εἴτε βουλομένω, εἴτε καὶ μὴ, λέγειν ἐπῆλθεν ἂ μὴ χρεῶν, ἴλεως ὁ δυνατὸς μόνος, καὶ ἡμῖν, ἅμα σοι γένοιτο.

⁴⁸ I would like to thank Professor John Monfasani for drawing my attention to this.

⁴⁹ Eds. M. Jugie, L. Petit and X.A. Sidéridès, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1930), pp. 476-538.

⁵⁰ M.-H. Blanchet, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472): un intellectuel Orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'empire byzantine*, Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 20 (Paris, 2008), p. 480; J. Monfasani, 'The Pro-Latin Apologetics of the Greek Émigrés to Quattrocento Italy', in *Byzantine Theology and its Philosophical Background*, ed. A. Rigo, Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization, 4 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 160-186 at 164-170.

Persons in the Holy Trinity⁵¹. Given his deep involvement in the theological dialogue between the Byzantine and scholastic theologians, it would have been highly unlikely for Scholarios to have omitted referring to Chrysoloras' *Dialogue*, had he known it. In such case an identification of the anonymous person who instigated the composition of the *Dialogue* [13.¹¹¹⁻¹²⁰] with Scholarios must be ruled out.

In the light of this evidence it seems that Chrysoloras must have composed his *Dialogue* sometime after 21 July 1425 and shortly before 1439. This is confirmed by palaeographical evidence, namely the period in which Stephanos, Bishop of Medeia (1412-1442), the scribe of the text in the extant codex *Vaticanus graecus* 1109 (**V**), was active⁵².

⁵¹ Gennadios Scholarios, *Response*, p. 499.29-35: Ἄ γὰρ φῆς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς διακρίσεως ἐπιχείρησιν, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Καβάσιλας καὶ πολλοὶ πρὸ ἐκείνου καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων, καὶ πάντες ταύτην μεμψάμενοι φαίνονται. Κυδώνης δὲ τις συνηγορίαν τῷ Θωμᾶ χαριζόμενος οὐδέν τι δυναμένας τὰς ἀντιλογίας ταύτας ἱκανῶς ἀποδείκνυσιν, ὥστε καὶ μηδένα λοιπὸν εὑρεθῆναι *μέχρι τοῦ νῦν* τὴν συνηγορίαν ἐκείνην ἐλέγχοντα, ζήλω τῆς ἀληθείας ἢ φειδοὶ τῆς τοῦ Καβάσιλα δόξης τοσαύτην συμφορὰν πεπονθυίας (my italics).

⁵² E. Kakoulides, 'Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου-Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη', *Ἑλληνικά* 21 (1968), 3-39 at 26-29.

The structure and content of the *Dialogue*

The *Dialogue* comprises three sections: Preface [1]; a main section divided into eleven Syllogisms (συλλογισμοί), in which Aquinas, Kabasilas, Kydones and Chrysoloras debate over the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity and the *Filioque* [2-12]; and an Epilogue [13]. Each of Chrysoloras' eleven Syllogisms refutes the respective syllogism put forward by Kabasilas (in his *DPSS III*) in response to Aquinas' teachings, which is in turn refuted by Kydones (in his *Antirrhetic*). In this way Chrysoloras follows the structure of Kabasilas' and Kydones' refutations.

The title of the *Dialogue* reflects the aim of the work, namely to refute Demetrios Kydones' refutation of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of Thomas Aquinas' views on the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit. One of the main difficulties the reader of the *Dialogue* faces in following the argument is the highly selective approach the author employed in citing *verbatim* passages of the two texts in question (Kabasilas' *DPSS III* and Kydones' *Antirrhetic*), dissecting and rephrasing sentences, inevitably at the expense of appreciating the full theological and philosophical implications of the argumentation put forward by the interlocutors in the original texts. On the other hand, this approach has its merits in providing a lively dialogue among the interlocutors, which often reveals the author's humour and inventiveness.

In his Preface [1] Chrysoloras provides the reader with the background of the composition of the *Dialogue*. He spares no arrow in criticizing Demetrios Kydones' stance, which, in his eyes, clearly reflects that of a man who does not hesitate to betray his country and faith, without giving the specific circumstances of Kydones' conversion. At this point Chrysoloras juxtaposes what *he* believes to be the proper stance of a true Orthodox Christian in accordance with the traditional principles and values inherited from classical and Late Antiquity and the Roman past, including honouring one's family, friends, country and, above all, one's faith and freedom which should be defended at all costs. The Preface also examines a fundamental question over the use of philosophical reasoning in investigating theological questions, including the infinity, energy/actuality and potentiality of God. This question, which permeates the

discussion of the various issues examined among the interlocutors, reflects the Byzantine attitude towards the use and limits of man's innate ability to use reason in order to explore divine truths in his attempt to attain knowledge of God. Chrysoloras expresses the standard Orthodox view that rhetoric and the exercising of human reason through syllogisms, though useful and indeed necessary in examining theological questions, should be used with caution, for the simple reason that, unless they are in conformity with the teachings of the Church and the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, they can lead to heretical views. Thus, Chrysoloras draws attention to the dangers to which Latin theologians are exposed by placing absolute trust in philosophical reasoning in search of divine truths, a method employed in scholastic theology crystallized in Thomas Aquinas' teachings.

The main section of the *Dialogue* [2-12] comprises eleven Syllogisms, which, as already mentioned, examine major points of dispute between Greek and Latin theologians concerning the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit discussed in the corresponding first eleven syllogisms in Kabasilas' *DPSS III*. The same eleven syllogisms are briefly presented and refuted by Chrysoloras in his *Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit*⁵³, in which he summarises Kabasilas' arguments in *DPSS II-III*.

Each Syllogism in the *Dialogue* begins with a presentation of an argument put forward by Aquinas in *Summa contra gentiles* (SCG IV, 24) and its refutation by Kabasilas in the *DPSS III*, followed by a debate on the specific points under discussion between Kydones and Chrysoloras. As mentioned above, Chrysoloras cites either *verbatim* sections of Aquinas' arguments from Kydones' Greek translation as they appear in Kabasilas' *DPSS III*, or the summary of the argument Kabasilas gives in the same work in cases where Aquinas' argument is too long. In addition, Chrysoloras quotes Kabasilas' arguments from *DPSS III* either *verbatim* or sometimes in summary. Kydones' sections from his *Antirrhetic* are quoted also *verbatim* in the *Dialogue*. Occasionally, Chrysoloras takes the liberty to make some changes in the phraseology or syntax of the sentence by introducing words, changing the tense of the verb or even

⁵³ Cf. Demetrios Chrysoloras, *Abridged exposition*, pp. 138-168.

compressing a long argument, especially by Kabasilas or Aquinas, often reducing it to a few lines.

The First Syllogism [2] examines the distinction of the divine Persons in the Trinity. This Syllogism is divided into six sub-sections: [2.1-3] focuses on the distinction of corporeal beings; [2.4-5] examines the distinction in incorporeal beings (angels and souls); and finally [2.6] discusses the distinction of the divine Persons. The Second Syllogism [3] is devoted to an examination of the relative opposition and alternation, including the argument of an unknown Byzantine author [3.1]; affirmations and negations [3.2]; and mathematical theories and alternation [3.3]. The Third Syllogism [4] deals again with the distinction of the divine Persons and is divided in two sections: [4.1] a refutation of Kydones' argument; and [4.2] an examination of the relative opposition in origin with reference to the distinction of the Persons. The Fourth Syllogism [5] further examines the distinction of the divine Persons, with Chrysoloras giving his own interpretation of Aquinas' thesis concerning the distinction of things opposed [5.1-2]. The Fifth Syllogism [6] continues the discussion on the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity, slightly diverting to examine the terms *virginity*, *corruption* and *mother* with reference to the Theotokos [6.1], and returning to discuss the emanation of the Persons in the Trinity [6.2]. The Sixth Syllogism [7] focuses on Aquinas' attribution of the name *amor* explicitly to the Spirit with reference to Its procession⁵⁴. The Seventh Syllogism [8] examines the order of the Persons in the Trinity. In the Eighth Syllogism [9] the discussion proceeds by examining the hypostatic properties of the Persons. The Ninth Syllogism [10] investigates the origin in the Holy Trinity while the Tenth Syllogism [11] examines further the hypostatic properties. Finally, the Eleventh Syllogism [12] focuses on the divine essence⁵⁵ and hypostases. The *Dialogue* closes with an Epilogue [13].

⁵⁴ As in the Greek word πνεῦμα I have employed the neuter to refer to the Third Person in the Trinity (Πνεῦμα). For this convention, see Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West*, p. 63, n. 1.

⁵⁵ To avoid confusion over the words οὐσία and ὑπόστασις I am using the terms *essence* and *hypostasis*, and not *substance* which can be translated as either οὐσία or ὑπόστασις. Similarly, we have translated ὁμοούσιον as *coessential* (i.e., *consubstantial*). For the interchangeable use of the Latin term *substantia* to render the terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, see Thomas Aquinas, *CEG* 1, Preface, and Joseph Bryennios, *Sixth Oration on the Holy Trinity*, ed. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ*, I, p. 105.11-17; cf. Dendrinis, 'Co-operation', p. 12 with notes 49-50.

The content and argumentation in the Preface and each Syllogism is analysed separately below. Some passages of minor significance in terms of argumentation are summarized while those which are more important in content, approach and argumentation are presented more analytically. In the latter case we have closely followed the text, sometimes translating it *verbatim*, in order to give a better picture of the dialogue as it unfolds while at the same time revealing the author's style, attitude, feelings and personality. Greek passages and terms in the commentary appear exactly as in the text (not always placed in the nominative) so that they are more easily traced in the edition. Concerning terminology, we have translated εἶδος as *species* in sections of the *Dialogue* where this term is used with reference to logical syllogisms [2.1-4], while in section [2.5] where the discussion concerns metaphysics we have translated εἶδος as *form* and μορφή as *shape*. In sections [1.5, 2.4, 6.1, 7 and 10] we have translated ἐνέργεια as *energy/actuality* in order to render the Greek term both in juxtaposition to οὐσία and in conformity with the conventional rendering by modern scholars of the term ἐνέργεια in Aristotelian works as *actuality*. Finally, to avoid repetitions, with a few exceptions, references to patristic and other sources cited or alluded to in the *Dialogue* appear in the *apparatus fontium* of the respective sections in the edition (below, pp. 190-397).

[1] Preface

There is a war, Chrysoloras states, and this war is waged against us by our own compatriots (ὁμοφύλων). This introductory statement reflects the state of Byzantine society in this period with regard to attitudes concerning the Union of the Churches. This war, Chrysoloras continues, is great and far more forceful than that waged against us by foreigners (ἀλλογενῶν) [1.1-2]⁵⁶. For this reason it is the duty of the Orthodox people to fight for their their faith and country at all costs while those (namely Kydones) who abandon their Mother Church and homeland are not only disgraced but they also deserve confiscation of their property and death! [cf. 1.1.⁶³⁻⁶⁷]. The reason for this war, Chrysoloras explains, is not the great ability of the opponents to argue in defence of their views nor the inability of the Orthodox to refute these arguments, but the fact that the Latins and their supporters feel humiliated unless they straightaway

⁵⁶ All translations of passages from Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* or other works are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

express the possibility of refuting the Orthodox arguments, which ‘is difficult for a foreigner, since he is totally incapable of having experience of what pertains Greek’ (πάντη πειῖραν τῶν ἑλληνικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνότων ἔχειν οὐ δυναμένῳ) [1.3-7]. Stressing the superiority of the Byzantines over foreign people, Latins included, Chrysoloras states that it is the duty of every Orthodox Christian to fight for his faith even if this means that he has to sacrifice his own life (ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ ζῆν). No one is allowed to remain silent, he says, for he who is capable of speaking in defence of the true faith and fails to do so implicitly joins the enemy [1.7-18]. To substantiate his opinion Chrysoloras uses a syllogism based on Aristotle’s *opposites* (ἐναντία)⁵⁷ [1.18-21] as a prelude to what will follow later in the *Dialogue*.

[1.1] Chrysoloras continues with commenting on the virtue of silence, a subject which he revisits further down. Rest, silence and peace, he says, are preferable to movement and quarrel (ἔρις), for peace, even though it can be extremely harmful, is safer than war [1.1.22-27]⁵⁸. Nevertheless Kydones’ writings in defence of Thomas Aquinas, Chrysoloras remarks, do not allow him to remain silent, for, from what he had read, he has come to the conclusion that these are all incorrect. Criticizing Kydones’ motives Chrysoloras states that his own desire to change Kydones’ mind is greater than Kydones’ desire to defend foreign (i.e. Latin) doctrines and launch accusations against his compatriots. All that Kydones said from the very beginning, Chrysoloras continues, were unfriendly (ἄφιλα) against our race (γένει) and country (πατρίδι), inimical towards friends, fathers and everyone akin by blood, and moreover hostile to ‘the blessed Neilos of Thessalonike and the Church of Christ’. Ultimately Kydones is not really interested in finding the truth, Chrysoloras concludes, but only in showing off his intellectual ability (πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον, ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν) [1.1.27-39].

In his attempt to defend his country and faith Chrysoloras refers to the classical and Christian tradition of his people. It is the law of God and the people, he remarks, both of Greeks and barbarians, to fight for one’s country and faith *to death* (μέχρις αἵματος)

⁵⁷ Cf. J.L. Ackrill, *Aristotle’s Categories and De Interpretatione* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 153-155. For a comprehensive introduction to Aristotle, see the classic work by W.D. Ross, *Aristotle* (London, 1923).

⁵⁸ This section in the *Dialogue* echoes John Chortasmenos’ comments on the advantages of the exercise of silence in his *Moral Precepts*, ed. H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37): Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, WBS, VII (Vienna, 1969), no. 14, pp. 241-242. On John Chortasmenos, who befriended and corresponded with Chrysoloras, see PLP 30897; Nicol, *Church and Society*, pp. 117-120, esp. 119-120; A.-M. Talbot, ‘Chortasmenos, John’, *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 431-432.

(Hebrews 12:4)⁵⁹. He who defends our faith and race, our fatherland, our friends and relatives, he continues, deserves a crown in recognition of his actions, especially when he chooses to kill (φονεύειν) or die (θανεῖν) for their sake, no matter whom he has to oppose, even his nearest and dearest (φιλτάτοις). At this point he uses the example of Horatius who killed his sister Horatia in Rome because she wept for her country's enemies, as Livy relates⁶⁰. This shows another, opposing, aspect of Chrysoloras' character, which links with the section that follows presenting pairs of opposites.

Freedom is good, he says (quoting Philo of Alexandria), while slavery is shameful; and good things befit excellent men while what is shameful befits base people [1.1.³⁹⁻⁵⁵]. It is everyone's duty (χρῆος) to support his race and country. For those who do not want to do so the law stipulates the death penalty (νόμος θάνατον ἀπειλῶν)⁶¹. This punishment applies also to the family of the guilty person, who remains dishonoured even after his death. Implying Kydones, Chrysoloras wonders how many punishments would one who has gathered together all these disgraced actions deserve. The death of such a man would not be unjust, Chrysoloras concludes [1.1.⁵⁶⁻⁷¹]. And there is more!

⁵⁹ We cannot be certain to which laws or customs of Greeks and barbarians Chrysoloras might refer to in this case. It is possible that he refers to the laws attributed by Stobaeus to Charondas, the legislator from Catana (today Catania, Sicily). See Stobaeus, *Anthology*, eds. O. Hense and C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Stobaei anthologium*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1909), ch. 2, § 24, pp. 152.24-153.7: 'Let the contempt of Gods and the voluntary ill-usage of parents be the greatest wrong done ... Let the one who dies for the fatherland be more revered than the one who longing for living, he abandons her [i.e., his country] and the good. Stobaeus, *Anthology*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1894), ch. 1, §173, p. 128.3-4, cites Periander: Ὀνήσκει ὑπὲρ πατρίδος. Lycurgus and Stobaeus also cite the oath ephebes use to take in preparation of their assuming the Athenian citizenship: Lycurgus, *Oratio against Leocrates*, ed. N.C. Conomis (post C. Scheibe and F. Blass), *Lycurgi oratio in Leocratem* (Leipzig, 1970), § 77, p. 60, and Stobaeus, *Anthology*, vol. 4, ch. 1, § 48, p. 14.7-17: ἀμυνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττω παραδώσω τὴν πατρίδα, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀρείω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ ἀπάντων· καὶ εὐηκοήσω τῶν ἀεὶ κραινόντων ἐμφρόνως καὶ τῶν θεσμῶν τῶν ἰδρυμένων καὶ οὐς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν ἰδρῶσονται ἐμφρόνως· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀναιεῖ, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψω κατὰ τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τιμήσω ἱερά τὰ πάτρια; trans. by P. Siewert, 'The Ephebic Oath in Fifth-Century Athens', *JHS* 97 (1977), 102-111 at p. 103: I will defend our sacred and public institutions and I will not hand over (to the descendants) the fatherland smaller, but greater and better, so far as I am able, by myself or with the help of all. If anyone seeks to destroy them, I will not admit it so far as I am able, by myself or with the help of all. I will honour the traditional sacred institutions.

⁶⁰ See Livy, *The History of Rome*, I, §24-26; cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, III, §21-22. For a discussion of Horatius' story in Livy's account, see J.B. Solodow, 'Livy and the Story of Horatius, 1.24-26', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 109 (1979), 251-268; cf. A. Feldherr, *Spectacle and Society in Livy's History* (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 132-144.

⁶¹ For law and punishment in Byzantium, see A. Meitanis, *Aspects of Violence in Byzantium* (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2000), pp. 48-55. According to Theodore Balsamon and other Orthodox authors death sentence for heresy was acceptable: see J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's Dependence on Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and *Summa Theologiae*', *Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur* 12 (2006), 276-341, at 331-338.

[1.2] What follows is a long monologue (once more heavily quoting Philo of Alexandria), in which Chrysoloras criticizes Kydones' intensive pro-Latin activities in Constantinople also alluding to the latter's *Apologia*. Turning his attention to the present situation Chrysoloras wonders what kind of punishments should be imposed on him (i.e., Kydones), who 'uses every possible way, in secrecy or openly, to destroy our race' while he seeks the victory of foreigners over his fellow people, upsetting (ἀνάστατον) the city with his actions. It is absurd, Chrysoloras exclaims, that this man, despite his attitude, prefers to live with his compatriots rather than with those whom he supports (i.e., the Latins). His personal and common opinion, Chrysoloras repeats, is that for this reason it would not be regarded injustice if it was possible for this man to die a thousand times (μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν) [1.2.⁷²⁻⁸⁰]. Juxtaposing Kydones' stance with that of those who pursue quietude (ἡρεμίαν μεταδιώκοντες) either for God's worship or for securing what is necessary for their very life (φύσεως ... ἐπιτηδειότητα), Chrysoloras unhesitatingly condemns Kydones, this 'remarkable man' (ὁ θαυμάσιος) who causes an earthquake all over the world and violently shakes the souls of everyone, which in some way or other have fastened upon him, gratifying them with immortal death – yet only the senseless souls, since for the pure and sensible souls the infinite circle of saints and martyrs is enough for salvation and knowledge [1.2.⁸⁰⁻⁹²].

Kydones' leading role among the Latinophile Byzantines of his generation and his personal conversion to Roman Catholicism (probably in 1357)⁶², are strongly criticized by Chrysoloras: 'parents and motherland brought up a snake rather than a child, and an enemy rather than a friend', worse than dogs, 'for even dogs defend their master's house in the face of danger!'⁶³. These harsh words and criticisms reflect the deep resentment of the anti-Latin and anti-unionist circles in reaction to the proselytizing activity of the Latinophiles in Constantinople, which had gained new momentum from the end of the fourteenth century. In his *Apologia* Kydones mentions these activities as

⁶² For the year 1357 as an approximate date of Kydones' conversion to Catholicism, see Loenertz, 'Démétrius Cydonès II', 10 with note 3; F. Kianka, 'Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones', *The International History Review* 7.2 (1985), 175-213 at p. 178-181 (with primary sources); Russell, 'Palamism and the Circle of Cydones', p. 156.

⁶³ *Dialogue* [1.2.⁹²⁻⁹⁴]: Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαθε πατέρα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τρέφοντας ὄφιν ἀντὶ παιδός, καὶ ἀντὶ φίλου, πολέμιον; [1.2.98-100]: κύνες γάρ, οἴκου τῶν δεσποτῶν προασπίζουσιν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς κίνδυνός τις ἐξαπιναιῶς παρῆ.

well as his own discussions with members of the Orthodox party concerning his translations of Latin texts which, in his view, they failed to appreciate⁶⁴. Around the same period (ca. 1396) Manuel II wrote his lengthy *Epistolary Discourse on the study of theology* addressed supposedly to his *oikeios* Alexios Iagoup⁶⁵ but in reality to Kydones' student Manuel Kalecas, in which he defended the Orthodox reaction to the propaganda and proselytizing activities of Latinophile circles in Constantinople⁶⁶. In his *Epistolary discourse* the Emperor stated that to clear their name those accused of suspected disloyalty to the Orthodox Church should simply make a profession of faith before the standing Synod⁶⁷. There are a number of such cases recorded in the Patriarchal registers in this period⁶⁸.

Chrysoloras' verbal assault on Kydones goes even further. Paraphrasing the words Jesus said of Judas Iscariot during the Last Supper he remarks that *it would be better for him if he had not been born*, or die immediately after his birth, and if he survived either to be barren (ἀκάρπω) or never give birth to children (μὴ ... εὐπορήσαι καρπῶν) [1.2.¹⁰²⁻¹⁰⁴]⁶⁹. A person who betrays his country, family and friends, Chrysoloras says, cannot replace these, for the simple reason that as a result of this he is accepted by no one [1.2.¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁸]. Through a series of rhetorical questions which present pairs of opposites in relation to Byzantines and Latins (insult-praise, hostile-ally, hatred-friendship, loss-saving), and further insulting Kydones, Chrysoloras concludes that one who does not worship God, would neither respect his own parents and motherland. The duty of every Christian, he stresses once more, is to honour God in every possible way: in his mind, words and deeds [1.2.¹⁰⁴⁻¹¹⁹]. Partially quoting his favourite source, Philo of

⁶⁴ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, ed. Mercati, *Notizie*, p. 364.42-48: καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξιν προσλαμβάνειν νομίζων καὶ ἄμα ἠδόμενος τῇ τῶν λόγων ἀνάγκῃ, ἦν διὰ πάντων τῶν συγγραμμάτων τεταμένην ἑώραν, ἦν γὰρ ἀληθῶς ταύτης τὰ βιβλία μεστὰ, καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ σπουδῇ προστιθεῖς πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἄκρων καὶ τέως ἀγνοουμένων ἔθηκα γνωρίμους τοῖς ἡμετέροις, τοῖς μὲν σοφωτέροις διδοὺς ἀφορμὰς δι' ὧν ἂν σοφώτεροι γένοιτο, τοὺς δὲ διὰ φθόνον μεμφομένους ῥηγνὺς καὶ δεικνὺς οἷα διασύροντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται (my italics); trans. by C.M. Woodhouse, *Gemistos Plethon. The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 121.

⁶⁵ See Manuel II, *Letter to Alexios Iagoup*, pp. 326-373. See Ch. Dendrinou, 'Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Μανουὴλ Β' Παλαιολόγου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξιο Ἰαγούπ καὶ οἱ ἀντιλήψεις του περὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς θεολογίας καὶ τῶν σχέσεων Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας', *Φιλοσοφίας Ἀνάλεκτα* 1 (2001), 58-74.

⁶⁶ See Manuel II, *Letter to Alexios Iagoup*, p. 349.11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 352.7-9.

⁶⁸ See *Regestes I/6*, no. 3021, pp. 284-285; no. 3022, p. 285; no. 3056, p. 318; no. 3083, pp. 341-42.

⁶⁹ The same citation was the subject of a debate between Chrysoloras and Antonio d'Ascoli: see above, pp. 23-24 with note 33.

Alexandria, Chrysoloras closes his monologue giving as an example the Greek city-states (πόλεις) of Sparta and Athens and 'barbarian' peoples, who had their own customs and no citizen of one city or country would honour the other's customs unless he were a citizen of a city subjected to monarchy⁷⁰. Kydones is accused of doing the opposite, for he honours the customs of others and shows disrespect to those of his own fatherland! [1.2.¹²⁰⁻¹²⁴].

At this point enters Kydones. He categorically denies that he is hostile toward his most beloved people and way of life (Ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔγωγε, ἃ πρὸ πάντων φιλῶ, καὶ ὧν ἐφίεμαι καὶ οἷς χαίρω; Μὴ γένοιτο! [1.2.¹²⁵⁻¹²⁶]), and declares his position: his country is Old Rome, her Bishop is his teacher (διδάσκαλος) and his family and friends are those who live there for the sake of whom he is prepared to die fighting for each one of them [1.2.¹²⁵⁻¹³⁰]. The specific passage is not found in Kydones' *Antirrhetic*. However, the words Chrysoloras puts in Kydones' mouth in the specific part of the *Dialogue* echo the latter's conviction of the superiority of Old Rome over the decaying New Rome and his acceptance of papal authority over the Church as expressed in his *Apologia*⁷¹. Chrysoloras responds by accusing Kydones of lying and goes on to prove it. Your country is the city of Thessalonike, Chrysoloras says, or rather the glorious city of the noble Emperor Constantine. The first city simply begot you while the second honours and breeds and rewards you with wisdom and civic offices, and embellishes you with many other privileges, from which you wish to remove yourself without showing the least consideration [1.2.¹³⁵⁻¹⁴⁰].

Chrysoloras continues explaining the reason for Kydones' behaviour, despite the fact that the latter wants to remain silent. Having used evil reasoning and a demon (Κακῶ χρησάμενος λογισμῶ τε καὶ δαίμονι), Chrysoloras says, your faith was unstable from the very beginning. At first, you tried to discuss privately and briefly (ιδίᾳ καὶ βραχύ) about the Orthodox faith to exercise your opinion (γυμνάζειν τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτόν). Later on, however, he continues, you decided to refute it in public and without

⁷⁰ Cf. Philo of Alexandria, *On the life of Moses* II, § 19, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1902; repr., 1962), p. 204: Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα προβέβληνται καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Ἀθηναίων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς Σκυθῶν νόμους φυλάττουσιν ἢ Σκύθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων.

⁷¹ Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, pp. 371.53-381.8; F. Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrios Kydones: A Fourteenth-Century Autobiographical Source', *ByzSt* 7.1 (1980), 57-71, at 66-68.

restraint, arguing that the faith of the others (i.e., Latins) is sound (ὕγιαίνουσιν) while ours is unsound (νόσῳ περικεκλιμένην). This, Chrysoloras remarks, becomes the cause of all your evils! [1.2.¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴⁶].

Closing his argument Chrysoloras asks Kydones where the foundation of the Church is placed, implying the passage in Matthew (16:16-18) where Peter confesses that Jesus is the Christ, *the Son of the living God* and in reply Jesus pronounces *that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it* (Matthew 16:18-19). This passage was the fundamental argument the Latins used to support the ecclesiastical primacy of the Bishop of Rome [1.2.¹⁴⁶⁻¹⁴⁷]⁷². Once Kydones replies that the foundation of the Church is close to the Italians (εἶναι πρὸς Ἰταλούς), implying Rome, Chrysoloras directly asks Kydones why does he simply not go and live with the Latins, whom he believes hold the right belief. Kydones responds that he prefers to stay in his homeland for he loves both his country and friends [1.2.¹⁴⁸⁻¹⁵²], echoing once more his remarks in the first *Apologia*⁷³.

Chrysoloras objects that this is a contradiction to what he had said a few lines above [cf. 1.2.¹²⁶⁻¹²⁹], namely that he considers Rome as his country and the Latins as his friends. Kydones replies that his love of Greek education (παιδεία τῶν Ἑλλήνων) would not permit him to stay away from his country [1.2.¹⁵³]. Chrysoloras points out to Kydones that he should not turn away from the Latins if he is convinced that their doctrine is correct. Chrysoloras wonders how it is possible for Kydones to attack his fellow countrymen (i.e., the Byzantines) if indeed he wishes to be with them and to hold firm in the Orthodox faith. Why does he not leave if he thinks that his compatriots are not Orthodox? In any case, Chrysoloras remarks, Kydones has sinned. For leaving the fellowship of his compatriots is the same as being in communion with the heretics [1.2.¹⁵⁵⁻¹⁶³]. Expressing his intention to avoid a lengthy speech, Chrysoloras stops at this point to turn attention to what Kydones states in his *Antirrhetic*.

⁷² See above, pp. 18-19 with note 8.

⁷³ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, p. 400.2-7; my trans. based on Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrios Kydones', 70-71: I think that my fatherland is the worthiest and most sacred thing after God and I hold it as the most honoured thing from what in any way whatever belongs to me, from all that I have even from myself, after the first principle, as I said, principle and home. And I would stay with pleasure in it bearing with patience many difficulties rather than allowing myself to live with foreign people, enjoying the greatest pleasures.

[1.3] This part of the *Dialogue* begins with Kydones criticizing Neilos for his zeal against the Latins, comparing his passion with the destructive motion of the most violent torrent sweeping everything away with a whistling noise (ροίζω). Kydones believes that Neilos' work is simply an abuse, slander and insolence against the Latins, offering nothing important [1.3.¹⁶⁷⁻¹⁷¹]. Chrysoloras points out that instead of trying to conceal his wicked actions, as he ought to, Kydones opted to bring his work and deeds into the open. Referring to Kydones' *Antirrhetic* he criticizes its quality. Your entire introduction (προοίμιον) is simply irony, Chrysoloras says, the narrative (διήγησιν) is just arrogance, the proof (ἀγῶνας) is full of pretension and the end (τέλος) can be apprehended by anyone who wishes⁷⁴. On the basis of Kydones' criticism that though Neilos desires to speak against the Latins he is incapable of doing so (a view shared by Kydones)⁷⁵, Chrysoloras gives Kydones a moral lesson of how a fair contest should be conducted between two opponents. According to custom, Chrysoloras says, each competitor praises his opponent on two counts: to be admired if he is victorious or not to be dishonoured if he is defeated. By censuring one's fellow combatant, as Kydones does to Neilos according to Chrysoloras, one makes the defeated a wretched man and even more wretched if he is victorious. In this way (paraphrasing Basil of Caesarea, without however naming his source), Chrysoloras points out to Kydones, he who wins in worthless contests is more wretched than the one who loses. Continuing on this subject, Chrysoloras (partially quoting again Philo of Alexandria) states that it would be thoughtful of Kydones to test his own powers before entering a fight in order to assess whether he is able to prevail against the enemy or, in case he finds his power unequal to the contest, never dare to descend into the arena at all, for it would be not disgraceful for vice to be defeated, but it would be a shameful thing for virtue⁷⁶.

Chrysoloras then asks Kydones to tell him the purpose of such effort put on his part for something that is completely worthless [1.3.¹⁷²⁻¹⁹³]. In response Kydones goes back to

⁷⁴ For the four parts of a rhetorical speech and their subcategories, see John Doxapatres, *Prolegomena in Aphthonii progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon sylloge*, in *Rhetores Graeci* 14 (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 131.11-133.5; Anonymi in Hermogenem, *Prolegomena in librum περι στάσεων*, ed. Rabe, *Prolegomenon sylloge*, pp. 212.6-8, 214.3-12; cf. Joseph Rhacendytes, *Summation of Rhetoric*, ed. C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1834), p. 482.18-19.

⁷⁵ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, pp. 387.94-388.14. On Kydones' opinion about Neilos Kabasilas' *DPSS*, see *ibid.*, pp. 392.53-394.88; cf. Kianka, 'The Apology of Demetrius Cydones', pp. 67-68.

⁷⁶ See Basil of Caesarea, *Homily against those who are prone to anger*, PG 31, col. 375B; Philo of Alexandria, *On Abraham*, §§ 105-106, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1902), pp. 24-25.

the past, when Neilos started speaking openly against the Latins. As recorded by Kydones in his *Apologia I*, at first Neilos was an enthusiastic admirer of Kydones, Thomas Aquinas and his works. But suddenly he changed his stance and begun opposing Kydones⁷⁷. Despite Kabasilas' anti-Latin works Kydones preferred in the beginning to remain silent leaving the refutation of these works to the Latins. However, when Neilos attacked Aquinas' 'wisdom, precision of thought and holiness', Kydones considered appropriate to refute Kabasilas and not allow him to behave as if this great man was dishonoured or even a schoolboy⁷⁸. Kydones states that Kabasilas thought highly of himself and resembles him with a champion who prefer to fight with the most excellent opponents in this way proving his own excellence [1.3.¹⁹⁴⁻²⁰⁶].

Chrysoloras accuses Kydones of lying [1.3.²⁰⁷⁻²⁰⁸], in saying that he kept himself silent when Neilos was speaking in public against the Latins because he wanted to defend a single person (ένός) (Aquinas) and that he would not have taken the part of Aquinas, unless he cared to defend all (παντός) among the Latins. To substantiate this Chrysoloras forms a syllogism concerning the one (έν) and the whole (πᾶν), with reference to Aquinas and the Latins respectively: one ought to do the same for the whole's sake as he has done for the one's sake. For when the whole (πᾶν) is taken for nothing (οὐδέν) then at any rate the one (έν) would be reckoned as nothing (οὐδέν). This analogy, which refers to the validity of Latin theology *vis-à-vis* Aquinas' theology, is reminiscent of Aristotle's analogy with reference to the human body and its individual component parts⁷⁹. Chrysoloras wonders how Kydones could possibly remain silent when Neilos attacked (ἀπτομένου) all Latins expressing in every opportunity his excessive eagerness to discuss with everybody, even if some did not wish to. The reason behind Kydones' attitude, Chrysoloras concludes, was simply his passion against his compatriots, the same passion which became the cause of Kydones assaulting Neilos and of supporting Aquinas [1.3.²⁰⁷⁻²³⁰].

⁷⁷ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, p. 391.27-31: καὶ τῆς Λατίνων σοφίας ἐγκώμια πλεῖστα διῆει τῶν γὰρ τοῦ Θωμᾶ βιβλίων μανικός ἦν ἐραστής καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐψηφίζετο πολλῶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων διδασκάλων ἠττάσθαι, δηλός τε ἦν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπονηθῶς ὅπερ καὶ γὰρ, τῶν γὰρ ἐκείνου πολλὰ τὰ μὲν ἤκουε παρ' ἐμοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνελέγετο τῶν βιβλίων. On Kabasilas' change of stance, see *ibid.*, p. 392.39-40: ἐξαίφνης ἤρξατο καὶ παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ φανερώς ἐμοὶ προσφιλονεικεῖν καὶ λόγοις λόγους ἀντιτιθέναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ.

⁷⁸ Cf. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, p. 197.

⁷⁹ Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1253a.20-2: τὸ γὰρ ὅλον πρότερον εἶναι τοῦ μέρους· ἀναιρουμένου γὰρ τοῦ ὅλου οὐκ ἔσται πούς οὐδὲ χεῖρ.

Expressing his admiration for Kabasilas, whom he calls friend and teacher, Kydones acknowledges the important role he played in his life, especially when he was taught by him as a young student in Thessalonike⁸⁰. Responding to those who might criticize him for ingratitude, Kydones says that his purpose was neither to criticize Neilos nor to oppose his wisdom, excellence and all other virtues. This is far from truth, Chrysoloras replies, for in Kydones' *Antirrhetic* Neilos' praise was soon replaced by accusation, eulogy by blame and excellence by utter evil (κακίαν ἄκρῶν). It is not appropriate for a wise man like Kydones, Chrysoloras remarks, to mix up everything and confuse the truth with lies and the spoken with the unspoken, and much more so since Neilos did the opposite things of what he is accused [1.3.²³¹⁻²⁵¹].

To Kydones' reply that he is unaware where he criticizes Neilos, Chrysoloras tells him, not without irony, that he does not know what his own work contains and he goes on quoting some phrases from the *Antirrhetic* to prove his point. According to Chrysoloras, Kydones criticized Kabasilas of playing (προσπαίζεις) and of considering a particular opinion very obscure and childish, that he writes a long nonsense (μακρὰν ... φλυαρίαν) and that he is defrauding, crafting and cheating against the obvious truths. Finally Chrysoloras remarks that Kydones said that Kabasilas' treatise would be conceded 'even by Scythians and by anyone else even more ignorant than them'⁸¹. It is absurd, therefore, Chrysoloras says, and inappropriate for a wise man to turn the flows topsy-turvy like Euripus and mix the opposites, both praises and censures, for it is impossible for both to be true [1.3.²⁵³⁻²⁶⁷].

According to Kydones, the reason for his *Antirrhetic* was not to attack Neilos' personality but to speak freely to a friend about a friend. Expressing his profound admiration for Aquinas' theology and philosophy, Kydones declares that Neilos is his friend just as Thomas is, and that both are wise. However, Aquinas surpasses Neilos, for his superiority is so much greater that it is impossible to compare the two [1.3.²⁶⁸⁻²⁷²]⁸². Starting from Kydones' statement that Aquinas and Kabasilas are both friends of

⁸⁰ Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, pp. 359.8-19, 391.10-18. Cf. Loenertz, *Les recueils*, p. 108.

⁸¹ *Dialogue* [1.3.²⁵³⁻²⁶⁰]; cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, ff. 115^v.31, 118^r.9-10, 118^r.25, 120^r.17-18, 124^v.14-15. On the Byzantine convention of referring to contemporary peoples with archaic names, in this case Scythians for Mongols, see H. Hunger, 'On the Imitation (Μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *DOP* 23-24 (1969-70), 17-38, 31; Nicol, *Church and Society*, p. 74.

⁸² Cf. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz*, p. 197; Kianka, 'Demetrius Cydones', pp. 273-274.

his, Chrysoloras points out that what Kydones has said is weak. He attempts to prove this by making use of the Euclidean principle (omitting some words and his source), that *things which are equal to the same thing are also equal to each other* (Τὰ τῶ αὐτῶ ἴσα καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἴσα)⁸³ and in turn what is equal to some things makes these things equal. Moreover, if one thing is equal to another, the latter is equal to another or the reverse, and thus the two ends (τὰ ἄκρα) will be equal. In response to Kydones' confirmation of this demonstration, Chrysoloras goes on to expound his argument on the friendships between Aquinas-Kydones and Kabasilas-Kydones, establishing his argument on the basis of the Aristotelian category of relatives (τὰ πρὸς τι). According to Aristotle, *we call relatives all such things as are said to be just what they are, of or than other things, or in some other way in relation to something else*⁸⁴. On these grounds Chrysoloras puts forward the following argument: If Thomas and Neilos are friends to you, as you admit, then you are friend of theirs; for friend is a relative term. Yet, if Thomas is your friend and you are friend to Neilos, and Neilos is a friend of yours and you are friend to Thomas, it is necessary for Thomas and Neilos to be friends. Thus, we accept that the two extreme ends are equal! [1.3.²⁸⁰⁻²⁸⁵]⁸⁵. However, Chrysoloras points out, things appear to be the opposite. For Neilos is an enemy of Thomas with reference to their writings and thoughts and in addition there is a gap that separates them (i.e., their faith). Chrysoloras sees no hope for reconciliation between the two sides. As he says, a middle point would never be found through which the two will share likeness with one another [1.3.²⁸⁵⁻²⁹⁰]. My support to Aquinas, Kydones states in humility, resembles that which an ant offers to a lion [1.3.²⁹⁴]. At this point Chrysoloras refers to the Latin claim of papal primacy⁸⁶. Actually behind these humble words, he says, there

⁸³ Euclid, *Elements*, I, ed. E.S. Stamatis (post J.L. Heiberg), *Euclidis elementa*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1969²), p. 5. On the study of Euclid's geometry as part of the Byzantine curriculum, see Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 2, 32, 80 and 156-157; D. Pingree, 'Euclid', *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 738-739.

⁸⁴ Aristotle, *Categories* 6a.36-37, trans. Ackrill, *Aristotle*, p. 17. On Aristotle's category of πρὸς τι, see Ackrill, *ibid.*, pp. 17-24, 98-103.

⁸⁵ It is possible that Chrysoloras uses at this point (without mentioning his source) John Philoponus, *Commentary on Aristotle's analytica priora*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica priora commentaria, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 13.2 (Berlin, 1905), p. 40.12-14: ἔνθα περὶ τῶν πρὸς τι διελέγετο, ὅτι ὁ φίλος φίλῳ φίλος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐχθρῶ ἐστὶν ἐχθρὸς; and/or John Damascene, *Dialectical or Philosophical Chapters*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Iohannes von Damaskos*, vol. I: *Institutio elementaris. Capita philosophica (Dialectica)*, PTS, 7 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 117-118: Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τι τὰ μὲν ἐν τῶ αὐτῶ ὀνόματι ὀνομάζονται, ὡς φίλος φίλου φίλος.

⁸⁶ On the Latin claims of the ecclesiastical primacy of the bishop of Rome, see above, pp. 18-19. See also Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, pp. 375.76-379.32; Joseph Bryennios, *Advisory Oration on the Union of the Churches*, ed. E. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1768; Thessaloniki, 1991²), pp. 400-424.

is much arrogance, which reminds the arrogance of the bishop of Rome who calls himself bishop of no city at all (μηδεμιᾶς) in order to be considered bishop of all cities and not of just one [1.3.²⁹³⁻³⁰²].

To castigate Kydones for his mixed allegiance to his former teachers (Kabasilas and Aquinas), Chrysoloras uses an example from *Physiologus* borrowing from the previous ant and lion simile [cf. 1.3.²⁹⁴]. Your actions, Chrysoloras says to Kydones, resemble those of the ant-lion (μυρμηκολέοντι), one of the whelps of a pregnant lioness, a mixed creature with the head, chest and front feet of a lion and the rest of an ant, which is unable to feed itself properly because of its dual nature (the lion is carnivorous while the ant is not) and, as a result, it dies soon after its birth. You compare yourself with an ant, Chrysoloras says to Kydones, and the Latins with lions [cf. 1.3.²⁹⁴], offering them the privilege of casting the final vote, since lions are superior to ants. But since you cannot feed yourself from either food (being an ant-lion) you easily do what you naturally do and die. For you have become a fearsome judge (δικαστῆς ... δεινότατος) to those whom you called teachers (διδασκάλους) (i.e., Aquinas and Kabasilas) and you offer the casting vote to whomever you wish, skipping some arguments while defending others. Such things are proper for a teacher rather than a student, as in your case. For this reason, Chrysoloras concludes, you oppose not only the others but also yourself and truth [1.3.²⁹⁸⁻³²¹].

[1.4] The use of syllogisms in our attempt to attain knowledge of God

The next section of the *Dialogue* examines the employment of syllogisms and the use of philosophical reasoning in things divine, with Kydones putting forward the Latin, scholastic and Byzantine Latinophile view that the syllogistic method is the way to seek and find God⁸⁷. Kydones starts by stating that the human soul has been placed by

⁸⁷ On views held on this issue by Latinophiles and Orthodox in Byzantium, see Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, ed. Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas*, pp. 188-244; Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, ff. 110^v-116^r; Manuel II, *DPSS*, pp. 4-24. Kabasilas, Kydones and Manuel II examine the issue of the use of philosophical reasoning and syllogisms in theology in the first part of their treatises, which Chrysoloras imitates in the Preface of his *Dialogue*. For the relation between Greek philosophy and Christian theology in Byzantium see in general B.N. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris, 1959²), Greek trans. E.K. Kalpourtze, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία* (Athens, 1977); H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία*, vol. 1, *Ἡ λόγια κοσμικὴ γραμματεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, Greek trans. L.G. Benakis et al. (Athens, 2001³), pp. 41-122; K. Ierodiakonou,

its Creator between the intelligent (νοεῶς) and sensitive (αἰσθητικῆς) nature; hence the knowledge of the human soul exists between the knowledge of the two natures, intelligent and sensitive. The first nature (i.e., the intelligent) has the species (εἶδη) of the intelligible beings that are close to its essence (οὐσία) and for this reason it does not suffer any change, while the latter nature (i.e., sensitive) applies directly through itself to the species of the sensible beings (αἰσθητῶν) and knows through itself each one of the sensibles, receiving a particular (μερικὴν) knowledge of them. The human soul is related to the intelligent nature and therefore it is always able to think, teach and learn by means of pre-existing knowledge [1.4.³²²⁻³³⁴]⁸⁸. Having said that, Kydones goes further to explain what *thinking* (διανοεῖσθαι) and *using syllogisms* (συλλογίζεσθαι), in other words *reasoning*, is. Using syllogisms is what distinguishes and makes human beings superior to irrational beings. Therefore, it cannot be separated from human nature, for in such case the logical nature is removed and human beings fall into the state of the irrational⁸⁹. Inferring syllogistically and thinking, Kydones continues, is the best gift God gave to human beings and it is a characteristic of our nature, which must be used by all men towards others and especially in order to seek and find God. For this reason, by removing the *dialectical syllogism*⁹⁰ from the discussion on things divine human mind is driven away, too, for it seeks things divine. In addition, in this way communication among human beings is interrupted and thus it would be impossible to seek God⁹¹. Kydones closes his argument summarising what he said, emphasizing that the use of the syllogistic method is characteristic of the logical soul (τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς) and its purpose is to find truth and knowledge [1.4.³³⁵⁻³⁶⁸]⁹².

Chrysoloras' counter-argument begins with a partial acceptance of Kydones' saying that reasoning is a gift from God. However, Chrysoloras distinguishes reasoning into

'The Anti-Logical Movement in the Fourteenth Century', in *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. eadem (Oxford, 2002; repr. 2003), pp. 219-236.

⁸⁸ Cf. Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact', p. 369 (with a translation of this passage).

⁸⁹ Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Apologia I*, p. 388.28-30.

⁹⁰ On the *dialectical syllogism*, see Aristotle, *Topics* 100a.27-100b.25; cf. Ross, *Aristotle*, pp. 54-57.

⁹¹ On Kabasilas' views with reference to the use of *dialectical syllogism* in theological questions see his *DPSS III*, pp. 206-210, 214 and 226. Chrysoloras follows the same line.

⁹² Cf. Michael Psellos, *Letter to John Xiphilinus*, ed. U. Criscuolo, *Michele Psello, Epistola a Giovanni Xifilino, Hellenica et byzantina neapolitana* 14 (Naples, 1973), p. 53.111-114: τὸ γὰρ συλλογίζεσθαι, ἀδελφέ, οὔτε δόγμα ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριον οὔτε θέσις τις 'τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν' παράδοξος, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον ὄργανον ἀληθείας καὶ ζητουμένου πράγματος εὗρεσις. See Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact', pp. 369-383.

two kinds: first, the common syllogism, namely *ratiocinari sine scientia* (τὸ χωρὶς ἐπιστήμης συλλογίζεσθαι) and secondly, *ratiocinari cum scientia* (τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης συλλογίζεσθαι)⁹³. As he says, the first (i.e., *ratiocinari sine scientia*) constitutes the very nature of man and when present it makes the human nature, while when being absent it cancels it. This is a characteristic property of man, both general and particular, which God gives this to men from the beginning [1.4.³⁷⁸⁻³⁸²]. The latter reasoning (i.e., *ratiocinari cum scientia*), on the other hand, cannot be shared with the first and is a privilege only for a few people who possess it by studying it (σπουδάζουσι) (apparently as a science). Both kinds of reasoning can only confirm that God exists and nothing more beyond this. Chrysoloras' view is that *ratiocinari cum scientia* cannot be the proper way for people to pursue theology and find God for, if this were the case, then God would be considered as cause of evils. If knowledge, which is total good, cannot be shared equally to all, then God, Who grants knowledge, is not good. This is absurd since God is totally righteous. By contrast, *ratiocinari sine scientia* is the best gift given by God and shared by all. Chrysoloras continues his argument attributing *ratiocinari cum scientia* an element of good and evil. Although he acknowledges that indeed this kind of reasoning is a gift from God, too, it is not the perfect one, not because of God but because of human beings, when we treat it in a malicious way resulting in great harm [1.4.³⁸²⁻⁴⁰⁰].

Chrysoloras proceeds to the second part of his argument against syllogisms in speculating on things divine. The question is whether the wisdom of this world could be the way to know God. His argument is based on the analogy wise not wise people (σοφοὶ ... μὴ σοφοί). To prove that believers in God are those who are rather those who are not wise while wise people are not more faithful, Chrysoloras makes a long excursion to the past, often quoting from Philo of Alexandria (once more without mentioning him). He begins from the times before the incarnation of Christ up to the times of the apologists and heresies. In the case of the gentiles, wise people were giving worship to idols and statues made of wood and stone, even animals, removing from sight the most supreme and ancient Begetter (ἀνωτάτω, καὶ πρεσβύτατον γένετην),

⁹³ On the translation of *ratiocinari sine scientia* (τὸ χωρὶς ἐπιστήμης συλλογίζεσθαι) and *ratiocinari cum scientia* (τὸ μετ' ἐπιστήμης συλλογίζεσθαι), see Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas Impact', pp. 401-403.

the Commander of the *megalopolis* (ἄρχοντα τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως)⁹⁴, the General (στρατάρχην) of the invincible army, the Governor (κυβερνήτην), the true living God (ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν). They did so either because of their ignorance or not being eager to learn. After the incarnation of Christ wise people, this time Christians, fell into heresies concerning the nature of Christ and the Trinity⁹⁵. For Chrysoloras there is only one possible conclusion: there is no benefit from the *wisdom of this world*⁹⁶ and wise people cannot attain the knowledge of God [1.4.⁴¹⁶⁻⁴⁷⁹]. On the contrary, countless people who do not use the knowledge of this world (i.e., philosophy) are faithful to God and they speak with Him as to a genuine friend, for example the Prophets, the Apostles and many others who believe in the living God⁹⁷. As a model, Chrysoloras uses the people of Asine⁹⁸, in the peninsula of the Peloponnese, and the Essenes⁹⁹ in Judaea, focusing mainly on the latter and their communal way of life. The Essenes, he says (quoting from Philo) left the logical and natural parts of philosophy to those who love to converse and devoted all their attention to the moral part of philosophy [1.4.⁴⁹²⁻⁴⁹⁴]¹⁰⁰. Without using Greek literature (λόγων ἑλληνικῶν) and syllogisms (συλλογισμῶν) they prevailed over those who philosophise (φιλοσοφοῦντας) in order to receive the knowledge of God in a more familiar way (οἰκειοτέρας) than the others [1.4.⁴⁹⁹⁻⁵⁰²]. At this point Chrysoloras refers to ‘our Greek nation’ (Ἕλληνες τὸ ἡμέτερον) making use of the ethnic and not religious connotation of the term [1.4.⁴¹⁷⁻⁴¹⁹]. It has been suggested that the meaning of the term in its ethnic connotation first appears in intellectual circles

⁹⁴ The source of this passage is Philo of Alexandria, *De decalogo* (for μεγαλοπόλεως Chrysoloras uses μεγάλης πόλεως). For the use of the word μεγαλόπολις as the *cosmos* in Philo of Alexandria, see D.T. Runia, ‘*Verba Philonica, Ἀγαλματοφορεῖν, and the authenticity of the De Resurrectione attributed to Athenagoras*’, in idem, *Philo and the Church Fathers: A Collection of Papers* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1995), pp. 102-116 at 105.

⁹⁵ *Dialogue* [1.4.⁴⁶⁵⁻⁴⁶⁸].

⁹⁶ 1 Corinthians 3:19.

⁹⁷ The idea of God being friend to those who believe in Him and follow His commands can be found in the Old and the New Testament. In Exodus 33:11 Moses spoke with God as friend-to-friend and in John 15:12-15 Jesus calls His disciples ‘friends’.

⁹⁸ On Asine, see Herodotus, *Histories*, 8, 73, ed. H.R. Dietsch, *Herodoti Historiarum libri IX*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1918), p. 284.

⁹⁹ On the Essenes, see Philo of Alexandria, *Every Good Man is Free*, eds. L. Cohn and S. Reiter, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1915; repr. 1962), §75-91, pp. 21-26; Flavius Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1894), book II, §119-161, pp. 176-161. See also Ch.D. Ginsburg, *The Essenes: their history and doctrines* (London, 1955).

¹⁰⁰ For the three parts of Philosophy (natural, moral and logical), see Philo of Alexandria, *Allegorical Interpretation*, I, § 57.14-15, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1896; repr. 1962), p. 75.

in mid-fourteenth-century Thessalonike¹⁰¹, where Chrysoloras was born and brought up¹⁰². Actually, the ethnic connotation of this term goes back to the thirteenth century, if not earlier¹⁰³.

Kydones agrees with Chrysoloras' view that philosophy may lead to man's detriment in terms of faith in God and asks him what is the instrument of knowledge God gives to all people irrespective of their intelligence and education. Chrysoloras replies that God has given human beings the *rational soul* (ψυχὴν λογικὴν). Reason (λογιστικὸν), he says, has the leading role in controlling the other two parts of the soul (i.e., spirit and appetite) and when this happens, man is blessed, for this can result in the knowledge of truth (ἀληθείας), and anger (θυμῶ) is accompanied by courage (ἀνδρεία) and appetite by prudence (σωφροσύνη), and these are mixed with justice (δικαιοσύνη). When the two irrational parts rule over reason the result is the opposite¹⁰⁴. According to Chrysoloras the mind (νοῦς) is the leader (ἡγεμῶν) of the soul¹⁰⁵ along with *prohairesis*¹⁰⁶, which is responsible for good and evil actions as well as for belief (πίστιν) or disbelief (ἀπιστίαν) in God¹⁰⁷. The perception of *prohairesis* being a key factor in the evolution of man's virtue and character in pursuit of virtue or the

¹⁰¹ S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 14-23, esp. 19-23. See the Proceedings of the Symposium on *Late Byzantine Thessalonike* held at the Dumbarton Oaks Centre for Byzantine Studies, esp. the article by F. Tinnefeld, 'Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike', *DOP* 57 (2003), 153-172.

¹⁰² See above, p. 22.

¹⁰³ See S. Runciman, 'Byzantine and Hellene in the Fourteenth Century', in *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου Ἀρμενοπούλου* (Thessalonike, 1952), pp. 27-31; P. Magdalino, 'Hellenism and Nationalism', in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1991), pp. 1-29; idem, 'The Rhetoric of Hellenism', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth Century Europe* (Rio Grande, Ohio, 1992), pp. 139-156; H. Saradi, *Byzantium and the Origin of the Modern Greek National Consciousness* (Toronto, 1992); A.D. Angelou, 'Who am I? Scholarios' answers and the Hellenic identity', in *Φιλέλλην. Studies in honour of Robert Browning*, eds. C.N. Constantinides, N.M. Panagiotakes, E.J. Jeffreys and A.D. Angelou (Venice, 1996), pp. 1-19; N.G. Svoronos, *Το ελληνικό έθνος, γένεση και διαμόρφωση του νέου ελληνισμού* (Athens, 2005), pp. 21-109; A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformation of the Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007).

¹⁰⁴ The idea there are three parts of the soul (reason, spirit and appetite) comes from Plato (*Republic* 4, 426c-445a). This is a rather different psychology from that offered by Aristotle on the theory of *proairesis*. It seems that Chrysoloras is simply conflating the two. I would like to thank Professor Anne Sheppard for pointing out this to me.

¹⁰⁵ *Prohairesis* cannot exist without the *nous*: see Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrhetic against Apollinarius*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1 (Leiden, 1958), p. 213.1

¹⁰⁶ For the difficulty of interpreting and translating the term *prohairesis*, see C. Chamberlain, 'The meaning of Prohairesis in Aristotle's Ethics', *Transactions on the American Philological Association*, vol. 114 (1984), 147-157; cf. Ross, *Aristotle*, pp. 197-201.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos*, 8, § 2.61-62sch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasioi Sinaitae viae dux*, CCSG 8 (Turnhout, 1981), p. 120: Σχόλιον. 'Ἀγριελαίαν' τὴν ἀπιστίαν εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς δὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ἄπιστος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ προαίρεσιν.

contrary is in accordance with Aristotle's¹⁰⁸ and the Church Fathers' teachings¹⁰⁹ [1.4.⁵¹⁵⁻⁵³²].

[1.5] God's infinity, energy/actuality-potentiality

In the final section of the Preface, Chrysoloras and Kydones debate on *infinity* (ἄπειρον), *potentiality* (δυνάμει) and *energy/actuality* (ἐνέργεια) of God. Kydones presents Aquinas' teachings on God's infinity and power, which he distinguishes between infinity *by way of privation* (κατὰ στέρησιν) and infinity *by way of negation* (κατὰ ἀπόφασιν), the latter being the one that befits God¹¹⁰. This is so because infinity *by way of negation* is closest among all things to knowledge (μάλιστα πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην οἰκείως ἔχει), since infinity (i.e., God) is form *par excellence* (μάλιστα εἶδος) for it is not subject to anything and therefore it contracts what is in itself (συστέλλει τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ), and makes something to be and something not to be (καὶ ποιεῖ, τόδε μὲν, εἶναι, τόδε δέ, μὴ εἶναι). The statement about infinity *by way of negation* being closest to knowledge is unclear, unless it refers to the ascetic life. By contrast, Kydones says, infinity *by way of privation* cannot possibly be demonstrated. For, *privation* is the *negation of form*, which implies imperfection and this does not exist in God¹¹¹. To illustrate the perfection of the divine nature Kydones gives the example of the whiteness of snow and of the swan, which is not purely white (οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστι λευκόν) but is limited to a subject [i.e., snow or swan] and becomes partially white and finite in the nature of the snow. If there was whiteness, Kydones continues, which was not confined at all to a certain subject, then it would be infinite whiteness above all kinds of whiteness. However, this does not apply to God for in Him there is no room for

¹⁰⁸ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1111b.4-30, 1163a.21-23; *Rhetoric* 1367b.21-24.

¹⁰⁹ On the use of *prohairesis* in patristic literature, see Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrhetic*, pp. 179.28-31, 198.1-7; idem, *To those who passed away*, ed. G. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1 (Leiden, 1967), p. 58.4-8; Basil of Caesarea, *Homilies in the Hexaemeron*, Homily 6, § 7, ed. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, SC 26 bis (Paris, 1968²), pp. 356-362; idem, *Homily explaining that God is not the cause of evil*, PG 31, col. 345B; John Chrysostom, *Against the opponents of monastic life*, PG 47, cols. 355.58-356.3; idem, *To the people of Antioch*, PG 49, cols. 86.38-53, 130.24-37.

¹¹⁰ For the teachings of Thomas Aquinas on *infinity*, *potentiality* and *energy/actuality* of God, see his SCG I, 43; *De Potentia* q. 1 a. 2 co; *ST* Ia q. 3, Ia q. 7 a. 1, cf. Ia q. 25 a. 2. See also Davies, *Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 80-82; R.A. te Velde, *Aquinas on God: The 'Divine Science' of the Summa Theologiae* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 77-85; J.F. Wippel, *Metaphysical Themes in Thomas Aquinas II*, *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy*, 47 (Washington, D.C., 2007), pp. 131-134.

¹¹¹ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* Ia q. 33 a4 ad. 2. See E. Cook, *The Deficient Cause of Moral Evil According to Thomas Aquinas*, *Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change. Series 1, Culture and Values*, 14 (Washington, D.C., 1996), p. 26.

potentiality (δυνάμει) since He is only *pure energy/actuality* (ἐνέργεια ... καθαρὰ)¹¹², which cannot possibly be perceived in any subject. Therefore, God is only *form* (εἶδος μόνον) and *pure entelechy* (ἐντελέχειαν ψιλήν) in which absolute *infinity* (ἡ ἀπλῶς ἀπειρία) is inherent (συνέζευκται) [1.5.⁵³³⁻⁵⁵⁴].

Chrysoloras' counter-argument focuses on God's infinity related to the incarnation of Christ, on the *energy/actuality* and *potentiality*, and *entelechy* of God. Although there are things and beings that one could call infinite, such as the circle, number and line, which are continuously and, therefore, endlessly divisible, the only truly infinite being is God for He is above all beings [1.5.⁵⁶⁸⁻⁵⁸⁰]. God is infinite for He has neither beginning nor end. Even in the Incarnation of the Logos the two natures of Christ became one *hypostasis* with the divine nature becoming finite in the human body but without being confused with the human nature [1.5.⁵⁸¹⁻⁶¹⁷]. As for what Kydones said about infinite whiteness, this can never be the case, Chrysoloras remarks. Nevertheless, if indeed this were possible, namely a whiteness not being confined into a subject, this still would not be called infinite, for infinite is without beginning and is endless, and the coming to be and passing away of such whiteness would take place within the limits of the created world [1.5.⁶¹⁹⁻⁶³⁰].

With reference to the *potentiality* and *energy/actuality* in God, Chrysoloras eventually agrees with Kydones since he denies God the imperfect lack of potency (ἀτελής ἀδυναμία) but not the power to accomplish extraordinary things such as the resurrection of the dead. Chrysoloras reprimands Kydones for calling God *form* (εἶδος) and *pure entelechy* (ψιλή ἐντελέχεια) [1.5.⁶⁵¹⁻⁶⁵⁵]¹¹³. Thus, God is called and us *being* and *goodness, wisdom* and *justice, truth* and *life* for these appear in the Scriptures and are stated by the theologians. To say that God is *form* and *pure entelechy* is absurd, Chrysoloras says, for this has not been said by the Fathers [1.5.⁶⁷⁰⁻⁶⁷⁹]. Chrysoloras clarifies his argument giving a definition of *entelechy* according to Aristotle, namely *the fulfillment of what is potentially, as such, is motion*¹¹⁴ and habituation in a state of

¹¹² Thomas Aquinas, *SCG I*, 43, no. 361: relinquatur quod Deus, qui est actus purus; 43, no. 362: Deus autem est actus purus absque omni potentia.

¹¹³ Cf. Ps-Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the divine names*, ed. B.-R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum I: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus*, PTS, 33 (Berlin, 1990), p. 108.7-8.

¹¹⁴ Aristotle, *Physics* 201a.10-11; English trans. by R.P. Hardie and R.K. Gaye in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, ed. J. Barnes, vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J., 1984), p. 343.11-12.

completion (κατὰ τὸ ἐντελὲς ἕξις) [1.5.⁶⁸⁸]. Therefore, Chrysoloras continues, a human being is in a state of *entelechy* not when arranged in the womb (κατὰ τὸ μήτραν οἰκονομούμενον) but when completed and brought into the world (ὁ ἀπαρτισθείς, καὶ τεχθείς). Accordingly, the soul is an *energy/actuality* of a natural and instrumental body having life *potentially* (δυνάμει) not because the soul is *energy/actuality* but because the perfection of the body is related to it (i.e., the soul). And the perfect *energy/actuality* (τελεία ἐνέργεια) is called *entelechy*. Therefore, by a misuse of language the unqualified *energy/actuality* is called also *entelechy* in so far as each one expresses its *energy/actuality* according to its nature, whether perfect or imperfect. In this sense motion (κίνησις), too, is called *entelechy* [1.5.⁶⁹¹⁻⁶⁹⁷]. If there are so many ways to signify what *entelechy* is, Chrysoloras concludes, it would be impossible to give a proper meaning of *entelechy* in God. Moreover, since *potentiality* (δυνάμει) does not befit God, as Kydones said, and *potentiality* is attached to *entelechy*, therefore *entelechy* and God are not identical [1.5.⁶⁹⁹⁻⁷⁰⁵]. The statement that *potentiality* is attached to *entelechy* seems initially very odd but Chrysoloras seems to connect *motion* and *potentiality* on the basis that *motion* can be called *entelechy*, as Aristotle does [cf. 1.5.⁶⁸⁸]. At this point Aquinas enters the *Dialogue* and urges Kydones and Chrysoloras to listen to his syllogisms.

[2] First Syllogism on the distinction in the divine Persons

Following his Preface, Chrysoloras proceeds to refute Kydones' arguments against Neilos' objections concerning the question of the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity, particularly the way these are distinguished, as expounded by Aquinas in *SCG* IV, 24, no. 3612 and refuted by Kabasilas in his *DPSS III*¹¹⁵. In terms of structure the First Syllogism refutes Kydones' arguments as they appear in the *Antirrhetic*¹¹⁶. Following the introductory statements by Aquinas and Kabasilas [2.¹⁻¹⁰], Kydones and Chrysoloras examine the distinction between a ram and a he-goat [2.1-3], the distinction among angels [2.4] and souls [2.5], concluding with a discussion on the relations among the divine Persons [2.6].

¹¹⁵ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, pp. 244-276.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, ff. 116^r.28-118^r.25.

The Syllogism begins with Aquinas' statement that the Son and the Spirit are distinguished between themselves and that this distinction is not according to the matter but by way of opposition (ἐνὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως διακρίνονται). For otherwise, using an example, *to be white* and *to be triangular* can be simultaneously in something identical [2.¹⁻⁴]. For reasons of economy, one assumes, instead of citing Aquinas' full quotation¹¹⁷ Chrysoloras cites only a short section of Neilos' summary of, and conclusions on, Aquinas' teachings¹¹⁸. As a result, Chrysoloras does not provide a clear and succinct exposition of Aquinas' views on the *relative opposition* concerning the distinction among the Persons in the Trinity, which refers to the Aristotelian category of *relation* (πρός τι)¹¹⁹, as cited by Neilos¹²⁰. In the *Dialogue* Kabasilas puts forward the objection that Aquinas' verdict cannot be applied to all things, for example to angels and souls or corporeal beings, such as the ram and the he-goat [2.⁵⁻¹⁰]. Chrysoloras takes Kabasilas' argument and Kydones' refutation as a point of departure.

[2.1-3] Distinction of corporeal beings

The debate proceeds with Kydones expressing the view that the distinction between the ram and the he-goat turns on the following differences: (a) the one is wild and the other tame [2.1], (b) the one has hard and the other soft hair [2.2], and (c) the former grows a beard while the latter is beardless [2.3]¹²¹. Though in the *Antirrhetic* Kydones puts forward his arguments in a single sentence¹²², Chrysoloras refutes each of these three points separately [2.1-3].

Based on the aforementioned example, Kydones defines how things can be distinguished. Things are called *properly distinguished* (κυρίως λεγόμενα διακρίνεσθαι), when they can be divided (διαιροῖτο) from something which is common and by necessity differ according to the *species* (εἶδος). Things which do not

¹¹⁷ Thomas Aquinas, SCG IV, 24, no. 3612, in Kydones' translation as cited by Neilos Kabasilas, DPSS III, pp. 244.19-246.35.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, DPSS III, pp. 244.24-246.1, 248.19-21.

¹¹⁹ Aristotle, *Categories* 6a.36-8b.24. For *relative opposition* concerning the distinction of the divine Persons in the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, see Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 96-99.

¹²⁰ Neilos Kabasilas, DPSS III, p. 246.13-14: Λείπεται τοίνυν ἀλλήλων τὰ θεῖα πρόσωπα διακρίνεσθαι τῆ τῶν πρὸς τι μόνον ἀντιθέσει· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς διακρίνεται κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἀναφορᾶς.

¹²¹ Cf. *Dialogue* [2.1.³²⁻³³], [2.2.¹⁰⁸⁻¹⁰⁹], [2.3.¹⁵⁰⁻¹⁵¹].

¹²² Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, Vat. gr. 614, f. 116^v.4-6.

differ according to their *species*, Kydones continues, are distinguished according to their *matter* and *subject* (κατά την ὕλην καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον), while those distinguished from one another contain an *opposition* within them and by necessity the first is not like the other and by no means would they be predicated of each other. That *one thing* (τόδε) by necessity is not the *other thing* (τόδε), is made clear from the fact that a battle between the *subject* and *predicate* (κατηγορουμένου) would then take place. For if these did not fight each other, Kydones continues, by necessity they would not be distinguished and occasionally the *subject* and *predicate* might coincide. However, since this is impossible — for it is taken as granted that their distinction is necessary — it is clear that things distinguished by necessity have an *opposition* in them which prevents reciprocal coincidence (κωλύεται συνδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις) [2.16-29].

Chrysoloras ironically addresses Kydones as a ‘remarkable philosopher’ (θαυμάσιε φιλοσόφω), who speculates on things not even an idiot (ιδιώτη) believes in, and either unwillingly or, even worse, willingly expresses such inappropriate views that need to be substantiated by truths universal and necessary in themselves (καθόλου πάντως καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ καθ’ αὐτὰ) and not by sophistries (σοφίσμασι). This address sets the tone of the section that follows. In a vivid stichomythia [2.1.49-107] Chrysoloras forces Kydones to contradict himself [2.1.62-65]. *Species* of the same *genus*, he says, in this case *ram* and *he-goat* (both are animals) can be compared. Two opposite things, however, such as *black* and *white*, cannot be compared. It follows that if we were to compare the *ram* and the *he-goat* we could call them *tame* and *tamer* respectively. In addition, *wild* and *tame* beings can be distinguished but cannot be compared, unlike two *tame* things [2.1.50-60]. Basing his arguments on Porphyry (*Isagoge*, chapter IV, *On difference*), Chrysoloras proceeds further to establish the difference between *wildness* and *tameness*. The *ram* differs from the *he-goat*, he states, on the grounds of an *inseparable accidental attribute* (ἀχώριστον συμβεβηκός)¹²³. Hence these two beings differ *properly* (ιδίως) but not *most properly* (ιδιαιτάτα), as for example a *man* differs from a *horse* [2.1.66-78]¹²⁴. Moreover, the *ram* and the *he-goat* are not associated in terms of

¹²³ On the definition of *inseparable accident*, see Porphyry, *Isagoge*, ed. A. Busse, *Porphyrii isagoge et in Aristotelis categorias commentarium*, Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, 4.1 (Berlin, 1887), pp. 8.14-15, 12.24-13.8. See also J. van Rijen, *Aspects of Aristotle’s Logic of Modalities* (Dordrecht, 1989), pp. 136-137; J. Barnes, *Porphyry: Introduction* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 224-229.

¹²⁴ On the terms *ιδίως* and *ιδιαιτάτα* in Porphyry see his *Isagoge*, p. 8.12-21.

essence. However, we can attribute to them a variation *more or less* (τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον) based on their *accidental* differences (e.g., one animal may have a longer tail than the other), which make these animals *otherlike* (ἄλλοιοῖον) and not *other* (ἄλλο), the latter being a characteristic of *per se* differences [2.1.⁸⁰⁻⁹⁴]¹²⁵. The same line of refutation is applied by Chrysoloras to the other two points [2.2-3], namely the distinction between the *ram* and the *he-goat* according to (b) the hardness and softness of their hair, and (c) the existence or lack of a beard. Tacitly using Porphyry once more, Chrysoloras argues that it is impossible to distinguish the hair of these animals, for this is not *soft* in the one case and *hard* in the other, but in both cases is *soft* [2.2.¹⁰⁸⁻¹⁴⁹]. Hence these animals cannot be distinguished on the grounds of their growing a beard or not [2.3.¹⁵⁰⁻⁷³].

[2.4.²⁰⁶⁻⁴⁶⁸] Distinction of incorporeal beings — angels

Having refuted Kydones' arguments on the distinction of material beings, Chrysoloras now proceeds to examine and refute Kydones' views on the distinction of incorporeal and immaterial beings, first angels and then souls. He begins by refuting Kydones' view (cf. Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 50, a. 1-4) that since angels are *immaterial* and *incorporeal* beings by necessity they are solely *species* subsisting in themselves and therefore they are distinguished solely on the basis of their *species*, hence their *number* is equal to their *species* [2.4.²⁰⁶⁻²¹⁰]¹²⁶. Chrysoloras puts forward the following counter-arguments: though by necessity angels, who by virtue of being *immaterial* and *incorporeal* transcend *matter*, have *species*, nevertheless it is unknown whether they are distinguished on the basis of *species*. Moreover, those who differ according to their *species*, as Aquinas taught (*SCG IV*, 24, no. 3612) have an *opposition* (ἐναντιότητα) within themselves [2.4.²¹¹⁻²¹⁶]¹²⁷. Kydones asks whether on the basis of this argument there is no difference perceived either in terms of *matter* or *species*. To this Chrysoloras responds that unless a distinction is

¹²⁵ See Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 9.15-18. Cf. Barnes, *Porphyry*, pp. 168-174.

¹²⁶ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 50, a. 4. On the teachings of Thomas Aquinas on angels, see Gilson, *Thomism*, pp. 189-203.

¹²⁷ Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3612: Neque etiam oppositione contrarietatis. Quia sic distinguuntur quae sunt secundum formam diversa: nam contrarietas, ut philosophi docent, est differentia secundum formam; cf. *Dialogue* [2.²⁰⁻²¹]: τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος ἀντιδιηρημένα, ἀντίθesis ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιέχει.

perceived in terms of their *species* they are not distinguished by any *opposition* [2.4.²¹⁷⁻²²¹].

Kydones states that angels are associated according to their *genus*, which is the reason why they are called *angels*, and since all *numbers* are associated (κοινωνούντων), the distinction among *numbers* is based on their *species*. Chrysoloras replies that *numbers* are associated in terms of sharing the same *genus*, because they have the *unit* as their *genus*, which *unit* generates the other *numbers* and when it is subtracted it also subtracts all *numbers*¹²⁸, but this hardly applies to *angels*, for they do not share the same *genus* through which they could easily unite or be distinguished, and moreover, *numbers* do differ according to *species* since they have the *unit* as their *genus*. Tacitly using John Damascene's exposition on *genus* and *species*, Chrysoloras continues arguing that such a view expressed by Kydones (and Aquinas) is unfamiliar (γνώριμον οὐδενί) with reference to *angels*, for they do not have *another angel* as their *genus* except their common *essence*, one might say¹²⁹. If this were the case their *genus* might have been *other than angel*, in the same way that the *unit* is not a *number*. Similarly, it is not true, Chrysoloras continues, that, on account of all angels being called *angels*, they are associated according to their *genus*. Indeed all human beings are called *human beings* having their *essence* as their *genus*, through which they are distinguished. However, *angels*, though they are distinguished through their *being rational* and *immortal*, do not accept any *middle genera* (μέσα γένη) and so-called *species of the essence*, including rationality [2.4.²²²⁻²³⁹].

Kydones remarks that by the term *nature* (φύσις) we mean *genus*, for (according to Basil of Caesarea whom he does not name), *just as angels have one name they have one nature*¹³⁰. By applying this to *animals*, he continues, it is possible to say that they share the same *nature*, that is *genus*, and differ *especially* (μάλιστα) according to *species* [2.4.²⁴⁰⁻²⁴⁴]. This, Chrysoloras objects, cannot be said with reference to *angels*, for actually the statement cited shows the contrary, namely that all angels are of the same *species*, as

¹²⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1043b.36-38 cited by Thomas Aquinas in *ST Ia*, q. 50, a. 2, ad 1: qui differunt per additionem et subtractionem unitatis.

¹²⁹ Cf. John Damascene, *Elementary Introduction*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 1, *Institutio elementaris. Capita philosophica (Dialectica)*, PTS, 7 (Berlin, 1969), § 7, pp. 23-25

¹³⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Against Eunomius*, III, eds. B. Sesboüé, G.-M. de Durand and L. Doutreleau, *Basile de Césarée. Contre Eunome*, vol. 2, SC, 305 (Paris, 1983) § 1.40-41, p. 148; cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 252.21-23.

Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite and Cyril of Alexandria confirm through their views on the *sameness of species* (ὁμοειδία) with reference to angels [2.4.²⁴⁸⁻²⁵³]¹³¹. To say that *animals* are of the same *genus* and that they are distinguished *especially* (μάλιστα) according to *species* is true, except that this is because they are separated (διαιροῦνται) from the common *genus* of this *essence* and it seems that the *opposites* are present in them some times through their *potentiality* and other times through their *energy/actuality*. These two (*potentiality* and *energy/actuality*) do not apply in the case of *angels* as they always act and pursue *potentiality* and the opposite (i.e., *energy/actuality*) in all cases. If indeed angels are distinguished according to their *species*, which is contrary to what the saints state, Chrysoloras argues, what is this *opposition* existing among angels? [2.4.²⁵⁵⁻²⁶⁴].

Kydones uses the example of numbers. As *numbers* differ one from another by being closer and farther to the *unit*, likewise *angels* differ from one another by being *more perfect* (τελειοτέρου), *less perfect* (ἀτελεστέρου), *united* (ἠνωμένου), or *multiplied* (πεπληθυσμένου), in terms of the way each angel's *mind* (νοῦς) perceives the divine truths (τὰ θεῖα νοήσει), others with greater humility (ταπεινότερον), others in a higher way (ὑψηλότερον) and with greater unity (ἐνοειδέστερον) [2.4.²⁶⁵⁻²⁷²]. In the latter point Kydones follows Aquinas, who distinguishes between *superior* and *inferior* angels, the former having a more universal knowledge of the truth and being nearer to, and more like, God¹³².

Chrysoloras responds that since there is no imperfection among material and visible animals as being created by God much more so there is no imperfection among angels since they have the same Creator. Kydones argues that if one says that angels are *perfect* in their nature, it is unreasonable that some of them are *perfect* while others are *less perfect*. Nevertheless nothing prevents each one of the angels from being *perfect*

¹³¹ Cf. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the celestial hierarchy*, 9, § 2, eds. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum II, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, De ecclesiastica hierarchia, De mystica theologia, Epistulae*, PTS, 36 (Berlin and New York, 1991), p. 36.11-23; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentaries on the Gospel of John*, II, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1872), p. 176.5-8. Though Chrysoloras does not name his source in the text, the names διον(ύσιο)ς and κύρ(ι)λλ(ος) appear in red ink in the margin of K, f. 17^r and L, f. 22^r.

¹³² Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 108, a. 1, resp.: dum de cognitione Angelorum ageretur, quod superiores Angeli habent universaliorem cognitionem veritatis quam inferiores; *ibid.*, Ia, q. 55, a. 3, resp.: Respondeo dicendum quod ex hoc sunt in rebus aliqua superiora, quod sunt uni primo, quod est Deus, propinquiora et similia; cf. *ibid.*, Ia, q. 106, a. 1, resp.

within his own *species* and *less perfect* when compared to another *angel*, for it is reasonable that there are degrees of *intellectual life* (βαθμούς νοεράς ζωῆς), in the same way that there are degrees of *perceptive life* (βαθμούς αἰσθητικῆς ζωῆς) among human beings and irrational beings, in the sense that each one of them is *perfect* in itself while *less perfect vis-à-vis* what is beyond and closer to the *logical life* (λογικῆς ζωῆς) [2.4.²⁷³⁻²⁸⁹].

Chrysoloras agrees with Kydones that there are *degrees* (βαθμούς), in the sense of *order/s*, in the immaterial world, as the Fathers teach, particularly Ps.-Dionysius¹³³. Which these are, however, and how they differ among themselves, no one knows except God, and perhaps not even the angels themselves, he says. Chrysoloras also accepts that nothing prevents a *species* that is *perfect per se*—for all that God created is perfect— from being *imperfect* when compared to another *species*, angels included. To argue, however, that angels are far more *inferior* to the divine nature than human beings are to angels, and that God is far *superior* to angels than angels are to human beings, and that for this reason human beings are *imperfect* with relation to angels and angels are *imperfect* with relation to God, hence angels can be *less perfect* if compared to one another, is impossible and totally unknown¹³⁴. For no Church authority has ever identified this difference. At this point Chrysoloras criticizes Kydones for lacking the ability to perceive subtle distinctions. By way of example, Chrysoloras refers to Ptolemy's theory (*Harmonics* I, 10) concerning the imperceptible distinction between a *semitone* and an *interval of the 128th degree* (ἑκατοστοεικοστογδῶφ), which became clear, as he says, through scientific reasoning (ἐπιστήμης λόγος). In addition, since this principle does not apply to composite human beings —for there is no *imperfection* in composite human beings, except perhaps in foetuses, which though *imperfect*, on account of their being unborn, being human beings only in *potentiality* but not in *entelechy*¹³⁵, yet they are entirely *perfect* in the eyes of God, since they come from non

¹³³ Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Celestial hierarchy*, 6, §§ 1-2, pp. 26.1-27.3.

¹³⁴ Cf. John Damascene, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2, *Expositio Fidei* (Ἐκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως), PTS, 12 (Berlin, 1973), § 17.11-13, p. 45.

¹³⁵ Cf. Ps.-Galenus (in reality Porphyrius), *To Gaurus on how Embryos are Ensouled*, § 1.2, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, 'Die neuplatonische, fälschlich dem Galen zugeschriebene Schrift Πρὸς Γαῦρον περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐμψυχῶνται τὰ ἔμβρυα', *Abhandlungen der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1895), p. 33. See Poprhyry, *To Gaurus On how Embryos are Ensouled and On What is in Our Power*, English trans. J. Wilberding (London, 2011), p. 31.

being into being and will rise with a *rational soul* (λογικὴν ψυχὴν)— how can it be true with reference to the nature of angels? [2.4.²⁹⁰⁻³²³].

Chrysoloras proceeds to examine this question further using similar argumentation with that in the section describing the distinction between the *ram* and the *he-goat* (cf. [2.1-3]). Through a series of arguments based on Plato (ὁ δεινὸς Πλάτων) and Aristotle (ὁ Φιλόσοφος), Chrysoloras succeeds in convincing Kydones that it is impossible to compare two opposite things, in this case *perfect* and *imperfect*, for these are simply contrary and therefore have nothing in common. In response to Kydones' suggestion to examine in a comparative approach the pairs *perfect/more perfect* and *imperfect/more imperfect*, Chrysoloras cites Plato, *of two wretched persons one could not be happier than the other, but could perhaps be more wretched*¹³⁶, and paraphrases Aristotle's view that contraries are never to be compared¹³⁷ [2.4.³²³⁻³⁵⁰].

Despite the fact that he made Kydones accept that angels cannot be compared in terms of *perfect* and *imperfect*, for the sake of the argument Chrysoloras accepts for a moment that it is indeed possible for angels to be distinguished into *perfect* and *imperfect* in order to expound on this through a series of brief arguments [2.4.³⁵⁰⁻⁴¹⁸] based once more on Porphyry's *Isagoge*. The first group of arguments [2.4.³⁵¹⁻³⁷⁵] deals with the kind of relations angels have to one another, which echoes the section from the *Isagoge* examining things *most general* (γένει), *most special* (εἶδει ... εἰδικωτάτω) and *individual* (ἀτόμω), and the way these are related¹³⁸. The second group of arguments [2.4.³⁷⁶⁻³⁹⁵], also based on the *Isagoge*, examines differences between *other* (ἄλλος) and *different* (ἄλλοιός)¹³⁹. The last section of arguments [2.4.³⁹⁶⁻⁴¹⁸] concentrates on the order of the angels in relation to their proximity to the Trinity and the transmission of the divine truth to them.

To say that the angel who is closer to God, Chrysoloras argues, is more *perfect* and has a better knowledge of His mysteries, contradicts the fact that Gabriel, who belongs to

¹³⁶ Plato, *Gorgias* 473d.9-473e.1.

¹³⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 11b.33-38; Procopius of Gaza, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, 2, § 13, ed. S. Leanza, *Procopii Gazaevi catena in Ecclesiasten necnon Pseudochrysostomi commentarius in eundem Ecclesiasten*, CCSG 4 (Turnhout, 1978), p. 19.99-100.

¹³⁸ Cf. Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 5.1-16; Barnes, *Porphyry*, pp. 112-114.

¹³⁹ Cf. Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 9.15-18; Barnes, *Porphyry*, pp. 168-174.

the eighth order of the Archangels¹⁴⁰, has a better knowledge of the mysteries of God than the angels who come before him in hierarchy, since he is the one who assisted the great mystery of the Incarnation [2.4.³⁹⁶⁻⁴⁰²]. Linking the sixth number after the *unit*, that is *number seven*, the *perfect number* among all *imperfect numbers* close to the *unit*¹⁴¹, Chrysoloras refutes Kydones' analogy between *perfect* and *less perfect* numbers and angels with reference to their proximity to the unit and God respectively. If *number seven*, he says, is *more perfect* than the previous numbers, then the same applies to *angels*, who, therefore, cannot be distinguished into *perfect* and *imperfect* in terms of their proximity to God [2.4.⁴⁰³⁻⁴⁰⁹]. Moreover, Chrysoloras remarks, who would be bold enough to say that among the numberless angels it is impossible to find two of them sharing the same knowledge of God? These two angels would both be distinguished from one another and prove the absurdity of Kydones' view concerning the distinction of angels into *perfect* and *imperfect*. For this seems to apply not only for two angels but tens of thousands (μυριάδας) of them as there is nothing to prove the opposite. In any case to distinguish angels into *perfect* and *imperfect* introduces *opposition* among them, which is impossible in this case [2.4.⁴¹⁰⁻⁴¹⁸].

Kydones accepts Chrysoloras' views, stating that angels cannot be distinguished either through the *contradictory opposition* (ἀντιφάσεως ἀντιθέσει), or the *relative opposition* (πρός τι), or the *opposites* (ἐναντίους), or even *opposition by habituation* (ἔξις) or *privation* (στέρησις), for the *inferior* angel is not deprived of the *perfection* of the *superior* angel by not possessing this *perfection by nature* (μηδὲ ἐπεφύκει ἐκείνην ἔχειν). In other words, all angels are *perfect by nature*. By presenting Kydones as contradicting himself and being inconsistent, Chrysoloras proves that instead of Kydones defending Aquinas in fact he supports Kabasilas' arguments. This section closes with a recapitulation of the main arguments and Chrysoloras' conclusion that either Kydones forgot what he had said in his *Antirrhetic* or someone else interpolated his work (ἢ τις ἄλλος τῷ σῶ πονήματι προστιθέναι), for there is no other explanation for these contradictions.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Celestial hierarchy*, § 4, pp. 22.25-23.5.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Philo of Alexandria, *Allegorical Interpretation*, I, § 15, p. 64.17-22: ἔτι πρῶτος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τελείου τοῦ ἕξ καὶ μονάδι κατὰ τινα λόγον ὁ αὐτός, οἱ τε ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμοὶ ἢ γεννῶνται ἢ γεννῶσι τοὺς ἐντὸς δεκάδος καὶ αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ ἑβδομάς οὔτε γεννᾷ τινα τῶν ἐντὸς δεκάδος ἀριθμῶν οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑπὸ τίνος; Matthaios Blastares, *Syntagma*, eds. G.A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἀγίων καὶ πανευφήμεων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀγίων Πατέρων*, vol. 6 (Athens, 1859), p. 461: Ὁ γὰρ μόνος τέλειος ἐν μονάσιν ἔκτος ἀριθμός.

Kydones admits that he does not know how this statement concerning the distinction of the angels was found in his work [2.4.⁴¹⁹⁻⁴⁶⁸].

[2.5.⁴⁶⁹⁻⁶⁴²] Distinction of incorporeal beings – souls

The discussion now turns on the distinction among *souls* [cf. 1.4.³²²⁻³³⁴]. Chrysoloras urges Kydones to avoid repetitions and focus on this subject [2.5.⁴⁶⁹⁻⁴⁷⁹]. Kydones begins by examining how the *soul* is related to the *body*, drawing on Aquinas' teachings that the *soul (anima)* is the *first principle of life (primum principium vitae)*¹⁴² and that this *principle* by which we primarily understand, whether it be called the *intellect (intellectus)* or the *intellectual soul* is the *form of the body (forma corporis)*¹⁴³. Moreover, that the *multiplicity of souls (multitudine animarum)* is in proportion to the *multiplicity of bodies (multitudinem corporum)*, and after the dissolution of bodies, souls retain their *multiplied being (remanent ... in suo esse multiplicatae)*¹⁴⁴. In order to explain the condition of the soul following death and the resurrection of the body¹⁴⁵, a fundamental teaching of the Church¹⁴⁶, Aquinas states that the soul can exist separately from the body, contrary to Aristotle's view that the soul and the body are inseparable¹⁴⁷, and, this time in agreement with Aristotle¹⁴⁸, that a specific soul is joined only with one specific body.

Kydones argues that each soul, being the *entelechy* of a concrete, individual body and of no other body at all, by nature tends to be united and fits only with the soul's own body. This property of the soul remains in it even when it is separated from matter (i.e., body) [2.5.⁴⁸⁷⁻⁴⁹⁰]¹⁴⁹. This, Kydones concludes, is the cause of the distinction of souls, not

¹⁴² Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 75, a. 1, resp.

¹⁴³ Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 76, a. 1, resp. On the soul and its relation to the body in the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, see Davies, *Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 207-220.

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 76, a. 2, ad 2.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Davies, *Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 215-220.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. 1 Corinthians 15:12-15 and the Nicæan-Constantinopolitan Creed (Concil. Constant. I 381), eds. G. Alberigo with G.L. Dossetti, P.P. Johannou, C. Leonardi and P. Prodi, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna, 1973), p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Aristotle, *On the Soul* 413a.3-4: οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ χωριστὴ τοῦ σώματος. Cf. C. Shields, 'The Aristotelian *Psychê*', in *A Companion to Aristotle*, ed. G. Anagnostopoulos (Chichester, 2009), pp. 292-309.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *On the Soul* 412a.27-28.

¹⁴⁹ See Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 76, a. 1, ad 6: anima humana manet in suo esse cum fuerit a corpore separata, habens aptitudinem et inclinationem naturalem ad corporis unionem; cf. Davies, *Thomas Aquinas*, p. 217. For Kydones' translation of the specific passage, see codex *Vat. gr.* 1925, f. 540r.23-25: οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀνθρώπινη ψυχὴ μένει ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς εἶναι, ὅταν τοῦ σώματος χωρισθῆ, ἔχουσα ἐπιτηδειότητα καὶ ῥοπήν φυσικὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔνωσιν. Cf. Gennadios Scholarios, *Epitome of Thomas Aquinas'*

in terms of *form* (κατ' εἶδος) but in terms of *numbers* (κατ' ἀριθμόν) [2.5.⁴⁹⁰⁻⁴⁹¹]. Chrysoloras responds that no one except God, not even angels or saints, knows what happens to the soul after death. Even men who came back from the dead (like Lazarus) cannot say anything about this, as it is not permissible to say what they saw (ἄπερ εἶδον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔῤ) [2.5.⁴⁹²⁻⁵¹⁵]¹⁵⁰. Chrysoloras refutes Aquinas' teaching that the soul is the *form of the body*. Through a series of arguments concerning *species*, *genera* and the *soul*, based on the *Isagoge*, he demonstrates that the *soul* is not the *form of the body*¹⁵¹. Philosophers (i.e., Porphyry), Chrysoloras states, define as *form* the *shape* (μορφῆ) and *what is under the genus* (τὸ ὑπὸ τὸ γένος ὄν)¹⁵². Therefore, if Kydones' statement is valid, he continues, then the soul, by virtue of its being *form of the body* (as Aquinas teaches), should be either *shape* or *what is under the genus*. However, since the soul (according to John Chrysostom and John Damascene¹⁵³, whom Chrysoloras does not name) does not have *form* (σχῆμα) it cannot be called *shape* (μορφῆ), as this applies only to material things, and consequently *form*. Similarly, *soul* is not a *form* which is under a *genus* and therefore cannot be *absolutely specific* (εἰδικιώτατον) *form*, as in the case of individual human beings, for example George (ἄτομα ... ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος, Γεωργίου), or *subordinate* (ὑπάλληλον), for this would mean that the soul is at the same time *form* and *genus* for such are *subordinate* [2.5.⁵¹⁵⁻⁵³⁰]¹⁵⁴. For these reasons it is wrong to say that the *soul* is *form of the body*.

The next two arguments concern the way *genus* and *form* are predicated, namely with reference to what the soul is [2.5.⁵³¹⁻⁵³⁴]. Citing almost *verbatim* the *Isagoge* Chrysoloras adapts Porphyry's views on the difference between *genus* and *form* to the question over the distinction of the soul. *A form is predicated in answer to 'what is it?', of several items which differ in number*¹⁵⁵, Chrysoloras says, and the soul could be said to be *part and*

Summa theologicae, Prima Pars, eds. M. Jugie, L. Petit and X.A. Sidéridès, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1931), p. 433.34-36.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. 2 Corinthians 12:2-3: οἶδα ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων—εἴτε ἐν σώματι οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα, ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν.

¹⁵¹ Chrysoloras does not name the sources he used for this section but uses expressions such as, 'the philosophers define' [2.5.⁵¹⁵⁻⁵¹⁶]; 'certain people said' [2.5.⁵⁷¹⁻⁵⁷²]; 'the people who lived in the past say' [2.5.⁵⁸²], or he refers to 'the Platonists' and 'the Peripatetics' [2.5.⁵⁷⁹⁻⁵⁸⁰].

¹⁵² Porphyry, *Isagoge*, pp. 3.22-4.4.

¹⁵³ John Chrysostom, *On Genesis, Homily 21*, PG 53, col. 185.4-5: οὕτω τῇ ψυχῇ περιτεθέντα, κὰν ἄμορφος ἦ, εἰς τὴν ἄκραν εὐμορφίαν αὐτὴν μεθίστησι; John Damascene, *Exposition* § 26.44-45, p. 77: Ψυχὴ τοίνυν ἐστὶν οὐσία ζῶσα ἀπλή ... ἀσχημάτιστος.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Barnes, *Porphyry*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁵ Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 4.10-12; trans. Barnes, *Porphyry*, p. 5.

whole; part of something else and whole not of something else but in something else¹⁵⁶. This view, however, does not apply to the soul, Chrysoloras concludes, without however giving any explanation [2.5.⁵³⁵⁻⁵³⁶]. Referring to the relation of the *soul* and the *body* in analogy to *form* and *matter* (ύλη), Chrysoloras argues that if the *soul* was *form of the body* on account of the *form* coming after *matter* (ύλης ... τὸ εἶδος ύστερον), then it could be said that the *soul* naturally (εἰκότως) follows the *body* (ύστερα ... ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος)¹⁵⁷. This is impossible, Chrysoloras affirms, for both *soul* and *body* exist simultaneously (ἀμα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀμφω)¹⁵⁸. The two arguments that follow are influenced by Aristotle's view on change in natural things, namely *coming into being* (γένεσις) and *corruption* (φθορὰ)¹⁵⁹, in relation to the immortality of the soul [2.5.⁵⁴⁰⁻⁵⁴⁶]. There are three principles (ἀρχαὶ) in natural movements (φυσικῶν κινήσεων): *matter*, *form* and *privation* (στέρησις). Since *privation* is opposite (ἀντίκειται) to *form*, Chrysoloras continues, and not opposite to *habituation* (ἔξις) as Aristotle taught in his *Categories* (in reality *Topics* 124a.35-124b.6), and the *soul* is *form of the body* according to Kydones (and Aquinas), it follows that *privation* is opposite to the *soul*, which is impossible [2.5.⁵⁴⁰⁻⁵⁴³]. Similarly, the *soul* cannot be *form of the body* for in this case during the process of the reciprocal transformation of *matter* and *form* (εἰς ἀλληλα τούτων μεταβολήν) it is necessary that their *coming into being* (γένεσιν) and their *corruption* (φθοράν) takes place¹⁶⁰. But this is impossible, for the *soul* is *immortal* (ἀθάνατος) and as such cannot be called *form* [2.5.⁵⁴⁴⁻⁵⁴⁶]. In addition, to say that the *soul* is *form* and that this *form* is made known (γινώσκεισθαι) naturally (φύσει) in/through *matter* (ἐν ύλη), and therefore that the *soul* is made known (γινώσκεται) and manifested (φαίνεται) in/through the *body* (ἐν τῷ σώματι), would be impossible. For the *soul* is entirely unknown (ἄγνωστος) and unseen (ἀφανής) [2.5.⁵⁴⁷⁻⁵⁵¹].

¹⁵⁶ Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 8.1-3.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 1050a.15-16; Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaameron*, Lib. 1, § 4.1.195-196, eds. J.D. Baggarrly and C.A. Kuehn, *Anastasius of Sinai, Hexaameron*, OCA 278 (Rome, 2007), p. 12: προτέρα γὰρ ἢ ύλη τοῦ εἶδους.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. John Chrysostom, *Homily on the resurrection of the dead*, PG 50, col. 430.2-3: ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστι ψυχὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ ψυχὴ καὶ σῶμα; Gregory of Nyssa, *Antirrhetic*, p. 133.25-26: ὁ γὰρ ἐκ ψυχῆς νοεράς καὶ σώματος συνεστικῶς ἄνθρωπος λέγεται. See K. Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (New York, 1995²), pp. 49-53; idem, 'The soul in Greek Christianity', in *From Soul to Self*, ed. M.J.C. Crabbe (London and New York, 1999), pp. 49-69 at 50-54.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 185a.12-13. On Aristotle's views on change in natural things, see F.A. Lewis, 'Form and Matter', in Anagnostopoulos, *Companion*, pp. 162-185.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Aristotle, *On generation and corruption* 335a.32-335b.6.

Following Aristotle's theory of *primary essence* (κυρίως οὐσία) and *secondary essences* (δεύτεραι οὐσῖαι), according to which *form* is classified as *secondary essence* (*Categories* 2a.11-19), Chrysoloras argues that the *soul* could be said to be *form* if *form* was a *primary essence*. Since *form* cannot be called *more essence* (μᾶλλον οὐσία) (cf. *Categories* 2b.7) (because it is immaterial), how could the *soul* be *form*? If the *body* is analogous to *matter* in the *soul* and *matter* is the cause of the *form*, it follows that the *body* would be a cause of the *soul*, which is absurd [2.5.⁵⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵⁵]. Moreover, *matter* is that from which something comes into being as from the earliest pre-existing thing, which accordingly has *shape* and *form* and exists after the *matter*. Therefore, the *soul* exists after the *body*, which is impossible, for, as we have said, *body* and *soul* co-exist [2.5.⁵⁵⁶⁻⁵⁵⁹]. *Matter* is the *principle*, *cause* and *first movement* of all *form*, and *matter* is followed by *form*, for example *stones* and *wood* in relation to each *house*, in which case *matter* (*stones* and *wood*) come after the *houses* (*form*). Therefore, the *body* comes first and causes the *soul*. This, of course, is absurd. For a human being is produced from an altered seed and all beings produced are composite, consisting of the *form* from which they are produced and of the *being* which is produced. This is twofold, namely *matter* is the *subject*, in which there is *form* and *privation*. However, in this case the *soul* is the *cause* and *principle* of human life, in the same way as the *body* is. Therefore, there is no room for *privation*, for this exists *per accidens* as in the case of the *house* (which consists of *wood* and *stone* and for this reason there is no *privation*) [2.5.⁵⁶⁰⁻⁵⁷⁰].

The next argument states that some say that all *matter* is *incorporeal* (ἄσώματος), *unbegotten* (ἀγέννητον) and *incorruptible* (ἄφθαρτον), none of which apply to the human body and therefore the *body* cannot be the *matter of the soul* [2.5.⁵⁷¹⁻⁵⁷³]. Now, *form* and *privation* are opposites; in other words there is only room for one or the other. If so, it is impossible to say that the *body* is the *matter of the soul* [2.5.⁵⁷⁴⁻⁵⁷⁵]. When *matter* exists it accepts the *form* and when it removes itself by necessity *matter* remains in its previous state. This cannot be said with reference to the *body* and the *soul* [2.5.⁵⁷⁶⁻⁵⁷⁸]. According to the Platonic tradition (Πλατωνικοί) *matter* is *unchangeable* while the Peripatetic philosophers taught that *matter* is *entirely changeable*¹⁶¹. In both cases, any

¹⁶¹ Cf. Simplicius, *Commentaries on Aristotle's Physics*, ed. H. Diels, *Simplicii in Aristotelis physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria*, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 9 (Berlin, 1882), p. 320.21-36: οἱ δὲ Πλατωνικοὶ τὴν ὕλην ἀτρέπτου λέγουσι ... οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου τὴν προσεχῆ λαμβάνοντες ὕλην ὡς τὰ τέτταρα στοιχεῖα ἢ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ καταμήνιον, εἰκότως καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι ταύτην φασί.

reference to the *body* is unseemly [2.5.⁵⁷⁹⁻⁵⁸¹]. Philosophers in the past (οἱ πάλαι) called the *composite essence* (σύνθετον οὐσίαν) *form in matter* (εἶδος ἐν ὕλη), while human beings are not composites (σύνθεσις) of this kind, and therefore the *body* is not *matter for the soul* [2.5.⁵⁸²⁻⁵⁸³]. With relation to *permanent* (τὸ μόνιμον) and *subordinate* (τὸ ὑποκειῖσθαι), *matter* is thought to be *essence* more than *form* is (cf. *Categories* 2b.7; above, 2.5.⁵⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵⁵) (i.e., the *soul* is *more essence* than the *body*). If the *soul*, therefore, is *form* and the *body* is *matter for the soul*, then bodies are *more essences* (μᾶλλον οὐσίαι), which is absurd [2.5.⁵⁸⁴⁻⁵⁸⁶]. Inasmuch as it is customary (ἔθος) for each being to have its being according to *form*, whence it precides over its own nature (ἐφέστηκε), the *soul* is rather the *essence* of the *body*. This is impossible, however, as it has been proven above that the *body* is *more essence* (μᾶλλον οὐσίαι) [cf. 2.5.⁵⁸⁴⁻⁵⁸⁶]. By the same token the *soul* is not the *form of the body* and the *body* is not *matter of the soul*. The true opinion (ἀληθὴς δόξα) is, Chrysoloras concludes, that the entire soul through the sowing of the sperm (τῇ καταβολῇ τοῦ σπέρματος) comes from outside by a divine power, restoring man (τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναπληροῖ) as a perfect living being (ζῶον τέλειον), leaving nothing of those prior to its existence behind (οὐδενὸς αὐτοῦ καταλειπομένου προτέρου), be it *principle* (ἀρχῆς) or *cause* (αἰτίου) [2.5.⁵⁸⁷⁻⁵⁹⁴].

In response to Kydones' statement that the *soul* is the *entelechy of the body*, as Aristotle teaches (Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ; cf. [2.5.⁴⁸⁷⁻⁴⁹⁰]), and that once the *soul/entelechy* comes forth (ἐξεληθοῦσαν) it follows the inclination (ρόπη) of the *body*, Chrysoloras states that pious Christians should not follow Aristotle's views on the human soul. For the Philosopher's doctrine that the human soul is unable to exist without the *body* and therefore when the *body* dies the *soul* also ceases to exist, goes contrary to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead [2.5.⁵⁹⁵⁻⁶¹⁵]. At this point Chrysoloras introduces an original argument concerning foetuses (i.e., imperfect human beings). Two foetuses partake of a single *form* of virtue (ἀρετῆς εἶδος), he states. This virtue follows (ἔπεται) two souls and nothing else. Two other souls partake of the same *form* of evil (κακίας εἶδος ταύτων). Do these four souls have the same relation (σχέσιν) and inclination (ρόπη) in their individual bodies or different? [2.5.⁶¹⁶⁻⁶²⁰]. If you say that the relation and inclination is the same in all four souls, then the distinction of the souls does not depend on the difference of inclination. On the other hand, if you say that the relation and inclination is not the same in all four souls, then it would be unjust for

those souls which are exposed to the same sin not to have the same inclination in their bodies. Also, God would be unjust, by demanding from them equally the wrong doing (ἀδικήματος) of the inclination and relation which exist in their bodies unequally, or by crowning the others which have worked equally in the present life (ἐν τῷ παρόντι), but have unequal inclination in their bodies. This would be impossible. Therefore, it is absurd to suggest that there is equality of action (τὸ ἴσον ἐργάζεται) in equal souls (ταῖς ἴσαις ψυχαῖς) which are different through their unequal inclination (ἀνίσου ῥοπῆς), or that a lack of difference (μὴ διαφέρειν) is able to produce a distinction between souls [2.5.⁶²¹⁻⁶³⁵].

[2.6.⁶⁴³⁻⁷¹⁶] Distinction of the divine Persons

After this long introduction, which presents various views on the subject of distinction of corporeal and incorporeal beings, Chrysoloras turns, at last, to the main issue of the *Dialogue*, namely the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity. Expressing the Orthodox teachings on this Kabasilas poses the following question: Those who say that *whatever the Father has, belongs also to the Son, except the cause (αἰτία) and the unbegotten (ἀγεννησία)*¹⁶² or that *the Son alone is begotten, or that the Spirit alone is projected*¹⁶³, do they not distinguish them by means of *contradiction* (τῇ ἀντιφάσει)? In other words, Kabasilas states that the *unbegotten* (ἀγέννητος) Father is the only *cause* (αἰτία) in the Trinity, that the Son is *begotten* (γεννητὸν) from the Father, and that the Spirit is *projected* (ἐκπορευτὸν) from the Father¹⁶⁴. In this way not only are the divine Persons distinguished by *relative opposition*, as Aquinas contends¹⁶⁵, but they can also be distinguished by means of *contradiction* (ἀντίφασις) [2.6.⁶⁴³⁻⁶⁴⁶].

Kydones replies that distinguishing the divine Persons by means of *contradiction* — bringing up the example of two men, a *white* and a *not white* — is not enough to prove

¹⁶² Gregory Nazianzene, *Homily for the flight into Egypt* (Or. 34), § 10.13-14, eds. C. Moreschini and P. Galloway, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32-37*, SC, 318 (Paris, 1985), p. 216; idem, *Homily on Pentecost* (Or. 41), § 9.23-24, eds. C. Moreschini and P. Galloway, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38-41*, SC, 358 (Paris, 1990), p. 336.

¹⁶³ John Damascene, *Against Jacobites*, § 78.27-28, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4, *Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica*, PTS, 22 (Berlin and New York, 1981), p. 135.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 183; Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Aquinas, SCG IV, 24, no. 3612.

but only to indicate that there is a distinction in the Persons of the Trinity¹⁶⁶. Therefore, a distinction by *relative opposition* is indeed required. For otherwise, if the Father is not related to the Son (by *paternity*) then it will not be possible for them to be two Persons, Father and Son¹⁶⁷. The *unbegotten* is not the cause of anything in the Father, Kydones says, but is a contrivance of thought (διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα) which excludes his being *begotten* [2.6.⁶⁴⁷⁻⁶⁵³]. Chrysoloras points out that *white* and *not white* cannot distinguish essences since these (*white* and *not white*) are only *accidents* (συμβεβηκότα)¹⁶⁸. To say that the Father is *unbegotten* is not an *affirmation* that can be deduced from philosophical speculation but a mystery taught by the Fathers. To refute Kydones' argument concerning the *unbegotten* and *begotten* [cf. 2.6.⁶⁴⁷⁻⁶⁵³] Chrysoloras changes his mind and takes refuge in Aristotle, admitting that it is not absurd to follow Aristotle's opinion for the sake of orthodoxy (ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας, Ἀριστοτέλει ψηφίζεσθαι τα δοκοῦντα) [2.6.⁶⁷²⁻⁶⁷³]. Since *unbegotten* is an *affirmation* it follows that *not unbegotten* is its *negation*. Chrysoloras continues with his argument by stressing the apophatic character of Christian theology, as the way to reach the knowledge of God¹⁶⁹. He accuses Kydones on the grounds that his eagerness to defend Aquinas and attack Kabasilas led him to pass over the teachings of the Fathers concerning the *unbegotten* and subsequently to contradict and refute both Aquinas and himself [2.6.⁶⁷⁴⁻⁷¹¹].

Chrysoloras concludes the First Syllogism by pointing out Kydones' selective approach with regard to Neilos' arguments, criticizing him for omitting large sections of Kabasilas' First Syllogism in *DPSS III*. More specifically, he states that out of the ten chapters of Neilos' treatise against Thomas, Kydones used only four. Not without a dry sense of humour, Chrysoloras makes Kydones answer: Each one fights with what he wants. Get on with the next syllogism, so that we understand! [2.6.⁷¹²⁻⁷¹⁵].

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, f. 117^r.35-36: Καθόλου τοίνυν ὅσα ἀντιφατικῶς ἐπὶ τῶν θείων προφέρεται, διακρίσεως μόνον εἰσὶν ἐνδεικτικά, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἷτια.

¹⁶⁷ This is omitted in the *Dialogue*. See Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, f. 117^r.30-32: οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ὁ Θωμᾶς ζητῶν οὐ τὰ δηλοῦντα μόνον τὴν τῶν προσώπων διάκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῆς διακρίσεως αἷτια, μόνην τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῶν πρὸς τι τοῦτο δυναμένων εὐρίσκει, οἷον τὴν πατρότητα καὶ υἰότητα· ταῦτα γὰρ πρὸς τὸ δεικνῦναι δύο εἶναι τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ δύο εἶναι ποιεῖ. Cf. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 285-286.

¹⁶⁸ Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 12.25-26; Barnes, *Introduction*, p. 12.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Manuel II, *DPSS*, 155, pp. 309-312. On the apophatic method in Byzantine theology see V. Lossky, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Église d'Orient*, Greek trans. by S.K. Plevrake, *Ἡ μυστικὴ θεολογία τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Thessalonike, 1986⁴), pp. 23-45; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 11-14.

[3] Second Syllogism on relative opposition and alternation

Chrysoloras proceeds with further examining the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity focusing on Aquinas' statements that the Son and the Spirit are distinguished by means of *relative opposition* [cf. 2.¹⁻⁴] and that there is no other relation but the one *in according to causation* [3.⁴]¹⁷⁰. This section begins by investigating this question on the basis of mathematical theories. Aquinas supports his views, first by applying the mathematical method of *alternate ratio* or *alternation* (*alternando*)¹⁷¹, according to which (a) : (b) = (c) : (d) alternates to (a) : (c) = (b) : (d), where (a) is the Projector, (b) is the Projected, (c) the Begetter, and (d) the Begotten. On the basis of this method the distinct hypostatic properties of the Persons appear to be the following:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{(a) Projector} & & \text{(c) Begetter} & & \text{(a) Projector} & & \text{(b) Projected} \\
 \text{—————} & = & \text{—————} & \text{the ratio transforms to} & \text{—————} & = & \text{—————} \\
 \text{(b) Projected} & & \text{(d) Begotten} & & \text{(c) Begetter} & & \text{(d) Begotten}
 \end{array}$$

According to the above alternation, the Projector and Begetter is identified in a single Person (i.e., Father), while the Projected (Spirit) and Begotten (Son) should be identified also in a single Person. What prevents the confusion of the Son and the Spirit, Aquinas stresses (*ST Ia. 36, 2 resp.*), is the *relative opposition* (*opositio relativa*) in terms of causation (*ad originem, κατ' αἰτίαν*), which distinguishes the divine Persons and at the same confirms that they are also inseparable since one Person cannot exist without the other [3.¹⁻⁴]¹⁷².

Kabasilas refutes Aquinas' argument on the grounds that these *alternations* are only valid with reference to magnitudes and numbers of the same kind (πλήν δέ, καὶ τούτων ὁμογενῶν)¹⁷³ and cannot be applied to things divine and often to created beings. To substantiate his views he gives some examples. Proportions of things

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3612: Relinquitur igitur quod divinae personae distingui non possunt nisi oppositione relativa secundum originem. Cf. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁷¹ Alternations are discussed by Euclid, *Elementa*, Books V and VII with reference to magnitudes and numbers respectively; trans. T.L. Heath, *Euclid. The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, vol. 2 (Books III-IX) (Cambridge, 1908²), Book V, pp. 112-186, Book VII, pp. 277-344. See also T.L. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1921), pp. 384-391, 397-399. On Kabasilas' use of *alternando* see J.A. Demetracopoulos, 'Nicholas Cabasilas' *Quaestio de rationis valore: an anti-Palamite defence of secular wisdom*, *Βυζαντινά* 19 (1998), 53-93.

¹⁷² Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, p. 99.

¹⁷³ Cf. Euclid, *Elements*, V, definitions 3-5, p. 1; Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, I, pp. 384-385.

referring to the divinity cannot retain *similar relation* (ὁμοίαν σχέσιν) after *alternation* [3.5-13]. For just as *unbegotten* is opposed to *begotten* (τὸ ἀγέννητον τῷ γεννητῷ), similarly *incorruptible* is opposed to *corruptible* (τὸ ἀφθαρτον τῷ φθατρῷ). According, however, to the *alternation* the reverse would not retain a similar relation (ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξ, οὐκ ἂν σῶζοιε τὴν ὁμοίαν σχέσιν), for the angels are *begotten* but *incorruptible*:

(a) begotten	(c) corruptible		(a) begotten	(b) unbegotten
_____	= _____	the ratio transforms to	_____	= _____
(b) unbegotten	(d) incorruptible		(c) corruptible	(d) incorruptible

The same applies for the pairs *animal/not animal* (ζῶον/οὐ ζῶον) and *animate/inanimate* (ἔμψυχον/οὐκ ἔμψυχον):

(a) animal	(c) animate		(a) animal	(b) not animal
_____	= _____	the ratio transforms to	_____	= _____
(b) not animal	(d) inanimate		(c) animate	(d) inanimate

The pairs *astronomer/astronomy* and *general/strategy* is another such example, in the sense that though *astronomy* (ἀστρονομικά) has nothing to do with *strategy* (στρατηγικά), a *general* (στρατηγός) can also be an *astronomer* (ἀστρονόμος). The same applies with the *straight line* in analogy with its *own part* (πρὸς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἑαυτῆς) and the *circumference* in analogy with its *own part* (πρὸς τὸ οἰκειῖον), but the reverse is impossible. For a *straight line* is divided in analogy with its *own part* (e.g., 1/3) and a *circumference* is divided in analogy with its *own part* (e.g., 1/3), while the reverse does not retain the analogy, for if these parts are analogous to each other these are called *magnitudes/lengths*, which if multiplied would exceed each other, which is impossible [3.5-13].

[3.1.14-60] The issue of the unknown Byzantine author

At this point Kydones observes that the passage concerning the *alternation* argument attributed to Aquinas by Kabasilas [3.1-4] is not actually found in any of the extant Thomistic works. Consequently, Kydones attributes this argument to a certain Latin

(Λατίνου τινός), who at some stage discussed this with a Byzantine theologian (πρός τινα τῶν ἡμετέρων)¹⁷⁴. If this is correct then it appears that, according to Kydones (as cited by Chrysoloras) Kabasilas must have heard (ἀκούσαντα) this argument during discussions with this person, and must have assumed that this passage actually belongs to Aquinas and treated it as such in his *DPSS III* [3.¹⁴⁻¹⁹]¹⁷⁵.

The question arises who this anonymous Byzantine might be. This short passage is cited almost *verbatim* no less than four times by Barlaam the Calabrian in his *Second Treatise against the Latins*, where he discusses *relative opposition* and *alternation* with reference to the divine Persons¹⁷⁶. Barlaam, too, states that ‘I have often heard these said by certain people’ (Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν λεγόντων τινῶν πολλάκις ἀκήκοα)¹⁷⁷. It is highly likely, therefore, that Kabasilas simply borrowed this passage from Barlaam, as he did with other theological arguments Barlaam used in his treatises without naming him¹⁷⁸, one assumes because Barlaam had by then changed sides (converting to Roman Catholicism). It is also possible that both Kabasilas and Barlaam shared the same anonymous source. In the latter case this person must be the papal legate Francesco da Camerino with whom Barlaam held theological discussions in 1334¹⁷⁹. Nevertheless Chrysoloras points out to Kydones that nothing prevents this passage dealing with this specific question (πρόβλημα) from being actually by Aquinas, thus linking it with Aquinas’ similar statement in the next Syllogism [4]¹⁸⁰.

Responding to Chrysoloras (in reality to Kabasilas), Kydones criticizes him for failing to have explored enough the thought of the person responsible for this argument and for wrongly considering that this passage concerns the analogy between

¹⁷⁴ *Dialogue* [3.¹⁷⁻¹⁸]: ἀλλ’ ἔοικε Λατίνου τινός, πρὸς τινα τῶν ἡμετέρων διαλεγομένου.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 276.9-24; Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas*, pp. 108-110.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Barlaam the Calabrian, *Against the Latins, Tractatus B*, II, ed. A. Fyrigos, *Barlaam Calabro. Opere contro i latini*, ST, 347, 348 (Vatican City, 1998), § 15, p. 278.175-187; § 25.316-318, p. 288; § 26.330-331, p. 290; § 29.382-383, p. 294. For Barlaam’s refutation of the Latin argument with reference to *relative opposition*, see *ibid.*, §§ 15-30, pp. 276-294.

¹⁷⁷ Barlaam the Calabrian, *Against the Latins, Tractatus B*, II, § 16, p. 278.188.

¹⁷⁸ It has been already pointed out that Kabasilas’ anti-Latin works are extensively influenced by Barlaam’s arguments against the Latins: G. Schirò, ‘Il paradosso di Nilo Cabasila’, *SBN* 9 (1957), 362-388; Kislak, *Nil Cabasilas*, pp. 159-164; Demetracopoulos, ‘Thomas Aquinas’ Impact’, 10-11.

¹⁷⁹ See A. Fyrigos, ‘La produzione letteraria antilatina di Barlaam Calabro’, *OCP* 45 (1979), 114-144, at 114-116. Cf. Kolbaba, ‘Barlaam the Calabrian’, p. 62. I would like to thank Dr John Demetracopoulos for drawing my attention to Professor Antonis Fyrigos’ identification of Barlaam’s unknown interlocutor with Francesco da Camerino.

¹⁸⁰ *Dialogue* [3.1.³⁶⁻⁴⁴].

beget/begotten (γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι) and *project/projected* (προβάλλειν καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι). This is not the case, Kydones says, for the Latins would have never agreed that the *begetter* (γεννῶν) is proportionate to the *begotten* (γεννώμενον) and that the *projector* (προβάλλον) is proportionate to the *projected* (ἐκπορευόμενον). For if so, the first analogy (*begetter/begotten*) ought not be related to one *genus* while the reverse (ἐναλλάξ) (*projector/projected*) to another but both ought to be related to the same *genus*. This means that if the first analogy (*begetter/begotten*) is related to a *genus by quantity* (ἐν τῷ τοῦ ποσοῦ γένει), the reverse ought to be related again to the same *genus by quantity* (ἐπὶ τοῦ ποσοῦ πάλιν ληπτέον) [3.1.⁴⁵⁻⁵⁶]. This could be illustrated as follows:

(a) begetter		(c) projector		(a) begetter		(b) begotten
_____	=	_____	the ratio transforms to	_____	=	_____
(b) begotten		(d) projected		(c) projector		(d) projected

In so far as numbers and magnitudes are concerned, Chrysoloras concludes, this argument is correct, actually confirming Kabasilas' statement (cf. [3.⁵⁻¹⁶]). This, however, does not apply to things divine. This is explored in the section that follows [3.1.⁵⁷⁻⁶⁰].

[3.2.⁶¹⁻¹⁰⁴] Affirmations and negations

The debate continues with Kydones agreeing with Kabasilas that the principle of *alternation* cannot be accepted as universal and that can be misused (παράχρησθαι) as in the case of the terms employed in the examples above (cf. [3.⁵⁻¹⁶]). Chrysoloras stresses that, contrary to what Aquinas claims, this principle above all cannot be applied to the pairs *beget/begotten* and *project/projected* [3.2.⁶⁶⁻⁷⁰]. *Unbegotten*, Kydones replies, does not oppose *begotten* in every possible case. For if *begotten* happened to refer to something *intellectual* (νοεῶν) then the *unbegotten*, because of the *opposition*, would be *mindless* (ἄνοον). Similarly, if *unbegotten* is the cause of *begotten* this does not mean that also *incorruptible* is the cause of *corruptible*, for it is clear that the alternate pairs are opposed only as *negation* (ἀπόφασις) and *affirmation* (κατάφασις). Therefore, by interchanging *negation* with *affirmation*, Kydones concludes, the ratio

will be between the *negations unbegotten/incorruptible* and the *affirmations begotten/corruptible*, as illustrated below:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 \text{(a) unbegotten} & & \text{(c) incorruptible} & & & \text{(a) unbegotten} & \text{(b) begotten} \\
 \text{—————} & = & \text{—————} & \text{the ratio transforms to} & \text{—————} & = & \text{—————} \\
 \text{(b) begotten} & & \text{(d) corruptible} & & & \text{(c) incorruptible} & \text{(d) corruptible}
 \end{array}$$

The same can be said about the *astronomer* and the *general* [3.2.⁷¹⁻⁸¹; cf. 3.⁵⁻¹³]. Clearly mathematical theories (ὅσα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ γεωμετρίας συμβαίνει), Chrysoloras continues, cannot explain questions concerning the modes of *generation* (γεννήσεως τρόπων) and *procession* (ἐκπορεύσεως). The reason Kabasilas used such theories, he says, was simply to prove the absurdity of Aquinas' thesis (θέσεως)¹⁸¹. Neither was Thomas' purpose to discuss *negations* and *affirmations* since *beget* and *begotten* and *project* and *projected* are *affirmations*. But he reckoned to apply (ἐφαρμόζειν) to the divine nature four magnitudes opposing one another (τέσσαρα μεγέθη πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀντιστρέφοντα), which is impossible. To argue that *unbegotten/incorruptible* are both *negations* and *affirmations* in relation to *begotten/corruptible* is absurd. For these are *affirmations*, as in the case of *beget/begotten* and *project/projected*. The *negations* of *incorruptible/unbegotten* are *not incorruptible/not unbegotten* (οὐκ ἀφθαρτον καὶ οὐκ ἀγέννητον) and the *negations* of *corruptible/begotten* are *not corruptible/not begotten* (μὴ φθαρτὸν καὶ μὴ γεννητόν). This is what also Aristotle thinks (οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ; cf. *Prior Analytics* 52b.31-32). So, what you consider to be *negations*, Chrysoloras concludes, are actually *affirmations*, which confirms Neilos' argument. Besides, the principle of *alternation* relates (a) with (b) and (c) with (d). Therefore, it is wrong to compare unequal to equal things and *vice versa*, and claim that there is equality among them [3.2.⁸²⁻¹⁰⁴].

[3.3.¹⁰⁵⁻²²²] Mathematical theories and alternation

¹⁸¹ On Kabasilas' use of the scholastic method to counter-argue Latin views, see Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact', 10.

The discussion over *alternation* now expands to include mathematical theories¹⁸². Taking as a point of departure Kabasilas' earlier argument [cf. 3.¹²⁻¹³]¹⁸³, Kydones and Chrysoloras put forward and defend their own views concerning the analogy between a *straight line* and the *circumference* and the *squaring of the circle*. According to Kydones, though a *rational analogy* (ῥητὸς λόγος)¹⁸⁴ between a *straight line* and the *circumference* may exist, as for example there is certain analogy between a *diameter* and a *side*, yet it is impossible to prove this mathematically. And it is clear that it is possible to find a third analogy, analogous to the two given ones while the three analogies make a single analogy [3.3.¹⁰⁵⁻¹¹²] (Plate 1a). But the *diagonal* (of a parallelogram) is not equal to the *side*, Chrysoloras says, in the same way that a *straight line* is not equal to the *circumference*. This is quite clear, he remarks, to everyone who knows well the principle of mathematical proportion. Moreover, the analogy of these three (*diagonal*, *straight line* and *circumference*) has nothing in common with Neilos' argument that there is no analogy between a *straight line* and the *circumference*. For a *straight line*, a *diagonal*, a *side* and the *circumference* are not the same but unequal [3.3.¹¹³⁻¹²⁰].

Similarly, though the *squaring of the circle* may be possible, Kydones argues, it has not yet been mathematically demonstrated (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδέδεικται τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς). According to Archimedes' demonstration (εὗρηται καὶ Ἀρχιμήδους ἀπόδειξις), there is analogy between the *circumference* and the *diameter*, which measures $3 \frac{1}{7}$ ¹⁸⁵. If Archimedes succeeded in perceiving such accurate measurement, Kydones states, it is not impossible to find a *rational analogy* between these two. Archimedes also proved that the *space* under the *circumference* of the circle and its *diameter* is double the surface of the circle¹⁸⁶. Moreover, those mathematicians who attempted to square the circle used a figure, enclosed by lines surrounded by two circumferences, which is equal to a linear rectangle. It is clear, Kydones continues, that this rectilinear figure and

¹⁸² On the study and teaching of mathematics in Byzantium, see Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, II, pp. 355-555; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 1, 155-158; D. Pingree, 'Mathematics', *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1313-1314.

¹⁸³ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 280.4-11.

¹⁸⁴ On ῥητὸς signifying quantity expressible as a ratio of whole numbers, see Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, II, p. 537.

¹⁸⁵ Archimedes, *Dimension of the circle*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1910), p. 236.8-11.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Pappus of Alexandria, *Commentary on Ptolemy's Syntaxis*, ed. A. Rome, *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vol. 1, ST, 54 (Vatican City, 1931), p. 253.8-10.

even those straight lines at some point will extend *ad infinitum*, the figure bounded by a curved line (περιφερόγραμμον) beyond the linear rectangle (εὐθυγράμμου) and the circumference over the straight line. In this way, they will be analogous to each other, not by a *rational analogy*, which may never be found (καὶ ἔξουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα λόγον, ὀητὸν μὲν, οὐδαμῶς, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ποτέ). Though mathematicians have not proved that this analogy is impossible nor have they completely ruled out (ἀπειρήται παντελῶς) the possibility that the circle can be squared, as in the case of the side and the diameter, it remains plausible and not yet discovered. Therefore, Kydones concludes, it is very contentious (λίαν φιλόνεικον) to try to cancel the *alternation* [3.3.¹²¹⁻¹⁴⁰].

Chrysoloras responds by questioning Kydones' degree of understanding of these theories put forward by ancient Greek mathematicians. It is at this point that Chrysoloras feels the need to stress once more the important cultural aspect of Byzantine identity, that is Greek *paideia* (τῇ δὲ παιδείᾳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς Ἕλληνες), which enables him and his compatriots to understand and discuss these theories without being easily deceived by sophistries, even though they cannot achieve the greatness of the mind of the ancient Greeks (καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν μεγάλων). At the same time Chrysoloras points out that Byzantines are not at all Greeks in faith (τῇ πίστει μὲν, οὐδαμῶς), highlighting the religious connotation of the term Ἕλλην [3.3.¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴⁶]¹⁸⁷. In what follows Chrysoloras presents a series of theories by ancient authors, including Archimedes¹⁸⁸, Bryson of Heracleia (5th c. BC) Antiphon the Sophist (480-411 BC)¹⁸⁹ and Hippocrates of Chios (and not of Kos as in the MSS) (ca. 470-ca. 410 BC)¹⁹⁰.

Starting from Bryson, Chrysoloras remarks that he unsuccessfully attempted to square the circle, for he argued that greater and lesser are equal to what he sought to prove (ἴσον τοῖς ζητούμενοις ἀποφαίνεσθαι δίκαιον ἐλογίζετο), which applies not only to geometry but also to many other subjects, though properly only to dialectic (διαλεκτικῇ μόνῃ) [3.3.¹⁵¹⁻¹⁵⁵] (Plate 1b). Antiphon, too, unsuccessfully attempted to square the circle, this time using *lunes* (μηνίσκων), simple figures (μονοειδῶν) which

¹⁸⁷ See also above, pp. 46-47 with notes 101, 103.

¹⁸⁸ On Archimedes' measurement of the circle, see Heath, *History of Greek Mathematics*, II, pp. 50-56. For his attempts to square the circle, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 230-231.

¹⁸⁹ On the squaring of the circle by Bryson and Antiphon, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 221-224.

¹⁹⁰ On Hippocrates of Chios, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 183-200, 221.

cut through part of the circle through the circumference. Similarly, Hippocrates of Chios, in his attempt to square the circle, Chrysoloras continues, designed the circle dividing it into triangles applying the principles of geometry as it seemed good to him (τὸ δοκοῦν ἐτήρει, γεωμετρικὰς τὰς ἀρχάς), drawing lines and triangles. As a result he was wrong in assuming that it is possible for the surface of the circle to be divided into triangles (Plate 2a). There were also many others who were unable to prove this mathematical question [3.3.¹⁴¹⁻¹⁶³].

Turning to questions concerning *diameter* and *circumference*, Chrysoloras states that Antiphon claimed to have drawn *a straight line* touching the *circumference*, while Archimedes attempted not only to draw the *diameter* on the *circumference* (as Kydones mentioned above [3.3.¹²¹⁻¹²³]) but also, as Theon of Alexandria states in his *Commentary on Ptolemy's Syntaxis* (τῆς συντάξεως Πτολεμαίου ὑπομνήματα), Archimedes applied a similar method of calculation, according to which one half of the circumference of the circle and one half of the distance from the circumference to the centre of the circle cannot possibly be greater or lesser. A number of mathematicians attempted to demonstrate this on the basis of *diameter* and *circumference* being of the same kind (ὁμογενέσιν). It is clear that this is impossible by using two lines which form a 90° angle and two semi-circles that touch upon each other [3.3.¹⁶³⁻¹⁷⁴] (Plate 2a).

Therefore, Chrysoloras continues, Neilos' argument that there is no analogy between the *circumference* and a *straight line* is valid, for these two are dissimilar: (a) the line lacks breadth while the circle possesses breadth; (b) a line has two points as limits (πέρατα σημεία) while the limit of the circle is the line itself; (c) the line has a beginning and an end marked by the two points it consists of, while the circle has no beginning or end; (d) the line has two points as its ends (πέρατα δύο) while the circle has none; (e) the line is visibly limited when extended in our mind and invisible when it is infinite (μὴ φαινομένη, ἄπειρος), while the circle is visible when it is infinite (καὶ ὁρώμενος, ἄπειρος) and invisible when it is limited (καὶ μὴ ὁρώμενος αὐθις, πεπερασμένος); and (f) the line is shapeless while the circle has a shape. All these observations prove that the circumference is the opposite of the line as the straight line is the opposite of the curved one. This is confirmed by Aristotle (Φιλόσοφος) in the

fourth chapter of the seventh book of his *Topics*, for any accident belonging to the one must belong also to the other, and if the one belong to anything as an accident, so must the other also. If in any of these respects there is a discrepancy, clearly they are not the same¹⁹¹. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, not only is the line dissimilar to the circumference but it is completely its opposite [3.3.¹⁷⁴⁻¹⁹¹]. Hence, there is no *mutual analogy* (λόγος κοινός).

Kydones replies that, though this is true, nonetheless the diameter does have an *ineffable* (i.e., imperceptible) *analogy* (λόγον, ἄρρητον) to the circumference. On the contrary, Chrysoloras suggests (making a pun), this analogy is *rational* (ῥητόν), and he proceeds with examining the above propositions. Neilos says that the *line* has nothing in common with the *circumference* while Archimedes affirms that the *diameter* has common elements with the *circumference*. These two views are clearly opposite. If the *circumference* is not identical to the *line* then one cannot oppose Neilos. In this case there are two options: either the *line* and the *diameter* are identical or they are different. However, these two are not equal to each other. For the *diameter* has a *shape* and *limits* on the basis of which one can imagine it, while a *line* is *shapeless* and *limitless*. The *diameter* is an *active line* (ἐνεργεῖα γραμμῆ) while a *line* is a *potential* (δυνάμει) and *not active diameter* (Plate 2b). Therefore, these two are not identical. Accordingly, the *diameter* is different from the *line*, which proves Neilos' argument. For this reason, Chrysoloras continues, you were right to say before that there is an *ineffable analogy* between these two, for you always apply what is *ineffable* to what is *rational*! Though you claimed that these things are possible but not yet discovered [cf. 3.3.¹³⁵⁻¹³⁶], he says to Kydones, you must know that up to now mathematical discoveries are obscure (ἄδηλος) and will not become easy in the future. For life is too short! If the *diameter* has something in common (τι καὶ κοινῶν) with the *line* that *does not exist* (οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων), and there is no such thing, what is greater in antithesis than *irrational* and *rational* (ἄλόγου καὶ λογικοῦ)? he asks. If these were living beings (ζῶα) they would be in communion with one another. Therefore it is not absurd to state that a *circumference* has nothing in common with the *line*, as Neilos argues, while they do have common elements in other cases according to Kydones. Whatever the case, Chrysoloras concludes, you must explain why you used only a few among the nine arguments put

¹⁹¹ Aristotle, *Topics* 152a.34-37. English trans. by W.A. Pickard in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, p. 256.34-36.

forward (τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐννέα προβαλλομένου) by Neilos. One can visualise Kydones as he turns to Chrysoloras responding: I will do as I like! Tell me another syllogism [3.3.¹⁹²⁻²²²].

[4] Third Syllogism on the distinction in the divine Persons

The third Syllogism examines further the main theme of the *Dialogue*, namely the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity. In comparison to the previous Syllogisms [2-3] this one is rather short. It begins with Aquinas' statement concerning the reciprocal relations between the Father and the Son on the one hand, that is *paternity* (*paternitatis*/πατρότητι) and *filiation* (*filiatio*/υιότητα), and between the Father and the Spirit on the other, namely *spiration* (*spiratio*/πνοῆ) and *procession* (*processio*/ἐκπορεύσει), and that *paternity* and *spiration* are one Person (ἓν ἐστι πρόσωπον), the Father. If we apply the principle of *alternation* (cf. [3]) to the pair *filiation* and *procession*, they, too, according to Aquinas, should constitute one Person¹⁹². What prevents, however, the confusion of the Son and the Spirit, Aquinas stresses, is the *relative opposition in origin* (*oppositio originis*, ἀντίθεσις ... αἰτία) [4.1-5]¹⁹³. Kabasilas' objection to Aquinas' view is that the principle of *alternation* (ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς) does not apply in this case, for the distinction of the divine Persons is not subject to mathematical principles and theories. Aquinas' statement, according to Kabasilas, infers (συνάγειν) that the Son and the Spirit cannot be distinguished between them through *filiation* and *procession* on the basis that *paternity* and *spiration* do not constitute two Persons [4.7-10]. It is as if, Kabasilas continues, one would claim that *theology* and *mathematics* cannot be distinguished on the basis that two persons are both *mathematicians* and *theologians*, as in the case of Hierotheus and Dionysius [4.10-12].

Though Kabasilas and Chrysoloras associate Hierotheus with Dionysius, they do not refer to their relation. In his *Advisory Oration on the Union of the Churches*, however,

¹⁹² *Dialogue* [4.4-5]: Ἐν ἄρα, καὶ ἡ υἰότης, καὶ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις, εἰ μὴ τις ἀντίθεσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἦ.

¹⁹³ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3613; *ST Ia*, q. 28, a. 4. On the relations of *paternity*, *filiation*, *spiration* and *procession*, see Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 99-102. For a study of the subject from the Orthodox point of view, see V. Lossky, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, eds. J.H. Erickson and T.E. Bird with an introduction by J. Meyendorff (New York, 1985), pp. 76-88.

Joseph Bryennios refers to Hierotheus as ‘the teacher of Dionysius the Areopagite’. In reality this person is identified with the hieromonk Hierotheos (2nd half 13th c.) who opposed the Union of Lyons¹⁹⁴. More importantly, Bryennios refers to Hierotheos’ hitherto unpublished anti-Latin *Dialogue*, where he puts forward a theorem employing geometrical diagrams to demonstrate the distinction of the Persons. It seems that Hierotheos’ theorem was the ‘irrefutable argument’ Bryennios claimed to have been developing towards the end of his life, which according to him would bring about the Union of the Churches¹⁹⁵. No mention of this, however, is made in the *Dialogue*.

[4.1] Refutation of Kydones’ argument

Chrysoloras then proceeds with refuting the argument Kydones put forward in his *Antirrhetic* [4.1] and with further examining the *relative opposition of origin* with reference to the divine Persons [4.2]. Chrysoloras first presents Kydones’ view, according to which Kabasilas’ argument actually agrees with Aquinas’ syllogism, thus implying that *filiation* and *procession* alone cannot form the basis of the distinction between the Son and the Spirit, unless the *relative opposition in origin* is applied. Kydones gives the example of the aforementioned Dionysius and Hierotheos. Though theology and mathematics are joined in these two individual persons, nevertheless the two sciences do not divide each of the two persons into another two persons (i.e., two Dionysioi and two Hierotheoi). Similarly, a student of either of them would not be himself divided into two human beings (δύο ὑποκείμενα ἀνθρώπων), but he would be the very same human being possessing both sciences (ἐπιστήμας) as his teacher does, and he would not be distinguished more or less (μᾶλλον ἢ ἥττον) according to the distinction of persons (προσωπικὴν διάκρισιν). For this reason, Kydones concludes, Kabasilas’ argument does not oppose but rather agrees with Aquinas’ view.

¹⁹⁴ See Ch. Dendrinos, ‘Palaiologan scholars at work. Makarios Makres and Joseph Bryennios’ autograph. With eighteen figures’, in *From Manuscripts to Books. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts (Vienna, 10-11 Dec. 2009)*, eds. A. Giannouli and E. Schiffer, Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 29 (Vienna, 2011), pp. 25-53, at p. 29.

¹⁹⁵ See M. Chivu, *Ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ Βρυέννιον* (PhD thesis, University of Thessalonike, 1985); cf. Dendrinos, ‘Palaiologan scholars at work’, pp. 29-30 with note 38.

Kydones also points out that Kabasilas has omitted certain arguments by Aquinas, which he considered of minor importance [4.¹³⁻²⁸].

Chrysoloras responds by criticizing Kydones' attitude and chides him for his inability to fully understand Kabasilas' and Aquinas' arguments. On the basis of the principle that contradictions can only be true or false and cannot both be true or both be false¹⁹⁶, Chrysoloras concludes that Kabasilas either agrees with or opposes Aquinas, for it is impossible to agree with him and oppose him at the same time. In any case, Chrysoloras says, it is not Kabasilas who should be criticized for the absurdity of Aquinas' arguments which Kydones simply adopts [4.²⁹⁻⁵⁰].

[4.2] Relative opposition in origin with reference to the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity

The Syllogism closes with Chrysoloras refuting the principle of *relative opposition in origin* as a basis for the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity¹⁹⁷. Kydones' argument that the terms *to beget* and *to project* are not sufficient to distinguish the Son and the Spirit, is followed by a stichomythia with Chrysoloras, concerning the authorities in doctrinal issues including the distinction of the divine Persons. The Apostles and the saints, Chrysoloras stresses, did not need to prove this distinction on the basis of scientific abstract arguments and dialectics or arguments based on natural philosophy (φυσικῶν). In order to emphasize that the hypostasis of the Father is the only source and cause in the Trinity, and that the Son and the Spirit are solely distinguished by way of existence, as the Greek Fathers teach¹⁹⁸, Chrysoloras cites 'Dionysius, the source of theology', who states that the divine Persons are distinguished with reference to the source, which he identifies with the Person of the Father (*the only source of divinity is the Father*)¹⁹⁹. In addition, he quotes Ps.-Justin Martyr (whom he does not name), who affirms that *as the Son is from the Father,*

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Aristotle, *On Interpretation* 17b.16-26; D. Keyt, 'Deductive Logic', in Anagnostopoulos, *Companion*, pp. 31-50.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, pp. 101-102, 285-286.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Lossky, *Image and Likeness of God*, pp. 76-88; Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 85-88; G.P. Theodoroules, *Ἡ ἐκπόρευσις τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφεῖς τοῦ ἸΓ' αἰῶνος* (Thessalonike, 1990), pp. 23-44.

¹⁹⁹ Ps.-Dionysius Aeropagite, *On the divine names*, 2, § 5, p. 128.11-12; § 7, p. 132.1.

similarly the Spirit <is from the Father> except that they differ in the way of existence²⁰⁰. This is what all theologians follow, except you!, Chrysoloras exclaims to Kydones. Moreover, he continues, though in the present Syllogism Kabasilas put forward seven arguments (ἑπτὰ ... ἐπιχειρημάτων) you only refute one and ignore the rest, among which one should be mentioned: If one were to place *filiation* first, *procession* next, and *paternity* and *spiration* in between these two, this would clearly refute Aquinas' and Kydones' axiom (ἀξίωμα) [4.⁵¹⁻⁷⁷]. This unclear argument does not appear in Kabasilas' *DPSS III*. Hence, it seems that his criticism that Kydones intentionally omitted mentioning and refuting it seems unfounded, unless this argument is contained in a MS other than the one the editor of Kabasilas' treatise consulted (*Vat. gr. 1117*), that is, if such a MS survives.

[5] Fourth Syllogism on the distinction in the divine Persons

Introducing the next Syllogism, Chrysoloras presents Aquinas' arguments concerning the distinction of different *species* belonging to the same *genus* with reference to the distinction of, and relations among, the divine Persons. When things come together by something common to them (*Quaecumque conveniunt in aliquo communi/τὰ εἰς ἕν τι κοινὸν συνιόντα*), according to Aquinas, if they were to be distinguished between themselves it is necessary that they be distinguished by differences *per se* and not accidentally (*differentias per se, et non per accidens/διαφοραῖς καθ' αὐτάς, καὶ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός*), as for example in the case of man and horse. Thus, the Son and the Holy Spirit, both being from the Father, can only be distinguished by *per se* differences with reference to the cause (αἰτία) (*SCG, IV, 24, no. 3614*) [5.¹⁻⁵]. Chrysoloras does not cite the complete Syllogism as it is cited by Kabasilas in *DPSS III*, but he chooses to summarize it, failing in this way to enlighten the reader that *per se* differences with reference to the cause means that one Person should be from the other, as Aquinas stated in support of the doctrine that the Holy Spirit *is from* the Son²⁰¹.

²⁰⁰ Ps-Justin the Martyr, *Exposition of the right belief*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 4, (Jena, 1880³; repr. 1969), p. 32.7-8.

²⁰¹ See Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 290.6-21: ἄς δὴ διαφορὰς ἀδύνατον εἶναι πλὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, τουτέστι, πρὸς τὸ κατ' αἰτίαν ἀναφερομένας, ὥστε δηλονότι τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου. Λείπεται τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι παρὰ

Neilos responds that though it is true that *being from* the Father is common to the Son and the Spirit, nevertheless it is unclear in what way the distinction between man and horse applies, by analogy, to the distinction between the Son and the Spirit. Besides, he continues, the distinction among animals is not true in all cases. For example, the aforementioned ram and the he-goat [cf. 2.1-3] come together in a kind of a single animal (ἐν τι κοινὸν ἔρχεται τὸ ζῷον). Yet, the Apostles Peter and Andrew²⁰² are distinguished both from their father Jonah and the (generic) man (ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). In this case, where is the difference *per se*? (καθ' αὐτὸ), Kabasilas asks [5.6-12]. In other words, according to Chrysoloras, though Kabasilas agrees with Aquinas' affirmation that *rational* and *irrational* are *per se* differences with reference to man and horse respectively, nonetheless Aquinas' syllogism cannot be applied to *species* which are similar or individual human beings, for these cannot be distinguished by *per se* differences.

[5.1-2] Chrysoloras' interpretation of Aquinas' thesis concerning the distinction of opposing things

Kydones criticizes Kabasilas' preference to counter-argue (ἀντειπεῖν) by using the ram and the he-goat as a useful example (χρήσιμον) lest it appear that he totally lacks a counter-argument (ἀντιλογία). He also challenges Kabasilas, who states that because the distinction of these two animals is not very clear (μὴ πάνυ πρόδηλον) he thinks that he refutes the *universal* statement (καθόλου λόγον) [cf. 2.2.¹⁹³⁻¹⁹⁷]. Chrysoloras considers Kydones' response to his objections (τῶν ἐνστάσεων) insolent (Ἵβρεις). I agree, Kydones answers, for we must not abolish clear arguments (προδήλους τῶν λόγων) because the distinction between certain things is obscure (ἄδηλον εἶναι). One should seek (ζητεῖν), and will probably find (εὐρήσει), a solution concerning this

τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι. On the *per se* and *accidental* differences in species and genera, see Porphyry, *Isagoge*, p. 9.7-10.21; cf. Barnes, *Porphyry*, pp. 168-186.

²⁰² In all extant MSS of the *Dialogue* the text here states 'Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ' [5.11], though further down [5.1.35, 45 and 50] the name Παῦλος is replaced by that of Ἀνδρέας, which agrees with Kabasilas' text (*DPSS III*, p. 292.15-16): Καὶ Πέτρου δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρέου διακεκριμένων καὶ εἰς ἓν τι κοινὸν συνιόντων ἢ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἢ τὸν Ἰωνᾶν, ὅφ' οὗ δὴ γεγέννηται. Kabasilas clearly refers to the Apostles Peter and Andrew sons of Jonah (cf. Matthew 10:2, 16:17; John 1:40-42). It seems, therefore, that the erroneous use of the name Paul in the specific passage of the *Dialogue* in all four extant MSS (K, f. 31^v; L, f. 40^v; P, f. 66^r; and V, f. 109^v) could be attributed either to *lapsus mentis* by the author or, most probably, to *lapsus calami* by the scribe of a now lost MS of the β transmission; see below, pp. 175-176.

distinction. Chrysoloras agrees with this and defends his position on the basis of previous arguments concerning the distinction of the ram and the he-goat [see 2.2.¹⁹⁸⁻¹⁹⁹]. It is absurd, he argues, to refute the *universal* because we are ignorant of the *partial*, in the same way that we cannot say that there is a *minor difference* where there is *no difference* nor is it possible for one to exist. Otherwise, Kydones says, by removing *any difference* things would become *identical*. This, Chrysoloras remarks, would necessarily refer all things (πάντα), in which this difference exists inappropriately (οὐ προσῆκον αὐτῆς κειμένης), to a worse situation [5.1.¹³⁻³¹]. If we refer to the four-footed (τετραπόδου) *genus*, Kydones answers, or any other *genus* closely associated with it, and we divide this according to *per se* differences (καθ' αὐτὸ ... διαφοραῖς) we will find differences and thus distinguish these animals. Similarly, though Andrew and Peter share rationality (τῷ λογικῷ) we will distinguish one from the other in terms of their individual souls and bodies [5.1.³²⁻³⁷]. One should be cautious with these examples, Chrysoloras points out, for this argument is worst than the similar one used in the First Syllogism [cf. 2.1-3], where Kydones distinguished the *ram* and *he-goat* into *wild* and *tame*, with *hard* and *soft hair*, *bearded* and *beardless*. We have proved that these cannot be properly distinguished (καλῶς γε διακεκρίσθαι), he says. Moreover, by referring (ἀναγαγῶν) these two animals to the four-footed *genus*, you necessarily accept that there is a distinction between Peter and Andrew in terms of the rationality of the soul (λογικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς) and the thickness of the body (τὸ παχὺ τοῦ σώματος). This is not only even more absurd than the previous statements but also ridiculous (γελοῖον)! Chrysoloras remarks. For this distinction is not opposed to the *genus* of the animal, for each of the two (*ram* and *he-goat*) is *irrational* (ἄλογον) and *essence* (οὐσία), *living* (ζῶον) and *animate* (ἔμψυχον). Similarly, Chrysoloras continues, each of the two persons (Andrew and Peter) is *rational* and *essence* and *living* (λογικός ... οὐσία ... ζῶον). But the opposing difference Aquinas referred to is not the *per se* difference, for it is clear that he meant the distinction between *man* and *ox*, *rational* and *irrational*, *animate* and *inanimate*, and similar things. This is how we should interpret Aquinas' thesis (θέσει), Chrysoloras affirms. Therefore, Kabasilas' and Aquinas' views are actually in harmony, in the sense that it is necessary for these things to be distinguished only according to *species* (εἶδει) in which there is no natural distinction (πέφυκεν). The four-footed animals are like this. Therefore, what you consider discordant (ἀσύμφωνα) we

do not think of as opposite (ἐναντία). As far as I can understand, Chrysoloras concludes, you put forth these arguments against us not because you believe they are fair (δίκαια) but only for the sake of the argument, which is unfair (οὐ δίκαιον) [5.1.³⁸⁻⁶⁴]

Turning to the distinction of the divine Persons, Kydones counter-argues that *to beget* (γεννᾶν), *to project* (προβάλλειν) and *to create* (δημιουργεῖν)²⁰³ are not associated with the Father in the same way they are associated with a common *genus* (ὥσπερ εἰς κοινὸν γένος συνίασι), and that to consider God as the *genus* of the Father and the Son is ill-considered (ἀνεπίσκεπτον, as in Kydones' *Antirrhetic*, corrected from the opposite reading [ἐπίσκεπτον] transmitted in all MSS of the *Dialogue*) [5.2.⁶⁵⁻⁶⁷]. Chrysoloras accepts this view and points out to Kydones that here he omitted an important argument of his which was mentioned above, namely that things which come together by something common to them are referred to as in a *genus* [cf. 5.1; D, f. 120^r.4]. This proves, Chrysoloras concludes, that Kydones contradicts himself and omits the majority of the eleven arguments (ἐνὶ καὶ δεκάτῳ ... προβλήμασι) put forward by Neilos in the Fourth Syllogism. To this criticism Kydones responds with confidence: This seems to me better. Come on then, tell me another syllogism! [5.2.⁶⁸⁻⁸²].

[6] Fifth Syllogism on the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity

The Fifth Syllogism begins with Aquinas affirming that the *generation* (*generatio*, γέννησις) and the *projection* (*processio*, προβολή) are *emanations* that differ (*diversam originem*, πρόοδοι διαφέρουσαι) either *in origin* (*per principium*, τῇ ἀρχῇ), like animals that belong to the same *species*, or *by subject* (*per subiectum*, τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ), as in the case of the *generation* of this or that horse, or *by term* (*per terminum*, τοῖς ὅροις), like the difference between the horse and the cow. Therefore, the *emanation of the Spirit* does not differ from the *emanation of the Son*, unless the Spirit is also from Him (i.e., from the Son) (SCG IV, 24, no. 3615) [6.1⁵]. In other words, the *generation* of the Son and the *projection/procession* of the Spirit are *emanations* distinguished *in origin* (τῇ ἀρχῇ). What Chrysoloras omits (contrary to Kabasilas) is that Aquinas excludes by induction that the origins of the Persons of the Trinity are distinguished either *by term* (τοῖς ὅροις) or

²⁰³ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 292.21-23.

by *subject* (τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ). According to Aquinas, the immateriality of the Persons in the Trinity excludes any distinction in their origin *by subject* or *by term* since the divine nature is one and the same for every Person in the Trinity²⁰⁴.

Kabasilas agrees that the minor premise (ἡ ἐλάττων <πρότασις>) of Aquinas' syllogism, namely that the origins (πρόοδοι) of *generation* and *emanation* are distinct, is true. However, the major premise (ἡ μείζων <πρότασις>), that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, is false, he says, for with reference to living beings the reverse does occur (ἐν τοῖς οὖσι δέ, τὸ ἀνάπαλιν) [6.⁶⁻⁷]. The debate proceeds with Kydones presenting a summary of Kabasilas' views on Aquinas' syllogism²⁰⁵ and refuting Kabasilas' arguments²⁰⁶. Though Kabasilas accepts the validity of the minor premise, Kydones repeats, namely that the origin of the Son and the Spirit differ from one another, he does not accept the major premise, namely that the Spirit is from the Father and the Son, as this is not stated in the Scripture or declared by the Church Fathers (παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων). For this reason Kabasilas accuses Aquinas of being no less than robber and villain (ἄρπαγα ... καὶ κακοῦργον), and that he invented (ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ... παρενείραντα) the major premise with reference to the teaching concerning the Holy Spirit (τῆ διδασκαλία τοῦ Πνεύματος) [6.⁸⁻¹⁴]²⁰⁷. At this point Chrysoloras intervenes to defend Kabasilas stressing that when a major or minor premise is false then the syllogism is imperfect²⁰⁸.

In addition, Chrysoloras criticizes Kydones' attitude in refuting (ἀνεσκευσας) Kabasilas' argument, on the grounds that both the saints and *scientia* itself (καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῆς), namely dialectics, support Kabasilas' position. This stance has led you, Chrysoloras says, to blame Neilos alone for wrongly refuting Aquinas, thus

²⁰⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3615: Haec autem distinctio quae est ex parte subiecti, in divinis personis locum habere non potest: cum sint omnino immateriales. Similiter etiam ex parte termini, ut ita liceat loqui, non potest esse processionum distinctio: quia unam et eandem divinam naturam quam accipit Filius nascendo, accipit Spiritus Sanctus procedendo. Cf. Emery, *The Trinitarian Theology*, p. 123.

²⁰⁵ See Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 298.13-28.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, pp. 298.5-310.13.

²⁰⁷ See Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 298.18-22: Ἀλλὰ Λατίνοις καὶ τῆ δόξῃ τῆ αὐτοῦ χαριζόμενος, ἐκ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἢ καὶ τινῶν ἀναπλασμάτων ἢ ὄνειράτων, εἰ δεῖ γε εἰπεῖν, ταύτην ἀρπάσας (τὰ γὰρ γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἐπινοίας τισίν, οὐ πραγματικῶς, ὑφέστηκεν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν), οὕτω προσαρμόζειν ταύτην πειρᾶται τῆ διδασκαλία τοῦ Πνεύματος; p. 306.33: οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἢ κακοῦργία σαφῆς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἐπομένου διαίρεσει τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδραμεῖν.

²⁰⁸ *Dialogue* [6.¹⁵⁻¹⁶]: Καὶ ἀληθεύει· εἴτε γὰρ ἐλάττωνος εἴτε μείζονος ψευδομένης προτάσεως, ἀδύνατον εἶναι συλλογισμὸν τέλειον.

launching an accusation (κατηγορία) instead of offering a solution (λύσις) to the issue, which is easy to do for one who wishes to mock but difficult for wise and kind men. So, speak forth, he says to Kydones, the rest in your insolence, which Neilos cannot possibly hear (οὐδαμῶς ἀκούει) (since he is dead and gone) but you and, with you also God, can [6.¹⁵⁻²⁶]!

Kydones commends Kabasilas for speaking solemnly (σεμνολογεῖται) and for showing remarkable zeal (ζῆλον ἐπιδείκνυται θαυμαστόν), as is appropriate in such cases. But when the time comes, he says, to respond (ἀπολογία) he has nothing substantial to say (οὐκ εὐπορῆ), taking refuge in the hidden and ineffable aspects of the divinity (θεότητος), saying that we should not dare to consider or say something about God beyond what is proper, that is when he considers himself to be orthodox (εὐσεβής) confusing truth with ill-timed piety (παρὰ καιρὸν εὐλαβεία). Taking hold of an insignificant point (ἴχνος) of a refutation, he says, he mumbles (τὴν τῶν χελιδόνων λαλιὰν παρελαύνει) putting forth absurdities (παραλογιζόμενος), sophistries (σοφιζόμενος) and lies (ψευδόμενος) against what is clearly true.

Defending the scholastic method, Kydones remarks that sometimes Kabasilas takes the liberty to legislate (μετ' ἀδείας νομοθετῶν), as in this case, laying down laws such as the one that commands that we should not infer (ἀνάγεσθαι) knowledge of things divine (θείων) from existing beings (ὄντων) or deduce from them indications (ἐνδείξεις), on which grounds he unhesitatingly accuses Thomas of using this knowledge to ascend towards God (πρὸς Θεὸν τῆ ἀνόδῳ). By saying these things, Kydones continues, it seems that Kabasilas clearly alienates the creation from the Creator, removing any likeness at all between the Creator and His creatures —for any craftsman (τεχνίτου) wishes to put into the artifacts he creates the form (εἶδος) of his art, as much as possible—, thus entirely removing (παντελῶς ἀναίρεισθαι) anything that we can say or think about God. Human beings, Kydones continues, by nature desire God because the divine image (θείας εἰκόνας), according to which they were created²⁰⁹, urges them to do so. Many other absurdities follow this opinion, which does not allow man to ascend towards God, as much as this is possible for human beings,

²⁰⁹ Cf. Genesis 1:26: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

through the created beings. If, therefore, Kydones continues, Kabasilas thinks that there is nothing worthy to say about things divine which transcend nature (ὑπερφυσῶν), then he is the first who ought to shut up (σιγάτω), thus giving the example to the rest! On our part, he goes on, we would be grateful to him for releasing us from such random talking (εἰκαιολογίας, as Kydones says in his *Antirrhetic* and not δικαιολογίας as in the MSS). If, on the other hand, Kabasilas is so uncontrollable in his desire to speak of things divine (θεολογεῖν) that he composes his theology (τὴν αὐτοῦ θεολογίαν ὑφαίνειν) even from the slightest things and most dissimilar to God, he ought to grant Thomas forgiveness for attempting through nature to indicate what concerns its Creator [6.²⁷⁻⁵⁸].

In turn Chrysoloras reprimands Kydones because, instead of putting forward arguments (ἐπιχειρήματα) or solutions (λύσεις) to refute Kabasilas' views, he limited himself to accusing and abusing him with insolence. On these grounds Chrysoloras refuses to reply to Kydones' arguments in order not to make, as he says, the same mistake he is accusing Kydones of! Chrysoloras' sole criticism is that Kydones refuted only one among the nine arguments Kabasilas put forward in his *DPSS III*, and even this objection is not real but only apparent (οὐκ οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσαν), namely that Neilos erroneously objects to Aquinas. Discussion (διαλέγεσθαι) offers no solution but rather a refutation for him who deliberates and is not the way wise men follow. There is only one among the latter (Pyrrho of Elis?)²¹⁰ who seemed to do so, refuting all without considering saying anything else on the matters for which he is reproached. Actually, Chrysoloras says, Kydones looks like this man for though he refutes some of Kabasilas' arguments he does so without pure knowledge (οὐ σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ). According to Chrysoloras this is because Kydones puts forward brief arguments that have little power or are irrelevant, while he underestimates the power of Kabasilas' arguments. Chrysoloras closes this section introducing the next theme involving the virginity of the Mother of God [6.⁵⁹⁻⁹³].

[6.1] On the terms *virginity*, *corruption* and *mother* with reference to the Theotokos

²¹⁰ I owe this conjecture to Dr John Demetracopoulos. Cf. Numenius of Apamea, *Fragments*, 25.58-75, ed. É. des Places, *Numénius. Fragments* (Paris, 1973), pp. 67-68; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparation for the Gospel* 14, § 6.5-6, ed. K. Mras, *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 8: *Die Praeparatio evangelica*, GCS, 43.2 (Berlin, 1983), pp. 273.11-274.5.

The next point of discussion concerns Kydones' statement that Mary can be *virgin* and *mother* (παρθένον τὲ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μητέρα) at the same time²¹¹. There is nothing harmful in this statement, he affirms, for the term *virginity* (παρθενία) is not in itself opposed (οὐκ ἀντίκειται) to that of *mother*, though people consider it to be so. It is impossible for the two terms to tally (συμβαίνειν), he continues, not for the opposition of the terms but for the weakness of nature, as in the case of *habituation* after *privation* (ἢ μετὰ τὴν στέρησιν ἕξις) which is impossible for nature but is not impossible for a greater power (μείζονι δὲ δυνάμει). Since therefore, the term opposed to *virginity* is not that of *mother* but that of *corruption*, it is not impossible for a *virgin* to be *mother* as well, for this is the result of the divine power for which nothing is impossible. For human beings, however, because of the weakness of their nature and since one of the two parents is not enough by himself/herself to give birth to a child, this seems impossible and contains an opposition (*virginity* vs. *motherhood*). Therefore, if *childbirth* opposed *virginity*, it follows that God would not have made this and it would be impossible for opposites according to their terms (τὰ κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀντικείμενα) to make God be joined in one (συνελθεῖν) (through the incarnation), in the same way that a person who is *virgin* cannot be *corrupted* (ἐφθαρμένην) in respect of the same thing (κατὰ ταῦτόν), a *mother* cannot be in principle always *childless* (ἀεὶ ἄτεκνον, according to Kydones' *Antirrhetic*, instead of τέκνον in the MSS). For everything is within God's power, except those whose terms are opposed (ἀντικείμενοι)²¹². Christ, Kydones states, was God and man at the same time in his Person (προσώπῳ) and not in respect of the same thing according to nature (φύσει), for the nature in which He is God is not the same as that in which he is man. Therefore, Thomas' teaching is not uncouth and crude, he concludes, but it is courteous (προσηνές) and philosophical (φιλόσοφον) [6.1.⁷⁻²⁹].

Chrysoloras begins his refutation by attacking Aquinas as being not only bold and unphilosophical but also ridiculous (γελοῖος), since his arguments are absurd, especially the last of the three [cf. 6.1.²⁴⁻²⁵], for Paul declared that there is only one thing impossible for God, namely to *deny Himself* (2 Timothy 2:13). But you, Chrysoloras reprimands Kydones, claim that there is another inability in God,

²¹¹ See Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, Vat. gr. 614, f. 121^v.22-31.

²¹² Cf. Aristotle, *On Interpretation* 17b.16-18a.9.

namely that He has no power to join the terms of the opposites, for apparently God granted you greater grace than Paul! This results, according to Chrysoloras, from Kydones' eagerness to follow Aristotle instead of following God Who is greater (πρᾶξτερος) and incomparable to Aristotle and all human beings [6.1.⁴⁶⁻⁵¹]. What follows is a dense stichomythia between Chrysoloras and Kydones, with the former asking questions and the latter responding. We give a full translation of this section below, in order to show how this vivid debate unfolds [6.1.⁵⁴⁻¹⁶¹].

CHRYSOLORAS: Is not *hot* (θερμόν) opposite to *cold* (ψυχρῶ) and *dry* (ξηρὸν) opposite to *wet* (ὕγρῶ)²¹³?

KYDONES: Yes.

CHRYSOLORAS: How is it that *earth*, being cold, corresponds to *fire*, and *water* to *air*? We see that though completely opposite, through an ineffable analogy (ἀρρήτῳ λόγῳ), they are also in complete harmony, the first through those in between and the latter through the extremes.

KYDONES: But these are simple things.

CHRYSOLORAS: If these apply to simple things then it follows even more for those which are composite, namely all living beings (ζώοις ἅπασιν), each one of whom, body and all opposite powers, God joins wholly (ὅλῳ) with His ineffable voice. This is clear in combining the opposites. Similarly, the same exists in both rational and irrational beings.

KYDONES: These things (contrary properties) coexist in an animal not in *energy/actuality* (ἐνεργεία) but only in *potentiality* (δυνάμει).

CHRYSOLORAS: This is true. But what would you say about *desire* (ἐπιθυμία) and *anger* (θυμῶ), both of which are irrational? These coexist with the reasoning faculty (λογιστικῶ), or more precisely these and the intellectual faculty (λογικόν) fight one another for one and the same soul at the same time. The same principle (αὐτός ... λόγος) of body and soul is visible for both mortals and immortals. In this way, God, Who is great in wisdom and for Whom nothing is impossible, joined the opposites in a kind of unbroken bond because He wanted it. This is impossible solely in our case

²¹³ Referring to the four elements: fire, air, earth and water. See Aristotle, *On generation and corruption* 329b.17-31; idem, *Metereologica* 378b.10-24. Cf. M.-L. Gill, *Aristotle on Substance: the Paradox of Unity* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), pp. 80-82.

given our own human weakness. Indeed, these things, which God made before in harmony, and are simply mightier and more remarkable, are now visible to us fighting one another.

KYDONES: I cannot see your point.

CHRYSOLORAS: Would you ever say anything about *similarities, equalities* or *qualities* for things which do not exist (οὐκ ὄντων)?

KYDONES: Certainly not.

CHRYSOLORAS: Then what can we say about these things that is appropriate?

KYDONES: Clearly that they *lack quality, are unequal* and *dissimilar*.

CHRYSOLORAS: Look now: from things which do not exist God creates beings in which the *quality, equality* and *similarity* are contemplated (ἐνορᾶται). Their analogy, therefore, is much higher than the joining of the opposites. Hence who would say that He Who has the power to do what is greater lacks the power to do what is lesser? It is not true, therefore, that God cannot join opposites in respect of the same thing (κατὰ ταὐτόν). Don't you agree?

KYDONES: Of course.

CHRYSOLORAS: Well then, one must examine next the arguments concerning the Blessed and Most Pure <Theotokos>. What do you have to say?

KYDONES: I say, the term *virginity* does not at all oppose the term *mother* but only the term *corruption*, and rightly so.

CHRYSOLORAS: But *corruption* is opposite to *birth*, while *virginity* and *birth* are not identical. Therefore, *corruption* is not opposite to *virginity*. Moreover, *birth* is some kind of motion while *virginity* is not, and therefore these are not opposite. Again, *birth* is not *different* (οὐκ ἄλλοιον) but *other* (ἄλλο), while *virginity* can be *different*, and therefore these two are not identical, nor is *corruption* opposed to *virginity*. If you have some other *corruption* in mind, what would be the opposite to men's *virginity*? For the *corruption* you have in mind does not exist.

KYDONES: But what else could be the opposite to *virginity* if not *corruption*?

CHRYSOLORAS: If we are incapable of finding this, it is not because this is necessary, as you say. For many things have no opposite at all. Now, *virginity* (παρθενία) is opposite to *not virginity* (μὴ παρθενία) rather than to *corruption* (φθορᾶ). However, we do not stop you from giving a try. Let's say that *virginity* is opposed to *corruption*,

as you say. We must, therefore, examine whether *everything* which is opposite to *just this one thing* or *these things* that oppose *this thing* and to *those who follow it*, oppose *all things*, as the Philosopher (i.e., Aristotle) demands (πᾶν, ὅτινι ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ μόνον, ἢ, καὶ ἅ τούτῳ, καὶ οἷς αὐτῷ ἔπεται, πᾶσι μάχεται, ὡς ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἀξιοῖ)²¹⁴.

KYDONES: It is clear that it opposes *all things*.

CHRYSOLORAS: Consider, then, what you are saying. Do you confess that *virginity* is opposed to *corruption* alone?

KYDONES: Indeed.

CHRYSOLORAS: Is it ever possible for a child to be born without *corruption*?

KYDONES: This is impossible.

CHRYSOLORAS: Therefore, it is necessary that *childbirth* follows *corruption* and no one would say otherwise.

KYDONES: Of course.

CHRYSOLORAS: Is *childbirth* identical or different from the term *mother*? Answer me.

KYDONES: I confess it must be identical, for wherever the one is the other necessarily follows it.

CHRYSOLORAS: Since then *mother* follows *childbirth* while *childbirth* again follows *corruption*, and, according to you, the term *virginity* is opposed to *corruption*, similarly *virginity* must be opposed to the term *mother* as it is to *corruption*. Indeed, the term *virginity* is much more strongly opposed to the term *mother* than to *corruption*, for *childbirth* is something further (ἐπὶ πλέον) than all *corruption* since *corruption* is always where *childbirth* is but the reverse is not necessary.

KYDONES: I cannot contradict one who who speaks the truth. Not at all.

CHRYSOLORAS: But what you were saying, speaking the truth, that Christ, the same in personhood (προσώπῳ), was God and man, and not in identity of nature — while you think to loosen in Him the definition of *virginity* and that of *mother*, which are utterly dissimilar (i.e., to remove their incompatibility)—, and that Christ in His personhood was God and man but *not the same* with reference to the nature, is absolutely true. Except that He has two natures but only one hypostasis, while the term *virginity* is completely dissimilar to *corruption* and *mother*, for these three things were manifest with reference to the one and only nature of the Blessed one (the

²¹⁴ So far I have been unable to trace this saying in the Aristotelian Corpus.

Theotokos). Moreover, even if it were possible for the same things to be found in another woman before or after Her, even so your argument would not be true. But what are these things that concern Her? She is born according to a promise and this was followed by other events²¹⁵. She is brought to the temple at the age of three and She eagerly follows solitude (ἐρημίαν). She is fed with heavenly food. She sees the angel Gabriel as he was by nature (ὡς εἶχε φύσεως). She conceives through the power of the Spirit. She straightaway conceives the babe perfect in Her womb. She gives birth at the appropriate time without the pangs of childbirth (ὠδίνων). She kept virginity before and after childbirth. She sees Gabriel once again as he was by nature at the time of her death (τελευτῇ). She sees with her corporeal eyes Her glorified Son and the whole army of the incorporeal hosts before Her death. Are all these things not beyond nature? Are they not greater than the power of the opposites? What, therefore, is new if the terms *virginity* and *mother* were joined in Her, so that this term partakes of an opposite power; this term, which your teacher, Thomas, and you, who support him, attack as being opposite to the blessed Virgin, although you are wrong in doing so?

KYDONES: I confess that these points are fair and necessary. Except that you omit what I have said about the *projector*. This is not fair.

CHRYSOLORAS: What have you said about this?

At this point Chrysoloras turns once more to discuss briefly the terms concerning the emanation of the Persons in the Trinity [6.2]. Since *projection* (προβολή), Kydones says, does not oppose either *fatherhood* (πατρότητι) or *filiation* (υἰότητα) it is possible that *to project* (προβάλλειν) belongs to both Father and Son and that they are one *projector* (ἓνα προβολέα), and when we refer to *projector* we apprehend (νοεῖν) both and at the same time each one of them on his own (ιδία). In addition, Kydones continues, if in the *projector* we perceive also the Son—for the Father alone is not another *projector* beside the Father and the Son, but both Father and Son are one and the same *projector* (εἷς, καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ἄμφω προβολεύς)—, therefore the Father alone and the *projector*, that is the Father and the Son, are not at all two things (οὐδαμῶς ... δύο πράγματα). Chrysoloras simply avoids refuting this argument, referring Kydones

²¹⁵ In this section of the *Dialogue* Chrysoloras draws information on Mary's life from the Gospel of Luke and, mainly, the *Protevangelium* or *Infancy Gospel of James*. For references see edition below, p. 322.

(and the reader) to Kabasilas' refutation, according to which, only if the Son were to be called *projector* this leads us to introduce two causes and two principles into the Trinity [6.2.¹⁻¹³]²¹⁶.

[7] Sixth Syllogism on the Holy Spirit

The next point of discussion concerns Aquinas' fundamental teaching of the *generation* of the Son perceived as the *act of intellect* and the *procession* of the Holy Spirit as the *act of will* within the *intellectual nature* of God²¹⁷. Aquinas states that *Love* (*amor*, ἀγάπη) is the name proper for the Spirit²¹⁸ and *Word* (*verbum*, λόγος) is the name proper for the Son²¹⁹. In his SCG Aquinas states the following: There is more. From the very fact of saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds *by way of will* (*per modum voluntatis*) and the Son *by way of intellect* (*per modum intellectus*) it follows that the Holy Spirit *is from* the Son. For *love* proceeds from a *word* (*amor procedit a verbo*): since we are able to *love* nothing but that which a *word* of the heart conceives²²⁰. In other words, in analogy to human beings, *love* proceeds from the *word* and human beings cannot *love* something before they conceive it with their *intellect*. Therefore, Aquinas affirms, the Spirit *proceeds from* the Son [7.¹⁻⁵]²²¹. Chrysoloras cites this passage *verbatim* from Kabasilas' DPSS III, but with a significant change. Instead of *by way of will* (*per modum voluntatis*) Kabasilas (and subsequently Chrysoloras) state *by way of love* (ὡς ἀγάπην προϊέναι). It is possible that Kydones' (hitherto unpublished) translation contains the word ἀγάπην

²¹⁶ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, DPSS III, pp. 306.15-310.5. See Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 86-87.

²¹⁷ See especially Aquinas, ST Ia. 37, 1-2, ed. and trans. T.C. O'Brien, vol. 7: *Father, Son and Holy Ghost* (Ia. 33-43) (London and New York, 1976), pp. 252-258 (summary on p. 253).

²¹⁸ Thomas Aquinas, ST Ia, q. 37, a. 1 resp.: Respondeo dicendum quod nomen amoris in divinis sumi potest et essentialiter et personaliter. Et secundum quod personaliter sumitur, est proprium nomen spiritus sancti; sicut verbum est proprium nomen filii.

²¹⁹ Thomas Aquinas, ST Ia, q. 34, a. 2 resp.: Respondeo dicendum quod verbum proprie dictum in divinis personaliter accipitur, et est proprium nomen personae filii. Significat enim quandam emanationem intellectus, persona autem quae procedit in divinis secundum emanationem intellectus, dicitur filius, et huiusmodi processio dicitur generatio, ut supra ostensum est. Unde relinquitur quod solus filius proprie dicatur verbum in divinis.

²²⁰ Thomas Aquinas, SCG IV, 24, no. 3617: Praeterea. Ex hoc ipso quod dicitur quod Spiritus Sanctus procedit per modum voluntatis, et Filius per modum intellectus, sequitur quod Spiritus Sanctus sit a Filio. Nam amor procedit a verbo: eo quod nihil amare possumus nisi verbo cordis illud concipiamus; trans. Ch.J. O'Neil, *Saint Thomas Aquinas. Summa contra Gentiles, Book Four: Salvation* (Indiana, 1975; repr. 2009), p. 140.

²²¹ Thomas Aquinas, SCG IV, 24, no. 3617; ST Ia, q. 36, a. 2. Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, DPSS III, p. 310.15-18. On *word* and *love* in Aquinas' Trinitarian theology, see G. Emery, 'The Doctrine of the Trinity in St Thomas Aquinas', in *Aquinas on Doctrine: A Critical Introduction*, eds. T.G. Weinandy et al. (London, 2004), pp. 45-66 at 57-59.

instead of θέλησιν. If so, he must have translated from a Latin MS which contains the phrase *per modum amoris* instead of *per modum voluntatis*. Kabasilas seems to be aware that the two terms, *love* and *will*, refer to the procession of the Holy Spirit. His objection to the above statement is established on the Greek patristic tradition, which stressed that the *generation* and the *projection* are ineffable (ἄρρητον) and inexpressible (ἀνέκφραστον) for the human mind [7.⁶⁻¹⁰]²²². The most extensive refutation of Aquinas' teaching on this point, to our knowledge, was produced by Manuel Moschopoulos (1265-1316) in his treatise *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit*²²³, sections of which are quoted often *verbatim* by Matthaios Blastares (ca. 1290- ca. 1350) in his treatise *On the Errors of the Latins*²²⁴.

The Latin teaching that *word* and *love* are the names proper for the Son and the Spirit respectively originates in Augustine's *De Trinitate* Book XV, ch. xvii²²⁵. This is pointed out to Kabasilas by Kydones who criticizes him on the grounds that though he is aware of this he accused Augustine of blasphemy [7.¹¹⁻²⁰]²²⁶. Chrysoloras remarks that if this theorem (θεώρημα) is wrongly attributed to him, then Augustine is totally innocent. Otherwise Augustine is blameworthy even more, because though he was a wise man (σοφὸν) yet he did not wish to seek the truth but fought against it [7.²¹⁻³⁴].

The debate continues focusing on the attribution of the name *Word* (Λόγος) explicitly to the Son [7.³⁵⁻⁶⁵]. Kydones defends this view by explaining that the Gospel thrice

²²² Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, pp. 312.21-314.25, cites passages from Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory Nazianzene and John Damascene, which stress this view. See Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 181.

²²³ See Manuel Moschopoulos, *On the Generation of the Son and the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 1, eds. I. Polemis, 'An unpublished anti-Latin treatise of Manuel Moschopoulos', *JÖB* 46 (1996), pp. 255-261; R.J.H. Smith, *An unedited theological discourse against the Latins by Manuel Moschopoulos: Introduction, critical text, translation and notes* (unpublished MA dissertation, King's College London, 1997), pp. 1-14.

²²⁴ Ed. K. Palaiologos, *An annotated edition of the Refutation of the Errors of the Latins by Matthaios Blastares* (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), pp. 47-52 (trans. and com.), pp. 324-327 (text).

²²⁵ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XV, xvii, eds. W.J. Mountain and F. Glorie, *Aurelii Augustini, De Trinitate libri XV*, vol. II, CCSL 50A (Turnhout, 1968), pp. 501-506; cf. the Greek translation by Maximos Planoudes, eds. M. Papatomopoulos, I. Tsavari and G. Rigotti, *Αὐγουστίνου, Περὶ Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἅπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετήνεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης*, vol. 2 (Athens, 1995), pp. 929-939.

²²⁶ *Dialogue* [7.¹⁸⁻¹⁹]: ὄν δ' οὖν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, Αὐγουστίνος ἐστὶν ὃ σοφώτατε, ὄν, αὐτὸς τολμᾶς, βλασφημίας διώκειν.

states *God the Word* (John 1:1, 2, 14)²²⁷. Chrysoloras adds that there is a fourth quotation which he does not specify. This must be the passage in John's *Book of Revelation* (19:13)²²⁸. Kydones remarks that it is common Christian belief that the Son is Word in respect of the truth of God (κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ), not *metaphorically* as is the case with many other such names, but He is the Word of God *essentially* (οὐσιωδῶς), *properly* (κυριῶς) and *transcendentally* (ὑπεροχικῶς) [7.³⁵⁻⁴⁴]. Drawing from John Damascene's *Exposition of faith*, Chrysoloras responds that this is far from truth, for some names that refer to God state what He *is not* (τί, οὐκ ἔστι)²²⁹ while others indicate a *relation* with things that are different from Him (σχέσιν, ἐν τοῖς διαστελλομένοις)²³⁰. Again, some names are *consequential* to His nature (τῇ φύσει παρέπεται)²³¹, others have *mutual relation* (πρὸς ἄλληλα τὴν σχέσιν ἔχει), and others refer to His *energy* and others are *symbolical* (συμβολικά) which are also called *metaphorical* (μεταφορικά). Among all these names, Chrysoloras continues, no one can be related to one another as the names Father/Son/Spirit, *unbegotten/begotten/projected, uncaused/caused*. These are the only names accepted by the saints as being *relative* (σχετικά), and are also called *distinguished* (διακεκριμένα) (a reference to the distinct personal/hypostatic properties of each Person in the Trinity). All the other names should be understood as referring to the whole Godhead (πάση θεότητι), *identically* (ταυτῶς), *simply* (ἀπλῶς), *indivisibly* (ἀμερῶς) and *in unity* (ἡνωμένως)²³². For these reasons, Chrysoloras concludes, the names *God* and *Word* are common to the Trinity. Otherwise, the dictum *the Logos was with God* (John 1:1) would have not been reasonably said (οὐκ εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο) [7.⁴⁵⁻⁵⁶]. But the *Word*, Kydones answers, belongs to things which are *in a relation* (τῶν ἐν σχέσει) and which are *related to something* (πρὸς τι)²³³, and necessarily seeks the One Whose *Word* is; and the *Word* is the *Word* of no one else but God [7.⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹]. This is valid with reference to human beings, Chrysoloras counter-argues, and not with reference to God. For if the Son were called the *Word* of God and the name *God* were a common

²²⁷ Cf. John 1:1-2: Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; *ibid.*, 1:14: Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

²²⁸ John, *Book of Revelation* 19:13: καὶ περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι, καὶ κέκληται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

²²⁹ John Damascene, *Exposition*, § 9, pp. 31-32.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, § 9, pp. 31-32.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, § 9, pp. 31-32.

²³² *Ibid.*, § 10, p. 32.

²³³ Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 6a.36-8b.24.

belief (κοινή δόξα) among Christians as it is a common name with reference to the Holy Trinity, according to you, Chrysoloras remarks, the name *Word* would denote all three Persons, which is absurd and impossible. Chrysoloras adds that, as said above, the name *Word* is *common* (κοινόν) and therefore it should be considered far from denoting a *personal property* (ιδιαιζόντων) [7.⁶⁰⁻⁶⁵].

Further explaining Aquinas' teaching, Kydones comments on the Son being the *Word* (*verbum*, λόγος) and *intellect* (*intellectus*, νόησις) conceived by the *mind* (νοῦς) of the Father, in analogy to the intellectual process in human beings. He supports this view on the basis of Gregory Nazianzene's well-known dictum, according to which the *Word of God* is the *impulse of the great mind* (Λόγε Θεοῦ ... Ὡ νοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ... ὄρημα) [7.⁷¹⁻⁷²]²³⁴. Gregory's purpose, Chrysoloras states, was not to consider God as *mind* and His Son as *word* and *intellect*. His aim was to show that the Son is *offspring* (γέννημα) and that He eternally *emanates ineffably* (ἀρρήτως ἀεὶ πρόεισιν) from the Father. When *intellecion* refers to the *essence* (οὐσία) of God each of the three Persons is *equally* (ὀμοίως) *intellecion* and when *intellecion* is compared to the divine *energy* then it is *common* (κοινή) to the three Persons [7.⁷³⁻⁷⁷]. To Kydones' question, who is responsible for this interpretation, Chrysoloras names Maximus the Confessor 'in one of the chapters of his theology' (*Capita de caritate*), whom he cites verbatim: *God perceives* (νοεῖ) *Himself and His creatures; and <He conceives> of Himself in virtue of His blessed essence while <He conceives> of His creatures in virtue of His wisdom, through which and in which He made everything*²³⁵. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, the name *mind* is not a personal name for the Father and *intellecion* is not attributed only to the Son. This is clear, since *mind* (νοῦς) is not the same as *intellecion* (νοήσει) [7.⁷⁸⁻⁸⁷].

Kydones agrees on this point, adding that with reference to God, on account of His absolute simplicity (ἄκρην ἀπλότητα) His *intellecion* coincides with His *essence* and therefore by necessity the *Word* that emanates (προϊών) from the divine *intellecion* is Son *by nature* (φύσει), because He comes into being (γενόμενος) from the *essence* of God. In this case *essence* and *intellecion* are the same. Indeed, Kydones asks, which

²³⁴ Gregory Nazianzene, *Homily on Easter* (Or. 45), § 30, PG 36, col. 664A: Λόγε Θεοῦ, καὶ φῶς, καὶ ζωὴ, καὶ σοφία, καὶ δύναμις! χαίρω γὰρ πᾶσί σου τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. Ὡ νοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου γέννημα, καὶ ὄρημα.

²³⁵ Maximus the Confessor, *Chapters on Love*, Book III, § 22, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Massimo confessore. Capitoli sulla carita* (Rome, 1963), p. 152.

among things divine (ἐν τοῖς θείοις) would be equal to God and would not be *essence* (οὐσία), *being* (ὄν) and *God* [7.⁸⁸⁻⁹³]? To ask this question is contrary to orthodoxy (εὐσεβεία), Chrysoloras replies. For to say that everything asserted in relation to God is identical with God (ταὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ Θεῷ) has been shown by saints numerous and great to be *other* (ἕτερον) than it should be; and none of the names is able to express His *essence* (οὐσίαν). Chrysoloras prefers to leave this subject at that point as the purpose of this treatise is *other*. Kydones protests, stating that the opposite is evident to him and that Chrysoloras' argument is doubtful (ἀφανῆ). Chrysoloras, nonetheless, responds that in his view his argument is entirely convincing! [7.⁹⁴⁻¹⁰³].

The Syllogism closes with Chrysoloras refuting Kydones' argument that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son for It is the *Love* with which both Father and Son love each other, according to Aquinas' teachings [7.¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁸]²³⁶. Since the emanation of *intellection* is *Word* and *Son* it remains that the emanation of *Love* is of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is the *divine love* in which (ἧ) the Father and the Son love each other (ἀλλήλους ἀγαπῶσιν). For this reason, therefore, Kydones concludes, it is necessary to say that the Holy Spirit *is from both* (ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων) Father and Son. Chrysoloras objects once more on the grounds that since has been proven [cf. 7.⁶⁶⁻¹⁰⁰] that the Son and the Word is not *emanation of the intellection* (τῆς νοήσεως πρόοδον) but the Son is an *offspring of the hypostasis* of the Father and the Word is *word* of the One Father who speaks forth (τὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦ λέγοντος), it follows that the Holy Spirit would not be distinctively (ἰδιαζόντως) called *love*, for this is common to the other two Persons as well. This is because we simply call God *love* and Christ calls Himself *love*²³⁷. For all these reasons, Chrysoloras remarks, your conclusion (συμπέρασμα) is incorrect, for the Son is not *cause* (αἷτιος) of the Spirit. Among the six arguments (προβλήμασιν ἕξ) Neilos put forward against Thomas, Chrysoloras complains, you only refuted two of them, which is what you usually do! I do as I please, Kydones responds sharply. Let us listen to another syllogism! [7.¹⁰⁹⁻¹¹⁹].

[8] Seventh Syllogism on the order of the Persons in the Trinity

²³⁶ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 37, a. 1-2.

²³⁷ Cf. 1 John 4:8.

The next question examined in the *Dialogue* concerns the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity by order of *causation* (αἰτία). According to Aquinas, the distinction in immaterial essences (*substantiis immaterialibus*, ἀϋλοῖς <οὐσίαις>) can be that *according to order* (*ordinem*, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν). However, in the divine Persons, who are entirely immaterial, there can be no other order than that of *cause* (*originis*, αἰτίας). Therefore, there are not two Persons *emanating* (*procedentes*, προιόντα) from one, unless one of those *proceeds* (*procedat*, προῖει) from the other. Therefore, Aquinas concludes, the Spirit *proceeds* from the Son (*spiritum sanctum procedere a filio*). Aquinas' conclusion reads differently in the *Dialogue*: therefore, Chrysoloras states, the Son is *cause* (αἴτιος ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα) [8.¹⁻⁵]²³⁸. Kabasilas states that he cannot deny that *there is* order in the Godhead and again *there is not*, in the sense that order does not exist in God's *essence* (οὐσία) which is common to the three Persons but it does exist only in the *Persons* in order to keep the hypostatic properties unmixed (ἀμιγῆ) and incommunicable (ἀκοινώνητον) among each other [8.⁶⁻¹⁰]. At this point Kydones intervenes thanking Kabasilas for conceding to the existence of order among the Persons but at the same time criticizing him because though he placed the Son and the Spirit's order with reference to the Father he failed to place order between the Son and the Spirit, thus rendering order only half way (ἐξ ἡμισείας) with reference to God [8.¹¹⁻¹⁷]. Why should *order of cause* be granted to the Son and the Spirit with reference to the Father while *no order at all*, or *dissimilar order*, should be granted between the Son and the Spirit *vis-à-vis* each other? Kydones asks. Chrysoloras enters the debate stating that Kydones' last statement is in fact quite the opposite. There is a remarkable and familiar (θαυμαστὴ καὶ οἰκεία) order between the Son and the Spirit. To accept that these two Persons come *from one another* (ἐξ ἀλλήλων) *as the principle* (ἀρχήν) and hence that they come *from this principle* leads to many absurdities. This introduces disorder (ἀταξία) in the Trinity with reference to the *essence* itself (περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτήν) and much confusion (σύγχυσις) with reference to the *Persons*. For, if two

²³⁸ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3618: Item. Si quis diversas species rerum consideret, in eis quidam ordo ostenditur: prout viventia sunt supra non viventia, et animalia supra plantas, et homo super alia animalia, et in singulis horum diversi gradus inveniuntur secundum diversas species; unde et Plato species rerum dixit esse numeros qui specie variantur per additionem vel subtractionem unitatis. Chrysoloras cites this: Unde in substantiis immaterialibus non potest esse distinctio nisi secundum ordinem. In divinis autem personis, quae sunt omnino immateriales, non potest esse alius ordo nisi originis. Non igitur sunt duae personae ab una procedentes, nisi una earum procedat ab altera. Et sic oportet Spiritum Sanctum procedere a Filio.

Persons are the cause of one and the latter is cause of no one, it is clear that the Persons would be totally unequal and utterly disorderly. In addition, the Person (Spirit) that emanates from the other two (Father and Son) would be much lesser (ἔλαττον) in honour and its dishonour would affect the other two. For the dishonour and degradation of the caused, Chrysoloras continues, is not honour and elevation of the causes but the glory of the former is rather glory and honour of the latter. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, as Kabasilas says, order is that each Person keeps its own *property* (ιδιότητα) [8.¹⁸⁻²⁹]. This view, maintaining that if two Persons are the cause of one and the latter is cause of no one it will eliminate the equality of the three Persons, degrading the one and elevating the other two in terms of honour, is a basic argument in the Orthodox arsenal²³⁹. Kabasilas' argument, Kydones responds, seems to contradict his principle of separating questions concerning things divine and things that fall outside this area. Neither he nor any one else, Chrysoloras says, would ever prove anything by taking *beings* (ὄντων) as a point of departure and then advance to *things divine* on the basis of *similarity* (ὁμοιότητα) [8.³⁰⁻³⁷]. Kydones adds that it is not true that the cause of the order existing among things (πράγμασι) is the fact that each one of these preserves its own *property*. In fact, as regards simply distinguishing them it is sufficient that each abide in its own *property*, but as regards order and their relation to each other (πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσιν) the opposite is the case. For instance, what sort of order could be conceived between *man* and *circle* in terms of the former possessing *rationality* and the latter possessing the *property of having equal distance from the centre*? If therefore there is order between the Son and the Spirit we should not say that this order refers to the Father alone, for this means that a Person is placed in order (τετάχθαι) with reference to another Person and not each with reference to the other. In order to place order among all three Persons (ἐν ἀλλήλοις) we must refer to another order, which Kabasilas intentionally omitted, Kydones remarks, but Aquinas together with Gregory of Nyssa (μετὰ τοῦ Νύσσης) pronounced, namely that of *cause* and *caused* (τὴν τοῦ αἰτίου ... καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ). This is the only kind of order that we can perceive in the divine Persons [8.³⁸⁻⁵⁰].

²³⁹ Ch. Soteropoulos, *Θέματα θεολογίας τοῦ ΙΔ' αἰῶνος* (Athens, 1990), pp. 206-208.

You propose here, Chrysoloras responds, something which was not the purpose of Neilos and you draw wrong conclusions, blaming him, who cannot put up with these arguments (δυσχεραίνοντι πλεῖστα), namely that we advance from *worldly beings* to *things divine*, which Kabasilas mocks rather than believes and which is supported by the sayings of the saints. The aforementioned example, concerning man's *rationality* and *the distance of the centre in the circle*, leads to great absurdities, for it has nothing in common when applied to the *cause* of distinction among the divine Persons. For *circle* and *rationality*, Chrysoloras continues, are opposites not only by being completely different (ἄκρᾳ διαφορᾷ) to one another but also by being unable to be implanted (ἐμφυτεύεσθαι) in the *essence*. Even if the divine Persons have a *relative opposition* (ἀντίθεσιν ... ἀναφορικῆν) in themselves nevertheless they are perfectly united (ἐνοῦται) in their *essence* and they are dissimilar to the *rationality/circle* analogy. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, this argument is inappropriately used here. It is true that the argument put forward by Aquinas and Gregory of Nyssa concerning the distinction in God, which you find convincing (ἀσφαλῆ), Chrysoloras says, is omitted by Kabasilas. However, he remained silent on this because a far greater theologian than him expounded on the distinction of the divine Persons. To Kydones' question who is this man and what did he say concerning this subject, Chrysoloras presents Dionysius, who (in his treatise *On the divine names*) states that *the only source of the supra-essential Godhead is the Father*²⁴⁰ and that *the divine Persons are distinguished with relation to their source and cause*²⁴¹. Such is the canon (κανόνας) which Christian faith should follow, articulated (φιλοσοφήσαντι) by the greatest of theologians, Chrysoloras declares [8.⁵¹⁻⁷⁶]. It should be noted that the authority of Ps-Dionysius in Byzantine and Western theological thought remained undisputed in this period²⁴². Kydones continues by arguing that even if one accepts that between the Son and the Spirit there is order in terms of *cause* and *caused*, it does not necessarily follow that the Spirit is (εἶναι) *also from the Son*. However, it is plausible to say the reverse, namely that *the Son is from the Spirit*. By maintainig (τηρουμένης) this order, as Aquinas said, we do not draw the conclusion which he rather does not wish to, for he says that this is not at all necessary. First, if this argument is valid, it follows that the

²⁴⁰ Ps-Dionysius Aeropagite, *On the divine names*, 5, p. 128.11-12; 7, p. 132.1.

²⁴¹ So far I have not traced this citation, which is not included in the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

²⁴² See A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 113-127.

Spirit is Father, that is, if indeed the Spirit has the analogy of *cause* with reference to the Son. Hence it is absurd, Kydones argues, to perceive the order of *cause* and *caused* between the Son and the Spirit in this way [8.⁷⁷⁻⁸⁶]. Chrysoloras proceeds to ask Kydones whether he is unaware that the absurdity in both cases is similar even though it might be perceived in different things (διαφόροις). For inasmuch as it is totally inappropriate to say that there are two *fathers* to a single Son in the Trinity, in the same way it is no less absurd to say that there are two *projectors* to a single projected Person (ένός προβλήματος). Each of these absurdities necessarily follows your and Thomas' thesis (θέσει), Chrysoloras affirms. On our part we reject both in order to follow the correct faith. Only a mad person, Kydones answers, would understand that the Son *is* (εἶναι) *from the Spirit*, since the Spirit is *from the Father through the Son*. If *through the Son* defines the *projected* (ἐκπορευτοῦ), how would one assume that the Spirit is *cause* of the Son, since the Spirit clearly is *from and through the Son*? This is a wrong question, Chrysoloras responds. It is even more wrong when one intentionally manipulates arguments leading them to opposite conclusions, for this is what you are accusing me of, he continues, since you deliberate on this axiom (κανόνι) without taking into consideration the saints or *scientia* (ἐπιστήμης). The sayings of the saints, he continues, will suffice. It is clear from all their sayings that the Spirit is not from the Son and that the expression *through the Son* does appear but not as *cause* (αἴτιον). Leaving aside the abundant testimony of the saints, Chrysoloras says, Neilos solved the present syllogism (συλλογισμόν) through his fourth argument (τετάρτῳ ... ἐπιχειρήματι)²⁴³ while you charge him with two arguments. Kydones' response is similar as previously: I do what I like! Let us listen to another syllogism [8.⁸⁷⁻¹⁰⁹].

[9] Eighth Syllogism on the hypostatic properties

Having established that the basis of our perception of order in the Trinity depends on *causation*, Chrysoloras proceeds with the next Syllogism which examines the hypostatic properties of the Persons. First, Aquinas presents his view. The Father and the Son, he states, do not differ in the *unity of essence* (*ad unitatem essentiae*) and

²⁴³ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, pp. 326.13-330.32.

therefore anything other than this (i.e., *paternity* and *filiation*) is *common* to the Father and the Son. Hence to be the *origin* (*principium*) of the Spirit is *common* to the Father and the Son [9.1-4]²⁴⁴. It is true, Kabasilas responds, that there is an *origin* (ἀρχήν) of the Holy Spirit apart from the *paternity* and *filiation* analogy. To argue, however, that the Father and the Son cannot be distinguished in any other way except that the one is Father and the other is Son, is not true. For in this way there is no room left for the *cause* (αἴτιον), the *source* (πηγήν) and the *origin* (ἀρχήν), which are the *properties* of the Father (πατρικὰ ιδιώματα) [9.5-9]. The arguments Kabasilas uses to confirm (κατασκευάζειν, but ἀνασκευάζειν in Kydones' *Antirrhetic*) the truth, Kydones says, to support that the Father is distinguished from the Son only by His *paternity* and nothing else —for Thomas says that everything except *paternity* are common to both Father and Son—are not worthy of response and therefore should be omitted, as these have been refuted by many theologians. Your insolent accusations, Chrysoloras says, are not worthy of a reply, for your argument is not a refutation (ἀνασκευή) which would invite an objection but is an insult which deserves to remain in silence [9.10-22]. Let me say only this, Kydones adds. If the Father differs from the Son in something else apart from *paternity* (πατρότητα), by necessity this will be *property* of the Father (ἴδιον ἔσται τοῦ Πατρὸς). Therefore, since *paternity* is a *hypostatic property* of the Father every other *property* of His (πᾶν ἄλλο αὐτοῦ ἴδιον) is added to Him with relation to the analogy of *paternity* (πατρότητος λόγον), in the same way that *laughing* is a *property* of man which is added to him with relation to the analogy of *humanity*. Also, according to the same analogy, the fact that three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, which is a *property* of the triangle, is added to the triangle *universally* (πρόσεστι καθόλου), *qua* triangle (ἤ, τριγώνω). Therefore, if to be the cause of the Holy Spirit is a *property* of the Father and is not shared with the Son, it is necessary to be added to the Father according to the analogy of *paternity*, and surely then *qua* Father, He will *directly project* (προσεχωῶς προβαλεῖται) the Spirit. In this way the Spirit will be Son!

²⁴⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *SCG IV*, 24, no. 3619: Adhuc. Pater et Filius, quantum ad unitatem essentiae, non differunt nisi in hoc quod hic est Pater et hic est Filius. Quicquid igitur praeter hoc est, commune est Patri et Filio. Esse autem principium Spiritus Sancti est praeter rationem paternitatis et filiationis: nam alia relatio est qua Pater est Pater, et qua pater est principium Spiritus Sancti, ut supra dictum est. Esse igitur principium Spiritus Sancti est commune Patri et Filio.

These views are entirely absurd, false and impossible, Chrysoloras states, and it would be better if these, too, remained in silence. Human laughter and geometrical properties in the triangle cannot possibly help us to understand the properties of the divine Persons. The *ability to laugh* belongs to the whole human nature and is not characteristic of a single *hypostasis* alone, on account of which it belongs to all identically at once, and is joined to one (ἐνὶ σύνεσσι), and what is common is personal and *vice versa*. The reverse is also the case. The *ability to laugh* is *human* and what is *human* would be called (καλοῖτο) having *the ability to laugh*. This, however, is not the case with reference to the divine Persons, but is totally different. The *characteristic property* (χαρακτηριστικὸν) of one hypostasis is extremely incommunicable (ἀκοινώνητον) to the other two hypostases, and what is *common* (κοινόν) should never be called *personal* (ἴδιον). This, however, is not reversible with reference to another hypostasis, with respect to what belongs to another hypostasis. Therefore, there is nothing common between the *personal characteristic* (χαρακτηριστικῶ) of those hypostases and man's *ability to laugh* [9.23-56]. Kydones agrees with these arguments but is not convinced about the reversible properties (ἀντιστροφῆν). For all else that is said with reference to the Father except *paternity*, is reversible, one to another and all belong to the Son, except *paternity*. To Chrysoloras' question whether the *source, cause* and *origin* are *different* from, or *identical* with, *paternity*, Kydones responds that though they are *different* they are *common* to the Son, for He, too, is also *source, origin* and *cause* of the Spirit. In this case, Chrysoloras continues, would the *unbegotten* (ἀγεννήτου), *without beginning* (ἀνάρχου) and *uncaused* (ἀνατιού) be different from, or the same as *paternity*? He gives the answer himself: these are different and belong to the Father as the previous properties (*source, origin* and *cause*). Are *origin* and *cause* convertible (Ἀντιστρέφει) to *without beginning* and *unbegotten*? Chrysoloras asks. There are two options he says: if *without cause* is not convertible (μὴ ἀντιστρέφει) then the *cause* does not belong to the Son, since it is other than *paternity*, the opposite of what you reluctantly professed before; if, on the other hand, *without cause* and *cause* are reversible to one another, then the Son will be *uncaused, without beginning* and *unbegotten*, as well as *origin, source* and *cause*. On these grounds we would say that the Son is Father. What would be more absurd than this? Besides, if these are common to the Father and the Son, then they should either *be* or *not be* common to the

Spirit. Even if this *negation* (ἀπόφασις) is valid, then the degradation of the Spirit follows as the Spirit does not share those properties which belong to the Father and the Son. This, too, is clearly absurd. If, on the other hand, the *affirmation* (κατάφασις) is valid then the Spirit would be *without beginning* and *uncaused*, which is even worse. Therefore, for both reasons your conclusions about God are unsound, Chrysoloras chides Kydones, and your thesis is dissimilar (ἀνόμοιος), for all belong to the Son apart from *paternity*, and according to the analogy of *paternity* they refer to the Father but they *are not* reversible. Inasmuch as *paternity* refers to the Father, all else follows and inasmuch as *paternity* does not refer to the other Persons, this is precisely what makes Him Father (ἡ γὰρ Πατρί, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντως ἀκολουθεῖ, οὐχ ἡ δὲ τᾶλλα, κατὰ τοῦτο Πατήρ). Your present argument, Chrysoloras remarks with confidence, has vanished (οἴχεται). Though Kabasilas, he repeats, used many arguments to refute this syllogism, you chose to fight with few. Kydones responds in his usual calm manner: It seems to me better this way. Let another syllogism come to us [9.⁵⁷⁻⁹⁰].

[10] Ninth Syllogism on the origin in the Trinity

The discussion proceeds with questioning Aquinas' statement concerning the Son being also the *origin* of the Spirit (SCG IV, 24, no. 3620). Whenever one thing is not opposed to the *term* (in the sense of essential intelligibility) (*rationem*) of another, Aquinas states, there is no impossibility about their coming together [10.1.¹⁻²]. But to be the *origin* (*principium*) of the Holy Spirit is not contrary to the *term* (*rationem*) Son. Therefore, it is *not impossible* for the Son to be the *origin* of the Holy Spirit, and therefore it is *possible*. In *things divine* (*divinis*) *being* (*esse*) and *possibility* (*posse*) are identical. Therefore, the Son is the *origin* (*principium*) of the Holy Spirit, Aquinas concludes²⁴⁵.

Chrysoloras replaces the term *origin* (*principium*, ἀρχή) used by Kydones and Kabasilas (ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα ἀρχή ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος) with *cause* (αἴτιος ὁ Υἱὸς

²⁴⁵ Thomas Aquinas, SCG IV, 24, no. 3620: Amplius. Quicquid non est contra rationem alicuius, non est impossibile ei convenire, nisi forte per accidens. Esse autem principium Spiritus Sancti non est contra rationem Filii. Neque in quantum est Deus: quia Pater est principium Spiritus Sancti. Neque in quantum est Filius: eo quod alia est processio Spiritus Sancti et Filii; non est autem repugnans id quod est a principio secundum unam processionem, esse principium processionis alterius. Relinquitur igitur quod non sit impossibile Filium esse principium Spiritus Sancti. Quod autem non est impossibile, potest esse. In divinis autem non differt esse et posse. Ergo Filius est principium Spiritus Sancti.

ἄρα) [10.1-5]²⁴⁶. If the Father, Kabasilas replies, is not opposed to the term *Son* it follows that is not impossible for the *Son* to become (γενέσθαι) *Father*. If, however, the *Father* is opposed to the term *Son*, this is also false. For it is possible that these terms are opposed and that the *Son* would become *Father* [10.6-10]. Kydones criticizes Kabasilas' hostile attitude, without leaving any point of Aquinas' teachings unrefuted. On his part Chrysoloras advises Kydones to change his tone towards Kabasilas in order to proceed with the discussion. Kydones states that Aquinas' first statement (i.e., Whenever one thing is not opposed to the term of another there is no impossibility about their coming together [10.1-2]) is evident even to barbarian Scythians and even more ignorant people. Chrysoloras reprimands Kydones for this characterization, which he finds offensive [10.11-28]. Kydones continues arguing that according to Aquinas' statement *beget* and *begotten* cannot be distinguished on account of this or that man being both *father* and *son*. This last statement, attributed to Kydones by Chrysoloras in the *Dialogue*, though cited *verbatim* from Kabasilas²⁴⁷ and is also found in Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Abridged exposition*²⁴⁸, is not found in Kydones' *Antirrhetic* (as transmitted in codex **D**)²⁴⁹. To assume, Kydones continues, that the possibility of the same person being both *father* and *son* with reference to human beings (ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) refutes this statement (i.e., that it is possible for those things which are not opposed to come together), is childish (παίζοντος). For the same person is both *father* and *son*, but not in relation to the same person [10.29-35]. This is correct, Chrysoloras affirms, but to accuse Kabasilas of being 'childish' and for stating 'We wonder what we should think about you' (Ἀποροῦμεν, τί ἂν περὶ σοῦ νομοῦμεν), this is unfair. Again this last phrase is not found in **D**. For this reason, Chrysoloras remarks, we should honour your insolence with our silence! No man, or angel, or God Himself, Chrysoloras continues, has ever stated that whatever happens to created beings usually (εἴωθεν) happens to things divine. Therefore, it is you, Chrysoloras exclaims, who devotes yourself to childish things! [10.36-45].

²⁴⁶ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 336.4-5.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 336.18-19.

²⁴⁸ Demetrios Chrysoloras, *Abridged exposition*, § 43.17-20, p. 163.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, *Vat. gr.* 614, f. 124^v.14-17: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τόδε ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὴ εἶναι τόδε, πρόδηλον ὡς διὰ τινὰ μάχην καὶ ἐναντίωσιν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνουσας, ἀλλήλοις κοινωνῆσαι κωλύονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ συνίασιν ἀλλήλοις· ὧν δὲ τὸ εἶναι οὐκ ἐναντίον τῷ τοῦ ἐτέρου, οὐκ ἀδύνατον συνελθεῖν ἀλλήλοις.

Kydones insists that this statement is confirmed by the theologians and philosophers (σοφοί), who agree that there is no place for *potentiality* (τὸ δυνάμει) in the divine *essence*. *Potentiality* is twofold (Διπλοῦν), Chrysoloras replies: (a) the *potentiality* which human beings partake of is *imperfect* and has no place in God, while the other (b) is *perfect* and is often fitting (ἀρμόζεται) both to us human beings and to God. It is true that the former is far removed from God while the latter is not so. To state that in God (ἐν τῷ Θεῷ) *possibility* (δύνασθαι) does not differ from *being* (εἶναι) is not only false as it opposes the teachings of the saints, but also blasphemous because God brings all that do not exist to existence and *vice versa*, a *potentiality* (δύναμις) God has simply by His will (βουλομένῳ). God does not do so using *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη) and *love for mankind* (φιλανθρωπία), but He brings about everything He wishes at the appropriate time. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, *possibility* and *being* are not identical in the great Father (τῷ μεγάλῳ Πατρὶ) [10.⁴⁶⁻⁶²]. Kydones points out that in his discourse (διαλέξει) (SCG IV, 24, no. 3620), Aquinas did not put forward this argument especially with reference to what is outside God, that is to say things *begotten* (γεννητῶν). What God has the *potential to do* (δύναται ποιεῖν ὁ Θεός) He does straightaway (εὐθύς) but what, as he says, God has the *potential to be in Himself* (δύναται ὁ Θεός εἶναι ἐν ἑαυτῷ), this He is necessarily through *energy/actuality* [10.⁶³⁻⁶⁷]. I think Thomas does not want to say this, Chrysoloras remarks, but the opposite. This is clear from what he assumes. For to say that ‘Whenever one thing is not opposed to the term of another there is no impossibility about their coming together’ [10.¹⁻²], this does not mean that *being* is *to exist* (ἔστιν), but what is *possible to come into being* (δυνατὸν γίνεσθαι) is *not impossible not to come into being* (μὴ γενέσθαι). It follows that the Father being the *origin* (ἀρχὴν) of the Spirit does not oppose the term *Son*. Therefore, it is not impossible for the Son to be the *origin* of the Spirit. What follows these assumptions should necessarily apply to things divine. You should clarify therefore, Chrysoloras says, what *being, is* and *potentiality* are with reference to God [10.⁶⁸⁻⁷⁷]. If *wisdom* and *goodness* are possible and necessarily present in God, Kydones responds, then He is *wise* and *good*, for *to do* is one thing and *to be in Himself* (εἶναι ἐν ἑαυτῷ) is a different thing [10.⁷⁸⁻⁸¹]. There are three errors in this argument, Chrysoloras argues. First, you say that Aquinas contradicts himself; secondly, that you are the only one who is able to understand his

writings (γεγραμμένα) and we are entirely incapable of this; and finally, the things that you say *exist* around God (περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄντα), are *non-existent* (οὐκ ὄντα). It is difficult, therefore, Chrysoloras continues, to attribute to the divine *essence* what is *not essence* (μὴ ἔστιν οὐσία). Kydones abstains from responding to the first two points and concentrates on the third [10.⁸²⁻⁹²]. The following stichomythia follows:

KYDONES: Do you not consider that *wisdom* (σοφόν) and *goodness* (ἀγαθόν) refer to God?

CHRYSOLORAS: Correct. It cannot be otherwise.

KYDONES: But what shall we call these?

CHRYSOLORAS: Things that follow (Ἐπόμενα) and are attached (προσόντα) to God.

KYDONES: And who among the saints spoke about this clearly in this way? Tell me.

CHRYSOLORAS: Almost all of them.

KYDONES: Tell me just one saying.

CHRYSOLORAS: If *being* (εἶναι) is different from *inherent* (ἐνυπάρχειν), and the *essence* of God *exists* (ὑπάρχει) while His *will exists within* (ἐνυπάρχει) Him, therefore these (*being/existing* and *inherent*) are not identical.

KYDONES: Who said so?

CHRYSOLORAS: Justin the Martyr and philosopher.

KYDONES: If he were a saint he would have never said such things. But since he did it is clear that he is not a saint at all [10.⁹³⁻¹⁰⁶].

Kydones' last remark is not found either in **D** or Kabasilas' *DPSS III*. Unless this statement is included in another extant MS transmitting the *Antirrhetic*, we could argue that this implies that Chrysoloras suspected that this passage (by Ps.-Justin) is an interpolation²⁵⁰. What follows in the *Dialogue* is a valuable piece of evidence concerning an actual dialogue Chrysoloras had with Kydones. You also replied to me in this way, Chrysoloras says, when you were alive (ζῶν). To honour you, I will not say what I said at the time but I will omit these points since these are beyond the scope of the present debate. Chrysoloras proceeds with analyzing his argument. What does not exist by nature (ὅ, μὴ πέφυκεν εἶναι) we know in terms of *potentiality*

²⁵⁰ Dr John Demetracopoulos expressed to me a similar view about Kydones.

(Δυνάμει μὲν ἴσμεν) as a result of our *imperfect* human organs of perception (ὀργάνων ἀτέλειαν) as is the case with all human sciences and arts (ἐπιστήμαι, καὶ τέχναι πᾶσαι), while God being utterly *good* (ἄκρως ἀγαθός) always *makes* (ποιεῖ). What might *not be good* He does *not make*, despite the fact that He has the *potentiality* (δυνάμενος) to *do so*. God simply has the *potential* (δύναται) to do everything but He makes each one at the appropriate time, as for example the raising of the dead (ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν) and many other things. Therefore, Chrysoloras continues, we call these *potential* in God (Δυνάμει ... αὐτὰ καλοῦμεν εἰς τὸν Θεόν) until they are led on to *energy/actuality* (ἐνεργεῖαν) (in the sense of *action*). This is entirely different from *potentiality* with reference to human beings. What is *present* (πάρεστι) in God clearly is always *attached* (προσόν) to Him, and one could prove it by the fact that this follows God altogether (διόλων) through the *energy/actuality* (ἐνεργεία) in the divine *nature* (φύσει) and not through the *potentiality* (δυνάμει) in Him, as you said. For these reasons, Aquinas did not have the same aim (σκοπός) as you, namely to speak about *being* and *existing within* oneself with reference to God (περὶ τὸν Θεόν) [cf. 10.⁷¹], but to speak about *being* and *potentiality*. Therefore, Chrysoloras concludes, having proved the absurdity of these three points we find you guilty! [10.¹⁰⁷⁻¹²⁴].

To state that the term *Spirit*, Kydones replies, is not opposed to its being the *origin* of the Son is not only erroneous but indeed the opposite of truth. The term *Spirit* is *Its being* (τὸ εἶναι) *from* the Father *through* the Son. How is it possible for the Spirit to be the *origin* of the Son *through* Whom the Spirit *proceeds*? For in this way the Spirit would be *origin* of Its own origin [10.¹²⁵⁻¹³⁰]. Chrysoloras objects, stating that *through the Son* does not refer to the *cause* at all, as it has been proven in many cases. Therefore, it is not impossible (οὐκ ἀδύνατον) for what is *not cause* (οὐκ αἴτιον) to become *caused* (αἰτιατὸν). Accordingly, it is not impossible to assume that these terms state that the Son *is from* the Spirit [10.¹³¹⁻¹³⁵]. But if *through* does not signify the *cause*, Kydones asks, what else could it mean? The circle of the saints (Κύκλος ὁ τῶν ἁγίων), Chrysoloras responds, declares to all that the Holy Spirit is *from* the Father (ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐστι) *through* the Son (δι' Υἱοῦ), that is to say *with* the Son (σὺν τῷ Υἱῷ) or *together with* the Son and at the same time *from* the Father (μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς), or they declare the *coessentiality* (i.e., *consubstantiality*) (ὁμοούσιον) and

nothing else. Therefore, he concludes challenging Kydones, the present hypothesis is *not impossible* (in other words is *possible*), namely to state that the Son is *from* the Spirit [10.¹³⁶⁻¹⁴¹]. If this were the case, Kydones replies, there would be two Fathers and two Sons, which is impossible! Similarly, Chrysoloras responds, we believe that to say that the Spirit is *from* the Son is no less absurd. For to have two *projectors* as *causes* and *origins*, and the greatest absurdity, to have two *Spirits*, it follows that *to project* (τὸ προβάλλειν) is again *not simple* (οὐχ ἀπλοῦν), for it belongs to the Father and is not opposed to the term *Spirit*. Similarly, *without beginning* (ἀναρχον), *uncaused* (ἀναίτιον) and *unbegotten* (ἀγέννητον) belong to the Father and are not opposed to the term *Spirit*. Therefore, the Son would be *without beginning* and *uncaused*, and, worst of all, *unbegotten*. But this is impossible. Chrysoloras closes his refutation of this Syllogism reminding Kydones that once more he refuted only three out of five arguments by Kabasilas. In his usual style Kydones responds: This seems fair to me. Listen to another syllogism [10.¹⁴²⁻¹⁵⁷].

[11] Tenth Syllogism on the hypostatic properties

Continuing the discussion on the *properties* of the hypostases in the Trinity, Chrysoloras cites Aquinas' teachings as presented by Kabasilas. *To beget* (Τὸ ... γεννᾶν) is *characteristic property* (χαρακτηριστικόν) of the *hypostasis* of the Father but *to project* (τὸ ... προβάλλειν) is not so. Therefore, *to project* is not *personal property* of the Father. Hence, *to project* is *common* to the Father and the Son and it could be *common* also to the Spirit, but this is impossible. Therefore, the Spirit is *from* the Son [11.¹⁻⁴]. According to this argument, Kabasilas states, *to beget* characterizes (χαρακτηρίζει) the *hypostasis* of the Father by virtue of which (ἐξ οὗ) He is called *Father*, while *to project* is *characteristic* and *personal* (ἴδιον) and therefore it would be *personal* to the Father [11.⁵⁻⁷]. *To beget*, Kydones says, is indeed a *constituent property* (ιδίωμα συστατικόν) of the Father. But the statement '*to project* is characteristic of the Father' is not found in Aquinas' works. Nor would Aquinas have said that *to project* is *personal property* of the Father. For, in this way, he would have said straightaway that the Spirit is only *from* the Father, which Kabasilas would have accepted. Chrysoloras responds by confirming that, in his view, Aquinas would not have said

this. If one deliberates on Aquinas' statement and Kabasilas' response, Chrysoloras continues, he would have to find out that what Aquinas meant was the opposite, namely that *to project is attached* (συνόν) also to the Son and the Spirit, for as he says this is *not a property* of the Father. This is what Kabasilas proved, which reveals Kydones' intentions, Chrysoloras says, namely to slander Kabasilas and through him Aquinas [11.⁷⁻³⁷].

Kydones summarises Aquinas' teaching to the best of his knowledge: with reference to the divine Persons some things are *personal* (ἴδια) and other *common* (κοινά). Among these *personal* some are *absolutely personal* (ἰδιαίτατα) and *not shared* (ἀκοινώνητα) with the other Persons, what Aquinas calls *personal* (*personalia*, προσωπικά) and also *hypostatic* (ὑποστατικά), namely *Father, Son and Holy Spirit*. Among those which are *common*, some are common to all three Persons, for example *wise, good, life* and similar ones, which Aquinas calls *essential* (*naturalia*, οὐσιώδη), while others are restricted to (ἀφωρισμένα) a single Person or Persons [11.³⁸⁻⁴⁵]²⁵¹. It is clear, therefore, Chrysoloras responds, that with reference to that *essence* (οὐσίαν), to which nothing is equal and which is beyond all visible things, you call *absolutely personal* and *essential* names which define (ἐφαρμοζόμενα) things we experience (τοις παροῦσιν). I think, Chrysoloras continues, you easily attribute to the nature of God the rest of things visible (φαινομένων) and in other cases you also call these *essence*. But each of these two is unfitting (ἀνοίκειον) to God. Therefore, Chrysoloras says, you need to define what you believe is simultaneously *constituent* (συστατικόν), *hypostatic* (ὑποστατικόν) and *characteristic* (χαρακτηριστικόν) with reference to God. Kydones responds that this is nothing else than the *Father*. To Chrysoloras' question what is *personal* but *not constituent*, Kydones replies 'the *unbegotten*'. Chrysoloras asks his interlocutor to substantiate this with some examples. As *rationality* (λογικόν), Kydones says, is man's *constituent* —for this *constitutes* (συνίστησιν) and *subsists* (ὑφίστησιν) as his own *essence* (οὐσίαν ... ἰδικήν)—, the same is true of the name *Father*. The *ability to laugh* (γελαστικόν) is a human property without *subsisting* as the *essence* (οὐσίαν) of a human being but by being already added to the *hypostasis*, not in terms of *time* (χρόνῳ) but in terms of *cause* (αἰτία). The same stands with reference to

²⁵¹ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *ST Ia*, q. 13, a. 1-2, Ia, q. 32, a. 2.

the divine Persons, Kydones continues. Some names are *personal* since they are *constituent*, like those we have said before (*Father, Son and Holy Spirit*) and some are *observed* (ἐπιθεωρούμενα) in one Person or Persons, just as the *unbegotten* with reference to the Father is *personal* but not *constituent* [11.⁴⁶⁻⁶⁷]. These examples, Chrysoloras replies, are inappropriate with reference to God. For, according to you, *rationality* with relation to man indicates (δηλοῖ) at one and the same time all the *hypostases* together and the *essence* itself. However, the *Father* with reference to God indicates only *His* hypostasis and not any other hypostasis and certainly not *His essence*. *Rationality* does not seem to be *more universal* (καθολικώτερον) than the *hypostasis* on account of belonging to human beings. For where a human being is, *rationality* is present, while the opposite is not necessary. The opposite happens with God. What is *Father* is also *hypostasis* while what is *hypostasis* is not necessarily *Father*. Similarly, the *ability to laugh* is not the same with reference to human beings as the *unbegotten* is with reference to God. For the *ability to laugh* comes after the whole *hypostasis* (ἀπάση τῆ ὑποστάσει) and it is called *ability to laugh* even if *laughter* (γελάων) is *not by nature* (μὴ ... ἐπεφύκει). The *unbegotten*, on the other hand, is always *attached* (σύνεστιν) to the hypostasis of the Father and the *not by nature* is never stated. The *ability to laugh* can be convertible (ἀντιστρέφει) —for *man* and the *ability to laugh* are identical (ταυτόν)— while this is not at all the case with reference to God. In virtue of being *Father* He is also *unbegotten*, but it is not in virtue of being *unbegotten* that He is *Father*. Therefore, your examples, Chrysoloras concludes, are unfitting to God and actually prove the opposite [11.⁶⁸⁻⁸⁴]. The *unbegotten*, Kydones replies, does not indicate what *unbegotten* is for it is only *privation* of the *begotten*, and *unbegotten* follows after *begotten*, for *negations* follow *affirmations*. The removal of the *begotten* indicates the *uncaused* as Jews or others might have said, Kydones continues (partly borrowing from Ps.-Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzene)²⁵². The *unbegotten* is said to be the only *distinctive property* (μόνον γνώρισμα) of the Father. Accordingly, whatever else in the Trinity is *not common* to all Persons or *constituent* of a single

²⁵² Cf. Gregory Nazianzene, *Apologeticus* (Or. 2), ed. J. Bernardi, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 1-3*, SC, 247 (Paris, 1978), p. 138.13-16: εἰς Ἰουδαϊκὴν πενίαν κατακλεισθῆναι, καὶ φθόνον ἐπεισάγειν τῇ θεῖᾳ φύσει, μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ τὴν θεότητα περιγράφοντας, ὥστερ δεδοικότας μὴ διαφθείροιτο ἡμῖν ὁ Θεός, Θεοῦ Πατὴρ ὦν ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ὁμοτίμου τὴν φύσιν; Ps.-Athanasius, *Against Sabellians*, PG 28, col. 97C: οἱ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν ἀρνούμενοι, Θεὸν ἓνα παραπλησίως Ἰουδαίοις λέγουσιν· οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ μόνος πηγὴ θεότητος, διὰ τοῦτο φάσκοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι μόνον Θεόν· ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγονον Υἱοῦ καὶ ἄκαρπον ζῶντος Λόγου καὶ σοφίας ἀληθινῆς.

Person, as we said, Aquinas calls *personal*. This argument, Chrysoloras replies, is much weaker and more absurd than the previous. For the *unbegotten* is not part of human beings (who are *begotten*) and is *a posteriori* (ὕστερον) true following an *affirmation* (i.e., human beings are *begotten*); while with reference to God it is false in either case. For in God *unbegotten* is *not posterior* (οὔτε ... ὕστερον) to *affirmation* because all that pertains to God exists simultaneously (ἅμα). *Unbegotten* with reference to the Father rather indicates *existence* (Ἐπαρξιν), Chrysoloras continues, and not only this but also the *uncaused* and *cause* and other things that belong to the Father. If what we are saying is consistent with the sayings of theologians, *affirmation* with reference to God is much more valuable and better. What you say, Chrysoloras says to Kydones, befits the nature of human beings (ἀνθρώπων). Therefore, it is not true that it is impossible to perceive the term *unbegotten* with reference to God except only by refuting an *affirmation* (καταφάσεως).

Chrysoloras concludes by asking Kydones to clarify what he calls *distinctive property* (γνώρισμα) in the Trinity, which does not belong to one Person nor is it *common* [11.⁸⁵⁻¹⁰⁵]. To *send* (πέμπειν) or *send forth* (ἀποστέλλειν) the Spirit, Kydones replies, is *common* to the Father and the Son, and it is neither *hypostatic* (ὑποστατικόν) nor *personal* (προσωπικόν). Similarly, both Father and Son are the *source* of the Spirit and the Spirit is *from* both (ἀμφοῖν). To *send* and *send forth* (ἀποστέλλειν as in *Antirrhetic* and not ἐπιστέλλειν as in the MSS), Chrysoloras argues, is *common* to the three Persons as has been proved by the saints and the irrefutable arguments (ἀσφαλῶς δέδεικται). To state, however, that the Father and the Son are the *source* of the Spirit is erroneous. For, by refuting the prior argument (that to *send* and *send forth* is *common* to the three Persons) it necessarily follows that the posterior argument (that the Father and the Son are the *source* of the Spirit) is not valid. To be Spirit from both the Father and the Son, he continues, does not produce *procession* (ἐκπόρευσις). For many other things are said and are *property of* others but this does not mean that these are *from* them. Kydones replies that Aquinas includes in these the *spiration* (*spiratio*, προβλητικόν), saying that this is *distinctive property* (γνώρισμα) of the Father and the Son. This is contrary to what the orthodox (εὐσεβῶν) believe, Chrysoloras replies, and in any case if *spiration* is *common* to both Father and Son it should be also *common* to the Spirit [11.¹⁰⁶⁻¹²¹]. This is impossible, Kydones affirms! This is ridiculous,

Chrysoloras responds! If this is *wrong*, he continues, it is impossible for God to be *wrong* and it is not appropriate also for the Son to be *wrong*. If, on the other hand, this is *right* how could it be impossible? For everything that is simply so *wrong* is far removed from God and what is so *right* is attached to Him. If the third Person is not *in communion* (ἀκοινωνήτων) with the other two Persons who know that they are *in communion* (κοινωνεῖν οἶδεν) does this *not* do *wrong* and dishonour the third Person as being *lesser* (ἔλαττον) than the other two? This is clearly *wrong*. It is, therefore, necessary for the Spirit to be *equal* to the Father and the Son. In such a case, the Spirit would be the *cause* of the other two Persons and of Itself, which is even worse than the previous statement! Therefore, Chrysoloras affirms, it is *impossible* for what is *common* to the Father and the Son *not to be common* to the Spirit as well. If this is *right* then it is *not impossible* and if it is *impossible* then it is *wrong*. Chrysoloras concludes: this is the only proper law (οἰκειῖος ... νόμος) concerning the divine Persons. Aquinas, Kydones replies, would have said that the *caused* is *common* to the Son and the Spirit as it is not their *constituent* (συστατικὸν) but only their *distinctive property* (γνώρισμα). That the *caused* is shared by the Son and the Spirit, Chrysoloras con-ter-argues, refers to the Father as the *cause* and therefore it is necessary that there are two *caused* Persons. If the *projection* (προβλητικὸν) is *common* to the Father and the Son it is necessary that there are two *projectors* (προβολεῖς), two *sources* (πηγὰς), two *origins* (ἀρχὰς) and two *causes* (αἰτίαι), which is totally impossible! Chrysoloras closes the refutation of this Syllogism with his usual observation that though Kabasilas used a number of arguments against Aquinas, Kydones made use of only a few of them. Kydones' reaction is, as always, short and full of confidence: My privilege! [11.¹²³⁻¹⁴⁵].

[12] Eleventh Syllogism on the divine essence and hypostases

The last Syllogism concentrates on the procession of the Holy Spirit with reference to the *common essence* and the *distinct hypostases* in the Trinity. Chrysoloras begins by presenting Aquinas' teaching as it is cited by Kabasilas²⁵³: *The Spirit*, the theologians say (i.e., Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate*, PG 75, col.

²⁵³ Neilos Kabasilas, *DPSS III*, p. 346.5-14.

588A), *is from the essence of the Son* (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ)²⁵⁴ and, therefore, it is necessary that the Spirit is also *from* (ἐκ) *the hypostasis* of the Son as It is *from the essence and hypostasis* of the Father. Therefore, also the Son is the *cause* (αἴτιος) of the Spirit [12.¹⁻⁴]. Though the Spirit *is from the essence of the Son*, Kabasilas responds, by virtue of Its being *coessential* (i.e., *consubstantial*) (ὁμοούσιον) with the Son, nevertheless if something is *coessential* to something else it does not necessarily follow that it is *also from* it (ἐξ ἐκείνου εἶναι) [12.⁵⁻⁶]. The following statements have also been attributed to Thomas, Kydones continues, namely that the Spirit *is from* the Son since It *is from His essence* and It is confessed to *emanate from* Him (καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ προῖέναι, instead of καὶ παρ’ αὐτῆς [scil. οὐσίας] προῖέναι as in Kydones’ *Antirrhetic* as transmitted in D)²⁵⁵. To say that the Spirit *is from the essence* of the Son and *emanates from His essence*, Kydones continues, is commonly accepted and explicitly stated by all eastern Church fathers (Ἀνατολῆ διδασκάντων ἁγίων), who also state that the Spirit *emanates from* the Son and *is from* Him as It *is from* the Father (cf. Aquinas, CEG 2, 31) [12.⁷⁻¹³]. The first statement, Chrysoloras says, is true but the second is not. For no one denies that the Spirit is *from the essence* of the Son as the theologians have said. The same applies for the terms *being sent* (πέμπεσθαι) and *being granted* (χορηγεῖσθαι). On the contrary, all the saints, like solid pillars (ἀρραγεῖς κίονας), Chrysoloras says, categorically oppose the saying that the Spirit *is from* the Son as It *is from* the Father. John the exegete (ἐξηγητής) (i.e., Damascene) states that the Spirit is not from the Son²⁵⁶. The same is stated by Maximus the Confessor²⁵⁷. Kydones expresses some doubts about the authenticity of Aquinas’ statement. As far as I know, he says, neither Thomas nor any Latin theologian stated this, perhaps because they were not so familiar (ἐμπείρους) with works of the fathers

²⁵⁴ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, CEG 2, 31: Item Cyrillus dicit in libro thesaurorum: necessarium salutis nostrum est confiteri spiritum sanctum de essentia filii existere, tanquam ex ipso secundum naturam existentem.

²⁵⁵ See Demetrios Kydones, *Antirrhetic*, Vat. gr. 614, f. 125^v.13.

²⁵⁶ Cf. John Damascene, *Epistle to Archimandrite Jordan on the trisagion hymn* § 28.40-42, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4, *Liber de haeresibus. Opera polemica*, PTS, 22 (Berlin and New York, 1981), p. 332: Λόγος δὲ ἐνυπόστατον γέννημα, διὸ καὶ Υἱός· καὶ Πνεῦμα ἐνυπόστατον ἐκπόρευμα καὶ πρόβλημα ἐκ Πατρὸς μὲν, Υἱοῦ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ Υἱοῦ, ὡς Πνεῦμα στόματος Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐξαγγελτικόν (my italics).

²⁵⁷ Cf. Maximus the Confessor, *Questions to Thalassius* 63.165-170, eds. C. Laga and C. Steel, *Maximi Confessoris quaestiones ad Thalassium*, CCSG 22, vol. 2 (Turnhout, 1980), p. 155: Τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὡσπερ φύσει κατ’ οὐσίαν ὑπάρχει τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ φύσει κατ’ οὐσίαν ἐστίν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσιωδῶς δι’ Υἱοῦ γεννηθέντος ἀφράστως ἐκπορευόμενον (my italics).

written in Greek (ἑλληνικῶς ... συγγεγραμμένων) in order to use them as evidence (μαρτυρίαν). Therefore, Kydones concludes, I think it is better not to have to speak in support of what Aquinas has *not* said. However, if it is necessary I will speak about this [12.¹⁴⁻²⁵]. You ought to remain silent, Chrysoloras responds, rather than to object, for it seems you forgot what you were saying just before. In the Second Syllogism, Chrysoloras continues, this statement was used as a pretext by you to counter-argue, perhaps reasonably, that Aquinas did not state this but someone else among the Latins with whom you agreed (cf. [3.1]). This is clearly a contradiction. If the theorem (θεώρημα) is valid, Chrysoloras says, then let it be attributed to Thomas or another Latin theologian and let it have your support. However, if it is invalid, unable to draw the necessary conclusions and unfamiliar to the Latins, why do you belabour the point which is of no use to any one? For it is absurd to fall into the errors of those you criticize and be in communion with those you accuse. Nevertheless, Chrysoloras concludes, despite all this, tell us your opinion. With reference to things *subsisting* (ὑφισταμένων) which consist of *matter* and *form* (ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους), Kydones replies, it is evident that *essence* (οὐσία) is different from *person* (πρόσωπον). For *humanity* (ἀνθρωπότης) —that is the *essence* of a human being which is its *essential form* (οὐσιῶδες), as indicated by its definition (ὀρισμοῦ)— is different from the *subject* (ὑποκείμενον) or the *person*. The *person*, exactly as in a *subject* (ὥσπερ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ), contains (περιέχεται) many other things that do not belong to the *essence* of man, such as *white*, *two cubits long* (δίπηχυ), and similar qualities or things which complement (συμπληροῦται) the *subject*. With reference to immaterial things (ἄνευ ὕλης), *subject* and *essence* are identical. For an *angel* and his *essence* are identical as are the *circle* and its *circularity* (κυκλότης). This certainly applies with reference to God on account of his total simplicity (ἄκρᾶν ἀπλότητα). In other words, according to the Latin teachings God is identical with his *essence* [12.²⁶⁻⁵¹]. This, Chrysoloras counter-argues, is inconsistent with theological and scientific (ἐπιστήμης) arguments. For to say that there is distinction between human *essence* and *hypostasis* but there is no distinction at all between *essence* and *hypostasis* with reference to circles and angels is absurd. Drawing from Aristotle's *Categories*²⁵⁸, Chrysoloras states that the *essence* is and *appears to be* (γενομένης ... φαινομένης) twofold: first, the *universal essence*

²⁵⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Categories* 2a.11-14, 2b.7, 3a.33-3b.23.

(καθόλου) on the basis of which the distinction of beings is manifest, up to *individuals* (ἀτόμων); and secondly, the *essence* which signifies nothing else but the *individuals*, called also *primary essences* (μᾶλλον οὐσίαι), and this *essence* is not of a *subject* (καθ' ὑποκειμένου) or in a *subject* (ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ). To the question which one of the two *essences* is similar or dissimilar to the *hypostasis*, Chrysoloras himself replies that the *individual essence* is similar, for one's *essence* does not really differ from his *hypostasis* but is the same, while the *universal essence* is dissimilar to the *hypostasis* even in angels. Kydones' argument, therefore, is refuted on the basis that the *hypostasis* is different from the *essence* in *matter* (ἐν ὕλῃ) but identical in *immaterial beings* (ἀύλια), for as far as the distinction is concerned the *essence* of angels is like the *essence* of human beings. To substantiate his argument Chrysoloras draws from Porphyry (whom he does not name). *Essence* has as principle the *genus* (γένος) and under the *essence* comes the *body* (σῶμα), then the *living being* (ζῶον), then the *rational*, under which the *human being* is placed, and finally the *individual* (ἄτομον). The *genus* of angels is *immortal* and *incorporeal* and each of these two (*immortal* and *incorporeal*) is the *essence* of angels. It follows then that each and every angel is *immortal*, *incorporeal* and *essence*. Yet, not every *incorporeal* being is *angel* and each *angel* is *essence*, and *vice versa*. The same applies to the circles, whose *shape* is their *genus*, Chrysoloras continues, as with the aforementioned example about human beings. Therefore, your argument, Chrysoloras concludes, seems to be a sophistry [12.⁵²⁻⁷⁶]. Not at all, Kydones responds. With reference to angels and men what you said is true, but with reference to God it is not valid. In God not only are *subject* and *essence* identical but also His *essence* and *being* are identical and one in number (ταυτόν, καὶ ἓν ἐστὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ). Therefore, *Son* and the *essence of the Son* are identical. This assumption, Kydones continues, prevents us from wrongly assuming that there is a distinction of things in this case, and attributing *composition* to God (σύνθεσιν τῷ Θεῷ διδόντες), for in the Trinity everything is identical and one in number, namely *essence* (οὐσία) and *existence* (ὑπαρξις) on account of God's *infinity* (ἀπειρίαν) and *absolute simplicity* (ἄκραν ἀπλότητα). This is the same argument, Chrysoloras says, as the one you put forward before with reference to God's *essence* and *energy/actuality* (cf. [1.5]). Unless *essence* and *energy/actuality* in God are identical, Kydones repeats, it follows that there is *composition* (σύνθεσις) in God. If *identity* (ταυτόν) depends on things *similar*

(ὁμοίων) then we have to accept that divinity is necessarily *comprehensible* (ληπτὸν), which is more absurd than any *composition* in God. For there are many things that are *comprehensible* (ληπτὰ) and *compounded* (σύνθετα) while in all beings nothing *uncompounded* (οὐδὲν ἀσύνθετον) is *comprehensible* (ληπτὸν). Thus, fearing that there is *composition* in this, Chrysoloras states to Kydones, you say that the *essence* is identical to *hypostasis*. Examine this differently, Chrysoloras states: Is *hypostasis* identical to the *essence* in God? Kydones replies affirmatively. Since there are three *hypostases*, Chrysoloras goes on, it is necessary that there are three *essences*. Moreover, the Father, Son and Spirit, according to you are identical according to their *opposition* (καθ' ὑμᾶς τῇ ἀντιθέσει ταῦτά), which is blasphemy! If the *Son* and the *essence of the Son* are identical, Kydones responds, and the *Spirit* is said to be *from the essence of the Son*, then by necessity the *Spirit* has to be also *from the hypostasis of the Son* [12.⁷⁷⁻¹⁰¹]. My purpose, and yours and Thomas', Chrysoloras says, is not to speak about the *Son* and the *essence of the Son* but simply about the *Son* and the *essence*. These two are proved not to be identical (οὐ ταῦτόν) for this leads to great absurdities. We do know from the saints that there are three *hypostases* and *Persons* (πρόσωπα). However, the saints never perceived three *essences* (ουσίας) or *natures* (φύσεις) or *forms* (μορφάς) or *origins* (ἀρχάς). Therefore, *hypostasis* is not identical to *essence*. This is clear not only because it is entirely absurd but also because it has been explicitly declared by the entire chorus (χορὸς) of the saints. Therefore, there is great difference (διάφορον) between *essence* and *hypostasis* in God. Thus, the proposition (πρότασιν) which states that the Holy Spirit is *from the hypostasis of the Son* because It is said to be *from the essence of the Son* (cf. [12.¹⁻⁴]) is proved to be unnecessary (μὴ ἀναγκαίαν). Therefore, your objection is refuted, Chrysoloras concludes.

If one examines the complete argument (τὸν ἐντελῆ λόγον) with reference to this, Kydones responds, he will find not only Thomas but also before him Augustine and other fathers and theologians who had spoken adequately about this. Yet, no one would be able to convince us, Chrysoloras affirms. Perhaps Augustine is in accordance with what you and Aquinas say. As for the fathers (πατέρας) and the theologians (θεολόγους), Chrysoloras continues making a word play, I am not entirely convinced unless we remove two letters from the former (πατέρας, fathers, minus πα = τέρας, monster) and three from the latter (θεολόγους, theologians,

minus θεο = λόγους, arguments) (ἀφαιρεθέντων στοιχείων πέντε) to form the word that reflects the nature of those who put forth such arguments (i.e., τερατολόγους)! What Kabasilas attempted to prove through many arguments, Kydones replies, namely that the saints' statement that the *Spirit is from the essence of the Son* is not identical to the statement that the *Son is the cause of the Spirit essentially* (οὐσιωδῶς), but only that the *Spirit is coessential with the Son*, is valid. However, Kabasilas used very careless proofs in his argument, which are refuted by themselves. Indeed, he will bear (οἶσεται) this argument at such leisure (ᾧ, τοσαύτη σχολῇ) in order to read his long treatise against the Latins (κατὰ Λατίνων)! Kydones exclaims. That your view is not valid, Chrysoloras continues, is clear from the fact that Neilos put forward many arguments to refute the present syllogism but you criticize Neilos on the basis of only two of them. The first, which actually remains unexamined, will be refuted once it is set before us, while the second is full of insolence against Neilos and for this reason we will honour it by omitting it (τιμῶμεν ... σιγῇ). But you ignore the most important argument (κεφάλαιον), Chrysoloras states, which you first considered to be weak but then you saw that it is strong. Since both Persons (Father and Son) *send* (πέμποντες) and *spring forth* (πηγάζοντες) the Spirit, Kydones replies, as if they are one *source* (πηγή), it follows that there is one *projector* but not one *Person*. This is not even close to the truth, Chrysoloras replies, for the Father and the Son *spring forth* not the *hypostasis* of the Spirit, which is defined (ἀφωρισμένην) only with reference to the Father but the *grace* (χάρις) of the all-Holy Spirit (παναγίου Πνεύματος), of which grace the Paraclete is also *provider* (χορηγός) together with the Father and the Son at the same time. To think otherwise would lead to many absurdities, Chrysoloras concludes [12.¹⁰¹⁻¹⁵⁰]. Here Chrysoloras follows the standard orthodox view that *spring forth*, and similar words signify the eternal *manifestation* of the divine *energy* which is common to the three Persons and not the *mode of being* of the two caused Persons, Son and Spirit²⁵⁹.

[12.1] The purpose of Kydones' *Antirrhetic*

²⁵⁹ See Soteropoulos, *Θέματα θεολογίας*, pp. 145-161; A. Papadakis, 'Beyond the *Filioque* Divide: The Late Thirteenth Century Revisited', *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 55.2 (2011), 141-163 at 144-150.

Chrysoloras devotes the next section of the Syllogism [12.¹⁵¹⁻²³⁰] to chiding Kydones' aims and attitude in the *Antirrhetic*. He begins by citing Kydones' comments expressed towards the end of his own treatise. There is no need for me, Kydones says, to proceed further, for Thomas' superiority and Kabasilas' inability to refute him have been amply demonstrated. Chrysoloras responds that Kydones' statements and arguments are often contradictory. Most importantly, he continues, though Kydones disputes the authenticity of the arguments attributed to Aquinas in the Second and Tenth Syllogism (cf. [3.1], [11]), nevertheless he places great emphasis on defending these very arguments against Kabasilas' refutation. You have come to us again, Kydones responds, bringing with you something inescapable and new, dearest Roman (φίλτατε Ῥωμανέ)²⁶⁰, mentioned yesterday by certain men, as you say, who were much irritated if one states that the Holy Spirit proceeds *by/from* (παρὰ) the Father and the Son. You urge me to invent a solution (on the *Filioque*) more difficult than Prometheus' bonds! If you were still willing to examine the truth you would agree with me (συνάδεις) insofar as the study and investigation of theological questions (περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδὴν καὶ γυμνασίαν) are concerned. This would give you a reason to force me to share with you my labours on these subjects. But now, Kydones concludes, it seems that you ignore my whole work (πᾶν τοῦμὸν ἀγνοεῖς). You keep the same offending stance against Kabasilas as in your Preamble, Chrysoloras replies, and he invites Kydones to concentrate on the crucial (καίρια) points leaving aside what is superfluous and insolent. Kydones' subsequent comment on keeping silent as a sign of respect for his teacher (διδασκάλῳ), namely Aquinas [12.¹⁵⁴⁻¹⁵⁷] is linked with the *argumentum ex silentio* that follows.

[12.2] On Nestorius' teachings concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit and on the Third Ecumenical Council (431)

²⁶⁰ To the best of our knowledge the use by Chrysoloras of the form Ῥωμανέ, in the sense of the inhabitant of Ῥωμανία and not of a proper name, is an *hapax*. For Ῥωμανία as an appellation of the Roman Empire, see *TLG sv* (including Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, George Pachymeres, John Kantakuzenos and Manuel II Palaiologos); see also this use of Ῥωμανία in John V Palaiologos' imperial document confirming imperial privileges over ecclesiastical affairs: *Régestes* I/7, no. 3299, 10; V. Laurent, ed., 'Les droits de l'empereur en matière ecclésiastique. L'accord de 1380-1382', *REB* 13 (1955), 5-20 at p. 16.

The last section of the Syllogism is devoted to a lengthy discussion of the reaction by the fathers of the Third Ecumenical Council held in Ephesus (431)²⁶¹ to Nestorius' teaching on the procession of the Holy Spirit. It should be pointed out that Nestorius, the first theologian according to Aquinas who rejected the *Filioque* (ST Ia, 36, 2-3)²⁶², is entirely absent from Kydones' *Antirrhetic* as transmitted in the ten recorded extant MSS²⁶³. The fact, however, that in three of the four extant MSS containing the *Dialogue* (K, L and V) Kydones' passages on Nestorius are marked by the same quotation marks as in the other passages of the *Antirrhetic* cited *verbatim* by Chrysoloras in the *Dialogue*, would suggest that it is possible that these passages on Nestorius are not fictitious but may be contained, if they survive, in a version of the *Antirrhetic* other than those transmitted by the ten MSS consulted by the current editor²⁶⁴. More importantly, Chrysoloras focuses not on Nestorius' actual teaching, which confirms the Orthodox position (on account of which the Latin theologians accused the Orthodox of heresy), but on the reaction by the fathers of the Third Ecumenical Council on listening to Nestorius' teaching on this. The same approach was adopted by Kabasilas in his brief section in *DPSS III* (XV, p. 370.8-23) and the lengthy discussion in his *DPSS I* (*Discourse IV*, pp. 387-468). Kabasilas was in turn followed by Joseph Bryennios²⁶⁵.

The main point Chrysoloras makes in this section of the *Dialogue* is that Nestorius supported the view that *the Spirit does not have its existence from the Son* (μὴ μέντοι καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ τὴν ὑπαρξιν εἰληφέναι)²⁶⁶ and that the fathers of the Council tacitly

²⁶¹ On the Third Ecumenical Council, see J.A. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy: Its History, Theology, and Texts* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 1-125; R. Price and M. Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, Translated with an Introduction and Notes*, vol. 1, Translated Texts for Historians, 45 (Liverpool, 2007), pp. 17-25.

²⁶² Chrysoloras quotes in Greek translation (by Kydones?) this section of *ST* in his *Dialogue on the primacy of the Pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. Basilicos, 29, p. 182, col. b: Θωμᾶ — 'Ἄλλὰ μὴ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Νεστοριανῶν εἰσηλθὲν ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἐφεσον, ᾧ Θεοδώρητος ἠκολούθησε καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἦν'. Cf. *ST Ia*, 36, 2-3: Ad tertium dicendum quod spiritum sanctum non procedere a filio, primo fuit a Nestorianis introductum; ut patet in quodam symbolo Nestorianorum damnato in Ephesina synodo. Et hunc errorem secutus fuit Theodoretus Nestorianus, et plures post ipsum; inter quos fuit etiam Damascenus.

²⁶³ I would like to thank Dr Denis Searby for this information.

²⁶⁴ Florence, *Laurent*. Plut. 59.17; Moscow, *Synod*. gr. 423; Oxford, *Barocc*. gr. 90; Rome, *Vallie*. 67; Vatican City, *Vaticani graeci* 614, 1103, 1756 and 1949; Venice, *Marc*. gr. 157; Vienna, *Vind. theol*. gr. 260.

²⁶⁵ Joseph Bryennios, *Seventh Oration on the Holy Trinity*, ed. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ*, I, pp. 124-125.

²⁶⁶ For Nestorius' teaching on the Holy Spirit, see *ACO, Concilium universale Ephesinum* 1.1.7, pp. 97.25-98.12; trans. Price and Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, pp. 313-314.

accepted this view without condemning it (ἀνεπιτίμητα σιωπῇ, παρελθεῖν) [12.²³¹⁻²³⁵]. According to Kydones, however, the fact that the Fathers did not comment on this during the Council does not mean that they accepted Nestorius' teaching but that they remained silent because they considered that the condemnation of Nestorius' heretical doctrine on the Incarnation (namely, that the hypostasis of the Son and the Incarnate Christ are to be perceived as being separate)²⁶⁷ had priority over the doctrine of the Trinity (θεολογίας μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδόλωσ, οἰκονομίας δέ, σκοπὸς ἦν) [12.³⁶⁰⁻³⁶¹]. Kydones' interpretation is simply not acceptable to Chrysoloras, who supports the view that should the saints opposed Nestorius' view on the *Filioque* they would have openly condemned it as they always do, and would have not remained in silence on such an important issue [12.³⁶²⁻³⁸⁰].

It is worth noting that the text cited by Kydones was not actually by Nestorius. It is contained in a creed preserved in the Acts of the Third Ecumenical Council in Ephesus (431) without attribution to a particular author, but known to have been written by Theodore of Mopsuestia (see Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople [553], ACO 4.1, pp. 70-72). In the context of asserting the full divinity of the Holy Spirit, it denies that He 'received existence from the Son', which could be interpreted as reducing Him to the level of the creation. This creed was condemned in the so-called Canon 7 of the Council of Ephesus, with specific reference to its defective Christology. It is impossible, however, to say whether the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus remained silent about the Trinitarian issue, since their discussion of this creed is not recorded in the Acts²⁶⁸.

[13] Epilogue

Chrysoloras proceeds with the final section of the *Dialogue*, further questioning the validity of Kydones' arguments against Kabasilas' refutation of Aquinas' syllogisms, and at the same time expressing some thoughts on the anonymous person who commissioned his own work. We have said enough, he says, and these things were said because they were necessary and not simply to show off (ἐπιδείξεως χάριν). The

²⁶⁷ On Nestorius and his teachings, see McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, pp. 126-174.

²⁶⁸ I would like to thank Prof. Richard Price for pointing out this to me.

question arises, Chrysoloras continues, as to why Kydones used in his *Antirrhetic* only three or at most four arguments from each syllogism Neilos put forward in his *DPSS III* to refute Aquinas and omitted the rest? Kydones responds that it seemed better to him to concentrate on the stronger and more plausible arguments. Actually the opposite is the case, Chrysoloras responds, for in his view Kydones focused on Kabasilas' weaker arguments avoiding the irrefutable ones (ἀναγκαῖα). More importantly, Chrysoloras asks Kydones why he remained in silence while Kabasilas was still alive and why he decided to promote his own work (the *Antirrhetic*) against Kabasilas' treatise, once he realized that his opponent could not reply as he was by then dead and gone [13.¹⁻¹⁹]? Kydones responds that he did so in order to examine Kabasilas' text better (καλῶς ἐπισκέψωμαι) and to avoid trouble (φύγω ... ταραχήν). Chrysoloras finds both excuses unreasonable, for it is much easier to examine a work than to compose it. Besides if what is said in this work is right and good (δίκαια καὶ καλὰ) it should be made known to all, while if it is base and wrong (φαῦλα καὶ ἄδικα) then it should not have been composed in the first place. These are simply pretexts, Chrysoloras says to Kydones, in order to excuse yourself from doing something wrong. Even if no one else checks you, he continues, your conscience does. Chrysoloras wonders why Kydones forcefully criticizes Kabasilas in some cases while praises him in other instances. This is not at all shameful for one who speaks the truth, Kydones responds. Which of the two should be allowed for one who speaks the truth, Chrysoloras asks: praise or criticism (Ἐπαίνω, ἢ τῆ κατηγορία)? For you offer Kabasilas both of them. It is absurd for those who rightly praise others to be found guilty of error. Kydones responds that by criticizing Kabasilas he speaks the truth. The opposite would be better, Chrysoloras suggests. For no one knows anything for any one even if necessity (ἀνάγκη) prevails over love for mankind (φιλανθρωπίαν) in what concerns dubious matters. If indeed you were sincere when you praised someone, Chrysoloras continues, he would be excellent (ἀγαθός) and you would have done what is proper (εἰκός). But now, since you are speaking the truth by criticizing, as you say, it follows that the one whom you criticize is wretched (ἄθλιος) and you, who criticize, are even more wretched (ἄθλιώτερος). Nevertheless, Kydones responds, the truth is higher than all. Or often worse than a lie, Chrysoloras adds, namely the lie that causes other to die preferring

one's own freedom or the freedom of others, if need be. I do not wish anyone's death now, Kydones states. It would be better for you, Chrysoloras responds, to demand the death of others rather than yours. For *to do wrong*, he says (quoting Callicles from Plato's *Gorgias*, 482d) *is more shameful than to be treated wrongly*, while it is better to deliver yourself from sickness rather than to deliver someone else. Do I wish my own death without being aware of it? Kydones asks. Yes, Chrysoloras replies, and indeed the death of your soul which is far worse than that of the body! Kydones responds that according to Plato no one is ashamed when he speaks the truth (Ps.-Plato, *Epistula I* 310d). At this point Chrysoloras reprimands his interlocutor for mentioning Plato with such enthusiasm while willingly forgetting Jesus' commandments, *Do not judge, in the same way you judge others* (Matthew 7:1-2) and *if someone strikes you on the right cheek* (Matthew 5:39), and *if one who says to his brother, You fool!* (Matthew 5:22), and all that we hear and regard as important every day. Kydones agrees with Chrysoloras, who continues to say that since we do not know when we or others will die it is not right to criticize them. Moreover, he says, thousands were godly while others willingly became servants to Satan (Σατᾶν) and *vice versa*. Citing Philo of Alexandria (without naming him) Chrysoloras states *that nothing remains the same*²⁶⁹ and thus it is wrong to criticize others. Moreover, *the Father has entrusted all judgment to the Son* (John 5:22) and therefore the prosecutor seizes his verdict before the time comes. Besides, Chrysoloras continues, it is unjust for a wise man, like you, to criticize another wise man (i.e., Kabasilas), who is virtuous. This makes it even more unjust for if this man is dead injustice is far greater, for no dead should be treated with malice, for *there is no envy for those who have departed* (as Philo states)²⁷⁰. Last but not least, Chrysoloras says, Kydones' criticism against Neilos passes over to God [13.²⁰⁻⁸⁶].

I agree with all that you have said except for the last point, Kydones replies. Does one who criticizes another man directly accuse God as well? Evidently yes, Chrysoloras affirms, for as one who insults the servant dishonours the master in the same way one who does not honour the archpriest of God (Neilos Kabasilas was

²⁶⁹ Philo of Alexandria, *On Joseph*, § 134, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1902; repr. 1962), p. 89.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, § 17, p. 64.

Archbishop of Thessalonike) also dishonours God whom the archpriest serves. Therefore, in every possible aspect it is wrong to criticize. However, Chrysoloras concludes, each one of us should introspect (ἐρευνησάτω) and would be able to do so without my advice (τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων), especially if he happens to be an older man (πρεσβύτερος) (Kydones died at an advanced age). Kydones agrees with this and asks Chrysoloras why he criticizes him since they are friends. Quoting Socrates' words (Plato, *Apologia* 29d), Chrysoloras replies, *I salute and welcome you but I obey truth rather than you*. Finally, Chrysoloras remarks, *I converse with you honourably* (μετ' εὐφημίας). Kydones is surprised. Why is this? he asks. First, for the sake of the Church of Christ, Chrysoloras replies, and secondly, *I obey a great man who demanded this from me in particular* (πρὸ παντὸς). Playing with the word χάρις which can mean both *gratitude* and *grace*, Chrysoloras adds that this (anonymous) man cares about all and, on account of other things as well, we owe him gratitude/grace (χάρις), which the cherubs enjoy among the rest of the heavenly hosts. Let these be dear to God. For having said what the occasion demanded it would be wrong to repeat myself. Then he addresses the deceased Kydones: You, remarkable philosopher, along with Thomas and Neilos, are now subjected to God's other laws (of physical mortality) and each of you has found the appropriate knowledge for himself, knowledge in which I will soon be joining you and *if God wishes* (as Plato says in *Phaedo* 80d) I will partake of. As for you, Chrysoloras continues, who, either willingly or not, thought of saying these things, let there be mercy on you and also on me.

Chrysoloras concludes by addressing the anonymous person who commissioned the *Dialogue*: As for you, man of God (ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ), who now demanded me to engage in this struggle, having fulfilled my undertaking for your sake, if this composition seems good to you my thanks are due to you and God; to Him for giving me the power of words (λόγων δύναμιν) in order to articulate arguments of some worth and to you who gave me this responsibility (αἰτίω μοι καθισταμένω). If this work has not been accomplished according to your aim, Chrysoloras remarks, bear with me, as you have wisely already done along with the others (μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη). For God demands from all only what they are capable of. You should,

therefore, imitate God and the Lord of souls for it is totally improper to do otherwise, for anyone else (πᾶς τις ἄν ἄλλος), using another reasoning (ἄλλῳ χρώμενος ... λόγῳ) would have said other things (ἄλλο) rather than this. This is where Chrysoloras closes his *Dialogue*, leaving, as it seems, the possibility of different interpretations and argumentation open to other authors who might like to undertake a similar task [13.⁸⁵⁻¹²⁰].

Conclusions

Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* involves a theological and philosophical debate over the doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit as part of a wider discussion on the relation and distinction of the Persons in the Trinity. This debate, which goes back to the ninth century²⁷¹, gained fresh momentum in the last three centuries of Byzantium as part of a closer encounter between Byzantine and Western intellectuals and theologians in the context of the discussions between the Byzantine government and the papacy over the union of the Churches. This *rapprochement* culminated in the Council of Florence (1439), a momentous event, which took place shortly after the composition of the *Dialogue*²⁷². Thus reading Chrysoloras' fictitious *Dialogue* one gets a reflection of the real atmosphere in which the whole debate was conducted in this period.

The aim of the author was to defend the Orthodox position on the distinction of the divine hypostases and the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, by selecting specific passages and arguments from Neilos Kabasilas' *DPSS III*, composed as a refutation of Aquinas' teachings (mainly in *SCG IV*, 24), which were in turn supported by Demetrios Kydones in his own *Antirrhetic* against Kabasilas' work. By selecting various passages and leaving out others, Chrysoloras served his own purpose, in the process deconstructing these works. In this sense, Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* is a partial refutation of Kydones' refutation of Kabasilas' refutation of Aquinas, which promotes the author's aim at the expense of a more complete investigation of Thomistic theology. At the same time this imaginary *Dialogue* gives the opportunity to four successive generations and three different groups of Latin and Byzantine theologians (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox who converted to Roman Catholicism) to discuss questions that were at the centre of the theological discussion during Chrysoloras' own times.

The analysis of the arguments put forth by Chrysoloras in defence of Kabasilas' teachings and the Latin views expressed by Aquinas and Kydones, shows that

²⁷¹ Siecienski, *The Filioque*.

²⁷² See above, pp. 27-28.

Chrysoloras essentially has nothing original to offer to the specific and wider theological discussion. Chrysoloras actually bases his refutation on passages from Kabasilas and Barlaam the Calabrian and well-known patristic sources, some of which are used also by Kabasilas. Chrysoloras also fails to give an overall appreciation of the reasons that led to the different Trinitarian views held by the Greek and Latin Churches. In their attempt to understand what lies behind the *filioque* question, twentieth-century theologians of both sides concentrated on the supposedly different perceptions of the Trinitarian Godhead in East and West. According to their views, the Latin fathers perceived the Trinitarian God primarily as essence, with the three Persons united in their common essence and identified through their relations with one another. Hence, the Father and the Son project the Spirit as one principle through a single act. On the other hand, the same modern theologians suggested, the Greek fathers perceived the Trinitarian God primarily as a unity of three distinct and unconfused Persons united in their common essence through the Father Who is the only source in the Trinity. The Latin doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, according to the Greek theologians, introduces two sources in the Trinity even if the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as one principle as the Latins taught²⁷³. This simplified scheme of the two different theological views over the life in the Trinity, namely the 'existential Christian East' and the 'essentialist Christian West', though helpful in our efforts to understand the major differences between the Greek and Latin teachings, does not seem to reflect the actual development of the Trinitarian theology of the fathers²⁷⁴, who did not formulate a similar theological scheme but simply responded to specific theological questions and debates raised through the centuries²⁷⁵. In this sense, by defending the Orthodox position on specific points raised in the treatises under discussion, rather than lacking originality Chrysoloras consciously follows a long tradition.

²⁷³ Sherrard, *Greek East and Latin West*, pp. 48-72; Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 180-188; Papadakis, *Crisis in Byzantium*, pp. 83-88.

²⁷⁴ J.A. Demetracopoulos, *Is Gregory Palamas an Existentialist? The Restoration of the True Meaning of His Comment on Exodus 3,14: "Εγώ ειμι ὁ ὢν"* (Athens, 1996), p. 12.

²⁷⁵ A. De Halleux, 'Personnalisme ou essentialisme trinitaire chez les Pères Cappadociens? Une mauvaise controverse', *Revue théologique de Louvain* 17 (1986), 129-155, 265-292. See also L. Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy: an Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford, 2004).

Apart from its theological aspects the *Dialogue* also touches upon methodological issues. In more than one instance Chrysoloras criticizes scholasticism as a method of approaching theology and God [1.4.⁴⁷⁴⁻⁴⁷⁸, 1.4.⁵⁰³⁻⁵¹¹]. Evidently, however, Chrysoloras himself employed the syllogistic method and dialectics in formulating his own theological arguments in response to Kydones' refutation, making good use of Aristotle's *Categories* and *On Interpretation* and above all Porphyry's *Isagoge*, the standard textbook introducing Aristotelian *Logic* to the Byzantine student²⁷⁶. It is true that in some cases [2] Chrysoloras seem to be conflating two or three slightly different definitions of the soul given by Aristotle in his *De anima* 2.1, as the Neoplatonist commentators of late antiquity have already done²⁷⁷. Nevertheless, Chrysoloras stressed the need to be aware of the limits and dangers of using philosophical reasoning and theories in the process of investigating questions on Christian doctrine. For otherwise, one could be led to develop heretical beliefs. The only way for theologians to avoid this is to check their views against the teachings sanctioned by the Church and declared by the fathers and the Ecumenical Councils. Also in this respect Chrysoloras follows the mainstream Orthodox view that Latin scholastic theology has led itself astray by trusting Aristotelian philosophical theories more than the teachings of Scripture and the saints. This also shows that, with rare exceptions, Orthodox theologians did not succeed in appreciating Aquinas' method and approach, for *his* teachings, too, are firmly based on Scriptural and patristic citations. It is clear, therefore, that no serious effort was made on Chrysoloras' part to understand Aquinas' theology. The same stands also in the opposite direction, with a difference. For, Aquinas was the first theologian, to our knowledge, who explicitly stated that the problem over the *filioque* is primarily linguistic:

... many things which sound well enough in Greek do not perhaps, sound well in Latin. Hence, Latins and Greeks professing the same faith do so using different words. For among the Greeks it is said, correctly, and in a Catholic way, that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are three *hypostases*. But with the Latins it does not sound right to say that there are three *substantiae*, even though on a purely verbal basis the term *hypostasis* in Greek means the same as the term *substantia* in Latin.

²⁷⁶ See K. Ierodiakonou and D. O'Meara, 'Philosophies-Logic in Byzantium', in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, eds. E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (Oxford, 2008), p. 717.

²⁷⁷ I would like to thank Professor Anne Sheppard for drawing my attention to this.

The fact is, *substantia* in Latin is more frequently used to signify *essence*. And both we and the Greeks hold that in God there is but one *essence*. So where the Greeks speak of three *hypostases*, we Latins speak of three *personae*, as Augustine in the seventh book on the Trinity also teaches. And, doubtless, there are many similar instances (*CEG* 1, Preface)²⁷⁸.

The same was pointed out later by Chrysoloras' contemporary, the Orthodox theologian Joseph Bryennios, who repeated (without naming Aquinas) that the interchangeable use of the Latin term *substantia* to render the terms οὐσία and ὑπόστασις led to the misinterpretation of scriptural and patristic sayings and finally to the schism²⁷⁹. Ultimately, the mysteries of the Trinitarian Godhead remain beyond human understanding. This is what Gregory Nazianzene and, closer to Chrysoloras' times, Barlaam the Calabrian had stated²⁸⁰. The fact that this view is not cited in theological treatises of the period is indicative of the confrontational and intransigent stance held by both sides. This *argumentum ex silentio* leads us to briefly examine the political and psychological aspects of Chrysoloras' *Dialogue*.

Reading this work one gets a feeling for the social and psychological tensions between the Latins and the Orthodox Byzantines as well as between the Orthodox and the Latinophile Byzantines, including those who converted to Roman Catholicism like Kydones. Chrysoloras indirectly accuses the Latins of heresy [1.2.¹⁶²⁻¹⁶³] and criticizes Aquinas for his bold statements [6.1.³⁴⁻³⁵]. The language, however, Chrysoloras uses against Kydones is much stronger, which reflects how Latinophiles and converts were perceived by their Orthodox compatriots. In this case Chrysoloras does not hesitate to express his hatred and contempt. It would be easy to accuse Chrysoloras of lack of manners, excessive hostility and base vindictiveness. However, on another level this stance reflects the realities and spirit of the time. A staunch Orthodox, Chrysoloras is not prepared to sacrifice his orthodoxy and support the unionist cause, which for some sections of Byzantine society seemed the only possible way to save the Empire from the

²⁷⁸ Trans. by P.D. Fehlner at <http://dhspriority.org/thomas/ContraErrGraecorum.htm> (last accessed on 12 November 2012).

²⁷⁹ Joseph Bryennios, *Sixth Oration on the Holy Trinity*, ed. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ*, I, p. 105.11-17; cf. Dendrinios, 'Co-operation', p. 12 with notes 49-50. Cf. above, note 55.

²⁸⁰ Gregory Nazianzene, *On the doctrine and the constitution of bishops* (Or. 20), §§ 10-11, eds. J. Mossay and G. Lafontaine, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 20-23*, SC, 270 (Paris, 1980), pp. 76-80; Barlaam the Calabrian, *Against the Latins, Tractatus A*, V, § 3.19-30, p. 578.

Turkish menace. Together with the majority of the Byzantine clergy and people Chrysoloras believes that there is no real hope for true reconciliation and therefore those who attempted to act as mediators, like Kydones, not only cannot bridge the gap between the two sides but by attempting to do so they endanger the very existence of the Empire by causing a deeper division within society, as Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos had actually pointed out to his son Emperor John VIII a decade earlier (in 1422)²⁸¹. Indeed, the survival, development and prosperity of every society presuppose unity of values, principles and ideals. The memory of the Latin occupation of the Empire in 1204 and its subsequent partition into Latin principalities, accompanied by systematic efforts by the Latin Church to convert the Orthodox people, were still vivid in Chrysoloras' times. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that he expressed such disappointment and bitterness towards Kydones, who, in his eyes, had abandoned his country in such critical times when the Byzantine people were fighting for their survival and freedom. Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* is undoubtedly a first-class source on how Kydones was perceived by a section of Byzantine people while he was still alive and shortly after his death. The recording in the *Dialogue* of an actual debate between Kydones and Chrysoloras while Kydones was still alive [10.¹⁰⁷], enhances the value of the *Dialogue* in this respect.

Above all, the *Dialogue* reveals aspects of the author's character and personality. In the personal letters addressed to him by Manuel II and John Chortasmenos²⁸², it is clear that Demetrios was highly esteemed in this circle of friends and intellectuals. Both comment on Demetrios' erudition and rhetorical ability. Moreover, in his letters (41 and 43) Manuel presents Chrysoloras as a shrewd politician, a conscientious official, an

²⁸¹ Cf. George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon Minus*, ed. R. Maisano, *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca*, CFHB, XXIX (Rome, 1990), XXIII 5-6, p. 82.1-15: εἶπεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Ἰωάννην μόνος πρὸς μόνον, ἴσταμένου καὶ ἐμοῦ μόνου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, ἐμπεσόντος λόγου περὶ τῆς συνόδου· νιέ μου, βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα ἐκ μέσης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὅτι πολλὰ τοὺς φοβεῖ, μὴ συμφωνήσωμεν καὶ ἐνωθῶμεν μὲ τοὺς Φράγγους· ἔχουν το γὰρ ὅτι, ἂν τοῦτο γένηται, θέλει γενεῖν μέγα τι κακὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν τῆς Δύσεως Χριστιανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς. Λοιπὸν τὸ περὶ τῆς συνόδου, μελέτα μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνακάτωνα, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἔχεις χρεῖαν φοβῆσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. τὸ δὲ νὰ ποιήσης αὐτήν, μηδὲ ἐπιχειρησθῆς αὐτο, διότι οὐδὲν βλέπω τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀρμόδιοι πρὸς τὸ εὐρεῖν τινα τρόπον ἐνώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμοιᾶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι νὰ ἔσμεν ὡς ἀρχῆθεν. τούτου δὲ ἀδύνατον ὄντος σχεδόν, φοβοῦμαι μὴ καὶ χειρὸν σχίσμα γένηται, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀπεσκεπάσθημεν εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς (my italics).

²⁸² Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 41, pp. 108-111, no. 43, pp. 112-115; John Chortasmenos, *Letters*, ed. H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (a. 1370-ca.1436/37): Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, WBS, VII (Vienna, 1969), pp. 171-173, 225.

experienced judge and a scholar devoted to his studies. This latter aspect is reflected in Chrysoloras' references in the *Dialogue* to the *quadrivium*, concerning arithmetical, geometrical, musical and astronomical theorems [e.g., 2.4.³¹⁰⁻³¹³, 3.3.¹⁵¹⁻¹⁹¹, 6.1.⁵⁴⁻⁵⁹], and his citations from, or allusions to, non-Christian philosophers, scientists and writers such as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Porphyry, Ptolemy, Euclid, Archimedes, Theon of Alexandria, John Philoponus and Philo of Alexandria, as well as Church Fathers including Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzene, John Damascene and contemporary theologians such as Barlaam the Calabrian. In one case he blends Aristotelian views and patristic teachings over the discussion of *prohairesis*, which he characterizes as 'the leader of the soul' responsible for man's actions, good or evil, including belief or disbelief in God [1.4.⁵¹⁵⁻⁵³²]. This subject needs further investigation²⁸³.

In one of his letters to Chrysoloras Manuel describes his friend as a generous person with an aversion to luxuries, and above all a man with a sense of humour. This latter aspect of Chrysoloras' character is also reflected to some extent in the *Dialogue*, especially at the end of each Syllogism where he presents Kydones answering in an amusingly abrupt way. One would imagine Chrysoloras smiling while composing these lines and the audience being amused at hearing Kydones' imaginary reaction, especially those among them who knew him personally. Chrysoloras' playful attitude is also revealed in word plays such as the synthesis of parts of the word *πατέρας* and *θεολόγους* to produce the word *τερατολόγους* [12.¹¹⁹⁻¹²⁶].

In the *Dialogue* Chrysoloras stresses that in principle he dislikes confrontation. This is confirmed by Manuel's description of him in his letter to Konstantinos Ivankos²⁸⁴, as 'a man who knows how to speak, how to be silent, how to act'²⁸⁵. Similarly, Theodoros Potamios²⁸⁶, in his letter addressed to Manuel II's uncle, Theodoros Kantakouzenos²⁸⁷,

²⁸³ Manuel II in his *Seven Ethico-political Orations* addressed to his son John VIII (1425-1448) devoted the third *Oration* to *prohairesis* where he regards it as being the cause of everything and determining one's character and actions. See Manuel II, *Seven Ethico-political Orations*, ed. Ch. Kakkoura, *An annotated critical edition of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus' Seven Ethico-political Orations* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2012), pp. 77-93 (commentary), pp. 348-366 (text).

²⁸⁴ On Konstantinos Ivankos, see *PLP* 7973; Dennis, *Manuel II, Letters*, p. xlvi.

²⁸⁵ Manuel II, *Letters*, no. 45, pp. 133.226-227 (text), 132 (trans.).

²⁸⁶ On Theodoros Potamios, see *PLP* 23601; Dennis, *Manuel II, Letters*, pp. xlvi-l.

²⁸⁷ On Theodoros Kantakouzenos, see *PLP* 10966.

praises Demetrios' gentleness (ὁ καλὸς Χρυσολωρᾶς)²⁸⁸. An opposite, uncompromising and often harsh, side of his character, however, is reflected in his ceaseless and insolent attacks against Kydones.

The very fact that Chrysoloras chose to 'resurrect' Aquinas, Kabasilas and Kydones to take part in a discussion in which the author also participates, instead of composing yet another refutation similar to theirs, shows his creative spirit. In this way he succeeds not only in bringing back to life these eminent scholars and their teachings but in vividly recreating the atmosphere in a *theatron*, a private or public gathering, where authors used to recite their poetry and deliver their compositions, including theological works²⁸⁹. Public debates of this kind are attested in the sources of the period, as for example the debate between Joseph Bryennios and the Greek Dominican Maximos Chrysoberges that took place before the 'whole Metropolis' in Crete sometime between 1399-1401, and the one held in 1422 (or 1423) in Constantinople between Bryennios and certain Latinophiles whom he does not name in case they wished to change their minds and return to Orthodoxy, as he says²⁹⁰. Indeed, the dialogue as a literary genre has a long tradition in Greek literature and remained popular through the centuries²⁹¹. Chrysoloras often refers in his works to the Platonic dialogues (including *Cratylus*, *Phaedrus* and *Gorgias*), which marked ancient Greek literature with their deep philosophical messages conveyed in a lively style ornamented with humour and wit. The use of the dialogue in antirrhetical and polemical works in the Palaeologan era is also attested in other distinguished thinkers

²⁸⁸ Manuel II, *Letters*, p. 226.15.

²⁸⁹ On *theatron* in Byzantium, see Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία*, pp. 131-132, 138; I.P. Medvedev, 'The so-called θέατρα as a form of communication of the Byzantine intellectuals in the 14th and 15th centuries', in *Πρακτικά του Β' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου. Η επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. N.G. Moschonas (Athens, 1993), pp. 227-235; P. Marciniak, 'Byzantine Theatron-A Place of Performance?', in *Theatron, Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter/Rhetorical Culture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Grünbart, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte der ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., vol. 13 (Berlin and New York, 2007), pp. 277-285.

²⁹⁰ Joseph Bryennios, *First Dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ*, I, pp. 346-362; idem, *Third Dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. Voulgares, *Ἰωσήφ μοναχοῦ*, I, pp. 378-399.

²⁹¹ A. Kazhdan, 'Dialogue', *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 618; M.Ch. Bakalopoulou, *Φιλόθεος Σηλυβρίας, Βίος και Συγγραφικὸ Ἔργον* (PhD thesis, University of Athens, 1992), pp. 122-129. A survey of works composed by Greek authors in the form of dialogue (covering the period from the classical times to the Byzantine era) in *TLG* enumerates no less than 148 titles. In so far Christian authors is concerned, apart from the genre of *Erotapokriseis* (for example those by Anastasius of Sinai and other collections by anonymous authors) theological dialogues were composed by Justin Martyr, Origen, Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor and John Damascene.

such as Nikephoros Blemmydes, Nikephoros Gregoras, Gregory Palamas, Barlaam the Calabrian, Gregory Akindynos and George Scholarios and Manuel II²⁹². In composing these texts the Atticising style was regularly employed by the Byzantine authors in imitation of the great Greek orators, mainly Demosthenes, Aelius Aristides and Libanius²⁹³. As is often the case in Byzantine compositions employing this style, Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* presents certain deficiencies in syntax and a tendency to employ *pleonasmos*. Another important stylistic feature in Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* is the use of rich punctuation in the principal MS (L), which indicates that the text in this codex was intended to be delivered aloud and hence the numerous punctuation signs marking shorter and longer pauses, which help the orator to control the rhythm of the text often at the expense of its understanding.

In addition, the *Dialogue* contains important information on perceptions of Greek identity in this period. Chrysoloras refers a number of times to the term Ἕλλην and its derivatives. In some cases he uses the adverb ἑλληνικῶς with reference to Greek *paideia* [1.7. 153]. He also places the ancient Greeks, typically, in juxtaposition to the barbarians [1.39-40]. More importantly, he refers to the Greeks as 'our nation' (Ἕλληνες τὸ ἡμέτερον) [1.417-419]. This bears witness to the increasing awareness, among the highest Byzantine intellectual circles in this period, of their Hellenic past and the gradual evolution of the meaning of the term Ἕλλην, which together with its religious and educational/cultural connotations has acquired also an ethnic connotation. There are other similar examples from this period, including Manuel Chrysoloras, Isidore of Kiev and Manuel II²⁹⁴. This movement culminates, as we know, with Pletho who declared in his *Oration* to Manuel II that Ἕλληνες ἔσμεν τὸ γένος²⁹⁵.

In the absence of any reference to Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* in Byzantine and Latin literature it is impossible to assess its reception by contemporary audiences. The fact, however, that the text has survived in no less than four manuscripts dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bearing no later annotation, shows that its readership

²⁹² For editions of these dialogues see *TLG*.

²⁹³ Cf. Hunger, 'Imitation', 30-32; Constantinides, *Higher Education*, pp. 151-155.

²⁹⁴ See Dendrinou. 'Co-operation and friendship', p. 15 with note 63.

²⁹⁵ See Georgios Gemistos Pletho, *Oration to Manuel Palaeologos on the affairs in the Peloponnese*, ed. S.P. Lampros, *III*, III (Athens, 1926), p. 247: Ἐσμεν γὰρ οὖν ὧν ἡγεῖσθέ τε καὶ βασιλεύετε Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, ὡς ἢ τε φωνὴ καὶ ἢ πάτριος παιδεία μαρτυρεῖ.

in this period was limited to a small and select group of scholars with theological interests. It seems, therefore, that theologically speaking the impact of this work most probably was not extensive.

Modern scholars have remarked that Chrysoloras' literary production 'n'est ni très abondante, ni très importante'²⁹⁶ and that he 'is not a first rank author' but 'one of the minor Byzantine anti-Thomists' whose 'philosophical and theological equipment ... although not poor, is mediocre'²⁹⁷. It is true that Chrysoloras does not excel among other distinguished authors of his period, nor does he claim the honour of being included among them. What, in my view, Demetrios Chrysoloras tried to do through his *Dialogue* was to show that the theological dialogue between the Byzantine and the Latin theologians in his own times was part of a continuous process of discussion between the two Churches, at the heart of which remains the theological question on the distinction of the Persons in the Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit. It is for this reason, I think, that apart from a single allusion to papal primacy, Chrysoloras made no reference to other secondary points of divergence. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the person who instigated Chrysoloras to compose his *Dialogue* appreciated the fruit of Demetrios' labour, as he says in the Epilogue, unless of course the identity of this anonymous Byzantine is revealed in the future.

It is hoped that the present edition and study of Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Dialogue*, which is part of the International Research Project *Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus*²⁹⁸, offered an opportunity to look again at Chrysoloras as an author and theologian in the wider context of the reception of Thomistic thought in Byzantium, and to some extent contribute to the present dialogue between the two Churches.

²⁹⁶ Gautier, 'Action de grâces', p. 340.

²⁹⁷ Demetracopoulos, 'Thomas Aquinas' Impact', pp. 341 and 401.

²⁹⁸ Updated information on the texts and editors is accessible online at: <http://www.rhul.ac.uk/Hellenic-Institute/Research/Thomas.htm> and <http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/labart/dimitr/index1.html> (last accessed on 3 November 2012).

Part II: The manuscript tradition

Description of the extant manuscripts

The text of Demetrius Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* is preserved in four MSS (**K**, **L**, **P** and **V**) which are described in some detail below. The description of the extant MSS is followed by a palaeographical and textual examination of the text before their relation is examined and a *stemma codicum* is constructed.

K *Hauniensis GkS 1985, 4*²⁹⁹ (examined through digitised facsimiles)

2nd ½ 14th-15th c.; paper; 217x142mm; ff. 236 (ff. 135^r, 141^r blank) + <I>; 12-26 (1)

Contents: this is a miscellaneous codex comprising theological and religious works and letters by **John Chrysostom**, **Basil of Caesarea**, **Gregory Nazianzene**, **John Damascene**, **Theodore Studite**, **Photios**, **Michael Psellos**, **Demetrios Chrysoloras** as well as letters by **Libanius**.

1. (ff. 1^r-57^r) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas*, + Διάλογος τοῦ σοφωτάτου κ(αὶ) λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, | ἀναιρετικὸς τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δ<ημήτριος> ὁ Κυδώνης | κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα :- | + τὰ πρόσωπα | + θωμᾶς· νεῖλος· κυδώνης· χρυσολωρ(ᾶς) cod. Inc. Μέγας μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καθ' ἡμ(ῶν) πόλεμος ..., des. ... λόγῳ μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦτο :+ | + | δόξα τῷ Θ(ε)ῶ :- | + Ed. below pp. 190-397 (see Plate 3).
2. (ff. 57^r-58^r) **John Damascene**, *On the right belief*, + λίβελ<λ>ος τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ γραφεὶς καὶ ἀποσταλεὶς | ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμ(ων), πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον π(ατ)ριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλ(εως) | ἐν τῇ πανευδαίμονι ἡνίκα παρ' ἐκείνου δι' εὐλαβῶν διακόν(ων) ἐπιστολ(ήν) | ἐδέξατο τοῦ γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ναὶ μὴν καὶ παντὶ τῷ | λαῷ καὶ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,

²⁹⁹ The codex was briefly described by C. Graux, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de la grande Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague* (Paris, 1879), pp. 71-75, and more analytically by B. Schartau, *Codices graeci Haunienses. Ein deskriptiver Katalog des griechischen Handschriftenbestandes der Königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen* (Copenhagen, 1994), pp. 205-213.

ὅπως ὁμολογεῖ καὶ πιστεύει :-, cod. Inc. Οὐ μικρὸς ἀμφοτέροθεν ..., des. ... ἀκαταληψίας γνόφω καλυπτόμενον, ἀμὴν : Ed. PG 94, cols. 1421-1424.

3. (f. 58^{r-v}) **Photius** (?), *De divino sacrificio*, + Φωτίου π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου)· περὶ τ(ῆς) θεί(ας) ἱερουργ(ίας): cod. Inc. Ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος καὶ ἡ ἀκριβὴς τῶν πραγμάτων κατανόησις ..., des. ... διαγράφειν τὴν φύσιν :+ Unpublished.
4. (f. 58^v) **John Damascene**, *Epistle to Zacharias*, Περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κ(υρίου) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ), Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ cod. Inc. Περὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος ..., des. ... οὕτω φρονοῦμεν, κ(αὶ) οὕτω πιστεύομεν :+ Ed. PG 95, cols. 401-404.
5. (f. 59^r) <**Anonymous**>, <*On the Holy Spirit*> Title omitted, cod. Inc. Ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ..., des. ... καὶ οὕτω πιστεύομεν :+
6. (ff. 59^v-92^r) **John Chrysostom**, *Letters*³⁰⁰
 - i. (ff. 59^v-68^v) *Letters* 94, 96, 110, 112, 118-121, 155, 174, 189, 195-196, 200-202, 234, + τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἰω(άνν)ου ἀρχ(ι)επισκ(ό)π(ου) Κων(σταν)τινουπ(ό)λ(εως) τοῦ Χρ(υσο)στ(όμ)ου | ἐπιστολαὶ ἐπισκόποις κ(αὶ) πρεσβυτέροις· ἐν φυλακῇ ᾧσοι. (f. 59^v) ep. 118, PG 52, cols. 673; (f. 60^r) ep. 174, col. 711; (f. 60^{r-v}) ep. 200, col. 723; (ff. 60^v-61^r) ep. 201, col. 723; (f. 61^{r-v}) ep. 202, cols. 723-724; (f. 61^v) ep. 234, cols. 739-740; (ff. 61^v-62^r) ep. 119, cols. 673-674; (ff. 62^r-63^r) ep. 120, cols. 674-675; (ff. 63^r-64^r) ep. 121, cols. 675-676; (f. 64^r) ep. 110, col. 668; (f. 64^{r-v}) ep. 112, cols. 668-669; (ff. 64^v-65^r) ep. 155, cols. 702-703; (f. 65^{r-v}) ep. 189, cols. 717-718; (ff. 65^v-66^r) ep. 195, cols. 120-121; (f. 66^r) ep. 196, col. 121; (ff. 66^v-68^r) ep. 94, cols. 657-659; (f. 68^{r-v}) ep. 96, cols. 659-660³⁰¹.
 - ii. (ff. 69^r-72^r) Ps-Chrysostom, *Letter to bishop Kyriakos*, in top margin + ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Κυριακὸν ἐπίσκοπον· ὄντα ἐξόριστον καὶ αὐτὸν :-, cod.

³⁰⁰ Cf. R.E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, vol. III, *Codices Americae et Europae occidentales*, Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 15 (Paris, 1970), pp. 39-40.

³⁰¹ The end of *Letter* 96 in the codex is incomplete and different than that in PG 52, col. 660.26-29.

- Inc. Φέρε δὴ ἀπαντλήσω ..., des. ... πρὸς τὸν θε(εὸ)ν :: Ed. PG 52, cols. 681-685³⁰².
- iii. (f. 72^r) *Excerpt from the letter to bishop Kyriakos*, + τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ(ῆς) πρ(ὸς) Κυριακὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπιστολῆς :: in top margin, cod. Inc. Μὴ εἴπη σοι ὁ λογισμὸς ... ἤκουσα γὰρ περὶ ... τὸν πλούσιον· ..., des. ... τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας :: Ed. PG 52, col. 685.11-21³⁰³.
- iv. (ff. 72^r-78^v) *Excerpts from his Letter to those scandalised*, τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) περὶ τ(ῶν) σκανδαλισθέντων : cod. Inc. Ὅταν οὖν ἴδης τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ..., des. ... τῶν αἰών(ων), ἀμήν :: Ed. PG 52, cols. 500, 507, 509, 516, 518-521, 525-528.
- v. (ff. 78^v-80^r) *Excerpts from the first letter to Olympias*, ἕτερος λόγος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῆ <πρώτη> πρ(ὸς) τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα : cod. Inc. Φέρε δὴ πάλιν ..., des. ... δόξη τ(ὴν) παρὰ κλησ(ιν) :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 549-552, 554, 555.
- vi. (ff. 80^r-81^r) *Excerpts from the second letter to Olympias*, ἐκ τῆς <δευτέρας> πρὸς αὐτ(ὴν) ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμ)ου : cod. Inc. Τί δε τοῦτο ἐστίν ..., des. ... ἔσται πλέ(ον) αὐτ(οῖς) :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 556-557, 567-568.
- vii. (f. 81^{r-v}) *Excerpts from the third letter to Olympias*, in top margin τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ(ῆς) <τρίτης> : cod. Inc. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ βουληθείης ..., des. ... καρπωσώμεθα τὴν εὐφροσύνην :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 573, 582, 589-590.
- viii. (ff. 81^v-82^v) *Excerpts from the fifth letter to Olympias*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρ(ὸς) αὐτὴν ἐπιστολ(ή) <τετάρτη> :- cod. Inc. Ἐπετάθη τὰ τῆς θλίψεως ..., des. ... ἢ πηλὸν ἕτεροι :: Ed. PG 52, cols. 596-598.
- ix. (ff. 82^v-84^v) *Excerpts from the sixth letter to Olympias*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρ(υσοστόμ)ου ἐκ τ(ῆς) πρ(ὸς) τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδ(αν) : cod. Inc. Καὶ χαίρω σφόδρα ..., des. ... καρπούμεθα τ(ὴν) εὐφροσύνην :: Ed. PG 52, cols. 599-601.

³⁰² For the *Letter to the Bishop Kyriacos*, cf. J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965), no. 531, p. 199.

³⁰³ The passage Μὴ εἴπη σοι ὁ λογισμὸς ... τὸν πλούσιον· (f. 72^r.8-13) has not been found in this *Letter* or in any other Chrysostomic or Ps.-Chrysostomic work.

- x. (ff. 84^v-87^v) *Excerpts from the seventh letter to Olympias*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <δευτέρας> ἐπιστολῆς :- cod. Inc. Τί φῆς οὐκ ἔστησας ..., des. ... ἀδάμαντος στερότερον ποιούσα :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 601-606.
- xi. (ff. 87^v-88^r) *Excerpt from the eighth letter to Olympias*, in marg. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <ἐβδόμης> ἐπιστολῆς :- cod. Inc. Ἀπαλλαγείσα τοίνυν ..., des. ... βελτίων ἐγένετο :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 607-608.
- xii. (f. 88^r) *Excerpt from the eleventh letter to Olympias*, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <δεκάτης> ἐπιστολῆς :- cod. Inc. Ὅσω τὰ τ(ῶν) πειρασμ(ῶν) ..., des. ... ἐν ἀθυμία διάγομ(εν) :- Ed. PG 52, col. 609.
- xiii. (ff. 88^r-89^v) *Excerpts from the fourteenth letter to Olympias*, ἐκ τῆς <δεκάτης τρίτης> ἐπιστολῆς : cod. Inc. Τί γὰρ σε λυπεῖ ..., des. ... ἡ παρουσία αὐτοῦ :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 612-613, 617-619.
- xiv. (f. 89^v) *Excerpt from the fifteenth letter to Olympias*, in margin + ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <δεκάτης τετάρτης> ἐπιστολῆς :- cod. Inc. Εἰ γὰρ οἱ κοινωνοὶ ..., des. ... ἐντεύθεν σοι ταμειουμέν(ων) :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 619-620.
- xv. (f. 90^r) *Excerpt from the sixteenth letter to Olympias*, in top margin + ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <δεκάτης πέμπτης> ἐπιστολῆς :- cod. Inc. Ἀμφότερα τῆς ἀφάτου ..., des. ... ἐργαζόμενος γαλήνην :- Ed. PG 52, col. 620.
- xvi. (f. 90^r) *Excerpt from the fourth letter to Olympias*, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν <δεκάτης ἑκτης> ἐπιστολῆς : cod. Inc. Μὴ δὴ μικρὰν ..., des. ... φανῶσ(ιν) ὑποσυρόμενοι :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 595-596.
- xvii. (ff. 90^r-91^v) *Seventeenth Letter to Olympias*, + τοῦ αὐτήν ἐπιστολῆς <δεκάτη ἐβδόμη> : cod. Inc. Οὐδὲν ξένον ..., des. ... καθε στήκαμεν (sic) ἀσφάλ(εια) :- Ed. PG 52, cols. 621-623.
- xviii. (ff. 91^v-92^r) *Ps-Chrysostom, Letter to Antiochos*, in marg. + τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐτέρα ἐπιστ(ο)λῆς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον :- cod. Inc. Ἔδει μὲν τὴν ὑμετέραν ..., des. ... φίλων ἡμερώτερα :- Ed. PG 52, col. 739³⁰⁴.

³⁰⁴ In PG 52, col. 739 the *Letter 233* is addressed to the Bishop of Antioch (Πρὸς τὸν Ἀντιοχείας). Cf. Aldama, *Repertorium*, no. 79, p. 31.

- xix. (f. 92^r) *Excerpt from the letter to Aravios*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς) πρ(ὸς) Ἀράβιον ἐπιστ(ο)λ(ῆς) ∴ cod. Inc. Μὴ διαλήπητε καὶ ὑμεῖς ..., des. ... τῆς ἐκκλησίας λυμαίνεται ∴ Ed. PG 52, col. 675.
7. (ff. 92^r-93^v) **Basil of Caesarea**, *Excerpts from the letters of Basil the Great*, ἐκ τ(ῶν) ἐπιστολ(ῶν) τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου) Βασιλείου ∴, in marg. cod. Inc. Ὅταν ἴδω καὶ τὸ κακὸν ..., des. ... τῆς ὑπομονῆς τ(ῆν) ἀντίδοσιν ∴, ed. PG 32, cols. 925 ff.
8. (ff. 93^v-94^v) **Theodore Studite**, *Epistle to Machara*, τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ῶν) καὶ ὁμολογ(η)τ(οῦ) Θεοδώρου τ(ῶν) Στουδ(ίου) ∴ in margin ἐπιστ(ο)λ(ῆ) πρ(ὸς) τ(ῆν) σπαθαρέ(ων) ἧς τὸ ὄνομα <Μα>χαρὰ ∴ cod. Inc. Τί καλὴ ἐπιστολὴ ..., des. ... τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναξιότητος ∴ ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 2, CFHB, 31 (Berlin, 1992), letter 553.
9. (ff. 94^v-113^v) **Libanius**, *Letters*, including interlinear glosses and grammatical notes. ἐπιστολ(αὶ) Λιβανίου cod. (f. 94^v) ep. 1205; (f. 94^v-95^r) ep. 235; (f. 95^r) ep. 280; (f. 95^r) ep. 313; (f. 95^v) ep. 414; (f. 95^v) ep. 645; (ff. 95^v-96^r) ep. 570; (f. 96^r) ep. 1079; (f. 96^{r-v}) ep. 707; (f. 96^v) ep. 266; (ff. 96^v-97^r) ep. 975; (f. 97^r) ep. 247; (f. 97^{r-v}) ep. 700; (f. 97^v) ep. 11; (f. 97^v) ep. 608; (f. 98^r) ep. 1138; (f. 98^r) ep. 323; (f. 98^{r-v}) ep. 538; (ff. 98^v-99^r) ep. 51; (ff. 99^r-100^r) ep. 331; (ff. 100^r-101^r) ep. 333; (ff. 101^r-102^r) ep. 352; (f. 102^{r-v}) ep. 499; (f. 103^r) ep. 547; (f. 103^{r-v}) ep. 56; (f. 103^v) ep. 920; (ff. 103^v-104^r) ep. 1041; (f. 104^r) ep. 167; (f. 104^r) ep. 1089; (f. 104^v) ep. 525; (ff. 104^v-105^r) ep. 511; (f. 105^{r-v}) ep. 54; (ff. 105^v-106^r) ep. 1; (f. 106^r) ep. 466; (ff. 106^r-107^r) ep. 693; (f. 107^r) ep. 711; (f. 107^v) ep. 189; (ff. 107^v-108^r) ep. 670; (f. 108^{r-v}) ep. 84; (ff. 108^v-110^r) ep. 379; (ff. 110^r-111^r) ep. 327; (f. 111^{r-v}) ep. 72; (f. 112^{r-v}) ep. 1330; (ff. 112^v-113^r) ep. 410. Ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vols. X, XI (Leipzig, 1963, 1972).
10. (ff. 113^v-118^v) **Basil of Caesarea** and **Libanius**, *Correspondence*, in top margin ἐπιστολὴ Βασιλ(είου) τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λ(ου) ∴ πρὸς Λιβάνιον ∴- (f. 113^v) ep. 3; (ff. 113^v-114^r) ep. 4; (f. 114^{r-v}) ep. 5; (ff. 114^v-115^r) ep. 6; (f. 115^v) ep. 8; (f. 115^v) ep. 7; (ff. 115^v-116^r) ep. 22; (f. 116^r) ep. 9; (f. 116^r) ep. 10; (f. 116^{r-v}) ep. 11; (ff. 116^v-117^r) ep. 13; (f. 117^r) ep. 14; (f. 117^{r-v}) ep. 15; (f. 117^v) ep. 23; (f. 117^v) ep. 16; (ff. 117^v-118^r) ep. 17; (f. 118^r) ep. 18; (f. 118^r) ep. 19; (f. 118^{r-v}) ep. 20; (f. 118^v) ep. 21. Ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vol. XI (Leipzig, 1972), pp. 575-597.

- 11.(ff. 118^v-130^v) **Libanius**, *Letters*, Ἐπιστολαὶ ἐτέρο(αι), Λιβανίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ, πρὸς τινὰς :- (ff. 118^v-119^r) ep. 1155; (f. 119^r) ep. 366; (f. 119^v) ep. 647; (ff. 119^v-120^r) ep. 512; (f. 120^r) ep. 442; (f. 120^{r-v}) ep. 388; (f. 120^v) ep. 1466; (ff. 120^v-121^v) ep. 238; (f. 121^v) ep. 382; (ff. 121^v-122^r) ep. 26; (f. 122^{r-v}) ep. 377; (ff. 122^v-123^r) ep. 1039; (f. 123^{r-v}) ep. 1048; (ff. 123^v-124^r) ep. 808; (f. 124^{r-v}) ep. 184; (ff. 124^v-125^v) ep. 636; (ff. 125^v-126^r) ep. 736; (f. 126^{r-v}) ep. 269; (ff. 126^v-127^r) ep. 509; (f. 127^r) ep. 64; (f. 127^{r-v}) ep. 197; (ff. 127^v-128^r) ep. 107; (f. 128^r) ep. 317; (f. 128^{r-v}) ep. 84; (f. 128^v) ep. 318; (ff. 128^v-129^r) ep. 8; (f. 129^r) ep. 1; (f. 129^{r-v}) ep. 42; (ff. 129^v-130^r) ep. 754; (f. 130^{r-v}) ep. 49; (f. 130^v) ep. 141. Ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vols. X, XI.
- 12.(ff. 130^v-134^v) **Gregory Nazianzene and Basil of Caesarea**, *Letters with interlinear glosses*, + ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου : Εὐδόξιω ῥήτορι : Letters by **Gregory Nazianzene**: (ff. 130^v-131^r) ep. 180, ed. PG 37, col. 296; (f. 131^{r-v}) ep. 34, col. 76; (f. 131^v) ep. 35, col. 77; (f. 131^v) ep. 36, col. 77; (ff. 131^v-132^r) ep. 80, col. 153; (f. 132^r) ep. 19, col. 53; (ff. 132^v-133^r) ep. 164, cols. 272-273; (f. 133^r) 155, col. 261; (f. 133^{r-v}) ep. 133, cols. 228-229; (f. 133^v), ep. 15, cols. 48-49. Inc. Εὐ̄ γε ὅτι ... , des. mut. ... ὑπὲρ αὐτ(ῶν); (f. 134^r) part of ep. 111, col. 209. Inc. mut. τὴν σιωπὴν ... , des. ... ὥσπερ ἔνθε(ον) :; (f. 134^r) ep. 236, col. 232; (f. 134^r) ep. 83, cols. 156-157; (f. 134^{r-v}) ep. 165, cols. 273-276A. Inc. Πυνθάνομαί σε ... , des. mut. ... κακιζόμενον. Letter by **Basil of Caesarea**: (f. 132^{r-v}) ep. 186, ed. PG 32, cols. 661-664.
- 13.(f. 135^{r-v}) blank with pen trials of the ligature *epsilon-ksi* and the note ἕξ ὑμ(ῶν) τελειώσει’.
- 14.(ff. 136^r-140^v) **Gregory Nazianzene**, *Poetry*, a) (ff. 136^r-137^r) ἀκροστιχίς τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου | κατὰ στιχείων δι’ ἰάμβων ἐκάστου τελείαν παραίνεσιν | ἔχοντος cod. Inc. Ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων καὶ τέλος ... , des. ... θ(εὸ)ν μὴ διστάσης. Ed. PG 37, cols. 908-910³⁰⁵. b) (ff. 137^r-140^r) Γνώμαι δίστοιχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ cod. Inc. Ἀρχὴς καλῆς κάλλιστον ... , des. ... ἢ ἄνθος χλόης :- Ed. PG 37, cols. 916-927. c) (f. 140^{r-v}) +++ αἱ ἡλικίαι τοῦ ἀν(θρώπου): +++ in margin ἢ κ(αὶ) μεθελικίας : cod. Inc. βρέφος λέγεται ... , des. ... κ(αὶ) κόρης μόρος :+ Ed. L. Franco, *A Study of the Metaphrastic Process: the case of the unpublished Passio of St James the Persian (BHG 773), Passio of St Plato (BHG 1551-1552), and Vita of St Hilarion (BHG 755) by Symeon*

³⁰⁵ The text in this MS is longer than that in the PG edition.

- Metaphrastes* (unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2010), p. 186.
- 15.(f. 141^r) blank.
- 16.(f. 141^v) **Anonymous**, <*Chronological note against the dating of Christ's birth in the year 5500*> cod. Inc. λέγοντ(εσ) ὅτι ὁ χ(ριστὸς) ..., des. mut. ... τὸν καιρ(ὸν) τῆς κατ<α>σαρ<κα>. Unpublished.
- 17.(ff. 142^r-155^v) **Libanius**, *Epistolary characters*, + Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτήρες :+ cod. Inc. Ὁ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαῖος χαρακτήρ ..., des. ... ὑμῶν ὑπερευχόμενος :+ Τέλος ἀμήν. Ed. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, vol. IX, pp. 27-47.
- 18.(ff. 156^r-212^v) **Michael Psellos**, *De omnifaria doctrina*, + τοῦ πανσοφοτάτου κ(αὶ) τ(ι)μι(ωτάτ)ου Ψελλοῦ : κε(φάλαιον) <πρωτον> :- cod. Inc. Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα π(ατέ)ρα ..., des. ... ἐξήνεγκεν καὶ ἀπωχέτευσεν+ Ed. L.G. Westerink, *Michael Psellus De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction* (Nijmegen, 1948).
- 19.(ff. 212^v-228^v) **Ps.-Michael Psellos** <**Symeon Seth**>, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ψελλοῦ πρὸς τ(ὸν) βασιλέα κύριον Μ(ι)χ(α)ήλ τ(ὸν) δοῦκαν ἐπιλύσεις σύντομοι φυσικῶν ζητημάτων+ cod. Inc. Ὁ μὲν Πλούταρχος ᾧ μέγιστε ..., des. ... τέλος σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἀγίω+ Ed. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1939)³⁰⁶.
- 20.(ff. 228^v-234^v) <**Michael Psellos?**>, Τοῦ αὐτ(οῦ) στίχ(οι) πολιτικοὶ ὅτε ὁ μαθητῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ῥωμαν(ὸς) | ἀθέσμους καὶ ἀνοσί(ους) διαβολὰς ἐκίνησε κατ' αὐτοῦ πρ(ὸς) τ(ὸν) βασιλέα τὸν ἅγιον· ὁ δὲ οὐ πρὸς | ἔσχεν αὐτ(αῖς) :- cod. Inc. Ἦδεῖν καὶ πρότερον ..., des. ... βούλεται πάροχος :- Unpublished?
- 21.(f. 235^{r-v}) **Anonymous**, (Excerpts) *Brief measurement of the world*, + Ἀναμέτρησις τ(ῆς) οἰκουμένης) ἀπάσ(ης) κ(α)τ(ὰ) σύνοψ(ιν): cod. Inc. Χρῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι ..., des. ... ἑξηκονταπέντε καὶ τέταρτον :+ Ed. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (New York, 1952), pp. 39-40.
- 22.(f. 236^{r-v}) **Anonymous**, *Table of Greek letters and numbers*. Ed. C. Graux, *Notices sommaires*, pp. 74-75.

³⁰⁶ On the attribution of this work to Symeon Seth, see L.G. Westerink, *Michael Psellus De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction* (Nijmegen, 1948), p. 2.

Material and layout of the text: the text is copied on Western paper by six different hands (A, B, C, D, E, and F) in single columns of approximately 12-26 lines per page. Hand A copied the major part of the codex (ff. 1-134^v), Hand B: ff. 136^r-140^v, Hand C: f. 141^v, Hand D: ff. 142^r-155^v, Hand E: ff. 156^r-195^r, ff. 196^v-234^v and f. 236^r, Hand F: ff. 195^v-196^r. The text on f. 235^{r-v} most possible was copied by Hand B as the two hands look similar. The main text in the codex was copied in black ink while red ink was used in certain cases for the titles, initials, marginal quotation marks, interlinear glosses as well as for the names of the interlocutors in Chrysoloras' *Dialogue*.

On f. 1^r a later hand copied a table of contents in Latin. At the bottom of this folio the stamp inscribed DET STORE KONGELIGE BIBLIOTEK is imprinted in blue ink, while on the front pastedown leaf the stamp of the BIBLIOTHECA REGIA HAFNIENSIS is also imprinted, this time in black ink.

The paper on ff. 1^r-4^v was damaged and subsequently part of the text was destroyed. The damaged paper was replaced most probably by Hand E, who pasted a new piece of paper on the existing one and restored the text, possibly from the damaged section of another MS (Plate 4).

Numbering: a later hand numbered with pencil each recto folio, on the upper right-hand margin, in Indian numerals.

Colophon: on f. 155^v Hand D subscribed the month, the day and indiction without stating the year: :+ τέλος, ἀμήν | ἐν μηνὶ μαΐω ιη' ἰν(δικτιῶν)ος ιβ'ης (Plate 5)³⁰⁷.

Scribes: so far the hands that contributed to the copying of the MS remain unidentified.

L *Laurentianus Pluteus* 5.12 (examined through digitised facsimiles)

15th c.; paper; 200 x 285 mm; ff. I-II (blank) + 76 (74^v-76^v blank); 22-24 (1) (Plate 6)

³⁰⁷ Between the second half of the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century, the 12th Indiction coincides with the following years: 1374, 1389, 1404, 1419, 1434, 1449, 1464, 1479, and 1494. See V. Grumel, *La Chronologie, ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Traité d'Études Byzantines*, I (Paris, 1958), pp. 261-264.

Contents: the codex contains solely **Demetrius Chrysoloras**, *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas*.

(ff. 1-74r) + Διάλογος [erasit τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ (ex codd. **K** et **V**)], | ἀναιρετικὸς, τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδώνης, κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου | Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα :+ cod. Inc. Μέγας μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων..., des. ...εἴποι λόγῳ μάλλον, ἢ τοῦτο :+

The codex belongs to the collection of the Laurenziana Biblioteca and appears in Bandini's catalogue as cod. Plut. V.XII³⁰⁸. A loan note to a certain Lorenzo Ciati shows that the codex was in the Medici's private Library by July 1484³⁰⁹. Prior to this date the codex was in the possession of Theodore Gaza³¹⁰.

Interestingly, part of the title of Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* has been washed out: Διάλογος, [eras. τοῦ σοφωτάτου κ(αὶ) λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, ex cod. **K**] ἀναιρετικὸς, τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδώνης, κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα. The same title in Latin was added by a later hand on the top margin of folio F in black ink: 'Dialogus evertens orationem quam scripsit Dominus Demetrius Cydonensis contra Dominum Nilum Cabasilam Thessalonicensem'. The same Latin hand added on the top margin of the same folio (f. F) the number of the codex in Indian numerals ('N<umero>. 12') and on the front pastedown leaf, with pencil this time, the name and the number of the codex, 'Plut. 5.' and below 'Cod. 12'. The erasure of the author of the *Dialogue* seems to have been intentional, though it is difficult to tell at this stage what were the motives behind this, for Chrysoloras' name appears in the list of persons of the dialogue right below the title, and it is Chrysoloras who begins the *Dialogue* (Plate 6). Another hand dated the MS on the upper right hand margin to the fourteenth century ('XIV saec.<ulum>') The codex bears the stamp of the Laurenziana Biblioteca, 'R<EGIA> BIBLIOTECA

³⁰⁸ A.M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1961), p. 32.

³⁰⁹ M. del Piazzo, *Protocolli del carteggio di Lorenzo il Magnifico per gli anni 1473-74, 1477-92*, Deputazione di storia patria per la Toscana, Documenti di storia Italiana, Serie II, vol. II (Florence, 1956), p. 446. See also E.B. Fryde, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469-1510*, vol. II (Aberystwyth, 1996), p. 512.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 512. For Theodore Gaza see D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine Scholar of the Palaeologan "Renaissance" in the early Italian Renaissance (c. 1400-1475)', in Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West*, pp. 68-90.

MED.<ICAEA> LAUR.<ENZIANA>- FIRENZE', on ff. 1, 33 and 74^v. On the latter folio (74^v) the number 201477 (classification number?) was written in pencil below the stamp by a modern hand.

Collation: the codex consists of 9 quaternia (α^{ov} - θ^{ov}) and a ternion (ι^{ov}). The original first leaf of the first quaternion (α^{ov}) is missing, as is the original last leaf of the ternion (ι^{ov}). Thus, α^{ov} 1x4 (one leaf, preceding folio 1, missing + 1-7^v), β^{ov} 2x4 (8-15), γ^{ov} 3x4 (16-23), δ^{ov} 4x4 (24-31), ε^{ov} 5x4 (32-39), $\sigma\tau^{ov}$ 6x4 (40-47), ζ^{ov} 7x4 (48-55), η^{ov} 8x4 (56-63), θ^{ov} 9x4 (64-71), and ι^{ov} 10x3 (72-76 + one leaf, following folio 76, missing). The quaternia are numbered in Greek numerals, most probably by the scribe who copied the text, in the middle bottom margin of either the first recto³¹¹ or last verso folio³¹², while in two cases in both the first recto and last verso folio³¹³. With the exception of quaternion ι^{ov} which is signed in red ink, the rest are signed in black.

Material and layout of the text: the text was copied on Western paper by a single hand (A) in single columns of approximately 22-24 lines per page. Two different modern hands numbered the folios in Indian numerals. Hand B numbered ff. 1, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70 and 74 on the right-hand top corner in black ink, while Hand C numbered ff. 1-76 in pencil on the bottom right-hand margin.

Script and Ink: the entire text, marginal notes and diagrams were copied by a single hand (A) in mixed minuscule using black ink. The script is regular, clear and legible, disciplined and carefully written in a rather thin ductus. The letters are of medium size and well formed with a slight inclination to the right. In some cases some words were re-inked in a thin black ductus³¹⁴. Most probably the hand who is responsible for this belongs to the scribe himself, for the ink is similar to the one used by the scribe to copy part of the text on f. 63^r.

Decoration: the codex bears simple decoration on folios 1^r and 74^r. Before the title on folio 1^r three small crosses appear in red ink while the horizontal stroke of the last one ends in a tail. The text on the last folio (74^r) ends in a cruciform shape, with the four

³¹¹ Quaternia β^{ov} (f. 8^r), γ^{ov} (f.16^r), δ^{ov} (f. 24^r), ε^{ov} (f. 32^r), $\sigma\tau^{ov}$ (f. 40^r), $\eta^{(ov)}$ (f. 56^r), ι^{ov} (f. 72^r).

³¹² Quaternion α^{ov} (f. 7^v).

³¹³ Quaternia ζ^{ov} (f. 48^r and f. 55^v), θ^{ov} (f. 64^r and f. 71^v).

³¹⁴ L: f. 36^v.23: ἡ μάλλον εἰπεῖν; ff. 56^v.23-57^r.1: τὸ δ' ὕστερον.

blank squares created by the cross bearing the inscription Ἰ(ΗΣΟ)Υ̅ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΙΚΑ in red ink (Plate 7). The erroneous contraction ΙΥ for Ι(ησο)υ̅, instead of ΙΣ for Ι(ησου̅)ς, is not unique in Byzantine MSS³¹⁵, though it is difficult to explain, unless it is simply due to *lapsus calami*. The text does not contain vignettes or major initials.

Binding: when Laurenziana was opened to the public in 1571 all codices that belonged to the Medici private collection were rebound in red leather bearing the coat-of-arms of the Medici and arranged on shelves (Plutei), with safety chains placed on the front cover of the codices to prevent possible removal of the codex from the library. This applies also to our codex (Plut. 5.12) which also preserves the fastening strap. On the top of the front cover a label has been placed with the content of the codex in Greek and Latin.

Scribe: so far the hand that copied the MS remains unidentified.

P *Parisinus graecus* 1284³¹⁶ (examined through printed facsimiles)

16th c.; paper; ff. 276 (16^v, 92-96, 143-144, 175 and 199 blank); 23-28 (1) (Plate 8)

Contents: a collection of anti-Latin and anti-Jewish works and treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit by **Matthaios Blastares**, **Gregory Palamas**, **Demetrios Chrysoloras** and **George Scholarios**.

1. (ff. 1-16^r) **Matthaios Blastares**, *First Oration against the Jews*, τοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις | Ματθαίου, | πρὸς Ἰουδαίους· λόγος πρῶτος· | Ματθαῖος εἶργει τῶν ἰουδαίων θράσος· ὥσπερ χαλινοῖς πέντε φιμώσας λόγοις· | ὅστις δὲ τούτων τὴν ἐπίρρητον πλάνην· πλάνην ἀτεχνῶς ἐξελέγξει τῷ λόγῳ | ἄρδην ἀπάσας συγκαθεῖλεν αἰρέσεις, μήτηρ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ θεοκτόνων ἔρις cod. Inc. Ὅτι

³¹⁵ Cf. *Athos, Vatopedi* 59 (AD 1064), f. 167.1: ὁ Κ(ύριος) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησο)υ̅ Χ(ριστὸ)ς; facsimile of this folio reproduced in K. and S. Lake eds., *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. III: *Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos and in Milan*, Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera (Boston, MA, 1935), MS. 106, Plate 182. Interestingly, the text of Chrysoloras' oration *On the Annunciation* preserved in the codex *Laurentianus*, Pluteus 10.31 (15th c.) ends (f. 164^v) in a cruciform shape as the text of the *Dialogue* in *Laurentianus*, Pluteus 5.12. However, this time the inscription is copied correctly, that is Ἰ(ΗΣΟ)Υ̅ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΝΙΚΑ. See online facsimile of the MS at <http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000613382> (last accessed on 3 November 2012).

³¹⁶ H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Première partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 286-287.

τρισυπόστατον καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ τὸν θεὸν κηρύττει γραφή ..., des. ... τῆς γενέσεως ἠρξάτο. Unpublished.

2. (f. 16^v) blank.
3. (ff. 17^r-41^v) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, <*Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit*>, <Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, κατὰ Λατίνων, λόγος συνοπτικός, ἡ ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Νεῖλος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης· οὗ καὶ τὰς λύσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνστάσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἡ συλλογισμοὺς ἡ αὐτοῖς σχήμασιν, ἀποδεικνύς ἐν συντόμῳ καὶ τὰ συλλογισμὸν ἡ ἕκαστον> (ex *Vaticanus graecus* 1109, f. 1^a), cod. Inc. <Ἀρχαία δόξα τῆ ἐκκλησία ..., des. ... τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένοις: Ed. D. Koutsoures, *Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός, ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Νεῖλος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1998), pp. 45-180.
4. (ff. 42^r-85^r) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, <*Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas*>, <Διάλογος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, ἀναιρετικὸς τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδώνης κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου ἡ Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα> (ex cod. V), cod. Inc. <Μέγας μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ..., des. ... λόγω μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦτο:- Ed. below, pp. 190-397.
5. (ff. 85^r-91^v) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, <*Dialogue on the primacy of the Pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit*>, cod. Inc. <Ὁ πάπας Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ..., des. mut. ... τέλος κολάσεως λέγοντος· ὀρίζομεν ἐτέραν>³¹⁷. Ed. I. Basilicos, “Ἐνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος Χρυσολωρᾶς”, *EA* 29, fasc. **19-23** (Constantinople, 1909), **19** (13.V.1909), 151; **20** (20.V.1909), 159-160; **21** (27.V.1909), 166-167; **22** (3.VI.1909), 173-174; **23** (10.VI.1909), 181-183.
6. (ff. 92-96) blank.
7. (ff. 97^r-198^r) <**Gennadios Scholarios**>, <*On the procession of the Holy Spirit*>

³¹⁷ Cf. Basilicos, ed., “Ἐνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος Χρυσολωρᾶς”, 23, p. 183, col. 1, line 1.

- i. (ff. 97^r-142^v) Book II, Inc. Τὸ μὲν πρῶτον βιβλίον ἡμῶν ..., des. ... τὸ μὴ συγκεχῶσθαι, τῷ διακρίνεσθαι : Ed. L. Petit et al., *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1929), pp. 269.4-349.24.
- ii. (ff. 143-144) blank.
- iii. (ff. 145^r-174^r), Book II, cod. Inc. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἐκ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς δι' Υἱοῦ προῖέναι ..., des. ... τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἔθει ... Ed. L. Petit et al., *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1929), pp. 349.25-402.24³¹⁸.
- iv. (ff. 174^v-175^v) blank.
- v. (ff. 176^r-198^r), Book III, Inc. ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γενέσθαι αἰτί(αν) ..., des. ... ἡ πρόπει πᾶσα δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶν(ας) :+ ἀμὴν :+ Ed. L. Petit et al., *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1929), pp. 402.19-448.29.
- vi. (ff. 198^v-199^v) blank.
8. (ff. 200^r-261^r) **Gregory Palamas**, <Two Orations on the procession of the Holy Spirit>, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης in marg. inf. cod. Inc. <Π>άλιν ὁ δεινὸς κ(αὶ) ἀρχέκακος ὄφις ..., des. ... εἰς τοὺς ἀκαταλήκτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶν(ων) ἀμὴν :+ ed. P.K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1962), pp. 23-153³¹⁹.
9. (ff. 261^r-265^v) <**Gregory Palamas**>, <Refutation of Bekkos' defence of the Latins>, title illeg. cod. Inc. <Λ>ατίνοι φασὶν· ὡς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ..., des. ... περὶ τὸ δυσεβεῖν τυγχάνοντες :-, Ed. P.K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1962), pp. 161-175.
10. (ff. 266^r-276^v) <**Matthaios Blastares**>, <Epistolary discourse on the procession of the Holy Spirit addressed to Guy de Lusignan> Inc. <Π>ειρωμένω σε πολλάκις πειῖσαι κράτιστε ..., des. mut. ... ὡς δι' ἡμᾶς προσφάτως πρὸς τοῦ. Ed. Archimandrite Arseniy, *Pis'mo Matfeja Vlastarja, ieromonacha Solunskago i pisatelja XIV veka, k princu Kirpskomu, Gju de Luzin'janu s obličeniem Latinskago nepravolmyslija* (Moscow, 1891), pp. 1-39.

³¹⁸ F. 174 is incomplete. The scribe copied the text until '...τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἔθει' and left the rest of f. 174^r and ff. 174^v-175^v blank. On the right-hand bottom corner of f. 175^v he wrote the beginning phrase of the next folio 'ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γενέσθαι αἰτίαν', apparently to remind himself from which point he should resume the copying of the text.

³¹⁹ The title is omitted. On the bottom of f. 200^r the scribe copied the name of the author, Gregory Palamas Archbishop of Thessalonike (Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης).

Material and layout of the text: the codex is copied on paper by three different hands (**A**, **B**, and **C**) in single columns of approximately 23-28 lines. Hand **A** copied the text on ff. 1-16^r, Hand **B**: ff. 17^r-41^v, ff. 42^r-85^r, ff. 85^r-91^v and ff. 200^r-276^v, Hand **C**: ff. 97^r-142^v, ff. 145^r-174^r, and 176^r-198^r. The text in the entire codex was copied in black ink, while red ink was used for the titles and initials. The folios were prepared to receive marginal scholia, notes and diagrams with reference to the text³²⁰. The diagrams in Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit* were not completed (Plate 9). In several cases the title of the texts is omitted while the name of the author appears in the bottom margin of the introductory folio of these works (e.g., ff. 17, 42, and 200). The stamp of BIBLIOTHECA REGIA appears on ff. 1 and 276^v.

On ff. 7 and 13^v Hand **A** wrote the word δοκίμιον on the top right-hand margin and on the bottom margin, as a pen trial. A cross (+) appear on the top margin in all recto and verso folios in the codex (Plate 10). Catch words appear in the bottom corner of the last verso folio of each quaternion in the right hand margin in order to guide the binder in assembling and binding the gatherings in the correct order (Plate 11)³²¹.

Numbering: Indian numerals in black ink were written by a later hand on the upper right-hand margin of each recto folio. Folios 42 and 43 bear double numbering on the upper right-hand margin, most probably added by another hand.

Decoration: the title on f. 1 is preceded by a decorated *pyle* while the text on the same folio is introduced by a major ornamented initial which occupies 7 lines (Plate 12). On f. 97^r a floral vignette precedes the title and the text is introduced by a major initial occupying 5 lines. Minor initials, sometimes ornamental, appear throughout the text³²².

Scribes: so far remain unidentified.

³²⁰ Ff. 56, 103, 107^v, 116^v, 135.

³²¹ Ff. 8^v-9, 24^v-25, 32^v-33, 40^v-41, 48^v-49, 56^v-57, 64^v-65, 72^v-73, 80^v-81, 88^v-89.

³²² Ff. 3^v-4, 7^v-8, 16, 98^v-99, 104^v, 112^v.

V *Vaticanus graecus 1109*³²³ (examined through printed facsimiles)

15th c.³²⁴; parchment; ff. 135 (8^{r-v}, 67^{r-v}, 77^{r-v} blank); 14-26 (l) (Plates 13-17)

Contents: the codex contains a collection of works composed solely by **Demetrios Chrysoloras**.

1. (ff. 1^a-49^r) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, *Abridged exposition of Neilos Kabasilas' refutation of the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit*, Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, κατὰ Λατίνων, λόγος συνοπτικός, | ἀφ' ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀγιώτατος Νεῖλος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης· οὗ καὶ τὰς λύσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐνστάσεις, καὶ τοὺς | συλλογισμοὺς | αὐτοῖς σχήμασιν, ἀποδεικνὺς ἐν συντόμῳ κατὰ συλλογισμόν ἕκαστον cod. Inc. ἀρχαία δόξα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ..., des. ... τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένοις. Ed. Koutsoures, *Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός*, pp. 45-180³²⁵.
2. (ff. 49^r-58^v) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, <*Dialogue on the primacy of the Pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit*>, cod. Inc. ὁ πάπας Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ..., des. ... μαθητῆς ἀποπνίξαντες, ed. Basilicos, "Ἐνῶσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν" (ex *Marc. gr.* XI, XXVI)³²⁶.
3. (f. 59^r.1-10) <**Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite**> <(Excerpt) *De divinis nominibus*>, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πάσης θεολογίας ἐκφανέστατον, ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰ(ησοῦ) θεοπλαστία, καὶ ἄρρητός ἐστι λόγῳ παντὶ, καὶ ἄγνωστος νῶ παντὶ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ πρωτίστῳ τῶν

³²³ The codex has been very briefly described by Koutsoures, *Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός*, pp. 37-39. For bibliography on this codex, see P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della biblioteca Vaticana*, ST, 261 (Vatican City, 1970), p. 538; M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana* (1968-1980), ST, 319 (Vatican City, 1986), p. 871; M. Ceresa, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana* (1991-2000), ST, 426 (Vatican City, 2005), p. 555.

³²⁴ For the dating of this MS see Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas*, p. ix; R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane des origines à Paul V*, ST, 244 (Vatican City, 1965), pp. 470-482; G. Mercati, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova di varie badie Basiliene d'Italia e di Patmo*, ST, 68 (Vatican City, 1935), p. 226, note 2.

³²⁵ Koutsoures' edition of the text ends on f. 47^r.22 (p. 180): '... λόγων· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα, τάττομεν αὐτούς'. However, it seems that the text in the MS continues until f. 49^r.4: '... τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένοις' as Koutsoures' description of the MS indicates (p. 37). Cf. *Par. gr.* 1284, ff. 17-41^v where the text ends with '... τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένοις'.

³²⁶ In his description of the codex Koutsoures, *Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ, Κατὰ Λατίνων λόγος συνοπτικός*, pp. 37-38, erroneously states that ff. 49^r-58^v contain two different works by Chrysoloras: (a) *Dialogue on the primacy of the Pope and the procession of the Holy Spirit* (f. 49^r.5 until f. 50^v.14, inc. ὁ πάπας Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ..., des. ... ὁ ἱεράρχης χαρακτηρίζεται; and (b) an untitled work on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (f. 50^v.15-f. 59^r, inc. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ..., des. ... τοῦ οὐ). In this text he included the passage from Ps.-Dionysius.

πρεσβυτάτων ἀγγέλων. Ed. B.-R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiicum*, vol. I, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus*, PTS, 33 (Berlin-New York, 1990), p. 133.5-7.

4. (f. 59^r.13-20), **Anonymous**, <*Verses on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*> (Plate 13):

ἀρπέμπαν ἔνε ἐγώ, εἰκὼν καὶ ἔδειξεν εὐρηται, ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς οὐσίας μαρτυρεῖται δι' υἱοῦ, δεικνὺς παρὰ τοῦ λόγου τῶ πν(εύμα)τι, πάντα ὧν στέργει ἀνάθεμα, τὰ εἰς ἔν τι ἡ γέννησις τὸ πν(εύμα), τὸ γεννᾶν τὸ πν(εύμα), ὁ π(ατ)ήρ προβάλλει, + ἄρδὺν εἰάθε κάμδει σωπάν δια τὰ ἐν τὸ ὁ ο. + ³²⁷	δύνατο πν(εύμα) το δὲ τὸ πν(εύμα). ἀθανάσ<ιος> τίς ἢ ἀνάγκη χ(ριστὸ)ς; ἀμέσως ὀφθαλμῶν τῶ π(ατ)ρί. ὡς ἔχει ὡς δύναμις ἴδιον. διακρίνεται ἐναλλάξ ὁ π(ατ)ήρ. ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς ὁ π(ατ)ήρ ὁ μὴ τὸ τινός. ὁ πάπας δὲ πάλιν ὄδε φασίν.
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5. (ff. 59^v-66^v) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, *Encomium on St Demetrios*, τοῦ σοφωτ(ά)τ(ου) καὶ λογιωτ(ά)τ(ου), Δημητρίου | τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, εἰς τὸν μέγαν | Δημήτριον, καὶ εἰς τὰ μύρα :- | εὐ(λόγησ)ον δέσποτα :- cod. Inc. Δημήτριος τὸ γλυκὺ πρᾶγμα ..., des. ... ταῖς αὐτοῦ πρεσβεΐ(αις) ὁ θ(εὸ)ς, ed. B. Laourdas 'Τὸ ἐγκώμιον τοῦ Δημητρίου Χρυσολωρᾶ εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτριον', in *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμάς 472-473 θ' - ι'* (1957), 342-54.
6. (f. 67^{r-v}) blank.
7. (ff. 68^r-76^v) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, *Dialogue [...] that it is not right for Orthodox to accuse other Orthodox for any reason*, + Διάλογος Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρ<υσ>ο<λωρᾶ> | [...] | Οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὀρθόδοξοι ἐτέρων ὀρθόδοξων κατηγορεῖν, ἐν ουδενὶ πρᾶγματι, cod. Inc. Τί δὲ τὸ κατηγορεῖν ..., des. ... δοκεῖ τὰ λεγόμενα :- Ed. D. Koutsoures, *Διάλογος Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὀρθόδοξοι ἐτέρων ὀρθόδοξων κατηγορεῖν, ἐν ουδενὶ πρᾶγματι* (Athens, 1998), pp. 11-32³²⁸.
8. (f. 77^{r-v}) blank.
9. (ff. 78^r-135^r) **Demetrios Chrysoloras**, *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas*, Διάλογος τοῦ σοφωτ(ά)τ(ου) κ(αὶ) λογιωτ(ά)τ(ου) κυροῦ Δημητρ(ίου) τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, ἀναιρετικὸς τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρ(ός) Δημήτρι(ος) ὁ Κηδώνης κ(α)τ(ᾶ) τοῦ μακαρί<ου> | Θεσσαλονίκης, κυρ(οῦ) Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα :- | + τὰ πρόσωπα :+ | + Θωμᾶς· Νεῖλος· Κυδώνης·

³²⁷ So far I have been unable to decipher this transliterated Latin phrase.

³²⁸ See above, p. 24 with note 34.

Χρυσολωρᾶς :- cod. Inc. Μέγας μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ..., des. ... λόγω μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦτο :- Ed. below, pp. 190-397 (Plate 14).

Provenance: according to a note on f. 135^v the codex was in the possession of Francesco Akkidas who brought it from Messina to Rome and presented it, along with three other manuscripts, to Pope Gregory XIII on July 1583³²⁹ (Plate 15).

Material and layout of the text: the text is written on parchment by four different hands (A, B, C, D) and in a single column of approximately 14-26 lines. Hand A copied ff. 1^a-59^r, Hand B: ff. 59^v-66^v, Hand C: ff. 68^r-76^v and Hand D: ff. 78^r-135^r. The main text was copied in black ink while red ink was used in certain cases for the titles, initials, marginal quotation marks and notes as well as for the names of interlocutors in the last two dialogues (ff. 68^r-76^v and 78^r-135^r).

Collation: the codex consists of 15 quaternia and 3 bifolios, while at least 2 gatherings are missing. The gatherings are signed in Greek numerals in the middle bottom margin of either the first recto or last verso folio. Thus, α^{ov} 1x4 (1-7), <β^{ov}> 2 x4 (8-15), γ^{ov} 3x4 (16-23), δ^{ov} 4x4 (24-31), ε^{ov} 5x4 (32-39), ζ^{ov} 6x4 (40-47), <ζ^{ov}> 7x4 (48-55), <η^{ov}> 8x4 (56-63), <θ^{ov}> 9x2 (64-66), <ι^{ov}> and <ια^{ov}> are missing, ιβ^{ov} 12x2 (68-69), ιγ^{ov} 13x4 (70-77), <ιδ^{ov}> 14x4 (78-85), <ιε^{ov}> 15x4 (86-93), <ιζ^{ov}> 16x4 (94-101), <ιζ^{ov}> 17x4 (102-109), <ιη^{ov}> 18x4 (110-117), <ιθ^{ov}> 19x4 (118-125), <ικ^{ov}> 20x4 (126-133), <ικα^{ov}> 21x2 (134-135).

Numbering: the codex bears double numbering in Indian numerals added by two different, later hands (E and F). The codex was trimmed when it was rebound and as a result in some cases the first numbering is lost or barely legible³³⁰; some of these trimmed numbers were replaced in the margin by another hand³³¹. This first numbering, added by Hand E in the right-hand bottom corner of each recto folio, is legible from the present f. 6^r onwards (f. 6 corresponds to no. 110, f. 7 corresponds to no. 111, etc). This means that the present folio 1^a must have been numbered by Hand E as f. <105>. If so, at some stage

³²⁹ *Vat. gr.* 1109, f. 135^v: Κυρὸς Φραγκίσκος ὁ Ἀκκίδας, εὐγενὴς κολασσαεὺς, καὶ πολίτης μ(ητ)ροπόλεως μεσσηνίας, τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐκομίσατο ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων· Ῥώμη· Ἐτεὶ τῶ ἀπὸ ἀδάμ Ἱφά' (AM 7091), μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ, Ἰνδικτιώνος ια^{ns}. Apart from *Vat. gr.* 1109 Akkidas brought to Rome also three more MSS.: *Vaticani graeci* 756, 1108 and 1170. See Mercati, *Per la storia*, p. 226, note 2; R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci III: 604-866* (Vatican City, 1950), p. 274; idem, *Le fonds*, p. 471 and note 10. On Akkidas and his MSS, see P. Canart, *Les Vaticani graeci: 1487-1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, ST, 284 (Vatican City, 1979), pp. 173-191.

³³⁰ Ff. 41^r, 47^r, 59^r, 72^r.

³³¹ Ff. 3, 4, 5, 49, 56, 68, 69, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82.

the codex must have consisted of at least 104 further folios. Among these, ff. <97-99>, 100-101 and <102-105> were re-arranged in the the codex in the present ff. 68-76. It seems, therefore, that at some stage the folios containing item 7 (old no. ff. 97-<105>, presently ff. 68-76) ought to have been placed at the front of the codex. This, however, is not possible, for evidence in the original signatures of the gatherings, as mentioned in the previous section above, shows that this item is contained partly in gathering ιβ' (present numbering ff. 68-69) and ιγ' (present numbering ff. 70-76). In the light of this evidence it seems that the codex went through different stages of rebinding. This is confirmed by the second numbering in Indian numerals (ff. 1-135) added on the right-hand top corner of each recto folio in black ink by Hand F. According to P. Canart, our codex (*Vat. gr.* 1109) and *Vat. gr.* 1108 (both of which belonged to Akkidas) were rebound sometime in the nineteenth century³³². It is possible that the missing folio following f. 83, was either absent or removed during the rebinding³³³.

Decoration: the codex bares simple decoration consisting of vignettes, major and minor initials and schemata (Plate 16).

Subscriptions: a table of contents in Latin appears on the front fly-leaf, accompanied with the inscription *1109 Vatgr.* On the same fly-leaf the number 02 has been deleted and was replaced by number 1. On f. 1^a the number *1109* appears in the left-hand top corner while the same number is placed at the bottom of the same folio along with the inscription *Vatgr.* The stamp of BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA is imprinted also on the same folio.

Scribe: Hand D belongs to the scribe Stephanos, σκευοφύλαξ of the Monastery of St John Prodromos-Petra in Constantinople and later Metropolitan of Medeia (1431-1442)³³⁴.

³³² See Canart, *Les Vaticani graeci: 1487-1962*, p. 177, note 30.

³³³ For the part of the text missing in V, see edition below, pp. 210.299-213.349.

³³⁴ On Stephanos of Medeia, see Kakoulides, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου', 3-39; R. Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 28-29; E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger et al., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten, 800-1600*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1981, 1989, 1997), vol. I, no. 366; vol. III, no. 584; A. Cataldi Palau, 'I colleghi di Giorgio Baiophoros: Stefano di Medea, Giorgio Crisococca, Leon Atrapas', eds. B. Atsalos and N. Tsironis, *Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque. Drama, 21-27 Septembre 2003*, vol. I (= *Βιβλιοαμφιάστης, Annexe I*) (Athens, 2008), pp. 191-224, repr. in *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*, ed. A. Cataldi Palau, vol. I (Spoleto, 2008), art. 14, pp. 305-316.

Palaeographical and textual examination of the *Dialogue*

The text of Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* is preserved in four codices (**K**, **L**, **P** and **V**) (a single folio is missing in **V**)³³⁵. The title preceding the text appears in **K**, **L** and **V** while it is omitted in **P**: *Διάλογος τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ, ἀναιρετικὸς τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδώνης κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα* (*Dialogue composed by the wisest and most learned Lord Demetrios Chrysoloras, refuting Demetrios Kydones' work against the blessed <archbishop> of Thessalonike, Lord Neilos Kabasilas*).

The text of the *Dialogue* in all four extant MSS was copied continuously in mixed minuscule with a number of majuscule letterforms, without any indication of paragraph division in the text itself. The beginning of each syllogism in codices **K**³³⁶, **L** and **V** is marked by a Greek number (α^{ος} – ια^{ος}) in red ink in the margin, while this is omitted in **P**. Both **K** (f. 37^v) and **V** (f. 115^v) wrongly marked the beginning of the Sixth Syllogism numbering it as Syllogism number five (ε^{ος}). Additional Greek numbers (α' – κδ') appear in the margin of **K**, **L** and **V** marking the beginning of a series of arguments in Chrysoloras' long section on the soul. These numbers, too, are omitted in **P**.

The scribes of **K**, **P** and **V** employed more or less similar punctuation. They employed a number of signs to indicate progressive degrees of pause, including lower point (.), middle comma (ϛ), comma (,) , middle point (·), upper point (˙) and full stop (:+). Though the scribe of **L** adopted the same signs he used them far more extensively, often every few words and in some cases even every other word, thus making it difficult at times to understand the text. This shows an intention in **L** to facilitate the oral delivery of the text in front of an audience, with the punctuation signs guiding the orator in pausing, highlighting and colouring his voice, especially since the text is in the form of a dialogue³³⁷. With the exception of **P**, where the title is omitted, the scribes of **K**, **L** and **V** employed similar signs or a combination of them to indicate the end of the title: a colon (:) by **K**; a colon and a cross (:+) by **L**; a colon and a wavy dash (:~), a colon and a cross

³³⁵ See above, p. 149 with note 333.

³³⁶ In three cases the marking of the beginning of the Syllogism is omitted in **K**: First Syllogism (f. 12^v); Fourth Syllogism (f. 31^v) and Ninth Syllogism (f. 43^r).

³³⁷ Cf. above, p. 130.

(:+) by **V**. The end of the text is indicated by a colon and a semi colon (:·) by **K**; a colon (:·) followed by a monocondyle by **L**; a colon and a wavy dash (:~) by **P**; a colon and a cross (:+) followed by a monocondyle and three crosses by **V**.

Patristic citations in the text are indicated in **K**, **L**, and **V** by single quotation mark (*haplē*) (·) and double quotation marks (*diple*) (») added in red ink in the left hand margin. Single quotation marks were also used in **K** and **L** to indicate quotations from Neilos Kabasilas' *DPSS III* cited in the text, while **V** employed double quotation marks for this purpose. A wavy line (~) in red ink is used extensively throughout the text in **K**, **L** and **V** to mark Aquinas' and Kydones' *verbatim* sections from Neilos Kabasilas' and Demetrios Kydones' works³³⁸. In **P**, however, the use of quotation marks is limited to two cases (ff. 55^{r-v} and 73^r) to indicate Patristic quotations added in black ink in the right hand margin. In some cases the scribes or the rubricators of **K**, **L** and **V**, apart from quotation marks, added the names of the fathers of the Church whose testimonia are cited in the text, either in the right hand margin (**K**: f. 17^r and **L**: f. 22^r) or next to the quotation marks (**V**: f. 94^v).

The words γν(ωμικὸν), ώραῖον ὄλον and ὠρ(αῖον) added in red ink in the margin of **K**, **L** and **V** draw attention to proverbs and certain passages of particular rhetorical and theological importance. The word γν(ω)μ(ι)κ(ὸν) appears only once in **P** (f. 84^v) while the words ώραῖον ὄλον and ὠρ(αῖον) are omitted. The abbreviated form for ση(μείωσαι) which denotes an important passage in the text is used twice only in **P**³³⁹. The abbreviated instruction γρ(άφε) in the left hand margin followed by the word which should replace the one marked in the text is employed in **K** once by the scribe (f. 25^v) and once by the corrector (f. 4^v). Transposition of words in the text are marked with superscribed Greek numbers (α', β' and γ') in **V**. Unfortunately, a long note written in the same hand in **V** (ff. 102^r, 115^r) is entirely illegible in the reproduction of the facsimile I have consulted (Plate 17).

In **K**, **L** and **V**, the names of the interlocutors in the *Dialogue*, with the exception of Neilos Kabasilas, are usually abbreviated and copied in red ink: Thomas Aquinas: θωμᾶς,

³³⁸ A preliminary textual examination of the sections of Kydones' *Antirrhetic* cited *verbatim* in the *Dialogue* shows that Chrysoloras most probably consulted a tradition closely linked with *Vat. gr.* 614 (**D**). Cf. variant readings under siglum **D** in the *apparatus criticus* accompanying the edition below.

³³⁹ **P**: f. 56^r ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ἀγγέλων [2.²⁹⁰]; f. 60^r ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ψυχῆς [2.⁵⁹¹].

θωμ(ᾱς) or θω^{μ<ᾱς>} (e.g., **K**: ff. 12^v, 26, 30, and 43; **L**: ff. 17, 33, 38^v and 40^v; **V**: ff. 90^v, 103^v, 117^v, and 123^v); Demetrios Kydones: κυδών(ης) or κυδ(ῶ)ν(ης) (e.g., **K**: 3^v, 13, 31 and 44^v; **L**: ff. 13, 17, 45 and 62^v; **V**: ff. 80^v, 89, 114 and 129^v); and Demetrios Chrysoloras: χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾱς) or χρυσολωρ(ᾱς) (e.g. **K**: 7, 11^v, 15 and 40³⁴⁰; **L**: ff. 1, 14, 19^v and 42^r; **V**: 81, 92, 105^v and 131^v). Neilos Kabasilas' appears in as νεῖλ^{ος} or νεῖλ^{λ<ος>} (e.g., **K**: ff. 13, 26, 30, and 37^v; **L**: ff. 17, 49, 55^v, and 62^v; **V**: ff. 90^v, 103^v, 115^v, and 117^v). It seems that the rubricated names were added after the copying of the text in blank spaces left for this purpose by the scribe. The names are omitted in **P** though blank space was reserved for this purpose.

Ligatures, contractions of *nomina sacra* (and their derivatives), abbreviations, suspensions and superposition of letters were extensively employed by all scribes in the copying of this lengthy text. A dash is placed over contracted names in all codices. **L** also used the dash over proper names (e.g., ff. 33^v, 35, and 36^{r-v}).

Regarding the mute *iota*, this is usually omitted by all scribes, with some exceptions where it appears in its subscript form. Double accents were placed in certain cases over μὲν, δὲν, and ἄν by the scribe of **L** to denote antithesis and rhetorical emphasis. All scribes employed infrequently and inconsistently the *diplē stigmē* over *iota* and *upsilon*, usually to distinguish these letters in ligatures. The sign of *diarexis* was occasionally omitted (e.g., **L** against **KPV**: ἀύλοις for ἀϋλοις [8.1]; **P** against **KLV**: ἀυλία for ἀϋλία [12.66]).

The scribe of **L** has a tendency to place the acute accent instead of grave over the words οὐδεῖς (οὐδεις) (e.g., 1.412, 2.180, 2.308) and οὐδὲν (οὐδέν) (e.g., 1.96, 2.230, 3.30, 8.81) even when these words are not placed before a punctuation mark.

The type of errors in **K**, **L**, **P** and **V** are examined separately below.

A. ERRORS FOUND IN THE TEXT³⁴¹

1. Errors due to confusion of sounds

³⁴⁰ The name of Χρυσολωρᾱς in full appears whenever adequate space was left for the rubricator in **K** (e.g., ff. 4, 11^v).

³⁴¹ An asterisk (*) has been placed against entries which appear in more than one cases of error.

i. itacisms (affecting ι, ει, η, οι, υ):

K against LPV: ατελει for ἀτελή [1.634]*; ἀχώρηστον for ἀχώριστον [2.164]; διαλέγει for διαλέγη [5.77]; ἐξυρημένων for ἐξηρημένων [2.7]; θέλει for θέλη [13.109]; ὁμολόγοις for ὠμολόγοις (L): ὁμολόγοις (PV) [1.281]*; τοι for τι [3.213]

L: καὶ λήματος for λείμματος [2.311]

L against KPV: ἄγρικον for ἄγροικον (PV) : ἄγροικον (K) [6.1.28]*; ἀντιστήση for ἀντιστήσει [2.30]; ἀπόχρη for ἀπόχρη [13.1]; ἄφυκτόν for ἄφυκτόν [12.215]; γενέσι for γενέσει [1.10]; δειλιτήρια for δηλητήρια [12.184]; εἰ for οἱ [12.351]; εἶδωμεν for ἴδωμεν [2.351]; θειάσων for θιάσων [12.259]; ὅποι for ὅπη [2.437]; συγκρινῆ for συγκρινεῖ [2.107]; χελιδόνων for χελιδόνων [6.34]

P against KL: προσικουσα for προσήκουσαν [1.309]

P against KLV: ἄδιά for ἄδειά [11.145]; ἀδυναμείαν for ἀδυναμίαν [1.634]*; ἀνομίω for ἀνομοίω [3.118]; ἀντιπεῖν for ἀντειπεῖν [3.19, 13.10]; αὐτοῖς for αὐτῆς [2.472]; βραχὺ for βραχεῖ [11.38]; γέμην for γέμειν [1.176]; δοκεῖ for δοκῆ [1.10, 6.1.36]; ἐποίη for ἐποίει [2.221]; εὐσεβέσει for εὐσεβέσι [1.596]; ἐφεισυχάζοντι for ἐφησυχάζοντι [1.24]; ἥριτο for ἥρητο [2.482]; ἱερεῖς for ἱεροῖς [1.457]; μόνη for μόνοι [1.487]; οἰκίαν for οἰκείαν [1.50]*; παιδία for παιδεία [1.153]; πᾶντι for πάντη [1.6]; παντία for παντοῖα [2.430]; πλεονεκτίμασιν for πλεονεκτήμασιν [1.139]; πολεμῆς for πολεμεῖς [7.117]; πρόισι for πρόεισι [12.13]; σαρκωθήσαν for σαρκωθεῖσαν [1.598]; σύνεστοι for σύνεστι [9.67]; τοῖς for τῆς [6.44]; τρεῖς for τρις [1.434]; ὑπόντος for εἰπόντος [3.45]; φήσιν for φύσιν [1.696]; ψηφίζει for ψηφίζη [13.38]

KP against LV: εἴσεται for οἴσεται [12.133]*; παιδία for παιδεία [3.145]

KPV against L: εἶδε for οἶδε [12.34]*; κροκοδύλου for κροκοδείλου [1.459]; φύσει for φήσει [2.282]

KLPV: ἀπολέλιπε for ἀπολέλοιπε [6.1.41]; ἀφοσιεῖς (KPV) : ἀφοσιῆ (L) for ἀφοσιοῖς [10.45]; ἐρης for ἐρεῖς [2.622]; κροκοδύλους for κροκοδείλους [1.456]; οἰκίας for οἰκείας [2.588]

ii. confusion of ε and αι:

L against KV: ἀφεραῖσει for ἀφαιρέσει [11.87]*

L against KPV: αἰσθηῆτες for ἐσθηῆτες [1.497]

K against LPV: λυμένεται for λυμαίνεται [6.1.8]*; σημένειν for σημαίνειν [2.665, 7.98]

P against KL: ἐσθητῶν for αἰσθητῶν [1.328]

P against KLV: ἀνεσθήτων for ἀναισθήτων [1.96]; ἀπόκρινέ for ἀπόκριναί [2.621];
ἀποφένεσθαι for ἀποφαίνεσθαι [2.598]

KPV against L: ἐξαπινέως for ἐξαπιναίως [1.99]

iii. confusion of ο and ω:

K against LPV: ἀγονίζεσθαι for ἀγωνίζεσθαι [1.31]; ἀγονιζόμενος for ἀγωνιζόμενος [1.45]; ἀγονιζομενω for ἀγωνιζομένω [1.49]; ἡμικυκλίον for ἡμικυκλίων [3.173]; χρόμενος for χρώμενος [10.60]

L against KV: ἑκατοστοεικοστωγδῶ for ἑκατοστοεικοστογδῶ [2.312]*

L against KPV: ἀγριότατα for ἀγριώτατα [1.456]; αἰσχρόν for αἰσχρῶν [1.100]; αὐτὸν for αὐτῶν [12.205]*; ἀφορισμένα for ἀφωρισμένα [11.45]; ἐκείνων for ἐκεῖνον [1.205]; θεὸν for θεῶν [1.448]; κίωνας for κίονας [12.18]; οὕτως for οὕτος [1.194]; πόσον for πόσων [1.68]; πρωσωπικὸν for προσωπικὸν [11.55]; τῷ for τὸ [10.51]*; ὑφιστὸν for ὑφιστῶν [11.62]; ὦ for ὀ [1.484]

P against KL: γεννωμένον for γεννωμένων [1.304]*

P against KLV: ἀγονίζεσθαι for ἀγωνίζεσθαι [1.17]*; ἀθλιότερος for ἀθλιώτερος [3.42]; ἀλλιοστήν for ἀλλιοπήν [2.580]*; ἀμφοτέρων for ἀμφοτέρων [7.108]; αὐτῷ for αὐτὸ [1.359]; ἐδορεῖτο for ἐδωρεῖτο [1.411]; ἐκείνω for ἐκεῖνο [1.360]; ἐροτᾶ for ἐρωτᾶ [6.10]; ζητήτω for ζητείτω [2.197]; ἴσος for ἴσως [1.294, 1.439, 1.675, 3.34]; μαλακότεραι for μαλακώτεραι [2.144]; παρέδωσαν for παρέδοσαν [1.432]; πεπονημένον for πεπονημένων [12.374]; πλανομένων for πλανωμένων [1.426]; πρῶσοπον for πρόσωπον [12.42]; πωτέ for ποτέ [3.135]; συμφωνῶ for συμφωνῶν [1.631]; τέος for τέως [1.661]; τὸ for τῷ [1.24]; τοιούτων for τοιοῦτον [1.175]; τρώπω for τρόπω [1.73]; ὕβρεος for ὕβρεως [1.170]; φοιτόντων for φοιτώντων [1.206]; χρομένου for χρωμένου [13.82]; χωρὸς for χορὸς (KV) : χορός (L) [1.481]*; χωρῶ for χορῶ [7.52]

KPV against L: ὁμολόγεις (PV) : ὁμολόγοις (K) for ὠμολόγεις [1.281]*; σοφὸν for σοφῶν [1.470]*

KLP: τῶ for τὸ [1.347]

KLPV: ἄκρως for ἄκρωσ [10.112]; τῶ for τὸ [10.49]; ὑποπτεύθη for ὑπωπτεύθη [8.97]

iv. confusion of β and υ:

P against **KLV:** ἐπελαύοντο for ἐπελάβοντο [3.170]

v. single for double consonants:

L: λήματος for λείματος [2.311]*

L against **KV:** παλιλογεῖν for παλιλλογεῖν [13.105]

L against **KPV:** ἔριψεν for ἔρριψεν [12.53, 12.182]; πόρω for πόρρω [2.346]

P against **KLV:** ἔλατον for ἔλαττον [8.90]; ἐνοεῖν for ἐννοεῖν [6.31]; θαροῦντες for θαρροῦντες [12.352]; συλογισμὸν for συλλογισμὸν [6.2.13]

LP against **KV:** ἐνοεῖν for ἐννοεῖν [12.107]; παλιλογεῖν for παλιλλογεῖν [2.479]

KPV against **L:** παραβάλωμεν for παραβάλλωμεν [6.68]

KLPV: ἀσυρίων for Ἀσσυρίων [1.418]

vi. double for single consonants:

K against **LPV:** καλλεῖτε for καλεῖτε [12.92]

L against **KPV:** ἀπορῶ for ἀπορῶ [6.1.39, 6.1.41]; γεννέσει for γενέσει [6.1.95]; γέννεσις for γένεσις [6.1.96, 6.1.97]; διακεκριμμένα for διακεκριμένα [2.25, 2.31, 7.53]

P against **KV:** παλλιλλογεῖν for παλιλλογεῖν [13.105]*

P against **KLV:** προβολλεῖς for προβολεῖς [11.141]*

LP against **KV:** προβαλλοῦμαι for προβαλοῦμαι [12.1]

KLPV: ἀτιθάσσου for ἀτιθάσου [3.142]; μέλλει for μέλει [13.6, 13.103]

2. Errors in accentuation

i. faulty accents:

K against **LPV**: ἄρα for ἄρα [1.281]; ἀρχήν for ἀρχήν [12.186]; αὐτήν for αὐτήν [1.682]; ἐάν for ἐάν [6.1.5]; ἐγῶ for ἐγώ [1.224]; λαβῶν for λαβῶν [6.11]; πηγῆ for πηγῆ [2.676]; πολύ for πολὺ [9.80]; σοφῶ for σοφῶ [1.271]; σπουδῆν for σπουδῆν [12.223]; συναγαγῶν for συναγαγῶν [1.214]; ταῦτα for ταυτὰ [3.103]; ὑπέρ for ὑπέρ [1.486]; φθορᾶ for φθορὰ [6.1.101]

L against **KV**: κἄν for κἄν [12.74]*

L against **KPV**: ἀμιγῆ for ἀμιγῆ [8.10]; ἀναγκαῖαν for ἀναγκαῖαν [8.69]; ἀνδρός for ἀνδρός [10.12]; ἀπλήν for ἀπλήν [2.354]; αὐτός for αὐτός [1.438, 2.202, 3.32, 221, 4.57, 6.51, 6.54]; γελαστικόν for γελαστικόν [9.43]; δέ for δέ [1.198]; διαμένουσα for διαμένουσα [2.476]*; δυνάμει for δυνάμει [3.205]; δυνατόν for δυνατόν [1.622, 6.1.21]; δυνατός for δυνατός [2.499]; ἐγγύς for ἐγγύς [2.328]; ἐκτός for ἐκτός [6.20]; ἐμβαδόν for ἐμβαδόν [2.162]; ἐν for ἐν [4.3]; ἐστίν for ἐστίν [1.692]; ἐστίν for ἐστίν [13.65]; ἦ for ἦ [6.1.27]*; ἦν for ἦν [7.80]; θεία for θεῖα [8.74, 10.75, 12.223]; θεῖαν for θεῖαν [12.84]; θνητός for θνητός [1.438]; κοινόν for κοινόν [5.57]; μηδέν for μηδέν [2.665, 3.109, 6.78, 6.1.16]; μικρόν for μικρόν [1.376]; οἰκεία for οἰκεία [11.58]; οἰκείαν for οἰκείαν [2.50]; οὐδεῖς for οὐδεῖς [1.412; 1.491, 2.180, 2.308, 2.505, 3.190]; οὐδέν for οὐδέν [1.96, 1.222, 1.338, 1.386, 1.458, 1.587, 1.627, 1.629, 1.667, 2.230, 2.251, 2.254, 2.277, 2.317, 2.505, 2.618, 2.659, 2.672, 3.30, 3.42, 3.217, 5.25, 5.57, 6.89, 6.1.5, 6.1.8, 6.1.15, 6.1.53; 8.81; 8.89]; σοφός for σοφός [2.37]; τόν for τόν² [5.35]; τυχόν for τυχόν [1.471]; σφῖσιν for σφῖσιν [12.184]; τελευταῖα for τελευταῖα [12.256]; τίνας for τίνας [2.292]; τυχόν for τυχόν [2.650]; υἰόν for υἰόν [6.1.150]; χορός for χορός (KV) : χωρός (P) [1.481]*; ψυχρὰ for ψυχρᾶ [6.1.56]

P against **L**: τί for τί : τι (KV) [3.115]*

P against **KLV**: ἀντιφῶν for ἀντιφῶν [3.156]; εἶθ' ὥσπερ for εἶθ' ὥσπερ [1.246]; ἐκείνοι for ἐκεῖνοι [1.281]; ἐκποδῶν for ἐκποδῶν [13.84]; ἐστὶ for ἐστὶ [7.58]; ἐστίν for ἐστίν [1.121, 6.1.15]; ἐστίν for ἐστίν [1.12]; θανῶν for θανῶν [2.501]; ἴδια for ἴδια [1.231]; ἴσον for ἴσον [2.626, 2.628]; κἄν for κἄν [2.32, 12.91, 12.187]; μεμνήσθαι for μεμνήσθαι [1.118]; οὔσι for οὔσι [6.7]; πᾶς for πᾶς [1.79]; τί for τί [2.148]

V against **KLP**: τίς for τίς [1.190, 1.192]

KP against **LV**: τίς for τίς (τις corr.) [5.22]

KV against LP: αὐτὸν for αὐτόν [3.144]; γαβροῦλ for γαβροῦλ [6.1.147]; δυνατὸν for δυνατόν [8.50]; ἐκπορευτὸν for ἐκπορευτόν [2.701]; ἔν for ἔν [3.123]; θεὸν for θεόν [1.464]; μὴ for μη [6.39]; μηδὲν for μηδέν [3.180]; οὐ for οὐ [1.512, 1.612, 2.155, 6.1.90, 6.1.97, 6.1.120]; οὐδὲν for οὐδέν [1.476, 2.632, 2.660; 7.98, 9.56]; οὐδενὸς for οὐδενός [6.63]; σιωπὴ for σιωπή [12.265]; σκοπὸς for σκοπός [7.100]; ταυτὸν for ταυτόν [10.102]

LP against KV: ἀπλήν for ἀπλήν [2.352]; διπλή (P) : διπλή (L) for διπλή [12.253]; ὁποῖαν for ὁποῖαν [12.59]

LV against P: ἀληθές for ἀληθές [12.60]*

LV against KP: τί for τί [2.149]

LP against KV: τίς for τίς [2.232]

PV against KL: τί for τί [10.136]

KLV against P: ἀλλοιωτήν for ἀλλοιοτήν [2.580]*; ναὶ for ναί [1.657]; ὀρθήν (LV) : ὀρθήν (K) for ὀρθήν P [3.173]*

KPV against L: αἰτιατὸν for αἰτιατόν [7.52]; ἀληθές for ἀληθές [9.6]; ἀνήρ for ἀνήρ [4.25]; αὐτὸς for αὐτός [2.100, 4.33, 6.10]; βοὸς for βοός [5.53]; γαβροῦλ for γαβροῦλ [2.371]; γελαστικὸν for γελαστικόν [9.50]; ἔστιν for ἔστιν [12.370]; κὰν for κὰν [12.367]; λοιπὰ for λοιπά [6.25]; μηχανῆ for μηχανή [12.241]*; οἰκεῖα for οἰκεῖα [2.388]; οὐδενὸς for οὐδενός [7.70]; σιγὴν for σιγήν [12.304]; συγχωρῆσαι for συγχωρῆσαι [10.23]*; τί for τί [2.6]; τινὸς for τινός [3.17]; τίς for τίς [1.700, 2.410]; ὥς for ὥς [10.71]*

LPV against K: κῦνες for κύνες [1.98]; τί for τί [2.124, 9.46]; τούτους for τούτοις [4.58]

KLPV: εἰσὶ for εἰσὶ [2.144]; ἦτταν for ἦτταν [1.204]; οἰκεῖα for οἰκεῖα [11.21]; ὁποῖα for ὁποῖα [2.275]; ὁποῖαν for ὁποῖαν [2.707]; σχολῆ for σχολή [12.133]; τί (KLV) : τί (P) for τι [2.329]; τίς for τίς [2.123]

ii. double accents:

L against KPV: ἀνάγεσθαι for ἀνάγεσθαι [6.50]; μίᾱς for μιᾱς [9.48]

P against KLV: ἀσπάζεσθαι for ἀσπάζεσθαι (LV) : [ἀ]σπάζεσθαι (K) [1.15]*

V against LP: τελειότερον for τελειότερον [2.340]*

iii. accents on wrong syllable:

L against **KPV**: δίδασκαλος for διδάσκαλος [10.41]; ἐνεργεία for ἐνέργεια [1.692]; ἔστι for ἔστί [11.59]; ἔστιν for ἐστίν [2.552]; οὐδεμία for οὐδεμιᾶ [2.219]; οὐδεμιᾶ (KV) : οὐδὲ μιᾶ (P) for οὐδεμία [12.241]

P against **KLV**: ἀμφότερων for ἀμφοτέρων [4.47]; ἀνθρώπων for ἄνθρωπων [1.100]; ἀρτέμιν for ἄρτεμιν [1.430]; ἐντελέχεια for ἐντελεχεία [1.689, 1.700]; καταβάλεσθαι for καταβαλέσθαι [1.191]; περὶ for πέρι [6.1.68]; προσχήμά for πρόσχημά [12.28]; συναύξησειν for συναυξήσειν [1.123]

KPV against **L**: ψευδῆ for ψεύδη [3.29]

KLPV: ἐξελής for ἐξέλης [12.123]; ἔστιν for ἔστιν [1.563]

iv. omission of accents:

K against **LPV**: ἀληθες for ἀληθές (P) : ἀληθές (LV) [12.60]*; ἔστιν for ἔστιν [12.306]; εὐχερες for εὐχερές [2.187]; θατερον for θάτερον [2.101]; κὰν for κὰν [6.1.36]; μη for μῆ [2.112]; σοι for σοί (P) : σοί (LV) [13.99]; το for τὸ [2.686]; ὕβρεως for ὕβρεως [10.25]

L against **KPV**: ἔασαντες for ἐάσαντες [12.329]; μετα for μετὰ [2.693]; μη for μῆ [6.38, 12.233]; τα for τὰ [3.183]; το for τὸ [6.1.143]

P against **KL**: πεττειν for πέττειν [1.308]

P against **KLV**: ἀναγκη for ἀνάγκη [11.129]; ἀντικρυσ for ἄντικρυσ [2.256]; βελτιστ' for βέλτιστ' [2.423]; εἰπων for εἰπὼν [2.679]; ἐξεγενετό for ἐξεγένετο [1.191]; ἠκιστά for ἦκιστά [2.82]; λεγειν for λέγειν [8.80]; παρελκον for παρέλκον [4.28]; συνθεσις for σύνθεσις [12.87]; ταυτα for ταῦτα [2.418]; τις for τῖς [1.422, 1.488]; χαριτες for χάριτες [1.65]

KV against **L**: τι for τὶ : τί **P** [3.115]*

KPV against **L**: ἔστι for ἔστι [2.474];

v. wrong use of enclitics:

L against **KV**: οἶον τε for οἶόν τε [2.631]*

L against **KPV**: ἀληθές σοι for ἀληθές σοι [6.1.53]; ἀτελές τε for ἀτελές τε [2.390]; αὐτὰ γε for αὐτά γε [13.42]; γραμμὴν τε for γραμμὴν τε [3.201]; ἔστι for ἔστι [1.575]; ἔστιν for ἔστιν [1.574]; εὖγέ σοι for εὖγε σοι [2.114]*; ἰδού σοι for ἰδού σοι [2.654]; ἰσχυρόν τι for ἰσχυρόν τι [12.155]; λαμπρόν τι for λαμπρόν τι [1.201]; λογιζόμενη σοι for λογιζομένη σοι [6.1.102]; λογικόν τε for λογικόν τε [1.493]; μαθηματικά τέ for μαθηματικά τέ [4.14]; σφόδρά γε for σφόδρα γε [2.159]; χαρακτηριστικόν ἔστι for χαρακτηριστικόν ἔστι [11.25]

K against **LPV**: ἀναρχον τε for ἀναρχόν τε [1.623]; λεγόμενα σοι for λεγόμενά σοι [7.101]

P against **KLV**: ἀδιάκριτά ἔσται for ἀδιάκριτα ἔσται [2.43-44]; γὰρ ἔστι for γάρ ἔστι [1.587]; γίνεται τί ἔστι for γίνεται τι ἔστι [2.556]; δὲ ἔστιν for δέ ἔστιν [7.104]; ὁμοίον γε for ὁμοίον γε [2.110]; πῶς ποτὲ for πῶς ποτε [2.190]

KPV against **L**: τοῦτο γε for τοῦτό γε [11.123]; ὥς γε μοι for ὥς γέ μοι [13.2]

KLPV: ἄλλο τι for ἄλλο τι [2.675]; ἀναγκαῖα σοι for ἀναγκαῖά σοι [12.305, 13.95]; ἀντικείμενον ἔστιν (ἀντικείμενόν ἔστιν P) for ἀντικείμενον ἔστιν [2.365]; δοκοῦντα σοι for δοκοῦντά σοι [2.34]; ἵνα τι for ἵνα τι [2.15]; κρεῖττον σοι for Κρεῖττόν σοι [6.1.30]; οἶμαι σε for οἶμαί σε [5.63]; ὁμολογοῦμεν σοι for ὁμολογοῦμέν σοι [3.24]; ὃ τινὶ (KPV) : ὃ, τινὶ (L) for ὅ τινι [10.22]; σχῆμα γε for σχῆμά γε [2.519]; ταῦτα σοι for ταῦτά σοι [2.454]; τοῦτο γε for τοῦτό γε [2.236, 12.362]; τοῦτο μοι for τοῦτό μοι [3.219]; τοῦτο σοι for τοῦτό σοι [2.464, 11.92, 12.135]; χρῆσθαι σε for χρῆσθαι σε [12.26]

3. Errors in breathings

i. faulty breathings:

K against **LPV**: ἄγροικον for ἄγροικον (PV) : ἄγρικον (L) [6.1.28]*; ἄκρως for ἄκρως [8.62]; ἀπλῶς for ἀπλῶς [1.694]; ἄτοπα for ἄτοπα [1.407]; ἐπόμενα for ἐπόμενα [1.359; 2.514]; ἐπομένη for ἐπομένη [8.75]; ἐπόμενον for ἐπόμενον [2.173, 10.119, 11.112]; ἐπόμενος for ἐπόμενος [8.70]; ἐπομένως for ἐπομένως [1.601, 1.675]; ἐπτὰ for ἐπτὰ [4.69]; ἦν for ἦν [1.546, 1.550, 1.622, 9.16]; ἰσχυροῖς for ἰσχυροῖς [12.229]; οὕτω for οὕτω [3.8]

L against **KPV**: ἀπάτην for ἀπάτην [4.29]; αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ [10.84]; αὐτοὺς for αὐτοὺς [12.275]; αὐτῶν for αὐτῶν [2.308]; εἴθισται for εἴθισται [5.75]*; εἰλικρινές for εἰλικρινές [1.132, 1.224]; ἔν for ἔν [3.3]; ἔξει for ἔξει [2.451, 8.84]; ἔξεστι for ἔξεστι [1.387, 2.114, 2.116, 2.333]; ἔξεστί μοι for ἔξεστί μοι [7.119]; ἕτερα for ἕτερα [9.63]; ἦ for ἦ [6.1.27]*; ὁμωμοκῶς for ὁμωμοκῶς [10.12]; ὄντα for ὄντα [7.32]; οὕτως for οὕτως [2.297]

P against **LV**: ἡγουν for ἡγουν [2.566]*

P against **KLV**: ἄμιλλαν for ἄμιλλαν [1.186]; αὐτοὺς for αὐτοὺς [12.239]; ἐκάστω for ἐκάστω [1.181]; ἐξῆς for ἐξῆς [3.212]; ἐπομένως for ἐπομένως [9.74]; ἦ for ἦ [1.266]; ἡρέμεις for ἡρέμεις [1.219]; ἱκανὴν for ἱκανὴν [1.203]; ἴσα for ἴσα [1.279]; ὄρκους for ὄρκους [1.490]; οὕπω for οὕπω [3.139]; ὡς for ὡς [1.197]; ὡσὰν for ὡσὰν [1.197]*

KP against **LV**: ἀμίλλαις for ἀμίλλαις [1.185]; ἀπλότητα for ἀπλότητα [1.659]; ἐξῆς for ἐξῆς [6.1.91]; ἦ for ἦ [11.74]

LP against **KV**: ὀρμῆς for ὀρμῆς [1.197]

KPV against **L**: αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ [5.69, 6.56, 8.29, 8.31, 8.39, 8.41]; αὐτοὺς for αὐτοὺς [6.68]; αὐτῶ for αὐτῶ [10.21]; αὐτῶν for αὐτῶν [8.9]; ἦ for ἦ [2.658]; ἡρεμεῖν for ἡρεμεῖν [1.88]; ἡρεμίαν for ἡρεμίαν [1.25; 1.83]

ii. omission of breathings:

K against **LPV**: ἀλήθεια for ἀλήθεια [1.648]; ἀναπληροῖ for ἀναπληροῖ [2.593]; ἀτελεῖ for ἀτελεῖ [2.322]; ἀτελεστέρω for ἀτελεστέρω [2.365]; ἀτελεστέρων for ἀτελεστέρων [2.329]; ἀτελεῖ for ἀτελεῖ [1.634]*; αὐταῖς for αὐταῖς [2.130]; ἐροῦσι for ἐροῦσι [2.6]; ὀρθὴν for ὀρθὴν (LV) : ὀρθὴν (P) [3.173]*

L against **KPV**: ἀντιθέσει for ἀντιθέσει [2.446]; ἀρχὴν for ἀρχὴν [7.37]; αὐθις for αὐθις [2.305]

P against **KL**: εὐπορῶν for εὐπορῶν [1.315]

P against **KV**: αὐτῶ for αὐτῶ [10.45]*

P against **KLV**: ἀνέχεται for ἀνέχεται [1.20]; ἀντικείμενα for ἀντικείμενα [1.584]; αὐτοῦ for αὐτοῦ [7.82]; οὐσιώδη for οὐσιώδη [11.48]; οὐχ for οὐχ [1.692]

V against **KLP**: ὕστερον for ὕστερον (KL) : τοῦστερον (P) [1.223]

iii. omission of breathing in crasis:

L against KPV: προύβη for προῦβη [1.97]; προύλεγες for προῦλεγες [1.670, 2.466, 623];

προούτεινεν for προῦτεινεν [12.156]

P against KLV: κακείνα for κάκείνω [1.236]*

iv. omission of the elision apostrophe:

L against KPV: ἄλλ οὐδὲ for ἄλλ' οὐδὲ [11.72]; ἐνυποκειμένου for ἐν ὑποκειμένω

[12.59]*; ἐνυποκειμένω for ἐν ὑποκειμένω [12.45]; καθ' αὐτόν for καθ' αὐτόν (KV)

: καθ' αὐτόν (P) [6.1.9]; καθυποκειμένου for καθ' ὑποκειμένου [12.59]

KPV against L: δὲ ἀνώτατον for δ' ἀνωτάτω [1.465]*

v. redundant breathings:

L against KPV: θατέρου for θατέρου [1.517]

P against KLV: ἀρόρήτοις for ἀρρήτοις [1.599]

KL against PV: σαύτοῡ (L) : σαύτοῡ (K) for σαυτοῡ [2.424]

4. Omission of *diaeresis sign*

L against KPV: ἀύλοις for ἀῦλοις [8.1]

P against KLV: ἀυλία for ἀῦλία [12.66]

5. Other errors due to *lapsus calami*

K against LP: δικαστῆ for δικαστικῆ [1.313]

K against LPV: ἐκπο<ρ>εῦεσθαι for ἐκπορεῦεσθαι [12.218]; ἐψεφίζοντο for

ἐψηφίζοντο [1.472]; λέγον for λέγοντι [1.631]; σὲ for δὲ [1.231]*; σελήνης for

σελήνη [1.425]; τοῦ for τὸ [10.127]]*; ψεύδει for ψεύδει [1.229]

L against KPV: ἀντικειμένους for ἀντικειμένους [12.275]; διαμένουσα for

διαμένουσα [2.476]*; ἐπειδήπερ for ἐπειδήπερ [12.8]; τίνες for τίνες [2.141]; ὦ for

ὡς [7.53]

P against **KL**V: δυνά for δυνάμενα [3.72]; ἐξέγχει for ἐξελέγχει [4.73]; εὐβεβέσι for εὐσεβέσι [1.116]; μὲν for δὲ [1.271]*; ὁ for ὄ [1.538]*; πάντας for πάντα [1.356]*; πλαστή for πλαστική [1.443]*; πόλ' ἐμόγησε for πόλλ' ἐμόγησε [1.233]*; πρό for πρός [1.360]; προῦλες for προῦλεγες [1.152]; πώνωνα for πώγωνα [5.42]; τί for τίς [2.215]*

KV against **LP**: δε for δὲ [1.253]

6. Errors due to misinterpretation of abbreviations

K against **LPV**: ἤως for ἤγουν (ἤ(γουν) **PV**) [2.566, 7.105, 10.64, 10.138]

KPV against **L**: κλήματος for καὶ λήματος [2.311]*

7. Erroneous words

K against **LPV**: ἔνδοξεν for ἔδοξεν [6.2.10]; περιμέτρως for περιμέτρου [3.122]; φιγμένων for ἀφιγμένων [2.499]

L against **KPV**: ἀτιμάζειε for ἀτιμάζει [1.123]; διακεκρίσται for διακεκρίσθαι [5.43]; ἐνυπαρχόντως for ἐνυπάρχοντος [2.556]; ἐνορωμένοις for ἐν ὀρωμένοις [1.528]; ἐνυποκειμένου for ἐν ὑποκειμένω [12.59]*; προσφέρεις for προφέρεις [1.172]; φαινουμένων for φαινομένων [2.276]

P against **KL**V: ἀλήθευες for ἠλήθευες [13.47]*; ἑκατοεικοστογδώ for ἑκατοστοεικοστογδώ (ἑκατοστοεικοστογδώ **L**) [2.312]*; ἐλεγίζετο for ἐλογίζετο [9.35]; ἐλελογίζοιτο for λογίζοιτο [2.615]; ἔντι for ὄντι [1.374]; συμβεβὸς for συμβεβηκὸς [5.3]; τί for τίς [1.14]

KPV against **L**: τετραχιλίους for τετρακισχίλιοι [1.487];

8. Omission of letters

P against **KL**V: πόλ' ἐμόγησε for πόλλ' ἐμόγησε [1.233]

V against **KLP**: ἔμελεν for ἔμελλεν [1.210]

9. Redundant use or omission of the euphonics –v

K against **LPV**: ἔστιν for ἔστι [9.25]

L against **KPV**: εὔρεν for εὔρε [13.108] **P** against **KV**: καθ' ἑαυτὸν for καθ' ἑαυτὸ [2.288]*;

P against **KLV**: ἄλλον for ἄλλο [1.61]; ἀνάγκην for ἀνάγκη [4.31]; δυσὶ for δυσὶν [2.667]; ἔνεστι for ἔνεστιν [1.609]; ἔοικε for ἔοικεν [10.12]; ἔστι for ἔστιν [1.100, 2.128]; ἔστι for ἔστιν [1.534, 1.559]; ἔστιν for ἔστι [10.76]; εὐσεβέσι for εὐσεβέσιν [2.599]; ἔχουσι for ἔχουσιν [2.232]; λέγουσι for λέγουσιν [1.654]; νοήμασι for νοήμασιν [1.286]; ὄ for ὅς [6.2.8]; παντάπασι for παντάπασιν [12.331]; φασι for φασιν [1.575];

LP against **KV**: πρόσεστι for πρόσεστιν [1.389]

10. Dittography

P: post οὐδὲν scr. οὐδὲν [5.57]; ante τὸ scr. τὸ [2.253]*

V: post διάμετρος scr. et cnc. καὶ διάμετρος [3.116-17]*

11. Wrong separations of compound words

L against **KPV**: ἐξ ἐγένετο for ἐξεγένετο [1.373, 7.37]*; μὴ δέ ποτε for μηδέποτε [2.170]; οὐδ' ὅλως for οὐδόλως [2.417, 12.360]; οὐδὲ μιᾶ for οὐδεμιᾶ [2.443]; οὐκ οὔν for οὐκοῦν [1.577, 2.53]; πᾶν τὰ for πάντα [12.302]; ὑπ' ἀλληλον for ὑπάλληλον [2.528]

P against **KLV**: ἀνθ' ὑπουργοῦντες for ἀνθυπουργοῦντες [1.492]; ἐξ ἐγένετό for ἐξεγένετό [13.116]

LV against **KP**: οὐδὲ μιᾶ for οὐδεμιᾶ [2.549]

LP against **KV**: οὐκ ἔτι for οὐκέτι [12.277]

12. Wrong joining of words

K against **LPV**: ἐπειδὲ for ἐπεὶ δὲ [1.608]; ὡσᾶν for ὡς ἂν [1.541]

L against **KPV**: ἐπενίων for ἐπ' ἐνίων [5.20]; παρόλον for παρ' ὅλον [12.291]; προσεκάτερον for πρὸς ἐκάτερον [12.317];

P against **KLV**: ἐπάπειρον for ἐπ' ἄπειρον [3.132]; ἐπειδὲ for ἐπεὶ δὲ [1.551]; καίτοιγε ἐν for καίτοι γ' ἐν [2.148]; οὐκαγαθὸν for οὐκ ἀγαθὸν [2.609]

KV against **L**: τοῦστερον (K) : τοῦστερον (V) for τὸ ὑστερον [1.223]*

KV against **LP**: οὐκεναντία for οὐκ ἐναντία [2.704]; ταπολλά for τὰ πολλὰ [12.262]*; τοπρῶτον for τὸ πρῶτον [1.102]*

KLV against **P**: τουνῦν for τοῦ νῦν [3.211]; τοπρότερον for τὸ πρότερον [12.234]*

KPV against **L**: καθὸ for καθ' ὃ [1.697]; τοῦπρῶτον for τὸ πρῶτον [1.223]*

KLPV: ὡσᾶν for ὡς ἂν [1.236]

B. ERRORS CORRECTED

1. Errors due to confusion of sound affecting η, ι, υ, ει, οι, ο, ω, ε, αι

K: ἀγωνιζομένους from ἀγονιζομένους(?) [1.60]; ἰσχὺν from ἰσχὴν(?) [1.399]

L: εἴθισται from ἤθισται [5.75]*; θνητῶν from θνητὸν [6.1.71]; τις from τη [4.4]; τὸ³ et sscr. ῶ for τῶ [12.14]*; τῶ from τὸ [10.51]*

P: ἀμεταστρεπτι from ἀμετατρεπτι [1.81]; αὐτῶ from αὐτο(?) [2.400]; ἥδιον from ἴδιον [1.225]*

V: βούλει et sscr. η for βούλη [2.707]; οἴσεται from εἴσεται [12.133]*; συνομολογήσειεν from συνωμολογήσειεν [1.79]; τελειότερον from τελειοτέρων [2.340]*; φήσονταί from φείσονταί [1.232]*; ὡς from ὄς [10.71]*

KV: ἔχοι from ἔχει [1.77]

LP: ἀπεκρίνου from ἀποκρίνου [10.107]

2. Accents and breathings

NB. Corrections of accents and breathings were made by the scribes either by altering them or crossing them out. In few cases the correct accent or breathing was added next to the wrong one or above it. In the entries below letters bearing an accent which was crossed out by the scribe are underlined.

L: ἀλοῆσαι from ἀλόησαι [1.453]; ἀπό from ἀπό [2.258]; γεννᾶ from γεννὰ [2.154]; ἐθέλων from ε'θέλων [2.445]; ἐξ ἐγένετο from ἐξεγένετο [7.37]*; ἐπελάθετο from

ἐπελάθετο [8.33]; εὐρών from εὐρῶν [13.12]; κακείνοις from κακείνοις [12.246];
μηχανή from μηχανῆ [12.241]; οἶαν from οἶαν [1.314]; περί from περὶ [3.83];
συγχωρούση from συγχωροῦσι [6.50]; τῶ from τὸ [10.51]*

P: γεννωμένον from γεννώμενον [1.304]*; πλήθος from πλήθος [2.486]; χρεῶν from
χρεῶν [6.67]; ταῦτα from ταύτα [1.408]

V: ἀπιθάνων from πιθανῶν [13.14]*; αὐτῶν from αὐτῶν [8.9]*; ἐπεὶ from ἔπει [1.608];
ἐρεῖς from ἐρεῖς [6.82]; ἦ τινος from ἦ τινός [2.500]; πατρὸς from πατρός [1.657]

3. Word endings

NB. Corrections in word endings were made by the scribes by overwriting or altering letters, or usually adding the correction above the line.

L: ἐναντίω from ἐναντίον [2.53]; τὸ from τὸν [1.535]

V: ἐκεῖνο from ἐκεῖνος [11.5]*

KV: τούτου from τούτων [12.25]*

4. Word crossed out and replaced

V: post νῦν scr. et del. εἰρημένων et scr. ὄρωμένων [6.1.75]

5. Words and phrases crossed out

P: post εἶχετο scr. et del. οὐδ' οὕτω σε τῆς ἀληθείας εἶχετο [1.131]

V: post εἰπεῖν scr. et del. εν [1.652]; post ἀλλοῖον scr. et del. κυδώνης [2.93]; ante
αὐται scr. et del. κυδώνης [2.144]; post στρατηγὸς scr. et del. γικὸς (ex
στρατηγικὸς?) [3.11]; post διάμετρος scr. et cnc. καὶ διάμετρος [3.116-17]; post τὸ
scr. et cnc. μεν [5.65]; ante αἰτία scr. et del. illeg. [9.71]; post ἄρα scr. et del. τῶ
[11.141];

6. Words written above the line

K: ὁ [9.1]; τὸν [13.116]*

L: τῆς [2.396]; τὸ [2.516]

P: ἀλλ' [1.393]; καὶ σώματος [2.578]; οὖν [1.43]

V: αἰ [3.132]; αὐθις [2.577]; αὐτοῖς [2.294]; μὲν [8.42, 12.14*]; οἷς [12.47]*; τὸ [10.30]*; χριστοῦ [12.320]

7. Other superscribed corrections

K: θαεῖν et post sscr. ν for θανεῖν

P: βουλομένοις et sscr. ευ cum sign. sup. lin. for βουλευομένοις [1.474]; βουλομένω et sscr. ευ for βουλευομένω [1.25]; εὐρίσσηται et sscr. κ sup. lin. for εὐρίσκηται [1.159]; συχωρήσαι et post sscr. γ for συγχωρήσαι [10.23]*

V: λογικῶ et sscr. σσι for λογιστικῶ [6.1.69]*; ὀρηθηῖναι et sscr. ἀποκλῖναι [1.222]*; ὦν et sscr. οὔ [7.99]

8. Transposition of words indicated by superscribed Greek numbers (α, β, γ)

V: ἄν ἴσως for ἴσως ἄν [3.118]*; κοινὸς λόγος for λόγος κοινὸς [3.190-91]; λόγος τῶ θωμᾶ for τῶ θωμᾶ λόγος [1.213]*; νεῖλος ἐνιστάμενος for ἐνιστάμενος νεῖλος [6.2.10-11]*; τυχὸν ἢ ἄλλοι for ἢ τυχὸν ἄλλοι [11.88]*

9. Words or letters *in rasuram*

NB. Letters in ras. appear *italicised*

L: μηδὲν [6.1.1]; λυμαίνεται [6.1.8]*; σύνεστι [9.79]; προτέρου [9.80]; μόνον [10.11]; ῥηθέντων [10.13]; οὐ [11.119]; μὴ [13.116]

K: δημητρίου τοῦ χρυσολωρᾶ [Tit.]; δημήτριος [Tit.]; τῆ [2.249]

P: θάτερον [2.101]

V: ἀντοῦ [11.21]; θωμᾶς [6.1]; κυδώνης [10.97, 103, 105]; κυδώνης [10.99]; χρυσολωρᾶς [10.98]; χρυσολωρᾶς [10.100]; χρυσολωρᾶς [8.99, 10.104]

10. Corrections given in the margin

K: ὀρηθηῖναι in textu et γράφε ἀποκλῖναι in marg. al. man. [1.222]

V: βουλομένοις in textu et scr. [βουλευο]μένοις in marg. [1.474]; ante συμφωνῶ scr. et del. χρυσολωρᾶς et scr. κυδώνης in marg. [2.150]; ante καὶ scr. et del. κυδώνης et scr. χρυσολωρᾶς in marg. [2.152]; ante οὐκοῦν scr. et del. κυδώνης et scr. χρυσολωρᾶς in marg. [2.158]; ante ὀρωμεν scr. et del. κυδώνης et scr. χρυσολωρᾶς in marg. [2.160]; ante λοιπὸν scr. et del. κυδώνης et scr. χρυσολωρᾶς in marg. [2.163]; ante τὶ scr. χρυσολωρᾶς in marg. [2.335]; scr. ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς per sscr. sign. in textu et add. ἐκ [τοῦ πνεύματος?] in marg. [8.95]*

KV: τοιάδε in textu et scr. τοιαῦτα in marg. [2.15]*; προσηγορίαν in textu cum signum et add. γράφε τὴν προφορὰν cum signum (K) : προσηγορίαν in textu cum signum et add. τὴν προ[οφορὰν] cum signum (V) [2.702]

11. Part of the text added in the margin

P: ante καὶ scr. signum et scr. κυδ[ώνης] in marg. [2.240]; post ἀναλογίαν scr. signum et scr. in marg. χρυσολωρᾶς [3.112]; εἰ-φθορὰ om. in textu et scr. in marg. [6.1.101-2]; scr. sign. in textu et scr. in marg. κυδ[ώνης] [11.145]

V: ante κύκλος scr. αὐτῶ in marg. [2.680]

12. Other errors corrected

L: ῥοίζω from ῥοῖζω [1.169]; λαμβανόμενος, from λαμβανόμενος. [6.34]

V: ἐξελέληκεται from ἐξελέλεκται [9.14]*

13. Significant correction concerning a *nomen sacrum*

V: ἐκ [τοῦ πν(εύματος)?] from ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς [8.95]*

14. Lacunae due to damage on the paper

K against **LPV:** [ἀ]σπάζεσθαι for ἀσπάζεσθαι (LV) : ἀσπάζεσθαι (P) [1.15]*; [εἶη] for εἶη [1.14]; [ἐ]κ[φύ]γοι for ἐκφύγοι [1.15]; ἡσυχάζ[ων] for ἡσυχάζων [1.11]; [πάντων] for πάντων [1.13]; βαρβάρω for βαρβάρω [1.40]

15. Corrections and replacement of the text by another hand due to damage of the paper

K: alt. man. scr. ῥάδιον [1.16]; alt. man. scr. ὡς οὐ λαλῶν [1.17-18]; alt. man. scr. ἐπαινεῖται [1.20]; alt. man. scr. χρωμένους [1.23]; alt. man add. καὶ Θεὸς τὸν [1.40-41]; alt. man add. πῶς ἂν εἶη [1.42]; ταυ prima man. et alt. man. scr. ταυτὸν [1.161]; alt. man. scr. ξαν et subscr. δό for δόξαν [1.164]; ἀλλ' ἔ scr. prim. man., et ἀλλ' ἔφεισιν scr. alt. man. [1.218]; βουλο scr. et cnc. prim. man., et βουλομένω scr. alt. man. for βουλομένω [1.219]

16. Erasures

L: τοῦ¹-Χρυσολωρᾶ [Tit.]; post αὐτός scr. et eras. 3 litt. [1.217]

C. READINGS³⁴²

1. Variant forms of the same words

K against **LPV:** ταῦτὸν for ταυτὸν [10.33]

L against **P:** φήσοντάς με for φήσοντάς μοι [1.232]

L against **KV:** φήσοντάς με for φήσονταί μοι [1.232]*

L against **KP:** μόνης for μόνος [1.302]

L against **KPV:** ἀδικώτερον for ἀδικώτερος [8.101]; ἀδύνατον for ἀδύνατος [6.1.13]; ἀναιρεῖν for ἀναιρεῖ [5.16]; αὐτῶ for αὐτὸ [6.1.110]; γένει for γένους [5.49]; δ' ἀνωτάτω for δὲ ἀνώτατον [1.465]*; δῆλον ὅτι for δηλονότι [3.188]; διὰ ταῦτα for διαταῦτα [10.140]; διὰ τί for διατί [5.78]; εἰπόντος for εἰπόντες [3.58]; εἰς ἅπαν for εἰσάπαν [1.371]; ἐκόντα for ἦκοντα [12.270]; ἐκτεινόμενα for ἐκτεινόμεναι [2.132]; καθ' ἡμέραν for καθημέραν [7.38, 13.69]; κοινωνοῦντας for κοινωνοῦντα [1.600]; μηδὲ for μὴ δὲ [1.272]; μόνω for μόνον [2.292]; ὅπερ ἐστὶν for ὅπερ ἐστιν [8.95]; οὕτως for οὕτω [2.598, 3.1, 6.1.89, 8.80, 11.143]; παραπλησίους for παραπλησίας

³⁴² Readings adopted in the present edition are given first.

[1.441]; πολέμιος for πολεμίοις [1.123]; πορρώτερον for πορρωτέρω [2.397]; προσαναγκάζει for προσαναγκάζειν [12.225]; πῦρ for πυρὶ (KV) : πυρὶ (P) [1.228]; σοφῶν for σοφὸν [1.470]*; τὰ for τὸ [1.366]; τὸ πρῶτον for τοῦ πρῶτον [1.223]*; τὸ ὕστερον for τοῦ ὕστερον (K) : τοῦ ὕστερον (V) : τοῦ ὕστερον (P) [1.223]*; τοῦτο for τούτω [10.116]; τύχοιεν for τύχοι [1.50]

P against KL: προῦπαρχούσαις for προπαρχούσαις (L) : προ ὑπαρχούσαις (K) [1.333]

P against KLV: αὐτὰ for αὐτῶ [1.359]; διὰ ταῦτα for διαταῦτα [7.55]; διὰ τοῦτο for διατοῦτο [1.296, 2.193, 304-5, 6.40]; (ἐγῶμαι) ἐγ' ῶμαι for ἐγῶμαι [2.696]; μηδὲ for μὴ δὲ [1.352]; τὸ πρότερον for τοπρότερον [12.234]*

V against KLP: τᾶλλα for τ' ἄλλα [2.714; 13.7]

KL against P: γεννωμένων for γεννωμένον [1.304]*; νομίζεται for νομίζεται [1.302]; παραδεχόμενον for παραδεχομένου [1.309]

KP against L: τᾶλλα for τ' ἄλλα [1.347]

KL against PV: οὕτως for οὕτω [1.131]

KV against L: ἀποδεικνύουσιν for ἀποδεικνῦσιν [3.129]

KV against P: ἀποδεικνύουσιν for ἀποδείκνυσιν [3.129]

KV against LP: πρὸ παντός for προπαντός (P) : προπαντός (L) [13.102]; τᾶλλα for τ' ἄλλα [2.298, 9.85 bis, 11.49, 11.98]; τὰναγκαῖα for τ' ἀναγκαῖα [12.37]

LP against KV: ἐξ ἀρχῆς for ἐξαρχῆς [1.355]; εὐσεβὲς for εὐσεβῆς [2.710]; τ' ἄλλα for τᾶλλα [4.71]; τὰ πολλὰ for ταπολλὰ [12.262]*; τὸ πρῶτον for τοπρῶτον [1.102]*; τοῦ νῦν for τουνῦν [1.673]; τούτου for τούτων [12.25]*

LV against K: λογιστικῶ for λογιστικῶς [6.1.69]*

LV against KP: γίνεταί for γίνεται [1.602]; ἐξ ἀνάγκης for ἐξανάγκης [6.1.105-6]

PL against KV: τὸ πλεόν for τοῦ πλεόν [1.506]

VP against LK: ἄλλως τε for ἄλλωστε [1.235]

KLV against P: ἀγωνιζομένων for ἀγωνιζομένω [1.181]; ἄλλως for ἄλλω [6.1.119]; ἀνθρώπου for ἄνθρωπον [11.69]; ἀντίκεινται for ἀντίκειται [3.76]; ἀρχὴν for ἀρχή [12.33]; ἀτελές for ἀτελεῖς [2.400]; ἀτοπα for ἀτοπον [4.48]; αὐτὰ for αὐτοῦ [1.664]; γίνεταί for γίνεται [1.146]; γίνεσθαι for γίνεσθαι [2.550]; δὲ ἔστι for δ' ἔστι [2.69]; δὲ ἔστι for δέ ἔστι [8.9]; δῆλος ἔστι for δῆλός ἔστι [1.351]; διαμέτρου for διὰ μέτρου [3.110]; δύναται for δύνασθαι [12.277]; ἐκείνων for ἐκείνω [2.283]; ἐξ ἀνάγκης for ἐξανάγκης [2.23, 25]; ἐξ ἀρχῆς for ἐξαρχῆς [2.438]; ἐπιγινόμενόν

ἐστιν for ἐπιγινομένου ἐστίν [11.77-78]; ἐπὶ πλέον for ἐπιπλέον [6.1.130]; ἐπομένως for ἐπομένω [7.107]; ἔριδας for ἔριδος [12.348]; ἔχασθαι for ἔχεται [2.597]; θεολόγων for θεολόγω [8.75]*; θεολόγου for θεολόγον [7.80]; θεολόγων for θεολόγω [8.75]*; θ(εὸ)ς for θ(εὸ)ν [1.392]; κάκείνω for κακείνα [1.236]*; κάκείνω πεπονημένος for κάκείνον πεπονημένον [1.250-51]; ὁ for ὁ [1.538]; παραλαμβάνονται for παραλαμβάνεται [2.132]; παρόμοιος for παρόμοιον [12.294]; πρῶτος for α' [2.357]; σαφῶς ἐστι for σαφῶς ἐστὶ [10.33]; τὸν for τὸ [1.291]; τούτω for τούτων [2.69]; ὕλης for ὕλην [2.544]; ὑπερβάλλουσαν for ὑπερβάλλουσα [1.451]; ὑποστάσεως for ὑποστάσεων [12.54]; χωρισθείση for χωρισθείσης [2.489]; ὦ for ὦν [3.58, 13.23]; ὦ γὰρ for ὦ ἀγαθὲ [12.331]

KPV against L: ἀπεργάζεται for ἀπεργάζετο [1.499]; ἀπλοῦν for ἀπλὸν [10.148]; αὐτῶ for αὐτῶν [8.68]; αὐτῶν for αὐτὸν [12.205]; διατὶ for διὰ τί L [5.78]; διατὶ for διὰ τί [11.121]; ἐξ ἀρχῆς for ἐξαρχῆς [1.384]; δηλός ἐστι for δηλὸς ἐστὶ [3.105]; ἐξελέληγκται for ἐξελέληκται [9.14]*; ἐκείνο for ἐκείνος [11.5]*; ἐφαρμόζεται for ἐφαρμόζετο [2.164]; θεοῦ for θεῷ [2.412]; ἦ τινος for ἦ τινὸς [2.500]; κἀνταῦθα for κἀν ταῦτα [6.28]; κατ' ἄλλο for κατάλλο [9.7]; κατὰ ταυτὸν for καταταυτὸν [6.1.22-23, 6.1.26-27, 9.48-49, 13.33-34]; κοινόν ἐστι for κοινόν ἐστὶ [9.2]; κόσμον for κόσμος [12.152]; λογίζοιτο for λογίζηται [1.212]; μείζονος for μείζονι [6.1.45]; μορφή for μορφῆν [2.518]; νόμους for νόμος [7.23]; ὅτινι for ὅ τινι [6.1.110]; οὐδενός for οὐδ' ἐνός [8.24]; οὐκοῦν for οὐκ οὖν [1.280]; ὅ φησιν for ὁ φησὶν [12.127]; προβάλλη for προβάλλει [7.25]; προτέροις for πρότερον [12.202]; στέρησιν for στέρησις [6.1.12]; τἀληθές for τὸ ἀληθές [1.299]; τᾶλλα for τ' ἄλλα [1.368]; ταῦτα for ταυτὰ [4.37]; τὸ³ for τῶ [12.14]*; τὸ^{1,2} for τῶ [12.16]

KPL against V: ἀπαιτοῦσι for ἀπαιτῶσι [12.260]; διώκουσιν for διώκωσιν [12.260]

LPV against K: ἀδελφὴν for ἀδερφὴν [1.51]; θωμᾶ for θωμᾶς [12.7]; κατὰ συμβεβηκός for κατασυμβεβηκός [2.569]; προμηθέως for προμηθέων [12.219]; τελειότερον (LP) : τελειότερον (V) for τελειοτέρων [2.340]*; τὸν for τὸ [2.396]; τῶν for τῶ [11.10]; φησί (P): φησὶ (LV) for φασὶ [11.39]

1a. Different spelling or forms of foreign names and places

L against KPV:

KPV against **L**: ἀσινίων for ἀσυνίων [1.484]

KLPV: δ' Ἀλκαμένης for δαλκαμένης [1.445-46]; Χίος for κείος (L) : κῖος (KPV) [3.159];

Μελήτω for μελίτω [12.278]; Νύσσης for νύσης [8.49, 8.65]

2. Different readings

L against **K**: βουλευομένους for βουλομένους [1.341]

L against **KP**: ὁ τοίνυν τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι for ὁ τοίνυν αὐτὸ τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι [1.336]

L against **KPV**: ἀναλογίαν for ἀλογίαν [3.49]; ἀνασκευῆς for κατασκευῆς [6.8]; ἀτιμώμενος for ἀτιμαζόμενος [12.317]; αὐτὰ for ταῦτα [2.160]; γὰρ for δὲ [1.559]; γε for τε [2.350]; δί' υἱοῦ for δί' οὐ [10.131]; ἐμῶν for ἡμῶν [5.71]; ἐν ἧ for ἐνὶ [7.85]; ὅλας for ἄλλας [6.1.63]; ὅπου for ποῦ [6.1.47]; οὔσαν for εὔσαν [2.517]; καθ' αὐτὸ for καθ' ἑαυτὸ (καθ' ἑαυτὸν P) [2.288]*; καὶ λήματος for κλήματος [2.311]*; οἶδε for εἶδε [12.34]*; ὅλως for οὐδόλως [12.108] ὄντος for οὔσης [7.89]; σαυτῶ for αὐτῶ (KV) : αυτῶ (P) [10.45]*; τὰληθῆ for ἀληθῆ [13.71]; τελειότερος for τέλειος [2.357]; τὸν αὐτὸν for ταυτὸ [6.1.8]; φαντάζεται for θαυμάζεται [3.203]; φροντίδος for φροντίδα [2.640]; φήσει for φύσει [2.282]*; χεῖρον for χεῖρω [13.61]

KL against **PV**: πιθανῶν for ἀπιθανῶν (P) : ἀπιθάνων (V) [13.14]*

LP against **KV**: εἰς for εἷς [2.320]

LV against **KP**: μήτραν (μήτρ[αν] V) for μέτρον [1.689]

KLV against **P**: ἠλήθευες for ἀλήθευες [13.47]*; ἀδιάκριτα for διάκριτα [2.14]*; ἀποκλῖναι for ὀρμηθῆναι [1.222]*; αὐτὰ for αὐτὸ [5.27]; αὐτῶ for αὐτόν [4.36]; ἀφαιρέσει (KV) : ἀφεραῖσει (L) for ἀφαίρει [11.87]*; βουλευόμενον for βουλόμενον [10.83]; βουλευομένου for βουλομένου [1.52]; βουλευομένω for βουλομένω [1.558]; βραχύ τι for βραχύτητι [5.55]*; γένεσις for γέννησις [6.3]; δὲ for γὰρ [1.637]; διακρινουῖμεν for κρινουῖμεν [2.72]; διοίσουσι for δίδουσι [2.217]; ἐδιώκετε for ἐδωκετε [6.1.157]; εἶεν for εἶα [1.406]; ἴσως for ἴσου [3.135]; θείας for ἀληθείας [2.303]; κὰν (KV) : κὰν (L) for καὶ [12.74]*; κατὰ λόγον for καταλόγου [6.1.21]; λογιστικὸν for λογικὸν [1.519, 1.521]; λογιστικῶ (LV) : λογιστικῶς (K) for λογικῶ [6.1.69]*; μόνοι for μόνον [4.56]; νῦν for αὖ [3.58]; οἰκείαν for οἰκίαν [1.50]*; οἶόν τε (KV) : οἶόν τε (L) for οἶοντε [2.631]; ὅμοιος for ὁμοίως [7.87]; οὐδὲ for οὐ [2.36]; ποίου for ποῖον [6.37]; σαυτὸν for ταυτὸν [1.139]; στεφανοῦν τὰς for στεφανοῦντας [2.628]; συντίθεσαι for συντίθεσθαι [12.187]; ταῦτα (L) : ταυτὰ (KV) for αὐτὰ [9.62];

τῆ for τῶ [8.92]; τί for τὸ [2.253, 3.214]; τόδε for τὸ δὲ [2.23]; τοιαῦτα for ταῦτα [2.458]; τοιαῦτα for τοιάδε [2.15]*; τοῦ δὲ for τοῦδε [3.178]; τούτου for τοῦτο [3.127]; τῶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἔρωτι for τῶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἔρωτι [1.216]

KPL against V: οὓ for ὦν [7.99]*

KPV against L: γνώμην παρενεγκεῖν for νικῆσαι γνώμην [1.30-31]; προσόν ἐστιν for πρὸς ὃν ἐστιν [10.118]

LPV against K: ἄψασθαι for ἀψεσθαι [6.92]; ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος for ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ πατρὸς [8.95]*; ἐνεχομένου for ἀνεχομένου [7.15]; ἐνοῦσαι for ἐνοῦσα [4.18]

3. Different word order

L against KPV: πιστεύει ζῶντι θεῶ for πιστεύειν θεῶ ζῶντι [1.483]; τὸ θεῖον ἐν τούτῳ πεπέρασται for ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον πεπέρασται [1.604]; συγγνώμην δίδοναι for δίδοναι συγγνώμην [6.57]; ψιλῆς καὶ for καὶ ψιλῆς [6.63-64]; αὐτῷ φανερόν ἐποίει for φανερόν ἐποίει αὐτῷ [11.29-30]; προιέναι ὁμολογεῖται for ὁμολογεῖται προιέναι [12.9]; ταυτὸν, καὶ ἓν ἐστι τῷ ἀριθμῷ for ταυτὸν ἐστι καὶ ἓν τῷ ἀριθμῷ [12.80]; ὅλως ἔδει γενέσθαι for ἔδει γενέσθαι ὅλως [13.27]

KL against P: ἢ ἄλλοι τυχόν for ἢ τυχόν ἄλλοι [11.88]*

KL against V: ἢ ἄλλοι τυχόν for τυχόν ἢ ἄλλοι [11.88]*

KLV against P: ἀρμόζει τῷ θωμᾶ λόγος for τῷ θωμᾶ ἀρμόζει λόγος [1.213]*; ὁ μακάριος ἐνιστάμενος νεῖλος for ἐνιστάμενος ὁ μακάριος νεῖλος [6.2.10-11]*; μὴ καὶ for καὶ μὴ [13.26]

LV against KP: ἴσως ἂν for ἂν ἴσως [3.118]*

4. Addition of words

P: καὶ [1.657]; ante ταῦτα scr. τὰ [3.92]; post καὶ¹ scr. τὸ [5.65]; ante αὐτοῦ scr. αὐτῆς [7.89]

KPV: τοῦ [1.614]; τὸν [6.1.148]; ἄρα [9.79]; ἐν [12.137]; αὐτοῦ [12.320]

5. Omission of words

K: τὲ [1.343]; γὰρ [1.349]; τὰ [1.470, 6.1.144]; τὸ² [1.531]*; ὁ [4.21]; τὴν [6.38]; καὶ [6.1.65]; χρυσολωρᾶς [10.94]; δὲ [11.96]; ἦν [12.157]

L: τὸ [10.30]*; μὲν [12.14]*; οἷς [12.47]*; μοι [13.115]

P: μὲν [1.65]; ὡς [1.160]; καὶ [1.353, 2.643, 2.679, 7.44, 10.99, 11.64, 11.103; 12.34, 12.292, 13.81]; τῶν [2.260, 13.117]; τὴν [2.439]; δὲ [2.469]; τὰ [2.643]; τοι [3.14]; τὸ [5.10, 10.31]; αὐτοῦ [7.85]; ἄν [9.50]; τῶ [9.67]; περὶ [10.109; 12.172]; ἡ [12.98]; μὴ [12.199]; τῆ [13.38]; δοκεῖ [13.90]

V: κυδώνης [8.77]

KP: ἦ² [12.47]

KLP: τὸ [6.2.2]

KPV: αὐτῶ [10.34]; ἐν [2.20]; ζῶα [2.63]; εἶναι [2.207]; γε [2.436, 13.96]; ἔστιν [2.539]; ἦ [11.28]; καὶ [11.131, 11.141]; κυδώνης [2.595]; κυδώνης (KP) : ἐκ post cor. ex κυδώνης? (V109v) [5.13]; μαρίαν [6.1.7]; οἶεται [5.16]; οὖν [2.426, 12.59, 12.264]; ταῦτα [9.73]; τε [2.470]; τῆς [3.189]; τοῦ [1.387, 10. 139, 11.10, 13.63]; τοῦτο [7.4]; χαλεπὸν [1.33]; χρυσολωρᾶς [2.598]; ἀληθέστερον [12.124]

LPV: τὸν [13.116]*

6. Omission of phrases

K: Θωμᾶς-χαρίζαιντο [1.706-708]; Χρυσολωρᾶς-διηγούμενου [1.709]; τὰ-διακρίνεσθαι [4.11];

P: Titulus; πρὸς-φθαρτόν [3.91]

V: τὸ δεινὸν-συνεξελαθήσεται [1.299-349]

KPV: πῶς ἄν-πολέμιος [1.108-109]; τὸ-ἀλλοίους [2.392-393]; καὶ-τούτου [2.486-487]; γένει-ποσοῦ [3.55-56];

7. Missing words or part of words due to damage on paper

K: εἶη [1.14]; ἐπίδει[ξιν] [1.38]; πάντων [1.13]

8. Omission of phrases due to *homoioteleuton*

K: ἀφαιρῶν-φύσεως [1.337-344]; εἶναι-διάφορα [2.18-19]; ἄτοπον-βουλόμενον [2.426-427]; παραβάλλοντι-ἄλλον [2.295-296]; ἀνάγκη-ψεῦδος [4.44-45]; ἀλλὰ-λόγον [7.110-111]

KPV: ἡ μάλλον-ἀναγκαῖον [12.370-371]

9. Marginal glosses and notes

K: γράφε ἀποκλῖναι [1.222]*; <συλλογισμός> ε in marg. [5.81-82]

L: αἴλουρος [1.460]; <συλλογισμός> α [2.1]; ώραῖον [1.26, 1.54-55, 1.60-62, 1.100-101, 1.113-115, 1.228, 1.319-320, 1.529-530, 1.624-625, 2.631-632, 2.641-642, 13.83-84, 13.98-99, 13.105-106]; ώραῖον ὄλον [1.18-21, 1.108-112, 1.120-124, 1.299-302, 1.409-414, 2.687-692]; γ in marg. [2.504-515]; <συλλογισμός> δ in marg. [5.1-5]; <συλλογισμός> στ in marg. [7.1-5]; <συλλογισμός> ζ in marg. [8.1-5]; ἰωάννης, καὶ μάξιμος, in marg. inf. [12.18]; ώραῖον in marg. [13.28-29]

P: τὰ δ' εἰρ[.] in marg. inf. [1.462]; ἥδιον in marg. inf. [1.225]; σημείωσαι περὶ ἀγγέλ(ων) in marg. [2.290]; στε<ρος> in marg. inf. [2.358]; σημείωσαι περὶ ψυχῆς in marg. [2.591]; ἐν μ<έν> in marg. inf. [4.6]; αὐτῶ in marg. inf. [8.68]; αὐτὸς in marg. inf. [12.196]

V: ώραῖον [1.16-18]; <συλλογισμός> ι[α] in marg. [12.1-4]

KL: β in marg. [2.495-504]; <συλλογισμ>ός β in marg. [3.1-4]; ώραῖον in marg. [3.208-210]; <συλλογισμός> γ in marg. [4.1]; <συλλογισμός> η in marg. [9.1-4]; <συλλογισμός> ια in marg. [12.1-4]

KV: ώραῖον ὄλον [1.108-12]; <συλλογισμός> ε in marg. [7.1-5]; <συλλογισμός> ζ in marg. [8.6-10]

LV: <συλλογισμός> ε in marg. [6.1-5]; <συλλογισμός> θ in marg. [10.1-5]

KLP: γνωμικόν in marg. [13.77]

KLV: γνωμικὸν in marg. [1.189-90]; διονύσιος in marg. [2.248-50]; κύριλλος in marg. [2.250-53]; α in marg. [2.494-95]; δ in marg. [2.515-22]; ε in marg. [2.522-24]; στ in marg. [2.524-30]; ζ in marg. [2.531-32]; η in marg. [2.533-34]; θ in marg. [2.535-36]; ι in marg. [2.537-39]; ια in marg. [2.540-43]; ιβ in marg. [2.544-46]; ιδ in marg. [2.552-53]; ιζ in marg. [2.560-70]; <συλλογισμός> ι in marg. [11.1-4]

Relation of the manuscripts

The autograph of Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* (α) has not yet been found, if it has survived. The textual and palaeographical examination of the text in the four extant codices (**K**, **L**, **P**, and **V**) show that **L** (datable to the 15th c.) represents the best transmission of the text, with a few minor omissions and a number of mistakes, mainly due to confusion of sounds, accents and breathings. This would suggest that **L** is linked with α through an intermediary transmission (β).

V (also datable to the 15th c.) share similarities but also a number of differences with **L**, mainly variant and different readings, word order, omissions of words and passages of the text. Thus, **V** seems to be linked with β through an intermediary tradition (γ).

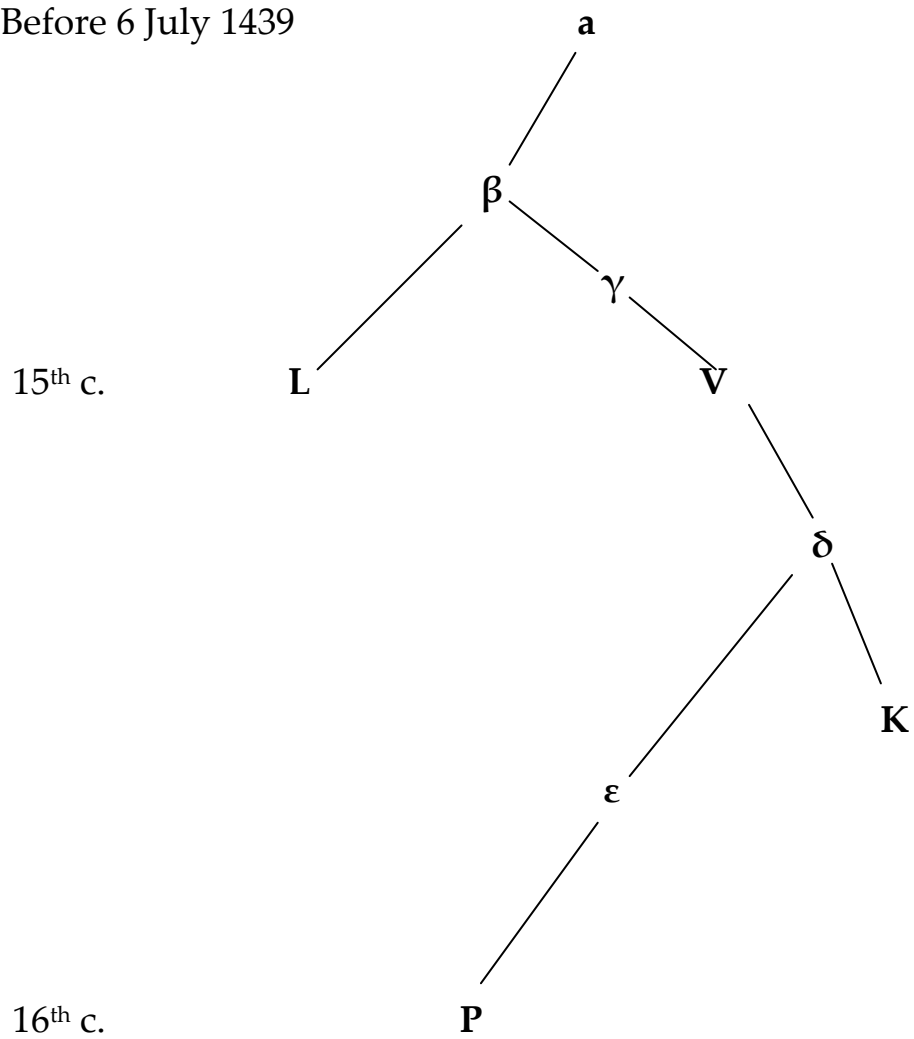
K (15th c.) shares the same variant and different readings, omissions and additions in the text with **V**. In addition, **K** adopted the corrections made in **V**. However, additional omissions in **K** and further mistakes (due to confusion of sounds, accents and breathings) in **K** suggests that these two traditions are closely linked through an intermediary transmission (δ). This supposition seems to be confirmed also by the fact that **K** misinterpreted the abbreviated form of ἤγουν in **V**, erroneously expanding it as ἤως [e.g., 7.¹⁰⁵, 10.⁶⁴, 10.¹³⁸]. Similarly, the word μίτρω[αν] in **V** was misinterpreted as μέτρω by **K** [1.⁶⁸⁹].

P (datable to the 16th century) shares a large number of variant and different readings, additions and omissions with both **K** and **V**. At the same time **P** introduced a large number of errors not found in **K** and **V**. The fact that **P** adopted the word ἤγουν (without misinterpreting it as ἤως as in **K**) but adopted the word μέτρω (as in **K**) shows that **P** is linked with δ through an intermediary tradition (ϵ).

On the basis of these observations the relation of the MSS can be reconstructed in the following *stemma codicum*:

Stemma codicum

Before 6 July 1439



Edition

The present edition

The present edition of Demetrios Chrysoloras' *Dialogue on Demetrios Kydones' Antirrhetic against Neilos Kabasilas* is based on the principal codex **L**, though occasionally readings from **K**, **P**, **V** and **D** have been preferred.

The punctuation system in **L** is followed throughout the text, in accordance with the conventions adopted in the Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca, with very few modifications (converting middle commas or upper points in the MS to commas in our edition), to show the extent to which the principal MS was copied with the intention of facilitating the oral delivery of the *Dialogue*, hence its rich punctuation, often at the expense of the clarity of the text. For the same reason in certain cases we have used dashes (— —) instead of commas to indicate parenthetical sentences in long, convoluted passages. Classical, scriptural and patristic citations, as well as proverbs are marked by *italicised* characters, while citations within citations and words used as terms in the text are placed within Greek quotation marks « ». *Verbatim* sections of Kydones' and Kabasilas treatises appear in **bold** characters, while sections of Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* (in Kydones' translation cited in Kabasilas' *DPSS III*) are placed in **bold underlined** characters. In the present edition we have adopted the conventional title (*Defensio*) of Kydones' *Antirrhetic* against Neilos Kabasilas.

Acute accent has replaced the grave on oxytones followed by a punctuation sign. The accentuated personal pronouns, the indefinite pronouns τίς, τί, and the particle τὲ have been treated as enclitics. Joined words used as adverbial expressions (e.g., διατοῦτο etc.) have been separated, while μὴ δὲ(v), and μὴ δ' have been joined. The *iota* subscript in the dative and certain adverbs (e.g., παντῆ, κοινῆ) has been tacitly introduced. The *diplē stigmē* over *iota* and *ypsilon*, used infrequently in the four extant MSS, has been retained only as a *diaeresis* sign over the second of two consecutive vowels not forming a diphthong.

To facilitate the reader in following the arguments in the *Dialogue*, section and subsection division has been introduced, marked by Indian numerals in bold characters placed within square brackets: e.g., [3], [3.1], [3.2] etc. Each section is

numbered (every five lines) in the margin separately. The subject of each syllogism, which is omitted in the MSS, is described in the title included in pointing brackets (e.g., [2] Συλλογισμὸς πρῶτος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>).

Finally, the *apparatus* is divided into five sections:

- (a) *apparatus* recording passages of Kabasilas' treatise *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, and Kydones' *Defensio*.
- (b) *apparatus* with parallel passages in Chrysoloras' *Dialogue* and other works of his.
- (c) *apparatus Thomisticus* recording passages from Thomas Aquinas' works.
- (d) *apparatus fontium* recording Classical, Scriptural and Patristic sources, as well as proverbs, cited or alluded to in the text.
- (e) negative *apparatus criticus*, recording all variant and different readings, emendations, corrections, additions, omissions, erasures, deletions, interlinear and marginal notes in the MSS. In sections of the *Dialogue* citing *verbatim* Kydones' *Defensio* readings from codex **D** (*Vat. gr. 614*) have been adopted and recorded in the *apparatus criticus*³⁴³.

³⁴³ *Dialogue*: ἀνεπίσκεπτον for ἐπίσκεπτον [5.⁶⁷]; εἰκαιολογίας for δικαιολογίας [6.⁵⁴]; ἄτεκνον for τέκνον [6.1.²⁴]; ἀνασκευάζειν for κατασκευάζειν [9.¹⁰]; οὔτε for οὐ τί [11.⁸⁵].

Sigla Codicum

Demetrii Chrysolorae *Refutatio*

- K** Codex *Hauniensis GkS* 1985 4^o (XV s.), ff. 1^r-57^r
L Codex *Laurentianus* XII, *Pluteus* V (XV s.), ff. 1^r-74^r
P Codex *Parisinus graecus* 1284 (XVI s.), ff. 42^r-85^r
V Codex *Vaticanus graecus* 1109 (XV s.), ff. 78^r-135^r

Demetrii Cydonis *Defensio*

- D** Codex *Vaticanus graecus* 614 (XV s.), ff. 110^r-126^v

Abbreviationes

add.	addidit, -erunt	ll.	lineae
al. man.	altera manus	om.	omisit, -erunt
cf.	confer	op. cit.	opere citato
cnc.	cancellavit	p.	pagina
codd.	codices	pp.	paginae
del.	delevit	post cor.	post correctionem
ed.	edidit, editio	prim. man.	prima manus
eras.	erasit	r	recto (folium)
f.	folium	scil.	scilicet
ff.	folia	scr.	scripsit, -erunt
ibid.	ibidem	sign.	signum
illeg.	illegibilis	sscr.	superscripsit, -tum
in marg.	in margine	subscr.	subscripsit
in marg. inf.	in margine inferiore	sup.	supra
in ras.	in rasuram	suppl.	supplevit
lac.	lacuna	titul.	titulus
lin.	linea, -am	v	versum (folium)
litt.	littera, -ae	vid.	vide

Signa Typographica

|| lineolae directa in textu transcribendo finis codicis L foliis simulque initium foliis insequentis significatur

() uncis lunatis in *apparatum* littera vel litterae per contractionem aut suspensionem in codice omissae significatur

[] uncis quadratis in *apparatum* lacunae includuntur

< > uncis angulatis suppleta ab editore includuntur

Sigla Sacrae Scripturae

Act.	Actus Apostolorum	Luc.	Evangelium secundum Lucam
Apoc.	Apocalypsis	Marc.	Evangelium secundum Marcum
Col.	ad Colossenses Epistula	Matth.	Evangelium secundum Matthaem
1 Cor.	I ad Corinthios Epistula	Od.	Odae
Deut.	Deuteronomium	Prov.	Proverbia
Exod.	Exodus	Ps.	Psalmorum liber
Heb.	ad Hebraeos Epistula	1 Regn.	I Regnorum
Gen.	Genesis	Rom.	ad Romanos Epistula
Ier.	Ieremias	Sus.	Susanna
Iob		2 Tim.	II ad Timotheum Epistula
Ioh.	Evangelium secundum Ioannem	Tit.	ad Titum Epistula
1 Ioh.	I Iohannis Epistula		

Abbreviations used in the *apparatus fontium*

Acta Pauli, <i>Mart. Pauli</i>	Acta Pauli, <i>Martyrium Pauli</i> , ed. R.A. Lipsius, <i>Acta apostolorum apocrypha</i> , vol. 1 (Hildesheim, 1959), pp. 104-117
Anon., <i>Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ζωνῶν</i>	Anonymus, <i>Περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ζωνῶν</i> , ed. R. Kunze, 'Die Anonyme Handschrift (Da 61) der Dresdner Königlichen Bibliothek: ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΖΩΝΩΝ', <i>Hermes</i> 34 (1899), 345-361
Apost., <i>CparG II</i>	Apostolius, <i>Collectio paroemiarum</i> , ed. E.L. von Leutsch, <i>Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1851; repr. Hildesheim, 1965 ²), pp. 233-744
Athen., <i>Deipnos.</i>	Athenaeus Naucraticus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> , ed. G. Kaibel, <i>Athenaei Naucraticae deipnosophistarum libri xv</i> , vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1848), Liber XIII, pp. 1-87
Aug. Hipp., <i>De Trin.</i>	Augustinus Hipponensis, <i>De Trinitate</i> , Lib. XV, eds. W.J. Mountain et F. Glorie, <i>Aurelii Augustini, De Trinitate libri XV</i> , vol. II, CCSL 50A (Turnhout, 1968), pp. 460-535
Barl. Cal., <i>Contra Latinos</i>	Barlaam Calabrus, <i>Contra Latinos (Tractatus B) (Orat. 2 et 6)</i> , ed. A. Fyrigos, <i>Barlaam Calabro. Opere contro i Latini</i> , vol. 2, ST 348 (Vatican City, 1998)
Basil. Caes., <i>Adv. Eun.</i>	Basilii Caesariensis, <i>Adversus Eunomium</i> , CPG 2837, eds. B. Sesboüé, G.-M. de Durand et L. Doutreleau, <i>Basile de Césarée. Contre Eunome</i> , vol. 1 (Livre I), vol. 2 (Livres II-III), SC, 299, 305 (Paris, 1982, 1983), Liber II, pp. 10-143; Liber III, pp. 144-174
Basil. Caes., <i>Adv. eos qui irasc.</i>	Basilii Caesariensis, <i>Homilia adversus eos qui irascuntur</i> , CPG 2854, PG 31, cols. 353B-372B
Basil. Caes., <i>Deus non auct. mal.</i>	Basilii Caesariensis, <i>Quod deus non est auctor malorum</i> , CPG 2853, PG 31, cols. 329-353
Ptol., <i>Harm.</i>	Claudius Ptolemaeus, <i>Harmonica</i> , ed. I. Düring, <i>Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios</i> , Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift 36 (Göteborg, 1930), pp. 2-111
Clem. Alex., <i>Paedag.</i>	Clemens Alexandrinus, <i>Paedagogus</i> , eds. M. Harl, H.-I. Marrou, C. Matray, et C. Mondésert, <i>Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue</i> , 3 vols., SC, 70, 108, 158 (Paris, 1960, 1965, 1970), Liber I, pp. 106-294
Clem. Alex., <i>Strom.</i>	Clemens Alexandrinus, <i>Stromata</i> , Liber V, eds. L. Früchtel, O. Stählin et U. Treu, <i>Clemens Alexandrinus</i> , 52 (Berlin, 1985), pp. 326-421; Liber VIII (Berlin, 1970), pp. 80-102
Cyrill. Alex., <i>Comm. in Ioh.</i>	Cyrillus Alexandrinus, <i>Commentarii in Iohannem</i> , CPG 5208, ed. P.E. Pusey, <i>Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1872), Liber II, vol. 1, pp. 169-362

- Cyrill. Alex., *Thesaurus* Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate*, CPG 5215, PG 75, cols. 9-656
- Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.* Demetrius Chrysoloras, *Cento epistole*, ed. F.C. Bizzarro, *Demetrio Crisolora Cento epistole a Manuele II Paleologo* (Naples, 1984), pp. 39-65
- Dem. Chrys., *Compar.* Demetrius Chrysoloras, *Comparatio*, ed. S. Lampros, 'Σύγκρισις παλαιῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ νέου τοῦ νῦν αὐτοκράτορος Μανουῆλ Παλαιολόγου', ΠΠ III (1926), pp. 222-245
- Dem. Chrys., *Dial.* Demetrius Chrysoloras, *Dialogus de primatu papae et de processione Spiritus Sancti*, ed. I. Basilicos, "Ἐνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ὁ Δημήτριος Χρυσολωρᾶς", EA 29, fasc. **19-23** (Constantinople, 1909), **19** (13.V.1909), 151; **20** (20.V.1909), 159-160; **21** (27.V.1909), 166-167; **22** (3.VI.1909), 173-174; **23** (10.VI.1909), 181-183
- Dem. Chrys., *Encom. pulic.* Demetrius Chrysoloras, *Encomium pulicis*, ed. G. de Andrés, 'Demetrio Crisolaras el Palaciego, Encomio de la pulga', *Helmantica* 35 (1984), 51-70
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**Demetrii Chrysolorae Refutatio operis Demetrii Cydonis *Contra
Nilum Cabasilam* sub forma dialogi, in quo auctor ipse cum
personis Thomae Aquinatis, Nili Cabasilae
et Demetrii Cydonis loquitur**

EDITIO PRINCEPS

τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ,
ἀναιρετικὸς τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ἔγραψε κυρὸς Δημήτριος ὁ Κυδώνης
κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Καβάσιλα.

Τὰ πρόσωπα· Θωμᾶς, Νείλος, Κυδώνης, Χρυσολωρᾶς.

[1] <Προοίμιον>

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Μέγας μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων καθ' ἡμῶν πόλεμος,
καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀλλογενῶν ἰσχυρότερος· τὸ δ' αἴτιον, οὐχ ὅτι
δύναμις ἂν αὐτοῖς ἄκρα λόγων, οὐδ' ὅτι ἂν ἀδυναμία τοῖς ἡμῶν
ἔποιτο, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅθεν ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ κατ' αὐτῶν ἔνστασις ἀληθῆς ἦ,
5 μεγίστη ἂν αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνῃ νομίζοιτο, ἂν μὴ τὴν λύσιν εὐθύς καθ'
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πιθανῷ σκοπῶνται, ὃ χαλεπὸν ἀλλοτρίῳ, πάντη
πεῖραν τῶν ἐλληνικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνότων ἔχειν οὐ δυναμένῳ. Ἀλλ'
ὁμως, οἷς ἂν ὁ Θεὸς συμμαχεῖν ἐθέλοι, μικρὸν ἅπαν ὅσον τῶν
ἐναντίων, καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀσθενὲς ἀπεργάζεται, κἂν δυνατὸν καὶ
10 μέγα δοκῇ· εἰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐν γενέσει καὶ φθορᾷ συνέβαινε εἶναι

KLPV

[1] 9. καὶ-ἀπεργάζεται] cf. 1 Regn. 2:4; Odes 3:10; 1 Cor. 1:27; Man. Palaeol., *De matrim.*, p. 116.994-995

Titul. deest P || τοῦ¹-Χρυσολωρᾶ] eras. L || κυροῦ¹] illeg. K: eras. L || Δημητρίου τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ] δημ<η>τ<ρ>ίου τοῦ χρυσο<λ>ωρᾶ K: eras. L || κυρὸς] illeg. K || Δημήτριος] δ<ημήτριος> K || Κυδώνης¹] κηδώνης V || Κυδώνης²] κυδών(ης) L || Χρυσολωρᾶς] χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς) L: χρυσολωρ(ᾶς) K

[1] 1. Χρυσολωρᾶς] deest P || <Μ>έγας P || 3. ἂν¹ bis acc. L || ἂν² bis acc. L || 4. ἂν bis acc. L || 5. ἂν¹ bis acc. L || 6. πάντι P || 8. ἂν bis acc. L || 10. δοκεῖ P || γενέσι L

τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μικρὸν ἂν τις ἡσυχάζων ἠδίκηι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφθάρτων αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγών, καὶ τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνους ἔτοιμος ἄνδρας περιπλέκεσθαι, τέλος δ' ἄπτεται καὶ τοῦ πάντων ὑπεραγάθου Πατρὸς Θεοῦ, τίς ἂν εἰ μὴ μαινόμενος εἶη, τὴν σιγὴν

L 1^v 15 ἀσπάζεσθαι βούλοιο, ἢ πῶς ἂν τὴν δίκην ἐκ-||φύγοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥάδιον; Ὅθεν ἅπαντι μὲν εὐσεβεῖ, χρέος ἀνάγκης ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ ζῆν· ἂν δέ τις δυνάμενος σιωπᾶ, δηλον ὡς οὐ λαλῶν, ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ τῷ διώκοντι κοινωνεῖ· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐναντίων ἄκρων, ὅπερ ἂν οὐ μισεῖται, φιλεῖται, τὸ δὲ φιλούμενον,

20 ἐπαινεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἐπαινῶν οὐκ ἀνέχεται σιωπᾶν, ἀτιμαζομένου τοῦ κρείττονος· ὁ μᾶλλον ἀπάντων πρόπει Θεῷ.

[1.1] Ἐμὲ τοίνυν φεύγειν οὐ μόνον ἀεὶ τὴν ἔριν ὁ Θεός οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους πολλάκις ἐθέλοντα μέμφεσθαι, καὶ μηδενὶ μηδόλως μάχεσθαι πώποτε, οὐ μόνον ἐφησυχάζοντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ

25 παρὰ τὸ δέον ἡμῶν ἄπτεσθαι βουλευομένῳ, ἀσπαζόμενον ἡρεμίαν,

KLPV

25-26. ἡρεμίαν-κινήσεως] Dem. Chrys., *Compar.*, p. 234.6-7; suum, *Cent. epist.*, 31, p. 47

18. ὁμολογεῖ] cf. Matth. 10:32; Luc. 12:8 || 18-19. τῶν ἐναντίων ἄκρων] cf. Arist., *De interpretatione* 23b.22-23

11. ἡσυχάζων> K || 12. ἐστὶν P || 13. [πάντων] lac. K || 14. τίς τι P || ἂν bis acc. L || [εἶη] lac K || 15. [ἀ]σπάζεσθαι lac. K: ἀσπάζεσθαι P || ἂν bis acc. L || [ἐ]κ[φύ]γοι lac. K || 16-18. Ὅθεν-κοινωνεῖ] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. V || 17. ἀγωνίζεσθαι P || 17-18. alt. man. scr. ὡς οὐ λαλῶν K || 18-21. ἐπι-Θεῷ] ὠρ(αῖον) ὄλον in marg. L || 19. ἂν bis acc. L || 20. al. man. scr. ἐπαινεῖται K || ἀνέχεται P || 22. al. man. scr. φεύγειν οὐ K || 23. al. man. scr. χρωμένους K || 24. ἐφεισυχάζοντι P || τῷ τὸ P || 25. βουλευομ(έν)ω post cor. (ex βουλομ(έν)ω et sscr. εὐ P || ἡρεμίαν KPV || in marg. inf. τοῦ αὐτοῦ P

οὐσαν ἀσφαλεστέραν κινήσεως —εἰρήνη γάρ, κὰν ἦ σφόδρα ἐπιζήμιος,
ἀσφαλεστέρα πολέμου—, σοῦ τοῦ καλοῦ τὰ γεγραμμένα σιγᾶν
οὐκ ἔᾱ, ἄδικα πανταχόθεν ὀρώμενα, καὶ μηδαμῆ τὸ δίκαιον
ἔχοντα. Ἀλλ' εἰ σοὶ μὲν ἔφεσις καθ' ἡμῶν ἢ μεγίστη, πολλῶ γε
30 μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἄριστον ἢ σπουδὴ τὴν σὴν εἰς τοῦτο γνώμην
παρενεγκεῖν· ἄτοπον γάρ, σὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων ἀγωνίζεσθαι
τῶν δογμάτων, ἡμᾶς δ' εὐλαβεῖσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις συνηγορεῖν, καὶ
σοὶ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων κατηγορεῖν βέλτιστον, ἡμῖν δὲ χαλεπὸν κατὰ
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἰπεῖν· ἀπορῶ γὰρ τῶν σῶν, τί ἂν πρῶτον, τί δ' ἂν
L 2^r 35 τελευταῖον θαυμάζοιμι. Πάντα μὲν ἀρχὴν ἢ ἀφιλα τῶ γένει καὶ τῆ
πατρίδι, ἐχθρὰ δὲ φίλοις, πατράσι, καὶ παντὶ τῶ καθ' αἷμα
προσῆκοντι, πολέμια δέ, καὶ τῶ μακαρίῳ Νείλῳ Θεσσαλονίκης,
ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τῆ ἐκκλησίᾳ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ παρασκευάς, πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν
μᾶλλον, ἢ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἤδη πεποιημένα. Νόμος οὖν Ἑλληνι καὶ
40 βαρβάρῳ παντὶ, μέχρῃς αἵματος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ Θεὸς

KLPV

26-27. εἰρήνη-πολέμου] Dem. Chrys., *Compar.*, p. 234.8-9 || 30-31. τὴν-παρενεγκεῖν] Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.* 13, p. 42 || 40. μέχρῃς αἵματος] Dem. Chrys., *Encom. S. Dem.*, p. 344.40-41

26-27. εἰρήνη-πολέμου] cf. Phil. Jud., *Spec. leg.*, Lib. iv, § 222, p. 261 || 40. μέχρῃς αἵματος] Heb. 12:4; cf. Eus. Caes., *In Psalm.*, PG 23, col. 1148C; Phot., *In Hebr.*, p. 650.2

26. post κινήσεως sign. interrogationis L || 26-27. εἰρήνη-πολέμου] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 30-31. γνώμην παρενεγκεῖν] νικῆσαι γνώμην L || 31. ἀγωνίζεσθαι K || 33. χαλεπὸν deest KVP || 34. ἂν¹ bis acc. L || ἂν² bis acc. L || 38. ἐπίδει[ξι]ν] lac. K || 40. βαρβάρ[ω] lac. K || 40-41. al. man add. κ(αί) θ(εὸς) τὸν K

τὸν παρόντα νόμον, διὰ τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου στηρίζει Παύλου· εἰ
 γὰρ τὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χρη̄ σκοπεῖν, πῶς ἂν εἴη
 δίκαιον ἀπάντων καταφρονεῖν; Τεττάρων οὖν ὄντων, γένους,
 πατρίδος, φίλων, καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ τέλος πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς
 45 εὐσεβείας αὐτῆς, οὐ μόνον ὁ τούτων ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀγωνιζόμενος,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν ἄρρηκτον ἐνὶ τούτων ἑαυτὸν ἐφαρμοζῶν
 πολλάκις, τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥαδίως πολεμεῖν προθυμεῖται, καὶ ἢ
 φονεύειν, ἢ θανεῖν ἐτοιμῶς αἰρεῖται, ἐκάτερον δέ, τοὺς στεφάνους
 οὐ μικροὺς τῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ χαρίζεται, καὶ ταῦτα, τοῖς φιλότοις
 50 αὐτοῖς εἰ τύχοιεν ἐναντιουμένῳ. Καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ, ὁ τὴν οἰκείαν
 ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος
 αὐτὸ γενέσθαι βουλευομένου, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ καίσαρος
 στεφανούμενος, ἵνα καὶ ἀποθανόντες, ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τῆς πατρίδος
 ἐδάφει ταφῶσιν· ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ἐλευθερία πρᾶγμα, αἰσχρὸν δὲ
 L 2^v 55 δουλεία· καὶ τὰ μὲν καλὰ, πρόσσεστιν ἢ ἀγαθοῖς, τὰ δ' αἰσχρά, φαύλοις.

KLPV

48-49. τοὺς-χαρίζεται] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.*, 38, p. 49 ἢ 50-51. ὁ-ἀποκτείνας] scil. Oratius ἢ 52. καίσαρος] scil. Tullus Hostilius, rex Romanorum ἢ 53-54. ἐν-ταφῶσιν] Dem. Chrys., *Encom. pulic.*, § 15, p. 66

41-42. εἰ-σκοπεῖν] cf. 1 Cor. 4:6 ἢ 48-49. τοὺς-χαρίζεται] cf. 2 Tim. 4:8 ἢ 50-53. Καὶ-στεφανούμενος] cf. Dion. Halicarn., *Ant. Rom.*, Lib. III, § 21-22, pp. 307-314 ἢ 53-54. ἐν-ταφῶσιν] Phil. Jud., *Omn. prob. lib. sit.*, § 133, p. 38; cf. Lycur., *Oratio in Leocratem* 144, p. 87.23-24 ἢ 54-55. ὅτι-φαύλοις] Phil. Jud., *Omn. prob. lib. sit.*, § 136, p. 39

41. παύλου> P ἢ 42. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 43. post τεττάρων sscr. οὖν cum sign. P ἢ 45. ἀγωνιζόμενος K ἢ 48. al. man. add. θαεῖν et post sscr. v per θανεῖν K ἢ 49. ἀγωνιζομένῳ K ἢ 50. τύχοι KPV ἢ οἰκί(αν) P ἢ 51. ἀδερφὴν K ἢ 52. βουλομένου P ἢ 54-55. ὅτι-δουλεία] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L

Καίτοι γε στεφανοῦσθαι μὲν, ἄδικον τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄκρα
 χρῆσθαι βουλευομένοις σπουδῇ, τιμωρεῖσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον, οὐ
 βουλομένοις δίκαιον· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνάγκης χρέος, γένει
 συμμαχεῖν καὶ πατρίδι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ προθυμομένοις, νόμος
 60 θάνατον ἀπειλῶν. Τὸ γοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους στεφανοῦσθαι
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστίν, ἢ ὡς εἴ τις ἀποδεδωκῶς ὀφειλόμενον, δωρεάς, καὶ
 ὁ μὴ φονεύων, ἀπαιτεῖ χάριτας· τῷ μὲν γὰρ, ἐλαχίστην, τῷ δέ, τὴν
 ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίαν θάνατον ὥρισαν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἵνα μὴ τὰ καλὰ
 καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τάξις ἀνατραπῇ, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἢ ῥαθυμία
 65 κρατήσῃ, τοῖς μὲν σπουδαίοις, στέφανοι, χάριτες, καὶ τιμαί, τοῖς δὲ
 ῥαθύμοις, δήμευσις, ἀτιμία, καὶ τέλος ὀρίζεται θάνατος, καὶ τὸ
 γένος ὕστερον ἄτιμον αὐτοῦ μένει. Εἰ γοῦν αὐτὰ πάσχειν ἀνάγκη
 οἷς τὸν ἀγῶνα φεύγειν ἢ προθυμία, πόσων ἂν εἴη τιμωριῶν ἄξιος,
 ὁ συλλαβῶν εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα, καὶ πᾶσι διὰ πάντων μαχόμενος; Οὐ
 70 μὴν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγένετο, ἢ συμπλοκῆς
 ἠὲτομόλησε γενομένης, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν ἀδίκως ἀπέθνησκε.

KLPV

62-63. τὴν-ὥρισαν] Phil. Jud., *Vita Mosis*, Lib. II, § 205, p. 248 || 65. στέφανοι-τιμαί] Demosth., *De corona* 80, p. 269 || 65-66. τοῖς²-θάνατος] cf. Liban., *Decl.* 30, § 32, p. 636.6-7

58. τοῖς μὲν, γὰρ KPV || μὲν bis acc. L || 60-62. Τὸ-χάριτας] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 60. ἀγωνιζομένους post cor. (ex ἀγωνιζομένους?) K || 61. ἄλλον P || 62. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L || 65. μὲν deest P || χάριτες P || 68. πόσον L || ἂν bis acc. L

[1.2] Νυνὶ δέ, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις καὶ τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων ἀφίστασθαι, παντὶ δὲ χρώμενον τρόπῳ τῆς ἀπωλείας
τοῦ γένους παντός, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίους τῶν ἰδίων
75 περιγενέσθαι, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον γίνεσθαι, ταῦτα ἢ
L 3^r καὶ λάθρα καὶ φανερώς ἐργαζόμενον, τίνος ἂν τις εἶδους
κολάσεων ἄξιον οὐ δικαίως ἔχοι τεκμηριώσασθαι; Τίνοι δ' ἂν καὶ
τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀτιμιῶν οὐ περιπεσεῖσθαι προσείποι; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι,
καὶ πᾶς τις ἂν μοι συνομολογήσειεν, ὡς εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ
80 μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν, οὐκ ἂν οὐ δίκαιον ἐλογίζετο φεύγουσιν ἄνδρες
ἀμεταστρεπτί, καταλιπόντες, ἀδελφούς, γονεῖς, συγγενείας,
φιλίας, διαθέσεις, πατρίδας, ἐν αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτρέφησαν,
οὐ διὰ τινὰ μισανθρωπίαν ὤμην ἐπιτετηδευμένην, ἀλλ' ἡρεμίαν
μεταδιώκοντες, ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείαν, ἢ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως
85 αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδειότητα. Εἶτα, εἰ μὲν ἀπωλείας σωμάτων ἢ χρημάτων

KLPV

80-84. φεύγουσιν-μεταδιώκοντες] Phil. Jud., *Vita cont.*, §§ 18 et 20, p. 51

73. τρώπω P ἢ 77. ἔχει et scr. οι (ἔχοι) sup. lin. KV ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 79. πᾶς P ἢ
συνωμολογήσειεν et scr. ο (συνωμολογήσειεν) sup. lin. V ἢ 80. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 81.
ἀμεταστρεπτί post cor. (ex ἀμεταστρεπτί et scr. σ sup. lin.) P ἢ 83. ἡρεμίαν KPV

ὁ πόλεμος αἴτιος ἐγεγόνει, ἔπαυεν ἂν αὐτὰ χρόνος, ὁ πάντων εἰς
 μῆκος πατήρ ἐκτεινόμενος ἅμα θανάτῳ, ᾧ νόμος, πάντα ποιεῖν
 ἤρεμεῖν. Σεισμὸν δὲ νῦν ὁ θαυμάσιος ἐγείρει παγκόσμιον, καὶ τὰς
 90 ἀπάντων διασεῖει ψυχάς, καὶ θάνατον αὐταῖς χαρίζεται τὸν
 ἀνόητοις· ἐπεὶ ταῖς καθαραῖς καὶ φρονίμοις, εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ
 γνῶσιν, ὁ τῶν ὀσίων καὶ μαρτύρων ἄπειρος κύκλος ἀρκεῖ. Ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἔοικεν, ἔλαθε πατέρας καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, τρέφοντας ὄφιν ἀντὶ
 παιδός, καὶ ἀντὶ φίλου, πολέμιον. Τῶν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γενομένων
 L 3^v 95 ἀπάντων, ὅσα μὲν ὕλης ἔτυχεν ἀκινήτου, ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὰ μένει, ὅσα
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναισθητῶν ὀραῖται κινούμενα, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν πώποτε
 περαιτέρω προὔβη τῶν προσταγμάτων· ζῶν δέ, τὰ μὲν ἄλογα,
 ὄρον οἶδε κάκεῖνα τῆς φυσικῆς τάξεως· κύνες γάρ, οἴκου τῶν
 δεσποτῶν προασπίζουσιν, ὅταν αὐτοῖς κίνδυνός τις ἐξαπιναίως
 100 παρῆ, ἄνθρωπον δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιλαθόμενον, οὐκ αἰσχρῶν ἐστίν

KLPV

86-87. χρόνος-πατήρ] Pind., *Olympia*, ode 2.17, p. 8 || 88-90. Σεισμὸν-ἀθάνατον] cf. Anon., *Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ζωνῶν*, § 19, p. 358; Ioh. Dam., *In Dorm.*, § 10.5-8, p. 495 || 98-100. κύνες-παρῆ] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 114, p. 295 || 100-101. οὐκ-ἀμοιβαίς] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 115, p. 295

86. ἂν bis acc. L || 88. ἤρεμεῖν KPV || 96. ἀναισθητῶν P || οὐδὲν L || 97. προὔβη L || 98. κύνες LPV || 99. ἐξαπινέως KVP || 100-101. ἄνθρωπον-κακίστου] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 100. ἀν(θρώπων) P || αἰσχρῶν L || ἐστι P

αἰσχιστον, ἐν χαρίτων ἀμοιβαῖς ἠττᾶσθαι κυνὸς θηρίου κακίστου;
Ἦν ἂν τῷ πεπονημένῳ κρεῖττον, ἢ μὴ γεννηθῆναι τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ
θανεῖν αὐτίκα γε τικτομένῳ· καὶ ἢ μένειν ἀκάρπῳ ζῶντι, ἢ μὴ
τοιούτων εὐπορῆσαι καρπῶν· τίς γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ φιλίαν, ἢ πόλιν
105 *ἄλλην θαρρήσειε πώποτε; Καὶ τίς ἂν θετὸς πατήρ, ἢ καὶ συγγενῆς*
γένοιτο; Οὐδεὶς οὐδεμίαν οἶμαι. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα δρᾶν
ἐθελήσαντες, οὐ τὸ δι' ὃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καὶ τὸ εἶναι
προσαπολέσουσιν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑβρίζων πόλιν, πῶς ἂν
ἐπαινέσειεν ἀλλοτρίαν; Καὶ ὁ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πολέμιος, πῶς ἂν
110 *τοῖς ἀλλογενέσιν ἀληθῆς σύμμαχος; Καὶ ὁ φίλοις ἐχθρός, πῶς ἂν*
φίλος τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γένοιτο; Καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἀλλότρια
σώζειν δύναιτο, ὁ ἀπολέσας τὰ ἴδια. Οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπιστίαν
ἠβουλήθη παντὶ ποιεῖν γνώριμον, οὐ μὴν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ σέβοντι Θεὸν
ἔπεται, μήτε γονεῖς, μήτε πατρίδα τιμᾶν· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῷ μὴ σέβειν καὶ
L 4^r 115 *κατηγορεῖν τολμῶν, τίνα μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολὴν ἀπο-||λέλοιπε;*

KLPV

101. ἠττᾶσθαι-κακίστου] cf. Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 115, p. 295 || 102. Ἦν-πρῶτον] cf. Matth. 26:24; Marc. 14:21 || 111-112. οὐκ-ἴδια] cf. EpiPh., *Pan.*, 66, vol. III, § 68.8, p. 109.8-12 || 113-115. τῷ-ἀπολέλοιπε] Phil. Jud., *Vita Mosis*, Lib. II, § 198, p. 246

101. post κακίστου sign. interrogationis codd. || 102. τοπρῶτον KV || 104. ἂν bis acc. L || 105. ἂν bis acc. L || 108-109. πῶς-πολέμιος] deest KVP || 108-112. ὁ-ἴδια] ὠραῖον ὄλον in marg. KV: ὠρ(αῖον) ὄλον in marg. L || 108. ἂν bis acc. L || 109. ἂν bis acc. L || 110. ἂν bis acc. L || 111. ἂν bis acc. L || 113-115. ἀλλὰ-ἀπολέλοιπε] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L

- Θεὸν γὰρ χρεῶν ἅπασιν εὐσεβέσι, παντοίαις ἀμείβεσθαι δωρεαῖς,
καὶ νῶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πράγματι, τῷ μὲν, αὐτὸν εὐλογεῖν ὡς κοινὸν
εὐεργέτην αἰεὶ, τῷ δέ, μετ' εὐφημίας ἀκωλύτως αὐτοῦ μεμνήσθαι
τῶν δωρεῶν, τῷ δέ, τὸ κάλλιστον προσάγειν, ὧνπερ ἀπήλαυσε.
- 120 Καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,
οὐδεμία πόλις ἐστίν, ἢ τὰ ἑτέρας νόμιμα τιμᾶ, ἂν μὴ τις μοναρχία
τούτων κρατῆ, καὶ πολίτης ἕκαστος οἶεται, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀτιμάζει συναυξήσειν· σὺ δὲ τούτοις μόνοις πολέμιος ἅπασιν
ἄντικρυς εἶ· οὗ τί ἂν ἀτοπώτερον εἶη;
- 125 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῖς ἔγωγε, ἃ πρὸ πάντων φιλῶ, καὶ ὧν
ἐφίεμαι καὶ οἷς χαίρω; Μὴ γένοιτο! Ἐμοὶ γὰρ πατρίς, ἢ παλαιὰ
Ῥώμη, καὶ διδάσκαλος, ὁ ταύτης ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ γένος ἅπαν
αὐτῶν, καὶ πατέρες, ὅσοι πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἀδελφοί, καὶ φίλοι, καὶ
συγγενεῖς, οἱ αὐτοί· καὶ τούτων ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου,
- 130 μάλα φιλοτίμως ἀποθανοῦμαι.

KLPV

129-130. ὑπὲρ-ἀποθανοῦμαι] Dem. Chrys., *Encom. S. Dem.*, p. 348.181

116-118. παντοίαις-αἰεὶ] cf. Mich. Glyc., *Quaest. S. Scr.*, § 36, p. 389.5-8 || 120-121. κατὰ-
τιμᾶ] Phil. Jud., *Vita Mosis*, Lib. II, § 18, p. 204 || 122-123. εἰ-συναυξήσειν] Phil. Jud., *Vita*
Mosis, Lib. II, § 20, p. 204

116. εὐβεβέσι P || 118. μεμνήσθαι P || 120-124. Καὶ-εἰ] ὠρ(αῖον) ὅλον in marg. L || 121.
ἐστιν P || 123. ἀτιμάζειε L || συναυξήσειν P || πολεμίους KV: πολεμί(οις) P || 124. ἂν bis
acc. L || 125-130. Κυδώνης-ἀποθανοῦμαι] signa in marg. KV || 126. post χαίρω sign.
interrogationis codd.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἰ ταῦτά σοι τῆς ἀληθείας εἶχετο, οὐδ' οὕτως σε ἂν
 αἰτίας δίχα παρεκαλύψαντο, τὸ μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰλικρινὲς ἐρευνῆσαι μὴ
 βουλευσάμενον, τὸ δέ, καὶ ὡς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 ψευδῆ περιφανῆ πάντα, ποῖον ἂν σοι τὸν ἔλεγχον οὐ παράσχοι τὸν
 135 μέγιστον; Σοὶ γὰρ πατρις μὲν, ἢ πόλις Θεσσαλονίκη, ἢ μᾶλλον, ἢ
 L 4^v περιφανῆς αὕτη βασιλέως τοῦ ἢ καλοῦ Κωνσταντίνου· ἢ μὲν γὰρ,
 ἐγέννησε μόνον, ἢ δέ, καὶ τιμᾶ καὶ τρέφει, καὶ σοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐν
 τέλει γενομένων αὐτῶν ἀξιοῖ, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καλλωπίζει
 πλεονεκτήμασιν· ἃ σὺ θέμενος ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πάντων σαυτὸν
 140 ἐξελέσθαι βουλεύῃ. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἐρῶ, κἄν αὐτὸς σιωπᾶν ἐθέλης.
 Κακῶ χρησάμενος λογισμῶ τε καὶ δαίμονι, ἀβέβαιος ἦσθα περὶ τὴν
 πίστιν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἰδίᾳ καὶ βραχὺ τι περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπειρῶ
 διαλέγεσθαι, γυμνάζειν τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτόν, τὰ δ' ὕστερον, ἀναίδην
 ἀνατρέπειν αὐτὴν ἐβουλεύου καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ὡς ἄλλοις μὲν
 145 ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ νόσῳ περικειμένην. Τοῦτό σοι τῶν κακῶν
 ἀπάντων αἴτιον γίνεταί. Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ κοσμεῖται τὰ κατὰ σέ,
 ποῦ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔχει θεμέλιον, ἧς οὐ κατίσχυσαν Ἰδου πύλαι;

KLPV

147. οὐ-πύλαι] Matth. 16:18

131. ταῦτα σοι codd. ἢ post εἶχετο scr. et del. οὐδ' οὕτω σε τῆς ἀληθεί(ας) εἶχετο P ἢ
 οὕτω PV ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 132. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ εἰλικρινὲς L ἢ 133. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 136. μὲν
 bis acc. L ἢ 137. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 139. πλεονεκτήμασιν P ἢ σαυτὸν] ταυτὸν P ἢ 145. τοῦτο
 σοι codd. ἢ 146. γίνεταί] γίνεται P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐφην, εἶναι πρὸς Ἴταλούς.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Διατί οὖν αὐτοῖς οὐ βουλευή συνειῖναι σαυτόν, οἷς
150 πρόσσεστιν ἢ εὐσέβεια;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐρωτι φίλων κατεχόμενος καὶ πατρίδος.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' αὐτὰ προὔλεγες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἶναι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' ἢ παιδεία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἡμᾶς οὐκ εἶα.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σοὶ τὰ μηδενὸς ἄξια, μάλα τίμια, χρυσὸν
155 ἀνταλλάττοντι φαυλοτάτων· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χαίρεις ὡς εὐσεβέσιν αὐτοῖς,
οὐδόλως ἔδει τούτων ἀποτηδᾶν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς δοκούσης ὀρθῆς ἀφίστασθαι, ταῦτόν ἄν σοι τῷ
L 5⁺ χρωμένῳ δύναίτο πρὸς ἥ ἀκαθαρσίαν· καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐκατέρωθεν
ὅμοιον, κἂν ἐν διαφόροις εὐρίσκηται. Ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν, οἷς συνειῖναι
160 μᾶλλον αἰρή, εἰ μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐσεβέσι, πῶς αὐθις ἐπιτηδᾶς; Εἰ δὲ μή,

KLPV

154-155. Σοὶ-φαυλοτάτων] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 198.10-11

152. προὔλεγες] vide supra, [1.2] 126-129

154-155. χρυσὸν-φαυλοτάτων] cf. Homerum, *Ilias* 6.236; Dem. *Cyd.*, *Epist.*, 25.32, vol. I, p. 55

148. Κυδώνης-ἰταλούς] sign. in marg. V || 149. σαυτόν post cor. (ex σαυτοι?) K || 151. Κυδώνης-πατρίδος] sign. in marg. V || 152. προὔλεγες] προὔλες P || 153. Κυδώνης-εἶα] signa in marg. V || παιδία P || 159. εὐρίσηται et scr. κ sup. lin. P || 160. ὡς] deest P

τοιούτων, πῶς οὐκ ἀφίστασαι; Ταῦτόν γάρ σοι τὸ ἄτοπον ἐξ
ἀμφοῖν· ἐπέιπερ εἰς ἀμαρτίαν, ἴσον ἰσχύει τὸ τῶν αἰρετικῶν
κοινωνεῖν, τῷ τῆς κοινωνίας ἀφισταμένῳ· ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν
κενήν δόξαν, οὐ τὰ φύσεως τίμια τούτων ἦψω. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
165 ἐατέον, ἐπ’ αὐτὰ δὲ τρεπτέον τῶν προοιμίων τὰ λόγια, ἵνα
μακρολογίαν ἐῷ. Λέγε οὖν, ἃ σοι φαίνεται δίκαια.

[1.3] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἡ μὲν κατὰ Λατίνων προθυμία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
τούτου, μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή, καὶ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο, χειμάρρου
φορὰ σφοδροτάτη ῥοίζῳ πάντα ἀπλῶς παρασύροντος· οὐ γὰρ
170 ἂν οἶμαί τις εὖροι ῥαδίως λαιδορίας ἢ βλασφημίας ἢ ὕβρεως
εἶδος, ὅπερ ὤκνησεν ἀπορρίψαι κατ’ ἐκείνων ἀνήρ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Δέον ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμαρτες ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, προφέρεις εἰς
μέσον, ἀνεξαλείπτους στήλας σοι καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὧν
ἠδίκησας λόγους· ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ μὴ καλή, καὶ τὸ πέρασ
175 ἀνάγκη τοιοῦτον εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαν σοι τὸ προοίμιον εἰρωνεῖα,

KLPV

167-171. Ἡ-ἀνήρ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 110^r.1-3

165. τῶν προοιμίων] vide infra, [1] 167-171 || 167-68. τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου] scil. Nilus Cabasilas

172-174. Δέον-ἠδίκησας] Phil. Jud., *Spec. leg.*, Lib. I, § 279, p. 67

161. ταυτόν] ταυ prim. man. et al. man. scr. ταυτὸ(ν) K || 164. δόξαν] al. man. scr. ξαν et
subscr. δό cum sign. K || 167-171. Κυδώνης-ἀνήρ] sign. in marg. KL: illeg. V || 168. ἂν bis
acc. L || 169. ῥοίζῳ post cor. (ex ῥοῖζῳ) L || 170. ἂν bis acc. L || ὕβρεος P || 172. προφέρεις
προσφέρεις L || 175. τοιοῦτ(ων) P

L 5^v

τὴν μὲν διήγησιν τύφων, τοὺς δ' ἀγῶνας, γέμειν ὄγκων ἀνάγκη· τὸ
δὲ τέλος ἀπάντων, ἕξεστι νοεῖν ἅπαντι βουλομένῳ· τοὺς γὰρ τῆς
ἀλαζονείας καρπούς, τρυγᾶν αὐτῆς χρεῶν τῷ ψευδο-ἰνύμῳ καὶ
γεωργῷ καὶ πατρὶ· φῆς γὰρ τὸν μακάριον ἄνδρα Νεῖλον, ἐφίεσθαι
180 μὲν κατὰ Λατίνων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ δύνασθαι. Νόμος οὖν
ἀγωνιζομένων ἐκάστῳ, τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐπαινεῖν, δυοῖν ἕνεκα ἢ
νικῶντι θαυμάζεσθαι, ἢ καὶ ἠττηθέντι μὴ ἀτιμάζεσθαι. Εἰ δέ τις
μάλα μέμφεται οἷς συμπλέκεσθαι μέλλει, ὃ καὶ νῦν σὺ φαίνῃ
πεπονημένος, ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ νικώμενος ἄθλιος, καὶ νικῶν
185 ἀθλιώτερος, εἴ γε ἀληθὲς τὸ ἐν ταῖς πονηραῖς ἀμίλλαις, ὁ νικῶν
ἀθλιώτερος. Καίτοι γε φασίν, ἐπὰν εἰς χεῖρονα ἄμιλλαν ἵεναι τις
μέλλη, τῆς δυνάμεως πρῶτον ἀποπειρᾶσθαι· ἴν' εἰ μὲν ἰσχύει
καταγωνίσασθαι, συνήσθηται, εἰ δ' ἀσθενεστέρα χρωτο δυνάμει, μηδὲ
συγκαταβῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα θαρρήσει· κακία μὲν γὰρ
190 ἠττᾶσθαι, οὐκ αἰσχρόν· ἀρετῇ δέ, ὄνειδος. Ὅθεν ἀπορω, τίς ὁ σκοπὸς

KLPV

185-186. ἐν-ἀθλιώτερος] Basil. Caes., *Adv. eos qui irasc.*, PG 31, col. 357B; Ioh. Dam., *Sacr. parall.*, PG 96, col. 172B || 186-190. ἐπὰν-ὄνειδος] Phil. Jud., *De Abr.*, §§ 105-106, pp. 24-25

176. γέμην P || 181. ἀγωνιζομένῳ P || ἐκάστῳ P || 185. ἀμίλλαις KP || 186. ἄμιλλαν P || 189-190. κακία-ὄνειδος] γνω(μικόν) in marg. KLV || 189. θαρρήσει] θαρ prim. man. et al. man. scr. ρησει K || 190. τίς V

ἐξεγένετό σοι, τσαύτην καταβαλέσθαι σπουδὴν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀξίων; Τίς γὰρ ἂν ἔποιτό σοι δόξα, βατράχων ἢ ἄλλων εὐτελῶν ἄρχοντι;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ δέ, μέχρι μὲν οὗτος κοινῇ κατὰ πάντων ἐφέρετο,
195 σιγῇ καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν βλασφημιῶν ἠεροώμην, πολλοὺς ὄντας παρὰ
Λατίνοις εἰδῶς, οἷς ἀκούσασι τῆς ἀντιλογίας μελήσειν, καὶ
συνεχώρουν ὡς ἂν βούλοιο, τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀρμῆς
ἐμφορεῖσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Θωμᾷ τῇ βίᾳ τῆς ὀύμης
φερόμενος ἐπεπήδησε, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίας καὶ
L 6^r 200 ἀκρι-||βείας καὶ ἀγιότητος κατεφρόνησεν, ὥσπερ τις ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ
μέγα φρονῶν ἀθλητῆς, οὐ λαμπρὸν τι νομίζει, εἰ πρὸς τοὺς
τυχόντας ἀγωνισάμενος στεφανώσεται, ἀλλ' ἀξίων καὶ τοῖς
ἀρίστοις συμπλέκεσθαι, ἱκανὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς τὴν
τῶν ἐνδόξων ἦτταν ποιούμενος, ἄδικον ἠγησάμην, σιωπῇ τὴν εἰς
205 ἐκεῖνον παρελθεῖν παροιμίαν, καὶ ὥσπερ τινα ἄτιμον, ἢ παῖδα τῶν
ἄρτι φοιτῶντων, ὑπὸ τούτου συγχωρῆσαι καταγελαῖσθαι.

KLPV

194-206. Ἐγὼ-καταγελαῖσθαι] Dem. *Cyd.*, *Defensio*, f. 110^r.3-9

205. ἐκεῖνον] scil. Thomas Aquinas || 206. τούτου] scil. Nilus Cabasilas

192. βατράχων-εὐτελῶν] cf. Basil. Caes., *Adv. Eun.*, Lib. II, § 21.26-27, p. 86; Greg. Nyss., *C. Eun.*, Lib. III, § 9.44, p. 266

191. ἐξεγενετό P || καταβάλεσθαι P || 192. τίς V || 194-206. Κυδώνης-καταγελαῖσθαι] sign. in marg. L: illeg. V || Κυδώνης-ἄρτι] sign. in marg. K || 194. οὕτως L || 197. ὡσάν KLV: ὡσάν P || ὡσάν bis acc. L || ὀρμῆς LP || 198. δέ L || 201. λαμπρὸν τί L || 203. ἱκαν(ήν) P || 204. ἦτταν codd. || 205. ἐκεῖνων L || 206. φοιτῶντων P

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τῆ μὲν εἰρωνεία τῶν προσιμίων, ἐναργές τὸ ψεῦδος ἀκολουθεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐσίγας ὑβρίζομένων ἀπάντων, ἐπεὶ σοι μέλλει τῆς ἀντιλογίας ὑπὲρ ἑνός, οὔτ' ἂν ἐνὶ συμμαχεῖν
210 ἐβουλεύου, εἴ σοι μὴ τοῦ παντός ἔμελλεν· ᾧ γὰρ ἑνός, καὶ τοῦ παντός ἀντιποιεῖσθαι χρεών· ᾧ δὲ τὸ πᾶν οὐδέν, τὸ ἐν οὐδέν ἂν λογίζοιτο πάντως.

Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὁ τῆς φιλίας ἀρμόζει τῷ Θωμᾷ λόγος, ὃν ἔλεγες τρέφειν αὐτῶ· ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ τοῦ παντός Θεὸς συναγαγὼν εἰς ἓν ἅπαντα, ἐς
215 ἄρρηκτόν τινα φιλίας συνήρμοσε τὸν δεσμόν· καὶ φίλοι μὲν ἅπαντες εὐσεβεία τῷ πρὸς Θεὸν ἔρωτι, κἂν ἄλλος ἄλλῳ περὶ τι ἀντίκειται. Ἄλλ' ὅμως, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὃς οὐδὲ σιγῶντων ἄλλων ἠσύχαζες πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἔφεισιν ἔτρεφες σφοδροτάτην παντὶ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ μὴ βουλομένῳ, πῶς ἂν ἠρέμεις, Νείλου πάντων
220 ἀπτομένου Λατίνων; Οὐκ ἄρα διὰ τούτων ἠσύχαζες, ὅτι μὴ καὶ Θωμᾶς

KLPV

207. εἰρωνεία-προσιμίων] vide supra, linn. 167-171 || 207-208. ἐναργές-ἀκολουθεῖ] vide supra, linn. 194-206

214-215. ὁ-δεσμόν] Phil. Jud., *Plant.*, §§ 9-10, p. 135

208. ἂν bis acc. L || 209. ἂν bis acc. L || 210. ἔμελεν V || 211. ἂν bis acc. L || 212. λογίζεται L || 213. λόγος τῷ θωμᾷ per sscr. β' et α' V: τῷ θωμᾷ ἀρμόζει λόγος P || 214. συναγαγὼν K || 216. post πρὸς scr. τὸν P || 217. post αὐτός scr. et eras. (3 litt.) L || 218. ἀλλ' ἔ scr. prim. man., et ἀλλ' ἔφεισιν scr. alt. man. K || 219. βουλο scr. et cnc. prim. man., et βουλομένῳ scr. alt. man. K || ἂν bis acc. L

ἦν ἐκεῖ, οὐδ' ὅτι πολλοὺς ῥήθης ἐν ἢ τοῖς Λατίνοις πρὸς ἀντιλογίαν ἀκούσαντας ἀποκλῖναι. Οὐδὲν ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν αἴτιον, οὔτε σου τῆς σιγῆς τὸ πρῶτον, οὔτε σοι τὸ ὕστερον τοῦ φωνᾶν.

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ σοι τὸ εἰλικρινὲς ἐναργῶς ἐρῶ, σὺ δέ μοι πείθου τάληθῆ
 225 λέγοντι. Οὐδὲν ἄλλο σοι ἦδιον, ὡς ἢ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν προθυμία. Τοῦτό σοι καὶ τρυφή καὶ πόσις, καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο τίμιον ἐλογίζετο. Καὶ ὁ παραγενόμενός σοι κατὰ τι, εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐσίγα, κακῶς εὐθύς ἤκουεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ λαλεῖ· εἰ δέ ποτ' ἐφθέγγετο, σκαλεύειν ἐνεχείρει μαχαίρα πῦρ. Τοῦτο σοι καὶ νῦν αἴτιον ἐπιτηδᾶν ἐγεγόνει τῷ Νείλω, καὶ ψεύδει
 230 ψηφίζεσθαι, Θωμᾶ δὲ μόνῳ λογίζεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ συνηγορεῖν.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Παραιτοῦμαι δέ, τοὺς ἴδια τὸν παρόντα λόγον μοι μεμψομένους, καὶ φήσοντάς με μὴ δίκαια δρᾶν, φίλον ἄνδρα ἐλέγχοντα, καὶ τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐφ' ἣ πόλλ' ἐμόγησε πειρώμενον ἀκυροῦν, ἣ προσῆκον ἦν, καὶ ἄλλων ἔξωθεν ἐγκειμένων αὐτόν,
 235 **διὰ τὴν φιλίαν ἀμύνειν. Ἄλλως τε, καὶ ὧν ἔχω τούτων λόγων,**

KLPV

231-243. Παραιτοῦμαι-λόγον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 110^r.10-16

225. ἡ-προθυμία] vide supra linn. 167-168

228. σκαλεύειν-πῦρ] Apost., *CparG II*, XI.5a, p. 516 || 233. πόλλ' ἐμόγησε] cf. Homerum, *Odyssea* 4:106-107

222. ἀποκλῖναι] ὀρμηθῆν(αι) in textu et γρ(άφε) ἀποκλῖναι in marg. inf. al. man. K: ὀρμηθῆναι per sscr. ἀποκλῖναι V: ὀρμηθῆναι P || οὐδέν L || 223. τοῦ πρῶτον KPV: τοῦ πρῶτον L || τοῦ ὕστερον K: τοῦ ὕστερον V: τοῦ ὕστερον P || 224. ἐγὼ K || εἰλικρινὲς L || 225. ἦδιον post cor. (ex ἴδιον) P || in marg. inf. ἦδιον P || 228. σκαλεύειν-πῦρ] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || πῦρ] πυρὶ KV: πυρὶ P || 229. ψεύδει K || 231-243. Κυδώνης-λόγον] signa in marg. KLV || 231. δέ] σέ K || ἴδια P || 232. φήσοντάς με] φήσοντάς μοι P: φήσονταί μοι K: post cor. φήσονταί μοι (ex φείσονταί μοι) V || 233. πόλλ' ἐμόγησε P || 235. ἄλλωστε LK

κακείνω τοῦ μέρους χάριν ὀφείλοντα, ὡς ἂν ἐν νεότητι παρ' ἐκείνον πεφοιτηκότα, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου δεξάμενον τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας ταύτης μαθήματα· πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ ἐπίτηδες προελόμενος κακῶς ἐκείνον εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν τις ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἐκείνου σοφίας
 240 καὶ ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλεονεκτημάτων, ἃ μετὰ πολλῶν αὐτῷ σύνοιδα, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς βουλοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἢ φίλον τε ἐμόν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς φημί, καὶ διδάσκαλον γεγονότα, οὐ ταῦτα τοίνυν σκοπῶν, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἦλθον τὸν λόγον.
 L 7^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Καὶ τὸ παρὸν σοι, πόρρω πάνυ τῆς ἀληθείας· φίλον
 245 γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον σόν, καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ χρώμενον ὁμολογεῖς· εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐκ μεταμέλου γενόμενος, ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τάναντία πάντα παραβάλλεις αὐτῷ καὶ συναρμόζεις· κατηγορία μὲν, ἔπαινον, ἐγκωμίῳ δέ, ψόγον, ἀρετῇ δέ, κακίαν ἄκραν· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, συγχέειν ἅπαντα, καὶ φύρειν ἀληθέσι ψευδῇ, καὶ
 250 ῥητοῖς ἄρρητα, εἰς ἀνδρα πάλιν σοφόν, τάναντία σοι κακείνω πεποιημένος.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ οἶδα ὅπη τούτου κατηγορῶ.

KLPV

247-248. κατηγορία-ἄκραν] cf. Ioh. Chrys., *Pecc. frat.*, PG 51, col. 356.49-52 || 249-250. συγχέειν-ἄρρητα] Phil. Jud., *De Abr.*, § 20, p. 5

236. κακείνα P || ὡς ἂν] ὡσᾶν codd. || ὡσᾶν bis acc. L || 241. ἂν bis acc. L || 246. εἶθ' ὥσπερ P || 250-251. κακείνον πεποιημένον P

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀγνοεῖς ἐν οἷς αὐτῷ λέγεις, σύ δὲ καὶ προσπαίξεις, καὶ
 φῆς οὐδεμίαν μοι τοὺς λόγους ἔχειν ἰσχύν; Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δέ,
 255 ταύτης οὖν τῆς δόξης ὡς λίαν ἀδόξου καὶ παιδικῆς ἀμελητέον; Καὶ
 πάλιν, μακρὰν δὲ δόξομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς φλυαρίαν συγγράφειν; Ἔτι τὰ
 μὲν, παραλογιζόμενος, τὰ δέ, σοφιζόμενος, τὰ δέ, ψευδόμενος
 περιφανῶς, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δήλων ἀναισχυντῶν; Πάλιν οὐκ ἔλεγες
 260 τοῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι συγχωρῆσαι καὶ Σκύθας, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῶν
 ἀμαθέστερος; Καὶ ἄλλα μυρία, ὧν τὸ σὸν γέμει πόνημα, ὧν καὶ
 μεμνησθαι μόνον, οὐ μικρᾶς ἐστὶ χλεύης ἄξιον; Οὐ ταῦτα πάντα σὰ
 ῥήματα καὶ φωναί; Πῶς οὖν ἐναντία ψόγους ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους
 L 7^v παραβάλλεις αὐτῷ; Ἢ Ἄλλ' ἄδικον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, τοιαῦτα λέγειν
 ἀνάρμοστα, καὶ στρέφειν ἄνω καὶ κάτω, δίκην Εὐρίπου τὰ ρεύματα,
 265 καὶ συναρμόζειν ἐναντία, σοί τε κἀκείνῳ ἅμα· σοὶ μὲν, ὡς βάλλοντι,
 ὡς δεχομένῳ δ' ἐκείνῳ· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐκάτερα ἀληθεύειν· ἄλλ' ἢ
 τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνους, ἢ τὰς ὕβρεις ψεύδεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον.

KLPV

253-254. σύ-ἰσχύν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 115^v.31 || 255. ταύτης-ἀμελητέον] Dem. Cyd.,
Defensio, f. 118^r.9-10 || 256. μακρὰν-συγγράφειν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^r.25 || 256-257.
 τὰ-ἀναισχυντῶν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 120^r.17-18 || 259-260. τοῦτ'-ἀμαθέστερος] Dem.
 Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.14-15

264. δίκην-ρεύματα] Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.* 7, p. 40

259. Σκύθας] cf. Col. 3:11 || 261. χλεύης ἄξιον] Lucian., *De parasito*, § 40, p. 282 || 264.
 στρέφειν-Εὐρίπου] cf. Greg. Naz., *Carm. de se ipso*, PG 37, col. 1424A || 265-266.
 συναρμόζειν-ἀληθεύειν] cf. Arist., *De interpretatione* 17b.8

253. δε KV || 254. post ἰσχύν sign. interrogationis codd. || post δὲ sign. interrogationis L ||
 255. post ἀμελητέον sign. interrogationis codd. || 256. post συγγράφειν sign.
 interrogationis codd. || 257. μὲν bis acc. L || 258. post περιφανῶς sign. interrogationis LP ||
 post ἀναισχυντῶν sign. interrogationis L || 259. ἂν bis acc. L || 260. post ἀμαθέστερος sign.
 interrogationis codd. || post μυρία sign. interrogationis KLV || 261. post ἄξιον sign.
 interrogationis codd. || 262. post φωναί sign. interrogationis codd. || 265. μὲν bis acc. L ||
 266. ἢ P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ μὲν, οὐ ταῦτα σκοπῶν, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἦλθον τὸν λόγον· ἀλλ' ἀξιῶν, ὑπὲρ φίλου πρὸς φίλον παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ
270 τῷ δοκοῦντι συκοφαντεῖσθαι συνηγορῶν· φίλος μὲν γὰρ οὗτος, φίλος δὲ καὶ Θωμᾶς, καὶ σοφῶ μὲν ἄμφω, ἢ δ' ὑπερβολή, παρ' ἐκείνῳ· καὶ τοσοῦτο πλέον, ὥστε μηδὲ παραβάλλειν ἐξεῖναι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀσθενές σοι καὶ τὸ παρόν, καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις παρόμοιον· ἀπόκριναι γὰρ μοι· οὐ τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ ἴσα, ἀλλήλοισι ἴσα,
275 καὶ ὁ τισὶν αὐθις ἴσον, ἴσα πάλιν αὐτὰ ποιεῖ;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ εἴ τι μὲν ἴσον ἄλλω, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλω, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἴσα τὰ ἄκρα εἶναι;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ μάλα γε ἴσα.

280 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, τὸν λόγον ἐπισκεψώμεθα· εἰ γὰρ σοὶ μὲν, ὡς ὠμολόγεις, ἐκείνοι φίλοι, καὶ σὺ ἄρα φίλος αὐτῶν· ὁ γὰρ φίλος, τῶν πρὸς τι. Καὶ πάλιν, εἰ σοὶ μὲν ὁ Θωμᾶς φίλος, σὺ δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ σοὶ μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος· τῷ Θωμᾶ δὲ σὺ, διὰ πάντων, Θωμᾶν ἅμα καὶ

KLPV

268-272. οὐ-ἐξεῖναι] Dem. *Cyd.*, *Defensio*, f. 110^r.15-18

268-269. οὐ-λόγον] vide supra lin. 243 || 270. φίλος-οὗτος] scil. Nilus Cabasilas || 273. τὸ παρόν] vide supra linn. 268-272 || τοῖς πρώτοις] vide supra linn. 231-243

274. τὰ-ἴσα] Euclides, *Elementa*, Lib. I, comm. a conc. i, p. 5.9 || 280-285. εἰ-ἴσα] cf. Ioh. Philop., *In Anal. Pr.*, Lib. I, § 2, p. 40.12-14; Ioh. Dam., *Dial.*, § 51, pp. 117-119 || 282. πρὸς τι] Arist., *Categoriae* 6a.36-8b.24

268-272. Κυδώνης-ἐξεῖναι] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 271. δὲ] μὲν P || σοφῷ K || 275. ὁ, τισὶν L: ὁ τισιν K || post ποιεῖ sign. interrogationis codd. || 278. post εἶναι sign. interrogationis codd. || 279. ἴσα P || 280. οὐκ οὖν L || 281. ὁμολόγεις PV: ὁμολόγοις K || ἐκείνοι P || ἄρα K

L 8^r Νείλον φίλους ἀνάγκη εἶναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἢ ὁμολογοῦμεν εἶναι τὰ
285 ἄκρα ἴσα. Ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον ὀραῖται μάλλον, ἢ τὸ ὁμολόγημα ἦν·
καὶ γράμμασι γὰρ καὶ νοήμασιν, ἐχθρὸς ὁ Νεῖλος Θωμᾶ, καὶ
μεταξὺ τούτων, ἡ μεγάλη τῶν δογμάτων διάστασις, καὶ οὐδέποτ'
ἂν εὗρεθείη μέσον, ᾧ κοινωνοῦσιν ἀλλήλων εἰς ὁμοιότητα· ἄπερ
οὐκ ἂν συνέβαινε, εἰ φίλος ἦσθ' ἀληθῆς ἐκατέρου, ἢ βέβαιος
290 ἐκάτερος σοῦ.

Εἶτα καὶ πῶς ἂν τις ἐφαρμόσειεν ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἐναντία, ὧν τὸν μὲν,
συκοφαντεῖσθαι, τὸν δέ, συκοφαντεῖν ὁμολόγεις; Ἄδύνατον.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ περὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐμοί γε βοήθεια, **μικρὰ**
μὲν καὶ οἷα ἂν παρὰ μυρμηκῶν γένοιτο λέουσιν· ἴσως δ' ἔτι
295 **δυνησομένη, προσλαβοῦσα τὴν τῶν ἀκροωμένων πρὸς**
τάληθές καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εὐνοίαν. Διὰ τοῦτο, τὸν παρόντα λόγον
ἀναγκαῖον ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι φημί.

KLPV

293-297. μικρὰ-φημί] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 110^v.2-3

286. νοήμασι P ἢ 288. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 289. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 291. τὸν] τὸ P ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ
292. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 293-297. Κυδώνης-φημί] signa in marg. L: Κυδώνης-γενέσθαι] signa in
marg. K: illeg. V ἢ 294. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ ἴσως P ἢ δ' ἔτι] δέ τι codd. ἢ 296. διατοῦτο KPV ἢ
τοῦτο] ταῦτα D

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Παραπλήσια τοῖς προτέροις τὰ εἰρημένα, μηδαμῆ
 τὰληθές ἔχοντα· ῥήμασι γὰρ χρώμενος ταπεινοῖς, τὸ δεινὸν τῆς
 300 ἀλαζονείας ἀρπάζεις σχῆμα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἰώμης κὰν τούτω
 μιμούμενος· ἐπίσκοπον ἑαυτὸν πόλεως καλοῦντα μηδεμιᾶς, ἵνα
 πασῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνης νομίζεται· παραπλήσια δέ, καὶ δρῶν
 ἐθέλεις μυρμηκολέοντι· οἱ φυσικοὶ γὰρ φασιν, ἐπειδὴν ἡ λέαινα
 μέλλη τίκτειν, ἐν τῶν αὐτῆς γεννωμένων, εὐρίσκεσθαι θηρίον,
 L 8^v 305 ἐφήμικτον, κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς αὐτῆ, στήθος, ἢ καὶ τοὺς
 ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, ἔχον, ἅπαντα λέοντος· τὰ δὲ λοιπά,
 μύρμηκος· ὃ, τροφῆς μὲν, οὐ μεταλαμβάνει προεπούσης λέοντι,
 κρέατος· ὡς μὴ δυνάμενον αὐτήν, πέττειν· τὴν δὲ γε κριθὴν αὖθις,
 ὡς προσήκουσαν μύρμηκι, παραδεχόμενον οὐδαμῶς, ὡς οὔσαν
 310 ἀπρεπῆ τῷ στόματι λέοντος· διό, καὶ θνήσκειν εὐθύς ἀνάγκη
 τικτόμενον. Ὅ, καὶ σὺ ποιεῖς νῦν· τοῖς γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις
 παραβαλλόμενος ἑαυτὸν, ὀνομάζεις, αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς λέοντας
 μύρμηκα, τῆ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποφάσει, καὶ δικαστικῆ ψήφῳ, τοιαύτη

KLP et V (ad lin. 299: ταπεινοῖς)

298-302. Παραπλήσια-νομίζεται] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Dial.*, facs. 20, p. 159b ἢ 312-313. λέοντας μύρμηκα] vide supra lin. 294

302-311. καὶ-τικτόμενον] cf. *Physiol.* (redactio prima), § 20, pp. 73-76; Iob 4:11

299-302. ῥήμασι-νομίζεται] ὠρ(αῖον) ολον in marg. L ἢ 299-349. τὸ-συνεξελαθήσεται] deest V ἢ 299. τὰληθές] τὸ ἀληθές L ἢ 302. μόνης] μόνος KP ἢ νομίζεται P ἢ 304. γεννωμένον P ἢ γεννωμένον post cor. (ex γεννώμενον) P ἢ 307. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 308. πεττειν P ἢ 309. προσήκουσα P ἢ παραδεχομένου P ἢ 313. δικαστικῆ] δικαστῆ K

γε καταχρῆ, οἷαν ἄν τις δικαίως τεκμηριώσαιτο, λέοντος ἐν τοῖς
315 μύρμηξιν. Ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις νοημάτων οὐκ εὐπορῶν
ἐκατέρας τροφῆς, ῥαδίως τὰ σὰ ποιεῖς οἴχεσθαι· οὐς γὰρ
διδασκάλους ἐκάλεις, δικαστῆς αὐτῶν ἐγένου δεινότατος, καὶ τὴν
ψῆφον, ᾧ ἄν βούλη παρέχεις· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ἐπιτηδᾶς, τῷ δέ,
συνηγορεῖς· ἅ διδασκάλω δίκαιον ἄν εἶη, δρᾶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον, ἢ
320 μαθητῆ· οὕτως αὐτός, οὐ μόνον ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαυτῷ, καὶ τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ δοκεῖς μαχόμενος.

[1.4] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν δημιουργὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς,
μέσῃν αὐτήν, τῆς τε νοερᾶς, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς συστήσασθαι
φύσεως· διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ τὴν ταύτης γνῶσιν, μέσῃν εἶναι τῆς
325 ἐκατέρων τῶν φύσεων γνώσεως· ἢ μὲν οὖν νοερὰ φύσις, τὰ τῶν
L 9^r νοητῶν εἶδη τῇ ἑαυτῆς οὐσίᾳ ἐγκείμενα κεκτημένη, ἢ οὐδεμίαν ἐν
τῷ νοεῖν μετάβασιν πάσχει· καὶ ἢ αἰσθητικὴ δὲ φύσις, τοῖς τῶν
αἰσθητῶν εἶδεσι, δι' ἑαυτῆς ἀμέσως προσβάλλουσα, δι' ἑαυτῆς
ἕκαστον γινώσκει τῶν αἰσθητῶν, μερικὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῶν δεχομένη·

KLP

322-332. Ἐγὼ-φύσει] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 110^v.34-111^r.2

314. οἷαν post cor. (ex οἷαν) L || 315. εὐπορῶν P || 318. ἄν bis acc. L || 319-320. ἅ-μαθητῆ] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 322-367. Κυδώνης-μαθημάτων] signa in marg. KL || 324. διατοῦτο KLP || 328. ἐσθητῶν P

330 ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ, διὰ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τὴν νοεράν φύσιν
συγγένειαν, ἔχει τι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ἀμέσως καὶ ἀκινήτως καὶ
καθ' ἑαυτὸ γινωσκόμενον φύσει· οὕτω καὶ διανοεῖται, καὶ διδάσκει,
καὶ μανθάνει, ταῖς προϋπαρχούσαις γνώσεσιν αἰεὶ, τὰ ἐφεξῆς
καὶ ἐπόμενα ταύταις συνάπτουσα· ἐὼ τὰ μέσα, ἵνα μὴ χρῶμαι
335 μακρολογία. Τοῦτό ἐστι καθαρῶς τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι καὶ
διανοεῖσθαι· ὁ τοίνυν τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης
φύσεως ἀφαιρῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν λέληθεν ἑαυτὸν
ἀναιρῶν, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲν τῶν ἀλόγων ἔχειν ἀποφαινόμενος
καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀνθρώπων σύνδεσμον καὶ τὴν
340 κοινωνίαν παντελῶς διαλύων· καὶ δηλοῖ, τὸ πάντη καὶ πρὸς
πάντας ἀπλῶς χρῆσθαι συλλογισμῶ· καὶ βουλευομένους, καὶ
δικαζομένους, καὶ πωλοῦντας, καὶ ὠνουμένους, καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς
πράττοντας ἰδίᾳ τὲ καὶ κοινῇ. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὸ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ
συλλογίζεσθαι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἴδιον, καὶ μετὰ τούτου
345 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄνθρωπος χρῆται, δῆλον, ὡς τοῦτ' ἂν

KLP

332-334. οὕτω-συνάπτουσα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 111^r.6-7 || 335-348. ἐστι-εὐρίσκειν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 111^r.17-25

331. αὐτῇ] αὐτῇ D || 333. προϋπαρχούσαις] προυπαρχούσαις L: προ ὑπαρχούσαις K || 336. τοίνυν post cor. (ex αὐτὸ?) L || post τοίνυν scr. αὐτὸ KP || 337-344. ἀφαιρῶν-φύσεως] deest K || 338. οὐδέν L || 341. βουλευομένους] βουλομένους P: deest K || 343. τέ L: τε P: deest K || 345. ἂν bis acc. L

L 9^v

εἶη παρὰ Θεοῦ δῶρον τὸ κάλλιστον, καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον· καὶ
πρὸς τᾶλλα μὲν, μάλιστα ἢ δέ, πρὸς τὸ τὸν Θεὸν ζητεῖν καὶ
εὐρίσκειν· ἀνόητον τοίνυν, τὸν συλλογισμὸν ἐλαύνει ἐπὶ τῶν
θείων· οὕτω γάρ, συνεξελαθήσεται καὶ ὁ νοῦς, ὃ μόνω τὰ θεῖα
350 θηρεύεται, καὶ τὸν διαλεκτικὸν συλλογισμὸν ἐκ μέσου ποιῶν, οὐ
τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινωνίαν δηλὸς ἐστὶ
διαλύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιτρέπων
ζητεῖσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως, τὸ διαλέγεσθαι ἢ καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι,
καθὼς ἔφθην εἰπὼν, τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἴδιον, παρὰ Θεοῦ
355 διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρεσιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς συμπεφυτευμένον αὐτῇ.
Καὶ δηλοῖ, τὸ πάντα καὶ πρὸς πάντα σχεδὸν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, ὅσα
κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἰδίως ἐπιτηδεύομεν· τοῦτο δὲ
ποιοῦμεν, ὅταν βουλόμενοι τι μαθεῖν ἢ εὐρεῖν ζητῶμεν, τὰ τε
ἐπόμενα τῷ ζητούμενῳ, καὶ οἷς αὐτὸ ἔπεται, αὐτῷ τε πρὸς ἑαυτό·
360 καὶ πρὸς τᾶλλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, πρὸς τε ἐκεῖνο, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ

KLP et V (ab lin. 349: καὶ ὁ νοῦς)

348-350. ἀνόητον-θηρεύεται] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 111^r.35-36 ἢ 350-353. καὶ-ζητεῖσθαι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 113^v.2-4 ἢ 353-364. ἔχει-πραγμάτων] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 113^v.22-30

347. τ' ἄλλα L ἢ τὸ] τῷ KLP ἢ 349. γάρ] deest K ἢ 351. δηλὸς ἐστὶ P ἢ 353. καὶ] deest P ἢ 355. ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξαρχῆς KV ἢ 356. πάντα] πάντας P ἢ 358. ζητῶμεν] ζητοῦμ(εν) D ἢ 359. ἐπόμενα K ἢ αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ P ἢ αὐτῷ] αὐτὰ P ἢ 360. πρὸς?] πρὸ P ἢ ἐκεῖνο] ἐκεῖνω P

καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα· ὡσαύτως δέ, καὶ τί οὐχ ἔπεται ἐκείνω, καὶ τί
 μὲν ἔπεται πῆ, τί δὲ πῆ οὐχ ἔπεται· τοῦτο γοῦν εἴ τις οἶος <τ'> εἶη
 ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν πραγμάτων εὐρίσκειν ἢ διακρίνειν,
 ἐπιστήμην ἂν ἔχοι πάντων τῶν ζητουμένων πραγμάτων.
 365 Διαφόρως δὲ ὀνομάζεται, διαφοροῖς εἴδεσι πραγμάτων
 συμπλεκομένη· γεωμετρία μὲν γὰρ καλεῖται, τὰ ταῖς γραμμαῖς
 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις σχήμασι συμβαίνοντα θεωροῦσα· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ
 L 10^ε καὶ περὶ ἀστρονομίας ποιοῦσα, ἢ καὶ τὰλλα τῶν μαθημάτων.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄλλ' ὦ θαυμάσιε φιλοσόφων, καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον σοι,
 370 πολλῶν ἀτόπων ἐστὶ μεστόν· ἐκείνοις γὰρ καταχορῆ, οἷς καὶ τὸ γένος
 ἅπαν ἔχαιρε τῶν Λατίνων· ἃ καὶ διέλυσεν ὡς ἀράχνην εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ
 μακάριος Νεῖλος κάλλιστα, περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ἔτι λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον.
 Ἐπεὶ δέ σοι καὶ τι περισσότερον αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐξεγένετο ζηλωτῆ
 ὄντι θερμοτέρω, ὡς τὸν συλλογισμὸν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι Θεοῦ
 375 δῶρον κάλλιστον καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸν Θεὸν εὐρίσκεσθαι, ἢ καὶ

KLPV

365-368. Διαφόρως-ποιοῦσα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 113^v.33-114^r.1 ἢ 371. διέλυσεν-
 ἀράχνην] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 126^v.15

371. ἃ-ἅπαν] cf. Dem. Chrys., *In Deipar.*, § 5 p. 350

371. ἃ-ἅπαν] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Laud. mart. Barb.*, § 11.15, p. 265

366. τὰ] τὸ KPV ἢ 368. τ' ἄλλα L ἢ 371. εἰς ἅπαν] εἰσάπαν KPV ἢ 373. ἐξεγένετο] ἐξ
 ἐγένετο L ἢ 374. ὄντι] ἔντι P

ἀναιρεῖσθαι μὴ ὄντος, μικρὸν ὅσον τὴν ἐμὴν οὐ φεύγει διάνοιαν
 ἐπιχειρητέον καὶ ἀπολογητέον. Φανερόν, ὡς διπλοῦν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις τὸ
 συλλογίζεσθαι τὸ μὲν, ἐπιστήμης πόρρω, τὸ δέ, σὺν αὐτῇ. Τὸ μὲν οὖν
 πρῶτον, συστατικόν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάσης φύσεως· καὶ παρὸν,
 380 συνεισφέρει καὶ συνιστᾷ, καὶ ἀναιρούμενον, ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ἴδιον ἐστὶν
 ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅλῳ καὶ τινὶ ἅμα· διό, καὶ Θεὸς ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸ
 δωρεῖται· τὸ δ' ὕστερον, ὃ καὶ χαίρει τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, τοῖς πρώτοις παντελῶς
 ἀκοινωνήτων· οὔτε γὰρ ἀναιρούμενον ἀναιρεῖ, οὔτε παρὸν συνίστησιν,
 οὐδὲ παντὶ πρόσσεστιν, οὐδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἐπιγινόμενον, ὀλίγοις
 385 ὁρᾶται πάνυ, καὶ τούτοις σπουδάζουσι. Τούτων ἐκάτερον τοιγαροῦν,
 οὐδὲν εἰς γνῶσιν ἰσχύει Θεοῦ, πλήν, ὅτι μόνον ἐστίν. Εἰ δέ τι νοεῖν καὶ
 πλέον ἔξεστι περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῷ προτέρῳ ἂν αὐτὸ δοίημεν, οὐ τῷ ὑστέρω,
 L 10^v ἵνα, μὴ τὸ θεῖον τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον νομισθῆ· εἰ γὰρ ἢ ἐπι-||στήμη τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἄκρον, οὐ παντὶ δὲ πρόσσεστιν, τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἄρα· ἀλλ'
 390 ἄτοπον· ἄκρος γὰρ ἐστὶ δίκαιος.

KLPV

386. οὐδὲν-ἐστίν] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 2.10-15, pp. 8-9; § 4.2, p. 12 || 388. μὴ-νομισθῆ] cf. Basil. Caes., *Deus non auct. mal.*, PG 31, col. 332B

376. μικρὸν L || 378. δὲ bis acc. L || 384. ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξαρχῆς L || 386. οὐδὲν L || 387. ἔξεστι L || τοῦ] deest KPV || ἂν bis acc. L || 389. πρόσσεστι LP

Ἔτι, εἰ τὸ χωρὶς ἐπιστήμης συλλογίζεσθαι, τοῦ μετ' ἐπιστήμης
ἐλαττον ἀγαθὸν οἰοῦτό τις, Θεὸς ἄρα τὸ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ὀλίγοις
χαρίζεται, τὸ δ' ἐλάχιστον, ἅπαντι ἄλλ' ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ δίκαιος.
Δῆλον οὖν, ὡς ἄκρον ἂν εἴη, μόνον τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον,
395 καὶ Θεοῦ δῶρον κάλλιστον, οὗ μετέχουσιν ἅπαντες· τὸ δὲ μετ'
ἐπιστήμης, καλὸν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ Θεοῦ δῶρον, οὐπω δὲ
τέλειον, ὅτι μηδὲ κοινόν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε, μὴ καὶ καλόν, εἰ κακῶς μόνον
ἄνθρωπος αὐτῷ χρῶτο. Διό, καὶ βλάβης πρόξενον ἔχουσιν, οὐ
μικρᾶς πολλάκις ἐγένετο. Σὺ δέ, τῷ ὑστέρω τὰ τίμια καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν
400 ἅπασαν ψηφίζῃ, ὅπερ οὐ δίκαιον.
Ἔτι, εἰ κάλλιστον ἀπάντων ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν γνῶσις, αὐτῆς δ' αἴτιον ἢ
τοῦ κόσμου σοφία, οὔτε πιστοῖς ὁ στέφανος δίκαιος, οὔτε κόλασις
τοῖς ἀπίστοις ὀσία.
Ἔτι, οὐδὲ Θεὸς τὸ ἴσον ἀπῆται πάντας, τὸ ἄνισον τῆς γνώσεως ἐν
405 ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντας.

KLPV

401-402. ἡ-σοφία] 1 Cor. 3:19

392. Θεὸς] θ(εὸ)ν P || 393. post ἅπαντι scr. sup. lin. ἄλλ' cum sign. P || 399. ἰσχὺν post cor. (ex ἰσχήν?) K || 404. ἄνισον] ἀνίσον P

Ἔτι, σοφοὶ ἂν εἶεν μόνοι πιστοὶ Θεῶ, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πᾶν, ἄπιστον ἀληθῶς· ἀλλ' ἄτοπα καὶ ἀδύνατα· εἰ γὰρ ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμά γε ἀληθῶς κοινὰ πᾶσι πάντα, καὶ ταῦτά γε τῇ φθορᾷ περικείμενα, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἂν, ὅσα περὶ ψυχὴν ἐποίει ῥάδιον ὁ Θεός· ὁ γὰρ
 410 πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀφθονίαν διδούς, καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ εὔ ζῆν, ἀφορμὰς
 L 11^r ἐδωρεῖτο· πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ζῆν, σιτίων ἔδει || καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἐνδυμάτων, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἀπορεῖ, κἂν οὐχ ἐτοιμασάμενος ἦ· λόγων δὲ περὶ Θεοῦ γνῶσιν ἀνάγειν ἕκαστον δυναμένων, ἐκάλυπεν ἂν ὁ Θεὸς ἅπαντας οὐ κεκτῆσθαι; Τοῦτο, φθονοῦντος ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον,
 415 οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ.
 Ἀλλ' ὅτι πιστοὶ Θεῶ μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ σοφοί, δηλὸν ἐντεῦθεν· καὶ ὅτι γένος τῶν σοφῶν, οὐ πιστὸν ἐπὶ πλέον. Σοφὸν Αἰγυπτίων γένος, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, πολὺ δὲ τούτων σοφώτερον, τὸ Χαλδαίων ἅμα καὶ τῶν Περσῶν· ὧν Ἕλληνες τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐν ἅπασιν ἐβασίλευεν· οἱ
 420 Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Σωκράτην, καὶ

KLPV

417-421. Σοφὸν-σοφία] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.* 73, p. 58; suum, *Compar.*, p. 232.1-4

409-410. ὁ γὰρ-διδούς] cf. Ps. 135:25 || 409-410. ὁ-ἀφθονίαν] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 17, p. 272 || 410-411. καὶ-ποτῶν] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 17, p. 272

406. ἂν bis acc. L || εἶεν] εἶα P || 407. ἄτοπα K || 408. ταῦτα post cor. (ex ταῦτα) P || ταῦτα γε codd. || 409-414. ὁ-κεκτῆσθαι] ὠρ(αῖον) ὄλον in marg. L || 409. ἂν bis acc. L || 411. ἐδωρεῖτο P || 412. οὐδεὶς L || 413. ἂν bis acc. L || 414. post κεκτῆσθαι sign. interrogationis codd. || 418. ἀσσυρίων codd.

πολλοὺς ἄλλους ἄδουσιν ἐπὶ σοφία, οὓς, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τοῖς
 ἄλλοις γένεσι, πλάνος τις, ἐκάκωσε καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ μικρῶς, καὶ
 διεσκόρπισεν ἅμα, ὡς εἶ τις αὐτοὺς οὐρανόθεν ἴδοι καταπεσόντας·
 τοῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅλα στοιχεῖα, τοῖς δέ, μόνον ἓν, ὡς Θεὸς ἐθαυμάζετο. Καὶ
 425 ἄλλω μὲν, ἥλιος, ἄλλω δέ, σελήνη· ἄλλω δὲ πάλιν, ἄλλων ἀπλανῶν
 ἄλλο· καὶ πλανωμένων, ἐπιτήδευμα πίστεως· καὶ ψευδωνύμους
 προσρήσεις, αὐτοῖς ἐπιφημίσαντες, ἐτέρας ἕτεροι, καλοῦσι, τὴν μὲν γῆν,
 Κόρην, Δήμητραν, Πλούτωνα, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν, Ποσειδῶνα, δαίμονας
 ἐναλίους· Ἦραν δέ, τὸν ἀέρα· καὶ τὸ πῦρ, Ἥφαιστον· καὶ ἥλιον μὲν,
 430 Απόλλωνα, σελήνην δέ, Ἄρτεμιν· καὶ ἑωσφόρον μὲν, Ἀφροδίτην, Ἐρμῆν
 δέ, στίλβοντα· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἐκάστου, μυθογράφοις τὰς
 ἐπωνυμίας παρέδωσαν. Τί δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἢ τὰς ἀσέμνους οἶοιτο γεννήσεις
 αὐτῶν, ἃν ἀξιοῦται μὲν ὁ Ἐρμῆς, τριῶν ἀλλήλοις διαφερόντων, ὁ δὲ
 Κρόνος, πλειόνων; Τρεῖς γάρ φασι τὸν μὲν, γεννηθῆναι, τὸν δέ, καὶ
 435 πλειόνων εὐπορηῆσαι γεννήσεων.

L 11^v

KLPV

421-423. οὓς-ἅμα] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Cent. epist.* 73, p. 58; suum, *Compar.*, p. 232.4-5

421-423. οὓς-ἅμα] cf. Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 52, p. 280 || 423. ὡς-καταπεσόντας] cf. Luc. 10:18 || 424-426. Καὶ-πίστεως] cf. Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 53, p. 281 || 426-427. ψευδωνύμους προσρήσεις] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 53, p. 281 || 427-429. ἐπιφημίσαντες-Ἥφαιστον] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, §§ 53-54, p. 281 || 429-432. καὶ²-παρέδωσαν] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, §§ 54-55, p. 281

422. τις P || 424. δὲ bis acc. L || 425. σελήνης K || 426. πλανωμένων P || 429. μὲν bis acc. L || 430. ἀρτέμιν P || 432. παρέδωσαν P || 434. τρεῖς P || μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L

Καὶ ἄλλων, ἄλλας ἀπιθάνους γεννήσεις, ἀτόποις ἄλλοις
 παραβαλλόμενοι χαίρουσι. Τί δὲ τοὺς ἡμιθέους, ὁ καὶ χλεύης
 ἄξιον οὐ μικρᾶς; Πῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἀθάνατός τε καὶ θνητὸς ἅμα, δίχα
 τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι; Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν, ἴσως,
 440 ἦττον ἀδικοῦσι τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους, χρυσὸν ἅμα καὶ
 ἄργυρον, καὶ τὰς παραπλησίους ὕλας μορφώσαντες, ὡς φίλον
 ἐκάστω, ἢ θεοὺς σέβονται, καὶ ζωγραφίαν τιμᾶν ἐθέλουσιν ὡς
 θεόν, ἥς, πλαστικὴ καὶ δημιουργία χειρῶν, ἀνθρώποις τὸ
 ἐπιτήδευμα· ὧν ὁ μὲν Εὐφράνωρ, ποιητῆς Ἦρας, ὁ δὲ
 445 Πολύγνωτος, ἄλλης· καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀφροδίτης, ὁ Πραξιτέλης· ὁ δ'
 Ἀλκαμένης, τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἄλλων, ὧν τὸ πᾶν,
 γέλωσ. Αἰγύπτῳ δέ, μὴ μόνον τὸ κοινὸν ἔγκλημα τόδε, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἕτερον χειρὸν ἐπάγεται· ζῶα γὰρ ἄλογα, παρέσυραν εἰς θεῶν
 τιμάς· ταύρους, καὶ κριούς, καὶ τράγους· καὶ τὸν μὲν, Ἄππιν
 450 ὀνομάζουσι, βούν ὄντα δίχρουν· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως, ἔχει τινὰ λόγον,

KLPV

444-446. ὧν-ἄλλων] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Encom. S. Dem.*, p. 346.127-132

437-439. Τί-εἶναι] Phil. Jud., *Vita cont.*, § 6, p. 47 || 440-442. ἦττον-ἐκάστω] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 66, p. 284 || 443-444. δημιουργία-ἐπιτήδευμα] cf. Ps. 134:15 || 444-445. ὧν-ἄλλης] cf. Lucian., *Imag.*, § 7, pp. 268-270 || 445. καὶ-Πραξιτέλης] cf. Athen., *Deipnos.*, Lib. 13, p. 54 || 446. Ἀλκαμένης-Ἀθηνᾶς] cf. Pausan., *Graec. Descr.*, Lib. 9, § 11.6, p. 21.12-13 || 447-462. Αἰγύπτῳ-τιμῶσι] Phil. Jud., *Dec.*, § 76-79, pp. 286-287

438. αὐτός L || θνητός L || 439. μὲν bis acc. L || ἴσος P || 441. παραπλησίους] παραπλησίας KPV || 443. πλαστικὴ] πλαστή P || 445-446. δ' Ἀλκαμένης] δαλκαμένης LPV: δαλκαμ(έν)(ης) K || 448. θ(εὸ)ν L || 449. μὲν bis acc. L

- ἢ μᾶλλον, ἀλογίαν οὐχ ὑπερβάλλουσιν· ἡμερώτατα γὰρ καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα βίῳ· ἀροτήρ ὁ βοῦς, αὔλακας ἀνατέμνειν, καὶ τὰς σπορὰς ἀλοῆσαι πάλιν ὅτε καιρός· δυνατώτατος δὲ κριός, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν σκεπασμάτων ἐσθῆτα παρε-||χόμενος τῷ δυναμένῳ.
- L 12^r
- 455 Νυνὶ δέ, προσυπερβάλλοντες ἀσεβεία, καὶ τῶν ἀνημέρων τὰ ἀγριώτατα, λέοντας, κροκοδείλους, καὶ τῶν ἐρπετῶν ἰοβόλων ἀσπίδα, γεραίρουσιν, ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσι, θυσίαις καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ πομπαῖς· οὐδὲν οὖν χερσαίων, θηριωδέστερον λέοντος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων, ἀγριώτερον κροκοδείλου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἰοβόλων, ἀσπίδος
- 460 χεῖριστον· πολλὰ μέντοι καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα, κύνας, αἰλούρους, λύκους· πτηνά, ἱέρακας, ἰβιδας· καὶ πάλιν, ἰχθύων, ἢ ὅλα τὰ σώματα, ἢ μέρη τούτων σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσι. Τὰ δ' εἰρημένα τούτων, ἔνιοι περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἀπονοία τοσαύτη κέχρηται, ὡς οὐ μόνον θεοὺς νομίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον, μέγιστον καὶ πρῶτον θεόν.
- 465 Τὸν δ' ἀνωτάτω, καὶ πρεσβύτατον γενέτην, τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς μεγάλης

KLPV

462-464. ἔνιοι-θεόν] Phil. Jud., Dec., § 59, p. 282 || 465-467. Τὸν-παρεκαλύψαντο] Phil. Jud., Dec., § 53, p. 281

451. ὑπερβάλλουσα P || 453. ἀλοῆσαι post cor. (ex ἀλοῆσαι) L || 456. ἀγριώτατα L || κροκοδείλους] κροκοδύλους LPV: κροκοδύλ(ους) K || 457. ἱερεῖς P || 458. οὐδὲν L || 459. κροκοδύλου KPV || 460. scr. αἰλουρος in marg. L || 462. in marg. inf. τὰ δ' εἰς[...] lac. P || 465. δ' ἀνωτάτω] δὲ ἀνώτατον P

πόλεως, τὸν στρατάρχην τῆς ἀηττήτου στρατιᾶς, τὸν κυβερνήτην,
 τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν, παρεκαλύψαντο, ἣ οὐκ εἰδότες
 ἀδίδακτοτάτῳ φύσει, ἣ μὴ σπουδάζοντες μαθεῖν. Ὡν, τί ἂν
 γένοιτο καταγελαστότερον; Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, τὰ πρὸ τῆς
 470 οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ· τίνα δέ, καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτήν, ὕστερα; Οὐ σοφῶν
 γένος τυχὸν ἄπειρον, εἰς αἰρέσεις ἐτρέπη, ὧν οἱ μὲν, τῇ σαρκί, οἱ
 δέ, τῇ μακαρία Τριάδι κακῶς ἐψηφίζοντο, αὐτὴν ἐνοῦντες οὐχ ὡς
 ἔδει καὶ διακρίνοντες; Ὅ, τισὶ καὶ νῦν ἐνορεῖται, μὴ καλῶς
 ἐκάτερον, ἢ ἕτερον σέβειν βουλευομένοις. Τί πάντας ὤνησεν ἡ τοῦ
 475 κόσμου σοφία; Τίς ἢ γνῶσις αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸν Θεόν; Πάντα πάντη
 L 12^v πάντας οὐδέν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ παρέσυρε καὶ ἢ ἐζημίωσεν οὐ μικρόν,
 ὥσπερ εἶπομεν, ὧν ἀπάντων ἡ δόξα, μανιώδης μάλλον, ἢ
 ἀνεπίσκεπτος. Πόσους δ' ἂν τις καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῶν λόγων
 οἶοιτο πόρρω, πιστοὺς δὲ πάλαι καὶ νῦν Θεῷ; Ἀπείρους πάντως ἐρεῖς.
 480 Καὶ Θεῷ μὲν ὁμιλοῦντας, ἄτε γνησίῳ φίλῳ, Θεῷ δὲ, καὶ χαίροντας

KLPV

468-469. Ὡν-καταγελαστότερον] Phil. Jud., Dec., § 79, p. 287 ἢ 474-475. ἡ-σοφία] 1 Cor.
 3:19 ἢ 480. Καὶ-φίλῳ] cf. Exod. 33:11

468. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 470. τὰ] deest K ἢ σοφὸν KPV ἢ 471. τυχὸν ἢ 472. ἐψηφίζοντο]
 ἐψεφίζοντο K ἢ post ἐψηφίζοντο sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 473. post διακρίνοντες
 sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 474. βουλευομένοις] βουλομένοις et scr. eu sup. lin. cum
 sign. P: βουλομένοις in textu cum sign. sup. lin. et scr. [βουλεο]μένοις in marg. V ἢ post
 βουλευομένοις sign. interrogationis L

ὑπὲρ πάντα· τοιοῦτος χορὸς ὁ τῶν προφητῶν, αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν
 ἀποστόλων παρόμοιος, καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄπειρον
 πιστεύει ζῶντι Θεῷ, καὶ τῆς ἐν κόσμῳ σοφίας οὐ κοινωνεῖ. Ὅθεν,
 θαυμάζεται γένος Ἑσσηαίων, ἅμα καὶ Ἀσινίων· τὸ μὲν, Ἑλλήνων, ὅ,
 485 καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ἐνοραῖται δικαιοσύνη, τὸ δέ, πάλαι μὲν
 εὐδοκίμησεν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις· νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι πλῆθος ὑπὲρ
 τετρακισχίλιοι· μόνοι μὲν ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀχρήματοι καὶ
 ἀκτήμονες γεγονότες· οὐδένα ἂν εὖροι τις παρ' αὐτοῖς, δημιουργόν,
 ἢ ὀπλοποιόν, ἢ συνόλωσ, τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύοντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
 490 ὅσα κατ' εἰρήνην εἰς κακίαν ἐνόλισθα· ὄρκους, ἢ καπηλείας, ἢ τὴν
 ἐμπορίαν, οὐδ' ὄναρ ἴσασι· δοῦλος παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς ἦν· ἀλλ'
 ἀνθυπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, πάντες ἐλεύθεροι. Φιλοσοφίας δέ, τὸ
 μὲν λογικόν τε καὶ φυσικόν, τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀπέλιπον, τὸ δ'
 ἠθικόν, εὖ μάλα διεπόνουν· ἐπαιδεύοντο οὖν, τὴν δοκοῦσαν
 495 εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην, τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν οἰκία, οὐδενὸς

KLPV

483. πιστεύει ζῶντι Θεῷ] cf. Acta Pauli, Mart. Pauli, § 5.6, p. 115 || 486-500. νῦν-
 συλλογισμῶν] Phil. Jud., Omn. prob. lib. sit, § 75-88, pp. 21-25

481. χορὸς L: χωρὸς P || 483. πιστεύει ζῶντι Θεῷ] πιστεύειν θ(ε)ῷ ζῶντι KPV || 484.
 ἄσυνίων L || μὲν bis acc. L || ὧ L || 485. τουνῦν LP: τουνῦν KV || δὲ bis acc. L || 486.
 ὑπὲρ K || 487. τετρακισχίλιοι] τετραχιλίους KPV || μόνη P || 488. ἂν bis acc. L || εὖροι τις
 P || 490. ὄρκους P || 491. οὐδεὶς L || 492. ἀνθ' ὑπουργοῦντες P || 493. λογικόν τε L

L 13^r ἦν, ἰδία, ἦν, οὐ πάντων εἶναι συμβέβηκε ταμεῖον ἔν, ἅπασι κοινὸν
 ἦν· καὶ δαπάναι· ἢ καὶ κοιναὶ μὲν ἐσθῆτες, κοιναὶ δὲ τροφαί· ὅσα
 γὰρ ἂν λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῶ, κοινήν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι χρῆσθαι
 παρεσκεύαζον τράπεζαν· τοιοῦτους ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται
 500 φιλοσοφία, ἢ δίχα λόγων ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ συλλογισμῶν· ὅσον
 ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Θεῷ
 γνώσεως, ἔτυχον οἰκειοτέρας μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων.
 Πολλοῖς οὐκοῦν δέδεικται, ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἢ τοῦ κόσμου σοφία,
 γνώσεως αἴτιον περὶ τὸν Θεὸν γίνεται· οὐδ' ὅσοι πόρρω τῆς
 505 ἐπιστήμης, πιστεύειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τῷ Θεῷ· τὸναντίον δὲ
 μᾶλλον, ὡς οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται, πιστοὶ Θεῷ, σοφοὶ δὲ τὸ πλεόν, ἄπιστοι.
 Σὺ δέ, τῷ μὲν σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ συλλογίζεσθαι, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν
 ἐμφυτεύειν ἐθέλεις· καὶ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν ἐπιτρέπεις γνῶσιν· τὸ δὲ
 πρῶτον, ὃ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ παντὶ πάρεστι, καὶ ᾧ πάλιν ἅπαν
 510 ἀγαθὸν ἔπεται, ἐπιτιμᾶς γε καὶ περιπίπτεις· τὸ δέ, ἄδικον, οὐ
 μόνον σοὶ τῷ λέγοντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν γε, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ. Ὁμολογεῖς
 ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν ἢ οὐ;

KLPV

500. φιλοσοφία-συλλογισμῶν] scil. ἢ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία, cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, Lib. 5 § 14.92.5 p. 387 ἢ 503. ἢ-σοφία] 1 Cor. 3:19

497. αἰσθητες L ἢ 498. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 499. ἀπεργάζετο L ἢ 506. τοῦ πλεόν KV ἢ 508. post ἐθέλεις sign. interrogationis P ἢ post ἔχειν sign. interrogationis codd.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὑπερφυῶς γε ὁμολογῶ· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμῖν εἶπέ, τί Θεὸς εἰς γνῶσιν ἅπαντι χαρίζεσθαι βούλεται;

- 515 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ψυχὴν λογικὴν· αὕτη γάρ, τῇ καταβολῇ τοῦ σπέρματος, ἔξωθεν ἀφικνεῖται, ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει θείᾳ, προτέρου θατέρου μηδενὸς ὄντος· καὶ σῶματι μὲν, αἰσθήσεις, τῇ ψυχῇ δέ, νοῦς ἐστὶν ἡγεμῶν καὶ προαίρεσις κάλλιστα· ἔπεται δὲ αὐτῇ, καὶ τριμέρεια, ὧν, τὰ δύο μὲν, ἄλογα, λογιστικὸν δέ, τὸ ἕτερον, ὃ καὶ
- L 13^v 520 περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὡς φασίν, ἴδρυνται· τῶν δὲ ἢ λοιπῶν, τὸ μὲν, ἐν στέρνοις, τὸ δέ, κάτωθεν. Οὗ τοίνυν τῶν ἀλόγων, τὸ λογιστικὸν ἐβασίλευσε, μακάριος· ἐφαρμόζεται γὰρ αὐτῷ, γνῶσις τῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ θυμῷ μὲν, ἀνδρία, τῇ δὲ σωφροσύνη, ἐπιθυμία· καὶ πάσας περιπλέκεται δικαιοσύνη· οὗ δὲ τὸ ἄλογον ἄρχει, ἄθλιος
- 525 οὗτος, ὡς τῶν προτέρων οὐδενὸς εὐπορῶν. Τούτων δὲ πάντων, καὶ τῆς περὶ Θεὸν ἀπιστίας καὶ πίστεως αἴτιον, ἢ προαίρεσις μόνη μένουσα γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθῷ, γενναῖα, πίστιν· περὶ δὲ τὸ κακόν, ἀπιστίαν· ἢ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου σοφία, γνῶσιν οἶδε φύειν ἐν ὀρωμένοις·

KLPV

518-521. ἔπεται-κάτωθεν] cf. Plat., *Respublica* 440e-441a; ἢ 528. ἢ-σοφία] 1 Cor. 3:19

513-514. Κυδώνης-βούλεται] signa in marg. K ἢ 517. θατέρου L ἢ 519. λογιστικὸν] λογικὸν P ἢ 520. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 521. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ λογιστικὸν] λογικὸν P ἢ 528. ἐν ὀρωμένοις] ἐνορωμένοις L

ὡσπερ οὖν σοφία καὶ προαίρεσις τὰ γεννῶντα διάφορα, οὕτω
530 πίστις καὶ γνῶσις τὰ φυόμενα παρ' αὐτῶν, οὐ ταυτά· οὕτω καὶ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους κὰν τῷ Θεῷ τοῖς μέν, τὸ ἴσον, τῷ δέ, τὸ δίκαιον ἂν
καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔποιτο.

[1.5] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδὲν οὕτω μὴ ἑναργὲς ὡς αὐτό. Πλήν ὁ Νεῖλος, κὰν
τούτοις ἔστιν ἢ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φαίνεται
535 κεχρημένος, ὡς ὅταν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τὴν ἀποδείξιν διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἄπειρον
εἶναι ἐλαύνη. Οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῇ ἀποδείξει τὸ ἄπειρον ἐναντίον
τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ στέρησιν ἄπειρον, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀποδειχθείη· τοῦ
γὰρ εἶδους ἀπόπτωσις ἢ στέρησις ὄν, ὅ, τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις ἀρχὴ
τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι γίνεται, εἰκότως καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐκπίπτει. Τὸ δὲ
540 κατὰ ἀπόφασιν, ἄπειρον, οἶον, τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν,
μάλιστα πάντων πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην οἰκείως ἔχει· ὡς ἂν μάλιστα
εἶδος ὄν, διὰ τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ εἶναι ὑποκειμένῳ· ὅ, συστέλλει τὸ ἐν
ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ποιεῖ, τόδε μὲν, εἶναι, τόδε δέ, ἢ μὴ εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῇ
L 14^r χιόνι λευκόν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐστι λευκόν· οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ· ἀλλ'
545 ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ συστέλλεται, καὶ μερικὸν γίνεται λευκόν

KLPV

533-554. κὰν-συνέζευκται] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 112^v.3-14 || 533-536. Πλήν-ἐλαύνη] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 204.13-26

529-530. ὡσπερ-ταυτά] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 531. μὲν bis acc. L || τὸ¹] τὶ K || τὸ²] deest K || ἂν bis acc. L || 533-554. Οὐδὲν-συνέζευκται] signa in marg. KLV || 534. ἔστι P || 535. τὸ post cor. (ex τὸν) L || 538. ὅ] ὁ P || 541. ὡσὰν K || ἂν bis acc. L || 544. οὐ γὰρ] ουδὲ D

καὶ πεπερασμένον, πρὸς τὴν τῆς χιόνος φύσιν· ὡς εἶ γέ τις ἦν
 λευκότης, ἐν μηδενὶ περικλειομένη ὑποκειμένῳ, ἦν ἂν ἄπειρος
 λευκότης, πάντα τὰ τῆς λευκότητος γένη περιλαμβάνουσα καὶ
 προέχουσα· καὶ μάλιστα ἂν ἦν εἶδος, ὑπὲρ πᾶν εἶδος
 550 λευκότητος· καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν ἦν μάλιστα, τῇ περὶ ταύτης ἐπιστήμη
 οἰκεῖον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ μὲν δυνάμει παντελῶς, οὐδεμία
 χώρα, ἐνέργεια δὲ μόνον ἐστὶ καθαρά, ἐν οὐδενὶ παντάπασι
 νοουμένη ὑποκειμένῳ, εἶδος μόνον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐντελέχειαν
 ψιλὴν εἶναι λείπεται, ἢ, καὶ ἡ ἀπλῶς ἀπειρία συνέζευκται.
 555 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἴδού σοι τῶν συλλογισμῶν ὁ θαυμαστός ἔπαινος, ὃν
 ἀρτίως ἐφαρμόζειν αὐτοῖς ἐβουλεύου, θαυμαστόν σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἀπέδωκεν ἀδικίας τὸ σύμπτωμα, λέγειν εὐθύς περὶ Θεοῦ γε
 βουλευομένῳ· καὶ ῥήματα μὲν ὀλίγα, πολλὰ γεννᾷ τὰ νοήματα, καὶ
 δεινά· τὸ γὰρ παρὸν εἰρημένον σοι, πολλῶν οὐ μικρῶν ἐστὶν ἀτόπων
 560 ἤδη μεστόν. Αὐτίκα Νεῖλος διώκει τὸν συλλογισμὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ,

KLPV

552. ἐνέργεια-καθαρά] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 14, a. 1 ad 1: Unde scientia non est qualitas in Deo vel habitus, sed substantia et actus purus

551-552. Ἐπεὶ-καθαρά] cf. Arist., *Metaphysica* 1051a.1-5

546. εἶ γέ τις] εἶ γε τις L: εἶ γε τις KPV || ἦν K || 547. ἂν bis acc. L || 549. ἂν bis acc. L || 550. ἂν bis acc. L || ἦν K || 551. ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ P || 558. βουλευομένῳ] βουλομένῳ P || 559. γὰρ] δὲ KPV || ἔστι P

οὐ τοῦτο, τῆς ἀπειρίας ὄρον οἰόμενος, ἦ, μηδενὶ περικλειομένου
τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ πανταχοῦ, καὶ μηδαμῆ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ
πᾶν ὄντος· τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν, λέγεται μὲν ἄπειρον, οὐχ ὅτι ἔστιν, ἀλλ'
ὅτι, οὐκ ἔστιν· ᾧ, μηδεμία χώρα τῆς ἀπειρίας ὑποπτεύεται πώποτε.

L 14^v 565 Περὶ οὗ καὶ Νεῖλος, οὐδόλως ᾤετο, λογίζεσθαι συλλογισμὸν
φεύγειν· ἐπεὶ τὸ συλλογίζεσθαι, τῶν ὄντων ἐστίν, ἥκιστα δὲ ἢ Θεῶ
πρέπει, φανερώς ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν ὄντι. Ὅν αὐτός, παρόμοιον ἔλεγε
εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῶ μὴ ὄντι· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον. Καίτοι γε, ἔστιν ἅττα, καὶ
ὄντα ἐστί, καὶ ἄπειρα πολλοῖς τρόποις λέγεται· ἀρχὴν τὸ σημεῖον
570 τὸ νῦν, καὶ τὸ κίνημα· δεύτερον, τὰ κυκλικά τε καὶ σφαιρικά·
 τρίτον, ἢ λεγομένη λαβύρινθος· τέταρτον, ἢ διακεκαυμένη καὶ
κατεψυγμένη γῆ· καὶ πέμπτον, ὁ ἀριθμὸς τε, καὶ ἡ γραμμὴ· πᾶν
γὰρ συνεχές, ἐπ' ἄπειρον ὑπάρχει διαιρετόν· καὶ τῶ ἀριθμῶ,
προστιθέναι πάντως ἔστιν αἰεὶ· αὐτὰ οὖν ἄπειρα πάντα λέγεται,
575 ὡς φασιν οἱ ἐν τούτοις δεινοί· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τούτων ἔστι τὸ μείζον,

KLPV

563. ἔστιν] ἐστίν LPV: ἐστ(iv) K || 574. ἐστίν L || 575. φασι P || ἐστὶ L

οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄπειρον, ἀληθεία. Εἰ οὖν ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἔστι διώκειν
συλλογισμόν, πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἐλαύνομεν; Οὐκοῦν μόνος
ἄπειρος ὁ Θεός.

Ἔτι, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖς ἄπειρον, ἐν τῷ μηδενὶ τῶν ὄντων
580 εἶναι; Οὕτως, ἢ ἄλλως;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως ἔχει.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Απόκριναί μοι τοιγαροῦν ἐν σκοπῷ, ὅσα τοῖς
ἀντικειμένοις ἀντιφατικῶς ἔνεστιν, ὅποια εἶναι φαμέν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀντικείμενα.

585 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τῷ γοῦν μηδενί, τί ἐστὶν ἀντικείμενον; Ἀνάγκη γὰρ
κατὰ τὸν φιλόσοφον εὐρεθῆναι τί.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδὲν ἄλλο τούτῳ ἀντίκειται, ἢ τὸ τί αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ, τῷ
μηδενὶ ἐναντίον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ τῷ μηδενὶ παρὸν ἄπειρον, τό, τινὲ ἄρα
590 προσόν, οὐκ ἄπειρον.

KLPV

579-580. Ἔτι-εἶναι] vide supra, linn. 541-543

579-580. ἐν-εἶναι] cf. Greg. Nyss., *In Cant.* (Or. 2), p. 54.16-17 || 585-586. Ἀνάγκη-τί] cf. Arist., *De interpretatione* 17b.17

577. ἂν bis acc. L || οὐκ οὖν L || 580. post εἶναι sign. interrogationis codd. || 581. Κυδώνης-
ἔχει] signum in marg. K || 584. Κυδώνης-ἀντικείμενα] signum in marg. K: illeg. V ||
ἀντικείμενα P || 587. οὐδὲν L || γὰρ ἐστὶ P || 587-588. ἄλλο-ἐναντίον] signum in marg.
K: illeg. V

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως ἔχει.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἰ Θεὸς ἄρα τινὶ παρῶν εὐρεθῆ, ἐν τούτῳ πεπέρασται κατὰ σέ, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἄπειρος.

L 15^r

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλήν, ἐν οὐ-ἴδενι ἂν εὐρεθείη τῶν
595 ὄντων ὑποκειμένῳ πώποτε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Δῆλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ὄρων ἐπελάθου παντάπασιν· ἀκούομεν γάρ, τὴν μακαρίαν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τῆ μακαρία παραγενομένην Παρθένῳ, καὶ σαρκωθεῖσαν ὡς ἠβουλήθη λόγοις ἀρρήτοις, τὸν δὲ Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Παράκλητον,
600 κοινωνοῦντας μόνῃ τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ· οὐκ ἄπειρος ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα· ἐπομένως δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας μεταλαμβάνει σαρκὸς Θεός, καὶ δύο φύσεις, ὑπόστασις μία γίνεταί· ὅ, καὶ νῦν ὁράται δεδοξασμένον ἐν οὐρανοῖς· καὶ σύνεστιν ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσις, ἐν περιγραπτῷ σώματι· οὐκοῦν, τὸ θεῖον ἐν τούτῳ πεπέρασται.

605 Ἔτι, καὶ δίχα τούτων, ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ χρώμενος ὁ Θεός, τῶν αὐτοῦ δούλων,

KLPV

599. λόγοις ἀρρήτοις] cf. Eus. Caes, *Eccles. theol.*, Lib. I, § 8.21-22, p. 66

594-595. πλήν-πώποτε] signum in marg. K: illeg. V || 594. ἂν bis acc. L || 596. εὐσεβέσει P || 598. σαρκωθήσ(αν) P || 599. ἀρρήτοις P || 600. κοινωνοῦντα KPV || 601. ἐπομένως K || 602. γίνεταί] γίνεται KP || 604. τὸ-πεπέρασται] ἐν τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον πεπέρασται KPV

οὐ μόνον ἐνί, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς, ἢ μᾶλλον ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντι,
καὶ πανταχοῦ πάρεστι πληρῶν ἅπαντα· ὄν, ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων
σοι πρότερον, εἰκότως ἂν οὐκ ἄπειρον εἴποιμεν· ἐπεὶ δέ, καὶ δυσὶν
ὡς ἔφημεν ἔνεστιν ὑποκειμένοις, πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον οὐκ ἄπειρος·
610 ἀλλ' ἄτοπον, καὶ ἀδύνατον· ἂ συνέβαινε ἂν οὐδαμῶς, εἰ τῇ
ἐπιστήμῃ πρεπόντως, ὁ τῆς περὶ Θεὸν ἀπειρίας ὄρος ἐλέγετο.
Ἀληθῆ λέγω ἢ οὐ;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πείθομαι· πλήν εἶπε σὺ τὸν οἰκειὸν ὄρον, τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

615 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐδένα μὲν ἂν τις ἄλλον ὄρον ἔχοι λογίσασθαι, ἢ
τὸν οὐ τέλος οὐδ' ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα· τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐν
τούτοις, ἀπειρόν τις ἔφη, τῶν ἐπὶ θεολογίᾳ πάσαις θαυμαζομένων.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁμολογῶ ἔγωγε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἔτι, καὶ περὶ τῆς λευκότητος, ἦν ἔλεγες ἄπειρον
L 15^v 620 εἶναι, ὡς μηδενὶ ἢ περικλειομένην ὑποκειμένῳ, οὐχ ὑγιές μοι δοκεῖ·

KLPV

619-620. περὶ-ὑποκειμένῳ] vide supra, linn. 546-548

607. πανταχοῦ-ἅπαντα] cf. Ier. 23:24 ἢ 616. οὐ-ἔχοντα] cf. Greg. Nyss., *C. Eun.*, Lib. 2, § 1.146, p. 256 ἢ 616-617. τὸ-ἄπειρόν] Greg. Naz., *In Theoph.* (Or. 38), § 8.2, p. 118; suum, *In S. Pascha* (Or. 45), § 4, PG 36, col. 628B

608. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ ἐπεὶ δὲ] ἐπειδὴ K ἢ ἐπεὶ post. cor. (ex ἔπει) V ἢ 609. ἔνεστι P ἢ 612. post λέγω sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 613-614. Πείθομαι-Θεοῦ] signa in marg. KV ἢ 614. τοῦ] deest L ἢ 618. Ὁμολογῶ ἔγωγε] sign. in marg. K

τὸ μὲν, ὡς ἀδύνατον, ὅπερ ἔλεγες συμβαίνειν αὐτῇ, τὸ δέ, καὶ εἰ
δυνατὸν ἦν, τῶν ὄντων αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ περικλείεσθαι, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν
ἄπειρος ἐκαλεῖτο· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἄπειρον, ἀναρχόν τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητον,
ᾧν ἐκάτερον, ἥκιστα προσῆκον αὐτῇ· λαβούση μὲν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐν
625 τῷ κόσμῳ γενέσεως, τέλει δὲ, συνούση πάλιν αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος.
Καίτοι γε, μείζονι λόγῳ κοσμοῦνται μᾶλλον, ἃ ἐλέγομεν ἀρτίως
ἄπειρα, ἢ αὐτὴ ἡ λευκότης· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄπειρον ἐδόκει τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ· εἰ γοῦν τὰ βέλτιστα πόρρω τῆς ἀπειρίας, πῶς ἂν τις
αὐτῆς ἀξιώσῃε τὸ ἐλάχιστον; Οὐδὲν ἄρα τῶν ὄντων ἄπειρον,
630 πλὴν Θεοῦ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Συμφωνῶ σοι, ἀληθῆ λέγοντι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐπεὶ δέ, καὶ τὸ δυνάμει παντάπασιν οὐ λογίζῃ Θεῷ,
ἀλλ' ἐνέργειαν ὅλον εἶναι καθαρὰν ὠμολόγεις, εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν
ἀτελεῆ λέγεις ἀδυναμίαν, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι· εἰ δὲ παντελῶς
635 ἀποστρέφῃ τὸ δύνασθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, πειθέτω σε λόγος

KLPV

632-633. Ἐπει-ὠμολόγεις] op. cit. ed. linn. 551-552.

622. δυνατὸν L || ἦν K || ἂν bis acc. L || 623. ἀναρχον τε K || 624-625. λαβούση-
τελευτήσαντος] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 627. οὐδέν L || 629. οὐδέν L || 631. Συμφωνῶ-
λέγοντι] sign. in marg. K || συμφωνῶ P || λέγοντι] λέγον K || 634. ατελεῖ K ||
ἀδυναμεί(αν) P

ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν· δύναται γὰρ αὐτὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ὁ Θεὸς δοῦν, ἀλλ' οὐ βούλεται· ἐνεργήσει δὲ αὐτὴν, ὅταν αὐτῷ φανῆ δίκαιον. Οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τοῦτό γε ἀναγκαῖον;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε.

640 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Λείπεται λοιπὸν ἐπισκέψασθαι, τὸ τελευταῖον ἡμᾶς. Τὸν Θεόν, εἶδος μάλιστα καλεῖς, καὶ ψιλὴν ἐντελέχειαν· εἶπέ οὖν ἡμῖν· πολλῶν ὄντων, ἃ περὶ Θεοῦ λέγεται, ἔστιν ὃ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ σημαίνει;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ μένου.

645 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Θεῷ πρόπον ὄνομα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ δύο· τὸ ὄν, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν.

L 16^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐ τῇ φύσει δὲ ἢ καὶ ταῦτα ἀκολουθεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς τὸ σοφόν τε καὶ δίκαιον, ἢ τε ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ναί· πλήν, μειζόνων ἀξιοῦσι λόγων οἱ θεολόγοι τὰ

650 πρότερα, τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν.

KLPV

641. Τὸν-ἐντελέχειαν] vide supra, linn. 553-554

636-638. δύναται-δίκαιον] cf. Matth. 24:36 ἢ 646. τὸ-ἀγαθόν] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 2, § 3, p. 125.17; Exod. 3:14 ἢ 648. τὸ-δίκαιον] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Or. Cat.*, § 20, p. 78.12-13; Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, Lib. I, § 10, 93.3.3, p. 276 ἢ ἀλήθεια-ζωή] Ioh. 14:6

637. δὲ] γ(ὰρ) P ἢ 638. post ἀναγκαῖον sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 643. post σημαίνει sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 645. post ὄνομα sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 648. ἀλήθεια K ἢ post ζωὴ sign. interrogationis L ἢ 649. ναὶ bis acc. L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄ μὲν, αὐτοὶ φασιν, ἀνάγκη στέργειν εὐσεβεῖς
ἅπαντας· ἃ δὲ μηδεὶς ἔλεγεν, ἤκιστα πρόπον εἰπεῖν οὐδενί· τὸ μὲν
γάρ, ἀκίνδυνον, ὡς τοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ λεγόμενον καὶ νοούμενον, τὸ
δέ, τοῖς λέγουσιν οὐ μικρὰ ζημία, καινοτομεῖν ὀνόματα περὶ τὸν
655 Θεὸν βουλομένοις.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγίοις γνώριμον, εἶδος λέγειν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ναί· πλήν, κοινὸν Πατρός, Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος·
ὡς καὶ μορφὴν καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ σχῆμα. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἵνα μὴ τις
αὐτῶν ἑτερότητος λόγος, περὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀπλότητα σύνθεσιν
660 ἀπεργάσῃται· τὸ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν εἶδος λέγεσθαι τὸν Θεόν, καὶ
ψιλὴν ἐντελέχειαν, οὐδ' ὑποπτεύεται λέγεσθαι πώποτε. Τέως καὶ
περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὄντος, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἰδιαίτατον, οὐδ'
οἰκειότατόν τε Θεῶ, κἂν τις οἴοιτο προτιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἄλλων
ὀνομάτων αὐτά.

665 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Εἰκότα λέγεις.

KLPV

658. μορφὴν-σχῆμα] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Dial.*, § 4.19-20, p. 58

652. post εἰπεῖν scr. et del. εν V || μὲν bis acc. L || 654. δὲ bis acc. L || λέγουσι P || 656.
post θεοῦ sign. interrogationis codd. || 657. ναὶ KV: ναὶ bis acc. L || π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς post cor.
(ex π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς) V || post π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς add. κ(αὶ) P || 659. ἀπλότητα KP || 661. τέως P || 664.
αὐτά] αὐτοῦ P

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς θεολόγοις βέλτιστα νομιζόμενα καὶ μεγάλα, οὐδὲν οἰκεῖον Θεῷ, ὧν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία μνήμη, πῶς ἂν κατανοήσαιμεν ἄρα τὰ κρείττω;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδαμῶς· πλὴν εἰπέ, τίνα ταῦτα.

- L 16^v 670 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἄ σὺ προὔλεγες τὸν Θεὸν εἶδος μάλιστα καὶ ψιλὴν ἐντελέχειαν, ὡς αὐτῷ μόνα μόνον οἰκεῖα, καὶ βέλτιστα καὶ ἀρέσκοντα—τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ μάλιστα βούλεται—, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, οὐδαμῶθεν ἐμάθομεν· σοὶ δὲ καὶ ἥ μόνῳ νῦν εὐρεῖν εὐπορον ἐξεγένετο, ὧ, λείπεται, καὶ ὄρον καὶ γένος καὶ διαφορὰν
- 675 ἐπομένως εἰπεῖν Θεοῦ· καὶ τότε ἂν ἴσως, εἶδος κυρίως λέγοιτο, γένος ἔχον· ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀναιρουμένων, οὐτ' ἂν εἶδος, οὔτε ψιλὴν ἐντελέχειαν, εἰκότως ἂν τις Θεὸν λογιζοῖτο κατὰ σέ, ἢ καλοῖτο· ἄτοπον γάρ, ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λέγειν ὀνόματα πρέποντα ἄλλα, παρὰ τὰ θειωδῶς ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων ἐκπεφασμένα.

KLPV

679. παρὰ-ἐκπεφασμένα] Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 1, § 1, p. 108.7-8

667. οὐδὲν L ἥ 668. ἂν bis acc. L ἥ post κρείττω sign. interrogationis codd. ἥ 670. προὔλεγες L ἥ 673. τουνῦν KV ἥ 674. λείπεται] λείπετο K ἥ 675. ἐπομένως K ἥ ἂν bis acc. L ἥ ἴσος P ἥ 676. ἂν bis acc. L

680 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἰδού, πάνυ μοι νῦν ἐπέπληξας εἰπόντι αὐτά· περὶ μὲν τοῦ εἶδους, οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐντελέχειαν, ὅποιαν, καὶ περὶ τίνων αὐτὴν οἶε λέγεσθαι; Ἐγὼ γὰρ νομίζω, ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ῥῆμα Θεῶ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐντελέχεια μὲν, ἢ κίνησις τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν
685 ψυχῶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων λέγεται τῶν μὲν, ὡς ἐνεργούντων ἀεὶ καὶ τελείων, τῶν δέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ δυνάμει φερομένων εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν· ὅθεν αὐτὴν ὀριζόμενοι, φασίν, ἢ τοῦ δυνάμει ὄντος, ἐντελέχεια κίνησις· καὶ πάλιν, ἐντελέχεια, ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἐντελὲς ἕξις· διὸ, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐντελεχεία, οὐ κατὰ τὸ μήτρων οἰκονομούμενον,
690 ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπαρτισθείς, καὶ τεχθείς.

Ἔτι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐντελέχειαν ὀρίζονται τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ καὶ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος σώματος· οὐχ ὅτι ἐνέργεια ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλ' ὅτι, κατ' ἐκείνην ἢ τελειότης τῷ σώματι· καὶ ἡ τελεία ἐνέργεια, ἐντελέχεια καλεῖται· καταχρηστικῶς δέ, καὶ ἡ ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια,
695 λέγεται ἐντελέχεια, καθόσον ἕκαστον ἀποδίδωσι τὴν ἐνέργειαν

KLPV

686-687. ἀπό-ἐνέργειαν] cf. Ps.-Ioh. Philop., *In De an.*, Lib. III, § 5, p. 538.1-2 || 687-688. ἢ-κίνησις] Arist., *Physica* 201a.10-11; Mich. Psell., *In Phys.*, Lib. III, p. 113.18-19 || 688. ἢ-ἕξις] Simpl., *In Phys.*, Lib. II, p. 278.9 || 691-693. Ἔτι-σώματι] cf. Arist., *De anima* 412a.27-28; Simpl., *In Phys.*, Lib. III, p. 414.25-28

680-683. Ἰδού-Θεῶ] signa in marg. KV || 681-682. εἰς-οἶει] sign. in marg. L || 682. αὐτὴν K || 685. μὲν bis acc. L || 686. δὲ bis acc. L || 689. ἐντελέχεια P || μήτρων] μέτρον P: μέτρον> K || 692. οὐχ KLV: ουχ P || ἐνεργεία L || ἐστίν L || 694. ἀπλῶς K

L 17^r αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν, ἢ εἴτε τελεία φύσις, εἴτε καὶ ἀτελής
εἴη καθ' ὃ σημαϊνόμενον, καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια λέγεται. Ἡ γοῦν
ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια τοιαύτη ἂν εἴη πάντως, ὁποῖον καὶ τὸ δυνάμει. Τὸ
δέ, ἀτελής· καὶ αὕτη ἄρα ἡ ἐντελέχεια, ἀτελής. Τοσοῦτων δὲ καὶ
700 τοιούτων σημαίνεσθαι δυναμένων ἐντελεχεία, τίς ἂν οὕτω γε
τολμηρὸς εἴη, περὶ Θεόν, ὅστις ἂν οἶοιτο μάλιστα λέγεσθαι, καὶ
πρέπουσαν ἐντελέχειαν αὐτὴν καλοῖτο Θεῶ; Ἀδύνατον.
Ἔτι, εἰ τῷ δυνάμει μὲν, ὡς ἔλεγες, οὐδεμία χώρα Θεῶ, τῇ δ'
ἐντελεχεία πρόσσεσι καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, ἐντελέχεια καὶ Θεός· οὐ
705 ταυτὸν ἄρα.

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ἐγὼ βούλομαι μὲν ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἔριν ἅπασαν ὡς βλαβερὰν
οὔσαν ἐκατέρω· ἀκούειν δὲ μου συλλογισμῶν ὁσίων, οἳ ἂν τοῖς
φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀναγκαῖα πάνυ χαρίζαιντο.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Λέγε· ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσαιομεν διηγουμένου.

KLPV

703. τῷ-Θεῶ] vide supra, linn. 551-552

706-707. ἐὰν-ἐκατέρω] cf. Tit. 3:9

696. φύσιν] φήσιν P ἢ 697. καθ' ὃ] καθὸ KPV ἢ 698. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 699. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ
700. ἐντελέχεια P ἢ τίς KPV ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 701. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 706-708. Θωμάς-
χαρίζαιντο] deest K: signa in marg. V ἢ 707. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 709. Χρυσολωρᾶς-
διηγουμένου] deest K ἢ ἂν bis acc. L

[2] Συλλογισμὸς πρῶτος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα διακρίνονται· εἰ γοῦν μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὕλην ἢ διάκρισις, ἐνὶ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως διακρίνονται· τὰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως, δυνατὸν ἅμα εἶναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ· οἶον, λευκόν, τρίγωνον.

- 5 ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Εἰ μὲν δὴ μὴ πάντα, ἀληθῆς μὲν ὁ λόγος, μερικὸς δὲ ὢν, ἀσυλλόγιστος ἔσται· εἰ δὲ πάντα ἐροῦσι, τί ἂν εἴποιεν περὶ ψυχῶν ἢ ἀγγέλων, ἐξηρημένων τῆς ὕλης, καὶ διακεκριμένων μὲν, μὴ καταδεχομένων δέ, τὴν κατὰ τὴν ὕλην διάκρισιν; Καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' εἶδος διαφερόντων κριοῦ καὶ τράγου, ποία ἐν
10 τούτοις ἐναντιότης, ἢ διαφέροι ἂν, εἶδος εἶδους;

- L 17^v ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὗτος, πρὸς τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐνίσταται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἢ τῶν ψυχῶν κομίζων τὴν ἔνστασιν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀσώματα ὄντα καὶ ἄϋλα, τῇ μὲν ὕλη, φησὶν, οὐκ ἂν διακρίνοιτο, ὥστε, ἢ ἀδιάκριτα ἔσται, ἢ ἔπεται κατὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν, ἀντιθέσει ταῦτα
15 ἂν διακρίνεσθαι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τούτου, τοιαῦτα. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἵνα τι

KLPV

[2] 1-4. Ὁ-τρίγωνον] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 248.19-21; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 244-246 || 5-10. Εἰ-εἶδους] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 250.2-6, p. 250.28-29 || 11-15. Οὗτος-διακρίνεσθαι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^r.28-31 || 12-15. ταῦτα-διακρίνεσθαι] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 252.5-8 || 15-33. Τὰ-ἡμερον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 116^r.33-116^v.5

[2] 1-4. Ὁ-τρίγωνον] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 35, p. 138.1-5 || 5-10. Εἰ-εἶδους] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 35, p. 138.6-11, p. 139.16-19

[2] 1-4. Ὁ-τρίγωνον] cf. Thom. Aquin., *SCG IV*, 24, num. 3612

[2] 1. <συλλογισμός> α' in marg. L: illeg. V || 1-4. Θωμᾶς-τρίγωνον] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 5-10. Νείλος-εἶδους] signa in marg. KLV || 6. ἐροῦσι K || τί KPV || ἂν bis acc. L || 7. ἐξηρημέν(ων) K || 10. ἂν bis acc. L || 11-33. Κυδώνης-ἡμερον] signa in marg. KLV || 13. ἂν bis acc. L || 14. ἀδιάκριτα] διάκριτα P || 15. ἂν] δεῖν D || ἂν bis acc. L || τοιαῦτα] τοιάδε KPV || τοιαῦτα in marg. KV || ἵνα τι] ἵνά τι codd.

σαφέστερον περὶ τούτου διαλεχθῶμεν, φαμέν, ὡς εἶ τινα, ἀπό
 τινος κοινοῦ διαιροῖτο —ταῦτα γὰρ εἰσι τὰ κυρίως λεγόμενα
 διακρίνεσθαι—, ἀνάγκη διάφορα εἶναι κατ' εἶδος. Τὰ γὰρ μὴ κατ'
 εἶδος ὄντα διάφορα, κατὰ τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον τὴν
 20 διάκρισιν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ κατ' εἶδος ἀντιδιηρημένα, ἀντίθεσιν ἐν
 ἑαυτοῖς περιέχει· καὶ ἀναγκαίως οὐκ ἔστι τὸ ἕτερον, οἶον, τὸ
 ἕτερον· οὐδ' ἂν τιμηχανῆ, ἀλλήλων κατηγορηθεῖεν. Τὸ γὰρ τόδε
 ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὴ εἶναι τόδε, δηλον, ὡς διὰ τινα μάχην τοῦ
 ὑποκειμένου καὶ κατηγορουμένου συμβαίνει· εἰ γὰρ μηδεμία ἐν
 25 τούτοις περιέχοιτο μάχη, οὐτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν διακεκριμένα, καὶ
 συνέτρεχεν ἂν ποτ' ἐνδεχομένως εἰς ταὐτὸν ὑποκείμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τοῦτο ἀδύνατον —ὑπόκειται γὰρ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὴν τούτων
 διάκρισιν—, φανερόν, ὅτι τὰ ἀναγκαίως διακρινόμενα, ἀντίθεσιν
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιέχει, ὑφ' ἧς, κωλύεται συνδραμεῖν ἀλλήλοις.
 30 [2.1] Εἰ δὲ τὸν κριὸν καὶ τὸν τράγον ἀντιστήσῃ τῷ λόγῳ, ἃ καὶ
 διακεκριμένα ζῶα ἐστί, καὶ οὐδεμία τούτοις ἀντίθεσις ἐνορᾶται,
 ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν, κὰν τούτοις ἔστιν ἀντίθεσιν εὐρεῖν, ἧ
 διακρίνονται· οἶον, τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ τὸ ἥμερον.

KLPV

20-21. τὰ-περιέχει] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3612

17. εἰσι] ἐστι D || 18. διακρίνεσθαι] διακεκρίσθαι D || 18-19. εἶναι-διάφορα] deest K || 20.
 ἐν] deest KPV || 23. ἐξ ἀνάγκης] ἐξανάγκης P || τόδε] τὸ δὲ P || 25. ἐξ ἀνάγκης]
 ἐξανάγκης P || διακεκριμένα L || 30. ἀντιστήση L || 31. διακεκριμένα L || 32. κὰν P

L 18^r

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ὦ θαυμάσιε φιλοσόφων, ἢ δοκοῦντά σοι λέγεις
35 αὐτά, ἢ ἡμῶν ἀποπειρᾶ; Ἄδικον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, ἐκεῖνα λογίζεσθαι, ἃ
πιστεύειν οὐδὲ χρεῶν ιδιώτη· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄκων ἐρεῖς, ἄτοπον· ἀνήρ
γὰρ σοφὸς εἶ· εἰ δ' ἐκών, ἀτοπώτερον· πόρρω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ,
λέγειν ἐπίτηδες, ἃ μὴ δεόν· ὁ γὰρ τὰναντία λύειν ἐπιχειρῶν,
καθόλου πάντως καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ καθ' αὐτά, καὶ ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως
40 ἔχοντα προβάλλεσθαι δεῖ. Σύ, οὖν, οὐ πιθανοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πάντη σοφίσμασι φανεροῖς, ἀναίδην ἐθέλεις χρῆσθαι. Νεῖλος μὲν
ἐν τῷ παρόντι συλλογισμῷ, πολλὰ τὸν Θωμᾶν αἰτιώμενος, καὶ
τοῦτο, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔφη, ὡς ὁ κριὸς καὶ ὁ τράγος, ἢ ἀδιάκριτα
ἔσται, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον, ἢ, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ ἀντιθέσει διακρινοῦνται· ὦ, σὺ
45 μαχόμενος νῦν, ὁμολογεῖς αὐτὰ διακρίνεσθαι, τῷ ἀγρίῳ, καὶ τῷ
ἡμέρῳ. Κοινῇ οὖν τὸν λόγον ἐπισκεψώμεθα· καὶ ἢ πείθου τάληθῆ
λέγοντι, ἢ ἀντίτεινον, εἴ σοι μὴ δοκεῖ ἀναγκαῖα. Ἔστι ζῶα, κριῶν
καὶ τράγων, ἡμερα, ἃ καὶ διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ συγκρίνεσθαι δύναται;

KLPV

41-42. Νεῖλος-συλλογισμῷ] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 248-276 ἢ 43-44. ὡς-
διακρινοῦνται] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 252.1-10

45-46. ὁμολογεῖς-ἡμέρῳ] vide supra, [2] 30-33

34. δοκοῦντα σοι codd. ἢ 36. οὐδὲ] οὐ P ἢ 37. σοφός L ἢ 39. καθόλ<ου> PV ἢ 43-44.
ἀδιάκριτά ἐσται P ἢ 48. post δύναται sign. interrogationis codd.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε.

50 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τὴν δὲ σύγκρισιν ὁμογενέσιν οἰκείαν, ἢ τοῖς ἀλλογενέσιν ἐροῦμεν;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Μόνοις ὁμογενέσιν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, ἐναντίω τὸ ἐναντίον, ἀκοινώνητον ἐν συγκρίσει, ὥσπερ, οὐδὲ λευκόν, μέλανι.

55 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Φανερόν γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πῶς δὲ καὶ συγκρινόμενα ἂν αὐτὰ καλοῖτο; ||

L 18^v

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τὸ μὲν, ἡμέρον, τὸ δέ, ἡμερώτερον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. Οὐκοῦν, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα τῶν ἀγρίων, διακρίνεται μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ συγκρίνεται, τὰ δ' ἡμερα, πρὸς ἄλληλα

60 καὶ διακρίνεσθαι καὶ συγκρίνεσθαι πέφυκεν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως ἔχει.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄρα ἐξ ὧν ὠμολογήκαμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σύ, φανερόν ἐστι τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὡς ἡμερα ζῶα κριὸς καὶ τράγος, οὐδόλως τῷ ἀγρίῳ διακριθήσεται, καθὼς ἔλεγες· ἡμερον γὰρ ἐκάτερον.

KLPV

64. καθὼς ἔλεγες] vide supra, [2] 33

53. ἐναντίω-ἐναντίον] Arist., *Topica* 113b.27, 114a.3

50. οἰκείαν L || 53. οὐκ οὖν L || ἐναντίω post cor. (ex ἐναντίον) L || 57. μὲν bis acc. L || 63. ζῶα] deest KPV

65 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Φαίνεται.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐτι, χωριστόν, ἢ ἀχώριστον ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ διαφέρειν ἐροῦμεν συμβεβηκός;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀχώριστόν γε.

70 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τούτω δέ ἐστι χώρα, τάναντία δέχεσθαι πώποτε; Ἡ οὐδαμῶς;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδαμῶς γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄρα κὰν τούτω, οὐ τῷ ἀγρίῳ διακρινούμεν αὐτά.

Ἐτι, διαφορᾶ τῇ ἰδιαιτάτῳ, κριὸς καὶ τράγος ἡμερα πώποτε κοινωνεῖ;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ̄μενον.

75 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Αὕτη δέ, τῶν ἐναντίων ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο γεννητική, ὡσπερ ἄνθρωπος, ἵππου, διαφορὰ ἰδιαιτάτος; Ἡ πῶς ἄλλως;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως, οὐκ ἄλλως.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, οὐ τῷ ἀγρίῳ ταῦτ' ἂν διακριθεῖη, ὡς ὠμολόγεις.

KLPV

66-67. χωριστόν-συμβεβηκός] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 12.24-26 || 73. διαφορᾶ-ἰδιαιτάτῳ] cf. Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 8.15 || 76. ὡσπερ-ἰδιαιτάτος] cf. Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 8.15-17; Mich. Psell., *Opusc. log.* 50.56-58, p. 188

67. post συμβεβηκός sign. interrogationis KLV: deest P || 69. τούτω] τούτ(ων) P || δέ ἐστι] δ' ἐστι P || post πώποτε sign. interrogationis codd. || 72. διακρινούμεν] κρινούμεν P || 73. post κοινωνεῖ sign. interrogationis codd. || 76. post ἰδιαιτάτος sign. interrogationis codd. || 78. ἂν bis acc. L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

80 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐτι, παραλαμβάνονται ποτε ἐν τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ
τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἡκιστά γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τὰ δ' ἐναντία παραλαμβάνονται;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ μάλα γε.

85 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἄρα, ὡς τῷ ἀγρίῳ ταῦτα διακρινοῦμεν.
Ἐτι, τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον ἐπιδέχεται τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα, ἢ οὐ;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Φανερόν ὅτι ἐπιδέχεται.

L 19^r ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τὰ τοιαῦτα δέ, πάντως οὐκ ἐναντία, ἢ ὡς ὁ Φιλόσοφος
ἀξιοῖ.

90 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Φαίνεται.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, οὐδ' οὕτως τῷ ἀγρίῳ, διακριθήσεται.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐτι, ἀλλοῖον, ἢ ἄλλο τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα ποιεῖ;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄλλοιον. Τὰ δ' ἐναντία πάλιν ὅποῖον;

KLPV

80. παραλαμβάνονται-λόγῳ] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 9.14-15 || 86. τὸ-ἐπιδέχεται] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 20.4-5 || 88-89. Τὰ-ἀξιοῖ] cf. Arist., *Categoriae* 3b.26-27: τῷ ζῳῳ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐναντίον || 92. ἀλλοιον-ἄλλο] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 8.19-20

81. post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis codd. || 82. ἡκιστά γε P || 83. post παραλαμβάνονται sign. interrogationis codd. || 93. post ἀλλοῖον scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) V: post ἀλλοῖον scr. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἄλλο.

95 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ ταὐτὸν ἄρ' ἄλλοιον ἄλλω;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ ταὐτόν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐπεὶ οὖν, ἄλλο μὲν τάναντία, ἄλλοιον δὲ τὰ ζῶα
ταῦτα ποιεῖ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἢ τῶν ἀγρίων ἄρα διάκρισις· καὶ
ἀληθεύει Νεῖλος οὐκοῦν, εἰπὼν αὐτὰ μὴ τῷ κανόνι τοῦ Θωμᾶ
100 διακρίνεσθαι· ᾧ, καὶ συνηγορεῖν σπουδάζων αὐτός, ἀπὸ μὲν
τῶν ἡμέρων, τὸ ἔν, τῶν δ' ἀγρίων θάτερον ἀναλαβὼν γένος,
συνῆψας ἀλλήλοις περὶ διάκρισιν, ὥσπερ ἄλλου μὴ εὐπορῶν.
Καίτοι, εἰ καὶ μόνα τὰ δύο γένη τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ παρῆν, οὐκ ἂν τις
εἰκότως ἑτέρῳ θάτερον ἐφήρμοσε πώποτε ἐναντίον ὄν ἐναντίῳ,
105 περὶ τε διακρίσεως, καὶ συγκρίσεως εἶδος ἅμα. Ἐπεὶ δέ, καὶ γένος
αὐτῶν ἀμφοῖν ἡμερον, καὶ ἄγριον τῶν αὐτῶν, πῶς ἂν τις ἡμέρῳ
τὸ ἄγριον συγκρινεῖ; Δοκεῖ σοι ἀναγκαῖα;

KLPV

99-100. εἰπῶν-διακρίνεσθαι] cf. Nil. Cab., Proc. S. S., p. 252.4-5

100. αὐτός KPV || 101. [θ]άτερον P: θατερον K || 107. συγκρινῆ L || post ἀναγκαῖα sign. interrogationis codd.

[2.2] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε ἰκανῶς καὶ δεδειγμένον. Πλήν, ἢ τῶν
τριχῶν σκληρότης καὶ μαλακότης, τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα διακρινεῖ.

110 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παρόν, ὅμοιόν γε τῷ προτέρῳ ὅμως,
ἀποκρίνου μοι, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς σκληρότητος ὅρος;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τὸ μὲν σκληρὸν λέγεται, τῷ δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῦ μὴ ῥαδίως
διαιρεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ μαλακόν, τῷ ἀδυναμίαν ἔχειν, τοῦ αὐτοῦ τούτου.

L 19^v

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἢ εὐγέ σοι ἔξεστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα διακρίναι καὶ
115 συγκρίναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἄγρια καὶ τὰ ἥμερα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐξεστι μάλα γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πῶς δ' ἂν τις καὶ καλέσειε συγκρινόμενα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τῶν μὲν σκληρῶν, σκληρότερον, τῶν δὲ μαλακῶν,
μαλακώτερον.

120 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, σκληρῷ τὸ μαλακόν, ἀκοινώνητον ἐν
συγκρίσει· μόνης δὲ τῆς διακρίσεως, κοινωνεῖ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Εἰκός, μέντοι γε, οὕτως ἔχειν.

KLPV

108-109. ἢ-διακρινεῖ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.5-7

110. προτέρῳ] vide supra, [2] 32-33

112-113. Τὸ-τούτου] Arist., *Categoriae* 9a.25-27

108-109. ἢ-διακρινεῖ] signa in marg. L: Κυδώνης-διακρινεῖ] signa in marg. KV || 110.
ὅμοιόν γε P || 112-113. Κυδώνης-τούτου] signa in marg. KV || 112. μη K || 114. εὐγέ σοι L
|| ἔξεστι L || 115. post ἥμερα sign. interrogationis codd. || 116. ἔξεστι L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅταν οὖν, τὰς τῶν κριῶν καὶ τράγων τις τρίχας ἀποκερῆ, τί ἂν αὐτὰς καλοῖτο;

125 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τί ἄλλο ἢ μαλακάς;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, τὸ σκληρὸν αὐτὰς φεύγει, καὶ οὐ τούτῳ ἄρα διακρινοῦνται.

Ἔτι, καὶ συμβεβηκός ἐστιν ἀχώριστον ἐν αὐταῖς, οὗ πόρρω τῶν ἐναντίων ὁ λόγος, σκληροῦ τε καὶ μαλακοῦ.

130 Ἔτι, οὐδὲ διαφορὰ ἰδιαιτάτος ἐν αὐταῖς, ἥς, μετελάμβανεν ὁ λόγος τῶν ἐναντίων· οὐ τῷ σκληρῷ ἄρα διακριθήσονται.

Ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ παραλαμβάνονται, ὅ, τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσήκει.

Ἔτι, τὸ μᾶλλον, αἱ τρίχες ἐπιδέχονται, καὶ τὸ ἥττον ὦν,
135 τὰναντία, μακρὰν οὐ μικρὸν.

Ἔτι, καὶ ἀλλοῖον αἱ τρίχες ἐποίουν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλο· ἅ πάντα προωμολόγεις ἀρτίως, ἐναντία μηδὲως εἶναι. Οὐκ ἄρα τῷ σκληρῷ καὶ τῷ μαλακῷ ταῦτα διακρινοῦμεν· ἄμφω γὰρ μαλακά. Πείθη τοῖς λεγομένοις;

KLPV

128. συμβεβηκός-ἀχώριστον] vide supra, [2.1] 66-67 || 130. διαφορὰ-ἰδιαιτάτος] vide supra, [2.1] 73 et 76 || 132. ἐν-παραλαμβάνονται] vide supra, [2.1] 80 || 134. τὸ-ἥττον] vide supra, [2.1] 86 || 136. ἀλλοῖον-ἄλλο] vide supra, [2.1] 92

123. τις] τίς codd. || 124. τί] τι LPV || ἂν bis acc. L || 128. ἐστι P || 130. αὐταῖς K || 132. παραλαμβάνετ(αι) P || 139. post λεγομένοις sign. interrogationis codd.

- 140 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Πάνυ γε.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Απόκριναί μοι καὶ ἕτερον· τίνες σοι τῶν τριχῶν ἢ
L 20^r ἐδόκουν σκληρότεροι;
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τῶν τράγων οἶμαι.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὁρᾶς; Αὐταὶ μᾶλλον τῶν κριῶν εἰσι μαλακώτεροι
145 ὅμως εἰ καὶ θάτερον αὐτῶν εἶναι σκληρὸν ἐνδεχόμενον ἦν, οὐδ'
οὕτως ἂν ἐκοινώνει συγκρίσεως, ἀλλὰ μόνη τῇ διακρίσει προσῆν·
σὺ δέ, ταῦτόν αὐτοῖς ὡς καπὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐποίεις καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων
καίτοι γ' ἐν ἐκείνοις μὲν, τῆς ἐναντιότητος ἐδόκει τὶ σχῆμα,
ἐνταῦθα δέ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Τί φής;
150 **[2.3] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Συμφωνῶ σοι, ἀληθῆ λέγοντι· πλήν, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τὰ
ζῶα ταῦτα διακρινουμέν· οἶον, τὸ πώγωνα φύειν, καὶ ψιλὸν εἶναι.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ τὸ νῦν, χαλεπώτερον τῶν προτέρων
ἐκαλλωπίζετο γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, τῷ πιθανῷ, τὸ δὲ παρόν, οὐδὲ τούτῳ.
Ἄλλ' ὅμως εἰπέ, ἃ ἂν σοι φαίνηται δίκαια· τράγος μὲν, γεννᾶ
155 πώγωνα, κριὸς δέ, οὐ· καὶ κατ' εἶδος εἰσὶ διαφέροντα. Τοῦτο οὖν
εἶναι λέγεις, τὴν τούτων ἐναντιότητα;

KLPV

151. τὸ-εἶναι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.6

141. τίνες L ἢ 144. post ὁρᾶς sign. interrogationis KPV ἢ ante αὐταὶ scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) V ἢ εἰσι] εἰσι codd. ἢ μαλακότεροι P ἢ 146. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 148. καίτοιγε ἐν P ἢ τί P ἢ 149. τί LV ἢ 150-151. συμφωνῶ-εἶναι] signa in marg. KV ἢ 150. ante συμφωνῶ scr. et del. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) et scr. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) in marg. V ἢ 151. τὸ-εἶναι] signa in marg. L ἢ 152. ante καὶ scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) et scr. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) in marg. V ἢ 154. γεννᾶ post cor. (ex γεννᾶ) L ἢ 155. οὐ KV ἢ 156. post ἐναντιότητα sign. interrogationis codd.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἄλλο.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκοῦν, ἐναντία τούτῳ γε ταῦτα.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Σφόδρα γε.

160 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὁρῶμεν οὖν ταῦτα, λόγῳ πάποτε λαμβανόμενα τῆς οὐσίας, οἷον, ἐν τῇ διαφορᾷ τοῦ φύειν πώγωνα, καὶ ψιλὸν εἶναι;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Λοιπὸν, οὐδὲ ἐναντία.

Ἔτι, καὶ ἀχώριστον αὐτοῖς τὸ συμβεβηκός, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐφαρμόζεται
165 ἐναντίῳ.

Ἔτι, καὶ τὸ ἀλλοῖον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἄλλο προσῆν, ὅπερ ἐποίει τὰ ἐναντία.

Ἔτι, οὐδὲ τῆς ἰδιαιτάτου διαφορᾶς κοινωνεῖ, ἣ πρόσεστι τὰναντία.

L 20ᵛ Ἔτι, τὸ μᾶλλον ἐπιδέχονται, καὶ τὸ ἦττον, ἢ ἅ τοῖς ἐναντίοις
170 συμβαίνει μηδέποτε· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ ψιλὸν εἶναι, καὶ πώγωνα φύειν, ἢ τούτων ἐναντιότης.

KLPV

160-161. λόγῳ-οὐσίας] vide supra, [2.1] 80 || 164. ἀχώριστον-συμβεβηκός] vide supra, [2.1] 66-67 || 166. ἀλλοῖον-ἄλλο] vide supra, [2.1] 92 || 168. ἰδιαιτάτου διαφορᾶς] vide supra, [2.1] 73 et 76 || 169. τὸ-ἦττον] vide supra, [2.1] 86

158. ante οὐκοῦν scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) et scr. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) in marg. V || 159. σφόδρά γε L || 160. ante ὁρῶμεν scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) et scr. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) in marg. V || ταῦτα] αὐτὰ L || 161. post εἶναι sign. interrogationis codd. || 163. ante λοιπὸν scr. et del. κυδ(ώ)ν(ης) et scr. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) in marg. V || 164. ἀχώρηστον K || ἐφαρμόζετο L || 170. μηδέποτε] μὴ δέ ποτε L

Ἔτι, μὴ μόνον οὐ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἀδικον ὡς ἐναντία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπόμενον, ἀδικώτερον· παῖδια γὰρ καὶ παιῖδες, ἅμα ἐναντία πρεσβύτη γυμνὰ ὄντα, πολιὰν ἔχοντι.

175 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Οὐδαμῶς· χρόνου γὰρ ἢ βραχύτης, αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μόνη· ἐπεῖπερ ἀνδρωθέντα, γεννᾶ πώγωνα καὶ αὐτά.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἀλλὰ τί ἂν εἴποις περὶ τε γυναικῶν, καὶ εὐνούχων παραβαλλομένων ἀεὶ πρεσβύτη, καὶ μενόντων ἀεὶ γυμνῶν; Θατέρω θάτερον. Οὐκοῦν ἀκοινωνητον ὡς ἐναντίον·
180 ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτὰ φαίη, ὡς ἄτοπα καὶ ἀδύνατα· πρεσβύτης γὰρ, καὶ γυνῆ καὶ εὐνούχος, τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως· καὶ λογικὰ ζῶα γελαστικά, καὶ οὐδεμία σφίσιν ἐναντιότης· καὶ δι' ἃ πρότερον εἶπομεν, καὶ δι' ἃ νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐνοροῦται.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἴσως δέ τις, καὶ ἄλλα εὐρήσει ἕτερα ἀντικείμενα,
185 ἅπερ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα διακρινεῖ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα πολλοῖς ἐνόητα λανθάνει, ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου συνιδεῖν οὐκ εὐχερὲς διὰ τὴν ἐνίων πολλὴν ὁμοιότητα.

KLPV

184-187. Ἴσως-ὁμοιότητα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.6-8

181-182. λογικὰ-γελαστικά] cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, Lib. 8 § 6.21.1.2-3, p. 92; *ibid.*, Lib. 8 § 6.21.5.2, p. 93

173. ἐπόμενον(ον) K || 175-176. Κυδώνης-αὐτά] signa in marg. KV || 177. ἂν bis acc. L || 180. οὐδεὶς L || ἂν bis acc. L || 184-187. Κυδώνης-ὁμοιότητα] signa in marg. KV: ἅπερ-ὁμοιότητα] signa in marg. L || 184. ἕτερα] ἅπερ D || 187. εὐχερὲς K

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἰ τὰ γνώριμά σοι καὶ κάλλιστα, τοσοῦτον εἰς ἄτοπα
δῆλα γέγονε, τί ἂν τίς σε περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, ὧν ἔφης
190 τεκμηριώσαιτο; Καὶ εἰ ἂ μὲν οὐ λανθάνει τοιαῦτα, πῶς ποτε, περὶ
L 21^r τῶν λανθανόντων σε νομιούμεν; Ἢ Δῆλον, ὡς χεῖρονα τῶν
προτέρων.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ οὐ χρὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν καθόλου λόγον
ἀποδεδειγμένον ὄντα, λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ φησιν οὗτος
195 τράγον, καὶ κριὸν εἴποι τις κἂν φάτταν καὶ περιστεράν, εἰ μόνον
ἀναγκαίως διακρίνοιτο, ὁ μὲν καθόλου λόγος, ἔρρωται· αὐτὸς δὲ
ζητεῖτω τὴν ἀντίθεσιν, καὶ πάντως εὐρήσει λανθάνουσαν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὡς ἄτοπον ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὸν καθόλου
λόγον, διὰ τὴν τινῶν ἄγνοιαν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ τούτων ἐστὶν
200 ἀτοπώτερον, ὄντα μερικὸν αὐτόν, ἀποφαίνεσθαι ὡς καθόλου·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τὰ εἶδη γενικώτατα ποτὲ εἶη, ἢ καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, οἷς
αὐτὸς συνηγόρεις ἀρτίως, ὧν μάλιστα κατηγορεῖν ἔδει, καὶ ἡξιούς
ἀνομοίοις ὅμοια παραβάλλεσθαι. Ἐπειτα, εἰ λανθάνει μὲν ἢ
ἀντίθεσις, λόγον ἂν τινα ἴσως ἔχοι. Μὴ οὖσαν δέ, πῶς ἂν τις εὖροι
205 ζητῶν; Πάντως, ἀδύνατον.

KLPV

193-197. Καὶ-λανθάνουσαν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.8-10

196. καθόλου λόγος] Arist., *Analytica priora* 24a.16-18

189. τί ἂν τίς σε codd. ἢ 190. πῶς ποτὲ P ἢ 193-197. Κυδώνης-λανθάνουσαν] signa in
marg. KLV ἢ 193. διατοῦτο KLV ἢ 194. καὶ] κἂν D ἢ 197. ζητήτω P ἢ 201. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 202.
αὐτός L

[2.4] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων, αὐτοὺς μὲν αὔλους ὄντας, καὶ πάντα σωμάτων κεχωρισμένους, ἀνάγκη εἶδη μόνον εἶναι καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὑφεστῶτα, κατ' εἶδος τὲ μόνον καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν εἶναι διάκρισιν· ὥστε, καὶ τοσοῦτους εἶναι συμβαίνει τὸν ἀριθμὸν,
210 ὅσα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν εἶδη.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅσον ὑπερβαίνειν οἶδεν ὕλην αὔλα φύσει, τοσοῦτόν σοι καὶ τὸ δεινὸν χειρὸν, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀμαρτάνοντι· τὸ γὰρ ἀγγέλου ἔχειν εἶδος, ἀνάγκη, τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ διακρίνεσθαι τούτους, ἄδηλον.
L 21^v Ἐπειτα, καὶ ἢ τὰ κατ' εἶδος διαφέροντα, σύ τε καὶ Θωμᾶς ἔλεγεν,
215 ἐν αὐτοῖς, περιέχειν ἐναντιότητα. Εἰπέ οὖν, τίς ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐναντιότης;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ γὰρ ἔσται λοιπόν, ᾧ διοίσουσι, μήτε διὰ τὴν ὕλην, μήτε διὰ τὰ εἶδη τῆς διαφορᾶς νοουμένης.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ εἶδει τούτων ἢ διαφορὰ νοοῖτο, οὐδεμιᾷ
220 τῶν ἀντιθέσεων ἄρα διακρινοῦνται· αὐτὸ γὰρ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ἢ κατ' εἶδος ἐποίει μόνη διαφορὰ· ᾧ νῦν τὰναντία δοκεῖ.

KLPV

206-210. Ἐπί-εἶδη] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.10-12 ἢ 217-218. Οὐ-νοουμένης] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.12-13

214-215. τὰ-ἐναντιότητα] vide supra, [2] 20-21

206-210. Ἐπί-εἶδη] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 50, a. 1-4; suum, *De Pot.*, q. 3, a. 4, arg. 14, q. 3, a. 8, arg. 18

206-210. Κυδώνης-εἶδη] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 207. εἶναι] deest KPV ἢ 211-212. τοσοῦτόν σοι] τοσοῦτον σοι codd. ἢ 215. τίς] τί P ἢ 217-218. Κυδώνης-νοουμένης] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 217. διοίσουσι] δίδουσι P ἢ 219. οὐδεμία L ἢ 221. ἐποίη P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Κατὰ μέντοι τὸ γένος τούτοις ἢ κοινωνία, καθὸ καὶ πάντες ἄγγελοι λέγονται ὡσπερ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν κοινωνούντων, κατ' εἶδος αὐτῶν ἢ διαφορά.

- 225 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀριθμούς, ὧ γενναῖε, τῷ αὐτῷ γένει κοινωνεῖν ἀναγκαῖον· ἐπεὶ γένος αὐτῶν ἢ μονάς, ἢ καὶ γενναῖ κινουμένη τοὺς ἄλλους· καὶ ἀναιρουμένη πάλιν, ἅπαντας, ἀναιρεῖ· ἅ, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἠκιστα χώρα· οὐδὲ γὰρ γένος κοινὸν αὐτοῖς, ὧ, ἂν ἐνοῖντο ῥαδίως, ἢ διακρίνοιτο. Ἔτι καὶ κατ' εἶδος εἶναι τῶν
- 230 ἀριθμῶν τὴν διαφορὰν, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, ἐχόντων γένος μονάδα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτό, γνώριμον οὐδενί· ἐπεὶ μηδὲ γένος, ἄγγελον ἄλλον ἔχουσι, εἰ μὴ τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν, ἴσως τίς ἐρεῖ γένος· ὅμως, εἰ καὶ δυνατὸν ἦν αὐτό, ἦν ἂν καὶ οὕτως οὐκ ἄγγελος τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ, οὐδ' ἢ μονάς ἀριθμός. Τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ γένος
- L 22^r 235 εἶναι τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἄγγελοι πάντες λεγόμενοι, ἢ οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε ἀληθές· ἄνθρωποι γὰρ πάντες λεγόμενοι, γένος ἔχουσι τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ διήρηνται· οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι, εἰ καὶ τῷ λογικῷ διαιοῦνται καὶ ἀθανάτω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιδέχονται ὅσα μέσα γένη, καὶ εἶδη λεγόμενα τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ λογικοῦ.

KLPV

222-224. Κατὰ-διαφορὰ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.13-14

226-227. ἐπεὶ-ἄλλους] cf. Arist., *Metaphysica* 1083b.32-33; Ioh. Stob., *Anthol.*, Lib. I, § 10.15, p. 127.6-14 ἢ 227. ἀναιρουμένη-ἀναιρεῖ] cf. Arist., *Metaphysica* 1083b.33-34 ἢ 231-232. ἐπεὶ-γένος] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Inst. elem.*, § 7.1-44, pp. 23-24

222-224. Κυδώνης-διαφορὰ] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 228. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 230. οὐδὲν L ἢ 232. ἔχουσι P ἢ τίς LP ἢ 233. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 236. τοῦτό γε] τοῦτο γε codd.

- 240 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τοῦτο βούλονται καὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὥσπερ
προσηγορίας μιᾶς, οὕτω καὶ φύσεως μιᾶς τοὺς ἀγγέλους εἶναι,
«φύσιν» λέγοντες, τὴν κατὰ τὸ γένος· ὥσπερ εἴ τις εἴποι πάντα
τὰ ζῶα τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως εἶναι, δηλαδὴ κατὰ τὸ γένος, καίτοι
κατ' εἶδος μάλιστα διαφέροντα.
- 245 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ τοῦτο σκοπὸς ἀγίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον ἄντικρυς·
ταῦτόν γὰρ εἶδος εἶναι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι, σὺ δ'
ἕτερον· ὅθεν, σὺ μὲν εἰσάγεις ἓνα, ἐγὼ δέ, παρὰσχομαι δύο
μάρτυρας καθαρώτερον εἰπόντας αὐτό· ὦν, ὁ μὲν, τὰς αὐτῶν
ὁμοταγεῖς ἔλεγεν εἶναι τάξεις, καὶ μόνας ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, τῇ
250 μεταδόσει τῆς χάριτος τοῦ φωτός· ὁ δέ, ἀγγέλου δὲ οἶμαι, διοίσει
κατ' οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἄγγελος, κατὰ γε τοῦ εἶναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ εἰσὶν
ἄγγελοι δηλαδὴ, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμοειδίας μίαν ἅπαντες
ἀναδεσμούμενοι φύσιν. Τί φῆς; Τί τὸ ὁμοειδὲς αὐτοῖς εἶναι
βούλεται; Πάντως, οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ πάντων εἶδος, ὡς καὶ
255 μορφή καὶ οὐσία· σὺ δὲ λέγων ἕτερον αὐτῶν εἶδος, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν

KLPV

240-244. Καὶ-διαφέροντα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.14-16

240-241. ὥσπερ-φύσεως] Basil. Caes., *Adv. Eun.*, Lib. III, § 1.40-41, p. 148 || 248-250. τὰς-
φωτός] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Cael. hier.*, 9, § 2, p. 36.11-23 || 250-253. ἀγγέλου-φύσιν]
Cyrill. Alex., *Comm. in Ioh.*, Lib. II, § 1, p. 176.5-8

240-244. Κυδώνης-διαφέροντα] signa in marg. KLV || 240. ante (καὶ) scr. sign. et scr.
κυδ<ώνης> in marg. P || 248. μὲν bis acc. L || 248-250. τὰς-φωτός] διον(ύσιο)ς in marg.
KL: illeg. V || signa in marg. codd. || 249. τῇ] [τῇ] K || 250. δὲ bis acc. L || 250-253.
ἀγγέλου-φύσιν] κύρ(ι)λλ(ος) in marg. KL: illeg. V || signa in marg. codd. || 251. οὐδέν L
|| 253. Τί?] τὸ P || 254. οὐδέν L

- L 22^v ἀγίων ἄντικρυς πολεμεῖς; Τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους εἶναι τὰ ζῶα λέγειν σε, διαφέρειν δὲ μάλιστα κατ' εἶδος αὐτά, ἀληθές· ἢ πλὴν τὸ αἴτιον, ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ διαιροῦνται γένους τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰναντία, ποτὲ μὲν δυνάμει, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τούτοις
- 260 παρεῖναι δοκεῖ· ἐκάτερον δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οὐδ' ὑποπτεύεται πώποτε, ὡς ἐνεργούντων ἀεὶ, καὶ τὸ δυνάμει καὶ τὸναντίον ἐν ἅπαντι διωκόντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σὺ κατ' εἶδος αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖς διαφέροντας, ἐναντίως τοῖς ἀγίοις πεποιημένος, δεῦρ' εἰπέ τὴν τούτων ἐναντιότητα.
- 265 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Εἰ δέ τις ζητεῖ, τίνι τῶν τῆς ἀντιθέσεως εἰδῶν, ἢ τῶν ἀγγέλων διάκρισις ὑπαχθήσεται, ἐροῦμεν τῇ τοῦ τελειότερου καὶ ἀτελεστέρου καὶ ἡνωμένου, καὶ πεπληθυσμένου διαφέρειν αὐτούς, ὡσπερ καὶ πῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔφαμεν· τοὺς μὲν, ἕγγιον, τοὺς δέ, πορρωτέρου τῆς μονάδος εἶναι· νοῦς γὰρ ἕκαστος ὢν,
- 270 ὁ μὲν, ὀλικώτερον καὶ ἐνικώτερον, ὁ δέ, μᾶλλον πεπληθυσμένως, καὶ μερικώτερον τὰ θεῖα νοήσει· καὶ ἀκολουθῶς, ὁ μὲν, ταπεινότερον, ὁ δέ, ὑψηλότερον, καὶ ἐνοειδέστερον.

KLPV

265-272. Εἰ-ἐνοειδέστερον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.16-20

269-272. νοῦς-ἐνοειδέστερον] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 108, a. 1, co

256. ἀντικρυς P ἢ post πολεμεῖς sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 258. ἀπὸ post cor. (ex ἀπό) L ἢ 260. τῶν] deest P ἢ 265-272. Εἰ-ἐνοειδέστερον] signa in marg. KL: illeg V ἢ 268. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 269. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 270. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 271. μὲν bis acc. L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐγὼ μὲν, οὐδαμῶς ἂν θαυμάσαιμι, κὰν τούτοις
 275 ἀνάρμοστά σε πεπονημένον· εἰ γὰρ ἢ τῶν ὀρωμένων ὀσημέραι
 ζῶων, κριῶν καὶ τράγων διάκρισις οὐ ῥαδία σοι γέγονεν, ὅποια τις
 ἂν ἢ τῶν οὐ φαινομένων ἀγγέλων γένοιτο;
 Καὶ πάλιν, εἰ Θεοῦ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἔργων οὐδὲν ἀτελές, πολλῶ ἂν
 μᾶλλον ἀρμόσειεν ἀγγέλοις ἢ τελειότης· εἰ γοῦν ἄτοπον ἐν αἰσθητοῖς
 L 23^f ἀτελές, οὐκ ἀτοπώτερον ἂν εἶη ἢ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰπεῖν
 280 αὐτό; Καὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι, μεγάλα τοῦ Θεοῦ κτήματα, τὰ δ' ἀτελεῖ,
 συνθέτων ἀνθρώπων ἔργα, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ παντελῶς ἀκοινώνητα.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Εἰ δὲ φήσει πάντων ἐκείνων τελείων ὄντων, οὐκ εἰκός,
 τοὺς μὲν, ἐκείνων τελείους, τοὺς δέ, ἀτελεστέρους εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 οὐδὲν κωλύει ἕκαστον τούτων, ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ εἶδει τέλειον ὄντα,
 285 πρὸς ἄλλον παραβαλλόμενον ἀτελέστερον εἶναι· εἰκὸς γάρ, κὰν
 τούτοις εἶναι βαθμοὺς νοεῶς ζωῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
 καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις δὲ ὁμοίως, βαθμοὺς αἰσθητικῆς ζωῆς· ὧν
 ἕκαστον, καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν, τέλειον, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ὑπερβεβηκός, καὶ
 τῆς λογικῆς ζωῆς ἔγγιον, ἀτελές.

KLPV

282-289. Εἰ-ἀτελές] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.20-23

273. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 275. ὅποια] ὅποια codd. ἢ 276. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ φαινομένων L ἢ 277. οὐδὲν L ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 279. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 280. post αὐτὸ sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 282-289. Κυδώνης-ἀτελές] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 282. φήσει] φύσει KPV ἢ 283. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ ἐκείνω P ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 284. αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ D ἢ 288. καθ' αὐτὸ] καθ' ἑαυτὸ KV: καθ' ἑαυτὸν P

290 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Εἶναι μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀϋλοῖς βαθμοῦς, οὐκ ἂν ἀρνηθεῖν·
οὕτω γάρ, καὶ τῇ πηγῇ τῆς θεολογίας τῷ Διονυσίῳ δοκεῖ· ὁποίους
δέ, καὶ τίνας καὶ πῶς, οὐδενὶ γνῶριμον, εἰ μὴ Θεῷ μόνῳ, καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἴσως, τοῖς ὅπως οὖν διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων, ἐπινοοῦσι. Νυνὶ δὲ
καὶ σοὶ τρίτῳ γε μετ' αὐτούς, ἀτελὲς ἅμα καὶ τέλειον αὐτοῖς
295 παραβάλλοντι, τὸ δὲ μηδὲν κωλύειν ἕκαστον, ὄντα καθ' ἑαυτὸν
τέλειον, πρὸς ἄλλον παραβαλλόμενον ἀτελέστερον εἶναι,
πείθομαι· πλήν, οὕτωςι λεγομένοις —ὡς πᾶσα μὲν ἄψυχος καὶ
ἀκίνητος ὕλη καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, καθ' ἥ
L 23^v αὐτὰ μὲν ὡς δημιουργήματα Θεοῦ, τέλεια, πρὸς ἄλλο δὲ γένος
300 ἄλλο παραβαλλόμενον, ἀτελές, οἷον ἄψυχος μὲν ὕλη φυτοῖς, αὐτὰ
δέ, ζωοφύτοις, κάκεῖνα μὲν, ζώοις, τὰ δέ, ἀνθρώποις, καὶ οἱ μὲν,
ἀγγέλοις, οἱ δέ, παραβαλλόμενοι τῇ φύσει τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀτελεῖς ὅλοι·
μείζονι γάρ τῆς θείας ἄγγελοι λόγῳ λείπονται φύσεως, ἢ τούτων
ἡμεῖς· καὶ μειζόνως ἀγγέλους ὑπερβαίνει Θεός, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἄγγελοι· διὰ
305 τοῦτο, πρὸς μὲν αὐτούς, ἡμεῖς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Θεόν, αὐθις ἀτελεῖς οὔτοι,

KLPV

290-293. Εἶναι-γνῶριμον] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Cael. hier.*, 6, § 1-2, pp. 26.1-27.3 || 301-305.
καὶ-οὔτοι] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 17.11-13, p. 45

290. μὲν bis acc. L || ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ἀγγέλ(ων) in marg. P || 292. τίνας L || μόνον KV:
μόν(ον) P || 294. post τέλειον sscr. αὐτ(οῖς) V || 295-296. παραβάλλοντι-ἄλλον] deest K ||
297. οὕτωςι L || 298. τ' ἄλλα LP || 301. μὲν¹ bis acc. L || δέ² bis acc. L || 302. τοῦ] deest L ||
303. θείας] ἀληθεί(ας) P || 304-305. διατοῦτο KLV || 305. αὐθις L

τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς παραβαλλόμενον ἕκαστον ἑκάστῳ,
 ἀτελέστερον ἅμα, καὶ τελειότερον εἶναι—, ἀπίθανον καὶ ἀφανὲς
 ἅπαντι παντελῶς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ τὴν αὐτῶν ὁποίαν εἶπε διαφορὰν
 ἄχρι τήμερον· ὑπὸ σοῦ δὲ καὶ μόνου, κακῶς νῦν ἐνοῦνται καὶ
 310 διακρίνονται. Πτολεμαῖος μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ πάλαι τὴν
 διαφορὰν, ἡμιτονίου καὶ λείμματος, ἄληπτον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῇ
 ἀκοῇ, ὡς ἑκατοστοεικοστογδόῳ, θατέρου θατέρον ὑπερβαίνοντος,
 ἐποίει δὲ φανεράν αὐτήν, ὃ τῆς ἐπιστήμης λόγος· σὺ δὲ τὰ μὲν
 ἅπαντι φανερά, διὰ τῶν λεγομένων, ἄδηλα πάντη ποιεῖς, τὰ δ' ἐν
 315 ἀφανεί κείμενα, γνώριμα καθιστᾶν ἐθέλεις τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὃ γὰρ
 περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐρεῖς ἀξίωμα, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει· ἢ
 L 24^r ἀτελεῖς γὰρ, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πώποτε, καὶ ταῦτα συνθέτοις οὔσιν, εἰ
 μή τις ἴσως εἶποι τὰ ἔμβρυα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀτελῆ μὲν ἡμῖν, ὡς
 δυνάμει μόνον, ἐντελεχεία δέ, μὴ γενόμενα ἄνθρωποι, Θεῶ δὲ τέλεια

KLPV

310-312. Πτολεμαῖος-ἑκατοστοεικοστογδόῳ] cf. Ptol., *Harm.*, I, § 10, p. 24.17-19; Man. Bryenn., *Harm.*, 2, § 15, p. 264.33-35 || 317-319. εἰ-ἄνθρωποι] cf. Ps.-Galen., *Ad Gaur.*, § 1.2, p. 33

308. οὐδεὶς L || αὐτῶν L || 311. καὶ λείμματος] καὶ λήματος L: κλήματος KPV || 312. ἑκατοστοεικοστογδόῳ L: ἑκατοεικοστογδόῳ P || 317. οὐδὲν L || 319. δὲ¹ bis acc. L

320 πάντη σαφῶς, τὸ μὲν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι
παραγενόμενα, τὸ δέ, ὡς καὶ ἀναστήσεται, λογικὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα·
εἰ γοῦν ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον ἀτελεῖ διακρίνεσθαι καὶ τελείῳ, πῶς
ἂν αὐτὸ δοίημεν φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀγγέλων; Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὥσπερ καὶ
τῶν κατ' εἶδος, οὕτω σε καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐπιχειρήματος ἐπιτρέπομεν·
325 καίτοι γε, πρῶτον μὲν, ἄτοπόν σοι τὸ ζητούμενον ὑποτίθεσθαι, ὅτι
κατ' εἶδος ἄγγελοι διακρίνονται, καὶ ὡς ἀτελεῖ καὶ τελείῳ· περὶ ὧν,
οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ τῶν διακρινομένων αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, οὐδὲν
οὐδεὶς ἔφη· ἔπειτα, καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἄτοπα ἔσται. Ὡν ἐγγύς ἰόντες,
πειρώμεθα, εἰ ἄρα τι λέγεις· τῇ ἀντιθέσει τῶν ἀτελεστέρων καὶ
330 τελειοτέρων, καὶ ταπεινοτέρων καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ὁμολογεῖς
διακρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀγγέλους· ἐναντία δὲ ταῦτα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐξεστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν, αὐτὰ καὶ συγκρίνειν ἐθέλουσι;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

KLPV

320-321. ὡς-παραγενόμενα] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 17.1-2, p. 45

320. μὲν bis acc. L || εἰς] εἷς KV || 321. δὲ bis acc. L || 322. ἀτελεῖ K || 323. ἂν bis acc. L ||
328. ἐγγύς L || 329. τι] τί KLV: τί P || ἀτελεστέρων K || 331. post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis
codd. || 333. ἔξεστι L || post ἐθέλουσι sign. interrogationis codd.

335 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τί οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ παραβαλοῦμεν συγκρίνοντες;
Δῆλον, ὡς ἀτελέσι μὲν, ἀτελεῖ, τελείοις δέ, τέλεια· ἐπεὶ μὴ τελείῳ
τὸ τέλειον ἀκοινώνητον ἐν συγκρίσει. Οὕτως ἔχει;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἄλλως.

L 24^v ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πῶς ἢ οὖν αὐτὰ καὶ συγκρινόμενα ἂν καλοῖμεν;

340 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τῶν μὲν τελείων, τελειότερον, τῶν δ' ἀτελῶν,
ἀτελέστερον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλήν, ἄτοπον ἐκ τῶν ὠμολογημένων
ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ διακρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἀτελεῖ καὶ τελείῳ ἢ
γὰρ ἀτελεῖς ὅλοι, εἰ θατέρου θάτερος ἀτελέστερος, ἢ τέλειοι
345 πάντως, εἰ ἄλλος ἄλλου τελειότερος εἶη· καὶ τελείων ἀτέλεια
πόρρω πάντη· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὁ δεινὸς Πλάτων,
εἰπὼν· δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων ἀθλίον, εὐδαιμονέστερος δέ, οὐκ ἂν εἶη,
ἀθλιώτερος μέντοι ἴσως. Βεβαιοῖ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ὁ Φιλόσοφος,
λέγων, οὐδέποτε συγκρίνεσθαι τὰναντία· αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς
350 ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀρτίως· ἔστω δὲ κατὰ σέ, τὸ ἀτελές γε καὶ τέλειον, αὐτοὺς

KLPV

346-347. δυοῖν-μέντοι] cf. Platonem, *Gorgias* 473d-473e ἢ 349. οὐδέποτε-τὰναντία] cf. Arist., *Categoriae* 11b.33-38; Procop., *In Eccles.*, II, § 13, p. 19.99-100: ἀσύγκριτα γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία

335. Τί] τί codd. ἢ ante τί scr. χρυσο(λωρᾶς) in marg. V ἢ 337. post ἔχει sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 339. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 340. τελειότερον post cor. (ex τελειοτέρων) V: τελειοτέρων K ἢ 346. πόρρω L ἢ 347. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 350. γε] τε KPV

διακρίνεσθαι. Ἰδωμεν οὖν τὸν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἄγγελον καὶ τὸν ὕστερον, ὅπως ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· δηλον οὖν, ὡς ἀπλήν ἔχει τὴν σχέσιν ἐκάτερος· ὁ μὲν, εἰς τοὺς μετ' αὐτόν, ὁ δέ, εἰς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων ἅπαντες, οὐχ ἀπλήν· ἀλλὰ μίαν μὲν ἐν τοῖς
355 ἄνω, θατέραν δέ, ἐν τοῖς κάτω· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον ἀνομοίους εἶναι τὰς σχέσεις ἐκεῖ, οἷς ἅπαντα ὁμοιότης εἴπερ ἄλλο τι.

Ἔτι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, τελειότερος ἂν εἴη μόνον, ὡς οὐδενὸς ὄντος ὑπερβεβηκότος ἑτέρου· ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος, ἀτελέστερος μόνον, ὡς οὐδένα κάτωθεν ἄλλον ἔχων αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ μέσοι τούτων,
L 25^r 360 ἀτελέστεροι ἢ κατὰ σὲ καὶ τελειότεροι ἅμα· τὸ μὲν, τοῖς ἄνω, τὸ δέ, τοῖς κάτω παραβαλλόμενοι· ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἐναντίων, μὴ τὰ ἴσα τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέχεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὕστερος ὥσπερ οἱ μέσοι, ἢ σφίσιν οὗτοι παρόμοιοι.

Ἔτι, ἐπεὶ μόνος ὁ πρῶτος τελειότερος, ὁ δ' ὕστερος, ἀτελέστερος,
365 τὸ δὲ τελειότερον ἀντικείμενον ἐστὶν ἀτελεστέρω, ὁ ὕστερος, ἐναντίος τῷ προτέρῳ ἀγγέλῳ ἄρα· ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον.

KLPV

351. εἶδωμεν L ἢ 352. ἀπλήν LP ἢ 353. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 354. ἀπλ(ήν) L ἢ 357. πρῶτος] α' P ἢ τελειότερος] τέλειος KPV ἢ 358. in marg. inf. στε<ρος> P ἢ 360. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 365. ἀντικείμενον ἐστὶν] ἀντικείμενον ἐστὶν KLV: ἀντικείμενόν ἐστὶν P ἢ ἀτελεστέρω K

Ἔτι, πάντες οἱ μεταξύ τούτων, ἀτελέστεροί τε καὶ τελειότεροι· τὸ μὲν, εἰς τοὺς ὑπερβεβηκότας, τὸ δέ, ἐν τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσιν ἔχοντες· ἀλλ' ἐναντία ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνορᾶται ἅμα, ὅπερ οὐ δυνατόν.

370 Ἔτι, σὺν τῇ διπλῇ σχέσει, μεταλαμβάνει καὶ τρίτης μόνος ὁ Γαβριήλ, τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ· καὶ μιᾷ μὲν, ὑπερβαίνει τῶν ἄλλων ὄλων, δυσὶ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ὑπερβαίνει, καὶ τελευταῖον ταῖς σχέσεσι· καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον, δῆλον.

Ἔτι, γένει μὲν, ὁ πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος ἔοικεν, εἶδει πάντως, 375 εἰδικωτάτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἀτόμῳ κατὰ τὰς σχέσεις· ὅ, χαλεπώτατον.

Ἔτι, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐν τῷ τῆς οὐσίας λόγῳ παραλαμβάνοιντο πάντες ἄγγελοι, εἰ τῷ σῶ κανόνι τῆς ἀντιθέσεως διακρίνοιντο· ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

Ἔτι, δῆλον ἐξ ὧν ὠμολόγεις, ὡς ὁ μὲν, ταπεινότερος, ὁ δέ, 380 ὑψηλότερος· καὶ ὁ μὲν, τέλειος, ὁ δ' ἀτελής, ὡς τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἥττον ἐπιδέχονται ἢ τὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπιδεχόμενα, οὐκ ἐναντία. Τὰ αὐτὰ ἄρα καὶ ἐναντία· καὶ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον φαινόμενα, ὅπερ οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον.

L 25^v

KLPV

374-375. γένει-ἀτόμῳ] cf. Porphyg., *Isag.*, p. 7.16-19 ἢ 376. ἐν-παραλαμβάνοιντο] vide supra, [2.1] 80 ἢ 380-381. τὸ-ἐπιδέχονται] vide supra, [2.1] 86

371. γαβριήλ KPV ἢ 376. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 379. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 380. μὲν bis acc. L

Ἔτι, καὶ ἀχώριστόν ἐστιν, ὅ, τῇ οὐσίᾳ πάντως ἐκείνη συμβεβηκὸς
385 πέφυκε· τῶν δ' ἀχωρίστων συμβεβηκόντων, οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐναντίον·
ἀτελεῖ δὲ τέλειον, ἐναντίον· οὐκ ἄρα τούτῳ διακρινουμέν
ἀγγέλους.

Ἔτι, οὐδόλως ἂν αὐτοῖς οἰκεία ἢ ιδιαίτατος διαφορὰ λέγοιτο, ἢ,
νόμος τὰναντία ποιεῖν, ὡς τὸ λογικόν τε καὶ ἄλογον· τὸ δὲ
390 ἠνωμένον καὶ πεπληθυσμένον, καὶ ἀτελές τε καὶ τέλειον, ἐναντία·
οἷς, οὐκ ἂν ἄγγελοι διακριθεῖεν.

Ἔτι, τούτων ἢ διαφορὰ κατὰ σέ, ἀλλοίους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλους· τὸ δ'
ἀτελές τε καὶ τέλειον, ἄλλους, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλοίους ἐποίει· οὐ ταῦτόν
δὲ ἀλλοῖον ἄλλῳ· καὶ ἢ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄρα διάκρισις, ἐν τῷ ἐναντίῳ
395 καὶ μὴ ἐναντίῳ, συμβαίνει· τῷ ἄλλῳ καὶ τῷ ἀλλοίῳ· ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

Ἔτι, τὸν μὲν ἔγγιον τῆς μακαρίας Τριάδος, τελειότερον, τὸν δὲ
πορρωτέρου αὐτῆς ἄγγελον, ἀτελέστερον ὠμολόγεις· οὐκοῦν, ὁ
μὲν Γαβριήλ, ἢ μὲν τάξεως ὧν ὀγδόης, ἀτελέστερος τῶν ἐν τοῖς
ἑπτά, ἢ δὲ τὸ μέγα μυστήριον ἐξυπηρετῶν, μείζω τῶν ἄλλων ἔγνω
400 καὶ ὑψηλότερα· γνῶσις ἄρα μείζων καὶ ἐλάττων αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀτελές
τε καὶ τέλειον ἐνορᾶται· ἐναντία δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα·
ὅπερ ἢ ἀπίθανον.

L 26'

KLPV

384. ἀχώριστόν-συμβεβηκός] vide supra, [2.1] 66-67 ἢ 388. ιδιαίτατος διαφορὰ] vide supra, [2.1] 73 et 76 ἢ 392-393. ἀλλοίους-ἀλλοίους] vide supra, [2.1] 92 ἢ 399. τὸ-ἐξυπηρετῶν] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Cael. hier.*, 4, § 4, pp. 22.25-23.5

388. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ οἰκεία KPV ἢ 390. ἀτελές τε L ἢ 391. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 392-393. τὸ-ἀλλοίους] deest KPV ἢ 396. τὸν!] τὸ K ἢ scr. ἔγγιον et post scr. τ(ῆς) sup. lin. L ἢ 397. πορρωτέρω KPV ἢ 400. αὐτῷ post cor. (ex αὐτο?) P ἢ 400-401. ἀτελεῖς τε P

Ἔτι, τελείους μὲν τοὺς ἐγγύτερον ὠμολόγεις, ἀτελεστέρους δέ,
 τοὺς πόρρω Θεοῦ, ὡς τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἐν μονάδι· τοὺς μὲν αὐτῆς
 405 ἔγγιον, τελείους, ἀτελεῖς δέ, τοὺς πόρρω· τὸ δέ, συμβαίνει
 παντάπασι τὸναντίον· μόνος γὰρ ἀπὸ μονάδος ὁ ἔκτος τέλειος
 τῶν αὐτῆς ἔγγιον ὅλων ἀτελῶν ὄντων. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος,
 τὸν ἐγγύς, ἔλεγες τελειότερον. Οὐκ ἄρα τῇ ὑποθέσει οἰκεῖον, τῆς
 μονάδος καὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὸ παράδειγμα.

410 Ἔτι, τίς ἂν ὁ τοῦτο βεβαιώσασθαι τολμηρὸς εἴη, ὡς τοσούτων
 ὄντων ἀναριθμήτων ἀγγέλων, ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν εὐρεθῆναι δύο, τὴν
 αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ γινῶσιν ἔχοντας; Οἱ καὶ διακρίνονται καὶ τὸν σὸν
 κανόνα φεύγειν ἰσχύσουσιν· ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ μυριάδας αὐτῶν οὕτως
 ἔχοντας οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ἄτοπον τῷ λόγῳ ἀκολουθεῖ, τὰ δὲ σά,
 415 μὴ μόνον ἀδύνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖα· ἃ συνέβαινεν ἂν οὐδαμῶς, εἰ
 μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρεις εἰπεῖν, ἀτελεῖ διακρίνεσθαι καὶ
 τελείῳ ἃ καὶ ἐναντία, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις οὐδόλως χῶρα. Εἶπερ οὖν
 τοῖς πρόσθεν ὠμολογημένοις ἀκολουθήσομεν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα;

KLPV

416-417. τὴν-τελείῳ] vide supra, [2] 265-272

406. μόνος-τέλειος] cf. Phil. Jud., *Leg. all.*, I, § 15, p. 64.17-22

410. τίς KPV || ἂν bis acc. L || 412. θ(ε)ῶ L || 415. ἂν bis acc. L || 417. οὐδ' ὅλως L || 418.
 ταῦτα P || post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε ὥστε, οὔτε τῆ τῆς ἀντιφάσεως ἀντιθέσει, οὔτε
 420 τοῖς πρὸς τι, ἢ τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆ κατὰ τὴν ἕξιν καὶ
 στέρησιν· ὁ γὰρ ὑποδεέστερος ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἐστερηῆσθαι λέγεται
 L 26^v τῆς τοῦ ὑπερέχοντος τελειότητος, ὅτι μηδὲ ἢ ἐπεφύκει ἐκείνην ἔχειν.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ὦ βέλτιστ' ἀνδρῶν, ἀπορήσειεν ἂν τις εἰκότι
 λόγῳ, πότερον ἐκῶν, ἢ ἄκων αὐτὰ ποιεῖς· σαυτοῦ γὰρ μᾶλλον, ἢ
 425 τοῦ Νείλου κατηγορεῖς, καὶ Νείλῳ μᾶλλον, ἢ συνηγορεῖς τῷ
 Θωμᾶ· εἰ μὲν οὖν οὐ βουλόμενον, ἄτοπον ἐκεῖνα δοῦναι, ἃ καὶ
 ἰδιώτῃ δηλον ὡς ἀπρεπῆ· εἰ δὲ καὶ βουλόμενον οἴοιτο, ζημίαν
 ἄκρην αὐτῷ χαριεῖται, ἄλλοις ἄλλως ἄλλοτε χρωμένῳ τοῖς
 ἐναντίοις, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἄνω καὶ κάτω δίκην ἀέρος τὸ ῥεῦμα
 430 φέροντι· ταῦτόν γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἴ τις ὅπλα παντοῖα παρασκευάζειν
 ἀρμόδια τῷ πολέμῳ βούλοιτο, καὶ λαμπρὸν ἵππον, ἵνα δόξης καὶ
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁμοῦ κοινωνήσῃ· εἶτα καιρῶν ἐπιστάντων, ἑαυτὸν
 εὐθύς ἀναιρεῖ, τῆς ἀτιμίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου μάλα φιλοτίμως ἤδη
 μεταλαβὼν· οὕτως αὐτός, οἷς ἀρτίως συνηγορεῖν ἐβουλεύου
 435 Θωμᾶ, τῷ Νείλῳ μαχόμενος, τοῖς αὐτοῖς νῦν ἐλέγχῃ Θωμᾶ, τῷ
 Νείλῳ γε συμμαχῶν.

KLPV

419-422. ὥστε-ἔχειν] Dem. Cvd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.23-25

420. πρὸς τι] vide supra, [1.3] 282 || 420-421. τοῖς-στέρησιν] cf. Arist., *Categoriae* 11b.18

419-422. ὥστε-ἔχειν] signa in marg. KLV || 423. βέλτιστ' P || 424. σαυτοῦ L: σαύτοῦ K || 426. οὖν] deest KPV || 426-427. ἄτοπον-βουλόμενον] deest K || 430. παντία P || 436. γε] deest KPV

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ μὲν, οὐκ ἔχω ὅπη τῆδ' ἔχει γνῶναι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Αναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν λόγον. Οὐ Θωμᾶς ἔλεγε, τὰ μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑλὴν διακρινόμενα, ἐνὶ τρόπῳ τῆς
440 ἀντιθέσεως διακρίνεται;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ Νεῖλος ἔλεγε πάλιν μαχόμενος τῷ Θωμᾶ, ὡς ἄγγελοι διακρίνονται μὲν, πλήν οὐδεμιᾶ ἀντιθέσει;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τοῦτο, οὕτως.

L 27^r 445 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐ σὺ δὲ πάλιν ἐθέλων συνηγορεῖν τῷ Θωμᾶ καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ γε ἢ πολεμεῖν, διακρίνεις αὐτούς, ἐν ἀντιθέσει τῶν ἀτελῶν καὶ τελείων;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁμολογῶ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πῶς δὲ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιστρόφου γενόμενος, φῆς
450 αὐτούς διακρίνεσθαι, οὐ τοῖς πρὸς τι, οὐ καταφάσει καὶ ἀποφάσει, οὐ στερήσει καὶ ἔξει, οὐ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖς; Καὶ εἰ μὴ τούτοις, τίτι

KLPV

439-440. τὰ-διακρίνεται] vide supra, [2] 1-2 ἢ 442-443. ὡς- ἀντιθέσει] vide supra, [2] 5-10 ἢ 446-447. διακρίνεις-τελείων] vide supra, [2] 266-267

450. πρὸς τι] vide supra, [1.3] 282

437. Κυδώνης-οὐκ] signum in marg. K ἢ ὅποι L ἢ 438. ἐξ ἀρχῆς] ἐξαρχῆς P ἢ 439. τὴν] deest P ἢ 440. post διακρίνεται sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 443. οὐδεμιᾶ] οὐδὲ μιᾶ L ἢ post ἀντιθέσει sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 445. ἐθέλων post cor. (ex ἐθέλων) L ἢ 446. ἀντιθέσει L ἢ 447. post τελείων sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 451. ἔξει L

ἂν ἄγγελοι διακριθεῖεν ἑτέρω; Ἐγωγε οὐχ ὀρώ, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἔστι φιλοσοφεῖν ἐθέλουσιν, ἄλλην ὅλως εὐρεῖν ἀντίθεσιν. Εἰ γοῦν ταῦτά σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἴρηται, ῥαδίως ἂν ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις
455 κόπων ἀπήλλαττες· συμφωνεῖς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τῷ Νείλω παντάπασιν· ἀνάγκη σοι τοιγαροῦν, ἢ τὰ πρῶτα μὴ ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἢ τὰ ὕστερον· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἀληθεύειν ἐκάτερα ἐναντία ὄντα.

Καὶ πάλιν, ἢ λήθη σοι γέγονε τοιαῦτα λέγειν, ἢ τις ἄλλος τῷ σῶ πονήματι προστιθέναι, τοῦτο πεποίηκεν· ἀντικρυσ γὰρ ἔστιν
460 ἐναντία καὶ ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενα.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρέθη· **τῇ δὲ τοῦ τελειότερου, καὶ ἀτελεστέρου, καὶ τὸ ἕγγιον, ἢ πορρώτερον τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἐξηρημένου νοῦ, τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων διοίσει.**

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τοῦτό σοι, τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις, ἴσον, ἐναντίον δὲ τῷ
465 ἀρτίως σοι προειρημένω· τὸ γὰρ ἀτελές τε καὶ τέλειον ἐναντία· ἃ προῦλεγες μικρὸν ἄνωθεν, ὡς τοὺς ἀγγέλους οὐ τούτῳ διακρινεῖς, νῦν δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ διακρίνεις. Περὶ οὗ, τί τις ἂν φαίη; Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ὁμως, ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων ἢ παροῦσα τούτων ἢ διάλυσις.

L 27^v

KLPV

461-463. τῆ-διοίσει] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.25-26

452. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ μὴ δὲ KLV: μὴ (δὲ) P ἢ 454. ταῦτα σοι codd. ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 458. τοιαῦτα] ταῦτα P ἢ 461-463. τῆ-διοίσει] signa in marg. L: Κυδώνης-διοίσει] signa in marg. K: illeg. V ἢ 462. τὸ] τῷ D ἢ 464. τοῦτο σοι codd. ἢ 466. προῦλεγες L ἢ 467. τί τις P: τί, τις L

[2.5] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν, ἢ τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς οὐσία,
470 καθὼς εἴρηται, μέση τίς ἐστὶ τῆς τε πάντη ἀσωμάτου καὶ νοεράς
καὶ αὖ, τῆς αἰσθητικῆς καὶ συμπεφυρμένης τοῖς σώμασιν. Αὕτη
μὲν οὖν, κατὰ τῶν σωμάτων παντελῶς δῦσα, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς
τούτων ἔχουσα χωριστόν, αἰεὶ τε σώμασι σύνεστι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν
ἔστι καὶ φθείρεται· ἢ δὲ νοερά, οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς τε τὴν ὕλην,
475 καὶ τὰ σώματα σχέσιν· ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔστηκεν, ἀμιγῆς,
ἐκείνων παντελῶς διαμένουσα.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Δέομαί σου, τὰ περιττὰ μὲν ἔαν, τὰ δὲ καίρια, λέγειν·
πλάτει γὰρ συνῆψας ἀρχὴν αὐτά, νῦν δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς διακρίσεως
τῶν ψυχῶν, λέγειν ἀνάγκη· ἀνδρὶ γὰρ σοφῷ παλιλλογεῖν, ἄδικον.

480 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ ἤδη λέγω ὡς εἶδος μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὸ σῶμα,
τοῦτο δὲ ὡς ὕλη πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀνάλογον
ὄντα, εἰ μὲν τὸ εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ σώματος ἤρητο, ἦν ἂν ταῖς
ψυχαῖς παρὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὸ πλήθος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν,
ἔσονται μὲν αἱ ψυχαὶ πολλαὶ κατὰ τὰ πλήθη τῶν σωμάτων, τουτέστιν

KLPV

469-476. Περὶ-διαμένουσα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 116^v.26-30 || 480-491. ὡς-ἀριθμόν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 117^r.7-12

480. ὡς-σῶμα] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 76, a. 1 co

469-476. Κυδώνης-διαμένουσα] signa in marg. KLV || 469. δὲ] deest P || 470. τε] deest KPV || 472. αὐτοῖς P || 474. ἐστὶ KPV || 476. διαμένουσα L || 479. παλιλλογεῖν LP || 480-491. ὡς-ἀριθμόν] signa in marg. L: Κυδώνης-ἀριθμόν] signa in marg. KV || 482. ἤρητο P || ἂν bis acc. L

485 ὁμοῦ, μετ' αὐτῶν· οὐ μὴν ὡς τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν σωμάτων
πλήθος αἴτιον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρισθεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτάς, ἔσονται
διακεκριμέναι· καὶ τούτου αἴτιον, τὸ, σώματος ὠρισμένου τὴν
L 28^r ψυχὴν ἐντελέχειαν οὔσαν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός, ἢ πρὸς μόνον τὸ
οἰκεῖον σῶμα ῥοπήν ἔχειν καὶ συμμετρίαν· ὃ καὶ χωρισθείση τῆς
490 ὕλης, αὐτῇ παραμένει· καὶ τοῦτο, τῆς διακρίσεως αὐτῶν γίνεται
αἴτιον, οὐ τῆς κατ' εἶδος, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατ' ἀριθμόν.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄλλ' ὦ γενναῖε, πολὺ τὸ παρόν σοι τοῖς ἐν ἀγγέλοις
διακρίσεως ἀτοπώτερον, καὶ εἰκότως· ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αἱ ψυχαὶ
μᾶλλον σύνθετοι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἀτοπὸν σοι τὸ ζητούμενον,
495 ὁμολογούμενον εἶναι λέγειν· ἔπειτα καὶ ἀτοπώτερον, εἰς φυσικὸν
ἄγειν ἐκεῖνα λόγον, ἃ τῇ κοινῇ πρόσεστιν ὑπερφυῶς ἀναστάσει μὴ
κατὰ φύσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τις νεκρῶν ἀφίικται χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐκεῖθεν,
ὅστις ἂν ἀγγεῖλαί σοί τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτων, ὅποια δηθεν ἐκάστη
συνήρομοσται ῥοπή τῇ ψυχῇ δυνατὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφιγμένων
500 πάλαι νεκρῶν Λαζάρου τυχόν, ἢ τινος ἄλλου, οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ἔφη,

KLPV

487-488. σώματος-οὔσαν] cf. Arist., *De anima* 412a.27-28 || 500. Λαζάρου] cf. Ioh. 11:1-44
|| τινος ἄλλου] cf. Marc. 5:35-43, Luc. 7:11-18

486. πλήθος post cor. (ex πλήθος) P || 486-487. καὶ-τούτου] deest KPV || 489.
χωρισθείσης P || 494-495. Πρῶτον-λέγειν] scr. α in marg. KLV || 495-504. ἔπειτα-
συνεχομένην] scr. β in marg. KL: illeg V || 498. ἂν bis acc. L || ἀγγεῖλαί σοί τι] ἀγγεῖλαι
σοι τι codd. || 499. δυνατὸς L || 499. ἀφιγμένων] φιγμένων K || 500. ἢ τινος post cor.
(ex ἢ τινός) V: ἢ τινός L

πλήν, ὅτι θανῶν, ἀνέστη· τὰ δ' ἄλλα φράζειν οὐδόλως ἠδύνατο· τὸ
 δ' αἴτιον, ἢ στέργων ὄρον τῆς φύσεως, ὅς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νοερῶν ἐν
 αἰσθητοῖς ἤκοντας, ἅπερ εἶδον εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔα, ἢ καὶ πειθόμενος
 θεῖω, ᾧ πᾶσαν φύσιν ὀρῶμεν ἀνάγκη συνεχομένην. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 505 τῶν ἀγίων, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτῶν, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἔφη πώποτε.
 Πόθεν σοι τοιγαροῦν ἢ ἐξουσία τοῦ λέγειν τὰς ψυχὰς
 διακρίνεσθαι, τῇ πρὸς τὰ σώματα ῥοπῇ μόνη, καὶ ὡς εἶδος μὲν
 αὐτὰς ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, αὐτὰ δὲ πάλιν ὡς ὕλη πρὸς αὐτὰς εἶναι;
 L 28^v Οἶσθα ἢ οὖν, ὡς ὁ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἢ καινότερα λέγων
 510 αὐτῶν, ἂν μὲν ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, θαυμάζεται· ἂν δὲ ψευδῆ καὶ
 ἀπίθανα ἦ, οὐ μικρὸν ἀτιμάζεται. Ὅθεν, εἴ τις οὐκ ἀληθῆ χρῶτο
 δόξῃ καὶ περαίνειν ἄτοπον οἶοιτο δι' αὐτῆς, ἀδικίαν ἄκραν αὐτὸν
 ἀδικεῖ. Ἄ σὺ τοιγαροῦν ἐρεῖς, ἃ καὶ φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν
 ἀνοίκεια ὡς πολλοῖς ἀτόπων ἐπόμενα, τί ἂν τις προσηκόντως
 515 καλοῖτο; Ἀλλ' ὅμως, οὕτως ἐπισκεπτέον αὐτά. Διπλοῦν τὸ εἶδος φασὶν

KLPV

506-508. Πόθεν-εἶναι] vide supra, [2] 480-491

515-516. Διπλοῦν-ὄν] cf. Porphyr., *Isag.*, pp. 3.22-4.4

501. θανῶν P ἢ 504-515. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ-αὐτά] scr. γ in marg. L ἢ 505. οὐδεὶς L ἢ οὐδὲν L ἢ 514. ἐπόμενα K ἢ 515-522. Διπλοῦν-ἄμα] scr. δ in marg. KLV

οί φιλόσοφοι· τὴν μορφήν, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τὸ γένος ὄν. Ἀνάγκη οὖν τὴν
 ψυχὴν κατὰ σὲ τοῦ σώματος εἶδος οὔσαν, ἢ ὡς μορφήν, ἢ ὡς τὸ
 ὑπὸ τὸ ἀποδοθὲν εἶναι γένος. Ἀλλὰ μορφή, ἀδύνατον ἢ ψυχὴ
 λέγεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐκάστου σχῆμά γε φανερόν, τὸ καὶ τὴν ὕλην
 520 ἐπιδεχόμενον· ὁ ψυχῇ παντάπασιν ἀπρεπές, τὸ μὲν, ὡς ὑμῖν
 ἄμορφος, κἂν ἄλλαις καὶ ἑαυτῇ γινώσκοντο σχῆμα φέρουσα, τὸ δέ,
 ὡς καὶ τῇ αὐτῆς ὕλη σύνεστιν ἅμα. Λείπεται λοιπὸν αὐτήν, τὸ
 παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἶδος εὐρίσκεσθαι, ὅπερ ἀδυνατώτερον·
 δυοῖν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι, θάτερον ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖον· ἢ, ὡς εἰδικώτατον, ἢ
 525 ὡς ὑπάλληλον αὐτήν εἶδος εἶναι· ἀλλ' εἰδικώτατον μὲν εἰπεῖν
 αὐτήν, ἄτοπον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἄτομα, οἷς ἂν λέγοιτο, ὥσπερ
 ἄνθρωπος, Γεωργίου, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπάντων· τὸ δ'
 ὑπάλληλον, ἀτοπώτερον· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ γένος ἢ αὐτὴ ἢ
 L 29^e ἔσται, τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ὑπάλληλα. Ἐξ ἑκατέρου σοι τοιγαροῦν
 530 ἄδικον, ὡς εἶδος ἢ ψυχὴ σώματος.

KLPV

516. post ὑπὸ scr. τὸ L ἢ 517. οὔσαν] εὔσαν KPV ἢ 518. μορφήν L ἢ 519. σχῆμά γε]
 σχῆμα γε codd. ἢ 521. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 522-524. Λείπεται-ἀναγκαῖον] scr. ε in marg. KLV ἢ
 524-530. ἢ-σώματος] scr. στ in marg. KLV ἢ 526. γὰρ ἔστιν] γὰρ ἔστιν KL: γ(ὰρ) ἔστιν
 PV ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 528. ὑπάλληλον] ὑπ' ἄλληλον L

- Ἔτι καὶ γένος αὐτῆς, ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορηθήσεται· παντὶ γὰρ εἶδει νόμος αὐτός. Ὁ χαλεπώτατον.
- Ἔτι, καὶ αὐτὴ κατὰ πλειόνων τῷ ἀριθμῷ, καὶ διαφερόντων, καὶ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορεῖται. Ὁ καὶ τοῦ προτέρου, πολὺ χαλεπώτερον.
- 535 Ἔτι, μέρος ἂν καὶ ὅλον ἢ ψυχὴ καλοῖτο· μέρος μὲν, ἄλλου, ὅλον δέ, οὐκ ἄλλου, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις· τὰ δέ, ψυχῆς, πόρρω.
- Ἔτι, ψυχὴ μὲν τοῦ σώματος εἶδος οὔσα, ἐπεὶ τῆς ὕλης ἀπάσης τὸ εἶδος ὑστερον, ὑστέρα ἂν εἰκότως ἢ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος λέγοιτο. Ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον· ἅμα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄμφω.
- 540 Ἔτι, ἐπεὶ τῶν φυσικῶν κινήσεων εἰσὶν, ἀρχαὶ τρεῖς — ἢ τε ὕλη, καὶ τὸ εἶδος, καὶ ἡ στέρησις —, ἀντίκειται δὲ τῷ εἶδει, ἢ στέρησις, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις τῆ ἕξει, εἶδος δὲ κατὰ σὲ τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ, δῆλον, ὡς ἐναντίον ἂν εἴη στέρησις τῆ ψυχῆ· ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον.
- Ἔτι, κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα τούτων μεταβολὴν ὕλης καὶ εἶδους,
- 545 ἀνάγκη τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν φθοράν. Ἀλλ' ἀπίθανον· ἀθάνατος γὰρ οὔσα πᾶσα ψυχὴ, οὐκ ἂν εἶδος λέγοιτο.

KLPV

531. Ἔτι-κατηγορηθήσεται] cf. Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 4.10-11; Arist., *Topica* 128a.14 || 533-534. Ἔτι-κατηγορεῖται] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 4.11-12 || 535-536. Ἔτι-ἄλλοις] Porphyr., *Isag.*, p. 8.1-2 || 537-538. ἐπεὶ-ὑστερον] cf. Arist., *Metaphysica* 1050a.15-16 || 540-541. ἀρχαὶ-στέρησις] cf. Arist., *Metaphysica* 1069b.33-34 || 544-545. Ἔτι-φθοράν] cf. Arist., *De generatione et corruptione* 335a.32-335b.6

531-532. Ἔτι-χαλεπώτατον] scr. ζ in marg. KLV || 533-534. Ἔτι-χαλεπώτερον] scr. η in marg. KLV || 535-536. Ἔτι-πόρρω] scr. θ in marg. KLV || 535. ἂν bis acc. L || 536. δὲ bis acc. L || 537-539. Ἔτι-ἄμφω] scr. ι in marg. KLV || 538. ἂν bis acc. L || 539. ἐστὶν] om. KPV || 540-543. Ἔτι-ἀμήχανον] scr. ια in marg. KLV || 543. ἂν bis acc. L || 544-546. Ἔτι-λέγοιτο] scr. ιβ in marg. KLV || 544. ὕλην P || 546. ἂν bis acc. L

Ἔτι, εἰ ἡ ψυχὴ μὲν εἶδος ἐστίν, αὐτῷ δὲ φύσει πρόσεστιν ἐν ὕλῃ
 γινώσκεισθαι, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φαίνεσθαι,
 γινώσκεται ἄρα ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ φαίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ. Ἀλλ' οὐδεμιᾶ
 550 μηχανῇ τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι δυνατόν· ἄγνωστος γὰρ καὶ ἀφανὴς ἢ
 L 29^v παντὶ πάντῃ.
 Ἔτι, εἰ μὴ κυρίως οὐσία τὸ εἶδος λέγοιτο, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν
 οὐσία καὶ λέγεται, πῶς ἂν εἶδος εἴη;
 Πάλιν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα λόγον ἔχει τῆς ὕλης ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, κατὰ σέ, ἡ δὲ
 555 ὕλη τῷ εἶδει αἰτία, τὸ σῶμα ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς αἴτιον ἂν εἴη.
 Ἔτι, ὕλη μὲν τὸ ἐξ οὗ, πρώτως ἐνυπάρχοντος γίνεται τι ἐστί,
 σχῆμα δὲ καὶ εἶδος τὸ καθὼς ἔχει καὶ τῆς ὕλης ἐστὶν ὕστερον· ἡ
 ψυχὴ ἄρα τοῦ σώματος ὑστέρα, καὶ τὸ ἀδύνατον δῆλον· ὑπόκειται
 γὰρ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι καὶ ἅμα.
 560 Ἔτι, ὕλη μὲν ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία καὶ πρώτη κίνησις παντὸς εἶδους,
 αὐτῇ δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἀκολουθεῖ, ὡς λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, τῆς οἰκίας ἐκάστης,

KLPV

550-551. ἄγνωστος-πάντῃ] cf. Ps.-Greg. Nyss., *Imag.*, PG 44, col. 1332B || 552. εἰ-λέγοιτο] cf. Arist., *Categoriae* 2a.11-19 || 554-555. ἡ-αἰτία] cf. Arist., *De generatione et corruptione* 335b.5-6 || 556. ὕλη-ἐστί] cf. Arist., *Physica* 192a.31-32

547-551. Ἔτι-πάντῃ] scr. ιγ in marg. KL: scr. ι[γ] in marg. V || 549. οὐδεμιᾶ] οὐδὲ μιᾶ LV || 550. γίγνεσθαι] γίνεσθαι P || 552-553. Ἔτι-εἴη] scr. ιδ in marg. KLV || 552. ἐστίν] ἔστιν L || 553. ἂν bis acc. L || 554-555. Πάλιν-εἴη] scr. ιε in marg. KL: scr. ι[ε] in marg. V || 555. ἂν bis acc. L || 556-559. Ἔτι-ἅμα] scr. ις in marg. KL: scr. ι[ς] in marg. V || 556. ἐνυπαρχόντως L || γίνετ(αι) τί ἐστί P || 560-570. Ἔτι-αὕτῃ] scr. ιζ in marg. KLV

τὰ δὲ εἶδη, τῶν οἰκιῶν, ὕστερα. Τὸ σῶμα ἄρα, καὶ πρῶτον καὶ
αἷτιον, καὶ ἀρχὴ ψυχῆς. Ἀλλ' ἄτοπον· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ
σπέρματος πέφυκεν ἀλλοιούμενου γίνεσθαι· πᾶν δὲ γινόμενον,
565 σύνθετόν ἐστιν, ἐκ τε τοῦ οὐ γίνεται εἶδους, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γινομένου.
Διττὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἤγουν, ὕλη μὲν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, εἶδος δὲ καὶ
στέρησις ἐν αὐτῇ· ἀλλ' ἢ ψυχὴ, οὕτως αἷτιον καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ζωῆς, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ τὸ κατὰ στέρησιν
αὐτῶν πόρρω κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μὴ
570 οὔσης αὕτη.

Ἔτι, πᾶσαν ὕλην, τινές, ἀσώματον καὶ ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον
εἶπον· ὧν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφαρμόζει τῷ σώματι· οὐκοῦν,
L 30^r οὐδαμῶς αὐτὸ ἢ ψυχῆς ὕλη.

Ἔτι, εἶδος καὶ στέρησις ἐναντία· ὅπου γὰρ τὸ ἕν, διώκει τὸ ἕτερον·
575 πῶς οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων, ὕλη ἂν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς λέγοιτο;

KLPV

564-565. πᾶν-γινόμενου] cf. Simpl., *In Phys.*, Lib. I, p. 215.8-12 || 571-572. πᾶσαν-εἶπον] Arist., *Physica* 192a.27-29; Ioh. Ital. *Quaest. et sol.*, § 92.1-2, p. 144

566. ἤγουν] ἤγουν P: ἤως K || 569. κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς] κατασυμβεβηκὸς K || 571-573. Ἔτι-ὕλη] scr. ιη in marg. KL: scr. ι[η] in marg. V || 574-575. Ἔτι-λέγοιτο] scr. ιθ in marg. KL: scr. ι[θ] in marg. V

Ἔτι, μένουσα μὲν ὕλη, τὸ εἶδος δέχεται, ὑποχωροῦντος δὲ τούτου, ἀνάγκη μένειν αὐθις αὐτήν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον· ὅπερ, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τις πώποτε.

Ἔτι, Πλατωνικοὶ μὲν, ἀναλλοίωτον ἔφασαν ὕλην εἶναι,
580 Περιπατητικοὶ δέ, ὅλην δι' ὅλης ἀλλοιωτήν. Σώματι δέ, τούτων ἐκότερον ἀπρεπές.

Ἔτι, τὴν σύνθετον μὲν οὐσίαν, εἶδος ἐν ὕλει φασὶν οἱ πάλαι, ἄνθρωπος δέ, σύνθεσις οὐ τοιαύτη· οὐκ ἄρα τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ὕλη.

Ἔτι, κατὰ τὸ μόνιμον καὶ τὸ ὑποκειῖσθαι, οὐσία μᾶλλον ἢ ὕλη τοῦ
585 εἶδους νομίζεται· εἰ γοῦν εἶδος μὲν ἢ ψυχὴ, ὕλη δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῶν ψυχῶν, μᾶλλον οὐσίαι τὰ σώματα, ὅπερ ἄτοπον.

Ἔτι, καθόσον ἔθος τῶν ὄντων ἐκάστῳ, κατ' εἶδος τὸ εἶναι ἔχειν, ὅθεν καπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐφέστηκε φύσεως, μᾶλλον οὐσία τοῦ σώματος ἢ ψυχῆ· ἀλλ' εὐρέθη καὶ μᾶλλον οὐσία τὸ σῶμα
590 πρότερον, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον· οὐκ ἄρα ψυχὴ μὲν εἶδος σώματος, αὐτὸ δὲ

KLPV

579-580. Ἔτι-ἀλλοιωτήν] cf. Simpl., *In Phys.* Lib. II, p. 320.21-36 || 582. σύνθετον-ὕλει] *ibid.*, p. 320.31-32

576-578. Ἔτι-πώποτε] scr. κ in marg. KL: illeg. V || 577. post μένειν sscr. αὐθ(ις) V || ἂν bis acc. L || 578. post ψυχῆς sscr. (καὶ) σώματος cum sign. sub. lin. P || 579-581. Ἔτι-ἀπρεπές] scr. κα in marg. KL: scr. κ[α] in marg. V || 580. ἀλλοιωτήν P || 582-583. Ἔτι-ὕλει] scr. κβ in marg. KL: scr. κ[β] in marg. V || 584-586. Ἔτι-ἄτοπον] scr. κγ in marg. KL: scr. κ[γ] in marg. V || 585. μὲν bis acc. L || 587-594. Ἔτι-αἰτίου] scr. κδ in marg. KL: scr. κ[δ] in marg. V || 588. οἰκείας] οἰκίας KV: οἰκί(ας) LP

ψυχῆς ὕλη. Ἀλλ' ἢ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἀληθῆς δόξα, ὡς ὅλη ψυχὴ τῇ καταβολῇ τοῦ σπέρματος ἔξωθεν ἀφικνεῖται δυνάμει θείᾳ, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀναπληροῖ ζῶον τέλειον, οὐδενὸς αὐτοῦ καταλειπομένου προτέρου, οὐδ' ἀρχῆς, οὐδ' αἰτίου.

- L 30^v 595 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρι-||στοτέλει δοκεῖ, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν δηλονότι, ἐντελέχειαν εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ῥοπῆς ἐξεληθοῦσαν ἔχεσθαι.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, οὕτως περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν οὐδόλως αὐτῷ· Θεῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν
- 600 ἔπεσθαι, μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη δίκαιον ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἐν ἀποδείξει γὰρ μόνη τοῦτον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον συλλογιζομένῳ παντί, εἰς πᾶν δὲ τούτῳ ψηφίζεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἄτοπον· ἀλλ' ἀντικεῖσθαι περὶ τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ μάλα· τί γὰρ εἰς ἀσέβειαν χεῖρον, τοῦ μὴ πιστεύειν ἀνάστασιν; Εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τοίνυν, ἀκολουθήσωμεν αὐτῷ, μηδόλως
- 605 τῇ ἀναστάσει πιστεύοντι. Ἀλλ' ἄτοπον.

KLPV

595-596. Τοῦτο-σώματος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 117^v:16-17

603-604. τι-ἀνάστασιν] cf. 1 Cor. 15:12-14

591. scr. ση(μείωσαι) περὶ ψυχῆς in marg. P || 593. ἀναπληροῖ K || 595-597. Κυδώνης-ἔχεσθαι] signa in marg. L || 595. Κυδώνης] deest KPV || 597. ἔχεσθαι] ἔχεται P || 598. Χρυσολωρᾶς] deest KPV || οὕτω KPV || ἀποφένεσθαι P || 599. εὐσεβέσι P || 603. τί] τι codd.

Ἔτι, οὐκ ἀπέδειξεν, ἀλλὰ λογίζεται μόνον αὐτῷ δόξαν αὐτήν,
ἀληθῆ· ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ δεδειγμένον ἐρῶ. Τοῦ λόγου τοίνυν ἐπιλαβοῦ·
ποῖον αἰρῆ κρεῖττον; Ψεύδεσθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐν ἀποδείξει καὶ
πλανηθῆναι, ἢ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ Θεόν, οὐκ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲ
610 δίκαιον;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ καὶ πᾶς τις ἂν ἄλλος εἴποι δικαίως, οὐ τὸν
Ἀριστοτέλην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἄλλους πλανᾶσθαι μᾶλλον,
ἢ τί συμβῆναι Θεῷ τὸ βραχύτατον, ἄδικον, ἢ ὅλως ἀκαριαῖον· ἀλλ'
ὅμως, οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι, ποῖον ἂν τις ἄτοπον ἐν αὐτοῖς Θεῷ γε
615 λογίζοιτο.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐχ ἓν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ γελοῖα συμβαίνει
πάσχειν παρούση δόξη. Ἄκουε τοιγαροῦν· ἀρετῆς εἶδος ἐν τῶν
L 31^r μετειληχότων ἐμβρύων δύο, δυσὶ ψυχαῖς ἢ ἔπεται, καὶ οὐδὲν
ἕτερον· δυσὶ δὲ πάλιν ἄλλαις, κακίας εἶδος ταυτόν. Τὴν αὐτὴν
620 ἔχουσιν αὐταὶ σχέσιν καὶ ῥοπήν εἰς τὰ ἴδια σώματα, ἢ διάφορον;

KLPV

609. οὐκ ἀγαθὸν KLV: οὐκαγαθὸν P ἢ 610. post δίκαιον sign. interrogationis L ἢ 611-615.
Κυδώνης-λογίζοιτο] signa in marg. KV ἢ 611. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 615. λογίζοιτο] ἐλελογίζοιτο P
ἢ 618. οὐδέν L

Ἀπόκριναί μοι· δυοῖν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι σε θάτερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον.
Ἄλλ' ἂν μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐρεῖς, οὐκ ἄρα τῇ διαφορᾷ τῆς
ῥοπῆς ἢ διακρίσις τῶν ψυχῶν, ὃ προὔλεγεσ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον· ἂν δὲ
μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν εἴπῃς, πρῶτον μὲν, ἄδικον, ψυχὰς τῶ αὐτῶ
625 παρακειμένας ἀμαρτήματι, μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν ῥοπήν ἐν τοῖς
σώμασιν· ἔπειτα, καὶ Θεὸς οὐ δίκαιος, ἀπαιτῶν αὐτὰς τὸ ἴσον τοῦ
ἀδικήματος τῆς ῥοπῆς καὶ τῆς σχέσεως τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι
κειμένας ἐν ἀνισότητι, ἢ στεφανοῦν τὰς ἄλλας, ἴσον μὲν
εἰργασμένας ἐν τῶ παρόντι, ἀνισον δὲ τὴν ῥοπήν ἐχούσας περὶ τὰ
630 σώματα· ἀδικεῖ τοίνυν αὐτὰς ἐν τούτῳ Θεός. Ἄλλ' ἄτοπον καὶ
ἀδύνατον· Θεὸς γὰρ, οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς ἄδικος· ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε
δικαιότατος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶ ὁμοιότατον οὐδέν. Ἐξ ἑκατέρου σοι
τοιγαροῦν, ἄτοπον δικαίως ἀκολουθεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἴσαις ψυχαῖς, τῇ
διαφορᾷ τῆς ἀνίσου ῥοπῆς, τὸ ἴσον ἐργάζεται, οὔτ' αὐθις τὸ μὴ
635 διαφέρειν ποιεῖν ἴσχυσε τὴν διάκρισιν τῶν ψυχῶν.

KLPV

621. ἀπόκρινέ P || 622. ἐρης codd. || 623. προὔλεγεσ L || 626. ἴσον P || 628. στεφανοῦν
τὰς] στεφανοῦντας P || ἴσον P || 631-632. Θεὸς-οὐδέν] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 631. οἶόν
τε] οἶόν τε L: οἶοντε P || 632. οὐδέν KV

Ἔτι, καὶ τούναντίον, ἅγιοί σοι ψηφίζονται· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ψυχὰς τῶν
 ἀγίων καὶ τῶν δικαίων, τῶν παρόντων φασὶ μεμνησθαι, καὶ
 τρόπον τὸν δυνατὸν, αὐτὰς σαφῶς ἐπισκέπτεσθαι· τῶν δ'
 L 31^v ἁμαρτωλῶν, μόνας καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἢ μένειν, οὐδενὸς τῶν ὄντων
 640 φροντίδος πεπονημένας, οὐτ' ἄλλων, οὔτε σωματῶν ἰδίων ὄλως.
 Σὺ δὲ τολμᾶς λέγειν, ἃ χρεῶν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον ἐφ' ἅπαντα
 φθάνειν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν;
 [2.6] ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Οἱ λέγοντες, πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν
 ἔχειν, πλὴν τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ ἀγεννησίας, ἢ μόνον γεννητὸν τὸν Υἱόν,
 645 ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα, μόνον ἐκπορευτόν, οὐ τῇ ἀντιφάσει ταῦτα
 διακρινούσι; Πῶς οὖν αὐτοὶ τῆς θεολογίας ταύτην ἐλαύνουσι;
 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Διαριεῖν μὲν τὴν ἀντίφασιν ἐπὶ πάντων τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ
 τὸ ψεῦδος, παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται· οὐκ ἀρκεῖ μέντοι ἡ
 ταύτης ἀντίθεσις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς διακρίσεως αἷτια δεῖξαι· εἰ
 650 γὰρ δύο τυχὸν ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μὲν, εἴη λευκός, ὁ δέ, οὐ λευκός, δηλοῖ

KLPV

643-644. Οἱ-ἀγεννησίας] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 254.25-26 ἢ 645. οὐ-ἀντιφάσει] Nil. Cab.,
Proc. S. S., p. 254.27 ἢ 647-648. Διαριεῖν-ψεῦδος] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 254.18-20 ἢ
 647-651. Διαριεῖν-δύο] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 117^v.26-28

643-644. πάντα-αἰτίας] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Dial.*, facs. 20, p. 160a ἢ 643-646. Οἱ-διακρινούσι]
 Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 35, p. 139.32-36

643-644. Οἱ-ἀγεννησίας] cf. Greg. Naz., *Aegypt. advent.*, § 10.13-14, p. 216; cf. suum, *In
 Pentec.* (Or. 41), § 9.23-24, p. 336 ἢ 644. μόνον-Υἱόν] Ioh. Dam., *Contra Jacob.*, § 78.27-28, p.
 135 ἢ 644-645. τὸ-ἐκπορευτόν] Ioh. Dam., *Contra Jacob.*, § 78.28, p. 135

640. φροντίδα KPV ἢ 641-642. Σὺ-φύσιν] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L ἢ 643-646. Νεῖλος-
 ἐλαύνουσι] signa in marg. K: illeg. V ἢ 643. τὰ] deest P ἢ καὶ] deest P ἢ 645. post
 διακρινούσι sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 647-653. Κυδώνης-ἀναιφούσης] signa in marg.
 KL: illeg. V ἢ 650. τυχόν L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L

μὲν αὐτοὺς δύο εἶναι· οὐ ποιεῖ μέντοι τοῦτο αὐτοὺς δύο. Καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἀγέννητον, οὐδενὸς αἴτιον ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶ διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα, τὸ γεννητὸν ἀναιρούσης.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἴδου σοι τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τὸ θεολογεῖν ὅμοιον· τὸ
655 γὰρ λευκὸν τε καὶ μὴ λευκόν, ἢ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, κἂν μυρία
γινώσκοιτο, διακρίναι τὰς οὐσίας οὐ δύναται· τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι
συμβεβηκότα· οἷς, οὐ θέμις συστατικὰ τῶν οὐσιῶν εὐρίσκεσθαι
πώποτε· ἀλλ' αὐτῇ μὲν αὐτὰ πάντως ἔπεται ἢ, καὶ χωρισθέντων,
οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐθις μένει, καὶ ἀναιρουμένων, οἶδε πάσχειν
L 32^r 660 οὐδέν· μὴ οὔσης δὲ ἢ τῆς οὐσίας, ἅπαντα δίκαιον ἀναιρεῖσθαι. Τὸ
δὲ ἀγέννητον ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ἀπάντων Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀδιάκριτον
αἰτίας ἐστίν, οὐ μὴ ὄν, οὐκ ἀποφάσει τῶν ὄντων ὅμοιον· οὐκ
ἀνάπλασμα διανοίας, ὡς μαρτυρεῖς, τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τρόπος
ὑπάρξεως αὐτῷ μέγας· καὶ μαρτυρεῖ χορὸς ὁ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτά,
665 Θεῷ, μηδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνει τὸ ἀγέννητον αἴτιον εἰπών, ἢ Πατέρα·

KLPV

652-653. τὸ-ἀναιρούσης] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 117^r.32-33

653. διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα] Greg. Naz., *In S. Lum.* (Or. 39), § 3.5, p. 152 ἢ 665. Θεῷ-
Πατέρα] cf. Greg. Nyss., *C. Eun.*, Lib. 3, § 5.53, p. 169; Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 8.30-33, p. 19

654. ἰδού σοι L ἢ 658. ἦ] ἢ KPV ἢ 659. οὐδέν L ἢ 660. οὐδέν KV ἢ 665. μηδέν L ἢ
σημένειν K

παντὶ δὲ χρεῶν εὐσεβεῖ ταυθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς ὄρους· εἰ γὰρ ὁ πέφυκεν ἐκάστω ζῶων ὄνομα φύσει δύο τις θοῖτο δυσὶν ὀνόματα, δύο ζῶα ταῦτα ποιεῖ, πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦ ἀγέννητου φωνὴ μόνῳ πρέπουσα τῷ Πατρὶ τοῦ παντὸς Θεῶ.

670 Ἔτι, καὶ κατάφασις ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον. Εἰ δέ τις φαίη, καὶ ποία τῶν ἀποφάσεων αὐτῇ μάχεται, ἐροῦμεν, ὡς καὶ τῷ Φιλοσόφῳ δοκεῖ, τὸ μὴ ἀγέννητον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄτοπον, ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας, Ἀριστοτέλει ψηφίζεσθαι τὰ δοκοῦντα.

Ἔτι, μὴ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφάσεως ἀπάσης ἄλλον τρόπον, 675 ὑψηλότερον καὶ κρεῖττον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἢπερ ἄλλο τι ψηφιζόμενον κατὰ φύσιν· καὶ πολλοῖς τὸν παρόντα λόγον, ἢ πηγὴ τῶν λόγων, ὁ Διονύσιος βεβαιοῖ, τὰς ἀποφάσεις περὶ Θεὸν βελτίους εἶναι τῶν καταφάσεων ἀπασῶν· καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὰς ἀρμόζειν οὐ Θεῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν εἰπῶν, ἀῦλοις ἅμα δυνάμεων· καὶ 680 πολὺς μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτῷ κύκλος ἐν τούτῳ συνηγορεῖ, πολὺς δὲ

KLPV

677-679. τὰς-δυνάμεων] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Cael. hier.*, 2, § 3, pp. 12.20-13.3

667. δυσὶ P || 672. οὐδὲν L || 675. ἄλλο τι] ἄλλο τι codd. || 676-679. καὶ-δυνάμεων] signa in marg. L || 676. πηγὴ K || 679. καὶ] deest P || εἰπων P || 680. ante κύκλος scr. αὐτῷ in marg. V

καὶ τῶν σοφῶν, ὧν, οὐκ ἀ-Ἰναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 μεμνησθαι, φιλοῦντας βραχυλογίαν. Σὺ δέ, ἢ συνηγορεῖν τῷ
 Θωμᾶ, ἢ καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ προθυμούμενος ἐπιπηδᾶν, ἐπελάθου τῶν
 εἰρημένων ἀγίοις· ἢ ἐκῶν παρατρέχεις, καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ,
 685 τὴν μεγάλην ταύτην φωνήν, ἣν παντὶ κόσμῳ τρέμειν εἰκός,
 ὁμολογεῖς **διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα**, καὶ μὴ ὄν, ὥσπερ τὸ λευκόν, καὶ
 τὸ μέλαν, ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ, ἢ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἅπερ
 οὐδόλως χώρα Θεῷ. Ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα τῇ θνητῇ φύσει γνώριμα· οἱ
 γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν γεγονότων περὶ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου νοεῖν τι
 690 σπουδάζοντες, ὁμοίον τι δρῶσι, τοῖς ἀπὸ δυάδος μονάδος φύσιν
 ἐπιζητοῦσι· δέον ὄν ἔμπαλιν, ἀπὸ μονάδος δυάδα· αὕτη γὰρ, ἢ
 ταύτης ἀρχή. Τὸ δὲ μεῖζον, ὅ, μὴδὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ λοιπά·
 σὲ γὰρ μετὰ βραχὺ βλέπομεν ἀντικείμενον ἑαυτῷ· καὶ τοῖς νῦν
 εἰρημένοις σοι, πολεμεῖς· καὶ τὰναντία λέγεις παντάπασιν περὶ τῆς
 695 τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωνῆς, σαυτῷ μαχόμενος μᾶλλον, ἢ ἄλλοις. Τὸ δ'
 αἴτιον, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, νῦν μὲν, ἵνα Νείλου κατηγορῆς, ἐκεῖ δ' ὅπως
 συνηγορήσης Θωμᾶ· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, ταῦτα δρᾶν.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἔχω ῥαδίως γινῶναι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἂν μὴ σὺ
 ἀναμνήσης με.

KLPV

686. διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα] vide supra, [2] 653

686. το K || 687-692. ἅπερ-ἀρχή] ὄρον(αῖον) ὄλον in marg. L || 692. μὴδὲ] μὴ δὲ codd. ||
 693. μετὰ L || 696. ἐγῶμαι] ἐγ' ὦμαι P: ἐγῶμαι KLV || μ(έν) bis acc. L || 698-699. Κυδώνης-
 με] sign. in marg. K

- L 33^r 700 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ μνημονεύεις ἐν οἷς ἐρεῖς; Τὸ γὰρ γεννητὸν καὶ ἐκπορευτὸν, κοινωνίαν βούλεται ἔχειν ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν προφορὰν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀγέννητον αἴτιον εἶναι, Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος; Οὐ ταῦτα νοήματα καὶ γράμματα σά; Οὐκ ἐναντία σοι τοῖς προειρημένοις; Εἰ γὰρ τὸ
- 705 ἀγέννητον ἀνάπλασμα διανοίας, ὡς ἔλεγες, πῶς νῦν αἴτιον αὐτὸν νοεῖσθαι δύνασθαι λέγεις, Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος; Ἀδύνατον ἐκάτερον ἀληθὲς εἶναι· ἑλοῦ τοίνυν, ὁποῖαν ἂν βούλη δόξαν, καὶ θάτερον ὁμολόγησον, ψεῦδος εἶναι· καὶ βουλεύομαί σοι τό, τὸ ἀγέννητον ἀδιάκριτον λέγειν, καὶ διανοίας ἀνάπλασμα, καὶ μὴ
- 710 ὄν, ἐξελέσθαι σου· ἴσθι γάρ, ὡς οὐ μόνον οὐκ εὐσεβὲς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θωμᾶν, καὶ σαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖς ὁμοίως.
- Ἀπόκριναί μοι καὶ τοῦτο· Νεῖλος μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι συλλογισμῷ, δέκα κεφαλαίοις γενναίοις ἐχρήσατο κατὰ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, σὺ δέ, μόνοις τέσσαρσιν, ἐπιπηδᾷς Νείλω, τᾶλλα παραλιπών.
- 715 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐκαστος οἷς ἂν ἐθέλη, καὶ μάχεται· λέγε συλλογισμὸν ἕτερον, ἵνα γνῶμεν.

KLPV

700-703. Τὸ-Πνεύματος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^r.16-17

704-705. τὸ-διανοίας] vide supra, [2] 684-686 ἢ 712-714. Νεῖλος-παραλιπών] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^r.23-25

700. post ἐρεῖς sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 700-704. γεννητὸν-προειρημένοις] signa in marg. L ἢ 701. ἐκπορευτὸν LP: ἐκπορευτὸν KV ἢ 702. προφορὰν] προσηγορίαν in textu cum sign. et add. γρ(άφε) τ(ήν) προφορ(άν) cum sign. K: προσηγορί(αν) in textu cum sign. et add. τ(ήν) προ<οφορ(άν)> cum sign. V ἢ 703. post πνεύματος sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 704. post σὰ sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ Οὐκ ἐναντία] οὐκεναντία KV ἢ post προειρημένοις sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 707. ὁποῖαν codd. ἢ βούλη] βούλει et sscr. η per βούλη V ἢ 710. εὐσεβῆς KV ἢ 714. τ' ἄλλα KLP ἢ 715-716. Κυδώνης-γνῶμεν] signa in marg. KV ἢ 715. ἂν bis acc. L

[3] Συλλογισμὸς δεύτερος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ὡς τὸ προβάλλον, πρὸς τὸ προβαλλόμενον, οὕτως τὸ γεννῶν πρὸς τὸ γεννώμενον, καὶ ἐναλλάξ, ἀνάλογον ἔσται· ἀλλὰ τὰ πρῶτα, ἓν ἔστι πρόσωπον, καὶ τὰ δεύτερα ἄρα, εἰ μὴ τις σχέσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ ἄλλη δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἢ κατ' αἰτίαν.

- L 33^v 5 **ΝΕΙΛΟΣ.** Τοῦτο, ἐπὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀληθές, πλὴν δέ, καὶ τούτων ὁμογενῶν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ψευδὸς ἐπὶ τῶν θείων, ἢ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων πολλάκις, καὶ δῆλον· ἀντίκειται γάρ, ὡς τὸ ἀγέννητον τῷ γεννητῷ, οὕτω τὸ ἀφθαρτον, τῷ φθαρτῷ· ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξ, οὐκ ἂν σώζοιε τὴν ὁμοίαν σχέσιν· γεννητοὶ γὰρ 10 ἄγγελοι, ἀλλ' ἀφθαρτοὶ. Ἔτι, ζῶον, οὐ ζῶον, ἔμψυχον, οὐκ ἔμψυχον. Ἔτι, ὡς ἀστρονόμος, πρὸς ἀστρονομικά, στρατηγός, πρὸς στρατηγικά. Ἔτι, ὡς ἡ εὐθεῖα πρὸς τὸ μέρος τὸ ἑαυτῆς, οὕτως ἡ περιφέρεια πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον, ἀλλ' ἐναλλάξ, οὐκ ἔστιν.

KLPV

[3] 1-4. Ὡς-αἰτίαν] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 276.9-24 ἢ 5-13. Τοῦτο-ἔστιν] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 276.30-278.2, 278.20-280.8

[3] 1-4. Ὡς-αἰτίαν] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 36, p. 141.1-6 ἢ 5-13. Τοῦτο-ἔστιν] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 36, pp. 141.7-142.31

[3] 1-4. Ὡς-αἰτίαν] Non Thomas Aquinatis sed Latinus interlocutor Barlaam Calabrius (vide infra)

[3] 1-2. Ὡς-ἐναλλάξ] Barl. Cal., *Contra Latinos (Tractatus B) (Or. 2)*, § 15.175-178, p. 278 ἢ 2-4. ἀλλὰ-αἰτίαν] cf. Barl. Cal., *Contra Latinos (Tractatus B) (Or. 2)*, § 15.181-187, p. 278

[3] 1-4. Θωμάς-αἰτίαν] signa in marg. KLV ἢ <συλλογισμὸς β' in marg. KL: illeg V ἢ 1. οὕτω KPV ἢ 3. ἓν L ἢ 5-13. Νείλος-ἔστιν] signa in marg. KL: illeg V ἢ 8. οὕτω K ἢ 9. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 11. post στρατηγ(ός) scr. et del. γικός (ex στρατηγικός?) V

- [3.1] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἐκείνου μὲν εἶναι τοῦτο, οὐ πάνυ τοι
 15 πείθομαι· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς οἷς, τοῖς ἐκείνου συγγράμμασιν ἐνέτυχον,
 τοῦτ' ἐγκείμενον εὖρον, οὔτ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἤκουσα ἐπὶ Θωμᾶν τοῦτ'
 ἀνάγοντος· ἀλλ' ἔοικε Λατίνου τινός, πρὸς τινα τῶν ἡμετέρων
 διαλεγόμενου, τοῦτ' εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀκούσαντα, τῷ
 Θωμᾶ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναθεῖναι, καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀντειπεῖν.
- 20 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸ σὸν οὐκ ἀληθές εἶναι μᾶλλον,
 ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ Θωμᾶ· ἂν μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἦ,
 διατί, μὴ καὶ Θωμᾶς αὐτοῦ ποιητῆς ὁ σοφώτατος; Ἄν δὲ φαῦλον,
 διατί λογίζῃ τοῦτο Λατίνων, ἄλλω; Τὸ γὰρ καλόν, ἀγαθὸν
 ἅπαντι, τὸ δὲ κακόν, οὐδενὶ καλόν· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὁμολογοῦμέν σοι
 25 χάριν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἡμέτερον ἐρεῖς εἶναι.
 Ἔτι, διατί σοι καὶ τῆς ἀντιλογίας αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμέλησεν
 ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, φαύλων ὄντων, καὶ μὴ γνωρίμων Θωμᾶ;
- L 34^r Ἔτι, ποῖον ἂν καὶ τῷ Νείλω κέρδος ἐγένετο προ-ἄβαλλομένῳ τὰ
 ψεύδη, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλλους ἔνστασιν τῷ Θωμᾶ παραβάλλοντι;
- 30 Πάντως οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ καὶ ἀληθεύοντι μὴ πιστεῦσθαι, ἃ πλάττειν

KLPV

14-19. Ἐγὼ-ἀντειπεῖν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^r:27-29

14. ἐκείνου] scil. Thomas Aquinas || τοῦτο] vide supra, [3] 1-4

14-19. Κυδώνης-ἀντειπεῖν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 14. τοι] deest P || 19. ἀντειπεῖν P || 24. ὁμολογοῦμέν σοι] ὁμολογοῦμεν σοι codd. || 28. ἂν bis acc. L || 29. ψευδῆ KPV || 30. οὐδέν L

αὐτὸν ἀδύνατον ὄντα σοφόν, οἷος φαίνεται, πᾶς τις ἂν φαίη· ἂν δὲ
τὸ πλῆθος ὁρῶν αὐτὸς ἤδη τῶν ἀτόπων, τῆς παρουσίας θέσεως οὐκ
ἀνέχη; Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν οὐδενὶ Λατίνων συνέβαινε πώποτε, ἄλλος
ἂν ὁ λόγος ἴσως οὗτος εἰρημένος εἶη· πλήν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖος, οὐδὲ
35 καθόλου· ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀληθεύειν ἀεὶ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ
θεολογεῖν, καὶ ἀπλῶς διαλέγεσθαι βουλευομένοις, τί κωλύει καὶ
τοῦτον εἶναι Θωμᾶ τὸν συλλογισμὸν; Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τρίτος
συλλογισμὸς τοῦ Θωμᾶ παραπλήσιος τῷ παρόντι; Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ
πολὺ τοῦ δευτέρου χείρων; Διατί οὖν, τοῦ μὲν χείρονος κακοῦ
40 προτρέπεις σαυτὸν, τοῦ δὲ ἐλάττονος, οὔ; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ τρίτος
βελτίων ἦν, ἴσως εἶχεν ἂν τινα λόγον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου σαφῶς
ἀθλιώτερος, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, ὧ ἂν τις τὸ μείζον κακὸν ψηφίζοιτο,
καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον, εἰ λογίζοιτο· σὺ δὲ πάλιν ὁ τὸ χείριστον δούς,
ἀνέχου τοῦ χείρονος.

KLPV

31. ἂν bis acc. L || 32. αὐτός L || 33. post ἀνέχη sign. interrogationis L: deest KPV || 34. ἂν
bis acc. L || ἴσος P || 38. post παρόντι sign. interrogationis codd. || 39. post χείρων
sign. interrogationis codd. || 42. ἀθλιώτερος P || οὐδὲν L

45 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ φαίνεται, τῆς τοῦ εἰπόντος διανοίας, ὅστις ποτὲ
ἦν ἐκεῖνος, οὐ πάνυ τοι στοχασάμενος, διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ
ἐαυτὸν μᾶλλον ἔλαθεν ἐξελέγξας· οὗτος μὲν γάρ, νομίζει τὸν
L 34^v Λατῖνον, ὡς αὐτῷ δοκοῦσαν τὴν τοῦ γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ
προβάλλειν, καὶ ἐκπο-||ρεύεσθαι ἀναλογίαν προτεῖναι· ἔστι δὲ
50 οὐχ οὕτως· οὐδ' ἂν Λατῖνοι ποτὲ συγχωρήσαιεν, εἶναι δηλονότι,
ὡς γεννῶν πρὸς γεννώμενον, προβάλλον πρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον.
Λέγομεν τοίνυν, ὡς ὅταν ἦ, ὡς πρῶτον πρὸς δεύτερον, τρίτον
πρὸς τέταρτον, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλου μὲν γένους ληπτέον τὴν πρώτην
ἀναλογίαν, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ τὸ ἐναλλάξ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴον, εἰ
55 ἢ πρώτη ἐν τῷ τοῦ ποσοῦ γένει λαμβάνοιτο, καὶ τὸ ἐναλλάξ, ἐπὶ
τοῦ ποσοῦ πάλιν ληπτέον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρητέον, τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Νείλου διαβολὴν
ἐξελέσθαι σου τὴν ἀρχήν, ταυτὸν εἰπόντος, ᾧ, σὺ νῦν συνηγορεῖς·
ὡς τοῦτο μὲν, ἐπὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀριθμῶν ἀληθές, χάρις σοι τοίνυν
60 τὸν αὐτοῦ βεβαιοῦντι λόγον.

KLPV

45-51. φαίνεται-ἐκπορευόμενον] Dem. Cvd., *Defensio*, f. 118^v.29-32 || 52-56. Λέγομεν-
ληπτέον] Dem. Cvd., *Defensio*, f. 118^v.6-8

59. ἐπὶ-ἀληθές] vide supra, [3] 5

45-56. Κυδώνης-ληπτέον] signa in marg. KLV || 45. ὑπόντος P || ὅστις ποτὲ] ὅς τις ποτε
codd. || 49. ἀναλογίαν] ἀλογίαν KV: ἀλογί(αν) P || 50. λατῖνοι codd. || 55-56. γένει-
ποσοῦ] deest KPV || 58. εἰπόντες KPV || ᾧ] ᾧν P || νῦν] αὖ P || 59. μὲν bis acc. L

[3.2] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. ΑΛΛ' ὁ φησιν ὁ ἀνήρ οὔτος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου
καὶ γεννητοῦ· καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ φθαροῦ· καὶ ζώου, καὶ οὐ
ζώου· καὶ ἐμψύχου, καὶ οὐκ ἐμψύχου, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἐναλλάξ
λέγεσθαι δυναμένων, φανερόν· ὡς διὰ τὸ ἐκάτερον τῆ
65 ἀναλογία παραχρησθαι συμβαίνει τὸ ἄτοπον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλήν, ἢ τῆς ἀντιλογίας παράχρησις,
οὐδενὶ ἂν ἄλλω ἢ τῷ κανόνι τοῦ σοφίσματος ἐφαρμόσειε τοῦ
Θωμᾶ, τῷ περὶ τοῦ προβάλλειν καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, καὶ γεννᾶν,
καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ μετ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ σοι, τῷ τοῖς ἐκείνου
70 συνηγοροῦντι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀτόπων, οὐ μικρὰ ἂν ὑμῖν ἔποιτο.

L 35^r

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τὸ γὰρ ἀ-||γέννητον τῷ γεννητῷ, οὐ κατὰ πάντα τὰ
δυνάμενα συμβῆναι τούτοις ἀντίκειται· οὐ γὰρ εἰ συμβέβηκε
τῷ γεννητῷ, νοεῶν εἶναι, τὸ ἀγέννητον διὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν ἔσται
ἄνουν· οὔτε μὴν, εἰ τὸ ἀγέννητον αἴτιον τοῦ γεννητοῦ, καὶ τὸ
75 ἄφθαρτον αἴτιον τοῦ φθαροῦ· ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ὡς ἀπόφασις καὶ

KLPV

61-65. ὁ-ἄτοπον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^v.9-11 || 68-69. τοῦ-γεννᾶσθαι] cf. Nil. Cab.,
Proc. S. S., p. 276.9-11 || 71-81. Τὸ-στρατηγοῦ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^v.11-15

61-63. ἐπὶ-ἐμψύχου] vide supra, [3] 7-11 || 68-69. τοῦ-γεννᾶσθαι] vide supra, [3.1] 48-49

61-65. Κυδώνης-ἄτοπον] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 67. ἂν bis acc. L || 70. ἂν bis acc. L ||
71-81. Κυδώνης-στρατηγοῦ] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 71. Κυδώνης] illeg. V || 72.
δυνάμενα] δυνά P

κατάφασις μόνον ἀντίκεινται, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τὸ
φθαρτόν· ὥστε καὶ ἐναλλάττοντας τῇ ἀποφάσει καὶ καταφάσει,
ἐπόμενον ληπτέον· καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἀγέννητον πρὸς ἄφθαρτον — ἄμφω
γὰρ ἀποφάσεις—, γεννητὸν πρὸς φθαρτόν — ἄμφω γὰρ πάλιν
80 καταφάσεις—· τὸ δὲ ὅμοιον ῥητέον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀστρονόμου, καὶ
στρατηγοῦ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐδενὶ σοὶ πρέπει λέγειν ἑτέρω, ἢ Θωμᾶ τοῦτο,
ἀξιοῦντι, περὶ τε τῆς γεννήσεως τρόπων καὶ ἐκπορεύσεως, ὅσα
τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, καὶ τῇ γεωμετρίᾳ συμβαίνει· Νεῖλος γὰρ τὴν θέσιν
85 αἰτιώμενος τὸν Θωμᾶν, τοῖς παροῦσι νοήμασι κοινωνεῖ, ἵνα τῆς
ἀλόγου θέσεως δείξῃ τὸ ἄτοπον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Θωμᾶ σκοπὸς ἦν
ἀποφάσεων ἢ καταφάσεων, ἐπεὶ τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ
προβάλλειν καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἅπαντα καταφάσεις· ἀλλ'
ἐλογίζετο, τέσσαρα μεγέθη πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀντιστρέφοντα, ἐφαρμόζειν
90 τῇ θεῖᾳ φύσει, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ σὺ φῆς, ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ

KLPV

76. ἀντίκειται P || 83. περί post cor. (ex περι) L

L 35^v

ἄφθαρτον, πρὸς γεννητόν, καὶ φθαρτόν, ἀποφάσεις εἶναι καὶ
καταφάσεις, ἢ οὐκ ἀληθές· ἀλλὰ καταφάσεις καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς τὸ
γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ προβάλλειν καὶ ἐκπορεύεσθαι· ἂν δέ
τις τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποφάσεις ζητῇ, εὐρήσει τοῦ μὲν ἀφθάρτου καὶ
95 ἀγεννήτου, τό, οὐκ ἄφθαρτον καὶ οὐκ ἀγέννητον, τοῦ δὲ φθαρτοῦ
καὶ τοῦ γεννητοῦ, τὸ μὴ φθαρτόν καὶ μὴ γεννητόν· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ
Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ· οὕτως, ἅς ἀποφάσεις ὁμολογεῖς, ἅπασαι
καταφάσεις, καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ μάχεσθαι βουλόμενος, συμμαχεῖς.
Ἔτι, φανερόν, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀναλογία γνώριμος
100 ἔσται· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ θεώρημα, ἦν, ὡς πρῶτον, πρὸς δεύτερον,
τρίτον, πρὸς τέταρτον, τὸ δὲ σόν, οὐχ οὕτως. Ἀνάρμοστα τοίνυν
σοι, ἀνίσοις ἴσα, ἢ τοῖς ἴσοις παραβαλὼν ἄνισα, τὸ ἴσον ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἀπαιτοῦντι. Ταῦτά δέ, καὶ στρατηγῶ, καὶ ἀστρονόμῳ, συμβαίνειν
ἀνάγκη.

KLPV

97. Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ] cf. Arist., *Analytica priora* 52b.31-32: τοῦ γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τὸ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἀπόφασις

91. πρὸς-φθαρτόν] deest P ἢ 92. ante ταῦτα scr. τὰ P ἢ 99. τὸ ὑπαράπαν L: τοπαράπαν KV ἢ 103. ταυτὰ] ταῦτα K

105 [3.3] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάλιν τὴν ἐναλλάξ ἀντιστροφὴν οὕτω δῆλός
ἔστι δυσχεραίνων, ὥστε, καπὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν ταύτην ἀπαξιούν,
καὶ φάσκειν, μηδένα εἶναι λόγον εὐθείας πρὸς περιφέρειαν.
Ἐγὼ δὲ ῥητὸν μὲν λόγον καὶ οἶον ἀποδειχθῆναι, οὐδ' ἂν, οὐδ'
αὐτὸς εἶποιμι, σχέσιν μέντοι τινὰ μηδὲν κωλύειν ἔχειν πρὸς
110 ἄλληλα, ὥσπερ καὶ διαμέτρου <πρὸς> πλευρᾶν, ἔστι τις λόγος
καὶ δῆλον, δυνατὸν καὶ τρίτην εὐρεῖν ἀνάλογον τῶν δύο
δοθεισῶν, καὶ τὰς τρεῖς, μίαν ποιεῖν ἀναλογίαν.

L 36^r ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσον, ἢ διάμετρος, τῇ πλευρᾷ, ὡς ἡ
περιφέρεια, τῇ γραμμῇ. Ἢ καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ἅπαντι τῷ τὴν
115 ἀναλογίαν ἐπισταμένῳ· ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τριῶν ἢ ἀναλογία, ἔχει τί
κοινὸν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τῷ Νείλῳ· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτόν ἦν γραμμὴ καὶ
διάμετρος καὶ περιφέρεια καὶ πλευρᾶ, ἢ τῶν εὐθειῶν ἢ ἀναλογία,
Νεῖλον ἴσως ἂν ἤλεγχε· αὐτῶν δὲ παντάπασις ἀνομοίων ὄντων,
οὐκ ἀντίπαλος εἶ τῷ Νείλῳ. Λέγε τοίνυν, ἃ ἂν σοι τούτων
120 ἰσχυρότερα φαίνηται.

KLPV

105-112. Πάλιν-ἀναλογίαν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 118^v.26-29 ἢ 107. μηδένα-
περιφέρειαν] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 280.4-11

105-112. Κυδώνης-ἀναλογίαν] signa in marg. KLV ἢ schemata in marg. KLV ἢ 105-106.
δῆλος ἔστι L ἢ 107. φάσκειν D] φάσκει codd. ἢ 109. μηδέν L ἢ 110. διαμέτρου] διὰ
μέτρου P ἢ 112. post ἀναλογίαν scr. sign. et scr. in marg. χρυ<σο>λ<ωρᾶς> P ἢ 115-116.
ἔχει τι κοινὸν KV: ἔχει τί κοινὸν P ἢ 117. post διάμετρος scr. et cnc. καὶ διάμετρος V ἢ
118. ἴσως ἂν] ἂν ἴσως per sscr. β' et α' V: ἂν ἴσως KP ἢ ἀνομί(ων) P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. ΑΛΛ' εὔρηται καὶ Ἀρχιμήδους ἀπόδειξις, λόγον εἶναι
 τῆς περιμέτρου πρὸς τὴν διάμετρον, ἣν ἔχει τὰ τρία, καὶ ἕβδομον
 ἔγγιστα πρὸς τὸ ἕν· εἰ δ' ὁ μαθηματικὸς τοῦ ἐγγὺς ἐστοχάσατο,
 φανερόν ὅτι κατὰ φύσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀδύνατον τούτων, καὶ ῥητὸν
 125 εὔρεθῆναι λόγον· τί γάρ, εἰ ὁ γεωμέτρης οὐκ ἐξίκετο πρὸς τὴν
 εὔρεσιν; Ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἀρχιμήδης ἀποδείκνυσι τὸ
 ὑπὸ τῆς περιμέτρου τοῦ κύκλου, καὶ τῆς τούτου διαμέτρου,
 διπλάσιον εἶναι τοῦ ἐμβαδοῦ τοῦ κύκλου. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὸν
 κύκλον τετραγωνίζειν βουλόμενοι, ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἀκριβῶς
 130 χωρίον ὑπὸ δύο περιφερειῶν περιεχόμενον, ἴσον ὀρθογωνίῳ
 εὐθύγραμμῳ· καὶ δῆλον, ὡς τὸ εὐθύγραμμον ἐκεῖνο, ἢ καὶ
 ἐκεῖναι αἱ εὐθεῖαι, ὑπερέξουσι ποτὲ ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἐκτεινόμενα, τὸ
 μὲν περιφερόγραμμον τοῦ εὐθύγραμμου, ἢ δὲ περιφέρεια τῆς
 εὐθείας· καὶ ἔξουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα λόγον, ῥητὸν μὲν, οὐδαμῶς, ἢ
 L 36^v 135 ἴσως δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ποτέ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδέδεικται τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς,

KLPV

121-140. εὔρηται-φιλόνεικον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 118^v.31-119^v.3

121-123. λόγον-ἕν] cf. Archim., *Dimensio circuli*, p. 236.8-11; Pappus Alex., *Comm. in Ptol.* p. 253.6-8; Theon Alex., *In Ptol.*, p. 394.13-14 ἢ 126-128. τὸ-κύκλου] cf. Pappus Alex., *Comm. in Ptol.*, p. 253.8-10

121-140. Κυδώνης-φιλόνεικον] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 122. περιμέτρου] περιμέτρως K ἢ ἦν] ὄν D ἢ τρία] Γ' D ἢ ἕβδομον] ζ' D ἢ 123. ἕν KV: α' D ἢ 127. τούτου] τούτο P ἢ 129. ἀποδεικνύουσιν] ἀποδεικνύσιν L: ἀποδείκνυσιν P ἢ 132. post ἐκεῖναι scr. αἱ et sscr. αἱ V ἢ ἐπ' ἄπειρον] ἐπάπειρον P ἢ ἐκτεινόμενα KPV ἢ 135. ἴσως] ἴσου P ἢ πωτέ P

ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν τούτων παραβολήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁ τοῦ
 κύκλου τετραγωνισμὸς ἀπείρηται παντελῶς, ὥσπερ τῆς
 πλευρᾶς, καὶ τῆς διαμέτρου· ἀλλ' ἔστι τῶν ἐνδεχομένων μὲν,
 οὐπω δὲ εὐρεθέντων· τούτοις μὲν οὖν πειραῖσθαι τὴν ἐναλλάξ
 140 ἀντιστροφὴν ἀκυροῦν, λίαν φιλόνεικον.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ δύναμαι συνιδεῖν ἔτι, εἰ ἐκῶν ἢ ἄκων ἐρεῖς αὐτά·
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕστερον, ἀφιλόσοφον, τὸ δὲ πρῶτον, ἀτιθάσου καὶ
 ἀνημέρου ψυχῆς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρίτον οὐκ ἔστι, τῶν κακῶν ἐροῦμεν τὸ
 ἔλαττον, ὡς οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς συμπλέκεις αὐτόν· τῇ πίστει
 145 μὲν, οὐδαμῶς, τῇ δὲ παιδείᾳ, καὶ ἡμεῖς Ἕλληνες· καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν
 μεγάλων, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἴοι ῥάδιον ἀπατᾶσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 τετραγωνισμῶν ἐμνήσθης καὶ Ἀρχιμήδους, καὶ περιφερείας καὶ
 εὐθειῶν, σκεπτέον οὕτως ἡμῖν· πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ ῥηθέντα σοι
 ἀναπόδεικτα, καὶ ζητούμενα· ὧν, εἰ καὶ δῆλα τὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως
 150 αὐτῶν ἦν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν ἐφθέγγετο Νεῖλω τὰ ἐναντία, περὶ ὧν ἔλεγεν

KLPV

142-143. ἀτιθάσου-ψυχῆς] Phil. Jud., *De virt.*, § 132.5, p. 306

139. οὐπω P || 142. ἀτιθάσου] ἀτιθάσσου codd. || 145. παιδεία] παιδία KP || 150. ἂν bis acc. L

ἀληθεύοντι. Βρύσων, ἐτετραγώνιζε κύκλον, ἀλλ' οὐ καλῶς· τὸ γὰρ
μεταξὺ μείζονος καὶ ἐλάσσονος, καθὸ τετραγωνίζειν ἐδόκει, ἴσον
τοῖς ζητούμενοις ἀποφαίνεσθαι δίκαιον ἐλογίζετο, οὐκ ἴδιον τοῦτο
γεωμετρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων· ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν
L 37^r 155 ἀληθέστερον, ἥκιστα πρέπον ἄλ-λλοις, ἢ διαλεκτικῆ μόνῃ. Καὶ
Ἀντιφῶν δὲ πάλιν, ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ, τοῦτον ἐπειρᾶτο τετραγωνίζειν,
διὰ τῶν μηνίσκων αὐτῶν, σχημάτων μονοειδῶν διὰ περιφερείας
κύκλου, μέρος ἀποτεμνόντων αὐτοῦ, ὅ, καὶ ἀδύνατον· Ἴπποκράτης
δὲ πάλιν ὁ Χῖος, ἐτετραγώνιζε καὶ αὐτὸς κύκλον· κατέγραφεν
160 αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ, τρίγωνα περιέγραφε, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐτήρει,
γεωμετρικὰς τὰς ἀρχάς, ὡς γραμμὰς ἄγων, καὶ τρίγωνα
καταγράφων· ἐψεύδετο δέ, καθόσον ἔλεγε τὸ ἐμβαδὸν τοῦ κύκλου,
δυνατὸν εἰς τρίγωνα διελεῖν· καὶ πάλιν ὁ Ἀντιφῶν, ἐφαρμόζει
γραμμὴν εὐθεῖαν, περιφερεία, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε· καὶ πολλοὶ πολλῶν
165 ἄλλων, οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἔνοχοι δεδειγμένων· καὶ ὄν σὺ νῦν Ἀρχιμήδην

KLPV

151-155. τὸ-μόνη] cf. Ioh. Philop., *In Anal. Post.*, Lib. I, § 9, p. 115.3-7

151-155. Βρύσων-μόνη] schema in marg. et sscr. τετραγωνισμός κύκλου K: schema in marg. et sscr. τετραγωνισμός κύκλου L: schema in marg. et sscr. τετραγωνισμός κύκλου V: deest P || 155-158. Καὶ-ἀδύνατον] schema in marg. et sscr. μηνίσκος L: illeg. schema in marg. V: deest KP || 156. ἀντιφῶν P || 158-163. Ἴπποκράτης-διελεῖν] schema in marg. et sscr. δεδειγμένον KL: schema in marg. illeg. V: deest P || 159. Χῖος] κείος L: κίος KP V || 162. ἐμβαδόν L

ἐρεῖς, οὐ διάμετρον εἰς περιφέρειαν ἐνεχειρίζει μόνον ἐνδείξασθαι,
 ἀλλ' ὡς φησιν ὁ Θεών, ἐν τῇ συντάξει τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ ἕτερον ὅμοιον ἐνεχειρίζει τούτῳ λογιζέσθαι λέγων, ὡς τὸ ἥμισυ
 170 μείζον οὐκ ἔλαττον εἶναι δύναται ἤς, οὐ μικρόν τινες ἐπελάβοντο
 δείξεως, εἰπόντες ὁμογενέσιν ἀρμόζειν αὐτά, καὶ τοῖς
 ἕτερογενέσιν, οὐδόλως· καὶ δῆλον, καὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τεκμήριον, δύο
 γραμμαὶ περιέχουσαι γωνίαν ὀρθήν, καὶ δύο ἡμικυκλίων
 L 37^v ἐφαπτομένων αὐτῶν, ἀδύνατον εὐρεθῆναι τί || οὖν ἄτοπον, εἰ καὶ
 175 Νεῖλος ἔλεγε, μηδένα λόγον εἶναι, γραμμῆ καὶ περιφερεία κοινόν;
 Ὅτι γὰρ ἑτέρῳ θάτερον ἀκοινώνητον, ἐντεῦθεν δῆλον· ἀπλατὲς
 μῆκος μὲν ἐστὶν ἢ γραμμῆ, ὁ δὲ κύκλος, καὶ πλάτος ἔχει καὶ τῆς
 μὲν, πέρατα σημεῖα, τοῦ δέ, πέρας ἢ γραμμῆ· καὶ τῇ μὲν, αὐτά,
 σύστασις καὶ ἀρχή, τῷ δέ, οὐδέτερον· καὶ τῆς μὲν, πέρατα, δύο, τοῦ
 180 δέ, μηδέν· καὶ ἡ μὲν, ὀρωμένη πεπερασται, ἐκτεινομένη δὲ νῶ καὶ

KLPV

175. μηδένα-κοινόν] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 280.4-11

175. μηδένα-κοινόν] vide supra, [3] 107

168-170. ὡς-δύναται] cf. Theon Alex., *In Ptol.*, pp. 362.11-364.8

167. ἀλλ' ὡς φησιν] ἀλλὰ ὡς φησιν KV: ἀλλὰ ὡς φησιν P || ὑπομνημάτων codd. || 170. ἐπελαύοντο P || 172-174. καὶ¹-εὐρεθῆναι] schema in marg. et scr. ὀρθή K: schema in marg. et scr. ὀρθή L: schema in marg. illeg. V: deest P || 173. ὀρθήν P: ορθ(ήν) K || ἡμικυκλίον K || 178. μὲν¹ bis acc. L || τοῦ δέ] τοῦδε P || δὲ bis acc. L || μὲν² bis acc. L || 179. δὲ bis acc. L || μὲν bis acc. L || 180. δὲ bis acc. L || μὲν bis acc. L

μη φαινομένη, ἄπειρος· ὁ δέ, καὶ ὁρώμενος, ἄπειρος, καὶ μη
ὁρώμενος αὐθις, πεπερασμένος· καὶ τῆ μὲν, οὐδόλως σχῆμα, τῷ δέ,
καὶ σχηματίζεσθαι δίκαιον· καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; Ἐναντίον
περιφέρεια τῆ γραμμῆ, ὡς εὐθὺ τῷ καμπύλῳ. Ὁ γοῦν Φιλόσοφος
185 περὶ τούτων οὕτω φησὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ἐν τετάρτῳ κεφαλαίῳ
τοῦ ἑβδόμου τῶν Τοπικῶν· ὅσα γὰρ θατέρῳ συμβέβηκε, καὶ θατέρῳ
συμβεβηκέναι δεῖ· καὶ οἷς θάτερον αὐτῶν συμβέβηκε, καὶ θάτερον
συμβεβηκέναι δεῖ· εἰ δέ τι τούτων διαφωνεῖ, δῆλον ὅτι, οὐ ταῦτά· ἢ δέ
γραμμῆ, τῆς περιφερείας οὐ μόνον οὐ διαφωνεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
190 παντάπασιν ἐναντία· οὐδεὶς ἄρα γραμμῆ καὶ περιφερείας, λόγος
κοινός.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλὴν ἢ διάμετρος πρὸς τὴν περιφέρειαν,
ἔχει λόγον, ἄρρητον.

L 38^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἐγὼ ἢ λογίζομαί σοι καὶ ῥητὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι.
195 Ἐπιλαβοῦ τοίνυν τῶν λεγομένων· Νεῖλος μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀκοινώνητον

KLPV

186-188. ὅσα-ταῦτά] Arist., *Topica* 152a.34-37

181. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 182. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 183. τα L ἢ 188. δῆλον ὅτι] δηλονότι KPV ἢ 189. τῆς] deest KPV ἢ 190-191. λόγος κοινός] κοινός λόγος per sscr. β' et α' V ἢ 190. οὐδεὶς L ἢ 192-193. Κυδώνης-ἄρρητον] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 195. μὲν bis acc. L

εἶναι γραμμὴν τῇ περιφερείᾳ, ὁ δ' Ἀρχιμήδης, τὴν διάμετρον,
κοινωνεῖν τῆς περιφερείας· σκεπτέον οὖν, κὰν μὲν τῇ γραμμῇ
ταὐτὸν ἢ διάμετρος ἦ, φησὶν Ἀρχιμήδης ἐναντία τῷ Νείλῳ τότε· εἰ
δὲ μὴ ταὐτὸν ἢ διάμετρος τῇ γραμμῇ, οὐ τῷ Νείλῳ ψηφίζῃ τὰ
200 ἐναντία· οὔτε σύ, οὔτ' ἄλλος. Ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐλέσθαι σε δυοῖν
θάτερον· καὶ ἢ ταὐτὸν εἰπεῖν γραμμὴν τε καὶ διάμετρον, ἢ ἕτερον·
ἀλλ' ἴσα μὲν ἀλλήλοις, οὐδαμῶς ἂν εἴποις· σχῆμα γὰρ ἢ διάμετρος
ἔχει, καὶ πέρατα, ὧν ἐφαπτομένη φαντάζεται, γραμμὴ δέ,
οὐδέτερον· καὶ ἢ μὲν διάμετρος, ἔστιν ἐνεργεῖα γραμμῆ, ἢ δὲ
205 γραμμῆ, δυνάμει διάμετρος, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖα· οὐκ ἄρα ταὐτόν.
Οὐκοῦν, ἕτερον ἢ διάμετρος τῇ γραμμῇ, καὶ μακρὰν ὁ Νεῖλος τῆς
ἐν αὐτῷ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἐνστάσεως· διό, καὶ καλῶς ποιῶν, ἀρχὴν
ἔλεγες ἄρρητον αὐτῶν εἶναι λόγον· ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῖς ῥητοῖς,
ἐφαρμόζεις τὰ ἄρρητα! Ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, σοφὸν
210 αἰτιᾶσθαι παρὰ τὸ δέον· ἔλεγες δὲ αὐτά, καὶ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων μὲν,

KLPV

210-211. τῶν-εὐρεθέντων] vide supra, [3] 138-139

200-208. Ἀνάγκη-λόγον] schemata in marg. et scr. περιφέρεια διάμετρος γραμμῆ KL:
schemata in marg. et scr. π<εριφέρεια> <διάμετρος> illeg. <γραμμῆ> illeg. V: deest P ||
201. γραμμὴν τε L || 202. ἂν bis acc. L || 203. φαντάζεται] θαυμάζεται KPV || 205.
δυνάμει L || 208-210. ἀεὶ-δέον] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. KL || 210. μὲν bis acc. L

L 38^v

οὐπω δὲ εὐρεθέντων. ἴσθι οὖν, ὡς ὦν ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν ἢ εὐρεσις τῶν
μαθηματικῶν ἄδηλος, οὐδὲ ῥαδία ἂν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς γένοιτο· ἢ βραχὺς
γὰρ ὁ λοιπός, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χρόνος· εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ κοινωνεῖ
διάμετρος τῇ γραμμῇ, οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων, ὃ μὴ τοιοῦτον, τί μείζον
215 εἰς ἀντίθεσιν ἀλόγου καὶ λογικοῦ; Ἀλλ' ἢ ζῶα, πρὸς ἀλληλα
κοινωνεῖ ἄλλ' ἀπρεπὲς ἐν αὐτῷ λύειν, τὸν τῆς ἐναντιότητος
λόγον· οὐδὲν οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον, εἰ γραμμῇ περιφέρειαν, ὡς φησι
Νεῖλος, ἀκοινωνήτον εἶναι, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ κοινωνεῖν κατὰ σέ.
Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτό μοι ἀποκρίνου· διατί Νείλου, κὰν τῷδε τῷ
220 συλλογισμῷ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐννέα προβαλλομένου, ὀλίγοις
αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς αὐτῷ μάχεσθαι;
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁ βούλομαι, καὶ ποιῶ· λέγε συλλογισμόν, ἄλλον.

KLPV

211. τουνὺν KLV ἢ 212. ἐξῆς P ἢ 213. τι] τοι K ἢ 214. τι] τὸ P ἢ 217. οὐδὲν L ἢ 219. τοῦτό
μοι] τοῦτο μοι codd. ἢ 221. αὐτὸς L ἢ 222. Κυδώνης-ἄλλον] signa in marg. K

[4] Συλλογισμὸς τρίτος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ὁ Πατήρ, πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν ἀναφέρεται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα· τὸ μὲν, πατρότητι, τὸ δέ, πνοῇ· αὐτὰ δέ, πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, ὁ μὲν, υἰότητα, ὁ δὲ ἐκπορεύσει· ἀλλ' ἡ πατρότης καὶ ἡ πνοή, ἓν ἐστὶ πρόσωπον. Ἐν ἄρα, καὶ ἡ υἰότης, καὶ ἡ ἐκπόρευσις, εἰ μὴ τις
5 ἀντίθεσις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἢ· ἔστι δέ, ἡ αἰτία.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάγκης πρόσχημα ἦν, τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς, ἐνταῦθα δέ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο· οἶεται δὲ ὅμως συνάγειν, μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν υἰότητα καὶ τὴν προβολήν, διακρίνειν τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡ πατρότης, καὶ ἡ
10 πνοή, δύο ποιῆ πρόσωπα· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἡξίου, μὴ δύνασθαι ||
L 39^r τὰ θεολογικά, τῶν μαθηματικῶν διακρίνεσθαι, ὅτι Ἰερόθεος, ἢ Διονύσιος, καὶ μαθηματικός, καὶ θεολόγος ἐκάτερος.

KLPV

[4] 1-5. Ὁ-αἰτία] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 286.5-24 || 6-12. Ἐν-ἐκάτερος] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 286.26-34 || 6. τῷ-αὐτοῦ] vide supra, Syllogismus Secundus [3] 1-4

[4] 1-5. Ὁ-αἰτία] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 37, p. 144.1-7 || 6-12. Ἐν-ἐκάτερος] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 37, pp. 144.8-145.17

[4] 1-5. Ὁ-αἰτία] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3613

[4] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-αἰτία] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 1. Θωμᾶς] illeg. V || <συλλογισμὸς> γ' in marg. KL: illeg. V || 2. δὲ bis acc. L || μὲν bis acc. L || 3. δὲ bis acc. L || ἐν L || 4. τις post cor. (ex τη?) L || 6-12. Νεῖλος-ἐκάτερος] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 6. in marg. inf. ἐν μ<έν> P || 10. ἂν bis acc. L || 11. τὰ-διακρίνεσθαι] deest K

[4.1] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁ δέ, πρὸς ἔπος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνεται· Διονύσιον δέ, καὶ Ἱεροθέον εἰπὼν, μαθηματικὰ τέ τινα καὶ θεολογικὰ προσθείς,
 15 καὶ δείξας ἑκάτερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ θεολόγον, καὶ μαθηματικόν, οἶεται τὸν λόγον ἐλέγχειν· ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ὁ Θωμᾶς λέγει. Τὸ δ' ὅμοιον συμβαίνει, καὶ ἐφ' οὗ νῦν οὗτος λέγει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ θεολογία, καὶ ἡ μαθηματικὴ, ἐνοῦσαι τῷ Ἱεροθέῳ, ἢ τῷ Διονυσίῳ, οὐ διαιροῦσι τούτων ἑκάτερον εἰς δύο ἀνθρώπους, οὕτω, καὶ εἰ
 20 τινα ἔσχεν ὁ ἕτερος μαθητὴν, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστημῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκεῖνος διηρέθη εἰς δύο ὑποκείμενα ἀνθρώπων· ἀλλ' ἦν ἂν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπος ἀμφοτέρως ἔχων τὰς ἐπιστήμας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῦ ὁ μαθητὴς μᾶλλον ἢ ἦττον διεκρίνετο, κατὰ τὴν προσωπικὴν διάκρισιν. Οὕτω τοίνυν,
 25 εἰ με δεῖ τοῦμὸν εἰπεῖν, ἔλαθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, δι' ὧν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀντειπεῖν, μᾶλλον συνειπὼν, τῷ τοῦ Θωμᾶ λόγῳ, ἢ ἐλέγξας αὐτόν. Προσπαραγράφει δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐλέγχους, οὓς δι' εὐτέλειαν, εἰς εὐθύνας ἄγειν παρέλκον.

KLPV

13-16. Ὁ-ἐλέγχειν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.7-9 || 16-28. Τὸ-παρέλκον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.11-15

13-28. Κυδώνης-παρέλκον] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 13. Κυδώνης] κυ<δώνης> V || δέ bis acc. L || μὲν bis acc. L || 14. μαθηματικά || 16. post ἀλλ' sscr. οὐχ cum signum sub. lin. P || 18. ἐνοῦσαι] ἐνοῦσα K || 19. τούτων] τοῦτον D || post ἑκάτερον sscr. εἰς cum signum sub. lin. P || 21. ἂν bis acc. L || ὁ] deest K || 23. ἂν bis acc. L || 25. ἀνὴρ KPV || 28. παρελκον P

L 39^v ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅρα; Σοὶ μᾶλλον, τὰ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀληθῶς
 30 ἔπεται, ὡς πολλοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων βουλευομένῳ συνηγορεῖν, καὶ
 δικαίως· τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν σοὶ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων, ὁμοίαν ἀνάγκη
 γίνεσθαι, πέρατι ὕβρις γὰρ ἐκάτερον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅπερ, οὐ
 σοφῶ μόνον, οἷος αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πόρῳ σοφίας, ἥκιστα
 πρέπον· σὺ δὲ χαίρεις, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, αὐτοῖς· εἶτα, καὶ
 35 διαβάλλεις, ἄλλον, ὡς αὐτός, βουλευόμενον· καὶ ἀγνοοῦντα μὲν,
 ἃ λέγει, οὐ κατανοοῦντα δέ, καὶ τὸν αὐτῷ γε διαλεγόμενον· καὶ
 ταυτὰ φθέγγεσθαι τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ Θωμᾷ.
 Ἔτι, μηδὲ τὸν σκοπὸν εἶναι τοῦ διαλεγόμενου, ὃν οὗτος τὴν
 ἔνστασιν ἀπαιτεῖ· διό, σὺ μᾶλλον, καὶ Θωμᾷ, καὶ Νείλῳ, καὶ
 40 σαυτῷ μαχόμενος ἅμα εἶ, τοῖς ἴσοις ψηφιζόμενος ἄνισα, καὶ ζητῶν
 αὐτοῖς ἴσον, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον· ὅμως, ἢ ἀντίκειται, ἢ συμφωνεῖ Θωμᾷ
 Νείλος ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἐπεὶ, ἀδύνατον ἐκάτερα, ἀληθεύειν ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ νοήματι, ἅμα· σὺ οὖν, δυοῖν ἐλοῦ θάτερον· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ
 πρῶτον ἐρεῖς ἀληθές, ὡς ἀντίκειται, ψεῦδος ἀνάγκη τό, «συμφωνεῖ»
 45 εἰ δὲ τὸ ὕστερον ἀληθές, ψεῦδος τὸ πρῶτον. Ἀλλὰ σὺ, τοῖς αὐτοῖς

KLPV

29. Χρυσολωρᾶς] illeg. V || post ὄρα sign. interrogationis KPV || ἀπάτην L || 31. ἀνάγκην P || 33. αὐτός KPV || 36. αὐτόν P || 37. ταῦτα KPV || 44-45. ἀνάγκη-ψεῦδος] deest K

- τὸν αὐτὸν ἐφαρμόζεις, καὶ συνηγορεῖν καὶ ἀντιλέγειν ὁμολογεῖς
τῷ Θωμᾷ, ἃ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστί· καὶ τοῦτον, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
L 40^r ὑβρίζεις, ὅπερ οὐ δίκαιον. Ἐὰ δὲ καὶ φῆς ἄτοπα, Θωμᾶν αἰτιῶ,
πάντων αἴτιον ὄντα· καὶ σαυτὸν ἴσως ἐν ὑστέρω, τοῖς ἐκείνου
50 παραβαλλόμενον· ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος, οὐδενὸς ὅλως αἴτιος.
[4.2] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἢ φωνὴ τοῦ γεννᾶν καὶ προβάλλειν, οὐχ
ἰκανὴ πρὸς διάκρισιν, Υἱοῦ τε καὶ Πνεύματος.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σοὶ καὶ Θωμᾷ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμᾶς
πείθεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον;
55 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη, τοῖς πάλαι· πλήν, οὐκ ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ τε καὶ
Θωμᾶς μόνοι, ἀλλὰ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἴσως.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πᾶσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν ἀρμόσειε λόγος.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτους ἢ φωνὴ πείθει.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀρεσκέτωσαν οὖν, τῷ κύκλῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν
60 ἀγίων, ἢ μᾶλλον, ὁ κύκλος αὐτοῖς ἐκείνων, μηδενὸς ἄλλου δεόμενος

KLPV

51-52. Ἐμοὶ-Πνεύματος] cf. Dem. Syd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.1: τοῦτο γὰρ κωλύειν τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ προβάλλειν πρόσωπα διακρίνειν

47. ἀμφοτέρων P || 48. ἄτοπον P || 51-52. Κυδώνης-Πνεύματος] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 55-56. Κυδώνης-ἴσως] signa in marg. KV || 56. μόνον P || 57. αὐτός L || 58. Κυδώνης-πέθει] sign. in marg. K || τούτοις K

εἰς διάκρισιν, τῶν θείων ἐκείνων προσώπων καὶ θαυμαστῶν· οὐ
 λόγων ἐπιστήμης ἐν ἀποδείξει, οὐ τὸ διότι· οὐ διαλεκτικῶν τινῶν,
 οὐ τῶν μοναδικῶν, οὐ τῶν φυσικῶν οὐδενὸς τῶν ὄντων. Καὶ
 μαρτυρεῖ Διονύσιος, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς θεολογίας φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, τῇ πηγῇ,
 65 τὰ θεῖα πρόσωπα διακρίνεσθαι· ἔτι, *μόνη πηγαία θεότητος, ὁ*
Πατήρ καὶ μετ' αὐτόν, ἕτερος· ὡς ὁ *Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ*
τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως·
 καὶ αὐτοῖς εὐθύς, πάντες ἔπονται· πλήν, ὑμεῖς μόνοι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως,
 ἐπτὰ γενομένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι συλλογισμῷ Νείλω τῶν
 L 40^v 70 ἐπιχειρημάτων, ἐνὶ καὶ μόνῳ σὺ πο-||λεμεῖς, παρακαλυψάμενος,
 τ' ἄλλα, ὧν ἐγὼ ἐνὸς μνημονεύσας καὶ μόνου, παύσομαι· εἴ τις
 θοῖτο, υἰότητα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἐκπόρευσιν, καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν
 πατρότητα, καὶ τελευταῖον πνοήν, οὐκ ἐξελέγχει σαφῶς, τὸ σὸν
 ἀξίωμα, καὶ Θωμᾶ; Σὺ δ' ἐκὼν αὐτῶν οὐ μνημονεύειν ἐθέλεις,
 75 ἀλλ' ἐνὸς μόνου· καὶ τούτου, μετὰ πολλῆς ὕβρεως, καὶ τύφων ἐν
 τῷ μακαρίῳ Νείλω· ὅπερ, ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, χαλεπόν.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ταῦτα μὲν, ἑατέον. Ἀκούομεν δέ, συλλογισμὸν ἕτερον.

KLPV

64-65. τῇ-διακρίνεσθαι] cf. Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 2, § 5, p. 128.8-13 || 65-66. μόνη-
 πατήρ] Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 5, p. 128.11-12: Μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου
 θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ; cf. *ibid.*, 7, p. 132.1: πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ || 66-67. ὡς-ὑπάρξεως]
 Ps.-Justin. Mart., *Exp. fid.*, p. 32.7-8

64-67. τῇ-ὑπάρξεως] signa in marg. KLV || 69. ἐπτὰ K || 71. τ' ἄλλα LP || 73. ἐξελέγχει]
 ἐξέγχει P || 74. post θωμᾶ sign. interrogationis codd. || 77. Κυδώνης-ἕτερον] signa in
 marg. K: illeg. V || 77. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L

[5] Συλλογισμὸς τέταρτος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Τὰ εἰς ἓν τι κοινὸν συνιόντα, εἰ πρὸς ἄλληλα διακρίνονται, ἀνάγκη, διαφοραῖς καθ' αὐτάς, καὶ μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς διακρίνεσθαι οἷον, ἄνθρωπος, ἵππος· ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὄντα, τῇ καθ' αὐτὸ αἰτία

5 διακριθήσεται, οἷον, τῇ αἰτία.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Κοινὸν μὲν Υἱῶ καὶ Πνεύματι, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀληθές· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἵππου διαίρεσις ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος δεῖ, **πόθεν ἔχει τοῦτο λαβών;**

Ἐπειτα, καὶ ἡ διαίρεσις εἰς τὰ ζῶα, οὐκ ἐν ἅπασιν ἀληθής· **αὐτίκα,**
10 **κριὸς καὶ τράγος, εἰς ἓν τι κοινὸν ἔρχεται τὸ ζῶον.**

Ἐτι, Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας, ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωνᾶ, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διακρίνονται μὲν· ποῦ δὲ ἡ καθ' αὐτὸ διαφορὰ;

[5.1] **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐκ παντὸς βουλόμενος ἀντειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δόξη πάντη λόγου κεχωρισθαι τὴν ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῶ, χρήσιμον αὐτῶ,
L 41^r 15 **πάλιν εὐρίσκει τὸν κριὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν τράγον. Καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ πάνυ πρόδηλον εἶναι τῶν ζῶων τούτων διαφορὰν, ἀναιρεῖν οἶεται τὸν καθόλου λόγον.**

KLPV

[5] 1-5. Τὰ-αἰτία] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 290.6-21 || 6-12. Κοινὸν-διαφορὰ] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 290.23-292.18 || 13-17. Ἐκ-λόγον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.24-26

[5] 1-5. Τὰ-αἰτία] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 38, p. 147.1-6 || 6-12. Κοινὸν-διαφορὰ] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 38, pp. 147.7-148.20 || 11. Ἀνδρέας] Παῦλος codd. (laps. cal.); Ἀνδρέας apud Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 290.15-16; cf. Ioh. 1:40-42. Vide infra, [5.1] 35, 45 et 50

[5] 1-5. Τὰ-αἰτία] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3614

[5] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-αἰτία] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || <συλλογισμὸς> δ' in marg. L || 3. συμβεβηκὸς] συμβεβός P || 6-12. Νεῖλος-διαφορὰ] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 10. τὸ deest P || 13. Κυδώνης] om. KPV || 16. ἀναιρεῖ KPV || οἶεται] om. KPV

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅρας; Ὑβρεις πρὸ τῶν ἐνστάσεων ἅπαντα.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ δ' ὅπερ φθάσας εἶπον, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐρῶ· ὅτι, οὐ
20 διὰ τὴν διαφορὰν ἐπ' ἐνίων ἄδηλον ἡμῖν εἶναι, δεῖ καὶ τοὺς
προδήλους τῶν λόγων ἀναιρεῖν· ἀλλὰ ζητεῖν αὐτήν, καὶ ἴσως,
εὐρήσει τις.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλήν, ἐρῶ καὶ γὰρ πάλιν, ἃ καὶ
πρότερον εἶπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄτοπον ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὸν καθόλου
25 λόγον διὰ τοῦ μέρους τὴν ἄγνοιαν, οὕτως οὐδὲν αὐθις ἔλαττον
διαφορὰν εἰπεῖν, οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ἐνδέχεται. Δέδεικται οὖν ἡμῖν
αὐτὰ πρότερον, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἄλλως γάρ, πάσης διαφορᾶς ἀναιρουμένης, εἰς ταῦτόν,
ἤξει τὰ πράγματα.

30 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν εἰς χεῖρον ἀνάγκη, φέρεσθαι πάντα,
οἷς, οὐ προσῆκον αὐτῆς κειμένης.

KLPV

19-22. Ἐγὼ-τις] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.26-27 || 28-29. Ἄλλως-πράγματα] Dem. Cyd.,
Defensio, f. 119^v.27

19-21. οὐ-ἀναιρεῖν] vide supra, [2.2] 184-187 et 193-197 || 24-25. ἄτοπον-ἄγνοιαν] vide
supra, [2.2] 198-199

18. post ὁράς sign. interrogationis KP V || 19-22. Κυδώνης-τις] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V
|| 20. ἐπενίων L || 22. εὐρήσει τις] εὐρήσει τις LV: εὐρήσει τις KP || 27. αὐτὰ] αὐτὸ P ||
28-29. Κυδώνης-πράγματα] signa in marg. KLV

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ νῦν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ τετραπόδου γένος ἀναγαγόντες,
ἢ, εἴ τι ἄλλο προσεχέστερον, κάκεινο ταῖς καθ' αὐτὸ διαιρούσαις
τοῦτο διαφοραῖς διελόντες, εὐρήσομεν, καὶ οἷς, τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα
35 διακρινούμεν· καὶ τὸν Ἀνδρέαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον, τῷ λογικῷ,
καθὼς φησι, κοινωνοῦντας, ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν,
ἀλλήλοις διακρινούμεν.

L 41^v

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἴδου ἢ καὶ πάλιν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀποπειρᾷ· χεῖροσι
γὰρ τῶν διακρίσεων ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ, τοῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ
40 συλλογισμῷ φαινομένοις ἐνέτυχες· ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὸν κριὸν καὶ τὸν
τράγον ἀνεπισκέπτως ἄγριον ἡμέρω, καὶ μαλακῷ τὸ σκληρόν, καὶ
τὸ πώγωνα φύειν, καὶ ψιλὸν εἶναι, διακρίνειν ἐβουλεύου
γενναίως· ἅ, καὶ δέδεικται τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, μὴ καλῶς γε διακεκρίσθαι.
Ἐνταῦθα δέ, οὐδὲ τοῦτο· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν
45 τετραπόδων ἀναγαγόν, διακρίεις, Πέτρον δὲ καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, τῷ
λογικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ παχὺ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα προσίεσαι
διακρίνειν· ὅ, τῶν προτέρων οὐ μόνον ἐστὶν ἀτοπώτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ

KLPV

32-37. εἰς-διακρινούμεν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.28-30

39-43. vide supra, [2.1], [2.2] et [2.3]

32-37. Κυδώνης-διακρινούμεν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 35. τὸν²] τόν L ἢ 42.
πώγωνα] πώνωνα P ἢ 43. διακεκρίσθαι] διακεκρίσται L ἢ 44. μὲν bis acc. L

γελοῖον· οὔτε γὰρ τὴν παροῦσαν διάκρισιν ὀρῶμεν ἐναντίαν, τῷ
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φερομένῳ γένει· κριὸς γὰρ καὶ τράγος, ἐκάτερον
 50 ἄλογον, καὶ οὐσία, καὶ ζῶον, καὶ ἔμψυχον· ὁμοίως, Ἀνδρέας καὶ
 Πέτρος, ἐκάτερος λογικός· καὶ οὐσία, καὶ ζῶον· ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, οὐ τὴν
 διαφορὰν αὐτὴν ἔλεγε τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν καθ' αὐτό· ἀλλὰ δηλον,
 ὡς τὴν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ βοός, ἢ λογικοῦ καὶ ἀλόγου, ἢ ἐμψύχου καὶ
 ἀψύχου, ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων, αὐτοῖς ὁμοίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν τῇ θέσει τοῦ
 55 Θωμᾶ κεῖται· ἄ, σὺ μὲν ἐκὼν παρατρέχεις, εἰσάγεις δέ, τὰ βραχὺ τι
 L 42^r πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφέροντα· καὶ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸ διακρίνειν βουλευῆ
 διαφορᾶ, οἷς, οὐδὲν κοινόν καὶ Θωμᾶ· διό, τὰ σὰ τῆς διακρίσεως
 δόγματα, συμφωνεῖ μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις, ἢ ὅλως ἐναντιοῦται· εἶδει γὰρ
 καὶ μόνον αὐτὰ διακρίνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον, οἷς, οὐ καθ' αὐτὰ πέφυκεν
 60 ἡ διάκρισις· τὸ δὲ τετράπουν αὐτῶν οὐ μακρὰν ὀλίγον. Ὅθεν,
 ἀπορῶ τοιοῦτον ὄντα σε, τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντα· ἄ, σοὶ μὲν
 ἀσύμφωνα, ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν, οὐκ ἐναντία. Ἐγὼ μὲν ὅσον ἐμὲ εἰδέναι,
 οἶμαί σε ψηφίζεσθαι ταῦθ' ἡμῖν, οὐχ ὅτι σοὶ δοκεῖ δίκαια, ἀλλ'
 ἀποπειρᾶσθαι καὶ μόνον, ὅπερ, οὐ δίκαιον.

KLPV

49. γένους KPV ἢ 55. βραχὺ τι] βραχύτητι P ἢ 57. οὐδὲν dittographia P ἢ κοινόν L ἢ 62.
 ἀσύμφωνα] ἀσύμφορα P: post cor. ἀσύμφορα (ex ἀσύμφωνα?) V ἢ 63. οἶμαί σε] οἶμαι σε
 codd.

65 [5.2] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ προβάλλειν καὶ δημιουργεῖν, οὐκ
εἰς τὸν Πατέρα, ὥσπερ εἰς κοινὸν γένος συνίασι· καὶ πάλιν, τὸ
Πατρός, καὶ Υἱοῦ γένος οἶεσθαι τὸν Θεόν, λίαν ἐστὶν <ἀν>επίσκεπτον.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· πλήν, ἀνάθες τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ
διδασκάλῳ σοι καὶ σαυτῶ· τῷ μὲν, ὡς πεπονημένῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ
70 θέσιν, ἄτοπον· σοὶ δέ, ὡς ἐπιλαθομένῳ τῶν σῶν.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἔχω ῥαδίως αὐτῶν μεμνησθαι, ὧν, ἐπελαθόμην ἐμῶν.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐν οἷς νομοθετῶν ἔλεγες· τὰ εἰς ἓν τι κοινὸν
συνιόντα, ὥσπερ εἰς γένος ἀνάγεται· γνώριμος ἢ φωνή σοι καὶ
δήλη· διό, σαυτὸν αἰτιῶ μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμᾶς, δικαίως τοῖς
75 ἀτόποις καὶ συνηγορεῖν καὶ θαρρεῖν βουλευόμενον· εἴθισται γάρ
σοι πρὸ τῶν ἢ ἄλλων αὐτά· καὶ μέμφεσθαι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν οἷς
διαλέγη· καὶ παραλογίζεσθαι δέ, καὶ καταψηφίζεσθαι τελευταῖον.
Ἀλλ' ὅμως, κὰν τούτῳ πάλιν ἐρῶ· διατί Νεῖλος ἐν τῷ παρόντι
συλλογισμῷ, ἐνὶ καὶ δεκάτῳ χρῆται προβλήμασι, σὺ δέ, ὀλίγοις
80 τοῦ Νείλου πάνυ τοι καταχρῆ;
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ βέλτιον. Ἰθι τοίνυν, εἰπέ συλλογισμὸν
ἕτερον.

L 42^v

KLPV

65-66. τὸ-συνίασι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.30-31; cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 292.21-23 ἢ
66-67. τὸ-ἀνεπίσκεπτον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 119^v.34-35 ἢ 72-73. τὰ-γένος] Dem. Cyd.,
Defensio, f. 120^r.4

65-67. Κυδώνης-ἐπίσκεπτον] signa in marg. L: illeg V ἢ Κυδώνης-λίαν] signa in marg. K
ἢ 65. Κυδώνης] illeg. V ἢ post τὸ scr. et enc. μὲν V ἢ post καὶ¹ scr. τὸ P ἢ 66. εἰς] εἰς τι D ἢ
67. ἀνεπίσκεπτον D] ἐπίσκεπτον codd. ἢ 69. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ KPV ἢ 71.
Κυδώνης-ἐμῶν] sign. in marg. K ἢ ἐμῶν] ἡμῶν KPV ἢ 75. εἴθισται post cor. (ex ἡθισται)
L ἢ 77. διαλέγει K ἢ 78. διατί] διὰ τί L ἢ 81-82. Κυδώνης-ἕτερον] signa in marg. KV ἢ
<συλλογισμός> ε' in marg. K

[6] Συλλογισμὸς πέμπτος <περὶ θείας διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ἡ γέννησις καὶ ἡ προβολή, προόδοι διαφέρουσαι αἶ, ἢ, τῇ ἀρχῇ, ὡς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος ζώων, ἢ, τῶ ὑποκειμένῳ, ὡς ἵππου ἢ τούτου γένεσις, ἢ ἐκείνου· τοῖς δὲ ὄροις, ὡς ἡ τοῦ ἵππου διαφορά, τῆς τοῦ βοός. Ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἄρα προόδος,
5 οὐ διαφέρει τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἶη.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ· Περὶ μὲν Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, ἀληθῆς, ἢ ἐλάττων, ἢ δὲ μείζων, ψευδῆς· ἐν τοῖς οὖσι δέ, τὸ ἀνάπαλιν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀρχόμενος τῆς ἀνασκευῆς, τὸ μὲν διαφόρους εἶναι τὰς τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος προόδους, ἐλάττονα οὖσαν πρότασιν,
10 συγχωρεῖ καὶ αὐτός· περὶ δὲ τῆς μείζονος ἐρωτᾷ, πόθεν, ταύτην λαβὼν ὁ Θωμᾶς εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσήνεγκε; Καὶ ὡς μῆτε παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, μῆτε παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκάλων ἀκούσαντα, ἄρπαγα καλεῖ, καὶ κακοῦργον· ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην παρενείραντα, τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

KLPV

[6] 1-5. Ἡ-εἶη] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 294.19-296.37 || 6-7. Περὶ-ἀνάπαλιν] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 298.13-28, 302.28-304.5 || 8-14. Ἀρχόμενος-Πνεύματος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 120^r.11-14; cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 298.13-28

[6] 1-5. Ἡ-εἶη] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 39, p. 150.1-7 || 6-7. Περὶ-ἀνάπαλιν] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 39, p. 151.18-23

[6] 1-5. Ἡ-εἶη] cf. Thom. Aquin., *SCG IV*, 24, num. 3615

[6] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-εἶη] <συλλογισμὸς> ε' in marg. LV || signa in marg. KLV || 1. Θωμᾶς] in ras. θω[μᾶς] V || 3. γένεσις] γέννησις P || 6-7. Νείλος-ἀνάπαλιν] signa in marg. KLV || 7. οὖσι P || 8-14. Κυδώνης-Πνεύματος] signa in marg. L: illeg. V || Κυδώνης-διδασκαλίᾳ] signa in marg. K || 8. Κυδώνης] [κυδ(ώ)ν(ης)] illeg. V || ἀνασκευῆς] κατασκευῆς KPV || 10. αὐτός KPV || ἐρωτᾷ P || 11. λαβὼν K

- L 43^r 15 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Καὶ ἀληθεύει· εἶτε ἢ γὰρ ἐλάττωνος εἶτε μείζονος
 ψευδομένης προτάσεως, ἀδύνατον εἶναι συλλογισμὸν τέλειον· καὶ
 τοῦτο, δῆλον παντί· σὺ δέ, τίτι τὸ παρὸν ἀνεσκεύασας χρώμενος;
 Λόγοις ἀγίων, ἢ, καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτῆς; Πάντως, οὐδέτερον
 εἴποις ἄν· ἀλλὰ τοῖς δυσὶ μὲν, ἢ καὶ τούτων ἐνί, πάντας πείθεσθαι
 20 ἀναγκαῖον· σὲ μόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκτὸς τῆς φύσεως ὄντα, βλέπομεν
 αὐτοῖς οὐ πειθόμενον· Νείλου δὲ καὶ μόνου, μάλα κατηγοροῦντα,
 ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἀνασκευάζοντος, οὐ καλῶς· ὥσπερ ἡ λύσις
 ἦν, ἢ κατηγορία· τὸ δέ, παντὶ ἄν εἴη ῥάδιον, βουλομένῳ
 μέμφεσθαι τοῖς δὲ σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, χαλεπόν. Οὐκοῦν, εἰπέ
 25 τῶν ὕβρεων τὰ λοιπά, ἄ, Νεῖλος μὲν, οὐδαμῶς ἀκούει, σὺ δέ, καὶ μετὰ
 σοῦ γε, Θεός.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τοιούτοις δὴ τισι, σεμνολογεῖται· καὶ ζῆλον
 ἐπιδείκνυται θαυμαστόν, τὸ εἰωθὸς κἀνταῦθα ποιῶν· ὅταν
 ἀπολογίας ὅπως οὖν δοκούσης τι λέγειν, οὐκ εὐπορῆ, ἐπὶ τὸ
 30 κρύφιον καὶ ἀπόρητον τῆς θεότητος καταφεύγων, καὶ φάσκων

KLPV

27-58. Καὶ-ἐνδείκνυσθαι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 120^r.14-27

19. ἄν bis acc. L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 20. ἐκτός L ἢ 23. ἄν bis acc. L ἢ 25. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 27-58. Κυδώνης-ἐνδείκνυσθαι] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 28. κἀνταῦθα] κἀν ταῦτα L

μὴ δεῖν περὶ Θεοῦ τολμᾶν ἐννοεῖν τί, ἢ φθέγγεσθαι πέρα τοῦ
 δέοντος, ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ γενόμενος εὐσεβής, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῇ
 παρὰ καιρὸν εὐλαβείᾳ συγγέων· ἐπεὶ, ἵχνους γέ τινος ἀνασκευῆς
 λαμβανόμενος, καὶ τὴν τῶν χελιδόνων λαλιὰν παρελαύνει· τὰ μὲν,
 L 43^v 35 ἢ παραλογιζόμενος, τὰ δέ, σοφίζόμενος, τὰ δέ, ψευδόμενος
 περιφανῶς· καὶ κατὰ τῶν δήλων, ἀναισχυντῶν· ἔστι δ' ὅτε, καὶ
 μετ' ἀδείας νομοθετῶν, οἷον, ἔστι καὶ τὸ παρόν· ποίου γάρ, οὐκ
 αὐθαδέστερον νόμου, ἐπιτάττειν, μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τὴν
 τῶν θείων γνῶσιν ἀνάγεσθαι, μηδ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐνδείξεις ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα
 40 κομίζειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, μηδὲ ὀκνεῖν ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ Θωμᾶ ταύτη
 χρωμένῳ πρὸς Θεὸν τῇ ἀνόδῳ; Καὶ ὡς ἔοικε ταῦτα λέγων, σαφῶς
 τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τὴν κτίσιν ἄλλοτριῶι, μηδεμίαν παντελῶς πρὸς
 ἐκεῖνον καταλιμπάνων τοῖς κτίσμασιν ὁμοιότητα —καίτοι παντὸς
 τεχνίτου, τὸ ἐν τῆς αὐτῷ τέχνης εἶδος βουλομένου τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασι,
 45 καθόσον δυνατὸν ἐντιθέναί—, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὸ περὶ

KLPV

34. χελιδόνων λαλιὰν] cf. Aeschylum, *Agamemnon* 1050-1051

31. ἐνοεῖν P ἢ 34. χελιδόνων L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 35. δὲ¹ bis acc. L ἢ δὲ² bis acc. L ἢ 37. ποίου] ποῖον P ἢ 38. μη L ἢ τὴν] deest K ἢ 39. μηδ' μη δ' LP: μη δ' KV ἢ 40. διατοῦτο KLV ἢ 44. τῆς] τοῖς P

Θεοῦ τί λέγειν, ἢ ἐννοεῖν, παντελῶς ἀναιρεῖσθαι οὐ, φύσει οἱ
 ἄνθρωποι πάντες ὀρέγονται, τῆς θείας εἰκόνας, καθ' ἣν
 γεγόνασιν, ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἐπειγούσης. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ
 ἄτοπα τῇ δόξῃ ταύτῃ ἀκολουθεῖ, τῇ, μὴ διὰ τῶν κτισμάτων, ὅσον
 50 ἐφικτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀνάγεσθαι συγχωρούση
 καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀξιοῖ, περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν τί λέγειν, αὐτὸς
 πρῶτος, σιγάτω· τοὺς ἄλλους τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματι
 σωφρονίζων· καὶ ἡμεῖς, χάριν αὐτῷ τῆς σιγῆς ταύτης εἰσόμεθα·
 L 44^r εἰκαιολογίας τοσαύτης, ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάττοντι· εἰ δ' ἢ αὐτὸς οὕτως
 55 ἀκαθέκτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸ θεολογεῖν, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων
 καὶ ἀνομοιοτάτων τῷ Θεῷ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεολογίαν ὑφαίνειν, δίκαιος
 ἂν εἴη καὶ Θωμᾶ συγγνώμην δίδοναι, πειρωμένῳ διὰ τῆς φύσεως,
 τὰ περὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν ταύτης ἐνδείκνυσθαι.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ λίαν θαυμάζω, τί ἂν σοι περὶ τῶν
 60 εἰρημένων εἴποιμι, καὶ τί ἂν αὐτὰ καλοῖμεν· ἐπιχειρήματα, ἢ λύσεις;

KLPV

47-48. θείας-γεγόνασιν] cf. Gen. 1:26

50. ἀνάγεσθαι L ἢ post cor. συγχωρούση (ex συγχωροῦσι) L ἢ 54. εἰκαιολογίας D] δικαιολογίας codd. ἢ 56. αὐτοῦ KPV ἢ 57. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ δίδοναι συγγνώμην KPV ἢ 60. ἂν bis acc. L

Δοκεῖ μοι, τούτων, οὐδέτερον ἀληθές· ὕβρις γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ μόνη
 πρὸς ὄν γὰρ ἦν δίκαιον λόγοις ἀγίων ἐνίστασθαι, ἢ συλλογισμοῖς,
 ἢ καὶ πιθανοῖς μόνοις, σοὶ τούτων ἐμέλησεν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ψιλῆς
 καὶ μόνης κατηγορίας, δι' αὐτῆς οἰομένῳ τὸν μακάριον ἐξελέγξαι
 65 Νεῖλον· καὶ ὄν ἀρτίως σοφὸν καὶ ἀρετῇ χρώμενον ὡμολόγεις, νῦν,
 παντοίαις πλύνεις ταῖς ὕβρεσι. Περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι
 χρεῶν, ἵνα μὴ σοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιπέσωμεν· καὶ οἷς ἀγανακτοῦμεν,
 αὐτοὺς παραβάλλωμεν· μικρὸν δὲ καὶ μόνον εἰπόντες, παυσόμεθα.
 Ἐρεῖς, ἀνεπισκέπτως Νεῖλον ἀντιλέγειν Θωμᾶ· σὺ δέ, σαυτὸν
 70 ἐπιτηδᾶν, οἶει Νεῖλω δικάιως. Σκεπτέον οὖν· ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος, ἐννέα
 τῶν προβλημάτων ψηφίζει Θωμᾶ, ὧν, ἕκαστον, θαυμαστόν· σὺ δέ,
 κατὰ Νείλου, πόσας τῶν ἐνστάσεων ἐτοιμασάμενος εἶ, τῷ ||
 L 44^v παρόντι συλλογισμῷ; Πάντως, ἐρεῖς, οὐδεμίαν, ἢ, μίαν ἴσως, καὶ
 μόνην, οὐκ οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ δοκοῦσαν· ἢ δ' ἐστίν, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ὁ
 75 Νεῖλος τῷ Θωμᾶ τὰς ἐνστάσεις λογιζεται. Τὸ δέ, οὐ λύσις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον,

KLPV

63-64. καὶ ψιλῆς KPV || 67. χρεῶν post cor. (ex χρεῶν) P || 68. αὐτοὺς KPV ||
 παραβάλλωμεν KPV || 74. ἢ δ' ἐστίν] ἢ δ' ἐστίν L: ἢ δ' ἐστίν K: ἢ δ' ἐστίν PV

ἀναίρεσις διαλέγεσθαι βουλευομένω καὶ οὐδὲ σοφοῖς δρόμος· εἷς
γὰρ καὶ μόνος ἐφάνη πάλαι τοῦτο ποιῶν, ἀναιρῶν ἅπαντα, καὶ
μηδὲν εἰπεῖν ἕτερον ἐν αὐτοῖς βουλευόμενος, ὅς, καὶ κακίζεται· σὺ
οὔν, ἐκείνῳ, νῦν ἔοικας· ἀναιρεῖς γὰρ τινὰ τοῦ Νείλου· πλήν, οὐ
80 σὺν ἐπιστήμῃ. Τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ὅτι σοὶ πολλὴ μὲν ἡ προθυμία, ὀλίγη δὲ
κατ' ἐκείνου δύναμις πέφυκε· καὶ σὺ μὲν, τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ὡς
ἀπιθάνων τῷ Νείλῳ καταφρονεῖς, ὡς ἐρεῖς, τὸ δέ, οὐκ ἔστιν. Ἐπεὶ
λαβὼν τὸ βραχύτατον ἀντιλογίας, πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους τοὺς
ἀγῶνας εἰσάγεις, τῶν δέ, βραχὺ καὶ μόνον ἀπτόμενος, παύη· καὶ
85 τοῦτο, ἔστι σοὶ τὸ πλέον κατηγορία, ἄλλαις ἐξ ἄλλων ἤδη
χρωμένῳ κατηγορίαις, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐδόλως, οὐδένα
λόγον πεποιημένῳ· ἅ, τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη σιγῇ, αἰδῶ, τῇ πρὸς σὲ
χρωμένους. Ὁ δὲ καὶ φῆς, ἀκαθέκτως περὶ τὴν θεολογίαν ἐκείνον
ἔχειν συλλογισμοῖς χρώμενον, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον. Ὅρα γὰρ, πότε, καὶ
90 πρὸς τίνας, καὶ πῶς, αὐτῷ χρῆται· πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ μετρίως, καὶ τὸν
καιρὸν τοῦ πολέμου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ σοὶ δίκαιον ἔδοξε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἄψασθαι καὶ τῆς
μακαρίας Παρθένου, ἐν τούτῳ, σιγᾶν ἡμᾶς, οὐ χρεῶν. ἥ

KLPV

82. ἐρεῖς post cor. (ex ἐρεῖς) V ἥ 84. δὲ bis acc. L ἥ 92. ἄψασθαι K

[6.1] <Περὶ τῆς παρθενίας τῆς Θεοτόκου>

- L 45^r **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Τὴν ἁγίαν ἐγὼ Παρθένον; Ἴη μὴδὲν ἴσον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ ἦ, τὰ χερουβὶμ ὑπερβέβηκε; Μὴ γένοιτο!
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄκων ἦψω, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγων καὶ ἦ, συνηγορεῖν ἐθέλων ἴσως τῷ κακῷ διδασκάλῳ σοι, ἦ, καὶ τῶν
- 5 ἡμετέρων, οὐδὲν ἔαν ἐθέλων ἀνεπηρέαστον. Λέγε δ' οὖν ὅμως, ὅσα σοι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δοκεῖ.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τὴν μακαρίαν Μαρίαν, παρθένον τε εἶναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μητέρα, οὐδὲν τῷ λόγῳ λυμáινεται ὁ γὰρ τῆς παρθενίας λόγος, τῷ τῆς μητρὸς, οὐκ ἀντίκειται καθ' αὐτόν· ἀλλ'
- 10 ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀντικεῖσθαι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀδύνατον τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· οὐ διὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀντίθεσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν, ὥσπερ, καὶ ἡ μετὰ τὴν στέρησιν, ἕξις, τῇ μὲν φύσει, ἀδύνατος, μείζονι δὲ δυνάμει, οὐκ ἀδύνατον. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, τῷ τῆς παρθενίας λόγῳ, οὐχ ὁ τῆς μητρὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς
- 15 ἔστιν ἀντικείμενος, οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς ἀδύνατον, τὴν παρθένον, εἶναι

KLPV

[6.1] 7-25. Ἀλλὰ-ἀντικείμενοι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 121^v.22-31

[6.1] 2. τὰ-ὑπερβέβηκε] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 25, a. 6 arg. 4: Beata etiam virgo Maria est super omnes choros Angelorum exaltata

[6.1] 1-2. Κυδώνης-γένειτο] signa in marg. KV || 1. post παρθένον sign. interrogationis L || μ[ηδ]έν in ras. L || 2. post ὑπερβέβηκε sign. interrogationis codd. || 5. ἔαν K || 7-29. Κυδώνης-φιλόσοφον] signa in marg. KLV || 7. Μαρίαν] deest KPV || 8. τὸν αὐτόν] ταυτὸ KPV: ταυτὸν D || λυμáιν[εται] in ras. L: λυμένεται K || 9. καθ' αὐτόν L || 12. στέρησις L || 13. δὲ bis acc. L || ἀδύνατος KPV || 15. ἔστιν P

καὶ μητέρα, τῆς θείας δυνάμεως τοῦτο ποιούσης, ἢ, μηδὲν
ἀδύνατον. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν,
καὶ τὸ μηδέτερον τῶν γονέων ἀρκεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέκνου
γέννησιν, ἀδύνατον δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀντίθεσιν περιέχει. Ὡς εἴ γε ἀπλῶς
20 ὁ τόκος τῆ παρθενία, ἀντέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν,
L 45^v οὐδ' ἂν ἢ τὰ κατὰ λόγον καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀντικείμενα, δυνατὸν ἦν,
ποιῆσαι τὸν Θεὸν συνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ, οὐδὲ τό, τὴν αὐτὴν κατὰ
ταῦτόν εἶναι παρθένον, καὶ ἐφθαρμένην, οὐδὲ μητέρα, καὶ ἐξ
ἀρχῆς, ἀεὶ ἄτεκνον· ὁ γὰρ Θεός, πάντα μὲν ἀπλῶς δύναται, πλήν,
25 ὧν, οἱ λόγοι, ἀντιφατικῶς εἰσὶν ἀντικείμενοι. Καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς δέ, ὁ
αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ προσώπῳ, Θεός, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ
ταῦτόν, τῇ φύσει, οὐ γὰρ ἡ φύσει Θεός, ταύτῃ καὶ ἄνθρωπος·
οὐκ ἄρα, ὡς φησι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Θωμᾶ τραχὺ καὶ ἄγροικον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν προσηγές, καὶ φιλόσοφον.

KLPV

25-29. Καὶ-φιλόσοφον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 121^v.32-33 ἢ 28. τραχὺ-ἄγροικον] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 310.13

25. οἱ-ἀντικείμενοι] cf. Arist., *De Interpretatione* 17b.16-18

20. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 21. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ κατὰ λόγον] καταλόγου P ἢ 22-23. καταταυτόν L ἢ 24. ἄτεκνον D] τέκνον codd. ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 26-27. καταταυτόν L ἢ 27. ἦ] ἢ L ἢ 28. ἄγροικον L

30 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Κρεῖττόν σοι τοῦ παρόντος ἀφίστασθαι διηγήματος·
 ἐγὼ γάρ, τῆς μακαρίας Παρθένου τὸν λόγον ᾧμην ἄπτεσθαι
 μόνης, ὁ δέ, καὶ Θεοῦ· ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ τάναντία νομίζω τοῖς
 λεγομένοις, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐλέγξω, τῷ δυνατῷ τρόπῳ· καὶ ὄν σὺ
 φῆς **προσηνῆ τε καὶ λίαν φιλόσοφον**, οὐ μόνον τολμηρός τε καὶ
 35 ἀφιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ καὶ γελοῖος, τῷ γε νοῦν ἔχοντι· τολμηρὰ γὰρ τὰ
 σά, καὶ δεινὰ πάνυ, κὰν ἀξιώματά σοι δοκῆ· τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ τῆς
 ἀληθείας, ἦκιστα φίλα· γεννᾶ δέ, τρία· ὦν, τὸ μὲν, ἄτοπον, καὶ
 τολμηρὸν μόνον, τὸ δέ, τολμηρότερόν τε καὶ ἀτοπώτερον· τὸ δὲ
 τελευταῖον, ἀπορῶ, τί ἂν καλέσαιομι; Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τῶν δύο χειρὸν·
 40 τὸ γὰρ Θεὸν οὐ δύνασθαι τάναντία ποιεῖν ἐφ' ἐνὶ συνδραμεῖν,
 ἀπορῶ, τίνα μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολήν, ἀπολέλοιπε. Καὶ Παῦλος μὲν ὁ
 μεγαλοφωνότατος, ἐν, ἔλεγε μόνον, ἀδύνατον τῷ Θεῷ, τὸ ἑαυτὸν
 L 46^r ἢ ἀρνεῖσθαι· καὶ σοὶ νῦν, ἄλλην ἀδυναμίαν ἐξεγένετο λέγειν, Θεῷ,
 τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἐφαρμόζειν ἀλλήλοις οὐ δύνασθαι,
 45 μείζονος Παύλου χάριτος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐντυχόντι.

KLPV

34. προσηνῆ-φιλόσοφον] vide supra, [6.1] 29

41-43. καὶ-ἀρνεῖσθαι] cf. 2 Tim. 2:13

30. Κρεῖττόν σοι] κρεῖττον σοι codd. || 32. δὲ¹ bis acc. L || 36. κὰν K || δοκεῖ P || 37. μὲν
 bis acc. L || 38. δὲ¹ bis acc. L || 39. ἀπορῶ L || ἂν bis acc. L || 41. ἀπορῶ L ||
 ἀπολέλοιπε] ἀπολέλιπε codd. || μὲν bis acc. L || 45. μείζονι L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ποῦ ταῦτα ἔγωγε;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅπου Θεὸν ἔλεγες πάντα δύνασθαι, πλήν, ὧν οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶν ἀντικείμενοι. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν αὐτὰ βουλόμενος ἔπεσθαι τῷ Φιλοσόφῳ, λαλεῖς· Θεὸς δέ, πολὺ τούτου πάντως πρεσβύτερος,
50 καὶ μηδενὶ παραβάλλεσθαι δυνάμενος πώποτε· καὶ Θεῷ μὲν ἅπαντας, αὐτὸν δὲ προσῆκον, ἀκολουθεῖν οὐδενί. Ἄλλω δὲ τούτων ἄλλως ἄλλων οἰομένων τῷ τρόπῳ, κίνδυνος, οὐ μικρός, οὐδὲ τὸ κακὸν μέτριον· ὅθεν, δεικτέον, οὐδὲν ἀληθές σοι τῶν λεγομένων. Οὐ ψυχρῷ μὲν θερμόν, ὑγρῷ δὲ τὸ ξηρὸν ἐναντίον;

55 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ναί.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πῶς οὖν ἀρμόζεται, γῆ μὲν, οὖση ψυχρᾶ τὸ πῦρ, ἀέρι δέ, ὕδωρ; Τὰ μὲν, διὰ τῶν μέσων, τὰ δέ, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄκρων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἄκρως ἀντικείμενα, οὕτως ἀρρήτῳ λόγῳ, πάλιν ἄκραν αὐτοῖς συμφωνίαν ὀρῶμεν.

60 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλ' ἀπλᾶ ταῦτα.

KLPV

47-48. Θεὸν-ἀντικείμενοι] vide supra, [6.1] 24-25

54. ψυχρῷ-ἐναντίον] cf. Arist., *De generatione et corruptione* 329b.17-31

47. ὅπου] ποῦ KPV || post ποῦ sign. interrogationis KPV || 53. ἀληθές σοι L || 54. post ἐναντίον sign. interrogationis codd. || 55. ναὶ bis acc. L || 56. μὲν bis acc. L || ψυχρὰ L || 57. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L

L 46^v **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Εἰ τοῖς μονοειδέσιν αὐτά, πολλῶ ἂν μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔποιτο συνθέτοις, ζώοις ἅπασιν· ὧν ἕκαστον, σῶμα καὶ τὰς ὅλας ἀλλήλαις ἀντικειμένας ἐν ὅλῳ δυνάμεις ἀρρήτῳ φωνῇ συνέχει καὶ φαίνεται τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις σαφῶς ἢ συνιστάμενον·

65 ὁμοίως, καὶ λογικοῦ πέρι καὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῷ ζῳῷ εἶναι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μὲν, οὐκ ἐνεργεῖα, δυνάμει δὲ μόνον ἐν τῷ ζῳῷ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀληθεύεις. Ἀλλὰ τί ἂν εἴποις, ἐπιθυμίας πέρι καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἅ, καὶ ἄλογα; Καὶ τῷ λογιστικῷ σύνεστιν αἰεὶ, ἢ μᾶλλον

70 εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον, αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἅμα, περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν ψυχὴν, ἀλλήλοις μαχόμενα. Ὁ δ' αὐτός, καὶ θνητῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτων, ὁρᾶται λόγος, σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς· οὕτω γε τὰναντία

75 ὡς ἀσθενέσιν ἀδυναμία· καίτοι γε, τῶν νῦν ὀρωμένων, καὶ μαχομένων ἀλλήλοις, εἰς ἀρμονίαν ἃ πρότερον ἐποίει Θεὸς ἀτεχνῶς, ἰσχυρότερα, καὶ θαυμασιώτερα.

KLPV

73. ἀρρηκτόν-δεσμόν] Phil. Jud., *Plant.*, §§ 9-10, p. 135

61. Χρυσολωρᾶς] illeg. V ἢ 63. ὅλας] ἄλλας KPV ἢ 65. καὶ] deest K ἢ 66-67. Κυδώνης-ζῳῷ] sign. in marg. K ἢ 66. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 68. περὶ P ἢ 69. λογιστικῷ] scr. λογικῷ et sscr. στι V: λογιστικῶς K: λογικῷ P ἢ 71. θνητῶν post cor. θνητῶν (ex θνητὸν) L ἢ 75. post νῦν scr. et del. εἰρημέν(ων) et scr. ὀρωμέν(ων) V

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἔχω ταῦτα εἰδέναι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τῶν οὐκ ὄντων, ὁμοιότητος, ἢ, ἰσότητος, ἢ
80 ποιότητος ἐρεῖς πώποτε;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ μένουν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλὰ τί σφίσι πρέπει;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Δῆλον, ὡς ἄποιόν τε καὶ ἄνισον, καὶ ἀνόμοιον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὅρα τοίνυν, ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν μὴ ὄντων, ὄντα ποιεῖ
85 Θεός, οἷς, ἢ ποιότητος καὶ τὸ ἴσον, καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐνοραῖται ὁ τούτων ἢ
L 47^r ἄρα λόγος, ὑψηλότερος πολὺ, τῆς τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἐνώσεως. Τὸν
γοῦν τὰ μείζω δυνάμενον, τίς ἂν τοῦλαττον ἀδυνατεῖν εἴποι; Οὐκ
ἀληθές ἄρα, συνάπτειν ἀλλήλοις ἀντικείμενα κατὰ ταῦτόν, οὐ
δύνασθαι τὸν Θεόν. Οὐχ οὕτως σοι δοκεῖ;

90 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τοιγαροῦν, ἐρευνητέον ἐξῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μακαρία
Πανάγνω λόγους. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Φημί, τὸν τῆς παρθενίας λόγον, τῆς μητρὸς μὲν,
οὐδόλως, τῷ δὲ τῆς φθορᾶς ἀντικεῖσθαι δικαίως, καὶ μόνῳ λόγῳ.

KLPV

93-94. Φημί-λόγῳ] vide supra, [6.1] 13-16

84-85. ὡς-Θεός] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ad Simpl.*, p. 63.24-26; Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 17.1-2, p. 45

80. post πώποτε sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 87. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 89. post θ(εὸ)ν sign. interrogationis KV: post θ(εὸ)ν sign. interrogationis P ἢ ante οὐχ lac. et scr. sign. P ἢ οὕτω KPV ἢ post δοκεῖ sign. interrogationis KLV ἢ 91. ἐξῆς KP ἢ 93-94. Κυδώνης-λόγῳ] signa in marg. L ἢ 93. μὲν bis acc. L

95 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἀλλ' ἡ φθορά, τῆ γενέσει ἐστὶν ἐναντίον· παρθενία δὲ καὶ γένεσις, οὐ ταυτόν· οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἄρα, τῆ παρθενία φθορά. Ἔτι, ἡ γένεσις, κίνησις τίς ἐστὶν, ἡ παρθενία δέ, οὐ· οὐδὲ ἐναντία ἄρα.

Ἔτι, ἡ μὲν γένεσις, οὐκ ἄλλοιον, ἀλλ' ἄλλο, ἡ δὲ παρθενία, ποιεῖν
100 οἶδεν, ἄλλοιον· οὐκοῦν, οὐ ταυτόν· οὐδὲ ἐναντίον τῆ παρθενία φθορά. Εἰ δέ τινα φθορὰν ἄλλην ἐπινοεῖς, τί ἂν εἴη τῆ παρθενία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναντίον; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ λογιζομένη σοι φθορά.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ φθορὰ τῆ παρθενία, τί ἂν ἕτερον ἀντικείμενον εἴη;

L 47^v 105 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Εἰ μὲν οὖν εὐρεῖν ἀποροῦμεν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὃ λέγεις, ἔσται· πολλοῖς γὰρ τῶν ὄντων, οὐδαμῶς, ἐναντίον. Τέως, ἡ παρθενία, τῆ μὴ παρθενία μᾶλλον ἀντίκειται, ἢ τῆ φθορᾶ· ἢ ἀλλ' ὁμως, οὐκ ἀποτρέπομέν σε τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος· ἡ παρθενία τῆ φθορᾶ, ἔστω κατὰ σὲ ἐναντίον. Ἐπισκεπτέον οὖν
110 πᾶν, ὅτινι ἀντικείμενον αὐτῷ μόνον, ἢ, καὶ ἄ τούτῳ, καὶ οἷς αὐτῷ ἔπεται, πᾶσι μάχεται, ὡς ὁ Φιλόσοφος ἀξιοῖ.

KLPV

110-111. πᾶν-μάχεται] locum non invenit

95. γενέσει L || 96. γένεσις L || 97. γένεσις L || κίνησις τίς ἐστὶν K: κίνησις τίς ἐστὶν PV: κίνησις τίς ἐστὶν L || δὲ bis acc. L || 101. φθορᾶ K || 101-102. Εἰ-φθορᾶ] om. in textu et scr. in marg. P || 102. λογιζομένη σοι L || 103-104. Κυδώνης-εἴη] sign. in marg. K || 105-106. ἐξανάγκης KP || 110. ὅτινι L || αὐτῷ L: αὐτὸ KPV

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὅλοις δῆλον, ὡς ἐναντίον ἐστί.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σκόπει τοίνυν, ἄ, λέγεις· ὁμολογεῖς, ὡς ἡ παρθενία τῇ φθορᾷ καὶ μόνον ἀντίκειται;

115 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Οὕτως.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Χωρὶς δὲ φθορᾶς, τόκον γίνεσθαι δυνατὸν πώποτε;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀδύνατον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τῇ φθορᾷ ἄρα, τόκον ἔπεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλως εἴποι.

120 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὁ τόκος δὲ ταυτόν, ἢ ἕτερον τῷ μητρὸς λόγῳ; Ἀπόκριναί μοι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ταυτόν, ἀνάγκη, ὁμολογεῖν με· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν τὸ ἕτερον εἴη, ἀνάγκη ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον.

KLPV

114. post ἀντίκειται sign. interrogationis codd. || 116. post πώποτε sign. interrogationis codd. || 119. ἂν bis acc. L || ἄλλω P || 123-124. Κυδώνης-ἕτερον] signa in marg. K || 123. ἂν bis acc. L

125 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὁ μὲν τόκος ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ μητρὶ, ἡ δὲ
φθορὰ πάλιν ἔπεται τόκῳ, ὁ δὲ τῆς παρθενίας λόγος ἀντίκειται
κατὰ σὲ τῇ φθορᾷ, ὁμοίως ἄρα, καὶ τῷ μητρὸς ἀντίκειται λόγῳ,
ὥσπερ καὶ τῇ φθορᾷ· μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ ἰσχυρότερος <ὁ> λόγος τῆς
130 παρθενίας πρὸς τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τῆς μητρὸς, ἢ τῆς φθορᾶς· φθορᾶς
γὰρ ἀπάσης, ἐπὶ πλεον ὁ τόκος· ἔνθα γὰρ οὗτος, καὶ φθορὰ, τὸ δὲ
ἀνάπαλιν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐ δύναμαι ἀντιλέγειν, ἀληθῆ λέγοντι οὐδαμῶς.

L 48^r

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπερ ἔλεγες τάληθῆ ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις σοι
ψηφιζόμενος, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν τῷ προσώπῳ Θεὸς καὶ
135 ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ ταῦτόν τῇ φύσει, τὸν λόγον τῆς παρθενίας
καὶ τῆς μητρὸς οἰόμενος ἐν αὐτῷ λύειν, ἀνόμοιον παντελῶς, καὶ ὅτι
μὲν ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ προσώπῳ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, καὶ οὐ τῇ φύσει
ταυτόν, ἀληθέστατον· πλήν, αὐτοῦ μὲν, δύο φύσεις, ὑπόστασις δέ,
μόνη, μία· ὁ δὲ τῆς παρθενίας λόγος, πρὸς τῇ φθορᾷ, ἢ καὶ τῇ
140 μητρὶ, παντελῶς ἀνόμοιος· περὶ μίαν γὰρ καὶ μόνην ἐφαίνετο
φύσιν τῆς μακαρίας αὐτά.

KLPV

134-135. ὁ-φύσει] vide supra, [6.1] 25-27

130. ἐπιπλέον P ἢ 133. λεγομένοις σοι L ἢ 137. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 138. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L

Ἔτι, ἂν μὲν πρὸ αὐτῆς, ἢ καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν ἄλλην εὐρίσκεισθαι
 δυνατὸν ἦν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἂν τὸ σὸν ἀληθὲς ἐπιχείρημα ἦν· ἀλλὰ
 τίνα τὰ πρὸς αὐτήν; Ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας γεγέννηται· καὶ τοῦτο, μὲν
 145 ἔστι καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπόμενον· τριετῆς, ἐγένετο περὶ τὸν ναόν, καὶ τὴν
 ἐρημίαν ἀσπάζεται· τροφὴν οὐράνιον τρέφεται· ὄρᾱ τὸν ἄγγελον,
 ὡς εἶχε φύσεως, Γαβριήλ· συλλαμβάνει, δυνάμει Πνεύματος· ἔχει
 τὸ βρέφος, εὐθύς ἐν γαστρὶ τέλειον· ἐγέννα κατὰ καιρὸν, πόρρω
 πάντων ὠδίνων· ἐτήρει τὴν παρθενίαν, πρῶτον, καὶ ὕστερον· τὸν
 150 Γαβριήλ ὄρᾱ πάλιν, ὡς εἶχε φύσεως ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ· καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν
 αὐτῆς γε δεδοξασμένον· καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα,
 σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς· οὐχ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἅπαντα
 L 48^v ταῦτα; Οὐ μείζονα τῆς τῶν ἀντικειμένων ἢ δυνάμεως; Τί οὖν
 καινόν, εἰ καὶ ὁ τῆς παρθενίας λόγος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, συνέδραμεν
 155 αὐτῇ, μετέχων, ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως, ὃν, ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος, ὁ
 Θωμᾶς, καὶ σὺ ἅμα, τούτῳ συνηγορῶν, τῆς μακαρίας αὐτόν, ὡς
 ἀντικείμενον ἐδιώκετε Παρθένου, οὐ καλῶς γε περὶ τούτου
 πεποιημένοι;

KLPV

144. Ἐξ-γεγέννηται] cf. *Protev. Jac.* 7:11-8:12, 10:16-11:11 || 145-146. τριετῆς-τρέφεται] cf. *Protev. Jac.* 15:10-17:6 || 146-147. ὄρᾱ-Πνεύματος] cf. *Luc.* 1:26-38; *Protev. Jac.* 22:9-24:9, 30:1-4 || 148-149. ἐγέννα-ὠδίνων] cf. *Luc.* 2:6-7; *Protev. Jac.* 38:13-39:5 || 149. ἐτήρει-ὕστερον] cf. *Protev. Jac.* 39:11-40a:11

142. ἂν bis acc. L || 143. ἂν bis acc. L || το L || 144. τὰ] deest K || post αὐτὴν sign. interrogationis codd. || 147. γαβριήλ KV || 148. post κατὰ add. τὸν KPV || 150. υἱόν L || 153. post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis codd. || post δυνάμεως sign. interrogationis codd. || 157. ἐδιώκετε] ἔδωκετε P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁμολογῶ καὶ ταῦτα, δίκαια εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖα. Πλήν,
160 ὅσα μοι περὶ τοῦ προβολέως εἴρηται, σιγῇ τιμᾶς· ἀλλ’ οὐ δίκαιον.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τίνα ταῦτα;

[6.2] <Περὶ τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος>

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπειδὴ, οὔτε τῇ πατρότητι, οὔτε τῇ υἰότητι ἀντίκειται
ἡ προβολή, δύναται τὸ προβάλλειν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις Πατρὶ καὶ
Υἱῷ προσεῖναι, καὶ ἀμφοτέρους, εἶναι ἓνα προβολέα· καὶ ὅταν
λέγωμεν προβολέα, ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάτερον νοεῖν.

5 Καὶ πάλιν· εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προβολεῖ νοεῖται καὶ ὁ Υἱός —οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος
προβολεύς, μόνος ὁ Πατήρ, παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἀλλ’
εἷς, καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ἀμφω προβολεύς—, οὐδαμῶς ἄρα δύο πράγματα,
ὁ Πατήρ μόνος, καὶ ὁ προβολεύς, ὅς ἐστιν, ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τούτων, οὐδόλως ἐπελαθόμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκὼν ἐσιώπησα·
10 καὶ περιττὸν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν, ἀνασκευάζειν ἐκεῖνα, οἷς ὁ μακάριος
ἐνιστάμενος Νεῖλος, ὑπερφυῶς ἔλυσε, καὶ φανερῶς ἔδειξεν εἶναι, δύο,
καὶ αἴτια καὶ ἀρχάς, εἰ μόνον ὁ Υἱός λέγοιτο προβολεύς· καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ
L 49^r σιγῶ, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἐρεῖ. Ἐρευνήσωμεν οὐκοῦν, συλλογισμὸν ἕτερον.

KLPV

[6.1] 160. ὅσα-εἴρηται] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 121^v.37-121^v.17 || [6.2] 1-4. Ἐπειδὴ-νοεῖν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 121^v.5-7 || 5-8. Καὶ-Υἱός] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 121^v.10-12 || 11. Νεῖλος-ἔδειξεν] cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 306.15-310.5

[6.1] 159-160. Κυδώνης-δίκαιον] signa in marg. K || 161. ταῦτ<α> V || [6.2] 1-8. Κυδώνης-Υἱός] signa in marg. KL || 2. post δύναται sscr. τὸ V: deest KLP || 8. ὅς] ὁ P || 10. ἔδοξεν] ἐνδοξεν K || 10-11. μακάριος-Νεῖλος] νεῖλος ἐνιστάμενος per sscr. β' et α' V: ἐνιστάμενος ὁ μακάριος νεῖλος P || 13. συλλογισμὸν P

[7] Συλλογισμὸς ἕκτος <Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ἔτι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ λέγειν τὸ μὲν Πνεῦμα, ὡς ἀγάπην προϊέναι, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν ὡς λόγον, ἔπεται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ἢ γὰρ ἀγάπη, πρόεισιν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ μὴ δυνάμεθά τι ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ἐνδιαθέτω λόγῳ τοῦτο
5 συλλάβοιμεν.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Πόθεν ὑμῖν, νόησιν μὲν, τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησιν, ἀγάπην δέ, ἢ θέλησιν, τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος προβολὴν λέγειν; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεολόγοι, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώττης τὴν γέννησιν καὶ τὴν προβολήν, ἄρρητον φασί, καὶ ἀνέκφραστον· ὑμεῖς δέ, καὶ
10 εἰδέναι λέγετε αὐτήν, καὶ ἀγάπην, ἢ θέλησιν καλεῖτε.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐφεξῆς δέ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, θεώρημα, τίθησιν· ὡς καὶ τοῦτο, τῆς τοῦ Θωμᾶ διανοίας ὃν εὔρημα· καὶ τὸ εἰωθός, διασύρει μὲν, πρῶτον αὐτό, καὶ γέλωτα ἀποφαίνει ὡς
τι, νηπίας φρενὸς ὄν, διήγημα· ἔπειτα, καὶ κατηγορεῖ τούτου
15 πολλὰ ὡς ἀσεβοῦς, καὶ πολλαῖς αἰρέσεσι καὶ ἀτοπίασι ἐνεχομένου.

KLPV

[7] 1-5. Ἔτι-συλλάβοιμεν] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 310.15-18 || 6-10. Πόθεν-καλεῖτε] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 310.29-312.12 || 11-17. Ἐπειδὴ-συνηγορεῖν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 121^v.33-37

[7] 1-5. Ἔτι-συλλάβοιμεν] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 40, p. 153.1-6 || 6-10. Πόθεν-καλεῖτε] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 40, p. 153.7-13

[7] 1-5. Ἔτι-συλλάβοιμεν] cf. Thom. Aquin., *SCG IV*, 24, num. 3617; idem, *ST*, Ia, q. 37, 1-2

[7] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-συλλάβοιμεν] <συλλογισμὸς> στ' in marg. L: <συλλογισμὸς> ε' in marg. KV || signa in marg KLV || 4. τοῦτο] deest KPV || 6-10. Νείλος-καλεῖτε] signa in marg. KLV || 6. μὲν bis acc. L || 7. δὲ bis acc. L || 11-20. Κυδώνης-θεολογία] signa in marg. KLV || 13. μὲν bis acc. L || 14. διήγημα] διανόημα D || 15. ἐνεχομένου] ἀνεχομένου K

- Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν Θωμᾶς ἦν ὁ τοῦτο πρῶτος εὐρών, ἢ καὶ εἰπών, ἴσως
 ἂν ἐπειρώμην ἐκείνῳ συνηγορεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἕτερος
 ἦν, ὃν δ' οὖν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, Αὐγουστίνος ἐστὶν ὦ σοφώτατε, ὃν,
 αὐτὸς τολμᾶς, βλασφημίας διώκειν, οὗ, πολλὴ μὲν παρὰ πᾶσιν,
 L 49^v 20 ἢ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ, δόξα, μείζων δὲ ἢ θεολογία.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἰδού, πολλὰ μὲν ἔρεις· ὧν, τὰ μὲν, ὕβρεις Νείλω, τὰ
 δ' ἔπαινος, Αὐγουστίνῳ· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἀεὶ σοι ῥάδιον
 ψηφίζεσθαι Νείλω, καὶ νόμους ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκάτερον, ὃ τε
 ψόγος καὶ ἔπαινος πρὸς ἐκάτερον, τῇ ὑποθέσει, πάντως ἀνοίκειον.
 25 Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑγιὲς τὸ θεώρημα, ἔστω καὶ τοῦ Θωμᾶ· εἰ δ' ἀσθενὲς
 καὶ σαθρόν, τί προβάλλῃ τὸν Αὐγουστίνον, ἢ ἄλλον; Τὸ γὰρ
 κακόν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, ὅστις ἂν ὁ εἰπὼν εἶη· Θεῶ
 μόνῳ, πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἅμα, καὶ τῶν ἀγίων κύκλος ἀκολουθεῖ·
 οἷς, εἰ μὲν Αὐγουστίνος συνηγορεῖ, χάρις τούτων, αὐτῶ, εἰ δ'
 30 ἀντίκειται, εἰ μὲν διαβαλλόμενος, πόρρω πάσης αἰτίας· ὄντα δὲ

KLPV

17-18. ἐπει-ἦν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^r.1 ἢ 18-20. ὄν-θεολογία] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^r.4-5

18. Αὐγουστίνος ἐστίν] cf. Aug. Hipp., *De Trin.*, Lib. XV, xvii, pp. 501-506

16. πρῶτος] πρῶτως D ἢ 17. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 19. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 21. μὲν¹ bis acc. L ἢ μὲν² bis acc. L ἢ 23. νόμος L ἢ 26. προβάλλει L ἢ 27. ἂν¹ bis acc. L ἢ ἂν² bis acc. L ἢ 29. μὲν bis acc. L

φανερὸν, μᾶλλον ἂν τις εἰκότως, ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας αἰτιάσαιτο, σοφὸν ὄντα· τὸ μὲν, ὡς ἐρευνῆσαι, μὴ βουλευσάμενον τὰληθές, τὸ δέ, καὶ ὡς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενον. Διό, φροντίζειν ἀνάγκη σοι, τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

35 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Καὶ ἤδη λέγω, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, **τρὶς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, λόγος εἶναι, γέγραπται.**

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Λήθη σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξεγένετο· οὐ τρὶς γάρ, ἀλλὰ τετράκις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γέγραπται· εἰ γοῦν ἅ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκούεις αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς οὐ κατανοεῖς, πῶς ἂν, ἅ, μὴ φιλοτίμως εἶδες,
40 βέλτιον εἴποις;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Κοινὴ δὲ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐστὶ πίστις, τὸν Υἱόν, Λόγον εἶναι, κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ μεταφορικῶς τοῦτο ὀνομαζόμενον, ἢ ὡσπερ, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, ἀλλ' οὐσιωδῶς, καὶ κυρίως, καὶ ὑπεροχικῶς, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι Λόγον.

L 50^r

KLPV

35-36. Καὶ-γέγραπται] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.11-12 ἢ 41-43. Κοινὴ-πολλά] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.12-13 ἢ 43-44. ἀλλ'-Λόγον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.14-15

35-36. Καὶ-γέγραπται] cf. Ioh. 1:1-2, 14 ἢ 37-38. οὐ-γέγραπται] cf. Aroc. 19:13

32. ὄντα L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 33. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 35-36. Κυδώνης-γέγραπται] signa in marg. KL ἢ 37. ἐξ ἐγένετο post cor. (ex ἐξεγένετο) L ἢ 38. καθημέραν KPV ἢ 39. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 41-44. Κυδώνης-Λόγον] signa in marg. KL ἢ 44. καὶ] deest P

45 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Καὶ τοῦτό σοι πόρω τῆς ἀληθείας· τῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ
 Θεοῦ λεγομένων ἀπάντων, τὰ μὲν, τί, οὐκ ἔστι, τὰ δέ, σχέσιν, ἐν
 τοῖς διαστελλομένοις, σημαίνει καὶ τὰ μὲν, τῇ φύσει παρέπεται,
 τὰ δέ, πρὸς ἄλληλα τὴν σχέσιν ἔχει καὶ τὰ μὲν, ἔστιν ἐνεργείας,
 τὰ δέ, συμβολικά, ἄ, καὶ μεταφορικά, λέγεται. Ὡν ἀπάντων,
 50 οὐδέν ἔστιν ὅ, πρὸς ἄλληλα, δύναται σχέσιν ἔχειν· ἢ, Πατῆρ,
 Υἱός, Πνεῦμα· ἀγέννητον, γεννητόν, ἐκπορευτόν, ἀναίτιον, καὶ
 αἰτιατόν· αὐτὰ καὶ μόνον ἴσμεν, ὑμνούμενα τῷ χωρῷ τῶν ἀγίων
 ὡς σχετικά, ἄ, καὶ διακεκριμένα καλεῖται· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα, κοινὰ
 ληπτέον, ἐν πάσῃ θεότητι· καὶ ταυτῶς καὶ ἀπλῶς, καὶ ἀμερῶς καὶ
 55 ἠνωμένως. Διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τό, Θεός, καὶ τό, λόγος, τῇ Τριάδι, κοινά·
 καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἄρα πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, οὐκ εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος, τῶν ἐν σχέσει, καὶ πρὸς τι, καὶ
 ἀναγκαίως ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ τόν, οὗ ἔστι λόγος· ἄλλου δέ, οὐκ ἂν
 εἴη ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, πλήν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

KLPV

57-59. ΑΛΛ' -Θεοῦ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.18-19

45-55. τῶν-ἠνωμένως] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 9, pp. 31-32 || 56. καὶ-Θεόν] Ioh. 1:1 || 57-59. ΑΛΛ' ὁ-Θεοῦ] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Or. Cat.*, § 1, p. 11.8-12 || 57. πρὸς τι] vide supra, [1.3] 282

46. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L || 47. μὲν bis acc. L || 48. δὲ bis acc. L || μὲν bis acc. L || ἔστιν KPV || 49. δὲ bis acc. L || 52. αἰτιατόν KPV || χωρῷ P || 53. ὡς] ὡ L || διακεκριμένα L || 55. διαταῦτα KLV || 56. ἂν bis acc. L || 57-59. Κυδώνης-Θεοῦ] signa in marg. KLV || 58. ἔστι P || ἂν bis acc. L

- 60 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ Θεὸν τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς καλοῖτο Λόγος Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ Θεὸς κοινὴ δόξα Χριστιανοῖς, ὡς κοινὸν ὄνομα, τῇ μακαρίᾳ Τριάδι, ὁ Λόγος ἄρα κατὰ σέ, καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἂν εἴη λόγος· ἀλλ' ἄτοπον καὶ ἀδύνατον.
- L 50^v Εἶτα, κοινὸν ἔφαμεν καὶ τὸν Λόγον, ἢ ὅς, πόρρω ἂν πάντως τῶν
- 65 ἰδιαζόντων νομίζοιτο.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος, πρὸς νοῦν ἰδίως, ἀνάγεται.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Καὶ τίνος ἂν ἄλλου καλοῖτο λόγος, εἰ μὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴη; Λέγε.
- 70 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐδενός, ἢ τοῦ λέγοντος.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλ' ὁ θεολόγος φησὶ Γρηγόριος, ὦ, νοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ὄρμημα.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐ τῷ θεολόγῳ τοῦτο σκοπός, ὡς τὸν μὲν Θεόν, νοῦν, τὸν δὲ Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, λόγον καὶ νόησιν οἶεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι
- 75 γέννημα, καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀεὶ πρόεισιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ἡ δὲ νόησις, τῇ μὲν

KLPV

66. Ἀλλ'-ἀνάγεται] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.19-20

71-72. ὦ-ὄρμημα] Greg. Naz., *In S. Pascha* (Or. 45), § 30, PG 36, col. 664A

64. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 66. Κυδώνης-ἀνάγεται] signa in marg. KL: illeg V ἢ 68-69. Κυδώνης-Λέγει] sign. in marg. V ἢ 68. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 70. οὐδενός KPV ἢ 71-72. Κυδώνης-ὄρμημα] signa in marg. L

οὐσία φερομένη Θεοῦ, πρόσωπον ὁμοίως ἕκαστόν ἐστι νόησις· τῇ δ' ἐνεργείᾳ παραβαλλομένη, κοινή, τρισί.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα νομοθετῶν;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Μάξιμος, ὁ τὰ θεῖα μέγας, καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα· τὴν
80 θεολόγου φωνήν, ἣν σὺ προτείνεις, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐρμηνεύων.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ποῦ δὲ ταῦτα;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῆς θεολογίας τῶν αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίων, οὕτωςι λέγων. Ὡς ὁ Θεὸς, νοεῖ ἑαυτόν, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότα καὶ ἑαυτόν μὲν, ἀπὸ τῆς μακαρίας οὐσίας αὐτοῦ, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
85 γεγονότα, ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ· δι' ἧς καὶ ἐν ἧ, τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. Οὐκ ἄρα νοῦς ἰδιάζων ὄνομα τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐδὲ μόνη τῷ Υἱῷ, νόησις· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον, ἐπεὶ νοῦς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοιος τῇ νοήσει.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν, συμφωνῶ σοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἀπλότητα, τὸ αὐτὸ ὄντος τῆς αὐτοῦ νοήσεως τῇ οὐσίᾳ
90 αὐτοῦ, ἀναγκαίως, ὁ τῇ θεῖᾳ νοήσει προῖων λόγος, Υἱὸς ἐστι φύσει, ὡς

KLPV

88-91. ἐπί-γενόμενος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.26-27

89. ἄκραν ἀπλότητα] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 3, a. 7 co: manifestum est quod Deus nullo modo compositus est, sed est omnino simplex

83-85. ἑαυτόν-ἐποίησεν] Max. Conf., *Cap. de car.*, p. 152

80. θεολόγον P || ἣν L || 81. δὲ bis acc. L || 82. αὐτοῦ P || 83-85. Ὡς-ἐποίησεν] signa in marg. KLV || 84. μὲν bis acc. L || 85. αὐτοῦ] deest P || ἐν ἧ] ἐνὶ KPV || 87. ὅμοιος] ὁμοί(ως) P || 88-93. Κυδώνης-Θεός] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 88. μὲν bis acc. L || 89. ὄντος] οὔσης KPV || ante αὐτοῦ scr. αὐτῆς P

ἂν ἐξ ἢ αὐτῆς, τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐσίας γενόμενος· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐκεῖ,
οὐσία, καὶ νόησις. Τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη ἐν τοῖς θείοις ἴσον Θεῶ μὴ καὶ
αὐτὸ οὐσία, καὶ ὄν, καὶ Θεός;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τοῦτο μὲν, ἄντικρυς ἐστὶ τὸ ζητούμενον
95 ὑποτίθεσθαι, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ἐναντίον, εὐσεβείᾳ
παντάπασι τὸ γὰρ ταῦτόν εἶναι τῷ Θεῶ, πᾶν, ὃ περὶ αὐτὸν
εἴρηται, πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τῶν ἁγίων ἕτερον δέδεικται, καὶ
οὐδὲ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ σημαίνειν, τῶν ὀνομάτων οἶδεν οὐδέν· περὶ
οὗ νῦν ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν· ἄλλος γὰρ τῇ πραγματείᾳ
100 ταύτῃ σκοπός.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ τοῦναντίον δηλον, καὶ ἀφανῆ τὰ λεγόμενά σοι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἡμᾶς δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀμφιβάλλειν, ἴσθι, μὴ
δυνατόν, πώποτε, ἀλλὰ πεπεισμένους, ἐκ παντός εἶναι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς νοήσεως πρόοδος Λόγος καὶ
105 Υἱός, λείπεται τὴν ἑτέραν, ἡγουν τὴν τῆς ἀγάπης, εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου

KLPV

91-92. τὸ-νόησις] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 122^v.30 ἢ 92-93. Τί-Θεός] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 123^r.27-28 ἢ 104-108. Ἐπεὶ-ἀνάγκη] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 123^r.30-32

91-92. τὸ-νόησις] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 14, a. 4 co: Respondeo dicendum quod est necesse dicere quod intelligere Dei est eius substantia

91. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ γενόμενος] γεννώμενος D ἢ 92. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 94. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 98. σημένειν K ἢ 99. οὗ] scr. ὄν et post sscr. οὗ V ἢ 100. σκοπός KV ἢ 101. Κυδώνης-σοι] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V ἢ λεγόμενα σοι K ἢ 104-108. Κυδώνης-ἀνάγκη] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 104. δὲ ἐστὶν P ἢ 104-105. Λόγος καὶ Υἱός] λόγου (καὶ) υἱοῦ D ἢ 105. ἡγουν] ἥως K

Πνεύματος· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἶναι τὴν θεϊαν ἀγάπην, ἢ, ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλήλους ἀγαπῶσιν. Ἐπομένως δὲ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων λέγειν ἀνάγκη.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐδείχθη, μὴ εἶναι τῆς νοήσεως
110 πρόοδον τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Λόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν, τῆς πατρικῆς
ὑποστάσεως γέννημα, τὸν δὲ λόγον τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐδὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα
τὸ ἅγιον, ἄρ' ἀγάπη ἂν ἰδιαζόντως καλοῖτο· κοινὸν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο.
Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἀπλῶς καλοῦμεν οὕτω, καὶ Χριστὸς αὐτός,
L 51^v ἀγάπην ἑαυτὸν λέγει. Ἐπιπλέον, διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἂν εἴη σοι
115 τὸ συμπέρασμα, οὐδὲ τοῦ Πνεύματος αἴτιος ὁ Υἱός. Νείλω πολλὰ
καὶ περὶ τούτου κατὰ τοῦ Θωμᾶ φερομένου, καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐξ
χρωμένω, ἐν δυσὶ καὶ μόνοις αὐτὸς πολεμεῖς, τὰ εἰωθότα
κάνταῦθα πεποιημένος.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐξεστὶ μοι· πλήν, ἄκουε, συλλογισμὸν ἕτερον.

KLPV

106-107. καὶ-ἀγαπῶσιν] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 37, a. 2

113-114. Ἐπεὶ-λέγει] cf. 1 Ioh. 4:8: ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν

107. ἐπομένω P ἢ διαταῦτα codd. ἢ 108. ἀμφοτέρων P ἢ 110-111. ἀλλὰ-λόγον] om. *homoioteleuton* K ἢ 110. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 112. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 114. διαταῦτα codd. ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 117. πολεμῆς P ἢ 119. ἔξεστὶ μοι L

[8] Συλλογισμὸς ἑβδομος <Περὶ τάξεως ἐν τοῖς θείοις προσώποις>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ἐν τοῖς ἀύλοις, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μόνον ἐστίν, ἢ
διάκρισις τοῖς οὖν θείοις, μᾶλλον οὖσιν ἀύλοις, ἀδύνατον
ἄλλην εἶναι τάξιν, πλὴν τῆς αἰτίας· οὐκ ἄρα δύο πρόσωπα <ἐξ>
ἐνὸς προϊόντα, εἰ μὴ θάτερον αὐτῶν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου προῖει·

5 αἴτιος ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Εἶναι μὲν τάξιν ἐν τοῖς θείοις, καὶ πάλιν μὴ εἶναι, οὐκ
ἔστιν ἀρνεῖσθαι· καὶ τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσης, οὐκ ἔστι
τάξις, ταῖς δ' ὑποστάσεσι τρισὶν οὐσαις, καὶ πάνυ προσεῖναι
τάξιν φαμέν· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ, τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ πρόσωπα τὴν αὐτῶν

10 ιδιότητα ἀμιγῆ καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον πρὸς τὰ ἕτερα.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εὖ ποιῶν, τάξιν εἶναι μόλις καὶ οὗτος
συνεχώρησεν ἐν τοῖς θείοις, τούτου μὲν χάρις αὐτῶ· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν
Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τάξας, πρὸς ἀλλήλους δὲ
τούτους ἀτάκτους ἀφείς, ἐξ ἡμισείας τῷ Θεῷ, τὸ τῆς τάξεως

15 ἀπέδωκεν ἀγαθόν· διατὶ γάρ, τούτοις μὲν, πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τὴν
τοῦ αἰτίου δώσομεν τάξιν, αὐτοῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀλληλα, ἢ, οὐδεμίαν,
ἢ, ἀνομοίαν;

KLPV

[8] 1-5. Ἐν-ἄρα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 326.7-11 || 6-10. Εἶναι-ἕτερα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 326.13, 328.3-5 et 16-19 || 11-15. Ἐπει-ἀγαθόν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.4-7 || 15-17. διατὶ-ἀνομοίαν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.9-10

[8] 1-5. Ἐν-ἄρα] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 41, p. 156.1-6 || 6-10. Εἶναι-ἕτερα] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 41, pp. 156.7-157.16

[8] 1-5. Ἐν-ἄρα] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3618

[8] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-ἄρα] <συλλογισμὸς> ζ in marg. L || signa in marg. KLV || 1. ἀύλοις L || 6-10. Νείλος-ἕτερα] <συλλογισμὸς> ζ in marg. KV || signa in marg. KLV || 9. δὲ ἐστὶ P || αὐτῶν KP: αὐτῶν post cor. (ex αὐτῶν) V || 10. ἀμιγῆ L || 11-17. Κυδώνης-ἀνόμοιαν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 12. μὲν¹ bis acc. L || 15. μὲν bis acc. L || 16. δὲ bis acc. L

- L 52^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τούναντίον μάλλον, οἷς αὐτὸς λέγεις συμβαίνει τάξεις καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς θαυμαστὴ καὶ οἰκεία, τὸ ἀφ' ἑνὸς εἶναι ἢ εἰ
- 20 δέ τις αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς χαρίζοιτο, πολλὰ τὰ ἄτοπα ἔσται· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ Τριάδι περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὴν, ἀταξία· ἔπειτα, καὶ σύγχυσις ἂν οὐ μικρά, περὶ τὰ πρόσωπα νομισθεῖη· εἰ γὰρ τὰ δύο μὲν ἑνὸς αἷτια, τὸ δ' ὕστερον οὐδενός, ἄνισα πάντη καὶ ἄτακτα παντὶ δῆλον· καὶ
- 25 τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὸ προσώπων, οὐ μικρὸν ἔλαττον· ἢ δ' ἀτιμία τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκολουθεῖ· οὐ γὰρ τιμὴ καὶ αὐξήσις τοῖς ἐξ ὧν, ἢ τοῦ ἐξ ὧν, ἐλάττωσις καὶ ἀτιμία, ἀλλὰ δόξα καὶ τιμὴ τούτοις μάλλον, ἢ τούτου δόξα· τάξις ἄρα, τὸ τηρεῖν, ὡς φησι Νεῖλος, ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτοῦ ιδιότητα.
- 30 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλὰ τὸ λέγειν, τάξιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θείοις <προσώποις>, τὸ τηρεῖν ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτοῦ ιδιότητα, εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν ἐπαγωγῆς τοῦτο λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ὁμοιότητα εἴλκυσε, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπελάθετο τῶν λοιδοριῶν, αἷς πλύνει, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐσιν εὗρισκομένων πειρωμένους εἰκάζειν τὰ θεῖα.

KLPV

30-34. Ἀλλὰ-θεῖα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.10-12

28-29. τάξις-ιδιότητα] vide supra, [8] 9-10

21. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 22. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 23. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 24. οὐδ' ἑνός L ἢ 29. αὐτοῦ KPV ἢ 30-34. Κυδώνης-θεῖα] signa in marg. KL : illeg. V ἢ 31. αὐτοῦ KPV ἢ αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ D ἢ 33. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ ἐπελάθετο post cor. (ex ἐπελάθετο) L

- 35 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐὰ ταῦτα· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος, οὔτ' ἄλλος, τόδε
 τῆδε βουλόμενος εὐσεβεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα προβαίνειν
 εἰς ὁμοιότητα, τεκμηριώσαιο πάποτε.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπειτά γε, καὶ ψεῦδος, τάξεως αἴτιον εἶναι πρὸς
 ἄλληλα τοῖς πράγμασι, τό, τηρεῖν ἕκαστον τὴν αὐτοῦ ιδιότητα·
- L 52^v 40 πρὸς μὲν τὸ διαιερεῖν μόνον, μάλιστα ἱκανόν, τὸ μένειν ἕκαστον,
 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ιδιότητος· πρὸς δὲ τάξιν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα
 σχέσιν, παντά-ἴπασιν ἐναντίον· διὰ γὰρ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν
 τηρηθῆναι τὸ λογικόν, κύκλῳ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου ἴσον, τίς ἂν
 ἐπινοηθεῖη τάξις ἀνθρώπου καὶ κύκλου πρὸς ἄλληλα; Ὡστε, εἰ δεῖ
- 45 καὶ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τάξιν εἶναι, οὐ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα
 δεῖ μόνον λέγειν αὐτῶν — τοῦτο γὰρ, πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς
 ἄλληλα τετάχθαι σημαίνει—, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐν ἀλλήλοις τετάχθαι,
 ἄλλην δεῖ λέγειν, ἦν οὗτος μὲν ἐκὼν ἐσιώπησε, Θωμᾶς δ' ἂν
 εἶπε, μετὰ τοῦ Νύσσης, τὴν τοῦ αἰτίου, εἶναι καὶ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ·
- 50 ἄλλην γὰρ ἐν τοῖς θείοις οὐδ' ἐπινοεῖν δυνατόν.

KLPV

38-44. Ἐπειτά-ἄλληλα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.12-15 || 44-50. Ὡστε-δυνατόν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.20-22

48. οὗτος] scil. Nilus Cabasilas

49. μετὰ-αἰτιατοῦ] cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ad Abl.*, p. 56.1 ; suum, *Ad Graec.*, p. 25.6-8

35. ταῦτ<α> V || ἂν bis acc. L || 38-50. Κυδώνης-δυνατόν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 39. αὐτοῦ KPV || αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ D || 41. αὐτοῦ KPV || αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ D || 42. μὲν bis acc. L || post ἀν(θρώπ)ω sscr. μ(έν) V || 43. δὲ bis acc. L || ἂν bis acc. L || 48. μὲν bis acc. L || ἂν bis acc. L || 49. Νύσσης] νύσης codd.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σὺ μὲν ὑποθέμενος, ἂ μὴ τῷ Νείλω σκοπός, ἂ μὴ
 δέον περαίνεις, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατιθεῖς τῷ ἀνδρί, καὶ ταῦτα
 δυσχεραίνοντι πλεῖστα, εἰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα
 προβαίνειν ἐθέλοι, ᾧ, μέμφεται μᾶλλον, ἢ θαρρεῖ, ἐπόμενος δὲ
 55 τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰρημένους, στηρίζεται· σὲ δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν
 ἢ προθυμία λέγειν, οὐ μικρὸν ἄτοπον ἀναγκάζει, κύκλου καὶ
 λογικοῦ τὸ παράδειγμα πεποιημένον, καὶ τῷ ἐν ἀλλήλοις τῶν
 θείων προσώπων αἰτίῳ τῆς διακρίσεως ἐφαρμόζοντι, οἷς, κοινόν,
 οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον πώποτε· κύκλος γὰρ καὶ τὸ λογικόν, ἐναντία·
 60 οὐ μόνον ἄκρα διαφορᾶ πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφέροντα, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
 ἐμφυτεύεσθαι τῇ οὐσίᾳ δυνάμενα πώποτε. Τὰ δὲ θεῖα πρόσωπα,
 καὶ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναφορικὴν ἔχη, ἀλλ' ἄκρως τῇ οὐσίᾳ
 τούτων ἐνοῦται, καὶ ἀνόμοια τῷ λόγῳ, κύκλου καὶ λογικοῦ.
 Ἀναρμόστως σοι τοιγαροῦν εἴρηται ἀξίωμα τὸ παρόν.
 L 53^r 65 Ἦν δὲ καὶ διάκρισιν ὁμολογεῖς ἢ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Νύσσης ἀσφαλῆ

KLPV

62. ἄκρως K ἢ 65. Νύσσης] νύσης codd.

πεπονημένην ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, Νεῖλον δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐκόντα σιγᾶν, ἀληθεύεις· πλήν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπέλαβες τὴν σιωπὴν αὐτοῦ, ἦν, ἀλλ' ἄλλου, πολὺ μείζονος ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ μάλα φιλοτιμουμένου περὶ τὰ θεῖα, ποιεῖν ἱκανὴν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν διάκρισιν, ἣ, καγὼ καὶ
70 Νεῖλος, καὶ πᾶς τις ἂν ἄλλος ἐπόμενος, οὐχ ἁμάρτοι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τίς αὕτη, καὶ τίς ὁ λέγων;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Θεολόγων, ὁ Διονύσιος, ἐν οἷς φησι, *μόνη πηγαία, τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος, ὁ Πατήρ· καὶ πάλιν· τῆ πηγῆ καὶ τῷ αἰτίῳ, τὰ θεῖα πρόσωπα διακρίνεται· τοιούτου κανόνος πίστις ἢ τῶν*
75 *Χριστιανῶν ἔχεται, θεολόγων ἐπομένη κρατίστῳ, περὶ τούτων, ἄριστά γε φιλοσοφῆσαντι.*

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὁ δὲ ἀντιτίθῃσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ τις συγχωρήσειεν, **Υἱοῦ καὶ Πνεύματος, πρὸς ἄλληλα, αἰτίου καὶ αἰτιατοῦ τάξιν εἶναι, οὐκ ἀνάγκη λέγειν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα· ἀλλ' ἐνδέχασθαι**

KLPV

77-86. Ὁ-Πνεύματος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.24-28

73-74. τῆ-διακρίνεται] Dem. Chrys., *Dial.*, facs. 20, p. 160a

72-73. μόνη-Πατήρ] Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 5, p. 128.11-12: Μόνη δὲ πηγὴ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεότητος ὁ Πατήρ; cf. *ibid.*, 7, p. 132.1: πηγαία θεότης ὁ Πατήρ || 73-74. τῆ-διακρίνεται] locum non invenit in Ps.-Dionysius

68. αὐτῶν L || scr. αὐτῷ in marg. inf. P || 69. ἀναγκαῖαν L || 70. ἂν bis acc. L || ἐπόμενος K || 72-74. μόνη-διακρίνεται] signa in marg. codd. || 74. θεία L || 75. θεολόγω P || ἐπομένη K || 77-86. Κυδώνης-Πνεύματος] signa in marg. L || 77. Κυδώνης] deest V

80 καὶ τὸναντίον τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος λέγειν· καὶ οὕτως
τηρουμένης ἧς εἶπεν ὁ Θωμᾶς τάξεως, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὁ βούλεται
συμπεραίνεσθαι, οὐδαμῶς ἀναγκαῖον φησί· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ
τούτου ὄντος, ἔψεται, τὸ Πνεῦμα εἶναι Πατέρα, εἶπερ τὸν τοῦ
αἰτίου λόγον ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Υἱόν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἄτοπον λέγειν,
85 τὸν ἀξιοῦντα οὕτω νοεῖν τὴν τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ αἰτιατοῦ τάξιν
πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἶτα σε τοῦτο διέφυγεν, ὡς τὸ ἄτοπον ἐκατέρωθεν
ὅμοιον, κὰν ἐν διαφόροις γινώσκοιτο; Ὡς γὰρ εἰς τάξιν ἤκιστα
πρέπει Τριάδι, πατέρας δύο λέγειν ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἢ
L 53^v 90 ἔλαττον ἄτοπον, ἐνὸς προβλήματος ὄντος, δύο προβολεῖς εἶναι.
Τῶν δὲ τοιούτων ἀτόπων ἐκάτερον, ἀναγκαίως ἀκολουθεῖ, τῇ σῆ,
καὶ τῇ Θωμᾶ θέσει· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ δύο μεμφόμενοι, πῶς ἂν οὐχ
ὕγιαίνομεν ἐν τῇ πίστει;

KLPV

80. λεγειν P ἢ οὕτω KPV ἢ 81. οὐδὲν L ἢ 82. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 84. ἔξει L ἢ διατοῦτο codd. ἢ
88. post γινώσκοιτο sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 89. οὐδὲν L ἢ 90. ἔλαττον P ἢ 92. τῆ] τῷ
P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπειτα, τίς ἂν εἰ μὴ μαινόμενος, ὑπέλαβε τὸν Υἱὸν
95 ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἶναι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ; Εἰ γοῦν
δι' Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ λόγος τοῦ ἐκπορευτοῦ, πῶς ἂν
ὑπωπτεύθη αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, σαφῶς ὄν ἐξ ἐκείνου, καὶ δι'
ἐκείνου;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄδικον ἐστὶ τὸ ζητούμενον ὑποτίθεσθαι. Εἰ δέ τις οὐ
100 τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δεδειγμένον ἄγειν οἶδεν εἰς τὸναντίον
ἀεὶ, πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀδικώτερον, ἃ, λογίζη
νῦν ἡμῖν, οὐθ' ἀγίων, οὐτ' ἐπιστήμης χρῆσθαι βουλευόμενος τῷ
κανόνι· ἀλλ' ἡμῖν ἀρκετόν, ἢ τῶν ἀγίων φωνή· καὶ φανερόν ἐκ
παντός, ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ, δηλον,
105 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς αἴτιον· καὶ πολλή καὶ μεγάλη τούτων ἢ μαρτυρία· ἦν
ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λέγειν εἰς πλάτος, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. Καὶ τὸν μὲν
παρόντα συλλογισμὸν ὁ Νεῖλος, τετάρτῳ διέλυσεν ἐπιχειρήματι,
σὺ δὲ Νεῖλον, αἰτιᾶ, δύο.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτω βούλομαι· ἀκούωμεν δὲ συλλογισμὸν, ἕτερον.

KLPV

94-98. Ἐπειτά-ἐκείνου] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.28-30

94-98. Κυδώνης-ἐκείνου] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 94. ἂν bis acc. L || 95. ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος] scr. ἐκ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς per sscr. sign. in textu et add. ἐκ [τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς ?] in marg. V: ἐκ τοῦ πν(εύματο)ς τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς K || ὅπερ ἐστὶν KPV || 96. μὲν bis acc. L || 97. ὑποπτεύθη KLP: ὑποπτεύθη post cor. (ex ὑπωπτεύθη?) V || 99. Χρυσολωρᾶς] [χρυ]σ[ολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς)] illeg. V || 101. ἀδικώτερος KPV

[9] Συλλογισμὸς ὄγδοος <Περὶ τῶν ὑποστατικῶν ιδιωμάτων>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱός, τῆ φωνῆ ταύτη, οὐ τῆ ἐνότητι τῆς οὐσίας διακρίνονται· ὅπερ τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦτο, κοινόν ἐστι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ· τὸ ἀρχὴν ἄρα τοῦ Πνεύματος εἶναι, κοινόν ἐστι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ.

- L 54^r
- 5 **ΝΕΙΛΟΣ.** Τὸ εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, παρὰ τὸν τῆς πατρότητος καὶ ἢ υἰότητος λόγον, ἀληθές· τὸ δὲ μὴ διακρίνεσθαι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, κατ' ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ καθόσον οὗτος μὲν ἐστὶ Πατὴρ, ἐκεῖνος δὲ Υἱός, ψεῦδος. Ποῦ γὰρ θήσεις τὸ αἴτιον, καὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὰ πατρικὰ ιδιώματα;
- 10 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Δι' ὧν οὗτος κατασκευάζειν οἶεται τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὴν λέγουσαν τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ διακρίνεσθαι, μόνῃ τῆ πατρότητι, ἄλλω δὲ οὐδενί — πάντα γὰρ τὰ παρὰ ταύτην ἀμφοτέροις εἶναι κοινὰ φησιν ὁ Θωμᾶς—, ταῦτα, οὐδὲ ἀπολογίας ἄξια ὄντα, παραλιπεῖν βέλτιον· ταῦτα γὰρ, ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐξελλήλεκται, 15 μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντα.

KLPV

[9] 1-4. Ὁ-Υἱῷ] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 332.2-8 ἢ 5-9. Τὸ-ιδιώματα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 332.10-16 ἢ 10-15. Δι'-ἔχοντα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^r.31-33

[9] 1-4. Ὁ-Υἱῷ] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 42, p. 159.1-5 ἢ 5-9. Τὸ-ιδιώματα] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 42, p. 159.7-14

[9] 1-4. Ὁ-Υἱῷ] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3619

[9] 1-4. Θωμᾶς-Υἱῷ] <συλλογισμὸς> ἠ' in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ signa in marg KL: illeg. V ἢ Θωμᾶς] illeg. V ἢ 1. post καὶ sscr. ὁ K ἢ 2. κοινόν ἐστὶ L ἢ 5-9. Νεῖλος-ιδιώματα] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 6. ἀληθές KPV ἢ 7. κατάλλο L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 10-15. Κυδώνης-ἔχοντα] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 10. κατασκευάζειν] ἀνασκευάζειν D ἢ 14. ἐξελλήλεκται post cor. (ex ἐξελλήλεκται) V: ἐξελλήλεκται L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Κρεῖττον ἦν σοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιγᾶν, ἢ τὰ μὴ
καθήκοντα λέγειν, καὶ ψεύδει λογίζεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τῶν
δεδειγμένων κατηγορεῖν. Διό, τὰ σὰ μᾶλλον ἂν ἐγὼ φαίην εἰκότι
λόγω, σιγῇ τιμᾶσθαι χρεῶν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς
20 ὑβριστικὰ πάντα. Διό, καὶ σιγῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ σου φανῶμεν κατήγοροι,
ὡς σὺ ἄλλων· οὐκ ἀνασκευὴ γὰρ τὸ σόν, ᾧ, τις ἂν ἐνίστασθαι
πειραθείη, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεόν ὑβρις, ὅ, καὶ τιμήσομεν τῇ σιγῇ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ῥητέον, ὡς εἶ τι καὶ ἄλλω παρὰ τὴν
πατρότητα ὁ Πατὴρ διακρίνεται τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἐκεῖνο ἀναγκαίως, ἴδιον
25 ἔσται τοῦ Πατρὸς· ὥστε, ἐπεὶ ἡ πατρότης, ἴδιον ὑποστατικόν ἐστι
τοῦ Πατρὸς, πᾶν ἄλλο αὐτοῦ ἴδιον προσέσται αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὸν τῆς
πατρότητος λόγον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ γελαστικόν, ἴδιον ὄν ἀνθρώπου,
κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος λόγον αὐτῷ πρόσσεσι. Καὶ τὸ τὰς
L 54v τρεῖς γωνίας δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς ἴσας εἶναι, ἢ ἴδιον ὄν τοῦ τριγώνου,
30 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, αὐτῷ πρόσσεσι καθόλου, ἢ, τριγώνῳ.

KLPV

23-34. Τοσοῦτον-Υἱός] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 124^r.33-124^v.4

28-29. Καὶ-εἶναι] cf. Arist., *Analytica posteriora* 90b.8-9

16. ἦν K ἢ 18. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 21. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 23-34. Κυδώνης-Υἱός] signa in marg. KLV ἢ
25. ἐστὶν K

Ὡστε, εἰ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἰδίον ἐστὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ ἀκοινωνήτων τῷ Υἱῷ, ἀνάγκη προσεῖναι τῷ Πατρί, κατὰ τὸν τῆς πατρότητος λόγον, οὐκοῦν, ἢ Πατὴρ, καὶ προσεχῶς προβαλεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὕτως, ἔσται τὸ Πνεῦμα, Υἱός.

- 35 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ὦ θαυμάσιε, πολὺ ἂν σοι βέλτιον ἐλογίζετο, εἰ θατέρω συνέβαινεν ἕτερον, ἢ, Νείλου κατηγορεῖν, ἢ, κὰν τούτῳ σιγᾶν· τὸ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σε λέγειν, ὑπερβαίνειν οἶδεν εἰς ἀτοπίαν τὰ πρότερα· καὶ γὰρ αὐτό, μὴ μόνον οὐκ ἀληθές τε καὶ βλαβερόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον· τῶν δὲ προτέρων, τὸ μὲν, τὸ ψεῦδος, εἶχεν ἐν
40 ἑαυτῷ, τὸ δὲ τῆς σιγῆς, οὐδέτερον.

Τέως, τίνι τοῦτο τίς ἀνάγκη φερόμενος οὕτως ἐρεῖ, ὡς ὅσα πρόσεσι τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν πατρότητα αὐτῷ προσεῖναι, ὡς τὸ γελαστικὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, καὶ τῷ τριγώνῳ, τὰς τρεῖς γωνίας δυσὶν ἴσας, ἢ τριγώνῳ; Τίνος ὠθοῦντος ἐπὶ

KLPV

42-44. ὡς-τριγώνῳ] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 35, p. 139.36-39

35. ἐλογίζετο] ἐλεγίζετο P || 39. μὲν bis acc. L || 43. γελαστικόν L

45 τοῦτον ἤκειν ἀνάγκη τινὰς τὸν λόγον; Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἀνάγκη
 βιάζοιτο, τί ἂν τὸ κέρδος γένοιτο πειθομένῳ; Ὅθεν, ὄρα τὸ
 ἄτοπον· τὸ μὲν γελαστικόν, ἀπάσης φύσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ'
 οὐ μιᾶς χαρακτηριστικὸν ὑποστάσεως μόνης· διό, καὶ παντὶ κατὰ
 ταῦτὸν ἅμα, καὶ ἐνὶ σύνεστι, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἴδιον, καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν.

50 Εἶτα καὶ ἀντιστρέφει· ὁ γὰρ γελαστικόν, ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ἂν
 ἄνθρωπος, καλοῖτο γελαστικόν. Οὐχ οὕτω δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα, ἀλλ'
 ἀνόμοιον παντελῶς· καὶ τὸ μιᾶς χαρακτηριστικὸν ὑποστάσεως,
 ἀκοινώνητον ἄγαν ταῖς ἢ λοιπαῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν κοινόν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν
 ἴδιον λέγοιτο. Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀντιστρέφειν οἶδεν εἰς ἄλλην, ὅσα περὶ τὴν
 55 ἄλλην ὑπόστασιν· οὐκ ἄρα τῷ χαρακτηριστικῷ τῶν ὑποστάσεων
 ἐκείνων καὶ τῷ γελαστικῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κοινόν, οὐδέν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τοῖς μὲν προτέροις, συνηγορῶ, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν
 ἀντιστροφὴν, οὐ πείθομαι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα παρὰ τὴν πατρότητα
 λέγεται τῷ Πατρὶ, ἀντιστρέφει πρὸς ἄλληλα· καὶ πλὴν τῆς
 60 πατρότητος, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ πάντα σύνεστιν.

KLPV

58-60. ὅσα-σύνεστιν] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, ff. 124^r.31-124^v.4

58-60. ὅσα-σύνεστιν] vide supra, [9] 10-15 et 23-34

59. ἀντιστρέφει-ἄλληλα] Ps.-Dion. Areop., *Divin. nom.*, 2, § 5, p. 128.11

46. τί KPV ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 48. μιᾶς L ἢ 48-49. καταταυτόν L ἢ 50. γελαστικόν KPV ἢ
 ἂν bis acc. L ἢ ἂν] deest P ἢ 53. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 57-60. Κυδώνης-σύνεστιν] signa in marg.
 KLV

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Απόκριναι τοιγαροῦν μοι· ἡ πηγὴ καὶ τὸ αἷτιον καὶ ἡ ἀρχή, ἄλλα παρὰ τὴν πατρότητα λέγεις, ἢ ταυτά;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐτερα· πλήν, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ γε κοινά· πηγὴ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ ἀρχή, καὶ αἰτία τοῦ Πνεύματος.

- 65 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τί δέ, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, καὶ ἀνάρχου, καὶ ἀναίτιου, νομιοῦμεν; Ἐροῦμεν ἄλλα παρὰ τὴν πατρότητα, ἢ ταυτά; Πάντως, ἄλλα πᾶς τις ἂν εἶποι· σύνεστι δὲ καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ μόνον, ὡς καὶ τὰ πρότερον. Ἀντιστρέφει δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρχή, καὶ τὸ αἷτιον, εἰς τὸ ἀναρχον, καὶ ἀγέννητον, ἢ, οὐκ ἀντιστρέφει; Δυοῖν γὰρ ἐλέσθαι σε
- 70 θάτερον ἀναγκαῖον. Εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἀντιστρέφει τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ἡ αἰτία, οὐδὲ τῷ Υἱῷ σύνεστιν, ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν πατρότητα ὄν, οἷς οὐ θαρρῶν αὐτὸς πρότερον, ὑπισχνοῦ τάναντία. Εἰ δ' ἀντιστρέφει ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα, ὁ Υἱός, ἀναίτιός τε καὶ ἀναρχος, καὶ ἀγέννητος ἄρα ἔσται, ὡς καὶ ἀρχή, καὶ πηγὴ, καὶ αἰτία· ἐπομένως δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ
- 75 Πατέρα ἂν αὐτὸν εἶποιμεν· οὐ, τὶ ἂν ἀτοπώτερον εἴη;

KLPV

62. ταυτά] ταυτὰ KV: αὐτὰ P || 63-64. Κυδώνης-Πνεύματος] signa in marg. KLV || 63. ἔτερα L || 65. δὲ bis acc. L || 66. ταυτὰ KPV || 67. ἂν bis acc. L || σύνεστοι P || τῷ] deest P || 71. ante αἰτία scr. et del. illeg. V || 73. ταῦτα] deest KPV || 74. ἐπομένως P || 75. ἂν¹ bis acc. L || ἂν² bis acc. L

L 55^v Ἔτι, εἰ ταῦτα Πατρὶ ἢ καὶ Υἱῶ κοινά, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ Πνεύματι,
ἢ εἶναι, ἢ μὴ εἶναι κοινά· κἂν μὲν ἢ ἀπόφασις ἀληθεύη, ἢ
ἐλάττωσις ἔπεται δήλη τῷ Πνεύματι, ἐκείνοις ὅτι ἀκοινωνήτω, οἷς,
τὰ δύο σύνεστι πρόσωπα· καὶ τὸ ἄτοπον δῆλον· ἂν δὲ ἢ κατάφασις
80 ἀληθῆς ἦ, ἀναρχον καὶ ἀναίτιον τὸ αὐτό· ὁ τοῦ προτέρου πολὺ
χαλεπώτερον. Ἐξ ἑκατέρου σοι τοίνυν, ἀνοίκεια τὰ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ
συναγόμενα, καὶ ἡ θέσις, ἀνόμοιος· ὡς, ὅσα παρὰ τὴν πατρότητα
καὶ τῷ Υἱῶ σύνεστι καὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς πατρότητος λόγον, τῷ Πατρὶ
φέρεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀντιστρέφει, πρὸς ἄλληλα· ἢ γὰρ Πατρὶ, καὶ
85 τᾶλλα πάντως ἀκολουθεῖ, οὐχ ἢ δὲ τᾶλλα, κατὰ τοῦτο Πατῆρ.
Ἔθεν σοι καὶ τὸ παρὸν τῆς ἀνασκευῆς ἐπιχείρημα, οἴχεται
Νείλου πολλῶν διώκοντος, καὶ τὸν παρόντα συλλογισμὸν
ἐπιχειρημάτων, ὀλίγοις τούτου, σὺ πολεμεῖς.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ βέλτιον· ἐλθέτω, οὖν συλλογισμὸς
90 ἕτερος.

KLPV

77. κἂν bis acc. L || 79. σ[ύ]νεστι in ras. L || post δῆλον scr. ἄρα KPV || 80. προτ[έρου] in ras. L || πολὺ K || 85. τᾶλλα¹] τ' ἄλλα LP || τᾶλλα²] τ' ἄλλα LP || 89-90. Κυδώνης-ἕτερος] signa in marg. K

[10] Συλλογισμὸς ἑνατος <Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγία Τριάδι>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ὁ, μὴ τῷ τινὸς ὀρισμῷ ἐναντίον, οὐκ ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ
συνελθεῖν· τὸ δ' εἶναι ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἐναντίον, τῷ
λόγῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἄρα, ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ Πνεύματος
τὸν Υἱόν, τὸ δέ, δυνατόν. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς θείοις, τὸ εἶναι καὶ
5 δύνασθαι ταυτόν· αἴτιος ὁ Υἱὸς ἄρα.

ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐναντίος τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ
Υἱοῦ, λείπεται, μὴ ἀδύνατον εἶναι Πατέρα γενέσθαι τὸν Υἱόν·
εἰ δ' ἐναντίος ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ τοῦ Υἱοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ τοῦτο ψεῦδος·
ἔστι γὰρ, καὶ τὸν λόγον μάχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν γενέσθαι

10 Πατέρα. ||

L 56^r

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Θαυμάζω τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν μόνον τούτου τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς προθυμίαν· ἅπαξ γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν ὁμωμοκῶς, μηδὲν
καταλιπεῖν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θωμᾶ ῥηθέντων ἀνεπηρέαστον, καὶ πρὸς
τὰ γνωριμώτατα, διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἀποδύεται.

KLPV

[10] 1-5. Ὁ-ἄρα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, pp. 334.27-336.5 || 6-10. Εἰ-Πατέρα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 336.8-15 || 11-14. Θαυμάζω-ἀποδύεται] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.8-10

[10] 1-5. Ὁ-ἄρα] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 43, p. 162.1-7 || 6-10. Εἰ-Πατέρα] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 43, pp. 162.8-163.16

[10] 1-5. Ὁ-ἄρα] cf. Thom. Aquin., SCG IV, 24, num. 3620

[10] 4-5. Ἐν-ταυτόν] cf. Arist., *Physica* 203b.30: ἐνδέχεσθαι γὰρ ἢ εἶναι οὐδὲν διαφέρει ἐν τοῖς αἰδίοις

[10] 1-5. Θωμᾶς-ἄρα] <συλλογισμὸς> Θ' in marg. LV || signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 1. Θωμᾶς] illeg. V || 4. δὲ¹ bis acc. L || 5. ταυτόν codd. || 6-10. Νείλος-Πατέρα] signa in marg. KLV || 11-14. Κυδώνης-ἀποδύεται] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 11. [μόν]ον in ras. L || 12. ἀνδρὸς L || ἔοικε P || ὁμωμοκῶς L || 13. ῥη[θέν]των in ras. L

15 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Σὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὄρκῳ βεβαιῶν ἑαυτόν, οὐδὲν εἶπειν
ἐκείνῳ δίχα τῆς ὕβρεως, ἀτιμάζεις αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ὄν, μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖν
ἔδει, ἢ μέμφεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτοῦ διώκειν ἐθέλεις, οὐδὲ
κατηγορεῖν ἔδει, ἀλλὰ διαλέγεσθαι μόνον· τὸ γὰρ κατηγορεῖν, καὶ
20 μετ' εὐφημίας διαλέγεσθαι, ῥάδιον ἐκότερον, ἅπαντι
βουλομένῳ· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν, ἐπαίνους, τὸ δέ, μεγάλας ὕβρεις τῷ
πεπονημένῳ χαρίζεται· σὺ οὖν, τὸ κάκιστον ἐμφυτεύεις αὐτῷ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πᾶν, ὃ τι μὴ ἀντίκειται, δυνατὸν εἶναι
συνελθεῖν ἐκείνῳ, τοῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι, συγχωρῆσαι, καὶ Σκύθας,
καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῶν ἀμαθέστερος.

25 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ὅρα· τοῦτο, καὶ πολὺ περισσότερον ὕβρεως· εἰ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνος Σκυθῶν ἀμαθέστερος, σέ, τί ἂν τις ἔχοι τεκμηριώσασθαι
διαλεγόμενον τῷ ἀνδρὶ; Ἦ τίς ἂν ἐποιτό σοι δόξα, νικήσαντι;
Ἀνόσιον ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ λέγειν αὐτά.

KLPV

22-24. Τὸ-ἀμαθέστερος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.14-15

22-23. πᾶν-ἐκείνῳ] vide supra, [10] 1-2 || 23-24. τοῦτ' ἂν-ἀμαθέστερος] vide supra, [1.3] 259-260

20. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L || 21. αὐτῷ KPV || 22-24. Κυδώνης-ἀμαθέστερος] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 22. ὃ τι KPV: ὃ, τι L || 23. ἂν bis acc. L || συγχωρῆσαι KV: scr. συχωρῆσαι et post sscr. γ per συχωρήσαι P || 25. Χρυσολωρᾶς] illeg. V || ὕβρεως K || 27. ἂν bis acc. L ||

- L 56^v
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐτι ἔπεται, μὴ διακρίνεσθαι τὸ γεννᾶν καὶ γεννᾶσθαι,
 30 διὰ τὸ τὸν δεῖνα, ἢ τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ πατέρα εἶναι καὶ υἱόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ
 δεῖ. Τὸ δὲ διὰ τὸ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα καὶ υἱόν ἢ ἐν τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις, οἶεσθαι τὸν λόγον ἀναιρεῖν, τὸν ἀξιῶντα τὰ μὴ
 ἀντικείμενα εἰς ταῦτὸν δύνασθαι συνιέναι, σαφῶς ἐστὶ
 παίζοντος· καὶ γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, πατὴρ καὶ υἱός, ἀλλ' οὐ
 35 πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐν τούτῳ μὲν, ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὡς οὐ πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄλλον ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, ἅμα παίζοντα δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον
 εἰπών, «Ἀποροῦμεν, τί ἂν περὶ σοῦ νομιῶμεν», ἀδικεῖς. Ὅθεν,
 σιγῇ τὴν ὕβριν ἀνάγκη τιμᾶν.
- 40 Τὸ δὲ τοῖς οὖσιν, ὅσα συμβαίνειν εἴωθεν ἀξιῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν
 θείων, τίς αὐτῶν διδάσκαλος γέγονεν; Ἄνθρωπος, ἄγγελος, ἢ
 Θεός; Ἀλλ' οὐδένα ἂν τούτων εἴποις· ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ποιεῖ
 τινὶ γνῶριμα· σὺ οὖν ὑποθέμενος τὰ ζητούμενα, καὶ περαίνων ἅ,
 μήτ' εἶδες, μήτε παρ' ἄλλων ἔμαθες πρόποτε, παιδιὰν ἀτεχνῶς
 45 ἀφοσιῶς σαυτῷ πάντως.

KLPV

29-30. Ἐτι-υἱόν] deest D; cf. Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 336.18-20 ἢ 31-34. Τὸ-παίζοντος] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.17-18 ἢ 34-35. καὶ-αὐτόν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.20 ἢ 38. Ἀποροῦμεν-νομιῶμεν] deest D

29-30. Ἐτι-υἱόν] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 43, p. 163.17-20

36. οὐ-αὐτόν] vide supra, [10] 34-35

229-35. Κυδώνης-αὐτόν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 30. post διὰ sscr. τὸ V: deest L ἢ 31. τὸ] deest P ἢ 33. ταυτὸν LPV ἢ σαφῶς ἐστὶ P ἢ 34. αὐτῷ] deest KPV ἢ 36. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 38. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 41. διδάσκαλος L ἢ post γέγονεν sign. interrogationis KPV ἢ 42. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 45. ἀφοσιῶς KPV: ἀφοσιῇ L ἢ σαυτῷ] αὐτῷ KV: αὐτῷ P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ φιλόνεικον, ἀσθενῆ πειραῖσθαι
δεικνῦναι τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀξιοῦντα, πᾶν, τὸ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἐν τῷ
Θεῷ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι ἐκεῖ πάντες γὰρ καὶ θεολόγοι
καὶ σοφοί, οὕτω, συντίθενται, διὰ τὸ τὸ δυνάμει, μηδεμίαν χώραν
50 εἶναι, ἐν τῇ θείᾳ οὐσίᾳ.

L 57^r ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Διπλοῦν ἐστὶ, τὸ δυνάμει· τὸ μὲν, ἀτελές, οὐ
μετέχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὁ, μὴ χώρα Θεῷ· τὸ δέ, τέλειον, ὁ, καὶ ἡμῖν,
καὶ Θεῷ πολλακίς ἀρμόζεται. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ἀληθές ἐστίν,
ὡς πόρρω Θεοῦ, τὸ δ' ὕ-||στερον, οὐ· τὸ δὲ μὴ διαφέρειν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ
55 τοῦ εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι, οὐ μόνον ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημία
μεγίστη· τὸ μὲν, ὡς τούναντίον ἔφασαν ἅγιοι, οἷς, ἄλλων
ἀντικειμένων σοφῶν, ἡμεῖς οὐ φροντίζομεν· τὸ δέ, καὶ παντὶ
ῥάδιον, ἐθέλοντι συνιδεῖν αὐτά, Θεῷ μόνον· πάντα γὰρ τὰ μὴ ὄντα
ποιεῖν ὡς ὄντα· ἢ καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, δύνამις, βουλομένῳ καὶ μόνον·
60 οὐ ποιεῖ δέ, δικαιοσύνη χρώμενος καὶ φιλανθρωπία, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
καιρὸν ἐργάζεται, πᾶν, ὃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ· οὐ ταυτὸν ἄρα τῷ μεγάλῳ
Πατρὶ, τὸ εἶναι τοῦ δύνασθαι.

KLPV

46-50. Ἀλλὰ-οὐσίᾳ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 124^v.24-26

58-59. τὰ-ὄντα] cf. Rom. 4:17

46-50. Κυδώνης-οὐσίᾳ] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 49. οὕτω] τούτω D || τὸ²] τῷ codd. || 51. τὸ¹] τῷ post cor. (ex τὸ) L || μὲν bis acc. L || 52. δὲ bis acc. L || 56. μὲν bis acc. L || 57. δὲ bis acc. L || 60. χρώμενος K || 59. ταυτὸν codd. || 61. ἂν bis acc. L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. ΑΛΛ' ὁ Θωμᾶς, ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ διαλέξει, οὐ ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον ἰδίως περὶ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἤγουν, τῶν γεννητῶν· ὡς
65 λέγειν, ὅ, δύναται ποιεῖν ὁ Θεός, τοῦτο καὶ εὐθὺς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅ, φησι, δύναται ὁ Θεὸς εἶναι ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τοῦτο καὶ ἐνεργεῖα εἶναι ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐγὼ δέ, οὐ τοῦτο βούλεσθαι τὸν Θωμᾶν οἶμαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον. Καὶ δῆλον, ἐκ τῶν ὑποτεθέντων αὐτῷ· τὸ γὰρ ὁ μὴ τῷ
70 τινὸς ὀρισμῷ ἐναντίον, οὐκ ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν, οὐ τοῦτο βούλεται, ὡς ὅ, εἶναι, καὶ ἐστίν· ἀλλ' ὁ δυνατὸν γίνεσθαι, οὐκ ἀδύνατον μὴ γενέσθαι. Ἐπομένως δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Πατέρα, οὐκ ἐναντίον τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἄρα τὸν Υἱόν, ἀρχὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος εἶναι. Οἷς οὖν
75 ἡ πρότασις ἔπεται, καὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντως, ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. ΑΛΛ' ὅμως, εἰπέ ἢ σαφέστερον, ὃ εἶναι καὶ ἔστι καὶ δύνασθαι ἐν τῷ Θεῷ.

L 57^v

KLPV

63-67. ΑΛΛ'-ἀνάγκης] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v:2-3

69-70. ὁ-συνελθεῖν] vide supra, [10] 1-2

63-67. Κυδώνης-ἀνάγκης] signa in marg. KLV ἢ ἤγουν] ἤως K ἢ γεννητῶν] γεννητῶν D ἢ 71. ὡς KP: ὡς post cor. (ex ὅς) V ἢ 75. θεία L ἢ 76. ἔστιν P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οἶον, εἰ μὴ ἀντίκειται αὐτῷ τὸ σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν,
ἐνδέχεται αὐτῷ, παρεῖναι· εἰ δὲ ἐνδέχεται, καὶ πάρεστιν ἐξ
80 ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἔστι σοφὸς καὶ ἀγαθός· ἄλλο δὲ ἔστι ποιεῖν, καὶ
ἄλλο εἶναι ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σκόπει οὖν, τούτων πέρι τῶν λόγων. Τρία σε τῶν
ἀτόπων ὀρῶμεν περιπλέκεσθαι βουλευόμενον ἀνθ' ἑνός· τὸ μὲν,
ὡς τὸν Θωμᾶν διαβάλλεις ἄλλα λέγειν οἰόμενον, παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ
85 θέσιν· τὸ δέ, καὶ ἡμῶν ὡς ἀγνοούντων, κατανοῆσαι μόνος
δυναμένος, ὡς συνιδεῖν τῷ Θωμᾶ τὰ γεγραμμένα μὴ δυναμένων.
Τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ὅ, καὶ τῶν προτέρων οὐ μικρὸν ἀτοπώτερον, ὡς
ἂ περὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄντα λέγεις, ἔστιν οὐκ ὄντα· χαλεπὸν οὖν, ἂ μὴ
ἔστιν οὐσία, τῇ οὐσίᾳ προσάγειν ἐκεῖνα τῇ θαυμαστῇ γε καὶ
90 μακαρίᾳ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις, οὐκ ἀντιλέγω· οὐχ ὅτι μὴ δύναμαι,
ἀλλ' ὅτι, μὴ βούλομαι· τῷ δ' ὑστέρω, μάχομαι παντελῶς· τὸ σοφὸν
τε καὶ ἀγαθόν, οὐκ ὄντα ψηφίζη περὶ Θεόν;

KLPV

78-81. Οἶον-ἑαυτῷ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.3-4 || 92-93. τὸ-Θεόν] cf. Dem. Cyd.,
Defensio, f. 125^v.3-4

78-81. Κυδώνης-ἑαυτῷ] signa in marg. L || 82. Χρυσολωρᾶς] illeg. V || 83.
βουλευόμενον] βουλόμενον P || μὲν bis acc. L || 84. αὐτοῦ L || 85. δὲ bis acc. L || 91.
Κυδώνης] deest KV || 92-93. τὸ-Θεόν] sign. in marg. L || 93. post θ(εὸν) sign.
interrogationis KLV

- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὕτως, οὐκ ἄλλως.
- 95 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ τί ἂν αὐτὰ καλοῖμεν;
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐπόμενα καὶ προσόντα Θεῶ.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τίς ἀγίων, οὕτω, περὶ τούτου φανερώς ἔλεγεν; Εἶπέ.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σχεδὸν ἅπαντες.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐνα λέγε καὶ μόνον.
- 100 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἰ ἄλλο μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ εἶναι, ἄλλο δὲ τὸ ἐνυπάρχειν,
L 58^r καὶ ὑπάρχει μὲν, τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ οὐσία, ἐνυπάρχει δὲ ἢ αὐτῷ ἢ βουλή,
οὐκ ἄρα ταυτόν.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων;
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἰουστίνος, ὁ μάρτυς ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλόσοφος.
- 105 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅγιος, οὐ τοιαυτ' ἂν ἐφθέγγετο πώποτε·
εἰπὼν δέ, φανερόν ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἅγιος.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὕτω μοι περὶ τούτου καὶ ζῶν ἀπεκρίνου· ἐγὼ δέ σοι
τὴν τιμὴν ἀφοσιωσάμενος, οὐκ ἐρῶ, ὅσα τότε· σιγῶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅτι

KLPV

100-102. εἰ-ταυτόν] Ps.-Justin. Mart., *Quaest. christ. ad gent.*, p. 286.19-21

94. Χρυσολωρᾶς] deest K ἢ 95. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 97. κυ[δών(ης)] in ras. V ἢ 98. χρ[υσολωρᾶς] in ras. V ἢ 99. κ[υδών(ης)] illeg. V ἢ καὶ] deest P ἢ 100. χρυ[σολωρᾶς] in ras. V ἢ 102. ταυτόν KV ἢ 103. κυ[δώνης] in ras. V ἢ 104. [χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς)] illeg. V ἢ 105-106. Κυδώνης-ἅγιος] sign. in marg. K ἢ 105. κυ[δών(ης)] in ras. V ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 107. ἀπεκρίνου post cor. (ex ἀποκρίνου) LP

μὴ καὶ σκοπὸς ἐμοί, περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ εἰς
 110 ἐκεῖνα περὶ ἃ νῦν ἐλέγομεν, ὁμιλῶμεν. Δυνάμει μὲν ἴσμεν, ὅ, μὴ
 πέφυκεν εἶναι, διὰ τὴν τῶν ὀργάνων ἀτέλειαν, ὡς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
 ἐπιστῆμαι, καὶ τέχναι πᾶσαι· ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἄκρως ἀγαθὸς ὢν, ἀεὶ
 ποιεῖ· ὁ δ' ἂν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν εἴη, δυνάμενος οὐ ποιεῖ· καὶ πάντα μὲν
 ἀπλῶς δύναται, ποιεῖ δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν ἕκαστον, ὡς καὶ τὴν
 115 ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα. Δυνάμει τοίνυν αὐτὰ
 καλοῦμεν εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἄχρως ἂν, εἰς ἐνεργεῖαν ἀχθῆ. Καὶ τοῦτο
 πάντως ἀνόμοιον, τῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δυνάμει. Ὁ δὲ πάρεστι
 τῷ Θεῷ, φανερόν, ὡς προσόν ἐστὶν αἰεὶ, καὶ ἐνεργεῖα τῇ φύσει
 τοῦτο Θεοῦ, διόλων, ἐπόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτῷ δυνάμει,
 120 τεκμηριώσασαιτο, πώποτε, ὡς περὶ τούτων ἔλεγεσ ἀρτίως αὐτός.
 Ὅστε διὰ ταῦτα, οὐδὲ τῷ Θωμᾷ σκοπὸς ἦν, ὃν σὺ νῦν ἐρεῖς, τοῦ
 εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ περὶ τὸν Θεόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ εἶναι, καὶ
 L 58^v δύνασθαι. Τριῶν ἄρα τῶν προει-||ρημένων ἀτόπων ἔνοχον σαυτὸν
 εἰπόντες, οὐχ ἁμαρτάνομεν.

KLPV

112. Θεὸς-ἀγαθός] Eriph., *Pan.*, 64, vol. II, § 31.10, p. 451.3 || 113-114. πάντα-δύναται] cf. Matth. 19:26; Marc. 10:27

109. περὶ] deest P || 112. ἄκρως codd. || 113. ἂν bis acc. L || 116. ἂν bis acc. L || τούτω KPV || 118. πρὸς ὃν ἐστὶν L || 119. ἐπόμενον K || 121. διαταῦτα codd.

125 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλὰ τὸ λέγειν μὴ ἀντικείμενον εἶναι τῷ τοῦ
Πνεύματος λόγῳ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, οὐχ ὑγιῶς εἴρηται, καὶ
σφόδρα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀντικείμενον· τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγος ἐστὶ, τὸ
εἶναι ἐκ Πατρὸς, δι' Υἱοῦ· πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀντίκειται τῷ Πνεύματι,
ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ Υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐκπορεύεται; Οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἴη
130 ἀρχὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πάλιν, καταχρηστικῶς τοῖς αὐτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ δι' Υἱοῦ, τὴν αἰτίαν
οὐδόλως οἶδε σημαίνειν, ὡς πολλαχοῦ δέδεικται· ὁ γοῦν οὐκ
αἴτιον, αἰτιατὸν οὐκ ἀδύνατον κατὰ σὲ γίνεσθαι· οὐκοῦν, οὐκ
ἀδύνατον καὶ ἡμῶν ὑποθεμένων αὐτά, λέγειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ
135 Πνεύματος.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ εἰ μὴ δηλοῖ τὴν αἰτίαν ἢ διὰ, τί ἄλλο βούλεται;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Κύκλος ὁ τῶν ἁγίων, αὐτὸ ποιεῖ παντὶ γνώριμον,
εἰπὼν οὕτως· ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐστὶ δι' Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
ἤγουν, σὺν τῷ Υἱῷ, ἢ μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἅμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς· ἢ
140 δηλοῦν, τὸ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλο. Διὰ ταῦτα, ὑπόθεσις ἢ
παροῦσα, οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ τὸν Υἱὸν εἰπεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

KLPV

125-130. Ἀλλὰ-ἀρχῆς] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.7-9

125-130. Κυδώνης-ἀρχῆς] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 127. τὸ] τοῦ K || 129. ἂν bis acc. L
|| 130. αὐτοῦ codd. || 131. δι' Υἱοῦ] δι' οὗ KPV || 136. Κυδώνης-βούλεται] sign. in marg K:
illeg. V || τι PV || 138. π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἐστὶ L: π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἐστὶ P || 139. ἤγουν] ἤως K || τοῦ² L:
deest KPV || 140. διαταῦτα KPV

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, δύο Πατέρες ἔσονται, καὶ Υἱοί, δύο· ὅπερ ἀδύνατον.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς χρώμενοι, νομιοῦμεν ἄτοπον
145 οὐ μικρόν, εἰ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶη.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τί τοῦτο;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Δύο προβολεῖς καὶ αἴτια καὶ ἀρχαί, καὶ τὸ μείζον, ὡς
L 59^r δύο Πνεύματα, καὶ τὸ προβάλλειν, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν αὐθις, ἢ τῷ γὰρ
Πατρὶ πρόσεστι, καὶ οὐδ' ἀντίκειται λόγῳ, τῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος·
150 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀναρχον, καὶ ἀναίτιον, καὶ ἀγέννητον, ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ
Πατρὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐναντίον· οὐκοῦν,
ἀναρχος καὶ ἀναίτιος ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τὸ χεῖρον, ὡς καὶ ἀγέννητος· ἄ,
μὴ μόνον ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδύνατον. Νείλου δ' οὖν ὅμως, καὶ τὸν
παρόντα συλλογισμὸν ἐν πέντε διαλύσαντος ἐπιχειρήμασι, τρισὶ
155 καὶ μόνοις, Νεῖλον αὐτὸς αἰτιᾶ.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ δίκαιον· ἀλλ' ἄκουε συλλογισμὸν ἕτερον.

KLPV

142-143. Κυδώνης-ἀδύνατον] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V ἢ **148.** ἀπλὸν L ἢ **156-157.**
Κυδώνης-ἕτερον] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V

[11] Συλλογισμὸς δέκατος <Περὶ τῆς τῶν θείων προσώπων
διακρίσεως>

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Τὸ μὲν γεννᾶν, χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐστὶ, τῆς αὐτοῦ
ὑποστάσεως, τὸ δὲ προβάλλειν, οὐ· οὐδὲ ἴδιον ἄρα· κοινὸν οὐκοῦν,
Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἦν ἂν καὶ Πνεύματι, εἰ μὴ ἀδύνατον, ἦν· ἐκ τοῦ
Υἱοῦ ἄρα τὸ Πνεῦμα.

5 ΝΕΙΛΟΣ. Ὡστε κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖνο χαρακτηρίζει τὴν
ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐξ οὗ, δὴ καλεῖται τὸ δέ, χαρακτηριστικὸν
καὶ ἴδιον, ἴδιον ἂν εἶη τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ προβάλλειν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν γεννᾶν, ἰδίωμα συστατικὸν εἶναι τοῦ
Πατρὸς· τὸ δὲ προβάλλειν αὐτοῦ χαρακτηριστικὸν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπου
10 τῶν τοῦ Θωμᾶ λόγων, ἀνέγνω· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὃ φησὶν αὐτός, τὸ
προβάλλειν ἴδιον ἂν ποτ' εἶπεν ὁ Θωμᾶς τοῦ Πατρὸς· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν
ἄντικρυς, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρὸς, εἶπεν εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὐδὲ
αὐτός ἂν ἀντιλέγειν ἠξίου ἐκείνῳ ταῦτο τοῦτο λέγοντι.

KLPV

[11] 1-4. Τὸ-Πνεῦμα] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 340.2-7 || 5-7. Ὡστε-προβάλλειν] Nil. Cab.,
Proc. S. S., p. 340.17-20 || 8-13. Ἀλλὰ-λέγοντι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.9-12

[11] 1-4. Τὸ-Πνεῦμα] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 44, p. 165.1-5 || 5-7. Ὡστε-προβάλλειν] Dem.
Chrys., *Synop.*, § 44, p. 165.8-12

[11] 1-4. Θωμᾶς-Πνεῦμα] <συλλογισμὸς> ἴ' in marg. KLV || signa in marg. KLV || 3. ἂν
bis acc. L || 5-7. Νεῖλος-προβάλλειν] signa in marg KL: illeg. V || 5. scr. ἐκεῖνος et post
sscr. vo per ἐκεῖνο V: ἐκεῖνος L || 7. ἂν bis acc. L || 8-13. Κυδώνης-λέγοντι] signa in marg.
KLV || 10. τῶν] τῶ K || τοῦ] deest KPV || 11. ἂν² bis acc. L || 13. ἂν bis acc. L || ταῦτο
codd.

L 59^v

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Απαλλάγηθι κόπων τῶν περὶ λόγους, μὴ ἢ παρέχε
15 πράγματα σαυτῶ· ὅτι γὰρ οὐδ' ὑποπεύειν δύνασθαι τὸν Θωμᾶν
αὐτὸ φᾶναι, τὸν λόγον σοι βεβαιῶ· ὅπου δὲ σὺ τῶν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ
ῥημάτων ἔτυχες, οὕτω περὶ τούτων εἰπόντι, παντάπασι, ἀγνοῶ·
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὕτω μαινόμενος οὗτος ἦν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν διαβάλλειν,
καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ χαίρειν, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μάχεσθαι· αὐτὸ
20 γὰρ, καὶ πέρα παντὸς ἂν εἶη τῶν μαινομένων· διό σοι, μᾶλλον
οἰκεία διαβολή, τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἤδη βουλευομένῳ.
Ἔτι, καὶ τὸν συλλογισμὸν ὡς ἔοικεν ἀγνοεῖς τοῦ Θωμᾶ, καὶ τὰ
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήματα Νείλου· καὶ πᾶν ἀπλῶς, εἰρηταί σοι
πάντως, ἀνεπισκέπτως. Εἰπόντος γὰρ τοῦ Θωμᾶ, τὸ μὲν γεννᾶν,
25 χαρακτηριστικόν ἐστὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑποστάσεως, τὸ δὲ προβάλλειν,
οὐ· οὐδὲ ἴδιον ἄρα· τοῦτο μὲν, οὐκ ἴδιον τῆς προβολῆς τοῦ
Πατρὸς, ἔστι νοεῖν ἐνταῦθα τῷ βουλομένῳ· μᾶλλον δὲ
τοῦναντίον ἀντικρως, ὡς καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, ἢ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, συνόν,
ἐπεὶ, μὴ ἴδιον τοῦ Πατρὸς. Καὶ Νεῖλος αὐτοῖς ἐνιστάμενος, αὐτῷ
30 φανερόν ἐποίει· ἢ δὲ σὴ κατὰ Νείλου μὲν ἐνστασις, ὕβρεως ἀρχὴν

KLPV

24-27. τὸ-Πατρός] vide supra, [11] 1-4

20. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 21. οἰκεία codd. ἢ [αὐ]τοῦ in ras. V ἢ 25. χαρακτηριστικόν ἐστὶ L ἢ 26. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 28. ἢ] deest KPV ἢ 29-30. αὐτῷ-ἐποίει] φανερόν ἐποίει αὐτῷ KPV

ἔγεμε, καὶ διπλῆς, ἐν ὑστέρω διαβολῆς· τῆς μὲν, ὡς διαβάλλεις,
 αὐτὸν δὴ Νεῖλον· ἄλλο λέγειν ἐπιχειροῦντα, ἢ, τούτῳ προσῆκον
 ἦν, τῆς δέ, καὶ διαβάλλειν ἐφιέμενον ἄλλους, ὧν ἑκάτερον, ἥκιστα
 L 60^r πρέπον ἢ οὔτε Νεῖλω ποιεῖν, οὔτε σοὶ λέγειν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οἶμαι σε
 35 ταῦτα δρᾶν, δυοῖν, οἰόμενον ἕτερον· ἢ τὰ σὰ μηδενὶ γίνεσθαι
 γνώριμα δυνατὸν πώποτε, ἢ τὰ Νείλου, πάντως ἐν ἀφανεῖ κείσθαι
 φανεροῦ δὲ γενομένου θατέρου, τὸ ψεῦδος, ἅπαντι δῆλον.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐν βραχεῖ γοῦν εἰπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ Θωμᾶ δόξαν, ὅσον ἐμὲ
 εἰδέναι, τῶν ἐν τοῖς θείοις προσώποις, τὰ μὲν, ἴδια φησί, τὰ δέ,
 40 κοινά· καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, τὰ μὲν, ἰδιαίτατα καὶ ἀκοινώνητα τοῖς
 ἄλλοις, ἅ, προσωπικά, καλεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὸ Πατῆρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱός,
 καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· τὰ αὐτὰ δέ, καὶ ὑποστατικά, λέγει· τῶν δὲ
 κοινῶν, τὰ μὲν, πᾶσι τοῖς προσώποις κοινά, ἅ, καὶ οὐσιώδη καλεῖ
 οἶον, τὸ σοφόν, τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἢ ζωή· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτου τοῦ τύπου
 45 τὰ δέ, ἀφορισμένα ἐνὶ προσώπῳ, ἢ προσώποις.

KLPV

38-45. Ἐν-προσώποις] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.26-29

49-45. τὰ¹-προσώποις] cf. Thom. Aquin., *ST*, Ia, q. 13, a. 2-3, Ia, q. 32, a. 2

31. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 33. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 38-45. Κυδώνης-προσώποις] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 38. βραχὺ P ἢ 39. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ φασὶ K ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 40. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 43. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 45. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ ἀφορισμένα L

- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Δῆλον οὖν, ὡς τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκείνην, ἧ, μηδὲν ἴσον, καὶ ἧ, τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀπάντων ὑπὲρ λόγον ἀπήλλακται, ἰδιαίτατα, καὶ οὐσιώδη καλεῖς, ὀνόματα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐφαρμοζόμενα. Ὅθεν, σοι καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν φαινομένων, οἶμαι
- 50 ῥάδιον ἀνατίθεσθαι τῇ φύσει Θεοῦ, ἄλλοτε δὲ πάλιν, καὶ οὐσίαν ὀνομάζεις αὐτά· ἀλλ' ἐκάτερον, ἀνοίκειον τῷ Θεῷ· ὅμως ἴθι, εἰπέ·
- L 60^v τί περὶ Θεὸν ὁμολογεῖς || ὅ, καὶ συστατικὸν καὶ ὑποστατικὸν καὶ χαρακτηριστικὸν ἐστὶν ἅμα;
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ τὸ Πατήρ.
- 55 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ποῖον δὲ τὸ προσωπικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ συστατικόν;
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Τὸ ἀγέννητον.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παραδείγματα τῇ ὑποθέσει οἰκειᾶ;

KLPV

48. οὐσιώδη P || 49. τ' ἄλλα LP || 55. προσωπικόν L || 58. οἰκειᾶ L || post οἰκειᾶ sign. interrogationis KV: post οἰκειᾶ sign. interrogationis L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πάνυ γε ὡσπερ τὸ λογικὸν ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ καὶ
60 συστατικὸν αὐτοῦ —τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐσίαν τὴν
ιδικὴν συνίστησιν ἢ ὑφίστησιν—, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Πατήρ· τὸ δὲ
γελαστικόν, ἴδιον μὲν ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μὴν ὡς ὑφιστῶν τὴν τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ὑποστάσει ἐπιγινόμενον, οὐ
χρόνω, ἀλλὰ τῇ αἰτίᾳ. Οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων προσώπων· τὰ μὲν,
65 ἴδια αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ συστατικά, ὡσπερ ἂ εἶπομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐστίν,
ἐπιθεωρούμενα ἐνὶ προσώπῳ, ἢ προσώποις· ὡσπερ, τὸ μὲν
ἀγέννητον ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἴδιον μὲν αὐτοῦ, πλήν, οὐ συστατικόν.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ἀνάρμοστά σοι τὰ παραδείγματα περὶ τὸν
Θεόν, ὧ σοφώτατε· τὸ μὲν γὰρ λογικόν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου, καὶ μίαν
70 ἅμα, καὶ πάσας πάντων ἤδη τὰς ὑποστάσεις καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν
αὐτὴν, κατὰ σὲ δηλοῖ· τὸ δὲ Πατὴρ εἰς Θεόν, τὴν ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ
μόνην, οὐκ ἄλλην· οὐδὲ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπλῶς αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
καθολικώτερον ὑποστάσεως εἶναι δοκεῖ, ὡς ἀνθρώπου τὸ λογικόν·
ἢ γὰρ, ἄνθρωπος, λογικόν, τὸ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη·
75 ἀντιστρόφως δὲ τὰ Θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὑπόστασις, οὐ μὴν, ὁ

KLPV

59-67. Πάνυ-συστατικόν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.15-19

59-67. Κυδώνης-συστατικόν] signa in marg. L || 59. ἐστι L || 62. ὑφιστόν L || 64. καὶ] deest
P || μὲν bis acc. L || 67. μὲν bis acc. L || 69. ἄν(θρωπ)ον P || 72. ἀλλ οὐδὲ L || 74. ἢ KP

L 61^r ὑπόστασις, καὶ ἢ Πατήρ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γελαστικόν, οὐχ οὕτως
 ἀνθρώποις, ὡς Θεῶ τὸ ἀγέννητον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν, ἐπιγιγνώμενον
 ἐστὶν ἀπάση τῇ ὑποστάσει, καὶ λέγεται, κἂν μὴ γελᾶν ἐπεφύκει,
 τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον, ἀεὶ σύνεστιν ὑποστάσει τῇ πατρικῇ· καὶ τὸ μὴ
 80 πεφυκέναι, λέγεται μηδαμῶς· καὶ τὸ μὲν, ἀντιστρέφει —ταυτόν,
 γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ γελαστικόν—, περὶ δὲ τὸν Θεόν, οὐδαμῶς· ἢ γὰρ
 Πατήρ, καὶ ἀγέννητος, οὐ μὴν ἢ ἀγέννητος, καὶ Πατήρ· ἄρα τὰ σὰ
 μὲν ἀνοίκεια τῷ Θεῷ παραδείγματα, καὶ τοῖς ὑποτιθεμένοις,
 τὰναντία περαίνεσθαι δίκαιον.

85 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Οὐτε γὰρ εἶναι τι δηλοῖ τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἀπόφασις μόνον,
 ὄν τοῦ γεννητοῦ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὕστερον —αἰ γὰρ ἀποφάσεις, τῶν
 καταφάσεων, ὕστεραι—· καὶ τῇ τοῦ γεννητοῦ μόνον ἀφαιρέσει,
 δηλοῖ, τὸ ἀναίτιον· ὡς ἂν, Ἰουδαῖοι, ἢ ἄλλοι τυχόν, εἶποιεν· καὶ
 λέγεται τοῦτο μόνον γνῶρισμα τοῦ Πατρός· ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτῳ,
 90 καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο, ἐν τῇ Τριάδι, ὅ, μήτε κοινόν ἐστὶ πᾶσι, μήτε ἐνὸς
 μόνου συστατικόν, καθὼς ἔφημεν, γνῶρισμα τοῦτο καλεῖ.

KLPV

85-91. Οὐ-καλεῖ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.19-22

86-87. αἰ-ὑστεραι] cf. Arist., *De interpretatione* 17a.8-9

77-78. ἐπιγιγνώμενον ἐστὶν P ἢ 77. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 80. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ ταυτόν codd. ἢ 83.
 μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 85-91. Κυδώνης-καλεῖ] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 85. οὐτε D] οὐ τί codd.
 ἢ 87. ἀφαιρέσει] ἀφαίρει P ἢ 88. ἢ ἄλλοι τυχόν] ἢ τυχόν ἄλλοι P: τυχόν ἢ ἄλλοι per sscr.
 β', α' et γ' V ἢ 91. τοῦτο] κακείνο D

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τοῦτό σοι, τῶν προτέρων, ἀσθενέστερον ἄγαν καὶ
ἀτοπώτερον· τὸ γὰρ ἀγέννητον, οὐδὲν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ καταφάσεως
ἀληθῶς ὕστερον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ψευδὸς ἐκάτερον ἀληθῶς· οὔτε
95 γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκεῖ καταφάσεως· ἅμα γὰρ ὅλα τῇ θείᾳ τῶν
ὑποστάσεων ὅσα πρέπει. Ὑπαρξιν δὲ καὶ μάλα δηλοῖ, τὸ
L 61^v ἀγέννητον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ τᾶλλα σημαίνειν οἶδεν, ὅσα τῷ Πατρὶ
πρόσεστιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ ἡμέτερα, καὶ
100 καταφάσεως τῆς περὶ Θεόν, πολὺ, τιμιωτέρα καὶ κρείττων. Ἄ δὲ σὺ
φής, τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρμόζει φύσει. Οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἄρα, μηδὲν τὴν
τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωνὴν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ δύνασθαι, πλήν, καταφάσεως
νοεῖσθαι μόνης ἀναίρεσιν. Ἀπόκριναί οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο· ποῖον ἐν
τῇ Τριάδι καλεῖς γνῶρισμα, ὃ, μὴθ' ἑνὸς προσώπου, μήτε κοινόν
105 ἐστι;

KLPV

92. τοῦτο σοι codd. ἢ 96. δέ] deest K ἢ 98. τ' ἄλλα LP ἢ 103. καί] deest P

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Τὸ πέμπειν, ἢ ἀποστέλλειν τὸ Πνεῦμα, κοινὸν ὄν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, γνῶρισμα τούτων· οὔτε δὲ ὑποστατικόν, οὔτε προσωπικόν. Ὅμοίως δέ, καὶ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι πηγὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ ἀμφοῖν, εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, Πνεῦμα.

- 110 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ὁρᾶς τὴν ἀπάτην; Τὸ πέμπειν καὶ ἀποστέλλειν, κοινόν ἐστι καὶ τρισίν, ὡς ἀσφαλῶς δέδεικται, μὴ μόνον ἀγίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τῶν λόγων ἐπόμενον· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοῦ, πηγὴν εἶναι, ψεῦδος· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων ἀναιρουμένων, καὶ τὸ ὕστερον ἀναγκαίως οἴχεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἀμφοῖν εἶναι ἐκεῖνο Πνεῦμα,
- 115 τὴν ἐκπόρευσιν οὐ ποιεῖ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλων, καὶ λέγεται, καὶ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ τούτοις ὁ Θωμᾶς, συναριθμεῖ, καὶ τὸ προβλητικόν, γνῶρισμα τοῦτο λέγων ἢ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ.

- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Οὐ Θωμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὁποῖος ἂν εἶπεν, οὐδένα ἂν
- 120 εὗροι τῶν εὐσεβῶν, ἐθέλοντα πείθεσθαι ποτέ· ὅμως εἰ κοινόν ἀμφοῖν, διατί, μὴ καὶ Πνεύματι;

KLPV

106-109. Τὸ-Πνεῦμα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.22-24 ἢ **117-18.** Ἀλλὰ-Υἱοῦ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.24

106-109. Κυδώνης-Πνεῦμα] signa in marg. KLV ἢ **110.** post ἀπάτην sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ ἀποστέλλειν] ἐπιστέλλειν codd. ἢ **112.** ἐπόμενον K ἢ **117-118.** Κυδώνης-Υἱοῦ] signa in marg. KLV ἢ **119.** [οὐ] in ras. L ἢ ἄν¹ bis acc. L ἢ ἄν² bis acc. L ἢ **121.** διὰ τι L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ὅτι ἀδύνατον.

- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Καὶ οὐ γελοῖον τοῦτό γε; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἄδικον, οὐ
χώρα τοῦ ἀδίκου Θεῶ, καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Υἱῶ προσήκεν· εἰ δὲ δίκαιον,
125 πῶς ἀδύνατον; Καὶ γάρ, πᾶν ὅσον ἄδικον ἀτεχνῶς, Θεοῦ πόρρω
καὶ ὅσον δίκαιον, αὐτῶ, σύνεστιν. Οἷς γοῦν τὰ δύο πρόσωπα
κοινωνεῖν οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἀκοινωνητον, οὐκ ἀδικεῖται
καὶ ὡς ἔλαττον ἀτιμάζεται; Ἀλλ' ἄδικον· διὸ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τῶν
ἴσων ἔχεσθαι ἀνάγκη, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ ὧν γενομένων, καὶ τῶν
130 ἄλλων αἴτιον ἔσται προσώπων, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὅ, τοῦ προτέρου
χειρῶν. Οὐκ ἄρα τὸ κοινὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῶ, μὴ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι, ὡς
ἀδύνατον· εἰ γὰρ δίκαιον, οὐκ ἀδύνατον· καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνατόν,
ἄδικον· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ τοῖς θείοις οἰκεῖος προσώποις νόμος, οὐκ
ἄλλος.
- 135 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ὁ Θωμᾶς ἂν εἴποι, τὸ αἰτιατόν,
κοινὸν εἶναι, Υἱῶ καὶ Πνεύματι· μήτε συστατικὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν,
ἀλλὰ γνώρισμα μόνον.

KLPV

135-137. Ἀλλά-μόνον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^r.25-26

122. Κυδώνης-ἀδύνατον] signum in marg. L || **123.** τοῦτο γε KPV || post γε sign. interrogationis codd. || **127.** post ἀδικεῖται sign. interrogationis codd. || **128.** post ἀτιμάζεται sign. interrogationis KLV || **129.** ἀναγκη P || **131.** καί] deest KPV || **135-137.** Κυδώνης-μόνον] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || **135.** ἂν bis acc. L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, ὡς πρὸς αἴτιον ἀναφέρεται τὸν Πατέρα· καὶ δύο ταῦτ' εἶναι πάντως ἀναγκαῖον
140 αἰτιατά· εἰ γοῦν καὶ τὸ προβλητικὸν κοινὸν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ἀνάγκη
L 62^v ἄρα, καὶ προβολεῖς εἶναι δύο, καὶ πηγάς, καὶ ἀρ-||χάς, καὶ αἴτια· ἃ
πάντα, καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ ἀδύνατα· καὶ οὐδέποτ' ἄν τις αὐτά, καλεῖν
οὕτως δύναίτο. Καὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι συλλογισμῷ,
Νεῖλος πολλῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐδίωξε· σὺ δὲ Νεῖλον, ὀλίγων.
145 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἄδειά μοι.

KLPV

141. προβολεῖς P || post ἄρα scr. et del. τῷ V || 143. οὕτω KPV || 145. scr. sign. in textu et scr. in marg. κυδ<ώνης> P || ἄδιά P

[12] Συλλογισμὸς ἐνδέκατος

ΘΩΜΑΣ. Ἐγὼ προβαλοῦμαι συλλογισμὸν ὑμῖν ἕτερον. *Τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ* λεγόντων τῶν θεολόγων, ἀνάγκη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὡσπερ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ· αἴτιος ἄρα, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱός.

5 **ΝΕΙΛΟΣ.** *Τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, ὡς ὁμοούσιον· οὐκ ἀνάγκη δέ, εἰ τι τινὶ ὁμοούσιον, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου εἶναι.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ τοῦτο δέ, *Θωμᾶ* λογίζεται, ὡς ἂν εἰπόντι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ προῖέναι ὁμολογεῖται. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ

10 *Υἱοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς προῖέναι, κοινή ἐστι δόξα πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ διδασκάντων ἁγίων, διαρρηθῆν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν λόγοις ἀναγινωσκόμενον· καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον φασίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρόεισι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν, ὡσπερ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς.*

KLPV

[12] 1-4. Τὸ-Υἱός] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 346.5-14 || 5-6. Τὸ-εἶναι] Nil. Cab., *Proc. S. S.*, p. 346.16-21 || 7-13. Καὶ-Πατρὸς] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.12-15

[12] 1-4. Τὸ-Υἱός] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 45, p. 167.1-5 || 5-6. Τὸ-εἶναι] Dem. Chrys., *Synop.*, § 45, p. 167.6-8

[12] 1-3. Τὸ-αὐτοῦ] cf. Thom. Aquin., *CEG* II, 31

[12] 1-2. Τὸ-Υἱοῦ] Cyrill. Alex., *Thesaurus*, PG 75, col. 588A

[12] 1-4. Θωμᾶς-Υἱός] <συλλογισμός> ια' in marg. KL: <συλλογισμός> ι<α'> in marg. V || signa in marg. KLV || 1. προβαλοῦμαι LP || 5-6. Νείλος-εἶναι] signa in marg. KLV || 7-13. Κυδώνης-Πατρὸς] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 7. Θωμᾶς K || ἂν bis acc. L || 8. ἐπειδήπερ L || 9. αὐτοῦ] αὐτῆς D || ὁμολογεῖται προῖέναι KPV || 13. πρόεισι P

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τούτων, τὸ μὲν, ἐστὶν ἀληθές, τὸ δέ, οὐ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ
 15 ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοὺς θεολόγους εἶπειν, οὐδεὶς
 ἀντιλέγει· ὁμοίως, καὶ τὸ πέμπεσθαι καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἐξ
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πάντας ἂν εὔροι τις
 ἀνθισταμένους ὡς ἀρραγεῖς κίονας· ὧν ἀπάντων, ἐξηγητῆς,
 L 63^r Ἰωάννης, ἢ καὶ Μάξιμος, οἱ μακάριοι, μὴ εἶναι λέγοντες ἐξ Υἱοῦ.
 20 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, οὔτε Θωμᾶς εἴρηκεν, οὔτε τις τῶν
 ἄλλων Λατίνων, ὅσα ἐμὲ εἰδέναί· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως, διὰ τὸ μὴ
 τοσοῦτον ἐμπείρους εἶναι, τῶν ἐλληνικῶς, παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων,
 συγγεγραμμένων, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς μαρτυρίαν χρῆσθαι· διό, καὶ
 αὐτὸς βέλτιον ἠγοῦμαι, μὴ πράγματα ἔχειν ἀπολογούμενος, ὑπὲρ
 25 ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐκ εἴρηκεν· ὅμως εἴ τι δέοι, καὶ περὶ τούτου εἶπειν.
 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Σιγῇ χρῆσθαί σε μᾶλλον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔδει, ἢ
 ἀντικεῖσθαι· ἐπελάθου γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἀρτίως σοι λεγομένων.
 Ἐν γὰρ τῷ δευτέρῳ συλλογισμῷ, καὶ πρόσχημά σοι τῆς ἀντιλογίας
 ἐγένετο, δοκοῦν, ἴσως εὐλογον, οὐ Θωμᾶ τοῦτον εἰπόντι, ἀλλ'
 30 ἄλλου Λατίνων εἶναι προβαλλομένῳ· οἷς δὴ, καὶ συνηγορεῖν καὶ

KLPV

20-25. Ἀλλὰ-εἶπειν] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.15-18

28-30. Ἐν-προβαλλομένῳ] vide supra, [3] 14-19

19. μὴ-Υἱοῦ] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Trisag.*, § 28.40-42, p. 332; Max. Conf., *Quaest. et dub.*, 63.167-172, p. 155

14. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ δὲ bis acc. L ἢ τὸ³ et sscr. ὦ per τῶ L ἢ post τὸ³ sscr. μ(ἐν) V: deest L ἢ
 16. τὸ¹] τῶ L ἢ τὸ²] τῶ L ἢ 18. κίονας L ἢ in marg. inf. ἰωάννης, καὶ μάξιμος, L ἢ 20-25.
 Κυδώνης-εἶπειν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 20. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 25. τούτου] scr. τούτων
 et post sscr. ου per τούτου KV ἢ 26. χρῆσθαι σε codd. ἢ 28. πρόσχημά P

συμμαχεῖν, εἰκὸς ἦν· νυνὶ δέ, οὔτε Θωμᾶ τὸν παρόντα
 συλλογισμὸν ὁμολογεῖς εἶναι, οὔτε Λατίνων ἄλλου. Εἴτ' ἐπιχειρεῖς
 ἀνατρέπειν τὰ Νείλου· καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἀρχήν, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Θωμᾶ σε
 φιλία, τούτων οἶδε προτρέπειν. Ἐγὼ δέ σοι ταῦτ' ἀκαίρως καὶ πάλιν ἐρῶ· εἰ
 35 μὲν ἀληθὲς τὸ θεώρημα, ἔστω καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Λατίνων ἄλλου, καὶ
 τῆς παρὰ σοῦ γε συμμαχίας τυχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ καλόν, καὶ
 τὰναγκαῖα μὴ περαίνειν δυνάμενον, καὶ Λατίνων οὐδενὶ
 γνῶριμον, τί κόπους αὐτῷ παρέχεις, οἷς, οὐδὲν ὄφελος; Ἄτοπον
 γάρ, οἷς μέμφεσθαι, περιπίπτειν, καὶ ὧν κατηγορεῖν, κοινωνεῖν·
 L 63^v 40 ὅμως, κὰν τούτοις, λέγε σοι ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους ὑφισταμένων, φανερόν,
 ὡς ἄλλο ἐστὶν οὐσία, καὶ ἄλλο, τὸ πρόσωπον· ἄλλο γάρ ἐστιν ἡ
 ἀνθρωπότης, ἣτις ἐστὶν αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐσία, ἢ ἐστὶν
 οὐσιῶδες εἶδος αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀρισμοῦ δηλοῦται, καὶ
 45 ἄλλο τὸ ὑποκειμένον, ἢ τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐν ᾧ, ὥσπερ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ,

KLPV

41-51. Ἐπί-ἀπλότητα] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.18-22

33-34. ὡς-προτρέπειν] vide supra, [1.3] 269-272 ἢ 34-35. Ἐγὼ-Θωμᾶ] vide supra, [7] 25

38. τί-παρέχεις] cf. Matth. 26:10; Marc. 14:6 ἢ 45. ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ] Arist., *Categoriae* 1a.24-25

33. ἀρχή] P ἢ 34. εἶδε KPV ἢ ταυτὰ codd. ἢ καὶ] deest P ἢ 35. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 36. γε] σε P ἢ 37. τ' ἀναγκαῖα LP ἢ 41-51. Κυδώνης-ἀπλότητα] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 42. πρόσωπον P ἢ 45. ἐνυποκειμένῳ L

καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ περιέχεται, μὴ ὄντα τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐσίας·
οἶον, τὸ λευκόν, καὶ δίπηχυ, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, ἢ οἷς συμπληροῦται τὸ
ὑποκείμενον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀνευ ὕλης, ταυτόν ἐστι τὸ ὑποκείμενον
καὶ ἡ οὐσία· ταυτόν γάρ ἐστιν ἄγγελος, καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ, καὶ
50 κύκλος, καὶ αὐτή, ἢ οἶόν τ' εἰπεῖν, κυκλότης· καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ
Θεοῦ μάλιστα θεωρεῖται, διὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἀπλότητα.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἴδού σε τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν ἡμῖν ἢ ἔφεσις, ἔξω τῶν
θείων, καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τῶν λόγων, ἔρριψεν. Ἄτοπον γὰρ οὐ
μικρόν, ἀνθρώπων οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως, λέγειν διαφορὰν,
55 κύκλων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οὐδόλως. Διπλῆς οὖν τῆς οὐσίας ἐν
παντὶ γενομένης, ἢ φαινομένης, τῆς μὲν, καθόλου, ἀφ' ἧς τῶν
ἄλλων ἢ διαίρεσις δῆλη, μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἀτόμων· τῆς δέ, μηδὲν ἄλλο
σημαινούσης ἢ ἡ, ἄτομα, ἃ καὶ μᾶλλον οὐσίαι λέγονται, καὶ μήτε
καθ' ὑποκειμένου τινός, ἢ ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ· σὺ οὖν, ὅποιαν ὁμολογεῖς

L 64^f

KLPV

55-59. Διπλῆς-ὑποκειμένῳ] cf. Arist., *Categoriae* 3a.33-3b.23 ἢ 58. μᾶλλον οὐσίαι] Arist.,
Categoriae 2b.7 ἢ 58-59. μήτε-ὑποκειμένῳ] Arist., *Categoriae* 2a.12-13

47. ἡ² deest KP ἢ ante συμπληροῦται sscr. οἷς V: deest L ἢ 48. ταυτόν codd. ἢ 49. ταυτόν codd.
ἢ 52. [χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς)] illeg. V ἢ 53. ἔρριψεν L ἢ 54. ὑποστάσεων P ἢ 57. δὲ bis acc. L ἢ 59.
καθυποκειμένου L ἢ 59. ἐνυποκειμένου L ἢ οὖν deest KPV ἢ ὅποιαν LP

- 60 ἀνομοίαν εἶναι τῆ ὑποστάσει; Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἄτομον, οὐκ ἀληθές· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ τοῦ δεινός οὐσία τῆς αὐτοῦ δῆθεν ὑποστάσεως διαφέρει, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτὴ ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταύτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν καθόλου φῆς ἀνομοίαν τῆ ὑποστάσει, τούτου μὲν χάρις σοι, καὶ ἀληθεύοντι συμφωνοῦμεν· πλήν, ἴσθι τοῦτο, κὰν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις εὕρισκεσθαι.
- 65 Ἐξ ἑκατέρου σοι τοίνυν ἄτοπον ἔπεται, λέγοντι μὲν, ἄλλο τὴν ὑπόστασιν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν ὕλῃ, τῆ δ' αὐλία ταυτόν· ὡς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐσία, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅσον εἰς τὴν διαίρεσιν. Καὶ δῆλον ἐντεῦθεν· γένος ἀρχὴν ἢ οὐσία· ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτην, σῶμα· ὑφ' ὅ, τὸ ζῶον· ὑπὸ δὲ τὸ ζῶον, λογικόν· ὑφ' ὅ, ὁ
- 70 ἄνθρωπος· καὶ τέλος, τὸ ἄτομον· τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων γένος, ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀσώματον, ἑκάτερον δὲ τούτων, οὐσία· καὶ πᾶς μὲν, ἄγγελος, ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀσώματος καὶ οὐσία· ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶν ἀσώματον, ἄγγελος, καὶ πᾶς, οὐσία, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν· ταυτόν δὲ κὰν τοῖς κύκλοις ἀκολουθεῖ· σχῆμα γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ γένος·
- 75 οὕτω δέ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλέγομεν. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπιχείρημα ἢ τὸ σόν, εἰκότως ἂν εἴη σόφισμα.

L 64^v

KLPV

68-70. γένος-ἄτομον] cf. Porphyrt., *Isag.*, p. 4.20-25; Ioh. Dam., *Dial.*, § 10.98-220, pp. 77-81 ἢ 71-72. καὶ-οὐσία] cf. Ioh. Dam., *Exp. fid.*, § 17.9-10, p. 45

60. ἀληθές LV: ἀληθες K ἢ 65. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 66. αὐλία P ἢ ταυτόν codd. ἢ 71. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 74. ταυτόν codd. ἢ κὰν L: κ(αὶ) P ἢ 76. μὲν bis acc. L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀληθῆ λέγεις, Θεοῦ δὲ τοῦτο, μακράν· ἐν ᾧ, μὴ μόνον τό τε ὑποκείμενον, καὶ ἡ οὐσία ταυτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ οὐσία
80 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εἶναι, ταυτόν, καὶ ἓν ἐστι τῷ ἀριθμῷ. Ταυτόν τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ, Υἱὸς καὶ οὐσία Υἱοῦ, ἵνα μὴ διαφορὰν πραγμάτων νοοῦντες ἐκεῖ, λάθωμεν, καὶ σύνθεσιν τῷ Θεῷ διδόντες· πάντα γὰρ ἐκεῖ, ἓν, καὶ ταυτόν τῷ ἀριθμῷ, οὐσία δηλονότι καὶ ὑπαρξίς, διὰ τε τὴν θείαν ἀπειρίαν, καὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἀπλότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ.
85 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις σοι, τὸ παρὸν ὅμοιον, ὅτε περὶ τῆς οὐσίας Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργείας ἐθεολόγεις.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ταυτόν ἐκεῖ οὐσία τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ, σύνθεσις ἄρα.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων εἰ ταυτόν, ληπτὸν ἀνάγκη τὸ θεῖον ὁμολογεῖν, ὅ, πάσης συνθέσεως ἀτοπώτερον· πολλὰ γὰρ ληπτὰ,
90 σύνθετα, ληπτὸν δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὅλοις, οὐδὲν ἀσύνθετον· οὕτω κὰν τούτῳ φοβούμενοι σύνθεσιν, ταυτόν, ὑπόστασιν τῇ οὐσίᾳ καλεῖτε.
Σκόπει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως· ταυτόν ὑπόστασις ἐκεῖ τῇ οὐσίᾳ;

KLPV

78-84. ἐν-Θεοῦ] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.22-25

87. Εἰ-ἄρα] vide supra, linn. 78-84

78-84. ἐν-Θεοῦ] signa in marg. KLV || 79. ταυτόν codd. || 80. ταυτόν ἐστι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ KPV || ταυτόν² codd. || 83. ταυτόν codd. || 84. θεῖαν L || 87. Κυδώνης-ἄρα] signa in marg. L || ταυτόν codd. || συνθεσ(ις) P || 88. ταυτόν codd. || 91. κὰν P || ταυτόν codd. || 92. καλεῖτε K || 93. ταυτόν codd. || post οὐσία sign. interrogationis codd.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἄλλως.

95 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ὑποστάσεις δέ, πάντως τρεῖς. Καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα, δῆλον· τρεῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καὶ τὰς οὐσίας.

Ἔτι, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱός, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα, καθ' ὑμᾶς τῇ ἀντιθέσει ταῦτά· οἷς, οὐκ οἶδα, τίς ἂν ἔποιτο μείζων, ἢ βλασφημία!

L 65^r 100 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Εἰ δὲ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἡ οὐσία Υἱοῦ ταυτόν, κακὴ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα λεγόμενον, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ εἶναι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' οὐθ' ἡμῖν, οὔτε σοί τε καὶ τῷ Θωμᾷ σκοπὸς ἦν, ὡς λέγειν Υἱόν, καὶ οὐσίαν Υἱοῦ, ἀλλ' Υἱὸν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπλῶς· ὅπερ οὐ ταυτόν δέδεικται πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀτόπων· τρεῖς γὰρ
105 παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων, τὰς τε ὑποστάσεις καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, σαφῶς ἴσμεν· τρεῖς δὲ τὰς οὐσίας ἢ τὰς φύσεις, ἢ τὰς μορφάς, ἢ τὰς ἀρχάς, οὐδ' ὑποπτεύειν ἠξίωσεν οὐδεὶς πώποτε, οὐδ' ἐννοεῖν ὅλως. Οὐκ ἄρα ταυτόν ὑπόστασις τῆ οὐσίας· οὐ μόνον διὰ τῶν ἀτόπων τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρρηθῆναι ἅπασιν ὁ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτὸ
110 χορὸς εἰπῶν, οὕτω φαίνεται. Πολὺ τοίνυν οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως τὸ

KLPV

99-101. Εἰ-εἶναι] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.27-28: πῶς τοίνυν ἀτοπον μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὅταν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦτο λέγηται προΐεναι ἢ εἶναι

98. ταυτὰ codd. ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ deest P ἢ **99-101.** Κυδώνης-εἶναι] signa in marg. KLV ἢ **99.** ταυτὸν codd. ἢ **104.** ταυτὸν codd. ἢ **107.** ἐννοεῖν LP ἢ **108.** ὅλως] οὐδόλως KPV ἢ ταυτὸν codd.

διάφορον εἰς Θεόν· δέδεικται ἄρα, τὴν πρότασιν εἶναι μὴ ἀναγκαίαν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ λέγουσαν εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ὅτι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ, εἶναι λέγεται. Καὶ τῆς ἐνστάσεως τὸ δοκοῦν σοι μέγεθος, ἄρα λέλυται.

115 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλ' εἴ τις τὸν ἐντελῆ λόγον περὶ τούτου ζητεῖ, εὐρήσει, οὐ μόνον Θωμᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τούτου Αὐγουστίνου, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πατέρας καὶ θεολόγους, ἱκανῶς περὶ τούτου διαλεχθέντας.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἂν περὶ τούτων, οὐδεὶς πείσαι πώποτε, 120 δύναιτο· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, Αὐγουστίνος ἴσως ἐρεῖ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ἅμα σοὶ καὶ Θωμᾶ· τοὺς δὲ πατέρας καὶ θεολόγους, οὐ πάνυ τοὶ πείθομαι, ἂν μὴ που, τοῦ πρώτου μὲν, ἢ δύο, τοῦ δευτέρου δέ, τρία, τὰ πρῶτα, δῆθεν ἐξέλης γράμματα, πείθομαι τότε λέγειν αὐτούς, ἂ L 65^v σὺ νῦν ἐρεῖς· ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ὅτι καὶ συνηγορεῖν 125 σοὶ ῥαδίως καὶ ταῦτα φθέγγεσθαι, ὧν ἔφην ἀφαιρεθέντων στοιχείων πέντε.

KLPV

115-118. Ἀλλ'-διαλεχθέντας] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.30-31

115-118. Κυδώνης-διαλεχθέντας] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V ἢ 117-118. post περὶ scr. et eras. ca. 3 litt., deinde scr. περὶ τούτου διαλεχθέντας L ἢ 119. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 120. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 122. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 123. ἐξέλης codd. ἢ 124. ἀληθέστερον] deest KPV ἢ 125. ταῦτα codd.

- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. ΑΛΛ' ὁ φησιν οὗτος, διὰ πλειόνων προαποδείξαι τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων λεγόμενον, οὐ ταυτὸν εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν οὐσιωδῶς αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ Πνεύματος,
- 130 ἀλλὰ μόνον ὅτι ὁμοούσιον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἀληθὲς μὲν, ὡς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀποδείξαι· πάνυ δὲ ἡμελημέναις ἀποδείξεσιν εἰς τὸν λόγον ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀνατρεπομέναις· καὶ τοῦτο οἴσεται, ᾧ, τοσαύτη σχολῇ, ὥστε τὴν μακρὰν κατὰ Λατίνων αὐτοῦ συγγραφὴν ἀναγνῶναι.
- 135 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ τοῦτό σοι δῆλον αὐτόθεν οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν. Πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν, ἃ νῦν ἐρεῖ Νεῖλος, εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ παρόντος συλλογισμοῦ, σὺ δέ, Νεῖλον αἰτιᾶ, δύο· ὧν, τὸ μὲν, ἀνεπίσκεπτον ἀληθῶς, ὅ, καὶ παρατιθέμενον ἡμῖν, ἀναιρεῖται, τὸ δέ, μόνον ὕβρεων γέμει κατὰ τοῦ Νείλου· ὅ, καὶ τιμῶμεν ἡμεῖς, σιγῇ. Τὸ δὲ
- 140 κεφάλαιον, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεπηρέαστον εἶας, οἰόμενος ἀσθενὲς εἶναι ἀλλὰ δυνατὸν ὀρῶν, ἔκρινας παρακαλύπτεσθαι δίκαιον.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. ΑΛΛ' ὡσπερ εἰς πέμπων, καὶ μία πηγὴ, ἄμφω πέμποντες καὶ πηγάζοντες, οὕτω καὶ εἰς προβολεύς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐν πρόσωπον.

KLPV

127-134. ΑΛΛ'-ἀναγνῶναι] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 125^v.32-34 || 142-144. ΑΛΛ'-πρόσωπον] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 126^r.21-22

127-134. Κυδώνης-ἀναγνῶναι] signa in marg. KLV || 127. [κυδ(ώνης)] illeg. V || ὁ φησιν L || 129. ταυτὸν codd. || 130. μὲν bis acc. L || 133. οἴσεται post cor. (ex εἴσεται) V: εἴσεται KP || 135. τοῦτο σοι codd. || 137. μὲν bis acc. L || post μὲν scr. ἐν KPV || 138. δὲ bis acc. L || 140. ἂν bis acc. L || 142-144. Κυδώνης-πρόσωπον] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V

L 66^r 145 ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἀληθείας ἐγγύς· πηγάζει γὰρ
 Πατήρ καὶ Υἱός, οὐ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἀφωρισμένην
 οὖσαν τῷ Πατρὶ μόνῳ, τὴν χάριν δὲ τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος, ἧς,
 καὶ ὁ Παράκλητος χορηγός, Υἱῷ τὲ καὶ Πατρὶ ἅμα. Καὶ οὐδὲν
 αὐτοῖς χαλεπὸν ὅλως ἔπεται· ἄλλως δὲ λεγομένοις ἢ νοουμένοις,
 150 πολλὰ τὰ ἄτοπα ἔσται.
 [12.1]ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἄχρι μὲν τούτων, τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς Θωμᾶν ἀντιλογίας
 τὸ πέρας τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα, οὔτε τῷ συγγραφεῖ κόσμον ἔχει, οὔτε τοῖς
 ἀντιλέγουσι δόξαν δεινότητος μαρτυρήσει, ὡς ἂν, πρὸς τι τῶν
 ἀξιολόγων ἠγωνισμένοις. Ὡστε, οὐδὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ λοιπὸν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὔτε
 155 Θωμᾶς εἶπεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, οὔθ' οὔτος, ἰσχυρὸν τι κατ' ἐκείνου
 προὔτεινεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον δίκαιον ἀφοσιωσάμενον τῷ
 διδασκάλῳ τὴν τιμὴν, σιωπῆσαι· ἐπεὶ, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ
 παρόντι βιβλίῳ σκοπός, τοὺς τε κατ' ἐκείνου γέλωτας καὶ τὰς
 συκοφαντίας δεῖξαι μηδὲν εἶναι, καθ' οὗ γέγραπται περαίνειν
 160 δυνάμενα, καὶ πείσαι τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀσθενείας

KLPV

151-162. Ἄχρι-χρήσαιντο] Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 126^r.22-27

151-162. Κυδώνης-χρήσαιντο] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 151. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 152. κόσμος L ἢ
 ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 155. ἰσχυρὸν τι L ἢ 156. προὔτεινεν L ἢ 157. ἦν deest K

καταφρονήσαντας, ἐτέρους ἰσχυροτέρους ζητεῖν, οἷς, πρὸς
τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἀγωνιζόμενοι χρήσαιντο.

L 66^v ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐ ταῦτά σοι τῆς σιγῆς αἷτια, ὡς οὔτε Θωμᾶ τὰ
λοιπά, οὔτε δυνατόν τι περὶ τούτων ὁ Νεῖλος ἐρεῖ. Καὶ δῆλον,
165 ἐντεῦθεν· τὸν γὰρ δεύτερον καὶ δέκατον συλλογισμόν, ὡμολόγεις,
εἶναι μὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ· ἤψω δὲ ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, ὅση σοι δύναμις·
Νείλου δὲ πάλιν ἀνατρέπειν ἐβουλεύου σχεδὸν καὶ τὰ καίρια, οἷς,
οὐκ ἂν ἐσίγας ἐν ἀπιθάνοις· προσάγεις δὲ καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ σοι
τὴν ἀτιμίαν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὴν τιμὴν, οὐ καλῶς γε τούτῳ συνηγορῶν·
170 ἔπεισας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τοῦ Θωμᾶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ζητεῖν
οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ, τὰ Νείλου. Τέως, ἡμεῖς, λογιζόμεθά σοι χάριν οὐ
μικρὰν τῆς σιγῆς ἔνεκα· τὸ μὲν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν μακάριον Νεῖλον
παυρομένῳ κατηγορίας, τὸ δέ, καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ τῶν περὶ λόγους
ἀπαλλάττοντι κόπων· καὶ τέλος, ὁ, τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ἔλαττον, ὡς
175 καὶ τοῦ συνηγορεῖν ἀπέστης Θωμᾶ, πολλὴν ἐν τοῖς οὔσι τὴν ἀδικίαν,

KLPV

165-166. τὸν-Θωμᾶ] vide supra [3] et [11]

163. ταῦτα σοι codd. ἢ 168. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 172. μὲν bis acc. L ἢ περὶ deest P ἢ 173. δὲ bis
acc. L

πολλήν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄντα λαλήσαντι· ὅθεν σοὶ τὴν σιγὴν ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὡς πάντων ἤδη λεγομένων βελτίω. Τὰ δὲ μεγέθη τῶν ὕβρεων, ἅ, τῷ Νεῖλω καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ψηφίζη Χριστοῦ, καταλιμπάνομεν σιωπῇ· τὸ μὲν, ὡς ἀπεχόμενοι τῆς περὶ σὲ μάχης,
180 τὸ δέ, σοὶ καὶ τῶν μακρῶν ἐκείνων ἀκαίρων ἅμα ῥημάτων οὐ μνημονεύοντες. Θωμᾶ δὲ τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς εὐρῶν ἀσθενεῖς ἅπαντας καὶ περιπλακεῖς ὁ Νεῖλος, ἔρριψεν εἰς βυθόν, ὑποβρυχίους ὡς ἔδει πεπονημένος· οὓς, σὺ θεραπεύειν ἐθέλων, ἀντὶ φαρμάκων ἐμφυτεύεις τὰ δηλητήρια· καὶ εἴ τι σφίσιν ὅστοῦν
185 ἐνορᾶται, συνέτριψας, ὑπὲρ ὧν, οὐχ ὡς ἔδει τὰς ἐνστάσεις ἐτοιμασάμενος· ᾧ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχαιρες ἐν τοῖς προοιμίαις, αὐτῷ
L 67^r κὰν τῷ τέλει || τῶν λόγων, τῷ ψεύδει συντίθεσαι.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκ ἔχω γινῶναι, ὅπη τῆδε ποιῶ.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐκ ἀρτίως ἔλεγες, οὐ δεῖ σε λοιπόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν, οὔτε
190 Θωμᾶς εἶπεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, οὔτε Νεῖλος ἰσχυρὸν ἔλεγεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι;
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Γνώριμά μοι.

KLPV

189-191. οὐ-ἀγωνίζεσθαι] vide supra, [12] 154-156

184-185. ὅστοῦν-συνέτριψας] cf. Ps. 33:21; Ioh. 19:36

179. μὲν bis acc. L || 180. δὲ bis acc. L || 182. ἔρριψεν L || 184. δειλητήρια L || σφίσιν L || 186. ἀρχὴν K || 187. κὰν P || συντίθεσθαι P || 191. post ἀγωνίζεσθαι sign. interrogationis codd.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τί οὖν; Οὐ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἢ πανταχοῦ ἢ οὐδαμοῦ, κατὰ τὸν Φιλόσοφον εἶναι δεῖ;

195 ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτως.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Διατί οὖν αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῷ Φιλοσόφῳ δοκεῖς ἐναντία πεποηκέναι, καὶ δρᾶν ἀντικείμενα, οἷς πρότερον ὑπισχνοῦ;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ποῦ ταῦτα;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Συλλογισμοὺς ὠμολόγεις εἶναι μὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ· εἶτα
200 συνηγόρεις αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀντιλογίας ἐφρόντιζες· νῦν δέ, σιωπᾶν ἐρεῖς, ὅτι νομίζεις τοὺς συλλογισμοὺς εἶναι μὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ. Οὐ ταῦτα τοῖς προτέροις ἐναντία; Ἡ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἔδει σιγᾶν, ἢ, καὶ περὶ τούτων λαλεῖν. Οὐκ ἄρα σοι τοῦτο, τῆς σιγῆς αἴτιον, οὐδ' ὅτι Νεῖλος, ἰσχυρὸν εἶπεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ
205 αὐτῷ, καὶ πρότερον ἐλογίζου τοιαῦτα, καὶ τὰς ἀντιλογίας αὐτῶν ἀπήτεις.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐ μικρὸν ἀτιμάζεις, ἐπεὶ, τοῖς ἐναντίοις πανταχοῦ καταχρῆ· ἔνθα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀρᾶς βοηθοῦντα σοι, καὶ καλεῖς,

KLPV

193. ἦ¹-οὐδαμοῦ] Arist., *De interpretatione* 23b.28-29

194. post δεῖ sign. interrogationis codd. || 196. scr. αὐτὸς in marg. inf. P || 199. μὴ deest P || 202. πρότερον L || post ἐναντία sign. interrogationis codd. || 205. αὐτῶν] αὐτὸν L

καὶ τιμᾶς, καὶ βλασφημοῦντι πολλάκις, συνηγορεῖς· ὅπου δέ σοι
 210 τοῦτον ἐναντιούμενον, ἀποστρέφη τὲ καὶ διώκεις, πλύνεις δὲ καὶ
 πολλάκις· ἅ, χαλεπὸν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ πάντως.

L 67^v **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐῶμεν αὐτά· λέγομεν ἕτερα· ἢ ἅ, συλλογισμῶν εἶδη
 μέν, οὐδαμῶς, ἐπόμενα δὲ ὑμῖν, ἄλλως ἄτοπα.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Λέγε πᾶν ὅσον σοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἕτερον ὑποπτεύεται.

215 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Πάλιν ἡμῖν ἦκεις, ἀφικτόν τι καὶ νέον κομίζων, φίλτατε
 Ῥωμανέ, χθές σοι παρ' ἀνδρῶν, ὡς φής, εἰρημένον, τούτων δὴ τῶν
 σφόδρα ἀγανακτούντων, εἴ τις παρὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ λέγοι, τὸ
 ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεσθαι Πνεῦμα. Προτρέπεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς λόγον,
 καὶ τῶν Προμηθέως δεσμῶν, οἷς ὁ μῦθος ἐκείνον προσέδησε,
 220 χαλεπώτερον λύσιν ἐπινοεῖν· ἐκείνοις γὰρ λέγειν τὸν δεσμὸν
 τοῦτον, εἰκάζειν, τοὺς αὐτὸν ἐξευρόντας. Ἀλλ' εἰ μέν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς
 τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάσεως, καὶ προθυμίας οὐ παύη, οὕτω δὴ
 κάμοι τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδὴν καὶ γυμνασίαν συνάδεις, εἶχεν ἄν
 σοι λόγον τὸ κάμει τῶν περὶ ταῦτα πόνων κοινωνεῖν σοι
 225 προσαναγκάζει. Νῦν δ' ὡς ἔοικε, πᾶν τοῦμὸν ἀγνοεῖς.

KLPV

215-225. Πάλιν-ἀγνοεῖς] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

219. τῶν-δεσμῶν] Dem. *Cyd., Epist.*, 310.45-46, vol. II, pp. 235-236

212-213. Κυδώνης-ἄλλως] signa in marg. K: illeg. V || 213. μέν bis acc. L || 215-225. Κυδώνης-ἀγνοεῖς] signa in marg. KLV || 215. ἀφικτόν L || 218. ἐκπο<ρεύεσθαι> K || 219. προμηθέων K || 223. θεία L || σπουδὴν K || 225. προσαναγκάζειν KPV

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Καὶ τὸ παρὸν, ὅμοιον ἀρχῇ σοι τῶν προοιμίων, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐφ' ὕβρει Νείλου τούτων ἐκάτερον· ὁ, μὴ δίκαιον εἰς ἄνδρα σοφόν, ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ δοῦν. Λέγε οὖν, ὅσα σοι δοκεῖ μόνα καθ' ἡμῶν καίρια, ἵνα τὰ μὲν ἀσθενῆ, λύσωμεν, τοῖς δ' ἰσχυροῖς καὶ
230 πείσῃσι δυναμένοις, συνηγορήσωμεν. Ἐὰ τὰ περιττὰ καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις.
[12.2] ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Νεστόριος εἶπε, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Θεὸν μὲν εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν συναριθμεῖσθαι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, ἐν ἰδίᾳ τὲ παρ' ἐκείνους ὑποστάσει νοεῖσθαι, μὴ μέντοι καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν εἰληφέναι
L 68^r ὁ, τοὺς ἢ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ πρότερον συναθροισθέντας ἁγίους πατέρας
235 ἀκούσαντας, ἀνεπιτίμητα σιωπῆ, παρελθεῖν. Τῇ περὶ τούτου τοίνυν σιωπῆ, τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης, ἤλεγξαν δόξαν. Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θαυμάζων, ἐν τούτων μᾶλλον τεθαύμακα, ὅτι, σοφίσμασί τισι καὶ μύθοις μᾶλλον, ἢ λόγοις θαρροῦντες, ἅ, μὴδὲ αὐτοὺς πείθειν οἶοι
240 τέ εἰσι, τούτοις, τοὺς ἀκούοντας, παράγειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν· ὡς εἶ τις,

KLPV

231-250. Νεστόριος-βεβαιώσασθαι] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

231-233. Νεστόριος-εἰληφέναι] cf. Dem. Chrys., *Dial.*, facs. 22, p. 174a || 234. Ἐφέσω-πατέρας] scil. Concilium Ephesenum (431)

231-233. Νεστόριος-εἰληφέναι] cf. *Gesta Eph.*, ACO 1.1.7, pp. 97.25-98.12

229. μὲν bis acc. L || ἰσχυροῖς K || 231-250. Κυδώνης-βεβαιώσασθαι] signa in marg. KLV || 231. μὲν bis acc. L || 233. μὴ L || 234. τοπρότερον KLV || 236. μὲν bis acc. L || 239. αὐτοὺς P

τὴν σιωπὴν ἐπιτάξειε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδεμία μηχανὴ τὰ παρ'
 ἀλλήλων εἴσεσθαι ποτ' αὐτούς· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἔξουσιν,
 ἀλλήλους μόνον, ὡς πρὸς λίθους ὀρῶντες. Οὐ τοίνυν, οὐδ' ἡ τῶν
 πατέρων ἐφ' οἷς οὗτοι φασὶ σιωπὴν, σαφὲς ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐκείνων
 245 διανοίας τεκμήριον· ἦν, εἰ μὴ λόγοις, ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν δυνατόν ἦν
 ἐκείνους ἐνδείξασθαι. Καὶ μὴν, εἴπερ οὗτοι τοῦ κακείνους
 συνδοκεῖν τὴν Νεστορίου περὶ τούτου δόξαν τὴν σιωπὴν
 ἀπόδειξιν οἶονται, τί κωλύει, καὶ ἄλλους ἐπιχειρεῖν, ὡς εἴ γε τοῖς
 παρὰ Νεστορίου περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰρημένοις οἱ πατέρες
 250 ἠρέσκοντο, ἐχρῆν, καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὴν βεβαιώσασθαι;
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ὡ γενναῖε, πολλὰ μὲν ἐρεῖς παρακαλύψαι τὴν σιγὴν
 τῶν ἀγίων βουλόμενος, καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῖν δεῖξαι δύνασθαι· ἀλλ' εἰς
 L 68^v κέντρα λακτίζεις. Διπλῆ τίς, ἐστὶν ἡ σιγή· ἡ μὲν, ἢ ὅταν πάντες
 σιγῶσιν, ἡ δέ, ὅταν μέρος αὐτῶν λαλῆ· ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη, ἀληθὲς
 255 ἐστὶν, ὡς οὐδὲν ἰσχύει· τί γὰρ ἂν τις ἔχοι τεκμηριώσασθαι, μηδενὸς

KLPV

253. κέντρα λακτίζεις] cf. Act. 26:14; Apost., *CparG II*, XIV.100, p. 628

241. οὐδεμία KV: οὐδὲ μιᾶ P ἢ μηχανὴ post cor. (ex μηχανῆ) L: μηχανῆ KPV ἢ 244. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 245. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 246. τοῦ] scr. τὴν et post sscr. οὐ (per τοῦ) V: τὴν L: τὴν οὐ P ἢ κακείνους post cor. (ex κακείνους) L ἢ 253. διπλή P: διπλή L ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 254. δὲ bis acc. L

λαλοῦντος; Πάντως οὐδέν. Ἡ δὲ τελευταία, καὶ μάλα δύναται, καὶ
πολλὰ τοῖς αὐτῇ χρωμένοις, παρέχειν ἔγνω δεινά· καὶ δῆλον, ἐπὶ
τῶν δικαστηρίων αὐτῶν καὶ θεάτρων, καὶ βουλευτηρίων, καὶ τῶν
ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τῶν συλλόγων, καὶ τῶν θιάσων ἀπάντων ἅμα,
260 ὅταν, οἱ μὲν, διώκοντο καὶ ἀπαιτοῖντο, οἱ δ' ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ διώκουσιν
ὡς ἂν βούλωνται· τότε γὰρ οἱ σιγῶντες, οὐ χρήματα μόνον, οὐδὲ
κτήματα, οὐδ' ἄλλην ἄλλου βίων ἀφαίρεσιν, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδίους ἐξορίας· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, σιγῶντες ἤδη,
καταψηφίζονται θάνατον. Πῶς οὖν οὐδὲν ἰσχύει περὶ τὸν βίον ἢ
265 σιωπῆ; Αὐτὴν ἂν τις εὖροι πανταχοῦ φαινομένην καὶ δυναμένην
τὰ μέγιστα· αὐτὴ καὶ τότε, Νεστορίου λαλοῦντος, ἐφαίνετο
περιπλεκομένη, τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνους ἄνδρας· καὶ μέγала παρ'
ἡμῖν δύναται· σὺ δὲ ὡς ἔοικε, τούτων ἀπάντων ἅμα, καὶ τῶν
πολιτικῶν νόμων, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὄν, πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων
270 ἐφίλεις, οὐ μνημονεύεις· οἶμαι δὲ σε ταῦτα πεπονημένον ἐκόντα.

KLPV

256. τελευταία L || 259. θειάσων L || 260. μὲν bis acc. L || ἀπαιτῶσι V || διώκωσιν V ||
261. ἂν bis acc. L || 262. ταπολλά KV || 264. οὖν] deest KPV || 265. σιωπῆ KV || 270.
ἐκόντα] ἦκοντα KPV

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Εἶπε σαφέστερον, ὅπη ταῦτα.

- L 69^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἐν μὲν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ἂν σιγῶσιν οἱ διωκόμενοι, πραγμάτων εὐθὺς ἀπαλ-||λάττουσι τοὺς δικαστάς, ἅμα, καὶ τοὺς
275 ἀντικειμένους αὐτοῖς, αὐτοὺς δέ, τῇ ψήφῳ τῆς δίκης χαρίζονται. Νόμοι δέ φασι πάλιν οὕτως· ὁ τὸ ἴδιον ὄρων πιπρασκόμενον καὶ σιγῶν, αὐτὸς δοκεῖ πιπράσκειν αὐτό, καὶ οὐκέτι δύναται ἀνακαλεῖσθαι. Σωκράτης δὲ Μελίτῳ διαλεγόμενος καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἔν τι μὴ λαλοῦντα, τίθεμαί σε φησὶν ὁμολογοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ
280 οὐκ ἀποκρίνη. Οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὰ παρόντα; Οὐ πάντα μαρτυρεῖ τῇ σιγῇ μέγала δύνασθαι περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἰσχυρότερα; Πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς αὐτὴν ἀτιμάξεις, καὶ μηδὲν ἐν ἡμῖν ὁμολογεῖς δύνασθαι; Ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς, ἀναγκαῖον ἴσθι, τιμᾶν αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλλόντως μᾶλλον, ἢ λόγους.
- 285 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Εἰς τὸν σιγῶντα, καὶ τοῦτο εἴρηται· ἐκ τοῦ λόγου σου δικαιοθήση, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου σου κατακριθήση.

KLPV

285-286. Εἰς-κατακριθήση] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

276-278. ὁ-αὐτό] cf. *Epan. Aucta*, titul. 21, § 12, p. 126: Ὁ βλέπων ὑφ' ἑτέρου τὸ ἴδιον πιπρασκόμενον, καὶ μὴ ἀντιλέγων, αὐτὸς δοκεῖ πιπράσκειν αὐτό. || 279-280. τίθεμαί-ἀποκρίνη] Plato, *Apologia Socratis* 27c || 285-286. ἐκ-κατακριθήση] Matth. 12:37

275. ἀντικειμένους L || αὐτοὺς KPV: αὐτοὺς L || 277. οὐκ ἔτι LP || δύνασθαι P || 278. μελίτῳ codd. || 281. post παρόντα sign. interrogationis codd. || 282. post βίον sign. interrogationis codd. || post ἰσχυρότερα sign. interrogationis codd. || 285-286. Κυδώνης-κατακριθήση] signa in marg. KLV

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἰθι καὶ τοῦτο σκεψώμεθα. Τοῖς μὲν ἀνθρώποις, οὐκ
ἀναγκαῖον· δέδεικται γάρ, μεγάλα τὴν σιγὴν δύνασθαι. Τοῦτο,
λείπεται περὶ Θεοῦ λοιπὸν λέγεσθαι, ὅ, μηδ' ὑποπτεύειν δίκαιον,
290 εὐσεβεῖ πώποτε. Καὶ δῆλον· εἰ γάρ τις ἐκῶν ἢ ἄκων ἀσθενεῖα
φύσεως, παρ' ὅλον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον ἄφωνος εἶ, πᾶσαν δὲ κατὰ νοῦν
ἀνομίαν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ κατὰ Θεοῦ φέρεται, τί ἂν γένοιτο
L 69^v τελευτήσας; Δῆλον, ἢ ὡς τιμωρίας ἂν ἄκρας ἄξιος εἶη. Εἰ δέ τις
αὐτῷ παρόμοιος τοῖς αὐτοῦ μὲν <οὐκ> ἀγανακτεῖ, χαίρει δὲ πᾶσι
295 τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐλογῶν ἀεὶ τὸν Θεόν, τί περὶ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος
νομιούμεν; Ἄρ' οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα; Καὶ τίς ἂν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ἔχοι
πώποτε; Θεὸς γάρ, οὐ δεῖται σιγῆς· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν
Ἰουδαίων ἔλεγε νομοθέτης, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου
καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου· δηλῶν, πράξεων καὶ λόγων καὶ
300 διανοημάτων, ἀληθέστατον δικαστὴν μόνον τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι· μόνος

KLPV

298-299. ἐν-χερσί σου] Deut. 30:14

291. παρόλον L ἢ 292. καὶ] deest P ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 293. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 294. παρόμοιον P ἢ αὐτοῦ codd. ἢ 296. post βέλτιστα sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 297. διατοῦτο codd.

γὰρ οἶδε τὰς καρδίας καὶ τοὺς νεφρούς. Διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ Μωσέως,
οὐ λαλοῦντος, ἀκούει καὶ δικαίως· πάντα γὰρ οἶδε πρὶν γενέσεως
αὐτῶν. Οὐκ ἄρ' ἀληθές τὸ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου σου δικαιωθήση, ἢ περὶ Θεοῦ, ἢ
παρ' ἡμῖν, ὡς τοῦτο βούλεται, τὴν σιγὴν, οὐδὲν δύνασθαι. Οὐκ
305 ἀναγκαῖά σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ναί· πλήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς
οὐκ ἄντικρυς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος συκοφαντίαν, ὁ Νεστόριος
προϊσχύμενος, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐτάραττεν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν
προσθήκης ἔλεγε μέρος· τὸ δ' ἀληθές, καὶ ὁ μᾶλλον ἐσκοπέει καὶ
310 πρὸς ὁ πάντα ἠρτύετο, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τῶν προσώπων,
ἐμχανᾶτο διαίρεσιν, αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς, τὸν τῆς πίστεως θεμέλιον,
L 70^r ὑποσπῶν· καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτόν, τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ θεότητα, πείθων,
ἀρνεῖσθαι.

KLPV

306-313. Ναί-ἀρνεῖσθαι] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

301. οἶδε-νεφρούς] cf. Ps. 7:10; Jer. 11:20, 17:10, 20:12; Prov. 24:12; Apoc. 2:23 ἢ 302-303.
πάντα-αὐτῶν] cf. Sus. 35a:2 ἢ 303. ἐκ-δικαιωθήση] Matth. 12:37

301. διατοῦτο codd. ἢ 302. πάντα] πᾶν τὰ L ἢ 304. σιγὴν KPV ἢ 305. ἀναγκαῖα σοι codd.
ἢ post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis codd. ἢ 306-313. Κυδώνης-ἀρνεῖσθαι] signa in marg
KLV ἢ 306. ναί bis acc. L ἢ ἔστιν K ἢ μὲν bis acc. L ἢ 308. μὲν bis acc. L

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ὦ βέλτιστε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ὑπερέχει
315 Θεός, τοσοῦτον ἢ τῶν θείων προσώπων ἀναίρεσις, τὴν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ
τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἀναίρεσιν ὑπερβαίνει καὶ μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ, ὁ
πρὸς ἑκάτερον ὡς οὐ χρεῶν ἀτιμώμενος, εἰπὼν, ὁ βλασφημήσας
εἰς τὸν Υἱόν, ἀφεθήσεται, ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. Εἰ γοῦν ὁ τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων κύκλος μεγάλων
320 ἀνέχεται τῶν ἀγώνων ἐν τῇ σαρκώσει Χριστοῦ, τί ἂν εἰς τὸ μείζον
ἐποίει τῆς θεολογίας μέρος αὐτοῦ; Δῆλον, ὡς πάμπολλα καὶ
μεγάλα. Οὐκ ἄρα σιγῶσιν, ὅτι Νεστορίῳ τῆς θεολογίας οὐ σκοπὸς
ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι δίκαιον αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐσεβὲς τὸ λεγόμενον ἐλογίζετο.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Συμβαίνει δὲ πολλάκις δυοῖν ὄντων κακοῖν, ὑπὸ τοῦ
325 κουφότερου μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐνοχλεῖσθαι καὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε
πολλάκις τοὺς νοσοῦντας, οὐδ' αἰσθησιν λαμβάνειν τοῦ χείρονος,
καὶ ἰατροὶ δὲ τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιόντες, οὐκ εἶ τι καὶ ἄλλο πρότερον
παρηνώχλει, τοῦτο εὐθύς θεραπεύειν πειρῶνται, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο πρὸς
τὸ παρὸν μένειν ἔασαντες, τοῖς κατεπείγουσιν ἐπάγουσι τὴν ἀπὸ
330 τῆς τέχνης βοήθειαν. Οὕτω κακῆνοι ἄνδρες οἱ μακάριοι.

KLPV

324-330. Συμβαίνει-μακάριοι] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

317-319. ὁ βλασφημήσας-ἀφεθήσεται] cf. Matth. 12:32; Luc. 12:10

317. προσεκάτερον L || ἀτιμώμενος] ἀτιμαζόμενος KPV || 320. σαρκώσει χ(ριστο)ῦ αὐτοῦ KP: σαρκώσει αὐτοῦ et post sscr. χ(ριστο)ῦ V || ἂν bis acc. L || 324-330. Κυδώνης-μακάριοι] signa in marg. KLV || 329. ἔασαντες L

L 70^v **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἀλλ' ὦ γὰθέ, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, παντάπασιν
|| ἀληθέστατον, ὅστᾱ, καὶ σάρκας, καὶ νεῦρα περικειμένοις· διὰ τοῦτο,
καὶ ὁ κάμων πολλάκις ἐνοχλεῖται μειζόνως, τῷ ἔλαττονι νοσημάτων,
ἢ μείζονι· καὶ ἰατροὶ δὲ κατασκευῆς δεόμενοι πρακτικῆς, πειρῶνται
335 θεραπεύειν τὸ ἔλαττον· τὰ δὲ ψυχῇ προσόντα νοσήματα, τοῖς
τῶν σωμάτων ἀνόμοια, καὶ ἄνισα παντελῶς· ὅσῳ γὰρ μείζον,
ἐνοχλεῖ πλέον, καὶ κάμνουσι μὲν, ἄριστον αὐτὸ πρότερον
θεραπεύειν· καὶ ἰατροὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὰ θεραπεύειν ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ τὰ
ἔλαττον· λόγος γὰρ ἐστίν, ὃ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα τῆς
340 ψυχῆς δυνάμενος ἰᾶσθαι νοσήματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ λόγοι μόνοι ψυχῆς
τὰ νοσήματα. Οὐκ ἄρα σοι τὸ παράδειγμα ἀληθές, οὐδ' ἐσίγων οἱ
μακάριοι ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι, τὸν Θεὸν ἀκούοντες βλασφημούμενον·
οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὁμοίως ἦσαν, τῆς βλασφημίας ἐνοχοὶ Νεστορίου.

KLPV

331. ὦ ἀγαθέ P || παντάπασι P || 332. διατοῦτο codd. || 343. ἂν bis acc. L

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ὑπονοοῦντες καὶ ἄλλους οἷς συνεδόκει
345 μὴ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ δῆλον, ὡς ὁ
Θεοδώρητος καὶ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας Ἰωάννης, οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν
κινήσαι, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγον, εὐλαβούμενοι, τὰς τινῶν
ἀντιλογίας καὶ ἔριδας.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὖς φῆς ἐδόξαζον τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ,
350 ψεῦδος· φαίνεται γὰρ Θεοδώρητος, μηδὲ τὸ δι' Υἱοῦ παραδεχόμενος
L 71^r πώποτε· καὶ δῆλον, ἐξ ὧν ἐπολέμει Κυρίλλῳ. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἢ μὲν οἱ
θαροῦντες αὐτῷ, αὐτοὶ δὲ σιγῶσι φοβούμενοι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο· ὅς γὰρ
τούτου Κυρίλλῳ κοινωνεῖν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, πῶς ἂν εἶπετο
Νεστορίῳ; Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅτι Θεοδώρητος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, μὴ δεχόμενοι τὸ
355 διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τῆς σιγῆς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀδύνατον· οὐ
μόνον, ὅτι δύο μόνους ὁμολογεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἅμα τις
θοῖτο ὑπονοοῦντας, ἢ καὶ λέγοντας βλασφημίαν, οὐ διὰ τοῦτ' ἂν ὁ
λοιπὸς ἐσίγα τῶν ἁγίων χορὸς, Θεοῦ γε βλασφημουμένου, ἢ
ἀνθρώπων σέβειν οὐ καλῶς βουλευομένων αὐτόν.

KLPV

344-348. Ἀλλὰ-ἔριδας] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

344-348. Κυδώνης-ἔριδας] signa in marg. KLV ἢ 344. κυ[δώνης] illeg. V ἢ 348. ἔριδος P ἢ
351. Οἱ] εἰ L ἢ 352. θαροῦντες P ἢ 353. ἂν bis acc. L ἢ 357. διατουτ' ἂν codd.

360 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλὰ θεολογίας μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδόλως, οἰκονομίας δέ, σκοπὸς ἦν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Οὐδὲ τοῦτο γε ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα προθυμία, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδύεσθαι βλασφημίαν, εἴτε μικρά, εἴτε μεγάλη εἶη, καὶ πᾶσαν αἴρεσιν τῆς εὐσεβείας διώκειν, ὅση δύναμις
365 αὐτοῖς ἦν· καὶ τὸ κατὰ Χριστοῦ βραχύτατον, οἶεσθαι μέγα· καὶ πάντα μὲν ἐν δευτέρῳ, πλην εὐσεβείας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεὸς αὐτός, οὐδαμῶς ἀνέχεται βλασφημούμενος. Κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ σοι τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων, καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἦν, ὡς ἐξῆν ὑμῖν αὐτὸ παραγράψασθαι, τὸ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὡς παρὰ τῶν
370 ἀγίων οὐκ ἐπαινούμενον· τὸ δ' ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον· ἢ μᾶλλον, οὐκ ἀληθές εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον· εἰ δ' οὖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους ἢ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἢ τοῦ Νεστορίου περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ πρώτη γενομένη θεολογία οὐκ ἀγαθή, οὐδὲ δικαία· τῶν ἀγίων οὐδένα καὶ περὶ ταύτης πεποιημένων τὸν λόγον· οὐδ'
375 ἐπαινεῖν αὐτήν γε βουλευομένων. Ἀλλ' ἄτοπον αὐτὰ λέγειν, καὶ

L 71^v

KLPV

360-361. Ἀλλὰ-ἦν] locum non invenit in *Defensio*

360-361. Κυδώνης-ἦν] signa in marg. KL: illeg. V || 360. οὐδ' ὄλως L || 362. τοῦτο γε codd. || 367. κὰν KPV || 370. τό δ' ἔστιν KPV || 370-371. ἢ-ἀναγκαῖον] om. *homoioteleuton* KPV || 374. πεποιημένον P

χλεύης οὐ μικρᾶς ἄξιον.

Δέδεικται τοίνυν σοι διὰ πάντων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐσίγων οἱ ἅγιοι, περὶ
Θεὸν ἀναιρέσεως γενομένης· οἷς γὰρ καὶ τῶν βραχυτάτων
ἐμέλησεν ἐν τῇ τάξει τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πῶς ἂν ὁ περὶ τὰ μείζονα
380 λόγος, οὐδὲν ἐλογίζετο;

KLPV

377. ἄν bis acc. L || 379. ἄν bis acc. L

[13] <Επίλογος>

<ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.> Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀπόχρη περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν· οὐκ ἐπιδείξεως χάριν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίων, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται· ἃ δὲ καὶ μικρὸν ἀπορεῖν ἐπῆλθε, ῥαδίως λύσον, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν ἔχωμεν, ὡς εἰκός. Διὰ τὴν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων τῶ Νείλω γενομένων
5 ἐνστάσεων, ἐν ἅπασιν Ἰωάννη τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, πάνυ μὲν, ὀλίγων σοι τῶν συλλογισμῶν, βραχυτέρων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνστάσεων μέλει, τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων τὸ πλεον εἰς ἕκαστον, τᾶλλα πάντα καταλιπόντι;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὕτω μοι δίκαιον ἐφαίνετο καὶ καλόν· τοῖς μὲν
10 ἰσχυροῖς, ἀντιπεῖν, τῶν δὲ μὴ τοιούτων, ἀφίστασθαι.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἄλλ' ἐμοί, τὸναντίον ἅπαν λογίζεται· σὺ γάρ, ὅς καὶ τὸ βραχυτάτον εὐρῶν ἵχνος ἀντιλογίας, οὐκ ἔᾶς, πανταχόθεν εἰς ἅπαν ἀποδύμενος, ἄχρῖς ἂν ὅσον σοι τὸ δοκοῦν διαλύσης, πῶς ἂν
L 72^r περὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν σοι δοκούντων ἐσίγῃς ἢ καὶ πιθανῶν; Ἀπίθανον.
15 Ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον μάλλον, ἐφάπτεσθαι σε τῶν ἀσθενῶν, τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα φεύγειν· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαιτεῖ λόγος.

KLPV

[13] 1. ἀπόχρη L || 2. ὥς γε μοι KPV || 6. μέλλει codd. || 7. τ'ἄλλα KLP || 9-10. Κυδώνης-ἰσχυροῖς] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V || 10. ἀντιπεῖν P || 12. εὐρῶν post cor. (ex εὐρῶν) L || 13. ἂν¹ bis acc. L || ἂν² bis acc. L || 14. πιθανῶν] ἀπιθαν(ῶν) P: ἀπιθάνων post cor. (ex πιθανῶν?) V

Ἔτι, διατί μὲν ἐκείνου ζῶντος σιγᾶς, ὅτε δὲ μηδὲν ἀπολογουμένου κατανοεῖς, τότε σοι τὸ κατ' ἐκείνου πόνημα, βουλευή γίγνεσθαι παντὶ γνώριμον;

20 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Τὸ μὲν, ἴν' αὐτὸ καλῶς ἐπισκέψωμαι, τὸ δέ, ἵνα φύγω καὶ ταραχήν.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τούτων ἐκάτερον, ἄτοπον εἶναι νομίζεται.

Ἦν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, οὐκ ἀληθές· ᾧ γὰρ τὸ γεννᾶν τοὺς λόγους εἴπερ ἄλλό τι ῥάδιον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον εὐκολώτερον αὐτοὺς

25 ἐπισκέπτεσθαι. Τὸ δ' ὕστερον, ἄδικον· εἰ μὲν γὰρ δίκαια καὶ καλὰ ταῦτα, διατί, μὴ καὶ παντὶ δηλα; Εἰ δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ἄδικα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως ἔδει γενέσθαι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως σοι προφάσεις αὐτά, αἷς αὐτὸν ἀμύνη μηδὲν ὅλως ἠδικηκότα· τὸ δὲ συνειδὸς ἐλαυνόμενον ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν, οὐκ ἔᾶ σε μὴ προσβλέπειν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖς· κἄν
30 οὐδεὶς ἕτερος αἰσθηταί σου, μηνυτῆς οὐδὲν ἦττον, αὐτὸς γενήσῃ κατὰ σαυτοῦ.

KLPV

20-21. Κυδώνης-ταραχήν] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V || 20. κ[υδώνης] illeg. V || μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L || 23. ᾧ] ὦν P || 26. μὴ καὶ] καὶ μὴ P || 27. ὅλως-γενέσθαι] ἔδει γενέσθαι ὅλως KP V || 28. ἀμυνη L: ἀμυνη KP V || 28-29. τὸ-ὄμμασιν] ὠρ(αίον) in marg. L

Ἀπόκριναί μοι καὶ ἕτερον· διατί πολλῶν ὕβρεων τὸ σόν ἐστι μεστὸν καθ' οὗ γέγραπται, ἄλλοτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων αὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτόν παραβαλλομένων;

35 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐγὼ μὲν, οὐδεμίαν αἰσχύνην εἶναι νομίζω τῷ ἀληθεύοντι.

L 72^v

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Εἶπὲ οὖν· ἐπιτρέπεις τίνι τὸ ἀλη-||θεύειν; Ἐπαίνω, ἢ τῇ κατηγορίᾳ; Ἄμφω γὰρ ἔπαινον, καὶ κατηγορίαν αὐτῷ ψηφίζη. Ἄτοπον οὖν ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐνόχους εἶναι, τοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ

40 δίκαια βραβεύειν ἀξιοῦντας.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Ἐγὼ κατηγορῶν ἀληθεύω.

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἦν ἄν σοι βέλτιον, ἀντιστρόφως εἰπεῖν αὐτὰ γε βουλευομένω.

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Διατί;

KLPV

33-34. καταταυτόν L || 37. [χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς)] illeg. V || 38. τῇ] deest P || ψηφίζει P || 42. αὐτὰ γε L

- 45 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Τὸ μὲν, ὡς οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶδε, κἄν τοῖς ἀμφιβόλοις νικᾶν ἀνάγκη φιλανθρωπίαν· τὸ δέ, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἠλήθευες ἐπαινῶν, ὁ μὲν ἐπαινούμενος ἀγαθός, καὶ σὺ ἂν τὸ εἰκὸς ἐποίεις. Νῦν δ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ κατηγορῶν ἀληθεύεις, ὡς φής, ἐκεῖνος μὲν, οὗ κατηγορεῖς, ἄθλιος, σὺ δὲ κατηγορῶν, ἀθλιώτερος.
- 50 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἀλλ' ἢ ἀλήθεια, πάντων ὑψηλότερα.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἔστιν αὕτη, ψεύδους πολλάκις χείρων.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Πότε καὶ ποία;
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἡ τὸν θάνατον ἄλλοις πεπονημένη, τοῦ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς, ἢ καὶ ἄλλοις ψηφιζομένου, καὶ ὅταν γένηται.
- 55 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐγὼ νῦν, οὐδενὶ βουλευόμει θάνατον.
ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἦν ἂν σοι κρεῖττον, ἄλλους μᾶλλον, ἢ σαυτὸν θάνατον ἀπαιτοῦντι· ἐπεὶ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀδικεῖν, αἴσχιον τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπαλλάττειν ἑαυτὸν νόσου, τοῦ ἀπαλλάττειν ἕτερον, βέλτιον.
ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Οὐκοῦν, ἑμαυτῷ βουλευόμει θάνατον ἀγνοῶν ἔγωγε;

KLPV

57. τὸ-ἀδικεῖσθαι] Plato, *Gorgias* 482d

45. μὲν bis acc. L || 46. δὲ bis acc. L || 47. ἀλήθευες P || ἂν bis acc. L || 59. Κυδώνης-ἔγωγε] sign. in marg. K: illeg. V || post ἔγωγε sign. interrogationis KPV

- 60 **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ναί· καὶ ταῦτά γε, τὸν ψυχῆς, ὄντα σώματος, πολὺ χειρῶν.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ἐφη Πλάτων, οὐδεὶς ἀληθεύων αἰσχύνεται.
- L 73^r **ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἴδού, μεμνησθαι μὲν ἐθέλεις μετὰ προ-ἰθυμίας τοῦ Πλάτωνος, τῶν δὲ νόμων, ἐκῶν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ.
- 65 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Ποῦ ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἃ σὺ λέγεις;
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ῥαδίως οὗ σφόδρα ποθεῖς λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, κατανοήσεις· προστάττει Χριστός, μὴ κρίνετε· καὶ ἐν ᾧ κρίματι κρίνετε· καὶ ὅς σε ῥαπίσει εἰς τὴν δεξιάν· καὶ ὅς τις εἴποι τῶ ἀδελφῶ αὐτοῦ μωρέ· καὶ ἃ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκούομεν ἄλλα, πολλὰ
- 70 καὶ μεγάλα ὄντα.
- ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Οὐ δύναμαί σοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, τὰληθῆ λέγοντι.
- ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ.** Ἐτι, νόμος ἐκάστῳ μὴ μόνον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποῖον ἀγνοεῖν τέλος· καὶ ἣ ἂν οὔτοι, κἀκεῖνος τελευτήσαντες φέροιντο· διό, μᾶλλον οὐ δίκαιον ἄλλων κατηγορεῖν.

KLPV

62. οὐδεὶς-αἰσχύνεται] cf. Ps.-Platonem, *Epistula I* 310d || 67. μὴ κρίνετε] Matth. 7:1 || 67-68. ἐν-κρίνετε] Matth. 7:2 || 68. ὅς-δεξιάν] Matth. 5:39 || 68-69. ὅς-μωρέ] Matth. 5:22

60. [χρυσολ(ω)ρ(ᾶς)] illeg. V || ναί bis acc. L || ταῦτα γε codd. || 61. χείρῳ KPV || 63. τοῦ] deest KPV || 65. ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν L || 69. καθημέραν KPV || 71. τὰληθῆ] ἀληθῆ KPV

75 Ἔτι, μυριοὶ μὲν ἐνήσαν Θεῶ, ἄλλοι δὲ τῷ Σατᾶν ἐκόντες ἐδούλευον· εἶτα, Θεῶ μὲν, οἱ δαίμονες, τῷ δὲ Σατᾶν, προσῆλθον οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ· μεμένηκε γὰρ οὐδέν, οὐδαμοῦ τὸ παράπαν, ἐν ὁμοίῳ· διό, τοὺς ἄλλους μέμφεσθαι, ἄδικον.

Ἔτι, πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν δέδωκεν ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ· ὁ οὖν κατηγορῶς,
80 τὴν αὐτοῦ ψῆφον, ἀρπάζει πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ.

Ἔτι, καὶ ἄδικον ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, οἷος σύ, κατηγορεῖν ἄλλου γε σοφοῦ ὄντος· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ χρωμένον, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀδικώτερον· εἰ δὲ καὶ νεκροῦ, πλέον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ μνησικακεῖται νεκρός· ἐπεὶ, πρὸς τοὺς ἐκποδῶν, οὐδεὶς φθόνος.

85 Τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, ὃ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐ μικρὸν χειρόν, ὡς ἢ πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον κατηγορία, καὶ Θεοῦ διαβαίνει.

L 73^v **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, συμ-||φωνῶ πᾶσι, τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ τοι πείθομαι· ὁ γὰρ ὑβρίζων ἄλλον, εὐθύς κατηγορεῖ καὶ Θεοῦ;

KLPV

81-82. ἄδικον-ὄντος] vide supra, [1] 263-266

77. μεμένηκε-ὁμοίῳ] Phil. Jud., Joseph., § 134, p. 89 || 79. πᾶσαν-Υἱῷ] Ioh. 5:22 || 83-84. οὐδεὶς-φθόνος] Phil. Jud., Joseph., § 17, p. 64

77. μεμένηκε-ὁμοίῳ] γνω(μικόν) in marg. KL: γνωμ(ι)κ(όν) in marg. P || 81. καὶ] deest P || 82. χρωμένον P || 83-84. οὐδεὶς-φθόνος] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 84. ἐκποδῶν P || 88. post θ(εο)ῦ sign. interrogationis KLV

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ναί, καὶ δῆλον· ὡς γὰρ ὁ τὸν ὑπηρετήν ὑβρίζων αὐτὸν
90 ἐκεῖνον ἀτιμάζειν δοκεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὕτως ὁ μὴ τιμῶν ἄρα τὸν
ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀτιμάζει Θεόν· οὐ, τῶν προσταγμάτων
ὑπηρετῆς ἀρχιερέως. Οὐκοῦν, πανταχόθεν, τὸ κατηγορεῖν ἄδικον.
Ὅμως, ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἐρευνησάτω, καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον οἴκοθεν, ἄνευ
τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων εἴσεται, καὶ μάλιστα, πρεσβύτερος εἴ τις γεγονῶς
95 τυγχάνοι. Οὐκ ἀναγκαῖά σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα;

ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ. Καὶ πάνυ δίκαια· πλήν, σύ, πῶς ἐμοῦ γε κατηγορεῖς,
ὄντος φίλου;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Ἐγώ, σὲ μὲν ἀσπάζομαι καὶ φιλῶ, πείθομαι δέ, τῇ
ἀληθείᾳ μᾶλλον, ἢ σοί· τέως, καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας σοι διαλέγομαι.

100 **ΚΥΔΩΝΗΣ.** Διατί δὲ καὶ τοῦτο;

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑΣ. Τὸ μὲν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, τὸ δέ, καὶ
πειθόμενος ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ, τοῦτο με πρὸ παντὸς ἀπαιτήσαντι· ᾧ,
μέλει μὲν ὅλων, πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ χάρις περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἧ, τὰ
χερουβὶμ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς χαίρει τάγμασιν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἦτω, ὅπη

KLPV

89-90. ὁ-ἄρχοντα] cf. Phil. Jud., Dec., § 119-120, p. 296 || 98-99. Ἐγώ-σοί] Plato, *Apologia* 29d

89. ναί bis acc. L || 90. δοκεῖ] deest P || 95. ἀναγκαῖα σοι codd. || post ταῦτα sign. interrogationis codd. || 96. γε] deest KPV || 98-99. Ἐγώ-σοί] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 99. σοὶ LV: σοι K || 101. μὲν bis acc. L || δὲ bis acc. L || 102. προπαντός P: προπαντός L || 103. μέλλει codd.

- 105 τῷ Θεῷ φίλον· εἰρηκῶς γὰρ ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήτει, παλιλλογεῖν, οὐ
 δίκαιον. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὦ θαυμάσιε φιλοσόφων, καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ
 Νεῖλος ὁμοῦ, νόμοις ἄλλοις δουλεύετε νῦν Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν αὐτῷ
 πρέπουσαν, ἕκαστος εὔρε γνῶσιν, οἷς, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν βραχεῖ
 συνεσόμεθα, καὶ γνωσόμεθα ταύτην, ἃν Θεὸς θέλη. Σοὶ δέ, <ῶ> εἴτε
 L 74^r 110 βουλομένῳ, ἢ εἴτε καὶ μὴ, λέγειν ἐπῆλθεν ἃ μὴ χρεῶν, ἵλεως ὁ
 δυνατὸς μόνος, καὶ ἡμῖν, ἅμα σοι γένοιτο. Σὺ δὲ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 ὁ τουτονί με τὸν ἀγῶνα νῦν ἀπαιτήσας, κἀγώ, σὴν χάριν
 πεποιημένος αὐτόν, ἃν μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸς σοι φανῆται, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ
 σοὶ χάρις· τῷ μὲν, ὡς χαρισαμένῳ μοι, λόγων δύναμιν, τί λέγειν
 115 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἄξιον, σοὶ δέ, τούτων ὡς αἰτίῳ μοι καθισταμένῳ.
 Εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ τὸν σὸν οὐκ ἐξεγένετό μοι σκοπόν, ἀνέχου, σοφῶς
 καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη πεποιημένος· ὁ γὰρ Θεός, τὸ κατὰ
 δύναμιν, ἅπαντας ἀπαιτεῖ· καὶ σοὶ οὖν αὐτοῦ μιμητῆ γενομένῳ καὶ
 τῶν ψυχῶν ἄρχοντι, ἥκιστα πρέπον ἄλλως, ἄλλο πᾶς τις ἂν ἄλλος
 120 ἄλλῳ χρώμενος εἴποι λόγῳ μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῦτο.

KLPV

107. νόμοις-Θεοῦ] cf. Dem. Cyd., *Defensio*, f. 126^v.29

105-106. εἰρηκῶς-δίκαιον] Phil. Jud., *De virt.*, § 17, p. 270 || 109. ἄν-θέλη] Plato, *Phaedo* 80d || 112. ὁ-ἀπαιτήσας] cf. Lysias, *Υπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου*, 1.2 || 117-118. ὁ-ἀπαιτεῖ] cf. Matth. 25:15: ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν || 118. αὐτοῦ-γενομένῳ] cf. 1 Cor. 4:16, 11:1

105-106. εἰρηκῶς-δίκαιον] ὠρ(αῖον) in marg. L || 105. παλιλλογεῖν L: παλλιλλογεῖν P || 108. εὔρεν L || 109. θέλει K || 114. μὲν bis acc. L || 115. μοι] deest L || 116. [μὴ] in ras. L || post κατὰ sscr. τ(ὸν) K: deest LPV || ἐξ ἐγένετό P || 117. τῶν] deest P || 119. ἄν bis acc. L || 121. post τοῦτο scr. Τῶν συντελεστή τῶν καλῶν, Θ(ε)ῷ χάρις V: δόξα τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ K: deest LP

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Plates

- ^α ^β παρίεντιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις τῆς φηροῦ ἵπυ δὲ λός ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι
 - ὡς τε καὶ τῶν μετέθετων τῶν ἀπαξιούτων· καὶ φάσκει· ἐ
 - δύναται εἶναι λόγον ἀθροῦσιν πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· ἐὼς δὲ ῥητὸν ἐκ
 - λόγον καὶ οἶον ἀποδοχθῆναι· οὐδ' ἴσ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄποσι· σχετῶ
 - ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων ἐκείνων κωλύον ἕξιν πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· ὡς πρὸς ἀφ' ἑ
 - ἐκείνων παρὰ τῶν· ἐστὶ τῶν λόγος· καὶ δὴλον· δύνατον καὶ ῥητὸν ἀφ'
 - ἀναλόγων τῶν δὲ ἀποδοχθῶν· καὶ ταῦτα ἄρα· ἐκείνων ποιῶν ἀναλόγῳ·
 - ^χ ^ψ ^φ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐστὶν ἵσον· ἢ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς παρὰ τῶν· ὡς ἢ πρὸς ἀφ' ἑ
 - τῆς ῥαμμῆ· καὶ τῶν φανερῶν ἀπαντῶν τῶν ἀναλόγων· ὅτι
 - φαίνεται· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ῥητῶν ἢ ἀναλόγῳ· ἕξιν τῶν ἵσων τοῖς εἰ
 - ρημῶσι αὐτῶν ἡλίου· ἀλλ' ἵσον τῶν ῥαμμῆ καὶ διὰ μέγεθος
 - ἢ πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν· ἢ τῶν ἀθροῦσιν ἢ ἀναλόγῳ· ἢ ἡλίου ἢ
 - ἵσους ἢ ἕξιν· αὐτῶν δὲ παντῶν πασην ἀλλομερίων ὄντων· οὐκ ἔστι
 - τί παρὰ τῶν ἡλίου· λείπει τῶν ἡλίου· ἀπὸ τῶν ἡλίου· ἡλίου τῶν ἀφ' ἑ
 - νηται· ^κ ^λ ἀλλ' ἀρῆται καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· λόγον ἡ
 - τῆς πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πρὸς τῶν διὰ μέγεθος· ἢ ἕξιν τῶν ῥητῶν· καὶ ἐφ'
 - θεμεν ἐπίστα πρὸς τὸ εἶναι· ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡλίου ἢ ἕξιν
 - σαπο· φανερῶν ὅτι καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν ῥητῶν· καὶ ῥητῶν

Plate 1a
Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 1985, f. 28r

ἢ πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀθροῦσιν· σκεπτικῶν ὄντων ἢ ἐκείνων· πᾶν τῶν
 οἷον τὰ ῥητῶν πασην ἀποδοχθῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων· ὡς ἢ καὶ
 δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων ἀποδοχθῆναι αὐτῶν ἢ· οὐδ' ἴσ' ὅτι αὐτῶν ἢ ἐφ' ἑ
 ἡλίου τῶν ἡλίου· πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· βρῖσων· ἐτετρα
 νίξιν κῶλον· ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἡλίου· τὸ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐκείνων καὶ ἡλίου
 καθὸ τε βρῖσων ἢ ἕξιν ἐδὲ κῶλον τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων ἢ ἀφ' ἑ
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκείνων· ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑ
 ἡλίου ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ πασην· ἐτῶν ῥητῶν τῶν ἡλίου ἢ ἀφ' ἑ
 τετραγωνίξιν· διὰ τῶν ἐκείνων ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· σχετικῶν ἢ ἀφ' ἑ
 διὰ πρὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν κῶλον· ἐκείνων ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τῶν αὐτῶν· ὅτι
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν· ἢ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ πασην ὄντων· ἐτετραγωνίξιν καὶ

Plate 1b
Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 1985, f. 28v

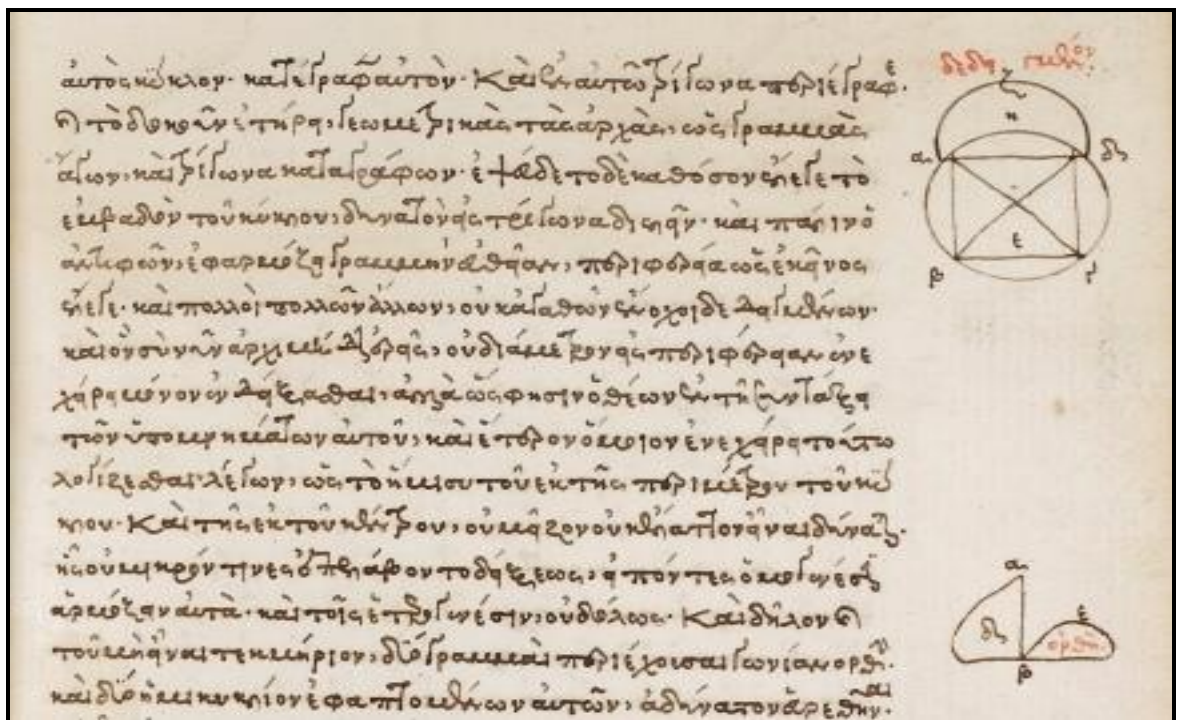


Plate 2a
 Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 1985, f. 29^r



Plate 2b
 Copenhagen, Royal Library, GkS 1985, f. 29^v



Plate 3
Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 1985, f. 1r

- οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο ἔργον ἢ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν. οἷς ἀνίστασθαι τὸ ἀντιλογίζεσθαι.
 - εἰς τὸν χρόνον ὡς ἀνθρώποι τοῖς ἑσπέραις ἢ τοῖς ῥωμαίοις ἐπιφ
 - ράσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μακαρίων ἡμῶν τῆς βίτης ῥωμαίων
 - ῥωμαῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπείρου, ἢ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίᾳ ἢ
 - ἀκριβοῦς ἢ ἀβυστῆτος καὶ ἐφρὸν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ τριφύαυτ
 - μέσφρων ἄνεστη, οὐ λαμπρὸν ἐνομίζετο, εἰ ἢ τὸν ἴτον
 - χόντας ἀλὼνισαμύσει φασὼσι, ἀπὸ ἀγίων ἢ τοῖς ἀρίστοις
 - συμπεριελαθεῖσιν ἢ ἡν ἡσπὸς ἀδελφὸν τῆς οὐκ ἀεὶ ἀριστερῆς
 - ἐν δόξῳ ἢ τῶν σοφῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσπῶν, εἰς τῆς ἰδέειν
 - γου πῶς ἕστῃ ἢ τῶν οἰσόν, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσπῶν
 - φοιτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐκ ἔχωρῆσαι καὶ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι. **Χρυσό.**
 τῆς εἰρωδῆσθαι τῶν οἰσόν, ἐν ἀρτίς τὸ ἀδελφὸν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι.
 οὐτε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἰστέον ἢ ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἢ τῶν
 ἀντιλογίζεσθαι, οἷς τῶν ἐν ἡσπῶν ἀδελφὸν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 μὴ τῶν πᾶσι ἐπὶ τῶν οἰσόν, ὡς ἢ ἡσπῶν ἢ τῶν οἰσόν τῶν ἀντιποδῶν
Χρυσό. ὡς δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἀδελφῶν ἀντιλογίζεσθαι τὸ πᾶσι
 ἀπὸ τῆς φιλοφροσύνης ἀπὸ τῶν ῥωμαίων, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι.
 ὁ γὰρ πῶς τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι, ἢ ἀφ᾽ ἡσπῶν
 ἢ ἢ φιλοφροσύνη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἢ φιλοφροσύνη τῶν οἰσόν
 τῶν οἰσόν ἐρωτῆσαι ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν, ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι οὐκ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν, ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 βίαις τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν, ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν,
 ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν, ὡς ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 πᾶσι ὡς ἢ ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 ὁ γὰρ πῶς τῶν οἰσόν τῶν οἰσόν, οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι
 ἢ ἀφ᾽ αὐθιᾶσαι

Plate 4
 Copenhagen, Royal Library, GKS 1985, f. 4^v

XIV. 100.

+ Διάλογος.

ἀναρετικός, του λόγου, οὐ ἔγραψε, κῆ ἀν
μήτελος οὐκιδωμης, κατὰ τὸν μεδικα εἶ
θεσθλονίχης, κῆ νείλου τ κασάσιλα
+ τὰ πύσωπα.
+ θωμάς. νείλος. κυδω χριστ

+ χριστῶ μετὰ μὲν ὁ τῶν ὁμοφύλων κατὰ μὲν πό
λεμος, καὶ πλὴν τῶν ἀλλογενῶν ἰσχυρότερος. ἢ δῶ τι
οὐχ ὅτι δῶ αἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἀκράτους, οὐδ' ὅτι ἀν
δωδμία τοῖς ἡμεῶν ἐπιτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὅθεν δῶ ἡμῶν ἡκατ
αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀληθῆς ἡ, μετὰ δῶ αὐτοῖς αἰσχρῶν, ἢ ο
μῆλοισι δῶ μὴ τῆν ἰσὶν ἐν ὅτις καθ' ἡμεῶν ἐν τῶ πῶθα
νῶ σποσῶν τ. Ὁ χαιτῶν ἀλλοτεῖς πῶ πῆ πείραν τῶν
ἐλληνικῶς ἡμῶν ἐρον τῶν, ἐχθρῶν δῶ ἀμεγῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως,
οἷς δῶ ὅτις συμμαχῶν ἐθέλοι, μικρὸν ἀπὸν ὄβυ τῶν
ἐναυτίων, καὶ ἢ ἰσχυρὸν ἀθροῖς ἀπὸν ἡ ζεταί καὶ
ἀνῶτον, καὶ μετὰ δοκῆ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ποῖς ἐν γενέσι καὶ
φθορα σῶν βραγῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμεῶν, ὅ μικρὸν ἀν ἡς
ἡ σὶ λῆλων ἡ δῶ κῆ. ἐπὶ δῆ τῶν ἀφθάρτων αὐτῶν ἐστὶν
ὄλῶν, καὶ τοῖς μεδικα εἶοις ἐκ εἶροσι ἐπιμοσ ἀν δῶ
πῶ ἐπιπλέκεσθαι, τέλος δῶ πῆται καὶ τὸν πῶ τῶν
ἡ παρασθου πῶ σθῶ, τίς δῶ. εἰ μὴ μαινομένοσ ἡ
τῶν σὶ πῶν ἀσπῆσαι ζούλοισι. ἡ τῶν δῶ πῶν ἀκῆν ἐκ



Plate 6
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Pluteus 5.12, f. 1r

ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ, ΛΕΓΑΝ ΕΠΗΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΧΡΕΩΝ, ΙΛΕΩΣ
Ο ΔΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΜΕΝ, ΔΙΑΣΣΙ ΤΕ ΝΟΙΩ. ΣΥΔΕ
ΔΥΝΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ. Ο ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ Α ΝΑΥ ΔΙΣΑΙ ΤΗ ΔΕ

ΙΥ

κατω σην χα
ριν πε ποι λι
μενος αυ
των, αν λε
οσιν δια θ

ΧΕ

σοι φανιεται και θω, και σοι χεις. τω μεν, ως
χαισα μεν εω μοι, λογον δειναμιν, τι λεγαμ εωρ
αυτου λικεθω ξειον. σοι δε του των ως αι τι ω καθι

ΝΙ

φαιενω
φαιενω
τα σου γ
κε ξε κνε
τομοισω

ΚΑ

των, ανεχου σοφως και το ηρο, μα αν ανη δει
ωδ ποιη μενος. ογαρθε, θικα δειναμιν, δωντασ
δπατ ει και σοι οω αυτου μεμη τι ρνο μλω και
ων χειων αρχοντι, λι κι η πρε π ανως. αμοτασ
δ ανος ανω χω μενος ει φοι λετω με αν λι το ηρο:

φ + φ +



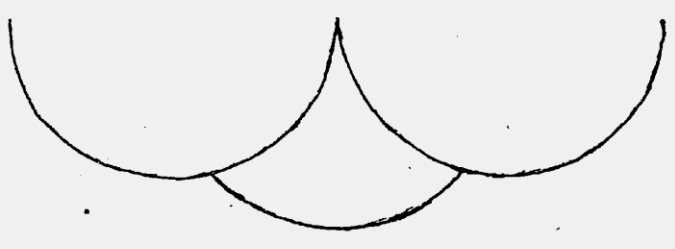
Plate 7
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Pluteus 5.12, f. 74r

εἶπες μὲν ὁ δὸν ὀμοφύλων καὶ ἡρώδης πολέμοι· εἰ πολεῖ δὸν ἀλλοφύλων ἰσο-
 ρόφιστος. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ὅτι ὁ δὲ δυνάμεις ἀνὰ αὐτοὺς ἀκελεύων, οὐδὲ ὅτι αἰ-
 δυναμεία τῶν ἡρώδης ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅθεν αἰ ἡμῶν ὁ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐνστάσις ἀληθὴς
 ἢ, μεγίστη αἰ ἀδύτοις ἀρχαῖν νομίζετε, ἀνὰ ἡν ἡν λυσὶν εἰς τὴν κατὰ ἡμῶν
 δὸ πῆσαν ἀσκηπὸντα. ὁ χλευαστὸν ἀνὰ εἰώ, πάντεσσι δὸν ἡγνέσθαι
 ἡμῶν ἐνόντ' ἔχρη οὐ δυναμῶν. ἀνὰ ὅμοιως οἷς αἰ ὁ δὲ συμμαχίαν ἐθελοῖ, καί-
 κεν ἀπὸν ὅσον δὸν ἐναντιῶν, εἰ τὸ ἴσχυρόν ἀδυναμείας ἀπεργαζέσθαι, καὶ
 δυνατὸν εἰ μάλιστα δὸν καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν ἡμῶν καὶ φροσὸν ζῶντων ἐπὶ τὸν
 πύριμον, οὐ μὲν κεν ἀνὰ τῶν ἡσυχάζων ἡδύκα. ἐπὶ δὲ δὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν
 ὁ δὸν, εἰ τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἀφ' ὅσων περὶ ἀλλοφύλων, ἡμῶν
 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δὸν πάντ' ὑπεργαθούσων ὡς αἰ ὁ δὲ. ἡ δὲ ἀνὰ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπὶ ἡν ὁ γὰρ
 ἀποδείξασθαι βούλοισθε. ἢ πῶς ἀνὰ ἡν ὁ γὰρ ἐκείνοις βούλοισθε. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸν
 καὶ ἀποδείξασθαι, χροῖς ἀνὰ ἡμῶν ὡς αἰ ὁ δὲ ἀνὰ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν. ἢ τῶν. ἀνὰ ἡμῶν δὸν
 ἀδύτως οἰώπε, δὸν ὡς οὐ λαλῶν ὀμοφύλων τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκείνοις κωνονδ. ἐπὶ τῶν
 δὸν ἀναλίστων ἀκρῶν, ὅπως αἰ ὁ μῖσι δὲ εἰλεῖ. τῶν δὲ αἰ λυμῶν, ἐκτανεῖ δὲ
 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐ κατὰ τῶν οἰώ πάντ', ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν οὐ κατὰ τῶν οἰώ πάντ'. ὁ δὲ μῖσι
 πρὸς τῶν. εἰ μὲν τῶν φθῆν ἀνὰ ἡν ἐκείνοις ὅτι οἰώ, ἀλλὰ εἰ τῶν αἰ
 χροῖς καὶ παλαιῖς ἐθελοῖνα μακαρίσθαι, εἰ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τῶν οὐ κατὰ τῶν οἰώ πάντ'.
 ἀλλὰ ἐφ' ἡσυχάζων, ἀλλὰ εἰ τῶν κατὰ τῶν οὐ κατὰ τῶν οἰώ πάντ', ἀλλὰ ἐφ' ἡσυχάζων

πὶ οὐτῶ

Plate 8

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1284, f. 42r



εχμία δόξα γ' ὁ ἐκλεχσά, αἰς ἐκδοσ γ' ὁ β' πνε. ἐξορθε' ἀλῆς, ἐκρῶν
 γ' ὁ παρδοσ. ἐπ' ἔβα εἰσὶ γ' ἔβα. βεβαροσὶν ἀλῆν γ' ὁ δόξαν.
 Ὁ πνε β' ἔξον, πρῶτος ὁ κ' ἐκ δ' πρ' ἐκ σφραγίσαι λητῆ. ἐπ' ἔβα, παρ-
 λος. οὐδ' ἐξ' ἀλῆς πᾶ δουλει' ἔς σέβον. ἀμὰ δ' πνε β' ἐκ δ' ὁ γ' ὁ. εἰ ἴω.
 ἐν πᾶ ἔξον ἐκ γ' ἴον ὑπ' ἔξιν ἔξον, εἰ δ' ἔξον παρφοσὶν δ' ἄλῆν β' ἰς ἀνῆς.
 ἐ' λῆ, κλημῆς εἰς ἔξ β' πνε δ' ἔξον β' ἔξ ἀλῆν ἀξ' ἔξ' ὁ δ' σ' ἐκ παρφορῶν.
 ἐ' λῆ, ζυμῶτος πρῶτος, εἰ δ' ὁ δ' ἔξ' ὁ π' δ' ἐκ παρφορῶν ἐξ ἀλῆν δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ.
 ἐ' λῆ, ἀνῆς ὁ ἀξ' ὁ πρῶτος, εἰ ἔξ ἐν πᾶ ἔξον ἐκ δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ ἐκ παρφορῶν εἰ
 κλημῆς ἐκ γ' ὁ γ' ὁ. ἐ' λῆ, ἰουστῆς, ὡς ὁ γ' ὁς ἐκ δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ, οὐδ' ὁ εἰ β' πᾶ ἐκ
 δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ. σκληρὸν δ' ὁ δ' ὁ π' ὁ γ' ὁ ὁ ὁ πρ' ὁ εἰ. ἐ' λῆ, δ' ἰονῆς ὁ δ' ὁ γ' ὁ πᾶ
 γ' ὁ δ' ὁ ἀλῆς, β' ὁ δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ ὁ ὁ διακρίν' ὁ. ἐ' λῆ, πρῶτος ὁ δ' ὁ πρ' ὁ ὁ ὁ
 β' ὁ γ' ὁ δ' ὁ. πᾶ γ' ὁ μῶτος ὁ πρ' ὁ. ἐ' λῆ, οὐ β' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ πρ' ὁ οὐ γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ ὁ ὁ
 σαι πρ' ὁ γ' ὁ, παρ' ὁ β' ὁ δ' ὁ δ' ὁ γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ δ' ὁ γ' ὁ ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ.
 ἐ' λῆ, ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ δ' ὁ, ἵνα ὁ γ' ὁ ὁ ὁ ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ ὁ, ἐκ
 ἔξον φυλῆς, ὁ πρ' ὁ ἀν' ὁ πρ' ὁ πρ' ὁ δ' ὁ. κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ δ' ὁ, β' ὁ
 πρ' ὁ δ' ὁ ὁ πρ' ὁ ὁ πρ' ὁ δ' ὁ ὁ κλημῆς, οὐ γ' ὁ πρ' ὁ ὁ κλημῆς, οὐ γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ
 οὐδ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ δ' ὁ, β' ὁ δ' ὁ, ἵνα κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ
 ὁ κλημῆς ὁ, σκληρὸν, κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ ὁ πρ' ὁ γ' ὁ. ἀμὰ δ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ
 γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ πρ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ. ἔξ' ὁ δ' ὁ β' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ δ' ὁ κλημῆς ὁ γ' ὁ

σημειῶν ἀποφωτισμῶν

Plate 9

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1284, f. 17r

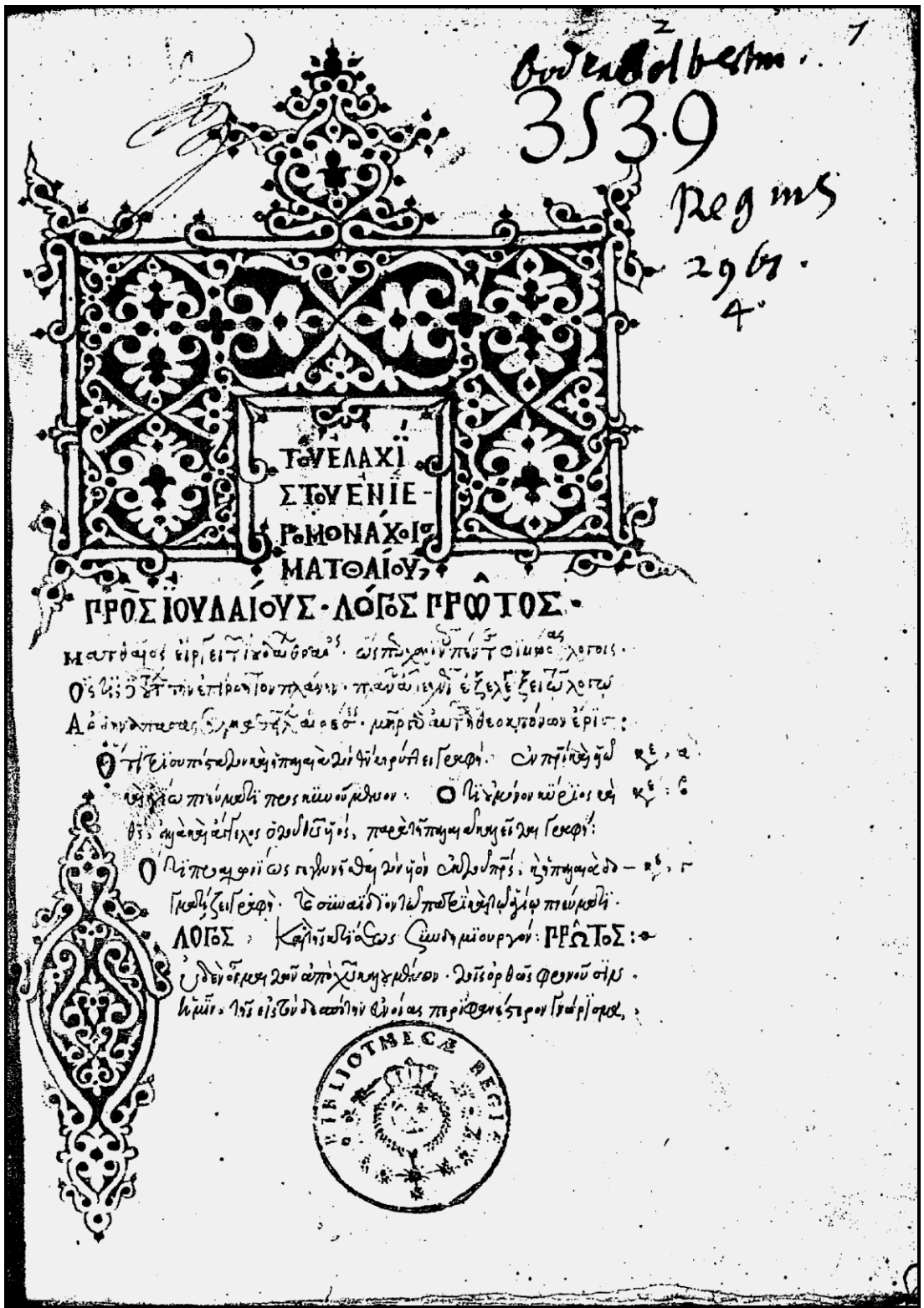


Plate 12

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Par. gr. 1284, f. 1^r

+ » ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πα
 » σκευολογίας
 » ἐκ φανέρωσιν,
 » ἡ καθ' ἑαυτῶν
 » θεοπλασίον
 » καὶ ἄρρητος ἐστὶ λόγος πάντων, καὶ ἄγνω
 » ὁ μὴ πάντων, ὅ
 » αὐτῶ τῶ πρώτῳ
 » ὧ τῶν πρεσβύ
 » τῶν ἀγγέλων.
 + + + + +

<p>† ἀρπεκταν ἐνε ἐγώ, ἕκων καὶ ἀξέν ἐν ῥητ, Κτ' ἡ ποίη μαρτυρεῖ τ' ἀλ' ἔτι, ἀκμῶ παρὰ τ' λόγου τ' πῆι, πάντ' ὧν ἔργει ἀναθεμ, τ' ἕν τ' ἡ ἀνυσις τ' ὄπῃ, ὄπῃ αὐτὸ πῆα ὄπῃ προβα, + ἀρδῶ ἕα θεκ ἀλλ' ἔτι πᾶν ἀία τ' ἐν τὸ ὄο: †</p>	<p>ὄπῃ αὐτὸ πῆα τὸ δὲ τὸ πῆα. ἀθῶν ἅ τ' ἕα ἀναθεμ ἕκ. ἀλλ' ὡς ὄφθαλμῶν τῶ πῆι. ὡς ἕκ ὡς ὄπῃ αὐτὸ πῆα. ἀκρῖνε τ' ἐν ἀλλ' ἔτι ὄπῃ. ἐν τ' ἀλλ' ὄπῃ ὄπῃ τὸ πῆα. ὄπῃ αὐτὸ πῆα ὄπῃ προβα. ὄπῃ αὐτὸ πῆα ὄπῃ προβα.</p>
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Plate 13
 Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1109, f. 59r

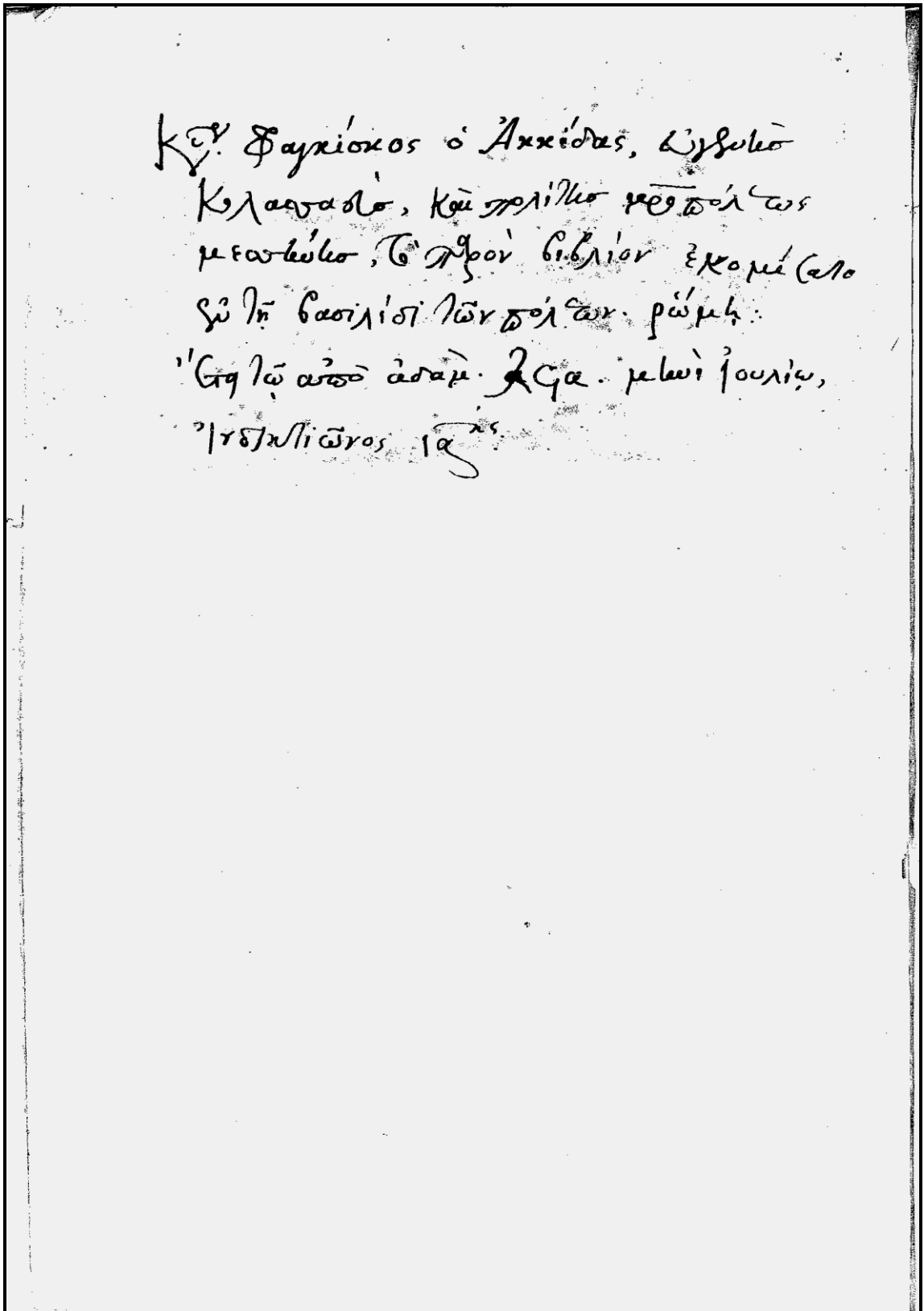
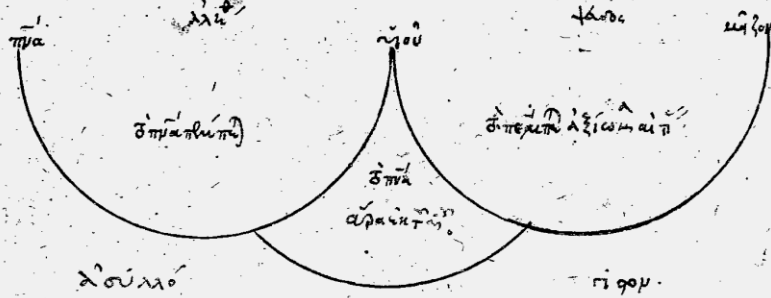


Plate 15

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1109, f. 135^v

εκ του υιου πέμπεται το πᾶ το αίτιον. το δε
 πέμπον αξίωμα τι προς το πέμπεμενον έχ.
 ο εστὶ κατὰ τιάμ. ὅπνᾶ ἄρα κατὰ τιάμ εκ τῆ υἱῶ.



X
 ἡμερῶν διενήνοχεν οὐδὲν προβολὴ πᾶς καὶ ἀ-
 ποβολή, ἢ ἀλάτνη ἀποβολὴν ἐν χρόνῳ οὐδὲν,
 ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ ἐκ τῆ πᾶς ὑπαρξίς, ἢ ἀχρονος ἢ
 ἀποβολ. ἐστὶ ἀιτία ἢ ἀποβολ καὶ τί σὴν, ἢ δὲ
 ὑπαρξίς, οὐδαμῶς. ἢ τοῦ ἢ προβολή τί σὶ ἀι-
 τιάμ ὅπερ ἀτοπ, ἢ ἢ ἀποβολή οὐ τί σὴν ἢ δὲ ἀι-
 τιάμ, καὶ ἢ δὲ ἢ αὐτοαλήθεια. ἐστὶ ὅπερ τρ ο σ.
 καὶ οἱ ὡ ἀμῆς, πέμπονται παρὰ τῶν ἀποβῶν.
 ἢ τοῦ ἢ καξίαμ ἔχει τὸ πέμπον, ἢ λιγέτωσαν
 τὴν ἀξίαμ. ἐν ταῦθα γάρ, μέζον ἐστὶ τὸ πέμ-
 πομενον. ἐστὶ ὅ ἀποβῶν, τοῦ ἀποβῶν
 μὲν.

Plate 16
 Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1109, f. 2^v

