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THE SECOND ORIGENIST CONTROVERSY

A New Perspective on Cyril of Scythopolis'
Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources
for Sixth-Century Origenism

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οὐδείς ἐρῶν ἀληθοῦς προσευχῆς
καὶ ὀργιζόμενος ἢ μνησικακῶν
ἐκτός ἐστι παραπληξίας·
ὅμοιος γάρ ἐστι τῷ δξυπεῖν θέλοντι,
καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ὀφθαλοῦς ἐκταράσσοντι.

*whoever is longing for true prayer
but gives way to anger or to the remembrance of injuries
will be beside himself with madness;
he is like someone who wants to see sharply
but is throwing his own eyes into confusion.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation is not an easy undertaking. Of course, there is the enthusiasm, the inspiration and the love of the subject, without which it would be impossible to finish the work. But there are also moments of discouragement, when the matter turns out to be more complicated than expected. The subject I chose for my research is a complicated one. Sixth-century Palestinian monasticism is not an isolated phenomenon. There is a long earlier history and one should consider all the different aspects of that history, spiritual, theological and political, to get some insight into what was going on in the monastic world of that time and place. Therefore, the present study has become extensive with many footnotes and a large bibliography, touching various areas of Christian history from the fourth to the sixth century.

To understand something of the conflict known as the Second Origenist Controversy one should consider, in addition, a particular tension between the ideal and the reality, which is very human and characteristic also of our own lives. This might enable us to decipher monastic texts written many centuries ago. In sixth-century Palestine we meet monks in a tradition which was originally aimed at the cultivation of passionlessness of soul, as a necessary condition for the ultimate end which was contemplation; but at the same time they were deeply involved in conflicts that set in motion a multiplicity of passions. This does not diminish the value of their ideals, just as our own ideals do not become invalid when we are faced with the limits of human nature within ourselves.

Dealing with the sixth century, the present study might contribute to the understanding of our own monastic life with all the treasures of a long spiritual tradition and with laudable ambitions, but also with the inevitable defects of human nature. In a time of rapid change and existential uncer-

tainty it could, perhaps, encourage us not to cling too readily to stereotyped images of what a real monk should be.

Writing a thesis is a long venture in which one may run up against one's limits in various ways. I mentioned already the enthusiasm, the inspiration and the love without which the work would have been impossible. But more than that I should mention the people whose support and assistance enabled me to achieve the project.

First of all, I am greatly indebted to my Abbot, Dom Jeroen Witkam, o.c.s.o., and to my community of Abdij Maria Toevlucht in Zundert, the Netherlands. This is my home where I was initiated in the monastic tradition as well as in concrete community life with an eye open to the world of today. My confrères took the risk of a great investment in a project with which they were not very familiar; they trusted me and supported me so much that I feel inadequate to thank them enough. I can only hope they will somehow share in the fruits of this work.

I want to express much gratitude also towards my directors, my moderator, Mark Sheridan, o.s.b., and my first censor, Jeremy Driscoll, o.s.b. It was a privilege to do my research under the direction of renowned scholars who were at the same time confrères at the Collegio Sant'Anselmo in Rome, which became my second home. From the very beginning they believed in the project, followed it with their critical advice, encouraged me and confirmed my self-confidence, each in his own way. They accepted my difficulty of writing in a language that is not my own and were willing to spend time and energy on the correction of it.

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Daniël Hombergen
Collegio Sant'Anselmo
Rome, 2 February 2000

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Daniël Hombergen
Cracow, 1 January 2001

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ABBREVIATIONS*

| | |
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| AAAd | Antichità Altoadriatiche, Udine. |
| AB | <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , Bruxelles. |
| ABAW | <i>Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Philosophisch-historische Klasse, München. |
| ACO | <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Berlin. |
| AGWG | <i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> , Philologisch-historische Klasse, Berlin |
| AHC | <i>Annuario Historiae Conciliorum. Internationale Zeitschrift für Konziliengeschichtsforschung</i> , Amsterdam (etc.). |
| ApophPat | <i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i> . |
| AS | <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (3 rd ed.), Bruxelles (1863 ff). |
| Aug | <i>Augustinianum</i> , Roma. |
| Bess | <i>Bessarione</i> , Roma |
| BHG | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 vols. (HALKIN, SubsHag 8 ^a), Bruxelles 1957 ³ . |
| BHG ^a | <i>Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> (HALKIN, SubsHag 47), Bruxelles 1969. |
| BHO | <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> (Soc. Bolland., SubsHag 10), Bruxelles 1910. |
| BIHBR | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome</i> , Roma/ Bruxelles. |
| Bijdr | <i>Bijdragen. Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie</i> , Nijmegen. |
| BLE | <i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i> , Toulouse. |

* The abbreviations are, as far as possible, chosen according to common forms. Most of them are indicated by O. LEISTNER, *Internationale Titelabkürzungen von Zeitschriften, Zeitungen, wichtigen Handbüchern, Gesetzen, usw. (ITA)*, 2 vols, Osnabrück (Biblio Verlag) 1981³. In some cases, preference is given to a form not mentioned by Leistner, but used in standard works as: A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*; DPAC; TRE; CPG (etc.). Titles of writings, periodicals and dictionaries are indicated in italics; titles of series and names of authors or editors not.

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|------------|---|
| BSM | <i>Bulletin de Spiritualité Monastique</i> (inserted in <i>CCist</i>), Forges (etc.). |
| Byz | <i>Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines</i> , Bruxelles. |
| ByzSt/ÉByz | <i>Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines</i> , Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| BZ | <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> , Leipzig (etc.). |
| CA | <i>Contra Aphthartodocetas</i> (Leontius Byzantinus). |
| CCG | Corpus Christianorum, series Graeca, Turnhout. |
| CCist | <i>Collectanea Cisterciensia. Revue de spiritualité monastique</i> (with <i>BSM</i> inserted), Forges (etc.). |
| CCL | Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, Turnhout. |
| CNE | <i>Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos</i> (Leontius Byzantinus). |
| CoITP | Collana di Testi Patristici, Roma. |
| CPG | <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 6 vols. (GEERARD), Turnhout 1974-1987, 1998. |
| CPL | <i>Clavis Patrum Latinorum</i> , (DEKKERS/ GAAR), Turnhout 1995 ³ . |
| CrSt | <i>Cristianesimo nella Storia</i> , Bologna. |
| CS | Cistercian Studies, Kalamazoo, Mi. |
| CSCO | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. |
| CSQ | <i>Cistercian Studies Quarterly</i> , Caldey Island, (etc.). |
| DACL | <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de Liturgie</i> , Paris. |
| DAFC | <i>Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique</i> , Paris. |
| DBS | <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i> , Paris. |
| DCB | <i>Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines</i> , London. |
| DHGE | <i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique</i> , Paris. |
| DPAC | <i>Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane</i> , Casale Monferrato. |
| DSp | <i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire</i> , Paris. |
| DTC | <i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> , Paris. |
| DTN | <i>Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos</i> (Leontius Byzantinus). |
| EncU | <i>Encyclopaedia Universalis</i> , Paris. |
| EO | <i>Échos d'Orient. Revue d'histoire, de géographie et de liturgie orientales</i> , Bucarest. |
| Epap | <i>Eppaporèmata</i> , or: <i>Triginta capita adversus Severum</i> (Leontius Byzantinus). |
| Epil | <i>Epilysis</i> (Leontius Byzantinus). |

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| FZPhTh | <i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i> , Freiburg, Schw. |
| GCS | Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Leipzig/ Berlin. |
| Greg | <i>Gregorianum. Commentarii de re theologica et philosophica</i> , Roma. |
| HE | <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (several ancient writings of different authors). |
| IEJ | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem. |
| Irén | <i>Irénikon</i> , Chevetogne. |
| JAC | <i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> , Münster. |
| JRS | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London. |
| JTS/ns | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> , new series, Oxford (etc.) 1950 ff. |
| JTS/os | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> , old series, Oxford (etc.) 1899-1949. |
| LAMPE | G. LAMPE, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1961. |
| LCL | The Loeb Classical Library, London. |
| LTP | <i>Laval Théologique et Philosophique</i> , Québec. |
| MANSI | J. MANSI, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , Florentiae 1759 ff. |
| MSR | <i>Mélanges de Science Religieuse</i> , Lille. |
| Muséon | <i>Le Muséon. Revue d'études orientales</i> , Louvain. |
| NAWG | <i>Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> , Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Göttingen. |
| Νέα Σιών | <i>Νέα Σιών, ἐκκλησιαστικὸν περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα</i> , Jerusalem. |
| OC | <i>Orientalia Christiana</i> , Roma 1923-1934 (preceding <i>OCP</i>). |
| OCA | <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> , Roma. |
| OCP | <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> , Roma. |
| OLZ | <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> , Berlin (etc.). |
| OrChr | <i>Oriens Christianus. Halbjahrshefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients</i> , Leipzig (etc.). |
| PG | <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J. MIGNÉ, Paris. |
| PL | <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J. MIGNÉ, Paris. |
| PO | <i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , ed. R. GRAFFIN/ F. NAU, Paris/ Turnhout. |
| PTS | <i>Patristische Texte und Studien</i> , Berlin. |
| PWK | A. PAULY/ G. WISSOWA/ W. KROLL, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (new ed., continued by K. MITTELHAUS/ K. ZIEGLER), Stuttgart 1893 ff. |
| RAC | <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Stuttgart. |

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| RAM | <i>Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique</i> , Toulouse. |
| RE ³ | <i>Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> (3 rd ed.), Leipzig. |
| REAug | <i>Revue des Études Augustiniennes</i> , Paris. |
| REByz | <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> , Paris. |
| RechSR | <i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i> , Paris. |
| REG | <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i> , Paris. |
| RevSR | <i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i> , Strasbourg (etc.). |
| RHE | <i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> , Louvain. |
| ROC | <i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i> , Paris. |
| RQ | <i>Römische Quartalschrift für die christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Freiburg im Br. |
| RQH | <i>Revue des Questions Historiques</i> , Paris. |
| RSPPhTh | <i>Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques</i> , Paris. |
| SBAW | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Philosophisch-historische Klasse, München. |
| SC | <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris. |
| ScrMon | <i>Scritti Monastici</i> , Praglia. |
| SEAug | <i>Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum"</i> , Roma. |
| SO | <i>Spiritualité Orientale</i> , Abbaye de Bellefontaine (Bégrolles-en-Mauges). |
| SROC | <i>Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano</i> , Roma. |
| StAns | <i>Studia Anselmiana</i> , Roma. |
| StMon | <i>Studia Monastica</i> , Montserrat. |
| StPatr | <i>Studia Patristica</i> . Papers presented to the International Conference on Patristic Studies, Berlin (TU) / Leuven. |
| StT | <i>Studi e Testi</i> , Città del Vaticano. |
| SubsHag | <i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> , Bruxelles. |
| SuppVieSp | <i>Supplément de La Vie Spirituelle</i> , Paris. |
| ThH | <i>Théologie Historique</i> , Paris. |
| ThQ | <i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i> , Tübingen. |
| ThS | <i>Theological Studies</i> , Woodstock, Md. |
| TRE | <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , Berlin. |
| TU | <i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Berlin (etc.). |
| VA | <i>Vita Antonii</i> (Athanasius Alexandrinus). |
| VAbbr | <i>Vita Abraamii</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| VC | <i>Vita Cyriacii</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |

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| VE | <i>Vita Euthymii</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| VetChr | <i>Vetera Christianorum</i> , Bari. |
| VigChr | <i>Vigiliae Christianae. A Review of Early Christian Life and Language</i> , Amsterdam. |
| VIH | <i>Vita Iohannis Hesychastae</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| VS | <i>Vita Sabae</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| VTheod | <i>Vita Theodosii</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| VTheog | <i>Vita Theognii</i> (Cyrillus Scythopolitanus). |
| WSt | <i>Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie</i> , Wien. |
| WZUR | <i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock</i> , Rostock. |
| ZKG | <i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Stuttgart (etc.). |
| ZKT | <i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i> , Innsbruck (etc.). |

Technical abbreviations in references

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| <i>id.</i> | = <i>idem</i> : refers to the author last mentioned; |
| <i>ibid.</i> | = <i>ibidem</i> : refers to the writing last mentioned (aside from information given between parenthesis); |
| (<i>ibid.</i>) | = (<i>ibidem</i>): refers to the edition of a primary source, when that edition is also indicated just before in an abbreviated form by the editor's name between parenthesis; |
| n. | = footnote (see also below, at "p."). |
| nr. | = number: refers to <i>a</i>) a paragraph number when indicated as such on the page referred to (in this case the indication is put between parenthesis to distinguish from references to footnotes); <i>b</i>) the number of an article in a collection (in this case the indication preceded by "art."); |
| <i>o.c.</i> | = (<i>opus citatum</i>): refers to a title already mentioned in the same footnote, but before other titles, so that " <i>ibid.</i> " cannot be used; |
| p. | = page (only used when its omission could cause confusion). N.B. many references (esp. cross ref.) are made by combining page numbers with footnote numbers. They occur in three forms, e.g.: "p.117, n.74" refers to the footnote; "p.117 at n.74" refers to the text; "p.117 with n.74" refers to both the text and the footnote. |

INTRODUCTION

1. Origenism, Origenists and the Second Origenist Controversy

Just before the opening of the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553, the bishops who had already assembled in the Byzantine Capital enunciated, at the instance of Emperor Justinian (527-565), fifteen *anathemata* against a series of theological doctrines attributed to Origen (c. 185-254) and his followers.¹ Traditionally, this event has been considered as the official and definitive condemnation of Origen by the Church,²

¹ Concilium Oecumenicum Constantinopolitanum II, *Canones XV contra Origenem sive Origenistas*, ed. J. STRAUB, *ACO* IV/1, Berlin 1971, 248-249; also: ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil*, Münster 1899, 90-96 (left col.).

² Diekamp however, arrived at the conclusion that the condemnation was enunciated *before* the official opening of the Council. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 131-132, 137. Although the fifteen anathemata were approved by Pope Vigilius, *ibid.*, 114, 132, they do not have “die Bedeutung einer unfehlbaren Entscheidung”, *ibid.*, 138, because the judgment they express does not weigh as a Council’s judgment: “Als ein Urtheil der ökumenischen Synode kann es nicht gelten, da es als ein solches nicht intendirt (*sic*) und auch niemals als ein solches bestätigt worden ist,” *ibid.*, 137. Diekamp’s thesis has generally been accepted by the subsequent research. See e.g. N. BONWETSCH, “Origenistische Streitigkeiten”, *RE*³ 14 (1904), 493; A. D’ALÈS, “Origénisme”, *DAFC* 3 (1916), 1235; L. DUCHESNE, *L’Église au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1925, 208-211; G. FRITZ, “Origénisme”, *DTC* 11/2 (1932), 1586-1587; E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49/2 Berlin 1939, 343-344; R. DEVREESSE, “Le cinquième concile et l’oecuménicité byzantine”, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 3, StT 123, Città del Vaticano 1946, 10; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II. *De la disparition de l’Empire d’Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565)*, Paris/ Bruxelles/ Amsterdam 1949, 656 with n.2; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens*, Paris 1962, 134; K. CHRYSOS, “Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἐ’ Οἰκουμένης Συνόδου καὶ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ὀριγένους”, in *Θεολογικὸν Συμπόσιον*,

a condemnation in which, somehow, also Evagrius Ponticus (c. 345-399) and Didymus the Blind (c. 310-398) were involved. As a consequence, severe damage was inflicted both on their reputation and on the transmission of their writings.

The condemnation of 553, with all its consequences, can be considered the culmination of the so-called "Origenist Controversy", that is, of the whole history of polemics concerning the legacy of Origen, that ranged, with various articulations, over a long period from the third to the sixth centuries.³ Usually, there are two main phases distinguished: a "First Controversy" at the end of the fourth century, and a "Second" one in the first half of the sixth century.⁴ Both periods are marked by the outbreak of a bitter conflict within the monastic world between a strong "Origenist" movement and antagonists who opposed it fiercely. But it is extremely difficult to delineate precisely these "Origenist" movements and to establish accurately their relation to the Alexandrine master whose name they bear.

There is no uniform definition for the concept of "Origenism": The term may indicate the adherence to a series of well-defined *theological positions*, as we find them summarized in several anti-Origenist documents, that were written in the fourth and in the sixth centuries in order to have them condemned.⁵ But the problem is that there are considerable mutual

Thessalonikè 1967, 259-273; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, Histoire des conciles oecuméniques 3, Paris 1974, 108-109; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche. Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)*, Brescia 1980, 215; H. CROUZEL, "Origenismo", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 2536; *id.*, "Les condamnations subies par Origène et sa doctrine", in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 314-315; F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della 'Seconda Controversia Origenista' (543-553). Gli intrecci con la controversia sui Tre Capitoli", *SROC* 9 (1986), 144-145 with n.54; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche II/2*, Freiburg/ Basel/ Wien 1989, 423 with n.306; N. TANNER, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils I*, London/ Georgetown 1990, 105-106.

³ M. SIMONETTI, "La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato", in *L'Origenismo. Apologie e polemiche intorno a Origene*, Aug 26 (1986), 7.

⁴ Other divisions are also possible, such as the six moments distinguished by H. CROUZEL, "Origenismo", 2533-2538; *id.*, "Origène e l'origenismo. Le condanne di Origène", in *L'Origenismo. Apologie e polemiche intorno a Origene*, Aug 26 (1986), 295-298.

⁵ From the First Controversy we have a whole series of documents, written between 374-404. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 84-101. Among these writings, the synodical letter of Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria (underlying the first official condemnation of Origen in 400, enunciated by Pope Anastasius I), gives a clear summary of the positions, considered as "Origenist" at that period. We know

discrepancies between these successive representations of "Origenist" doctrines, and there may even exist substantial differences with the theological thinking of Origen himself.⁶ At least these representations show that the teaching of Origen underwent, after his death, further development and renewed interpretation.⁷ The "Origenism" that was finally condemned in 553, does not accurately represent the thought of Origen,⁸ but it is more indebted, as A. Guillaumont demonstrated, to the influence of the writings of Evagrius Ponticus.⁹

the text from a Latin translation by Jerome, *Ep.* 92, 2 and 4, ed. I. HILBERG, *Hieronymus: Epist.* II, CSEL 55, Wien 1912, pp.148-150, 151-153. See also: H. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn II. The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, New York 1932, 126. From the Second Controversy there are, apart from the 15 *anathemata* already mentioned, two writings of Justinian summarizing "Origenist" positions of that period: his edict against Origen, published in 543, and his letter to the Council Fathers, written in 553. The edict concludes with a series of 9 *anathemata*; see IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem* (= *Ep. ad Mennam*), ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* III, Berlin 1940, 213-214. The text of the letter underlies the 15 *anathemata* of 553, with which it shares many parallel passages; see IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90-97 (r. col.).

⁶ Justinian quotes 24 fragments of Origen's Περὶ ἀρχῶν in his edict (see above, n.5), *ACO* III, 208-213, that do not always correspond to Rufinus' Latin version (*De Principiis*) through which we know the work. These Greek quotations are, in general, closer to Latin fragments of the Περὶ ἀρχῶν that appear in Jerome's *Ep.* 124 (*ad Avitum*), ed. I. HILBERG, *Hieronymus: Epist.* III, CSEL 56, Wien 1918, 96-117. One might reject Rufinus' version and give more credit to the versions attested by Jerome and Justinian. But it is very probable that, at least in some important cases, Jerome and the redactor of Justinian's florilegium were the ones who distorted Origen's thought. See on this subject e.g. G. BARDY, "Le texte du Περὶ ἀρχῶν d'Origène et Justinien", *RechSR* 10 (1920), 224-252; *id.*, *Recherches sur l'histoire du texte et des versions latines du 'De Principiis' d'Origène*, Lille 1923; the comments in H. CROUZEL/ M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des Principes* II, SC 253, Paris 1978, *passim*; *id.* IV, SC 269, Paris 1980, *passim*; G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, "Il problema delle citazioni del Peri Archon nella lettera a Mena di Giustiniano", in *Origeniana quarta*, ed. L. LIES, Innsbruck/ Wien 1987, 54-76; H. CROUZEL, "Rufino traduttore del 'Peri Archon' di Origene", in *Rufino di Concordia e il suo tempo* I, AAAd 31, Udine 1987, 29-39; N. PACE, *Ricerche sulla traduzione di Rufino del 'De Principiis' di Origene*, Firenze 1990.

⁷ W. BIENERT, *Dionysius von Alexandrien. Zur Frage des Origenismus im dritten Jahrhundert*, PTS 21, Berlin/ New York 1978, 6-8.

⁸ See e.g. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient I: Culture ou sainteté. Introduction au monachisme oriental*, Paris 1961, 85-87.

⁹ There are striking similarities between the 15 *anathemata* of 553 and some passages of Evagrius' *Képhalaia gnostica*. See A. GUILLAUMONT, "Évagre et les anathématismes antiorigénistes de 553", *StPatr* 3/1 (TU 78), Berlin 1961, 219-226; *id.*, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 143-159.

Modern scholars, devoting themselves to the rehabilitation of Origen, are concerned to dissociate the Alexandrine master from Origenism.¹⁰ H. Crouzel argued that certain speculations of his *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* were “taken out of context”, “stripped of their hypothetical and antithetical character”, and “systematized” in the period from the fourth to the sixth centuries.¹¹ Notably Evagrius was considered as the one who converted only a small part of Origen’s doctrine into a “system”, thus paving the way to make him a heretic.¹² Anti-Origenists, like Epiphanius of Salamis (315-403) and Jerome (c. 347-419), on their part, did not distinguish between Origen’s own prudent philosophical searching and the audacious exploitation of it by the so-called Ὀριγενιστᾶί.¹³ They attacked Origen without a sense of history,¹⁴ failing to grasp the difference between hypotheses that are

postulated by way of exercise¹⁵ (γυμναστικῶς) and theses that are posited as doctrines (δογματικῶς).¹⁶ As a result, Origen was charged with a doctrinal system that he had never advanced as such.¹⁷ The charges concerned primarily speculation about the pre-existence of human souls before the creation of the material world¹⁸ and a final restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of

¹⁵ In the Preface of the *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, Origen had delimited the field for his theological speculation, as determined by the *regula fidei*, that embedded, in the ante-Nicene era, the essentials of Christian faith, transmitted through the *traditio apostolica*. The theologian had to remain faithful to them, but there were also questions left open, just to stimulate theological “exercises” (as practiced in Origen’s διδασκαλεῖον): “profecto ut studiosiores quique ex posteris suis, qui amatores essent sapientiae, *exercitum habere possent*, in quo ingenii sui fructum ostenderent, hi videlicet, qui dignos se et capaces ad recipiendam sapientiam praepararent”, ORIGENES, *De principiis*, Prefatio 3, SC 252, p.80,53-57. M. Simonetti explains: “Come infatti nelle scuole di filosofia sulla base di dati comunemente accettati s’impostavano discussioni praticamente interminabili, allo stesso modo Origene sembra aver profilato il rapporto fra i punti fermi del deposito di fede e il lavoro di ricerca teso ad approfondire il significato di quei punti ma su base solo euristica e propositiva,” M. SIMONETTI, “La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato”, 28, n.66.

¹⁶ H. CROUZEL, “Origenismo”, *DPAC* 2, 2534. See also L. PERRONE, “Der formale Aspekt der origeneischen Argumentation in den Auseinandersetzungen des 4. Jahrhunderts”, in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 119-134.

¹⁷ “La deformazione del pensiero origeniano deriva in buona parte dal fatto che affermazioni fatte da Origene in modo propositivo ed euristico vengono interpretate sempre *in malam partem* e irrigidite di affermazioni assiomatiche,” M. SIMONETTI, “La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato”, 15, n.29. “(...) les opinions dénoncées par Théophile d’Alexandrie et plus tard par Justinien ne sont pour nombre d’entre elles que des extrapolations, des durcissements, des interprétations tendancieuses, voire extravagantes, de l’enseignement d’Origène,” E. JUNOD, “L’Apologie pour Origène de Pamphile et la naissance de l’origénisme”, 268. For a comprehensive survey of the anti-Origenist charges of the fourth and the sixth centuries, see A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 84-99, 140-147. For an extensive analysis of the fourth-century charges, see J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity. Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen*, Macon, Ga. 1988, 243-448. At the end of his study, Dechow compares these charges briefly with the official anti-Origenist charges of the sixth century (449-460).

¹⁸ In the *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, Origen had tried to resolve certain contemporary questions concerning the origins of the human soul, by speculating that the souls of all rational beings had pre-existed, in ethereal bodies, as intelligences (νοῦ) united in the divine contemplation. However, by their free will they had become negligent, which had caused their primordial fall in different states (angels, human beings and demons) according to the degree of their sin. Then, for the human beings, God had created the material world as a second place of correction, through which man could return to his original state. For a summary of these (hypothetical) speculations, see esp. H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 267-284; and also 128, 132.

¹⁰ “(...) les études origéniennes actuelles (...) s’évertuent à distinguer, pour ne pas dire séparer, Origène de l’origénisme,” E. JUNOD, “L’Apologie pour Origène de Pamphile et la naissance de l’origénisme”, in *StPatr* 26, Leuven 1993, 286. W. Bienert stresses the importance of judging Origen’s teaching according to the historical context in which it came about, independently from the later Origenist controversies: “Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund ist es notwendig, Origenismus und Lehre des Origenes auseinanderzuhalten, auch wenn eine sachliche Trennung beider nicht möglich ist,” W. BIENERT, *Dionysius von Alexandrien*, 8-9.

¹¹ H. CROUZEL, “Origenismus”, in *Sacramentum Mundi* 3 (German ed.), Freiburg im Br. 1969, 925.

¹² According to Crouzel, Evagrius made a “scholastic” of Origen’s thought, omitting a great part of his doctrine and constructing “a system” with the rest: “era il modo più sicuro per renderlo eretico”, H. CROUZEL, “Origenismo”, *DPAC* 2, 2533; see also *id.*, “Origenismus”, in *Sacramentum Mundi* 3, 927; *id.*, “Origène e l’origenismo: Le condanne di Origène”, *Aug* 26 (1986), 296. Elsewhere, Crouzel observes: “Sa [scil. Evagrius] systématisation a quelque responsabilité dans les aventures postérieures de l’origénisme,” *id.*, “Recherches sur Origène et son influence”, *BLE* 62 (1961), 110. In the early sixth century, Crouzel explains, Evagrius’ “scolastica” origenista” was deteriorated by the Syrian monk Stephen Bar Sudaïli “fino a un panteismo radicale”, as the main expression of the sixth-century Origenist doctrines; see *id.*, “Origenismo”, *o.c.*, 2535. Bar Sudaïli’s *Liber de sancto Hierotheo*, in Syriac, was published by F. Marsh with an English translation: F. MARSH, *The Book which is called The Book of the Holy Hierotheus*, London/Oxford 1927.

¹³ οἱ Ὀριγενιστᾶί καλούμενοι, EPIPHANIUS SALAMINUS, *Panarion (adversus octoginta haereses)* 64,3,10, ed. K. HOLL, *Epiphanius II. Ancoratus und Panarion (haer. 34-64)*, GCS 31, Leipzig 1922, 409,6.

¹⁴ A lacking sense of history was quite normal at the time: Origen was especially judged according to criteria arisen from the posterior Arian crisis. See H. CROUZEL, “Origenismo”, 2534.

all rational beings at the end of time.¹⁹ Epiphanius blamed Origen for the “venom” by which the latter, blinded by his Greek education, had poisoned his followers.²⁰ And Justinian, some 170 years later, accused him of having dedicated himself to the transmission of “the doctrines of the Greek, the Manichaeans, the Arians and other heretics”.²¹ Finally, the Emperor ordered the Council Fathers at Constantinople to examine his “wicked and destructive doctrines”, derived primarily from Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus,²² and to put them to the ban, together with Origen and all who would ever agree with him.²³

Thus, there is an “Origenism” that is generally deduced from the documents by which it was condemned: it remains restricted to a varying series of heretical doctrines that does no justice to the real thought of Origen himself:

L'origénisme défini aux IV^e et V^e siècles correspond d'une part à la systématisation que certains disciples d'Origène ont imposé à la doctrine de leur maître, d'autre part aux déformations que les adversaires ont infligées à celle-ci, pour mieux la condamner.²⁴

But there is another problem: the opponents may not only have inflicted “déformations” upon Origen's doctrine, but also upon *the utilization of it* by those who were considered his disciples. What do we know about the “systématisation” that such disciples might have imposed on the

¹⁹ According to the anti-Origenists charges, the ἀποκατάστασις implied a final salvation of the Devil. However, Origen himself was generally inclined to exclude that possibility. See H. CROUZEL/M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des principes* IV, SC 269, 138-140 (nr.26); H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, 337-341; *id.*, “L'Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène”, *Greg* 59 (1978), 328 (repr. in *id.*, *Les fins dernières selon Origène*, Aldershot 1990, art. nr.10). On the other hand, the Alexandrian master had showed a certain hesitation concerning the subject, *ibid.*, 329, 331.

²⁰ EPIPHANIUS SALAMINUS, *Panarion* 64,72,9, GCS 31, p.523,14-18. Origen's speculations should be understood within the context of the late-Antique inheritance from Greek philosophy, especially from Plato. There are striking similarities with the world view of Plotinus, who was a contemporary of Origen. See H. CROUZEL, *Origène et Plotin: comparaisons doctrinales*, Paris 1992.

²¹ IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* III, 189,36-190,1.

²² IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90,13-15 (r. col.); 95,1 ff (r. col.); 96,11-19.

²³ *Ibid.*, 96,20-97,4.

²⁴ P. HADOT, “Origène et origénisme”, *EncU* 17 (1989), 107 (3rd col.).

doctrine of their “master”? May we derive that directly from their works?²⁵ If not,²⁶ should we assume that the hostile summaries of “Origenist” theology do accurately represent *their assimilation* of Origen's influence? The underlying question is: to what extent do these sources represent the whole *intellectual and spiritual current* that was abroad in the ancient monastic world, and that is equally meant by the term “Origenism”?

²⁵ Hadot presents Evagrius' doctrine “pour exposer la manière dont la pensée origénienne a été systématisée par le disciple”, *ibid.*, 109 (3rd col.). Though speaking about “la systématisation effectuée par Évagre”, *ibid.*, 110 (1st col.), he concludes his article by stressing the fact that “les systématisations d'Origène ou de son disciple Évagre n'ont jamais eu pour but d'édifier un corps de doctrine définitif et figé”, *ibid.* (3rd col.). Guillaumont already, when presenting Evagrius' “system” as it appears from the obscure *Kephalaia gnostica*, expressed some reserve: “Mais ce n'est pas sans quelques hésitations que l'on se risque à imposer ainsi à la pensée de son auteur cette expression systématique que lui-même s'est refusé à lui donner”, A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 37. Evagrius' *Letter to Melania* is the only writing in which he may have clearly exposed his theological thought, *ibid.*, 37, n.67. Yet I doubt whether this “veritable synthesis” given by Evagrius, who expressed his theology “mostly in an unsystematic way” (M. PARMENTIER, “Evagrius of Pontus' 'Letter to Melania'”, *Bijdr* 46 (1985), 5-6), means that he made a system of Origen's thought, or that he developed a “scolastica origeniana” (H. CROUZEL, “Origène e l'origenismo. Le condanna di Origene”, 296). As a matter of fact, Evagrius' writings can easily be misinterpreted when approached as systematic exposures of doctrine. Actually, Evagrius did not intend to put forward any “thought” concerning *ontological* categories, but his intention was to promote spiritual exercise in the area of inner *experience*. Such texts should not be evaluated with the standards appropriate for systematic theological treatises. See J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus. Its Structure and a Select Commentary*, StAns 104, Roma 1991, 372-375; also *ibid.*, pp.7-8 with nn.5-7; *id.*, “Spiritual Progress in the Works of Evagrius Ponticus”, in *Spiritual Progress. Studies in the Spirituality of Late Antiquity and Early Monasticism*, ed. M. SHERIDAN/J. DRISCOLL, StAns 115, Roma 1994, 47-84.

²⁶ G. Bunge, in an exposal of the proper *Sitz im Leben* of Evagrius' writings, renders some of the usual reproaches: “Allerdings sei Evagrius ein recht schlechter Schüler gewesen. Er habe wesentliche Elemente der origenischen Theologie preisgegeben, die weiten Antithesen dieser ‘théologie en recherche’ einseitig gelöst, und das Ganze in ein ‘System von unerbittlicher Logik’ gepresst, um es so auch für kleinere Geister assimilierbar zu machen. Mit einem Wort, gemessen an Origenes sei er eigentlich nur ein ‘Epigone’ gewesen, einer jener ‘terribles simplificateurs’, deren unerleuchteter Eifer schon mehr als einen vorgeblichen ‘Meister’ in Misskredit gebracht habe,” G. BUNGE, “Origenismus – Gnostizismus. Zum geistesgeschichtlichen Standort des Evagrius Pontikos”, *VigChr* 40 (1986), 25. Elsewhere, Bunge states that Evagrius “durchaus nicht der Systematiker ist, für den man ihn oft halt”, *id.*, *Evagrius Pontikos. Briefe aus der Wüste*, Trier 1986, 126. See also 18, 71 (with n.202), 118.

The term not only indicates the “theological system” attributed to Origen in the conflicts concerning his legacy,²⁷ but it is also used in a broader sense.²⁸ M. Simonetti, in his important contribution to the study of Origenism, observes:

Ma prima e più che un complesso, tutt'altro che sistematico, di riflessioni e proposte esegetiche e dottrinali, l'origenismo fu soprattutto un modo di vivere la religione cristiana, in cui una grande fede si coniugava con altrettanto grande libertà di pensiero e un ardente slancio mistico si calava di continuo nei moduli tipici di un intellettualismo d'impronta platonica.²⁹

Simonetti interprets Origenism as an “ideale di vita”, characterized by spiritual and intellectual freedom and reserved to an élite of intellectuals in a monastic environment, where the vast majority of monks cultivated their own ignorance as the opposite ideal.³⁰ G. Bunge however suggests that the “geistige Strömung” generally indicated as (fourth-century) Origenism, of which Evagrius Ponticus is regarded as the main representative, must have been widely spread among the monks,³¹ far from being a marginal movement.³²

²⁷ “On appelle Origénisme le système théologique attribué à Origène dans certains conflits doctrinaux qui ont divisé l'Église grecque au IV^e et au VI^e siècle,” P. HADOT, “Origène et origénisme”, *EncU* 17, 107 (3rd col).

²⁸ “L'origénisme gagnerait à être soustrait au champ de l'hérésologie. Je le définirai de façon large et neutre comme l'exploitation d'éléments majeurs de l'héritage origénien, lequel ne consiste pas seulement en un ensemble de conceptions doctrinales et spirituelles, mais aussi en un méthode d'investigation et de lecture,” E. JUNOD, “L'Apologie pour Origène de Pamphile et la naissance de l'origénisme”, 269.

²⁹ M. SIMONETTI, “La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato”, 29.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-31. The usual representation of fourth-century Origenism is that of a restricted group of “intellectual” monks, to whom the mass of “simple” monks was opposed. See e.g. A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 52-55, 59.

³¹ “Evagrius gilt heute (...) allgemein als Hauptvertreter einer als ‘Origenismus’ bezeichneten geistigen Strömung, die namentlich unter den Mönchen sehr breit verbreitet gewesen sei,” G. BUNGE, “Origenismus – Gnostizismus”, 25.

³² Bunge concludes this from the number of monks that fled from the Egyptian desert to Palestine and elsewhere, after Patriarch Theophilus' expedition in 400 against the “Tall Brothers” who were protagonists of the “Origenist” current: “Il faut donc croire que les moines dits ‘origénistes’ formaient la quasi-totalité des habitants des Kellia,” G. BUNGE, “Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire”, *Irén* 56 (1983), 356. “Le courant origéniste n'était donc nullement marginal, même si les moines cultivés étaient une minorité au milieu de la masse de leurs confrères illettrés,” G. BUNGE, “Palladiana I. Introduction aux fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque”, *StMon* 32 (1990), 79, n.1 (repr. in G. BUNGE/ A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Quatre ermites égyptiens, d'après les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, SO 60, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1994, 17, n.1). See also G. BUNGE, *Evagrius Pontikos. Briefe aus der Wüste*, 66.

This view is confirmed by many recent studies, as we shall see. However, the exact nature of “Origenism” remains difficult for us to grasp (even when we would restrict ourselves to the fourth century, *i.e.* to the period that is best documented). It is even doubtful whether we have to deal with a coherent “movement”. Evagrius, whose theology was considered central to the first Origenist controversy,³³ did not perceive himself as an “Origenist”, although he owed a lot to Origen.³⁴ He was not even regarded as such by the contemporary opponents of Origenism,³⁵ who seem to have opposed that monastic current also for motives other than mere theological ones.³⁶

³³ E. CLARK, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton, N.J. 1992, 44. Clark's thesis of Evagrius' central role in the first Origenist controversy has been called in question in a review: the fact that Evagrius' works got involved later in the Origenist controversy of the sixth century “ne prouve rien quant à leur rôle central dans celle de 399”, M. SHERIDAN, in *BSM* 14, *CCist* 58 (1996), [41].

³⁴ Adhering primarily to Nicene orthodoxy, Evagrius utilized the writings of Origen (together with those of Clement of Alexandria), because of his solicitude to teach other monks how to distinguish between true and false γνῶσις, which means: how to beware of the heretic forms of gnosticism that must have been spread among the monks of his time. See G. BUNGE, “Origenismus – Gnostizismus”, 24-54 (esp. 44-48); *id.*, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, 58-59 with n.166. Evagrius must have been well informed about the campaign against Origen, but he apparently preferred not to interfere with it; see *ibid.*, 68-70.

³⁵ Jerome is the first who, in 414, fifteen years after Evagrius' death (and after the First Origenist Controversy had quieted down), associates his doctrine with that of Origen: “Doctrina tua Origenis ramusculus est,” HIERONYMUS, *Ep.* 133 (*ad Ctesiphontem*), 3,10, CSEL 56, p.247, line 12. However, Jerome does not refer to one of the main issues of the Origenist controversy, but to Evagrius' concept of ἀπάθεια (*impassibilitas*), which he associates wrongly with the idea of *impeccantia* (ἀναμαρτησία) in the context of the Pelagian controversy. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 66-68, 123; G. BUNGE, “Origenismus – Gnostizismus”, 25-26; *id.*, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, p.27 with n.42 and p.67; M. SHERIDAN, “The Controversy over ἀπάθεια: Cassian's Sources and his Use of them”, *StMon* 39 (1997), 288 with nn.4-7. For Evagrius' concept of ἀπάθεια, see esp. J. DRISCOLL, “Apatheia and Purity of Heart in Evagrius Ponticus”, in *Purity of Heart in Early Ascetic and Monastic Literature*, Collegeville, Minn. 1999, 141-159. I wonder greatly whether M. O'Laughlin is right in trusting Jerome “to have been able to correctly identify several Origenist leaders, Evagrius among them, when writing *Ep.* 133”, M. O'LAUGHLIN, “New Questions Concerning the Origenism of Evagrius”, in *Origeniana quinta*, Leuven 1992, 531.

³⁶ Some of the sources indicate that especially Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria must have had strong personal reasons to take action against the Origenists in the Egyptian desert. See PALLADIUS, *Dialogus de vita Johanni Chrysostomi*, 6-8, ed. A.-M. MALINGREY/ P. LECLERCQ, SC 341, Paris 1988, 126-180; SOCRATES, *HE* 6,7-15, ed. G.HANSEN, GCS, Neue Folge 1, Berlin 1995, 322,7-338,13; SOZOMENUS, *HE* 8,2-19, ed. J. BIDEZ/ G. HANSEN, GCS 50, Berlin 1960, 349-376. See also: M. SIMONETTI, “La controversia origeniana.

It is very difficult for us to get a clear notion of the “Origenist” movement that flourished both at the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem and in the Egyptian monasteries of Nitria and Cellia, at the end of the fourth century.³⁷ But even more difficult is that of the “Origenism” that must have flourished in the Palestinian monastic world in the decades before 553, the period which the present study addresses. In a noticeable contribution to research on the subject, B. Daley states

that the Origenist monks of Palestine represented, as a party in the Church, a far broader range of theological opinion than the name suggests, and that what held them together was more their interest in the intellectual life and in theological speculation – as exemplified, perhaps, in the Origenist approach to theology – than any particular system of doctrine.³⁸

According to Daley, “the label ‘Origenism’”, in the time of the second controversy, “seems to have covered a multitude of sins”,³⁹ and against the background of the post-Chalcedonian debates, “the label ‘Origenist’ could be and was affixed to people holding a variety of theological positions”.⁴⁰ We know much less about the Second Origenist Controversy than we do about the first, but at least we know that – just as happened in the first controversy – the “Origenists” met with fierce opposition zealous for defending the orthodox faith. Our sources suggest that this opposition, supported by imperial power, managed to inflict a crushing defeat upon the movement. In any case, in the period after the Fifth Ecumenical Council, the Origenists disappeared from history, leaving few traces of themselves.

With regard to the First Origenist Controversy, we have access to extensive documentation coming from both sides in the conflict, but the testi-

Caratteri e significato”, 16-17; G. BUNGE, “Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire”, 356, n.199; *id.*, *Evagrius Pontikos: Briefe aus der Wüste*, 60-61, 63-66. After the condemnation of Origen, Theophilus even remained a “fervent lecteur de ses oeuvres”, *id.*, “les deux Macaire”, *o.c.*, 357, n.203 (with ref. to SOCRATES, *HE* 6,17); see also *id.*, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, *o.c.*, 56, 63, 66 with n.185.

³⁷ For classical representations of the Origenist movement, see esp. H. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn* II, 125-128; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 50-59. As we shall see, the picture has somewhat been changed by recent studies.

³⁸ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, *JTS*/ns 27 (1976), 366.

³⁹ *Id.*, “What did ‘Origenism’ Mean in the Sixth Century?”, in *Origeniana sexta*, ed. G. DORIVAL/A. LE BOULLUEC, Leuven 1995, 636-637.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 637.

monies of the *Second Controversy* derive almost exclusively from hostile sources. The most important among them are to be found in the monastic biographies of Cyril of Scythopolis (c. 525-559), a Palestinian hagiographer with an almost classical reputation of historical trustworthiness. The present dissertation, however, will question that reputation. Such a criticism could contribute to an eventual attempt to understand, as far as possible, what happened in the “Second Origenist Controversy” that troubled the Palestinian monastic world in the midst of the sixth century and that finally led to the official condemnation of Origen, Evagrius and Didymus.

But before introducing Cyril of Scythopolis and his writings, it will be useful to give a brief geographical and historical outline of Palestinian monasticism.

2. The Palestinian monastic world from its origins to the sixth century

We know about early Palestinian monasticism especially from numerous Lives of Saints. These Lives, however, were for the greater part not published in Migne, so access to the Palestinian monastic world remained difficult until the beginning of the twentieth century. Apart from the written sources, archaeology has also contributed significantly to our knowledge.⁴¹ In the last decade, a renewed effort of investigation has been made in this area, due particularly to a vivid interest in modern Israel in the history of Christian monasticism.⁴²

⁴¹ Special mention should be made of S. Vailhé who published around 1900 many articles on the early Palestinian monasteries (esp. in *EO* and *ROC*). Two noticeable surveys are: S. VAILHÉ, “Les monastères de la Palestine”, *Bess* 3 (1897-98), 39-58, 209-225, 334-356; *Bess*, 4 (1898-99), 193-210; *id.*, “Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine”, *ROC* 4 (1899), 512-542; *ROC* 5 (1900), 19-48, 272-292. See also H. LECLERCQ, “Laures palestiniennes”, *DACL* 8/2 (1929), 1961-1988.

⁴² Here, I may mention especially the following studies: Y. HIRSCHFELD, “List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert”, in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1990, 1-90; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven/London 1992; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Compara-*

In sixth-century Palestine, there were two great centers of monastic life, which appear from the sources as rather isolated from each other: first, the desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, together with the valley of the Jordan, and second, the area around Gaza.⁴³ In the desert, various geographical circumstances favored different types of monastic life: the cenobitic in the neighborhood of the civilized world, the semi-anchoretic further into the desert, and the anchoretic close to the Dead Sea, where the desert is the most desolate.⁴⁴ The *laura*, as the form of organization for semi-anchoretic life, is a special characteristic of Palestinian monasticism.⁴⁵ The other center of monastic life was the coastal area, around Gaza.⁴⁶ This area was a vivid contact point for various intellectual and spiritual currents – coming especially from Alexandria – so the spiritual and intellectual environment of Gaza had a multiform character which was quite different from that of the Palestinian desert.⁴⁷

tive Study in Eastern Monasticism. Fourth to Seventh Centuries, Washington D.C. 1995. An international symposium was held in Jerusalem on 24-30 May, 1998. The publication of its Acts is forthcoming, but Abstracts of the contributions are already edited by J. PATRICH, *The Sabaite Heritage. The Sabaite Factor in the Orthodox Church: Monastic Life, Theology, Liturgy, Literature, Art and Archaeology (5th Century to the Present)*, Haifa 1998.

⁴³ See the map below, 380.

⁴⁴ The variety of terrain and its effects on the monastic life have been described by J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, CS 114, Kalamazoo, Mich. 1991, xiv-xix; *id.*, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine, 314-631*, Oxford 1994, 99-120.

⁴⁵ D. Chitty observes that the monastic use of the word *laura* (*Lavra*) “seems to originate in Palestine”, D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire*, Crestwood, N.Y. 1966, 15. The word could be a rendering of the Arabic *Sûq*, which means “market”, that is, a “narrow street with shops opening onto it”, *ibid.*, 16. This comes close to the organizational form of the *laura*: solitary cells (or caves) in a row, or on a path running along the side of a ravine, with a common center. The monks assembled on Saturdays and Sundays, and were supposed to spend the rest of the week in their cells. See *ibid.*, 15-16.

⁴⁶ For the monastic tradition of Gaza, with the famous sixth-century figures, Barsanuphius, John and Dorotheus, see *ibid.*, 132-140, and esp. P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH/F. NEYT, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance I, Aux solitaires*, t. 1, *Lettres 1-71*, SC 426, Intro., Paris 1997, 11-155.

⁴⁷ Gaza was not only a monastic center, but also an intellectual one. The so-called “School of Gaza” was a melting pot of Neoplatonist tendencies, attracting all kinds of rhetoricians and sophists. See e.g. F.-M. ABEL, *Histoire de la Palestine: Depuis la conquête d’Alexandre jusqu’à l’invasion arabe* II, Paris 1952, 362-365; D. STIERNON, “Gaza”, *DHGE* 20 (1984), 163-164 (with bibliographical notes).

Certain forms of ascetic life existed already in Palestine before the Christian tradition; they are particularly represented by the prophet Elijah, John the Baptist and the community of Qumran. For the first three centuries of the Christian era, our information is scarce. Eusebius of Caesarea reports that Bishop Narcissus of Jerusalem, around 200, fled from his enemies into the desert to dedicate himself to the “philosophic life” for a certain time.⁴⁸ From the third century on, the Holy Land began to attract ascetics from Egypt, Syria, Cappadocia and the Western world. The first monks we know by name are Chariton, between 275-345,⁴⁹ and Hilarion, in the first half of the fourth century.⁵⁰ At the end of the fourth century, there was a first flourishing period of Palestinian monasticism, with Melania the Elder and Rufinus on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, and Jerome in Bethlehem. This is also the time and the place of the outbreak of the First Origenist Controversy.⁵¹

⁴⁸ EUSEBIUS, *HE* VI, 9,4-6, ed. G. BARDY, *Eusèbe de Césarée: Histoire ecclésiastique* II, SC 41, Paris 1955, 98,11-99,1.

⁴⁹ We cannot date Chariton’s life with precision, but it must have been between 275-345; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ. The Monasteries of Palestine (314-631)*, Oxford 1994, 45-47, 118. Chariton founded the three monasteries of Pharan, Douka and Souka (see the map below, 381). An anonymous Life of Chariton was written in the second half of the sixth century; the text was published by G. GARITTE, “La Vie pré-métaphrastique de S. Chariton”, *BIHBR* 21 (1941), 5-50. For an English translation, see L. DI SEGNI, “The Life of Chariton”, in *Ascetic Behaviour in Greco-Roman Antiquity. A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis 1990, 393-421. See also Y. HIRSCHFELD, “The Life of Chariton. In Light of Archaeological Research”, in *ibid.*, 425-447.

⁵⁰ Hilarion is known to us through HIERONYMUS, *Vita Hilarionis*, ed. A. BASTIAENSEN, in *Vita di Martino, vita di Ilarione, in memoria di Paola*, *Vite dei Santi* IV, Milano 1975, 72-143 (with It. transl.). There are no other sources that might enable us to confront this Life with historical reality; see B. DEGÓRSKI, *Girolamo: Vite degli eremiti Paolo, Ilarione e Malco*, ColTP 126, Roma 1996, 23. According to this Life, Hilarion was born near Gaza, spent a short time with Antony the Great and, at the age of only fifteen (around 307), returned to Gaza to dedicate himself to the solitary life (*Vita*, 1-2). Hilarion shares with Chariton the traditional reputation of being the founder of Palestinian monasticism.

⁵¹ In the early 390’s, Epiphanius of Salamis, who had long since fulminated against Origen, attempted to win Jerome and Rufinus over for his cause. The first was persuaded and the second not, and a bitter conflict between the two was the result. Only from 399 on, the controversy was transferred to the Egyptian desert by Theophilus of Alexandria. The literature on the subject is extensive. See esp. H. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi ’n Natrûn* II, 125-144; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 47-123; E. CLARK, *The Origenist Controversy*, 11-151, 163-193; A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l’antiquité* III/1. *Le monachisme latin. Jérôme, Augustin et Rufin au tournant du siècle (391-405)*, Paris 1996, 15-90.

In the fifth century, the monastic movement underwent a process of consolidation, with many monks settling in the deserts of Jerusalem and the Jordan. Monasteries were founded and quickly became populated, often counting hundreds of members. The colonization of the desert, which is associated with the names of Gerasimus, Euthymius, Theodosius and Sabas,⁵² led to a strong institutionalization of Palestinian monasticism.⁵³ In the first half of the sixth century, this monasticism reached its greatest expansion. It is the period of its culmination, but also one of violent controversies. The monks, notwithstanding their ideals of withdrawal, renunciation of the world and solitary life, were passionately participating in theological struggles that, in the early Byzantine theocracy, had far-reaching consequences on the political level also.⁵⁴ This period is the setting of our investigation, when Cyril of Scythopolis wrote his monastic Lives.

3. Cyril of Scythopolis, historical source for sixth-century Origenism

Cyril of Scythopolis, a faithful disciple of the Palestinian monastic leader Saint Sabas (439-532), wrote in the last years of his short life seven *Lives* of holy monks living in Palestine in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁵⁵ These writings are respectively the *Lives of Euthymius* (377-473),⁵⁶ of Sa-

⁵² For the Lives of Gerasimus, Euthymius, Theodosius and Sabas, see below.

⁵³ The institutionalized character of Palestinian monasticism in the fifth and the sixth centuries with all its effects is particularly explained by L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città. Le *Storie monastiche* di Cirillo di Scitopoli", in *Cirillo di Scitopoli: Storie monastiche del deserto di Gerusalemme*, ScrMon 15 (Introd.), Praglia 1990, 11-90.

⁵⁴ For the involvement of the Palestinian monks in the theological struggles of the fifth and the sixth centuries, see L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*.

⁵⁵ Ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49/2, Leipzig 1939. Modern translations (see also below) are: A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient III/1-3. Les moines de Palestine*, Paris 1962-63; R. BALDELLI/L. MORTARI, *Cirillo di Scitopoli: Storie monastiche del deserto di Gerusalemme*, Praglia 1990 (introduced by L. PERRONE, see above, n.53); R. PRICE, *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, CS 114, Kalamazoo 1991 (introduced by J. BINNS, see above, 32, n.44).

⁵⁶ *VE* (SCHWARTZ), 3-85. *BHG* 647-648b; *CPG* 7535.

bas,⁵⁷ of John the Hesychast (454-559),⁵⁸ of Cyriacus (449-556/7),⁵⁹ of Theodosius (c. 430-529),⁶⁰ of Theognius (425-?)⁶¹ and of Abraamius (474-?).⁶² The *Vita Euthymii* and the *Vita Sabae* constitute the main part of the hagiographic corpus. They were the first to be written, are closely connected to each other⁶³ and are much longer than the other five *Vitae*. With respect to our knowledge of sixth-century Origenism, the *Vita Sabae* is all-important. In the last chapters of this biography, Cyril gives a long account of the events relating to the controversy, from the death of Saint Sabas (532) until the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553), followed by a description of the defeat of the Origenist party.⁶⁴ Also the short *Vita Cyriaci* is an important writing for our purpose, because it contains an autobiographical passage in which Cyril narrates how he went to see old Abba Cyriacus, who warned him fiercely against the injurious influence of the Origenist monks.⁶⁵ From the *Vita Euthymii* and the other biographies we may derive useful additional information. Though not totally unimportant, these Lives do not contribute directly to our knowledge of sixth-century Origenism.

Who was this author providing us with so much information about the Origenist struggle of his time? We can summarize his life only by means of

⁵⁷ *VS* (SCHWARTZ), 85-200. *BHG* 1608; *CPG* 7536.

⁵⁸ *VIH* (SCHWARTZ), 201-222. *BHG* 897; *CPG* 7537. We are informed about John's death by an appendix in a Georgian MS; probably, Cyril wrote also this addition. See G. GARITTE, "La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste d'après un texte géorgien inédit", *AB* 72 (1954), 75-84.

⁵⁹ *VC* (SCHWARTZ), 222-235. *BHG* 463; *CPG* 7538.

⁶⁰ *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 235-241. *BHG* 1777; *CPG* 7539.

⁶¹ *VTheog* (SCHWARTZ), 241-243. *BHG* 1787; *CPG* 7540.

⁶² *VAb* (SCHWARTZ), 243-249. *BHG* 12; *CPG* 7541. Abraamius reached at least the age of 68, so he died after 542. We know this from the Arabic version of this *Vita*, which provides the only complete text. The Arabic has been translated into Latin by P. PEETERS, "Historia sancti Abraamii ex apographo arabico", *AB* 24 (1905), 351-356. Only this text informs us about Abraamius' death, but without indicating the year, *ibid.*, 356,10.

⁶³ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983, 34. "Il s'agit d'une seule oeuvre en deux parties," *ibid.* See also J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, xxx.

⁶⁴ *VS* 83-90 (SCHWARTZ), 188,28-200,17. Other important passages are interwoven with the rest of the Life, *VS* 19 (*ibid.*), 103,8-105,2; *VS* 36 (*ibid.*), 122,19-125,25; *VS* 72 (*ibid.*), 174,23-176,20; *VS* 74 (*ibid.*), 178,19-179,14.

⁶⁵ *VC* 11-15 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26.

what he himself relates.⁶⁶ Cyril was born about 525⁶⁷ in Scythopolis, the capital of Palestine II: a commercial center and a city with a highly developed ecclesiastical life and with several monasteries.⁶⁸ His father must have been a σχολαστικός, which implies that he was well-educated⁶⁹ and a member “of the legal profession”:⁷⁰ he assisted the metropolitan of Scythopolis in episcopal administration.⁷¹ His mother was a very pious woman; Cyril refers to her as a δούλη θεοῦ.⁷² The little information Cyril communicates about his family indicate that he was well born from an ecclesiastical and pious environment. His parents must have been closely acquainted with Saint Sabas. Cyril narrates how the Saint had visited Scythopolis before he was born, in 518, in order to announce a decree of the Emperor Justin (518-527) in

⁶⁶ His writings contain several autobiographical passages, besides the one already mentioned: *VE* 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,10-72,7; *VE* 60 (*ibid.*), 82,12-85,4; *VS* 1 (*ibid.*), 85,12-86,26; *VS* 75 (*ibid.*), 179,26-181,18; *VIH* 20 (*ibid.*), 216,8-217,24; *VIH* 21 (*ibid.*), 217,25-218,9.

⁶⁷ See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 11-13; J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 25.

⁶⁸ J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, xxxviii-xxxix. The site of Scythopolis (in Hebrew Beth Shan), situated at the height of Caesarea, a few miles west of the Jordan (see the map below, 380), has been a civilization center for 7,000 years. In Cyril's time the place, having been a center in the network of Roman roads in Palestine, had a history reaching back many centuries. See J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 121-126. For a further description: *ibid.*, 126-147. See also M. AVI-YONAH, “Scythopolis”, *IEJ* 12 (1962), 123-134.

⁶⁹ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 26.

⁷⁰ *Id.*, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 84, n.12.

⁷¹ τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον κράτων...καὶ τῷ μητροπολίτῃ συνεδρεύων, *VS* 75 (SCHWARTZ), 180,4-6. Cyril does not mention the title of σχολαστικός in this passage, but in the *VE* we read that Euthymius' uncle Eudoxius, who fulfilled the same function (τὸ ... ἐπισκοπεῖον κρατοῦντα καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ συνεδρεύοντα), was a σχολαστικός, *VE* 3 (SCHWARTZ), 10,7-8, 15. See also E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 409; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/2, 109-110, n.251; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 13.

⁷² *VS* 75 (SCHWARTZ), 180,20-21. According to Schwartz and Festugière, the expression would mean that Cyril's mother was (living as) a nun; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 409, n.2; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/2, 109, n.251. Flusin thinks that such a meaning, in this case, might be too strong; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 15. Binns first wrote that the expression “may imply that Cyril's mother was living as a nun”, J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 217, n.106. However, shortly after he specified that it “was used as a compliment to her piety and should not be understood to imply that she was a member of a religious community”, J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 25.

favor of the Council of Chalcedon.⁷³ Cyril's father, impressed by a miracle performed by Sabas, did not budge from the Saint's side during his stay in Scythopolis; and the Saint, on his part, visited their house regularly, while Cyril's mother had the benefit of his prayer and blessing.⁷⁴

Sabas came to Scythopolis on a second occasion in 531 (the year before his death), when Cyril was a six-year-old boy, to announce imperial decrees once again.⁷⁵ On this occasion, the small child caught the attention of the nonagenarian, who put him under the charge of the metropolitan to ensure his ecclesiastical and monastic education.⁷⁶ Cyril's father was ordered to teach him “the Psalter and the Apostle”.⁷⁷ Cyril does not mention any wider instruction, but despite presenting himself as an ἰδιώτης,⁷⁸ he

⁷³ *VS* 61 (SCHWARTZ), 162,19-163,3. Justin's predecessor, Anastasius (493-518), had pursued a vigorous anti-Chalcedonian policy during the last years of his government. As soon as Justin succeeded on the throne, he started favoring the Council, *VS* 60, (*ibid.*), 162,10-18.

⁷⁴ *VS* 63 (SCHWARTZ), 164,20-24.

⁷⁵ According to Cyril's biography, Sabas had been sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem on a mission to the court of Justinian (527-565), to request remission of certain taxes and support of the Palestinian churches, after a disastrous revolt of the Samaritans against the Christians, *VS* 70-74 (SCHWARTZ), 171,26-179,8. The Emperor, deeply impressed by the holiness of the Saint, *VS* 71 (*ibid.*), 173,17-27, zealously fulfilled all five points of the request, by sending decrees and giving rescripts to Sabas, *VS* 73 (*ibid.*), 176,21-178,20. After the imperial rescripts had been published at Jerusalem, Sabas went to Caesarea and Scythopolis to publish them also there, *VS* 75 (*ibid.*), 179,26-180,2.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 180,9-14.

⁷⁷ τὸ δὲ ψαλτήριον διδάξει με καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον, *ibid.*, 181,16-17 (see also 180,23-24).

⁷⁸ Cyril concludes the *VE* with an interesting passage about how he gathered all information for the *VE* and the *VS*, how he felt incapable to get started on the composition of these *Vitae* and how Euthymius and Sabas finally appeared to him in his sleep and fulfilled him with the strength needed to accomplish the task, *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 82,12-85,4. Throughout the whole passage Cyril emphasizes his unworthiness and his lack of education: καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς συντάξεως ἠπόρουσιν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὡς ἰδιώτης καὶ μηδ' ὅλως ἀχθεῖς διὰ παιδείας τῆς ἔξωθεν καὶ ὡς ἀπειρος τῶν θεῶν λογίων καὶ βραδύγλωσσος, (*ibid.*), 83,23-25. See also *VS*, Preface (*ibid.*), 86,12. Referring to A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, “Lieux communs littéraires et thèmes du folklore dans l'hagiographie primitive”, *WSI* 73 (1960), 123-152 (pp.126-131), Binns notes that we should not take this phrase too literally. “The claim to be ignorant and uneducated, and to write as a result of a divine commission, are commonplace features of writing of the period, both Christian and pagan,” J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 92, n.109. See also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 41-42.

must have received a good education.⁷⁹ When still a child, he was tonsured and placed in the first ecclesiastical grade,⁸⁰ which means – as we learn from the *Vita Euthymii* – that he became lector.⁸¹ In 543, probably at the age of eighteen, he made his “renunciation” (ἀπεταξάμην) in a monastery of Scythopolis and received the monastic habit from the hands of Abba George,⁸² his guide to whom he would dedicate both the *Vita Euthymii*⁸³ and the *Vita Sabae*.⁸⁴ In November of the same year, as Cyril indicates, he left Scythopolis for Jerusalem, attracted by the life of the desert.⁸⁵ Before his departure, his pious mother urged him to take no decisions without the advice of John the Hesychast, and also to be on his guard against the injurious influence of the Origenists.⁸⁶ Cyril relates how he went to a laura near Jericho, neglecting John the Hesychast’s injunction, but after a short ill-fated stay there, he did as John had told him and entered the cenobium of Euthymius, in July 544.⁸⁷ There he lived for a good ten years.

⁷⁹ Festugière presumes that Cyril not only “a dû recevoir une bonne éducation première”, but also that he, after becoming a monk, “a fait une étude au moins suffisante de la théologie”, A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, 43. Besides, the comprehensive analysis of Flusin proves that Cyril knew how to utilize a vast patrimonium of Christian sources; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 41-86. Apart from his theological formation, he must have learnt at least the basic principles of rhetoric, frequenting only Christian writers, *ibid.*, 84. See also L. PERRONE, “Il deserto e l’orizzonte della città”, 87-89. According to Binns, Cyril’s writings reveal “a detailed knowledge of the Bible”, familiarity with “the Lives of the saints” and “some knowledge of rhetoric”, but “no knowledge of classical non-Christian writers”. See J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 28.

⁸⁰ VS 75 (SCHWARTZ), 181,17-18.

⁸¹ In the VE, the two-year-old Euthymius is dedicated to God like Samuel, VE 3 (SCHWARTZ), 10,11-13; he is received by the bishop, baptized, tonsured and made lector in the church, *ibid.*, 10,19-21. There are notable similarities between Cyril’s own youth and the way he describes the youth both of Euthymius and Sabas. See also VS 1-2 (SCHWARTZ), 86,27-88,17.

⁸² VE 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,10-17. Cyril notes that the event took place in the sixteenth year of the “present” (ie. Justinian’s) reign.

⁸³ VE, Dedication (SCHWARTZ), 5,1-6,20; Preface (*ibid.*), 8,10-13.

⁸⁴ VS, Preface (SCHWARTZ), 85,5-86,26.

⁸⁵ VE 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,16-20; VIH 20 (*ibid.*), 216,8-11.

⁸⁶ VE 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,20-27; VIH 20 (*ibid.*), 216,11-15.

⁸⁷ Although John had urged him to enter the monastery of Euthymius (c. 7 miles east of Jerusalem; see the map below, 381), Cyril, in his youthful desire for a hermit’s life, went first to the laura of Calamon (c. 5 miles south-west of Jericho). There, he fell gravely ill and John appeared in his sleep to reproach him with his disobedience. Rising from sleep, he felt suddenly recovered and then finally followed John’s injunction, VIH 20 (SCHWARTZ), 216,20-217,12.

After the Council of Constantinople in 553 and the following expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura,⁸⁸ this former Origenist center was re-populated in February 555 by one hundred and twenty orthodox monks; Cyril was among the new inhabitants.⁸⁹ In a euphoric mood, because of what he considered the final victory of orthodoxy over Origenism,⁹⁰ Cyril started working on his biographies.⁹¹ J. Binns gave a significant description of the state of mind with which his writings were produced:

(...) while he was in the New Laura enjoying the victory over heresy, (...) he began his task of writing. As he triumphantly occupied this former bastion of heresy, he started to record the events by which the true faith triumphed, presenting the conflict between orthodoxy and heresy as a theme running through his Lives.⁹²

About two years later, in 557, Cyril moved to the Great Laura,⁹³ which was the monastic center that dominated all Sabaitic monasteries in the deserts

⁸⁸ The New Laura (near Thekoa, c. 12 miles south of Jerusalem; see the map below, 381) was founded in 507 from the Great Laura (c. 8 miles south-east of Jerusalem), VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 122,19-123,28. The Great Laura, itself founded by Sabas in 483, VS 16 (*ibid.*), 99,5-100,20, became the center of all Sabaitic monasteries. The remains are spread around the present-day Mar Saba monastery. See esp. S. VAILHÉ, “Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine”, ROC 5 (1900), 274-276; Y. HIRSCHFELD, “List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert”, in *Christian Archaeology*, 31-32; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 24-26; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 57-107. For the New Laura, the remains of which were discovered by Y. Hirschfeld in 1982, see esp. S. VAILHÉ, “Répertoire alphabétique”, *o.c.*, 38-39; Y. HIRSCHFELD, “List of the Byzantine Monasteries”, *o.c.*, 36-38; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries*, *o.c.*, 15-16, 26-27; J. PATRICH, *Sabas*, *o.c.*, 107-110. The New Laura became a center of Origenism. According to Cyril, the monks of the New Laura separated themselves from the catholic communion after the official condemnation of 553, while Patriarch Eustochius of Jerusalem patiently tried to convince them of the need to turn back into communion. After eight months, however, when he saw his efforts ineffective, he had them expelled from the New Laura by military force, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,11-17.

⁸⁹ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-200,3. For the dating of the re-populating of the New Laura to 555 and the problems connected with it, see esp. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 65-66; E. STEIN, “Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres”, AB 62 (1944), 174-176; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 31, with n.111. (There are some questions concerning Cyril’s dating system, which will be treated below, esp. p.68, n.61; p.75, n.92; p.289, n.171; p.291, n.177).

⁹⁰ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 200,3-17.

⁹¹ For the difficulties Cyril had to overcome getting started, see the concluding chapter of the VE, mentioned above, 37, n.78.

⁹² J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 33.

⁹³ For the time of Cyril’s stay in the New Laura, see VE 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,21-22. For his removal to the Great Laura, see VS 82 (SCHWARTZ), 187,21-24; VIH 20 (*ibid.*), 217,21-23. For the Great Laura, see the literature mentioned above, n.88.

of Judea and the Jordan. He must have died soon after, in 559; that is to say, not a trace of any activity is to be found of him after this date.⁹⁴

As a young monk at the cenobium of Euthymius near Jerusalem, Cyril witnessed the last, crucial phase of the complex intrigue that is called the "Second Origenist Controversy". In 543 (the year when Cyril made his renunciation of the world) Emperor Justinian had received a *libellus* from the anti-Origenist monks of Palestine and, alarmed by it, he had promulgated an edict "against the impious Origen and his sacrilegious doctrines".⁹⁵ But in the following years, according to Cyril, the Origenists gained in power and the orthodox monks had to suffer severe assaults and persecutions from their side.⁹⁶ The Origenist power weakened only after the sudden death of their leader Nonnus, in 547,⁹⁷ followed by a schism within their own ranks.⁹⁸ Finally the Emperor, alarmed by a new *libellus* against the Origenists, as Cyril puts it, convoked the Fifth Ecumenical Council that assembled at Constantinople in order to condemn Origen and Theodore of Mop-suestia, together with the teachings of Evagrius and Dydimus.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ "Wie sein Leben weiter verlief, nachdem er das Gebot, mit seinem Talent zu wuchern [6,15. 82,16], redlich erfüllt hatte, meldet keine Kunde," E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 415. If Cyril was the one who added the appendix to the *VIH*, describing John the Hesychast's death (see above, 35, n.58), this would mean that he was still alive on 8 January 559. See G. GARITTE, "La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste", 80 (nr.14). Festugière only remarks that the Great Laura is the monastery that Cyril "n'a plus quittée", A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient III/1*, 9. Flusin assumes that "Cyrille est mort peu après 559", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 32. See also J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, XL. An early death would be "the most likely explanation" for the ending of Cyril's literary career in 559; see *id.*, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, Oxford 1994, 35.

⁹⁵ κατὰ Ὀριγένους τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς καὶ τῶν ἀνοσίων δογμάτων, IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO III*, 189,20. Cyril relates the promulgation of this edict in *VS 85* (SCHWARTZ), 191,20-192,3.

⁹⁶ *VS 86-87* (SCHWARTZ), 192,12-195,25.

⁹⁷ *VS 87* (SCHWARTZ), 195,25-196,2.

⁹⁸ *VS 89* (SCHWARTZ), 197,4-26.

⁹⁹ *VS 89-90* (SCHWARTZ), 197,26-199,6. By mentioning Theodore's name, Cyril refers in passing to the Three Chapters affair which, according to the evidence, was the main issue at the Council. See also below, 52, n.167.

4. The problem of Cyril's historical reliability: *status quaestionis*

As has already been said, Cyril of Scythopolis bears an almost classical reputation of historical reliability. In general, scholars give much credit to his account: Cyril distinguishes himself from other ancient hagiographers by the unusual exactitude with which he indicates dates, due to his concern to place the important events of his report against the historical background of the period when they occurred.

Caesar Baronius, who published his *Annales ecclesiastici* between 1588 and 1607,¹⁰⁰ already praised Cyril as a "diligens et veritatis cultor illorum temporum florens historicus",¹⁰¹ or as a "verax et accuratus Scriptor rerum SS. Monachorum".¹⁰² Among all the historians of early Christianity after Athanasius and Jerome, Baronius had found no one describing the lives and deeds of the holy men with more trustworthiness:

Liceat absque invidia dicere, me neminem reperisse post sanctos Athanasium atque Hieronymum, qui majori fide scripserit sanctissimorum virorum res gestas, digerens eas, atque distinguens accurate per tempora, ac ipse Cyrillus, dum quae ipse vidit, vel sanctorum omni probitate praestantium virorum relatione didicit, absque levi suspicione mendacii, sinceram veritatem veluti sacrosanctum depositum posteris tradidit.¹⁰³

Baronius' judgment was explicitly endorsed by seventeenth century church historians, such as J. Bolland (1643),¹⁰⁴ L. Bulteau (1680)¹⁰⁵ and S. Lenain de Tillemont (ed. 1712).¹⁰⁶ Referring to Cyril's *Vita Euthymii*, the latter affirmed:

¹⁰⁰ A. INGOLD, "Baronius (Le cardinal César)", *DTC 2/1* (1932), 426.

¹⁰¹ C. BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici*, Annus 475, par. LXIII, cf. ed. Venetiis 1739, t. 6, col. 381.

¹⁰² *Id.*, Annus 491, par. xv, quoted from ed. Venetiis 1739, t. 7, col. 547, marginal note.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, col. 547-548.

¹⁰⁴ J. BOLLAND, "De S. Euthymio Magno", *AS*, xx Januarii, Jan., t.II, according to ed. novissima (J. CARNADET), Paris 1862, 663 (par. III).

¹⁰⁵ L. BULTEAU, *Essai de l'histoire monastique d'Orient*, Paris 1680, 675-677.

¹⁰⁶ S. LENAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique XIV*, according to: ed. Venise 1732, 77. The *editio princeps* of t.XIV, the last volume of Lenain de Tillemont's monumental work, was published in Paris 1712, 14 years after his death. See G. BARDY, "Tillemont (Sébastien Le Nain de)", *DTC 15/1* (1946), 1029-1033.

Son histoire n'est pas moins assurée qu'elle est admirable. (...) Mais s'il n'a pas lui-même été témoin de ce qu'il rapporte, il a eu le soin de s'en informer exactement des anciens solitaires qui en pouvoient être les mieux instruits, particulièrement de S. Jean le Silencieux, de Thalathée, & de S. Quiriac ou Cyriaque.¹⁰⁷

Another early testimony of Cyril's high reputation may be found in the sixth volume of the *Vies des Pères des déserts d'Orient* of M.-A. Marin (1761), where the chapter on Sabas is introduced as follows:

Nous suivrons le moine Cyrille en donnant la vie de saint Sabas, comme nous l'avons fait dans celle de saint Euthyme, et nous sommes d'autant plus assurés de la vérité de son histoire, qu'il a eu le bonheur d'être élevé par ce grand saint dans sa jeunesse et que son exactitude est reconnue de tous les savants dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique et monastique*.¹⁰⁸

In the nineteenth century, A. Couret (1869) compared Cyril with Plutarch, because of the former's stylistic qualities which assured to his biographies "un rang distingué parmi les oeuvres historiques du sixième siècle".¹⁰⁹ H. Usener (1890) gave a more specific description of Cyril's qualities as a historian:

Er nimmt in der erbaulichen Litteratur des Alterthums eine Ehrenstelle ein, weil er ein echter Geschichtschreiber ist. Mit scharfem Gefühl für das Wahre wusste er sich seine Gewährsmänner zu wählen, (...) und wurde nicht müde zu dieser und jener Niederlassung zu wandern um das Erkundete zu berichtigen und zu ergänzen. Den Prüfstein seines Berufs zum Geschichtschreiber der Wüste gibt die ungewöhnliche Sorgfalt, mit welcher er Genauigkeit der Zeitbestimmung erstrebt. Hier lag für ihn selbst das wichtigste Mittel, die Zuverlässigkeit seiner Berichterstattung zu prüfen.¹¹⁰

Shortly before Usener, however, H. Loofs (1887), in a study on the sixth-century theologian Leontius of Byzantium, had observed that Cyril's

¹⁰⁷ S. LENAÏN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique* XIV (ed. 1732), 76.

¹⁰⁸ M. MARIN, *Les Vies des Pères des déserts d'Orient avec leur doctrine spirituelle et leur discipline monastique*, 6, Avignon 1761, 71-72 (quoted according to the "Nouvelle Édition" by M. VEUILLOT, t.3, Paris 1864, 427).

¹⁰⁹ A. COURET, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, 326-636, Grenoble 1869, 207.

¹¹⁰ H. USENER, *Der heilige Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1890 (repr. Hildesheim 1975), XIX-XX, quoted according to the original spelling (substantives without capitals).

references to the Origenist controversy bear "eine grelle Parteifärbung".¹¹¹ Nevertheless, Usener's judgment became famous and has received much consensus since: his passage was quoted frequently, for example by A. Ehrhard (1893),¹¹² W. Rügamer (1894),¹¹³ F. Diekamp (1899)¹¹⁴ and O. Bardenhewer (1932).¹¹⁵ But also without using Usener's words, scholars of the last hundred years have expressed a great admiration of Cyril.¹¹⁶ According to Ehrhard, he distinguishes himself from other hagiographers by the reliability of the facts reported and by his sober historical sense.¹¹⁷ The appraisal was somewhat balanced in a series of conferences by H. Delahaye (1935) first published fifty years after his death, in 1991. In the second conference Delahaye, on the one hand, fully joined with his predecessors in the traditional eulogy:

Car si Cyrille ne recherche pas les effets littéraires, on ne peut lui marchander cet éloge, que bien peu d'hagiographes ont su mériter: c'est un véritable historien. Il possède à un haut degré les deux qualités principales de la profession: le souci de l'information exacte et la précision chronologique. Il n'avance pas un fait important sans produire ses témoins. (...).

¹¹¹ H. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz und die gleichnamigen Schriftsteller der griechischen Kirche I. Das Leben und die polemischen Werke des Leontius von Byzanz*, TU 3/1, Leipzig 1887, 288.

¹¹² A. EHRHARD, "Das Griechische Kloster Mar-Saba in Palaestina. Seine Geschichte und seine litterarischen Denkmäler", *RQ* 7 (1893), 43-44.

¹¹³ W. RÜGAMER, *Leontius von Byzanz. Ein Polemiker aus der Zeit Justinians*, Würzburg 1894, 58-59.

¹¹⁴ F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 7. Diekamp explicitly rejected Loofs' negative judgment, *ibid.*, 63-64.

¹¹⁵ O. BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* V, Freiburg im Br. 1932, 125.

¹¹⁶ See e.g. R. GÉNIER, *Vie de saint Euthyme le Grand (377-473). Les moines et l'Église en Palestine au V^e siècle*, Paris 1909, XII-XVIII.

¹¹⁷ In 1897, Ehrhard wrote that Cyril's biographies are distinguished "durch Zuverlässigkeit der berichteten Thatsachen, ungewöhnliche Sorgfalt in den chronologischen Bestimmungen, einen für seine Zeit nüchternen historischen Sinn (obgleich Kyrillos dem Wunderglauben der ihn umgebenden Mönchswelt zugethan war), Verständnis für asketische Frommigkeit, endlich durch eine einfache, jeder rhetorischen Ausschmückung abholde Darstellungsweise", A. EHRHARD, in K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur: Von Justinian bis zum ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, 2. Aufl. (Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss. IX), München 1897, 186. This passage was quoted (almost literally) by H. MERTEL, *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenlegenden* (diss.), München 1909, 50.

Mais ce qui donne aux biographies de Cyrille leur vraie caractéristique, c'est sa constante préoccupation de leur donner une armature chronologique solide. Il multiple les dates et les synchronismes.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, however, Delahaye expressed his awareness of the possibility that a lack of impartiality in Cyril's sources might have contaminated, to a certain extent, the element of historical trustworthiness in his biographies:

Que Cyrille fut le plus consciencieux des biographes, on ne saurait en douter. Ceci ne veut pas dire que tout ce qu'il raconte est de l'histoire pure et doit être pris au pied de la lettre. Les détails de la vie des illustres fondateurs lui ont été transmis, on peut le croire, par des témoins fidèles, mais doués, sans doute, d'une mémoire grossissante. Dans ses récits, qui ont fatalement l'allure du panégyrique, il y a plus d'un trait sur lequel il ne faut pas appuyer.¹¹⁹

Independently of Delahaye, more refinements were introduced in the judgment of Cyril's accuracy. E. Schwartz (1939), editing the critical text of Cyril's Lives,¹²⁰ confirmed the traditional appraisal of Cyril's "Gewissenhaftigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit" particularly with respect to the "chronologische Aufbau seiner Viten",¹²¹ but he noted also a "Nebel" with regard to the Life of Euthymius, who had already been dead for 80 years when Cyril gathered the material.¹²² E. Stein (1949) combined his positive judgment with a concession that Cyril's narration might have lacked the impartiality of a modern scientific historian.¹²³ However, notwithstanding such concessions, the fundamental appraisal of Cyril's qualities, both as a hagiographer and a histo-

¹¹⁸ H. DELAHAYE, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine. Les sources, les premiers modèles, la formation des genres* (Conférences prononcées au Collège de France en 1935), SubsHag 73, ed. B. JOASSART/ X. LEQUEUX, Deuxième conférence, Bruxelles 1991, 43.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹²⁰ E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis* (see also above, 34, n.55).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 373.

¹²³ "...ses qualités d'excellent observateur et narrateur, le zèle avec lequel il cherche à se renseigner aussi exactement que possible sur les sujets qu'il traite, son souci de fixer la chronologie des événements qu'il relate, donnent à ses ouvrages une valeur exceptionnelle pour le genre. Il est vrai qu'il ne raconte pas la vie de ses héros avec la sérénité d'un historien scientifique, mais en admirateur prévenue, et qu'il accepte des récits concernant leurs activités thaumaturgiques aussi facilement que la majorité de ses contemporains; cependant, on l'a souligné à bon droit, là où il parle de choses qu'il a vues lui-même, l'élément miraculeux ne joue qu'un rôle fort secondaire, et il ne déforme pas les faits pour pouvoir introduire un miracle," E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 699-700.

rian, remained unaffected. Thus, one of the reasons for A.-J. Festugière (1962-63)¹²⁴ to add a *Vita Theodosii* of another, more "rhetorical" author, Theodore of Petra,¹²⁵ to his French translation of Cyril's hagiographic corpus, was:

de donner un exemple d'une sorte de littérature qui encombre l'hagiographie ancienne et qui fait mieux apprécier, par contraste, la candeur et la précision de Cyrille.¹²⁶

Even B. Flusin (1983), who made an important study of Cyril's writings with the very purpose of reconciling the latter's historical sense with his interest in miracle stories, began with the statement that:

Cyrille a la réputation justifiée de se distinguer parmi les hagiographes byzantins par une étonnante sûreté historique.¹²⁷

On the other hand, Flusin expressed, in passing, a certain suspicion regarding "le valeur historique de la *Vie d'Euthyme*".¹²⁸ In addition, he pointed out that Cyril's representation of the anchoritic order as superior to the cenobitic contradicts the historical evidence.¹²⁹ But such criticisms gave no cause for a systematic questioning of Cyril's reliability. The general

¹²⁴ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient III. Les moines de Palestine* (3 vols), Paris 1962-1963.

¹²⁵ Theodore of Petra, disciple of Abba Theodosius, wrote a Life of his master in an abundant rhetorical style in the years between 536-543. The Greek text was published in the work of Usener just mentioned (see above, 42, n.110). Cyril of Scythopolis, in his own short *Life of Theodosius*, refers with much reverence to this work of Theodore, *VTheod* 4 (SCHWARTZ), 239, 17-20.

¹²⁶ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient III/3*, 83. Festugière, who made a profound study of Cyril's writings, concludes his paragraph on the style as follows: "Dans l'ensemble, on peut dire qu'il [*scil.* Cyril] n'est pas seulement un de nos meilleurs hagiographes par la vivacité du récit et le charme du tour, mais qu'il a de réelles qualités d'historien," *id.*, *Les moines d'Orient III/1*, 43.

¹²⁷ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, Paris 1983, 9.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 190 (Euthymius appears as a prefigurement of Sabas, the miracle worker, *ibid.*).

¹²⁹ As we shall see, Cyril represents a hierarchy, according to which the anchoritic institution is superior to the cenobitic, both having their own archimandrites. Thus, he must have reduced the status of the cenobites, *ibid.*, 100; see also 144-145. However, "il paraît bien, d'après certains documents à caractère officiel, qu'en fait ce soit l'archimandrite des cénobites qui a le pas sur l'archimandrite des laures", *ibid.*, 200 (with ref. to such a document, quoted *ibid.*, 139-140, n.259). Festugière already suggested that there must have been a rivalry between the two orders, even though he did not question Cyril's stressing the good relationship. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient III/3*, 85.

approach to Cyril's qualities as a historian has remained, until the present day, a combination of favorable appraisal and moderate criticism. We can find this, for example, in L. Perrone (1990),¹³⁰ J. Binns (1994)¹³¹ and J. Patrich (1995).¹³²

As far as the Second Origenist Controversy, our special interest, is concerned, there seemed to be little need to question Cyril's presentation of the struggle. Older authoritative surveys, such as those of A. d'Alès (1916),¹³³ L. Duchesne (1925)¹³⁴ and G. Fritz (1932),¹³⁵ depend largely upon the data as given by the *Vita Sabae*. More recent authors do, it is true, admit that

¹³⁰ Because of qualities like the historical coordinates framing his Lives, Cyril has "meritadamente" received "l'apprezzamento degli storici", L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città", 24. Concerning times, places, persons and names, Cyril shows himself a "zelante dell' 'esattezza'", and "preoccupato (...) di ricercare con cura la verità", *ibid.*, 89. However, his hagiographic writings are also characterized by "una certa tendenza alla stilizzazione e idealizzazione", *ibid.*, 25. See also 26, 28, 72. In certain cases, "storia e interpretazione in Cirillo risultano difficili da dipanare", *ibid.*, 29.

¹³¹ Binns initiates his section on Cyril's historical awareness by mentioning the "praise from modern critics for his skills as a historian" and, after treating Cyril's concern for precise chronological information, he concludes the section by stating that such qualities "ensured a full and accurate historical record of the monasteries", J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 75. Although Binns utters sometimes a certain criticism on Cyril's accuracy (see *ibid.*, 2, 183), especially with regard to the miracle stories (*ibid.*, 218-221), he tends to follow Cyril in the representation of historical facts, throughout his study (concrete examples are given below, 331, n.356).

¹³² Although Patrich warns that we should read Cyril "with critical caution", he immediately adds: "At the same time, we should be aware that Cyril's compositions are not the laudatory rhetorical works, with an abundance of scriptural quotations, like many other saint's lives. Cyril does not refrain from mentioning instances of revolt and opposition against Sabas' leadership, a fact that adds credibility to his narrative," J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 37. Elsewhere, Patrich assigns a "high degree of credibility" to Cyril's writings, *ibid.*, 202.

¹³³ A. d'ALÈS, "Origénisme", *DAFC* 3 (1916), 1228-1258. "Sur les luttes origénistes du VI^e siècle, notre meilleure autorité est Cyrille de Scythopolis, biographe de S. Sabas," *ibid.*, 1237. A nuance on this point had already been made thirty years before by A. Dale, who qualified Cyril as "a good authority for the local controversy, but not trustworthy beyond this limited range", A. DALE, "Origenistic Controversies", *DCB* 4 (1887), 152 (left col.).

¹³⁴ L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, Paris 1925, 166-174, 206-211, 215. Duchesne qualified Cyril as "l'exact et consciencieux historien des moines illustres de la Palestine", *ibid.*, 215.

¹³⁵ G. FRITZ, "Origénisme", *DTC* 9/2 (1932), 1574-1588. "Nous avons la bonne fortune d'avoir des renseignements de première main sur cette dernière phase des controverses origénistes, dans la vie de saint Sabas, écrite par Cyrille de Scythopolis," *ibid.*, 1574.

Cyril was an anti-Origenist and therefore they show more reserve with reference to the details of his account, but they do not seriously question his reliability. This position can be found in the (relatively) recent manual of H.-G. Beck (1959)¹³⁶ and also in the more detailed studies of E. Schwartz (1939)¹³⁷ and A. Guillaumont (1962),¹³⁸ which count among the standard works on the subject. These authors show a moderate critical sense, but not strong enough to affect substantially Cyril's reliability as a witness to the Second Origenist Controversy. The same goes for D. Chitty (1966).¹³⁹ The only noteworthy exception to this approach that I know can be found in a brief remark by M. Simonetti (1986):

Cirillo di Scitopoli, fonte pressoché unica per questi fatti, ci ragguaglia in modo non solo apertamente tendenzioso in senso antiorigenista ma anche superficiale: ci dà tanti particolari sullo svolgimento materiale del contrasto fra i monaci della Laura di Saba, antiorigeniani, e quelli della Nuova Laura, origeniani; ma tace completamente sui termini dottrinali del confronto.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ In his manual, Beck praises Cyril's collection of *Vitae* as "ein hagiographisches Corpus von großer Lebendigkeit und Liebenswürdigkeit, trotz aller dogmatischen Strenge und trotz der zunächst kaum erkennbaren Parteilichkeit des Verfassers", H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft II/1 (Handb. der Altertumswiss. XII/2, 1), München 1959, 409. With respect to the *Vita Sabae* Beck remarks that Cyril offers with this work "nicht nur das Leben seines Helden, sondern zugleich das wichtigste, wenn auch vorsichtig zu handhabende Material für den zweiten Origenistenstreit und die innere Geschichte des palästinensischen Mönchtums", *ibid.*

¹³⁷ E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (see also above, p.34, n.55 and p.44 at n.120). In the "Bemerkungen" to his text edition, Schwartz tries to understand Cyril's silence about the Three Chapters affair (see above, 40, n.99), speaking with appreciation of his talent as a narrator and of his efforts to ensure that his information is beyond all doubt, *ibid.*, 412-413.

¹³⁸ Guillaumont introduces his survey of the Second Origenist Controversy with the following lines: "L'histoire de ce conflit nous est connue surtout par la Vie de saint Sabas qu'écrit, en 556, Cyrille de Scythopolis. C'est donc celui-ci principalement qui sera notre guide: un guide sûr, malgré son hostilité à l'égard des origénistes," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 129.

¹³⁹ Dealing with the history of sixth-century Origenism, Chitty, at a certain point, leaves open a possibility "that Cyril's account is colored by later events", D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, 124. However, for the most part, Chitty follows Cyril's version of the conflict. See esp. *ibid.*, 127-129. A few pages further, he even praises Cyril as "a valuable and remarkable historian", due to his "normal care and accuracy", particularly with respect to datings and topographical details, *ibid.*, 131.

¹⁴⁰ M. SIMONETTI, "La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato", 19. It might be better to say: "... tace quasi completamente". See esp. VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230, 3-10.

In general, however, a fundamental trust in Cyril's reliability remains the common approach among scholars dealing with sixth-century Origenism up to our present day. C. Stallman-Pacitti (1990), though stating in her conclusion that "Cyril has been seen at times basically inaccurate",¹⁴¹ defends his accuracy with respect to the Origenist Controversy.¹⁴² L. Perrone (1990),¹⁴³ though admitting Cyril's partiality concerning the Origenist Controversy,¹⁴⁴ which could have impoverished his representation of the Origenist theological positions in a crucial passage of the VC,¹⁴⁵ considers that passage nevertheless as "il compendio più organico delle teorie degli origenisti".¹⁴⁶ J. Binns (1994)¹⁴⁷ follows Cyril's description of the conflict without reserve.¹⁴⁸ J. Patrich (1995)¹⁴⁹ concedes that Cyril's work "is a hostile source" of which the "testimony should be regarded critically",¹⁵⁰ but immediately after this warning he starts to describe the development of the intrigue, following Cyril's testimony as close as possible.¹⁵¹ Even B.

¹⁴¹ C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis. A Study in Hagiography as Apology*, Brookline, Mass. 1990, 123.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 93, 94.

¹⁴³ L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città" (see also above, 46, n.130).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 73, 77.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 85. Perrone refers to a passage in which Abba Cyriacus, warning Cyril against the Origenists (see above, 35 at n.65), recites a list of anti-Origenist charges, VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,3-10.

¹⁴⁶ L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città", 85. In an earlier study, Perrone qualifies Cyril's account of the Origenist Controversy as: "la fonte più ricca di informazioni su queste vicende, anche se spesso viziata dalla parzialità dell'autore", L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, Brescia 1980, 204.

¹⁴⁷ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ* (see also above, 46, n.131).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 201-217 (esp. 205-211).

¹⁴⁹ J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism* (see also above, 46, n.132).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 333.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 333-341. Only when the Origenist "rebels", according to Cyril, march upon the Great Laura with all kinds of agricultural tools, intending to destroy it, VS 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,16-21, Patrich remarks: "This is the testimony of Cyril, which apparently is exaggerated," J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 335. Patrich follows also his secondary sources (332, n.9), all of them studies which have already been mentioned here: F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*; L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 156-218; G. FRITZ, "Origenisme", 1574-1588; E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 387-408; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 392-295, 633-638, 654-669, 683-690; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/2, "Note complém." 2, 134-136; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 203-222.

Daley (1995), in spite of his clarifying critical analysis of sixth-century "Origenism",¹⁵² does not seem to have serious troubles with regard to Cyril's credibility. After observing the latter's passionate hostility to the Origenists, he writes: "nonetheless, he remains a careful and, it seems, accurate witness to the facts of the dispute".¹⁵³

5. Plan of the present dissertation

Reading and rereading Cyril's report of the controversy, I had serious questions concerning his accuracy. Of course, he has undeniable qualities both as a hagiographer and a historiographer. Therefore, we should attach great importance to his testimony as a primary source for our knowledge of sixth-century Origenism and of Palestinian monasticism in general. "Cyrille est remarquablement clair et la clarté semble être son intention dominante", wrote A.-J. Festugière.¹⁵⁴ This quality makes of his writings an excellent historical source. But that does not necessarily mean that our reconstruction of the Second Origenist Controversy should coincide with Cyril's *interpretation* of it, nor with the *interpretations* he found already in his own sources.

Cyril of Scythopolis' main purpose, when writing his *Life of Sabas*, was to make the predominant figure of Sabas a paradigmatic Saint for his anchorite order and to secure his authority, not only as a monastic legislator, but especially as a champion of orthodox faith in a period full of theological struggle. Being a disciple of this Sabas from childhood on, Cyril, as

¹⁵² B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS*/ns 27 (1976), 362-369; *id.*, "What did 'Origenism' Mean in the Sixth Century?", *Origeniana sexta*, Leuven 1995, 627-638 (see also above, 30 at nn.38-40).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 631. However, Daley admits in the same article also the evidence of "the oversimplicity of Cyril's characterization of sixth-century 'Origenism'", *ibid.*, 633.

¹⁵⁴ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, 42. Cyril's style is characterized by a "louable souci de précision", with which he indicates "l'âge du personnage" and often even "la correspondance de cet âge avec les dates de l'histoire universelle", *ibid.* See also above, 45 with n.126.

a young monk, was personally involved in the last and decisive phase of the Origenist controversy. He belonged to the “anti-Origenist camp” (whatever that “camp” might have been) and wrote the *Vita Sabae* shortly after the expulsion of his adversaries from their stronghold. In his eyes their defeat resulted from the *παρρησία*¹⁵⁵ which his deceased hero had acquired in the presence of God, as the final fruit of an exemplary life of monastic virtue and orthodox faith. This intimacy of the Saint with God, confirmed by a series of miracles *post mortem*,¹⁵⁶ would make his intercessory power “more effective”¹⁵⁷ as a supernatural support for his successors, and for the whole monastic order he founded, in the march of events throughout history.

Cyril wrote his account of the Second Origenist Controversy in the light of what he considered the final victory over the Origenists.¹⁵⁸ Most of his information was second hand and fitted by him (if not by his sources) in a very clear interpretation scheme. Even if this does not automatically mean that we should discount him as a deliberate falsifier, I think there are strong reasons to entertain a systematic suspicion regarding his presentation of the struggle.

Suspicion concerning Cyril’s trustworthiness, and in particular the conjecture that the name Ὁριγενιστοί might have been a collective term for a heterogeneous group of monks¹⁵⁹ that could have been less corrupt than Cyril depicts them, will be the starting-point of my research. The question of Cyril’s historical reliability, especially with reference to the Origenist Controversy, will be the main issue. The problem, however, is that other sources for sixth-century Origenism hardly permit us to verify him in a substantial way. Almost all sources available were written by anti-Origenists, and they provide scarce information about the historical development of the conflict.¹⁶⁰ So we can only check Cyril’s account of the controversy by means of indirect

¹⁵⁵ VS 78 (SCHWARTZ), 184, 20-21.

¹⁵⁶ VS 78-82 (*ibid.*), 184, 21-187, 26.

¹⁵⁷ J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, 217, n.111.

¹⁵⁸ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 200, 4-17.

¹⁵⁹ I quoted already some passages of B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 362-369; *id.*, “What did ‘Origenism’ Mean in the Sixth Century?”, 627-638. See above, p.30 with nn.38-40 and p.49 with n.153.

¹⁶⁰ Apart from the writings of Leontius of Byzantium (see below, 52, n.166), the most important supplementary sources for the controversy are: IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem* (= *Ep. ad Mennam*), ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* III, 189-214 (see above, 23, n.5), repr. in M. AMELOTTI/L. MIGLIARDO ZINGALE, *Scritti teologici et ecclesiastici di Giustiniano (Subsidia III)*, Milano 1977, 68-118 (or MANSI IX, 488-533; PG 86/1, 945-989); IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula*

criteria. Various fields of investigation could throw more light upon our subject; I shall explore them in the three chapters of this dissertation.

I. First, after presenting the *corpus cyrillianum* in a more detailed way and surveying the story of Origenism as reported by Cyril in the VS, I shall examine the *literary genre* of this writing. The VS, as Cyril’s other works, is a monastic biography in the long tradition initiated by Athanasius’ *Vita Antonii*.¹⁶¹ It is from this tradition that Cyril derives the literary form in which he couches his account.¹⁶² What can we say in general about the relation between this literary genre and the aspect of historical trustworthiness?¹⁶³ Does the hagiographic tendency to enlarge the figure of the Saint always fit with the historical reality in which this figure has been placed? Finally, what conclusions may we derive from what we know about the role of the “holy man” in the Byzantine era?¹⁶⁴ This approach could provide us with a working method for evaluating the degree of historicity in Cyril’s biographies.

ad synodum de Origene, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90-97 (right col.) (see above, 23, n.5) (or MANSI IX, 533-537; PG 86/1, 989-993; ed. DE BOOR, II, Leipzig 1904, 630-633; repr. in M. AMELOTTI/L. MIGLIARDO ZINGALE, *Scritti teologici et ecclesiastici, o.c.*, 122-124); Concilium Oecumenicum Constantinopolitanum II, *Canones XV contra Origenem sive Origenistas*, ed. J. STRAUB, *ACO* IV/1, 248-249 (see above, 21, n.1) (or F. DIEKAMP, *o.c.*, 90-96 [left col.]; or H. GÖRGEMANN/H. KARPP, *Origenes: Vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*, Darmstadt 1976, 824-830); BARSANUPHIUS GAZAEUS, *Doctrina contra opiniones Origenis, Evagrii et Didymi* (= *Quaestiones* 600-607), ed. S. SCHOINAS, Volos 1960, 283-292 (or PG 86/1, 892-901; forthcoming in SC); THEODORUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Libellus de erroribus Origenianis*, PG 86/1, 232-236; LIBERATUS, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* 23-24, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* II/5, 138-141 (or PL 68, 1044-1052); EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, VI, 38-39, ed. J. BIDEZ/L. PARMENTIER, *Evagrius. The Ecclesiastical History*, London 1898, 186-190 (or PG 86/2, 2772-2784); FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulum*, I, 2, ed. I.-M. CLÉMENT/R. VANDER PLAETSE, CCL 90*, Turnhout 1974, 8-11 (or PG 67, 532-534); *id.*, IV, 4, *ibid.*, 123-128 (or PG 67, 625-628); GEORGIUS MONACHUS ET PRESBYTER, *De hearesibus ad Epiphanium* 9, ed. M. RICHARD, “Le traité de Georges hiéromoine sur les hérésies”, *REByz* 28 (1970), 257-262 (repr. in: M. RICHARD, *Opera Minora* III, Turnhout 1977, art. nr. 62).

¹⁶¹ ATHANASIUS, *VA*, ed. G. BARTELINK, *Athanase d’Alexandrie: Vie d’Antoine*, SC 400, Paris 1994.

¹⁶² B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 45. See also: G. BARTELINK, “Die literarische Gattung der *Vita Antonii*: Struktur und Motive”, *VigChr* 36 (1982), 38-62.

¹⁶³ See esp. H. DÖRRIES, “Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle”, *NAWG* (1949), 357-410; repr. in H. DÖRRIES, *Wort und Stunde I. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1966, 145-224.

¹⁶⁴ See esp. P. BROWN, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity”, *JRS* 61 (1971), 80-101.

2. In the second chapter, I shall introduce the question of Leontius of Byzantium (480/90-543). Cyril presents a monk with this name in a very bad light as one of the chiefs of the “Origenist” party.¹⁶⁵ There is a sixth-century Palestinian monk with the same name, whose theological works are preserved,¹⁶⁶ and who is identified by the consensus of modern scholarship as the one mentioned by Cyril. But the problem is that his writings give no clear indication of “Origenism” in a doctrinal sense. For over a century, scholars have been dealing with this difficulty, but their solutions remain far from unanimous. If Leontius’ dogmatic “Origenism” remains contestable, how then should we evaluate Cyril’s accusations? Can we, perhaps, discover a certain link with the other great controversy of his time, that is, the one over the Three Chapters,¹⁶⁷ about which Cyril keeps an almost total silence? The prob-

¹⁶⁵ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,12; VS 74 (*ibid.*), 179,9; VS 83 (*ibid.*), 189,1-2; VS 84 (*ibid.*), 190,4; VS 85 (*ibid.*), 191, lines 8 and 22; VS 86 (*ibid.*), 192,22; VC 11 (*ibid.*), 229,14; VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,29-30.

¹⁶⁶ Many writings have been attributed to Leontius of Byzantium, but the works that are nowadays considered as certainly authentic are those figuring in PG 86/1, 1268-1396 and in PG 86/2, 1901-1945. Besides, there are two writings of which the authenticity is questioned, PG 86/2, 1948-1976, 2004-2009. More detailed information concerning the *corpus leontinianum* will be given below, in Chap.2. A brief survey is found in A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, II/2, 190-191, n.3. A critical edition of Leontius’ writings has already been announced in 1976 by B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 333, n.2. Later, it was said to be “scheduled to appear soon” (in CCG, *id.*, “A richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ”, *StPatr* 24, Leuven 1993, 239, n.2. However, at present, the critical text is not yet available.

¹⁶⁷ The Three Chapters affair (see also above, 40, n.99) refers to a raging controversy between East and West about Theodore of Mopsuestia and some writings of Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa. These authors, charged with Nestorianism, had been (directly or indirectly) rehabilitated at the Council of Chalcedon. In fact, the quarrel concerned the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, with the Emperor Justinian and Pope Vigilius opposed, one against the other. Finally, the Emperor won by having the “Three Chapters” condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. (Originally, the name “Three Chapters” indicated the *chapters* condemning the three authors, but later it was used to indicate the authors themselves.) The *connection* between the controversies over Origenism and the Three Chapters has not yet been studied sufficiently. Usually, scholars treat the controversies separately, admitting the existence of a certain link that they touch only in passing. A contribution to the study of that link was made by F. CARCIONE, “La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale della ‘Seconda Controversia Origenista’ (536-543). Un nuovo fallimentare tentativo d’integrazione tra monofisismo e calcedonianismo alla vigilia della controversia sui Tre Capitoli”, *SROC* 8 (1985), 3-18; *id.*, “La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della ‘Seconda Controversia Origenista’ (543-553). Gli intrecci con la controversia sui Tre Capitoli”, *SROC* 9 (1986), 131-147.

lem of Leontius’ “Origenism” raises also another question, which has not yet been clearly formulated: to what extent did the presentation of “Origenism”, given by opponents like Cyril, actually agree with the *real intentions* of those monks who were branded as “Origenists”? Do the doctrinal charges that we read in the hostile sources give us a complete picture of their movement? There are indications of an underlying conflict on the spiritual and the intellectual levels, which concerned particularly the integration of the Hellenistic (“pagan”) philosophical inheritance into the monastic spiritual tradition.¹⁶⁸ Was this just a conflict between “intellectualist” and “anti-intellectualist” monks,¹⁶⁹ or had it, more fundamentally, something to do with *different views of the monastic life*? I shall examine this question, on the basis of what we know about the spiritual tradition attested by Evagrius.¹⁷⁰ As a matter of fact, clear traces of that tradition can be discovered also in Leontius’ theological writings. Thus we may explain the latter’s being labeled an “Origenist”. Furthermore, by comparing the Evagrian spiritual tradition with the spirituality that emerges from Cyril’s Lives, we may obtain a new interpretative key for the Second Origenist Controversy, on a level different from that of the mere

¹⁶⁸ What Cyril reports is that the first adherents of Origenism were the λογιώτεροι of the New Laura, VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,18; VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,31. He presents these monks “as a group of critical and rebellious intellectuals”, B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 366. See also *id.*, “What did ‘Origenism’ Mean in the Sixth Century?”, 638. According to Cyril, these intellectuals “held the doctrines (δόγματα) of the godless Greeks, Jews and Manichees”, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,27, and they derived “these abominable and impious doctrines (τὰ μισαρὰ ταῦτα καὶ δυσσεβῆ δόγματα)” not only from Origen, Evagrius and Didymus, but, before these, from Pythagoras and Plato, VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,12-14. Cyril opposes these doctrines not only to the biblical inheritance, *ibid.*, 10-12, but also to the “humble path of Christ”, *ibid.*, 23-26; comp. with VS 35 (*ibid.*), 120,22-23. However, the influence from “pagan” philosophers on the Origenists went far beyond a well-defined series of theological doctrines.

¹⁶⁹ Guillaumont interprets the First Origenist Controversy primarily as a conflict between a restricted group of “intellectualists” and a majority of uneducated, simple monks, A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 52-54, 59-61. Simonetti, speaking more generally about the Origenist controversy as such, characterizes the conflict as “la prima eloquente testimonianza della tensione fra i due ideali di vita cristiana, quello della *sancta simplicitas* e quello dell’*amor dei intellectualis*, una tensione destinata a perpetuarsi nella storia della chiesa”, M. SIMONETTI, “La controversia origeniana. Caratteri e significato”, 31. As we shall see below, these pictures need some adjustments.

¹⁷⁰ As has been said, Guillaumont pointed at striking similarities between the official anti-Origenist charges and Evagrius’ theological speculations; see above, 23, n.9. This proves that Evagrius was a major inspirer of the sixth-century Origenists. However, his influence must have been much more embracing than only his providing a set of doctrinal conjectures.

doctrinal issues (with their political implications), to which the hostile sources bear witness.

3. Cyril's presentation of sixth-century Origenism must be defective. With a view to a final verification of that suspicion, I shall closely examine, in the third chapter, the two most important texts in Cyril's Lives that deal with the Origenist controversy. The first text is the one in the *VC*, where Cyril presents Abba Cyriacus in a tirade against the Origenists.¹⁷¹ The text contains a crucial passage in which Cyriacus recites a series of anti-Origenist theological charges.¹⁷² Here we can check Cyril on his accuracy, by comparing the charges with other sources, not only the official anti-Origenist documents, but also the writings of Origen, Evagrius and especially Leontius of Byzantium, a major representative of contemporary "Origenism".¹⁷³ Does Cyril's "organic compendium"¹⁷⁴ of the Origenist theological positions indeed reflect the movement? The second text to examine is the final chapter of the *VS*, where Cyril gives his version of the condemnation of Origenism at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, followed by the defeat of the Origenists.¹⁷⁵ Cyril claims that the Council was convoked *in order to* resolve the question of Origenism, whereas the Three Chapters affair, which obviously constituted the real reason for the Council, is only mentioned *obiter dicta*.¹⁷⁶ In Cyril's account, a predominant role in the events leading to the victory over Origenism is attributed to Abba Conon, who is Saint Sabas' legitimate successor as a leader of the anchorite order (of which Cyril is the spokesman). Is that role confirmed by the historical evidence, or can we, perhaps, detect in this account traces of a hagiographic enlargement of the figure of the Saint, through the person of his successor? As we shall see, the analysis of the two texts will provide us with sufficient evidence to confirm the doubt about Cyril's historical reliability. This will bring us to a series of further questions, concerning the interpretation of the Second Origenist Contro-

¹⁷¹ *VC* 11-15, (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26 (see above, 35, n.65).

¹⁷² *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,3-10 (see above, 48, n.145).

¹⁷³ Comparisons of Cyril's charges with the thought of Origen himself, and comparisons of the official anti-Origenist charges with that of Evagrius and Leontius, have already been made before. But the results have never been systematically put together with the aim of verifying Cyril's accuracy.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città", 85 (see above, 48, n.146).

¹⁷⁵ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,7-200,17.

¹⁷⁶ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,20-22; *ibid.*, 199,1-6 (see also above, p.40, n.99 and p.52, n.167).

versy. I shall touch upon these questions in the final section of the third chapter, indicating thus a program for further research, as resulting from the findings of the present study.

CHAPTER 1

THE VICTORY OF ORTHODOXY

EDIFYING STORIES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A MONASTIC BIOGRAPHY

Introduction

The most important source for our knowledge of the Second Origenist Controversy is Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita Sabae*. In this chapter, I shall present the story of Origenism as related in this biography, and try to gain some insight into its *Sitz im Leben*. Cyril's story of Origenism is not an "objective" account. As early as 1887, H. Loofs criticized Cyril for his reports which, according to him, bear "eine grelle Parteifärbung",¹ but this judgment was soon rejected by F. Diekamp in a study that still counts among the most authoritative on sixth-century Origenism.² I believe, however, that Loofs was not completely wrong.

Nevertheless, the question of Cyril's trustworthiness as a historian (in the modern sense of the word) does not depend merely on the degree of "partiality" we may detect in his report, strong as it might be. More fundamental, in my opinion, is the search for an adequate key of interpretation to the text. Cyril wrote the story about the struggle against Origenism within the framework of a monastic biography. With the means provided by this

¹ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, TU 3/1 (1887), 288 (see above, 43, n.111).

² F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, Münster 1899, 63-64 (see above, 43, n.114).

genre, he tends to enlarge the figure of the saint as a champion of orthodoxy: his purpose is to edify the reader and to make the saint a reference point for monastic identity. It is within this hagiographic framework that we encounter also elements of true historiography. A clear idea about the relation between hagiography and historiography, in Cyril's account, is of primary importance for answering questions concerning his historical trustworthiness. So the first thing to do is to consider the literary genre.

In this chapter, I shall start with a preliminary note on the transmission of Cyril's writings and then give a presentation of the story of Origenism according to the *Vita Sabae*. Then, I shall focus on the literary genre. Finally, in order to demonstrate the hagiographic tendency to enlarge the figure of the Saint in the struggle for orthodoxy, I shall examine another story about this struggle, within the same framework of the *Vita Sabae*, by comparing it with a parallel source.

1. Preliminary note on the *corpus cyrillianum*

Before we start with Cyril's account of the Origenist Controversy, some attention must be paid to the history of his writings: the transmission, including text-editions and modern translations. An exhaustive treatment of this branch, which does not yet exist, would exceed the limits of my subject. I shall confine myself to a preliminary note, in order to account for the text-edition upon which my analyses are based and to provide some information to the reader who wants to get acquainted with Cyril of Scythopolis.

Cyril's writings were not transmitted as a specific corpus nor edited in the series of Migne, which made them difficult of access before E. Schwartz's critical edition in 1939.³ The manuscripts through which the writings came to us, and which Schwartz consulted directly or indirectly, can be classified into two kinds. Five of them contain collections of monastic *Lives* (βίοι) including some of Cyril's biographies, but never as a complete or separate

³ E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, TU 49/2, Leipzig 1939.

corpus.⁴ Other manuscripts are *menologia* used for liturgical purposes: they contain only single biographies of Cyril, ordered according to the calendar of feasts.⁵ Although Schwartz deliberately decided not to consult all manuscripts, he made, according to E. Stein, "un choix fournissant les garanties suffisantes".⁶ Also P. Thomsen, who criticized Schwartz severely, called his text "befriedigend".⁷ So we may rely, with some caution, upon Schwartz's critical edition.

The *Vita Sabae* (BHG 1608; CPG 7536), Cyril's most important work for our purpose, was printed for the first time by J. Cotelier in 1686.⁸ Cotelier's work remained the standard-edition before Schwartz, but other

⁴ MSS in Schwartz's apparatus with collections of monastic Lives are: *Ottobonianus* 373 (= O; in Bibl. Vat., 9th cent.); *Laurentiana* xi 9 (= L; in Florence, 11th cent.); *Vaticana* 1589 (= V; in Bibl. Vat., 10th cent.). A fourth MS of this type came to Schwartz's attention only when the greater part of his edition had gone to press: *Sinaiticus* 494 (in St. Catharina's Monastery, 9th cent.); Schwartz derived the variants of this MS from a printed edition (see below) and added them in two separate lists. See E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 250-253, 320-327; see also E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", *AB* 62 (1944), 170. The first three MSS mentioned above (OLV) contain VE, VS, VIH and VC, while L and V contain in addition VTheod; Sin 494 contains only VS (incompletely), VIH and VAb (incompletely). See E. SCHWARTZ, *o.c.*, 2, 317-320. In a fifth MS, *Coislunianus* 303 (= P; in Paris, 11th cent.), the short VTheog was transmitted isolated from all other biographies of Cyril, *ibid.*, 2, 327.

⁵ MSS with *menologia* utilized by Schwartz are: *Vindobonensis* Historicus Gr. 31 (= W; in Vienna, 10th/11th cent.; 12th according to catal., SubsHag 13, p.51); *Lipsiensis* Rep. II 26 (= G; in Leipzig, 10th cent.). Both MSS contain Cyril's VS on 5 Dec.; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 2, 328, 330. Some other manuscripts of this type were utilized by Schwartz through early printed editions (see below).

⁶ E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 170.

⁷ "Im allgemeinen wird man den von Schw. gebotenen Text mit diesem Vorbehalt als befriedigend betrachten können. Aber in einzelnen Fällen wird man doch von seiner Auffassung abweichen," P. THOMSEN, "Kyrrillos von Skythopolis", *OLZ* 43 (1940), 461. See also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983, 40-41. Thomsen mentions the following additional MSS: for the VE: Codd. *Mosqu.* 41 (10th/11th cent.); for the VS: *Taurin.* 72 (11th cent.); *Hierosol. Crucis* 31 (10th/11th cent.); for excerpts from the VE and VS: *Lond. Arundel.* 529 (12th cent.); for a fragment of the VS: *Lond. Curson Collection* (the year 1009). See P. THOMSEN, *o.c.*, 460.

⁸ J. COTELIER, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* III, Paris 1686, 220-376. The Greek text is edited according to the *Parisinus* 1606 (= *Colbertinus* 4461) and supplied with readings from the *Parisinus* 502 (= *Colbertinus* 3063); two MSS mentioned by Schwartz apart from those he utilized. See E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 327, 331-332. Although Schwartz put Cotelier's page numbers in the margin, he did not include this edition (nor the MSS it is based upon) in his apparatus, except in one particular case, *ibid.*, 161, at line 22. See P. THOMSEN, "Kyrrillos von Skythopolis", 460.

publications must also be mentioned. In 1890, I. Pomjalowski published a Paleo-Slavonic translation of the *VS* according to a thirteenth-century manuscript; in this valuable edition, Cotelier's Greek text was printed, for the ease of the reader, along with the Paleo-Slavonic and the combination of texts was followed by Cotelier's notes in Latin.⁹ In 1913-1914, another Greek text was published, incompletely, by the monk Augoustinos Jordanites in the little-known review *Νέα Σιών*.¹⁰ And a Georgian translation of the *VS* was edited by K. Kekelidze in 1946.¹¹ Additionally, a paraphrased Greek version, written by Symeon Metaphrastes in the second half of the tenth century and published by K. Koikylides in 1905,¹² has to be distinguished from Cyril's authentic *Life* of Sabas.

⁹ I. POMJALOWSKI, *Zhitie svjatogo Savy osvjaxshchemago, sostavlennoye Sv. Kirillom Skithopolskim v Drevne-Russkom perevod. Po rukopisi Imperatorskago Obshchestva Lyubitelej Drevnej Pismennosti, s prisoyedeniem grecheskago podlinnika i vvedeniem* (Life of the Holy Sabas, Written by the Holy Cyril of Scythopolis, in Paleo-Slavonic Translation. From a Manuscript of the Imperial Association of Notaries of Old Literature, with Addition of the Greek Original and an Introduction), St. Petersburg 1890. The Paleo-Slavonic and Greek texts are on pp. 2-532, the Latin notes (with page indications according to Cotelier) on pp. 535-585. The typography both of the Greek text and the Latin notes is much easier to read here than in Cotelier's edition. According to Schwartz, the Paleo-Slavonic translation derives from an unidentified Greek *menologium*. Pomjalowski surveyed also the variants of many other Paleo-Slavonic MSS in a long Russian introduction. Schwartz however observed that he had not found anything of special value in Pomjalowski's edition, though admitting that his own linguistic knowledge was not sufficient for a profound research. See E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 328, and also F. ДИЕКАМП, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 5-6, n.1.

¹⁰ AUGOUSTINOS MONACHOS JORDANITES, "Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα, ὑπὸ Κυρίλλου τοῦ Σκυθοπολίτου. Συναίτικὸς μεμβράνιος Κῶδιξ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 494. Αἰῶνος θ' (Φύλ. 1^α-135^β)", *Νέα Σιών* 13 (1913), pp.402-417, 750-765; 14 (1914), pp.76-89, 165-184, 378-393. The text was published according to the incomplete version of the *Sinaiticus* 494 (see above, 59, n.4). Three missing sections of the MS are substituted by Cotelier's text, *ibid.*, 13 (1913), pp.402-417 and p.750-p.756, line 8. The publication was interrupted by the First World War, which caused a gap in the appearance of the review until 1920, and was not taken up again. Augoustinos' text corresponds to *VS* 19-57 (SCHWARTZ), 103,8-154,10; Schwartz added to his text-edition an elenchus showing the relevant deviations in this text. See E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 320-327.

¹¹ K. KEKELIDZE, *Monumenta hagiographica georgica* 2, Tiflis 1946, 139-219 (with a short Russian comment, 229). The text is published according to the *Add.* 11.281 of the British Museum (fol. 55r-145r); see G. GARITTE, "La version géorgienne de la Vie de S. Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis", *Muséon* 75 (1962), 400. Garitte starts his edition of the *VC* with a survey of the whole Georgian tradition of Cyril's biographies (*VE*, *VS*, *VIH*, *VC*), *ibid.*, 399-400. A second edition of the Georgian text was published by V. IMNASVILI, *Mamata c'xorebani* (Lives of the Fathers), Tiflis 1975, 54-125.

¹² K. KOIKYLIDES, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα*, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς "Νέας Σιών", Jerusalem 1905, 1-96.

In the order of importance with respect to our subject, the second place among Cyril's writings is taken by one of the short Lives: the *Vita Cyriaci* (*BHG* 463; *CPG* 7538). It contains an autobiographical passage with Abba Cyriacus' "tirade" against the Origenists.¹³ The Greek text of the *VC* was printed for the first time in 1762, in *Acta Sanctorum*¹⁴ and again in 1907 by K. Koikylides.¹⁵ A Georgian text (with a Latin translation) was published in 1962 by G. Garitte.¹⁶ The Greek version of the *VC* that appears in Migne is a paraphrase by Symeon Metaphrastes.¹⁷

The *Vita Euthymii* (*BHG* 647-648b; *CPG* 7535), occupies the third place in order of importance. This Life, which forms a kind of literary "diptych" with the *VS*, as we shall see, provides a key for interpreting many aspects of the *VS*. Besides, it contains a small passage about Euthymius' refutation of Origenism,¹⁸ and an autobiographical chapter about Cyril's entering the monastery, when his mother warns him against the influence of the Origenists.¹⁹ The Greek text was printed in 1688 by the *Maurini*, who completed Cotelier's three volumes with a fourth one;²⁰ the fact is that Cotelier had published, in his second volume (1681), the interpolated version of Symeon Metaphrastes.²¹ In 1911-1912, Augoustinos Jordanites edited another Greek text in *Νέα Σιών*.²²

¹³ *VC* 11-15 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26 (as above, 35, n. 65).

¹⁴ *AS*, Septembris, t. VIII (1762), 147-158; *id.*, *editio novissima* (1865), 147-158 (29 Sept.). This text derives from the *Vaticanus* 866 (Bibl. Vat., 11th cent.) and figures in Schwartz's apparatus as 's'; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 2, 328.

¹⁵ K. KOIKYLIDES, *Βίοι τῶν Παλαιστινῶν ἀγίων*, Jerusalem 1907, 33-42.

¹⁶ G. GARITTE, "La version géorgienne de la Vie de S. Cyriaque", 408-440 (see above, 60, n.11). For a second edition of the Georgian text: V. IMNASVILI, *Mamata c'xorebani* (Lives of the Fathers), Tiflis 1975, 244-255.

¹⁷ *PG* 115, 920-944. For a previous edition, see below, n.20.

¹⁸ *VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 39,27-40,2.

¹⁹ *VE* 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,20-27.

²⁰ *Analecta graeca, sive varia opuscula graeca hactenus non edita* 1, Paris 1688, 1-99 (in 1692, after Cotelier's death, a reprint of this volume appeared under his name as *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* IV). The text is published according to the *Parisinus* 502 (in Paris, 12th century) and represented in Schwartz's apparatus by 'p'; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 2. In this supplementary volume, Symeon Metaphrastes' version of the *VC* (see above, at n.17) is printed at pp.100-127.

²¹ J. COTELIER, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* II, Paris 1681, 200-340. See also *ibid.*, 604-605 (nota in p.200A). The interpolated version of the *VE* is the one we find also in Migne, *PG* 114, 596-733.

²² AUGOUSTINOS MONACHOS JORDANITES, "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐθυμίου (Συναίτικὸς μεμβράνιος Κῶδιξ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 494. Αἰῶνος I-IA), Φύλ. 92^α-

Cyril's other biographies are of minor importance with respect to our subject, but it will be useful to enumerate at least the Greek editions here. The *Vita Iohannis Hesychastae* (BHG 897-898; CPG 7537)²³ was published in *Acta Sanctorum*, in 1680,²⁴ and by K. Koikylides in 1906-1907.²⁵ The *Vita Theodosii* (BHG 1777; CPG 7539) was published in 1890 by H. Usener,²⁶ and again in 1901 by K. Koikylides.²⁷ The *Vita Theognii Betyli* (BHG 1787; CPG 7540) was published in 1891 both by I. van den Geyn²⁸ and A. Papadopulos-Kerameus,²⁹ and again in 1907

134^{av}, *Νέα Σιών* 11 (1911), 881-893; 12 (1912), pp.120-136, 232-250, 556-572, 647-664, 789-803. The text is published according to the *Sinaiticus* 524 (in the Catharina Monastery, 10th/11th century) and represented in Schwartz's apparatus by 'n'. In 1913, Jordanites' text was edited again by AUGUSTINOS MONACHOS JORDANITES, "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Εὐθυμίου τοῦ μεγάλου", Jerusalem 1913, 1-95.

²³ The *VIH* contains a parallel passage with the text of the *VE* about Cyril's mother warning against the Origenists, *VIH* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 216,11-15 [parallel with *VE* 49 (*ibid.*), 71,20-27]. Cyril wrote this biography when John was still alive and had reached his one hundred and fourth year, *VIH* 28 (*ibid.*), 222,9-20. A Georgian MS adds a short appendix describing John's death; probably Cyril was the one who wrote also this addition. See G. GARITTE, "La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste d'après un texte géorgien inédit", *AB* 72 (1954), 75-84.

²⁴ *AS*, Mai, t. III (1680), 16*-21*; *id.*, *editio novissima* (1866), 14*-18* (13 May). By mistake, Schwartz traced this text back to the *Vaticanus* 866 and represented it in his apparatus by 's', just like the text of *VC* in *AS* (see above, 61, n.14); see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 2. Later he corrected this error and, with some hesitation, attributed the text to the *Vaticanus* 819 (11th/12th cent.), *ibid.*, 329.

²⁵ K. KOIKYLIDES, *Νέα Σιών* 4 (1906), suppl., 14-32, according to the *Sinaiticus* 494. See also E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 250-253 (and above, 59, n.4). NB. the supplement in *Νέα Σιών* 4, consisting of 32 pages, is divided: the first 16 pages (including a small part of the *VIH*) are inserted in the issue of July/Augustus, after p.176, and the rest follows in the issue of December, after p.576. The same text appeared in K. KOIKYLIDES, *Βίοι τῶν Παλαιστινῶν ἀγίων*, Jerusalem 1907, 14-32.

²⁶ H. USENER, *Vita Sancti Theodosii a Cyrillo scripta*, Index scholarum Univ. Bonn, April 1890, iv-vi; *id.*, *Der heilige Theodosius. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrrillos*, Leipzig 1890, 105-113 (repr. Hildesheim, 1975). In the second work, Cyril's *VTheod* is added to a much longer *Vita Theodosii* written by Theodore of Petra, one or two decades before, *ibid.*, 3-101. This biography provides an opportunity to check Cyril's reliability on some points in the *VS* (see the last section of this chapter).

²⁷ K. KOIKYLIDES, *Ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον τῆς Ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως λαύρα Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου*, Jerusalem 1901, 86-93. Also in this edition, Cyril's biography follows the one of Theodore of Petra, *ibid.*, 1-85.

²⁸ I. VAN DEN GEYN, "Acta sancti Theognii episcopi Beteliae Paulo Elusensi et Cyrillo Scythopolitano auctoribus, ex codice Parisino Coislino N° 303", *AB* 10 (1891), 113-118.

²⁹ A. PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, "Κυρίλλου τοῦ ὁσίου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὄσιον πατέρα ἡμῶν Θεόγνιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον", *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 11/2 (St. Petersburg 1891), 22-24.

by K. Koikylides.³⁰ The Greek text of the *Vita Abraamii* (BHG 12; CPG 7541), transmitted incompletely,³¹ was published by K. Koikylides in 1906-1907.³²

In addition, an anonymous *Vita Gerasimi* (CPG 7543; BHG 693),³³ which has been attributed to Cyril of Scythopolis, was published by A. Papadopulos-Kerameus in 1897³⁴ and again by K. Koikylides in 1902.³⁵ Cyril's authorship, admitted even by F. Diekamp,³⁶ was rejected for the first time in 1904 by H. Grégoire.³⁷

With this survey it will be evident that E. Schwartz, by making the *corpus cyrillianum* more accessible, filled an urgent need.³⁸ However, with-

³⁰ K. KOIKYLIDES, *Βίοι τῶν Παλαιστινῶν ἀγίων*, Jerusalem 1907, 83-84.

³¹ A complete text is transmitted in Arabic (BHO 18). It is published by M. GRAF, "Monumentum christianum vetus", *Al-Mashriq* 8 (Beyruth 1905), 258-265 and translated into German by *id.*, *BZ* 14 (1905), 510-517. The Arabic version is also translated into Latin by P. PREETERS, "Historia S. Abramii ex apographo arabico", *AB* 24 (1905), 350-356. Schwartz added a summary of the missing part to his text; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 247-249.

³² K. KOIKYLIDES, *Νέα Σιών* 4 (1906), suppl. 1-5 (see above, 36, n.25), according to the *Sinaiticus* 494 (see above, 59, n.4); *id.*, *Βίοι τῶν Παλαιστινῶν ἀγίων*, Jerusalem 1907, 1-5.

³³ Gerasimus was a leading figure of fifth century Palestinian monasticism and a friend of Euthymius, *VE* 27 (SCHWARTZ), 44,19-45,3; *VE* 32 (*ibid.*), 51,9-14; *VE* 38 (*ibid.*), 56,25-29; *VE* 40 (*ibid.*), 60,19-20. Sabas, in the years of his monastic formation, spent some time in his environment, *VS* 12 (*ibid.*), 95,6-11.

³⁴ A. PAPADOPULOS-KERAMEUS, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας 4, St. Petersburg 1897, ζ'-η' (text: 175-184).

³⁵ K. KOIKYLIDES, Αἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἱορδάνην λαύραι Καλαμώνος καὶ ἁγίου Γερασίου, Jerusalem 1902, 1-11.

³⁶ F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 6, n.1.

³⁷ H. GRÉGOIRE, "La Vie anonyme de S. Gerasime", *BZ* 13 (1904), 114-135. Grégoire's rejection has generally been accepted since. See e.g. B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 35-40; L. CAMPAGNANO DI SEGNI, *Nel deserto accanto ai fratelli. Vite di Gerasimo e di Giorgio di Choziba*, Comunità di Bosè 1991, 30-31; Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 5; J. PATRICH, "Palestinian Desert Monasticism. The Monastic Systems of Chariton, Gerasimus and Sabas", *CrSt* 16 (1995), 4. Only a fragment of the *Vita Gerasimi* might derive from Cyril's hand (H. GRÉGOIRE, "La Vie anonyme de S. Gerasime", 119-124) as a part of the *VE*, between *VE* 31-32 (SCHWARTZ), 50,19-20. Schwartz, however, rejected it as an interpolation and left it out of his edition; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 332. The fragment is published apart by B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 228-230. Binns believes, against Flusin, that Cyril wrote this text; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 47-49.

³⁸ "L'édition que M. Éd. Schwartz vient de publier répond donc à un besoin urgent," E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 169. Apart from the text editions mentioned (all of them based on single MSS), Schwartz's edition has also been

out detracting from his incontestable merits, it should be observed that the critical edition shows some marks of haste. There is no preface nor introduction nor bibliography, but, apart from an extensive index,³⁹ a long section with "Bemerkungen" concludes the volume.⁴⁰ In this section, an ill-arranged chapter on the text-transmission, with deficient bibliographical notes, causes difficulties to the reader who is not familiar with the preceding history of Cyril's works.⁴¹ Schwartz deliberately did not consult all manuscripts, as already has been said, nor did he see possibilities for composing a stemma.⁴² Although his text may be judged sufficient to base research upon it,⁴³ we will have to heed the editor's warning "daß der von ihm hergestellte Text vielfach unsicher ist", even if the variants in many cases will be "nach Sinn und Sprachgebrauch gleichwertig".⁴⁴

Schwartz's edition also facilitated translations of the *corpus cyrillianum*. Fragments were published in German by S. Feldhohn in 1957.⁴⁵ The first complete translation into a Western modern language was the French one of J.-A. Festugière, made in 1962-1963 and published as the third volume, in three parts, in his series *Les moines d'Orient*.⁴⁶ An Italian translation by R.

preceded by other preparatory work for a "Gesamtausgabe". See P. THOMSEN, "Kyrillos von Skythopolis", 457. But even a few years before Schwartz's edition appeared, H. Delahaye still had to express regret at the absence of an "édition d'ensemble": "Pour étudier Cyrille de Skythopolis il faut s'entourer d'une petite bibliothèque," H. DELAHAYE, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine* (Conférences 1935), 2^e conf., Bruxelles 1991, 41.

³⁹ E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 254-313.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 317-415.

⁴¹ P. THOMSEN, "Kyrillos von Skythopolis, 459-460.

⁴² "Es gibt keinen Archetypus und keinen Stammbaum," E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 339.

⁴³ See also above, 59 with nn.6-7.

⁴⁴ E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 339. The present study will deal principally with the *content* of Cyril's narration, rather than with the details of linguistic phenomena as such.

⁴⁵ S. FELDHOHN, *Blühende Wüste. Aus dem Leben palästinensischer und ägyptischer Mönche des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts*, Düsseldorf 1957. The volume contains a great part of the *VE* and two autobiographical notes from the *VS* and the *VIH*; it contains also a great part of John Moschus' *Pratum spirituale*.

⁴⁶ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III. *Les moines de Palestine*, t.1: *Cyrille de Skythopolis: Vie de Saint Euthyme*, Paris 1962; t.2: *Cyrille de Skythopolis: Vie de Saint Sabas*, Paris 1962; t.3: *Cyrille de Skythopolis: Vie des Saints Jean l'Hésychaste, Kyriakos, Théodose, Théognios, Abraamios; Théodore de Pétra: Vie de Saint Théodose*, Paris 1963. In vol. 1, the translation of the *VE* is preceded by an instructive note on Cyril and his sources (9-16), a detailed chronology of the Palestinian monks, ranging from 364 to 557 (17-26),

Baldelli and L. Mortari, depending strongly on Festugière's text, appeared in 1990 in the collection *Scritti Monastici* of the monks of Praglia;⁴⁷ the volume contains a long introduction by L. Perrone.⁴⁸ In 1991, an English translation by R. Price was published in the collection *Cistercian Studies*;⁴⁹ the translation is introduced and annotated by J. Binns.⁵⁰ Very recently, considerable parts of the *VE* and *VS* were translated into Dutch by P. van der Horst.⁵¹

In the following representation of Cyril's account, as in the rest of this study, the English quotations of Cyril are taken from Price's translation, in some cases with slight modifications which will be indicated.

2. The story of Origenism according to the *Vita Sabae*

In the last eight chapters of the *Vita Sabae* (83-90), Cyril gives the account of the Second Origenist Controversy which took place in the first two decades after Sabas' death (532-554). Within the composition of the biography, the story is not represented by way of "appendix", but rather as

and a "mantissa" on the grammar and the style of Cyril's Greek (27-44). A short note on Byzantine Palestine and the monastic desert is added by R. du Buit (45-49). In vol.2, the translation of the *VS* is followed by two complementary notes, the second of which gives a useful chronological survey of the Second Origenist Controversy (134-136). Vol.3, which contains the five short Lives (*VIH*, *VC*, *VTheod*, *VTheog*, *VAbr*), is supplemented by a translation of Theodore of Petra's *Vita Theodosii*, according to Usener's text (see above, 62, n.26), with an introduction and critical notes (83-160).

⁴⁷ R. BALDELLI, L. MORTARI, *Cirillo di Scitopoli: Storie monastiche del deserto di Gerusalemme*, ScrMon 15, Abbazia di Praglia 1990. Mortari, who annotated the translation briefly, added many biblical references to Schwartz's edition and Festugière's translation.

⁴⁸ L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città. Le Storie monastiche di Cirillo di Scitopoli", in *Cirillo di Scitopoli*, Praglia 1990, 11-90.

⁴⁹ J. PRICE, *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, CS 114, Kalamazoo 1991.

⁵⁰ J. BINNS, "Introduction", in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, IX-LII.

⁵¹ P. VAN DER HORST, *De Woestijnvaders. Levensverhalen van kluizenaars uit het vroege Christendom*, Amsterdam 1998, 164-210. The volume is an anthology of early monastic biographies.

the culmination of the whole previous history and is, partially, also interwoven with the rest of the Life. So it would be wrong to represent here Cyril's story of Origenism just as an isolated account; it will be necessary to start right from the beginning of the VS.

Previous history

First, Cyril describes how Saint Sabas was born of Christian parents in the village of Mutalasca in Cappadocia and how he enters the nearby monastery of Flaviana as an eight-year old boy.⁵² There, Sabas receives his first education in monastic life, while surpassing all the others in monastic virtues. At the age of eighteen, he leaves the monastery of Flaviana and goes to Jerusalem. His desire for a solitary life leads him to the Laura of Euthymius, in the desert east of Jerusalem,⁵³ but Euthymius judges him too young to live among the anchorites and sends him to the neighbouring cenobium of Theoctistus.⁵⁴ Only at the age of thirty does he receive per-

⁵² See J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 210, n.5.

⁵³ Some thirty years before, in 428, Euthymius founded this laura, VE 16 (SCHWARTZ), 26,14-23. The laura is situated between Jerusalem and Jericho, not far south of the old highroad (see the map below, 381). Soon after Euthymius' death (473), it was transformed into a cenobium, VE 43-44 (*ibid.*), 63,4-66,17. For the monastery of Euthymius, see esp. S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", ROC 4 (1899), 533-534; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1990, 15-18; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, Washington D.C. 1995, 162-163.

⁵⁴ VS 6-9 (SCHWARTZ), 90,5-93,11. Theoctistus was a close spiritual friend of Euthymius, VE 7 (*ibid.*), 14,21-15,9. Euthymius finally founded his laura at a three-miles distance from Theoctistus' cenobium, VE 14 (*ibid.*), 21-24, where he used to send his young candidates, VE 16 (*ibid.*), 25,17-24. Also in Sabaitic monasticism, there will be a rule forbidding adolescents who have not yet a beard to live in a lauritic community, VS 7 (*ibid.*), 91,24-28, διὰ τὰ σκάνδαλα τοῦ πονηροῦ, VS 29 (*ibid.*), 113,26. Youths, still having a "female" face, may cause difficulties to the fathers. Cyril relates how Sabas, later, will send his novices to the cenobium of Abba Theodosius with the following admonition: "My child, it is unsuitable, indeed harmful, for a laura like this to contain an adolescent. This is the rule made by the ancient Fathers of Scetis and transmitted to me by our great father Euthymius," *ibid.*, 114,8-14. The rule is also applied to eunuchs, VS 69 (*ibid.*), 171,11-16; compare with VE 16 (*ibid.*), 25,23-24. For the monastery of Theoctistus, see esp. S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", ROC 5 (1900), 285-286; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 12-13; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven/London 1992, 12, 34-36; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 162-163.

mission to live as a hermit (ἡσυχάζειν) under the spiritual direction of Euthymius.⁵⁵ After Euthymius dies, Sabas, thirty-five years old, moves to the desert near the Jordan, where the illustrious Gerasimus is at that time "sowing the seeds of piety".⁵⁶ In his solitude, Sabas has to fight, just like Saint Antony, against diabolic temptations in the form of terrifying animals, but these are apparently soon overcome. At the age of forty, after having tried out several desert places, he is shown in a vision a gorge with a cave in its natural state which is difficult of access, and instructed to make it his home. There, in the next five years, he reaches the stage of spiritual perfection.

Then, God entrusts him with the charge of souls. His first disciples come to join him and he provides each of them "with a suitable spot consisting of a small cell and cave".⁵⁷ Very soon, the community reaches seventy in number, all inspired by God and bearers of Christ. Sabas makes a beginning in founding what will be the Great Laura (483).⁵⁸ A spring with flowing water is discovered thanks to Providence, and a big cave in the shape of a church, where the office can take place on Saturdays and Sundays. Little by little, the community increases to the number of one hundred and fifty members, all of them being "most willing to be shepherded and guided" by Sabas⁵⁹ and no one daring "to oppose him in anything".⁶⁰ He from his side refuses consistently to be ordained priest or to become a cleric, because of his exemplary humility.

⁵⁵ VS 10-11 (SCHWARTZ), 93,12-95,5. The verb ἡσυχάζειν (94,5), deriving from ἡσυχία, which originally indicates the silent state of the soul necessary for contemplation, has become here a technical term for leading the solitary life of a hermit, or *hesychast* (ἡσυχαστής), in opposition to leading a cenobitical life. See LAMPE, 608-609, with ref. to Cyril, VS 41 (SCHWARTZ), 132,4; VIH 7 (*ibid.*), 206,18.

⁵⁶ τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας σπείροντος σπέρματα, VS 12 (SCHWARTZ), 95,11. About 455, Gerasimus founded a laura surrounding a cenobium, thus combining both kinds of monastic life. See J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 89, n.64. See also S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", ROC 4 (1899), 537-538; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", 18-19; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 28-29; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 8, 205-266 (*passim*). For the pseudo-Cyrrillian *Life of Gerasimus*, see above, 63 with nn.33-37.

⁵⁷ ἐπιτήδειον τόπον ἔχοντα μικρὸν κελλίον καὶ σπήλαιον, VS 16 (SCHWARTZ), 100,1-2.

⁵⁸ See above, 39, n.88.

⁵⁹ ἐκουσίως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ποιμαινόμενοι καὶ ὀδηγούμενοι, VS 18 (SCHWARTZ), 102,15-16.

⁶⁰ καὶ οὐδεὶς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐτόλμα ἔν τινι ἐναντιωθῆναι αὐτῷ, *ibid.*, 103,4-5.

On 13 April of the ninth indiction, that is in the year 486, Patriarch Martyrius of Jerusalem dies and Sallustius succeeds to the throne; at that time, Sabas is in the forty-eighth year of his life.⁶¹ By this time, a first crisis takes place in the laura. Some who are “fleshly in thought” and “lacking the Spirit”⁶² start concocting intrigues against Sabas and causing him all kinds of trouble. In consort together they go up to the new Patriarch asking a superior for their laura, as they consider Sabas “incapable of directing the place because of his extreme rusticity”.⁶³ They complain that Sabas is not ordained, nor does he permit others to become clerics. In a discussion with one of those present, they have to admit that Sabas was the one who accepted them, but they affirm that, now that they have multiplied, Sabas is unable to govern them “because of his boorishness”.⁶⁴ The next day, however, the Patriarch sends for Sabas: he ordains him priest in front of their eyes and confirms his position as their superior. Then, he takes both Sabas and his opponents to the Great Laura for the dedication of the church. According to Cyril’s indication, this happens on 12 December of the fourteenth indiction, when Sabas is fifty-two years old, that is in 491.

The *Vita* continues with some anecdotes and other occurrences, the most important of which are the foundation of the cenobium of Castellion (492) and the appointment of Sabas as archimandrite of all the anchorite monasteries under the Holy City, while his great spiritual friend Abba

⁶¹ The precision with which Cyril consistently marks the chronology of a Life against the background of a well-known historical fact is exceptional for a hagiographer of his time, and has greatly contributed to his reputation for historical trustworthiness. In the Justinian era, our Christian calendar was not yet in general use. Dates could be indicated by a system of “indications”, frequently utilized by Cyril. See the register in E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 301-303. An ἰνδικτιῶν refers to a certain year, from 1 Sept to 31 Aug., out of a 15-year period, after which the counting will start again. The initial year of this chronological system, which originates in Egyptian tax-practise and then spread over the whole empire, is 312/313, *ibid.*, 341. As the system does not indicate the particular 15-years period itself, we shall always need data from a total context, in order to calculate the year according to our own calendar. In many cases, Cyril combines the system with another time indication, e.g. the age of the Saint.

⁶² σαρκικοί τῷ φρονήματι καὶ (...) πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες, VS 19 (SCHWARTZ), 103,12-13; Jude 19.

⁶³ ἀνίκανός ἐστιν διοικῆσαι τὸν τόπον διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀγροικότητα αὐτοῦ, *ibid.*, 103,25-26.

⁶⁴ ἀγροικότερος δὲ ὢν κυβερνήσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδυνατεῖ, *ibid.*, 104,6.

Theodosius receives the same function for the cenobitic order (493).⁶⁵ Cyril specifies that “our father Sabas was made ruler and lawgiver of the whole mode of life and of all those who chose to live in cells”.⁶⁶ Though Cyril asserts that the appointment has been “requested by the whole monastic order”⁶⁷ and supported “by common vote”⁶⁸ among all the monks of the desert, the opposition to Sabas is rather increasing. About eight or nine years later (501-503), the old accusers have become a group of forty rebellious monks fomenting a sedition against him. Sabas from his side yields to them and withdraws to a desert spot near Scythopolis, where he starts all over again.⁶⁹ Even in his exile he attracts new disciples. However, when the rumour of a miracle makes him too famous in his new environment, he flees back to his own laura leaving a new cenobium behind him.

Back home, Sabas finds that his opponents are now sixty in number. Attempts to meet their resistance with patience appear to no purpose, so that he ends up by withdrawing for a second time. This exile, in the region of Nicopolis near the Dead Sea, also results in the foundation of a cenobium. Meanwhile, his adversaries in the Great Laura spread the rumour that he has been eaten by lions. At the Feast of Dedication however, he shows up in Jerusalem with some brethren of his new foundation; the new Patriarch Elias is overjoyed to see him sound, and insists that he should return to his own laura. Sabas is forced now to inform the Patriarch about the troubles there. Elias gives him a letter in which he urges the brethren to receive Sabas back and to submit themselves to him; if any of them “are stubborn, arrogant and disobedient, and cannot bear to be humbled”, they should not

⁶⁵ VS 30 (SCHWARTZ), 114,23-115,26. “The title ‘archimandrite’ could refer to any monk in a position of authority. (...) In Jerusalem, an archimandrite’s authority extended over all the monasteries dependent on the Holy City. As archimandrite, Sabas represented the interests of the monasteries in Jerusalem and at the Imperial Court at Constantinople,” J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 212, n.37.

⁶⁶ ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάβας ἄρχων κατεστάθη καὶ νομοθέτης παντὸς τοῦ ἀναχωρητικοῦ βίου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κέλλαις ζῆν προαιρουμένων, VS 30 (SCHWARTZ), 115,24-26.

⁶⁷ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος, *ibid.*, 114,25-26. See also VS 65 (SCHWARTZ), 166,17-18.

⁶⁸ κατὰ κοινὴν ψῆφον, VS 30 (SCHWARTZ), 115,17.

⁶⁹ According to Cyril’s chronology, the sedition took place shortly after the dedication of the Great church of the laura on 1 July 501, VS 32 (SCHWARTZ), 117,19-24. The *terminus ante quem* is 503, as we read in the *VIIH* that in that year John the Hesychast fled into the desert of Roubâ, because of these troubles, *VIIH* (SCHWARTZ), 209,6-11.

stay.⁷⁰ Thus supported by the Patriarch's authority, Sabas returns to the Great Laura, where the troubles become serious now.

Foundation of the New Laura and first germs of Origenism

As soon as the letter from the Patriarch has been read in the church, the adversaries, "those valiant ones" (οἱ γεννάδες ἐκεῖνοι),⁷¹ rise in revolt against Sabas. In a burst of anger they assault his tower and demolish it completely with axes, shovels, spades and levers, whilst some of them prepare the baggage for the whole group in order to leave. They withdraw to the Laura of Souka,⁷² but there, the superior refuses to receive them and finally they settle on a gorge south of Thekoa, where they build themselves cells on the ruins of a former Monophysite monastery, and call the place the New Laura.⁷³

⁷⁰ εἰ δὲ τινὲς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀθάδεις εἰσὶν καὶ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ ἀπειθεῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχονται ταπεινωθῆναι, μὴ μείνωσιν αὐτόθι, *VS* 35 (SCHWARTZ), 122,8-10.

⁷¹ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 122,21. See also *VS* 35 (*ibid.*), 121,2; *VS* 37 (*ibid.*), 126,6. The expression οἱ γεννάδες ἐκεῖνοι must have a pejorative sense, whether it be an allusion to an eventual provenance from the upper class of society or just a mere ironic qualification.

⁷² The Laura of Souka (also: Laura of Chariton or Old Laura), is one of the first Palestinian laurae, founded by Chariton about 345 at c. 1 mile north-east of Thekoa (see the map below, 381). See esp. S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *ROC* 4 (1899), 524-526; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 8-12; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 23-24.

⁷³ See above, 39, n.88. The former cenobium of Thekoa was founded by one Romanus, a follower of the Monophysite archimandrite Gerontius, *VE* 30 (SCHWARTZ), 49,7-13, who was the successor of Melania the Younger, *VE* 27 (*ibid.*), 42,13-14; *VE* 45 (*ibid.*), 67, 14-16; *VS* 30 (*ibid.*), 115,2-3; *VTheod* 4 (*ibid.*), 239,6. The struggle between Monophysitism and Chalcedonism dominates the period ranging from the council of Chalcedon (451) to the Second Council of Constantinople (553). The Fathers of Chalcedon had stated that in Christ ἕνω φύσεις, a divine and a human, coexist without confusion and without alteration in one and the same ὑπόστασις of the Logos. The Monophysites however, concerned for the fundamental unity in Christ, stressed that there could be only *one* φύσις. For many of them, their "Monophysitism" was only *verbal* and just a question of terminology. They did not distinguish between φύσις and ὑπόστασις and therefore blamed the Council of Chalcedon for separating two "subjects" in Christ and thus favoring the heresy of Nestorius. The Monophysite opposition became extremely strong in Egypt and Syria and signified a great threat to the theological and political unity of the Byzantine Empire. See M. JUGIE, "Monophysisme", *DTC* 10/2 (1929), 2216-2251; M. SIMONETTI, "Monofisiti", *DPAC* 2 (1984),

Shortly after, Saint Sabas, worried about the well-being of his rebellious disciples, goes with provisions to visit them. Except for one sneering remark (ἰδοὺ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ στραβὸς ἤκει),⁷⁴ we hear of no resistance. When Sabas perceives their straitened circumstances, he takes pity on them and refers their case to the Patriarch, from whom he receives not only material assistance but also "the authority over that place and those living in it as being of his own community".⁷⁵ Thereupon, Sabas returns and spends five months with them, builds them a bakery and a church, which he consecrates in the sixty-ninth year of his life, that is 507. He gives them a superior from the Great Laura, a certain John, who governs the laura for seven years in a manner pleasing to God and predicts, just before dying, all the future troubles that will be caused by the monks of the New Laura. A new superior is appointed on the advice of Sabas: Paul, "a Roman who is simple-minded and detached",⁷⁶ but unable to cope with the difficulties of governing a monastery. Within six months Paul flees to Arabia, and the monks of the New Laura urge Sabas to give them another superior. Now they obtain

2291-2297; P. ALLEN, "Monophysiten", *TRE* 23 (1994), 219-233. Also in Palestine, there was a fierce Monophysite reaction. Cyril of Scythopolis presents Abba Euthymius as the only monk in the desert resisting the anti-Chalcedonian opposition, *VE* 27 (SCHWARTZ), 41,4-42,9. The Monophysite leader Theodosius, who had seized the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, sent two archimandrites, Elpidius and Gerontius, in order to persuade Euthymius, but the latter replied with a long profession of Chalcedonian faith, by which he convinced Elpidius, not Gerontius, *ibid.*, 42,9-44,8. Two years later, Theodosius was ousted from the see, but the Monophysites remained strong because of the support by Empress Eudocia, *VE* 27-28 (*ibid.*), 45,3-6; *VE* 30 (*ibid.*), 47,5-10. Euthymius persuaded Eudocia to return to the Catholic communion, but Gerontius maintained his Monophysite opposition and drew after him a large number of monks, including Romanus. This Romanus would then have founded the cenobium near Thekoa, *VE* 30 (*ibid.*), 48,13-49,13, but Cyril's dating the foundation of the Thekoa monastery to this time must be mistaken. See D. CHITT, *The Desert a City*, 89-92, 99, n.77; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 89, n.74-75. Cyril also relates that Romanus and his monks were expelled from this monastery during the reign of Emperor Zeno (474-491), because they refused to participate in a general return of the Monophysites to the Catholic communion, *VE* 45 (SCHWARTZ), 66,21-67,20. But also here, Cyril's report requires caution: official attempts at "reconciliation", like Zeno's *Henoticon* (482), were rather in favor of the Monophysites and based on the common rejection of Chalcedon; see J. BINNS, *o.c.*, 91, n.102. See also below, 73, n.82.

⁷⁴ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 123,15.

⁷⁵ παρέσχεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκούντων ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ συνόδου ὄντων, *ibid.*, 123,23-24.

⁷⁶ τινα Ῥωμαῖον ἀπλούστατον καὶ ἀκτῆμονα, *ibid.*, 124,13-14.

Agapêtus who, entering upon his duties (about 514), discovers the first germs of Origenism:

Agapêtus on becoming superior of the New Laura found four monks in the community, admitted there by the simple-minded Paul out of ignorance about them, who whispered in secret the doctrines of Origen; their leader was a Palestinian called Nonnus, who, pretending to be a Christian and simulating piety, held the doctrines of the godless Greeks, Jews and Manichees, that is, the myths concerning preexistence related by Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus.⁷⁷

Agapêtus, supported by Patriarch Elias, immediately expels the four monks from the New Laura, so that they go off to the plain (πεδιάς), to “sow their pernicious weeds there”.⁷⁸ After some time, when Patriarch Elias has fallen victim to a conspiracy,⁷⁹ the expelled monks come to Jerusalem to ask his successor permission to go back to the New Laura, but the new Patriarch, taking advice both from Sabas and Agapêtus, refuses their request, so that they return to the plain. Only when Agapêtus has died having

⁷⁷ ὅστις Ἀγαπητὸς τὴν τῆς Νέας λαύρας ἡγεμονίαν δεξάμενος εὗρεν τέσσαρας μοναχοὺς ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀπλουστάτου Παύλου εἰσδεχθέντας αὐτόθι τὰ κατ’ αὐτοῦς μὴ ἐπισταμένου ψιθυρίζοντας ἐν κρυπτῷ τὰ Ὀριγένους δόγματα, ὧν πρῶτος ὑπῆρχεν ἀνὴρ τις Παλαιστινὸς Νόννος καλούμενος, ὅστις χριστιανίζειν προσποιούμενος καὶ εὐλάβειαν ὑποκρινόμενος τὰ τῶν ἀθέων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Μανιχαίων δόγματα ἐφρόνει τὰ ὑπὸ Ὀριγένους καὶ Εὐαγρίου καὶ Διδύμου περὶ προπαρξέως μεμυθολογημένα, *ibid.*, 124, 21-29.

⁷⁸ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν πεδιάδα τὰ πονηρὰ αὐτόθι ζιζάνια κατασπείροντες, *ibid.*, 125, 3-4; cf. Mt. 13:25, 38. The πεδιάς indicates the coastal plain, where Origenist monks would have found a more favorable climate for their views. In the *VE* Cyril writes that, around the 450’s, Origenism was widespread in the region of Caesarea, *VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 39, 27-28; see also J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 213, n.45. However, we know very little about “Origenism” at that time. I suppose that here in the *VS*, the πεδιάς rather indicates the environment of Gaza, which is much closer to the New Laura and where both monasticism and intellectual life were flourishing at the turn of the fifth and the sixth centuries. From the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John, dated to the first decades of the sixth century, we learn that Origenism also caused troubles in this region, but, as we shall see, the resistance here appears to be less rigid than the anti-Origenist reaction in the Sabaitic monasteries. See BARSANUPHIUS ET IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Doctrina circa opiniones Origenis, Evagrii et Didymi* (= Quaestiones 600-607), ed. S. SCHOINAS, Volos 1960, 283-292 (ed. in *SC* is forthcoming). For the title quoted, see PG 86/1, 891.

⁷⁹ The conspiracy takes place in 516, during years of revolt at Jerusalem against the appointment of the Monophysite Severus as patriarch of Antioch in 512 (see below). As a result, Elias is ousted from his see, exiled, and replaced by a certain John, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 149,27-150,11.

governed for five years (519/520), and when Mamas has become superior, does their exile come to an end:

At this juncture Nonnus and his companions, hearing of Agapêtus’ death and Mamas’ appointment, came and were secretly (λανθανόντως) admitted by Mamas into the New Laura, maintaining in their souls their wicked fictions but keeping them totally hidden from the hearing of the monks out of fear of our sainted father Sabas; for, as long as he was still alive, there was only one confession of faith among all the monks in the desert.⁸⁰

Other achievements of Saint Sabas

With this episode, Cyril has anticipated the sequence of events in the *Life* of Sabas. Now he has to return to the point where the New Laura was founded (507), in order to continue the account of Sabas’ achievements. Several other foundations are related as well as other occurrences and anecdotes.⁸¹ Then, in 511, Sabas is sent by Patriarch Elias to the Court in Constantinople, with a delegation of monastic superiors, to intercede with Emperor Anastasius (491-518) on behalf of his Patriarch, who has roused the imperial wrath by his strongly marked Chalcedonism and his refusal to cooperate with Anastasius’ pro-Monophysite policy.⁸² Several encounters of Sabas with

⁸⁰ τότε οἱ περὶ Νόννον ἀκούσαντες τὴν τε τοῦ Ἀγαπητοῦ τελευταίην καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μάμα προβολὴν ἦλθον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάμα λανθανόντως ἐδέχθησαν εἰς τὴν Νέαν λαύραν, ἔχοντες μὲν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐμμελέτημα, ἀνέκφορον δὲ παντελῶς εἰς μοναχῶν ἀκοὴν φόβῳ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα. αὐτοῦ γὰρ περιόντος μία τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία ὑπῆρχεν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον μοναχοῖς, *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-23 (NB: PRICE translates λανθανόντως as “privately”).

⁸¹ *VS* 37-49 (SCHWARTZ), 125,26-139,19.

⁸² *VS* 50 (SCHWARTZ), 139,20-141,23. In the second half of the fifth century, the Monophysite reaction against Chalcedon became a serious political threat (see above, 70, n.73), so that the Emperor could not refrain from intervening in the theological struggle. In 482, Emperor Zeno published the *Henoticon* as an attempt at reconciliation: both extremes of Nestorius and Eutyches, respectively the absolute separation and the absolute confusion of the divinity and the humanity in Christ, were condemned; the authority of the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople I and Ephesus was confirmed, but that of Chalcedon was rejected. Thus, the imperial document could not reconcile the Chalcedonians, for whom the decisions of the fourth council were irrevocable. So practically, the *Henoticon* favored the Monophysite party. Zeno’s successor, Emperor Anastasius (491-518), showed even more sympathy for the Monophysites; especially in the last years of his reign, he took a tough line against the Chalcedonians. See, in addition to the literature mentioned above (70-71, n.73), L. DUCHESNE,

Anastasius take place, with the result that the Emperor, deeply impressed by the Saint's holiness through a vision, and reassured by the latter's argument that Elias' Chalcedonian orthodoxy has nothing to do with Nestorianism,⁸³ promises to decree nothing against the Patriarch of Jerusalem.⁸⁴

However, after Sabas' return to Palestine, in 512, the old hostility between Emperor Anastasius and Patriarch Elias grows even worse.⁸⁵ When the Emperor sends Severus, leader of the Acephaloi, to be patriarch of Antioch,⁸⁶ years of revolt follow at Jerusalem, during which Elias is ousted

L'Église au VI^e siècle, 1-42; E. STEIN/J.-M. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 157-192; R. HAACKE, "Die kaiserliche Politik in den Auseinandersetzungen um Chalcedon" (451-553), in *Das Konzil von Chalcedon*, ed. A. GRILLMEIER/H. BACHT, Bd. II: *Entscheidung um Chalcedon*, Würzburg 1953, 95-177; W. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge/London/New York/Melbourne 1972 (repr. 1979), 143-220; P. GRAY, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leiden 1979, 25-44; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/1. *Das Konzil von Chalcedon: Rezeption und Widerspruch (451-518)*, Freiburg/Basel/Wien 1986, 267-358.

⁸³ VS 52 (SCHWARTZ), 144,10-22. In the preceding text we read that Anastasius had given utterance to his indignation with Archbishop Elias, who had made himself a champion of the Council of Chalcedon, whereas the Council, in the Emperor's opinion, approved the doctrines of Nestorius, *ibid.*, 143,17-144,9. This was indeed the main grievance of the Monophysites against Chalcedon. See above, 70, n.73.

⁸⁴ VS 52 (SCHWARTZ), 144,23-28.

⁸⁵ On coming home, as Cyril relates, Sabas brings an "Aposchist" (= Monophysite) archimandrite with him, whom he persuades to renounce his heresy, to accept Chalcedon and to enter into communion with Elias, while many others follow him. Cyril states that "this contributed significantly to Emperor Anastasius' annoyance with the Patriarch Elias", VS 55 (SCHWARTZ), 147,13-25.

⁸⁶ Severus, a convert who was baptised in 488 and became a monk in the neighborhood of Maiuma near Gaza, became the main spokesman of the (relatively) moderate Monophysite current defined as *verbal* (see above, 70, n.73). The adherents of this current were, however, implacable polemicists. After refuting Zeno's *Henoticon* (see above, 73, n.82) and separating themselves from the more conciliatory Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, Peter Mongus (482-490), they remained "without head" (ἀκεφάλιοι), which means: in communion with none of the five patriarchs. By the time with which we are dealing now (512), Severus had become their main exponent. From his point of view, he refuted both Eutychianism (the extreme Monophysite current, which assumed a *real* confusion of the divinity and the humanity in Christ) and Chalcedonism. In 509, he had gone up to Constantinople and gained Anastasius' favor, thus contributing to strengthening the (Severian-)Monophysite power in the Empire, though the name ἀκεφάλιοι remained conventional. In 512, after Patriarch Elias' Chalcedonian colleague Flavian of Antioch had been deposed at the instigation of the Monophysite bishops Soterichus and Philoxenus of Mabbug, Anastasius sent Severus (τὸν τῶν Ἀκεφάλων Ἐξαρχόν) to be patriarch of Antioch, VS 56 (SCHWARTZ), 148,9-21. See, in

from his see (516).⁸⁷ But also under the new Patriarch John, the Palestinian opposition against Anastasius' pro-Monophysite policy remains ardent. The culmination is an impressive action of Sabas, together with his colleague archimandrite Theodosius and Patriarch John himself, at a mass-demonstration of pro-Chalcedonian monks in Jerusalem. The Emperor is stirred to anger and on the point of dealing firmly with the Patriarch and the two archimandrites, but he receives a long petition and, finally, he has to give up his action against them, because other troubles in the Empire demand his attention.⁸⁸

In the following chapters, Cyril resumes the hagiographic thread of occurrences and anecdotes, which is interchanged with short reports of the most important historical facts. Thus, we learn how, on the night of 10 July 518, Anastasius is overtaken by divine wrath and killed in his imperial palace by a thunderstorm, and how Justin (518-527), on succeeding to the throne, turns away from Anastasius' pro-Monophysite policy by recognizing the Council of Chalcedon.⁸⁹ Also Justin's succession by Justinian (527-565) is mentioned.⁹⁰

Leontius of Byzantium detected as an Origenist

In the first years of Justinian's government, a Samaritan revolt and an incident at Scythopolis lead to a new mission of Saint Sabas to the imperial Court,⁹¹ from April to September 531.⁹² Sabas' meetings with Justinian

addition to the literature mentioned above (pp.70-71, n.73 and p.74, n.82), G. BARDY, "Sévère d'Antioche", *DTC* 14/2 (1941), 1988-2000; M. BIANCO, "Acefali", *DPAC* 1 (1983), 32-33; M. SIMONETTI, "Severo di Antiochia", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 3180-3182.

⁸⁷ See above, 72, n.79.

⁸⁸ VS 56-57 (SCHWARTZ), 151,7-158,11.

⁸⁹ VS 60 (SCHWARTZ), 162,3-13.

⁹⁰ VS 68 (SCHWARTZ), 170,5-14.

⁹¹ VS 70-74 (SCHWARTZ), 171,26-179,14. Justinian had initiated an oppressive legislation against the Samaritans, which worsened their relations with the Christians and provoked their revolt. See J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 216, n.84, n.96. Cyril relates that the revolt was beaten down by imperial troops, but when the Samaritan Silvanus, an imperial dignitary, VS 61 (SCHWARTZ), 163,5-7, was lynched by the Christians in Scythopolis, Justinian and his consort Theodora were stirred to anger against the Christians, through misinformation by the victim's son Arsenius. To appease the Emperor, Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem sent Sabas to the capital, VS 70 (SCHWARTZ), 172,1-173,11.

⁹² "In April of the eighth indiction" (περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίλλιον μῆνα τῆς ὀγδόης ἰνδικτιόνοϋς), Sabas went up to Constantinople, *ibid.*, 173,9-11. According to Diekamp, this date corresponds to April 531; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 14-15, 36. Diekamp

follow a pattern similar to that of the meetings with Anastasius, the Emperor being deeply impressed by the Saint's holiness through a vision and conceding all his requests. As a recompense, Sabas promises Justinian a prosperous government, that is, the reconquest of Africa, Rome and all the rest of the old empire, in order to "extirpate the Arian heresy, together with those of Nestorius and Origen, and free the city and the Church of God from the bane of the heresies".⁹³ Cyril adds an explanation of Sabas' mentioning these three heresies: Arianism is troubling the West and the two other heresies, more important for our context, are adhered to by some of the monks who are accompanying the Saint on his mission to Constantinople. Cyril writes:

He named the heresy of Nestorius, because some of the monks who had accompanied him had been found siding with Theodore of Mopsuestia when disputing with the Aposchists in the basilica.⁹⁴ He included the destructive heresy of Origen

pointed out that Cyril must have introduced an error in his time indications when operating the system of ἰνδικτιόνες (see above, 68, n.61). As a consequence, from April 531 on, all Cyril's ἰνδικτιόνες should be corrected by augmenting them with one unit; only thus they concord with his dating of some events by indicating the years that separate them from Sabas' death (which should be dated to 5 Dec. 532), *ibid.*, 11-15. Diekamp could not find a satisfying explanation for the deviation he found in Cyril's chronology, *ibid.*, 15, and he was criticized by E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 340-355. But Stein, who examined the question again, confirmed Diekamp's finding; see E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 176-177. The calculation as established by Diekamp and Stein is now generally accepted. See e.g. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, 22-23, n.1; *id.*, III/2, 106, n.238; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 12 with n.3; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 217, n.110; *id.*, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 71-72. According to this calculation, Sabas returned to Palestine in September 531. Cyril indicates here the next indiction (the 9th), as an ἰνδικτίων is counted from 1 Sept. to 31 Aug., VS 70 (SCHWARTZ), 179,11, but according to our calendar it is still the same year 531.

⁹³ πρὸς τὸ ὑμᾶς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν σὺν τῇ Νεστοριανῇ καὶ τῇ Ὀριγένους ἔκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν αἱρέσεων λύμης ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 175,23-176,2.

⁹⁴ Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350-428) was an important representative of the "Antiochene school" which accentuated, against the Apollinarist denial of the real humanity in Christ, the distinction between the divine and the human φύσεις in Christ. Shortly after Theodore's death, the Council of Ephesus condemned Nestorius (c. 381-451), who had gone as far as asserting that in Christ, only the human φύσις had been born from Mary (she was not θεοτόκος) and only the human φύσις had suffered on the cross. Soon afterwards, Theodore of Mopsuestia was involved in the Nestorian controversy as an anticipator of Nestorius. From the end of the fifth century on, he was attacked especially by the Monophysites. See É. AMANN, "Théodore de Mopsueste", *DTC* 15/1 (1946), 236-237, 255-266, 277-278; M. SIMONETTI, "Teodoro di Mopsuestia", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 3382-3384. The

in the rejection of the said heresies, since one of the monks with him, Byzantine by birth and named Leontius, who was one of those admitted with Nonnus into the New Laura after the death of the superior Agapêtus,⁹⁵ had been found embracing the doctrines of Origen; though claiming to support the Council of Chalcedon, he was detected holding the views of Origen. On hearing this and remembering the words of the blessed Agapêtus,⁹⁶ our father Sabas, acting with severity, expelled both Leontius and those with the views of Theodore and excluded them from his company, and asked the emperor to expel both heresies.⁹⁷

In September 531, Sabas, leaving both Leontius of Byzantium and the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia in Constantinople, sails back to Pal-

Monophysites even blamed the Council of Chalcedon for not having anathematized Theodore in an unambiguous way. This question, which became the base of the Three Chapters affair (see above, 52, n.167), was current at the time of Sabas' encounters with Justinian. The Emperor, who started his reign by persecuting the Monophysites, was drawn to a policy of reconciliation by the Monophysite sympathies of Empress Theodora. In 531, some Monophysite bishops were invited to Constantinople and preparations went on for an official dialogue with the orthodox. The disputes μετὰ τῶν Ἀποσχιστῶν, as reported by Cyril, obviously refer to these preparatory encounters. The official Colloquium (*Collatio cum Severianis*) was held in 532, shortly after Sabas' return to Palestine. See L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 82-87; E. STEIN/ J.-M. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 376-378; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 104-105, n.234 (for supplementary literature, see below, chap.2).

⁹⁵ Cyril refers to the "secret" admission of the first Origenists by Mamas, in 519/520, after their five-year exile in the πεδίας, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-20 (quoted above, 73, n.80).

⁹⁶ After Patriarch Elias' expulsion from the see of Jerusalem, Nonnus and his companions came to the new Patriarch John, asking permission to return to the New Laura. But John received negative advice both from Sabas and Agapêtus (see above). At that occasion, Agapêtus had said: "They corrupt the community by fomenting the doctrines of Origen, and I would prefer rather to leave the place than to mix these men with the community entrusted to me," VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,10-13.

⁹⁷ τὴν δὲ Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἀνελεθόντων μετ' αὐτοῦ μοναχῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μομφουεστίας εὐρέθησαν ἀντιλαμβάνομενοι εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποσχιστῶν ἀντιβάλλοντες· τὴν δὲ Ὀριγένους φθοροποιὸν αἵρεσιν τῇ τῶν εἰρημένων αἱρέσεων ἀποβολῇ συνηρίθμησεν, ἐπειδὴ περ εὐρέθη τις τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ μοναχῶν Βυζάντιος τῷ γένει Λεόντιος ὀνόματι εἰς ὑπάρχων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Νόννου εἰσδεχθέντων ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ μετὰ τὴν Ἀγαπητοῦ τοῦ ἡγουμένου κοίμησιν τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνομενος. τῆς γὰρ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προίστασθαι προσποιούμενος ἐγνώσθη τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονῶν· ὅθεν ἀκούσας ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάβας καὶ τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀγαπητοῦ λόγων ἀναμνησθεὶς αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς τὰ Θεοδώρου φρονούντας ἀποτομία χρησάμενος ἀπεβάλετο καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν συνδιαγωγῆς, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ ὑπέθετο τὴν ἀποβολὴν ποιήσασθαι τῶν ἀμφοτέρων αἱρέσεων, VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,7-20. Both heresies are conceived as opposed to each other (see esp. below, 200 with n.301).

estine.⁹⁸ Once the imperial rescripts, by which Justinian fulfilled Sabas' requests, are published at Jerusalem, Sabas visits Scythopolis to publish them there as well; and it is on that occasion that he encounters the six-year-old boy Cyril.⁹⁹ Shortly afterwards, Sabas, 93 years old, dies on 5 December 532.¹⁰⁰ As a fruit of his exemplary life of virtue, his spirit is deemed worthy of great *παρρησία* towards God, which is shown in the rest of the *Vita*¹⁰¹ by a series of five miracles *post mortem* and, finally, by the story about God providing the victory of the orthodox over Origenism.

The victory over Origenism

As long as Sabas was still alive, Cyril relates, "there was one confession of faith in all the monasteries of the desert".¹⁰² But once the shepherd has died and has been succeeded by the inexperienced Abba Melitas, Nonnus and his companions start sowing the heresy they have kept silently in their hearts for over twelve years:

But when the excellent shepherd left this world, his flock, being led by an inexperienced shepherd, fell into difficulties. Nonnus and his party, taking advantage of the death of our father, I mean Sabas, made public the heresy in the depths of their hearts¹⁰³ and instilled in their neighbour a turbulent upheaval. They seduced into their own foul heresy not only all the more educated (*λογιώτεροι*) in the New

⁹⁸ VS 74 (SCHWARTZ), 179,9-11. For the date, see above, 75, n.92.

⁹⁹ VS 75 (SCHWARTZ), 179,26-181,2. See above, 37 with n.75.

¹⁰⁰ Cyril offers a precise dating for Sabas' death, VS 77 (SCHWARTZ), 183,5-184,2, and all scholars agree that it corresponds to 5 Dec. 532. See Schwartz's comment *ad loc.*, and esp. F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 277-279, confirmed by F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 13. For further questions concerning Cyril's chronology, see above, p.68, n.61 and p.75, n.92.

¹⁰¹ τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἡξίωται τῆς πρὸς θεὸν παρρησίας, ἧς τὴν ἀκτῖνα δι' ὀλίγων παραδεῖξαι πειράσομαι, VS 78 (SCHWARTZ), 184,19-21. *Παρρησία* indicates the hagiographic theme of the Saint's "free access" to God, that is: familiarity with God, obtained by the Saint after his death as the fruit of an exemplary life of virtues, and resulting in an effective intercessory power in favor of his successors and disciples. I shall return to the theme below.

¹⁰² μία τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογία ὑπῆρχεν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον μοναστηρίοις, VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,7-9. The phrase is a literal repetition of the statement with which Cyril concluded the chapter on the first germs of Origenism, VS 36 (*ibid.*), 125,22-23 (quoted above, 73 with n.80).

¹⁰³ Compare with: *ibid.*, 125,20-21.

Laura but also those of the monastery of Martyrius¹⁰⁴ and of the laura of Firminus¹⁰⁵ (...). In addition, they succeeded in a short time in sowing the heresy of Origen in the Great Laura and the other monasteries of the desert.¹⁰⁶

In 536, two of the most prominent Origenists, Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, superiors respectively of the monastery of Martyrius and the New Laura, sail to Constantinople to take part in a reunion of the permanent synod (*σύνδοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*)¹⁰⁷ in order to condemn the Monophysites.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Originating from Cappadocia, Martyrius came to join Euthymius in his laura, together with his colleague archimandrite Elias, after they had fled Mount Nitria in 457, because of disorders in Egypt. Both Martyrius and Elias later became patriarchs of Jerusalem. Martyrius inhabited a cave not far west of Euthymius' laura, where he founded his monastery, VE 32 (SCHWARTZ), 50,20-51,21. See S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *ROC* 5 (1900), 29-30; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 20-22; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 42-45.

¹⁰⁵ Firminus was one of the first disciples of Sabas. He founded his laura in the region of Machmas, c. 8 miles north-east of Jerusalem, VS 16 (SCHWARTZ), 99,23-24. See S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *ROC* 4 (1899), 534-535; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 44-45; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, 54-55; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 117-120.

¹⁰⁶ τοῦ δὲ ἀρίστου ποιμένος τῶν τῆδε μεταστάντος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ποίμνιον γέγονεν ἠπορημένον ὑπὸ ποιμένος ἀπέριου ἀγόμενον. οἱ γὰρ περὶ Νόννον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν κοιμήσεως δραξάμενοι, λέγω δὴ Σάβα, τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῶν σπλάγχων δημοσιεύσαντες κακοδοξίαν ἐπότιζον τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν καὶ οὐ μόνον πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Νέα λαύρα λογιωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν μιὰν συγκατέσπασαν αἴρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῆς Μαρτυρίου μονῆς καὶ τοὺς τῆς Φιρμίνου λαύρας (...). οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγίστην λαύραν καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐρήμου μοναστηρία ἴσχυσαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν Ὀριγένους κατασπείραι κακοδοξίαν, VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), p.188, lines 13-20, 22-24.

¹⁰⁷ The *σύνδοδος ἐνδημοῦσα* is the "permanent synod" of bishops residing at Constantinople that can be convoked by the patriarch or even by the emperor. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 122, n.289.

¹⁰⁸ The *Collatio cum Severianis* of 532 (see above, 77, n.94) did not lead to the desired result. Justinian's policy of reconciliation only resulted in a strengthened position of the Monophysites, supported by Theodora. In 535, she arranged that Anthimius become patriarch of Constantinople: he was an ascetic, who soon associated himself without reserve with the Monophysite party. Not yet recognized by Pope Agapētus (who arrived at the capital shortly afterwards), Anthimius refused to accept the Chalcedonian formula ἐν δύο φύσεσιν, withdrew and was replaced by Menas in 536. Pope Agapētus died and the new Patriarch Menas, invited by Justinian, convoked the Home Synod (*σύνδοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) which renewed the condemnations of the leading Monophysites. See L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 90-98; E. STEIN/ J.-M. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 380-385; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 218, n.117.

Cyril does not mention the synod, but he observes that Domitian and Theodore “pretended to be battling for the Council of Chalcedon”,¹⁰⁹ just like the charge previously brought against Leontius of Byzantium.¹¹⁰ This Leontius, expelled as a heretic and left behind in the capital by Sabas in 531, has apparently become an influential man now, in the comfortable position to introduce the two Palestinian superiors, through *Papas* Eusebius,¹¹¹ to the Emperor and thus to consolidate the power of the Origenists:

Through recommendation by the above-mentioned Leontius of Byzantium they [*scil.* Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, DH] attached themselves to father Eusebius and through him to our most pious emperor. Veiling their heresy by abundant hypocrisy and enjoying first access (πρώτης παρρησίας μετασχόντες) to the palace, Domitian received the first see of the province of Galatia,¹¹² while Theodore succeeded to the see of Caesarea of Cappadocia. Nonnus and his party, gaining greater strength from this, were zealous and tireless in sowing the seeds of Origenism throughout Palestine.¹¹³

But soon, in 537, Abba Melitas is succeeded by Gelasius as superior of the Great Laura. On seeing “the plague of Origen with many of his community in its grip”,¹¹⁴ Gelasius summons the brethren to the church and has a writing of Antipatrus of Bostra against Origen read out.¹¹⁵ Great distur-

¹⁰⁹ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προσποιούμενοι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,28-189,1.

¹¹⁰ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,15-16 (see the text quoted above, 76-77 with n.97).

¹¹¹ Πάπας (*father*) is a title of respect for priests and bishops, and also indicates the bishops of Alexandria and Rome; see LAMPE, 1006. *Papas* Eusebius was a priest and treasurer (κειμηλιάρχης) of the Hagia Sophia; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 121, n.286. He was an influential man and appears several times in Cyril's account; see J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 218, n.118.

¹¹² That is, the see of Ancyra, *ibid.*, n.119.

¹¹³ καὶ διὰ τῆς παραθέσεως Λεοντίου τοῦ ἀνωτέρου μνημονευθέντος Βυζαντίου προσκολλῶνται τῷ πάπῃ Εὐσεβίῳ καὶ διὰ τούτου τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως περιουσίᾳ τὴν κακοδοξίαν ἐπισκιάσαντες καὶ πρώτης παρρησίας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ μετασχόντες ὁ μὲν Δομετιανὸς τῆς Γαλατῶν χώρας τὴν ἱεραρχίαν παρέλαβεν, ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος τὴν Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας διεδέξατο προεδρίαν. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ περὶ Νόννον ἰσχυρὸν πλείονα λαβόντες σπουδαίως καὶ ἐπαγρύπνως τὰ Ὀριγένεια σπέρματα πανταχοῦ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κατέσπειραν, VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,1-9.

¹¹⁴ τὴν Ὀριγένους λύμην πολλοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνοδίας νεμομένην, *ibid.*, 189,15.

¹¹⁵ Antipatrus was bishop of Bostra (Arabia) shortly after the Council of Chalcedon and a friend of Euthymius, VE 34 (SCHWARTZ), p.52, lines 23, 28. He wrote an Ἀντίρρησις (confutation) of Pamphilus' and Eusebius' *Apologia pro Origene* (CPG 6678). Unfortu-

bance is caused in the church and a group of forty, led by a certain John, is expelled from the Great Laura and goes to join Nonnus and his companions in the New Laura. Leontius of Byzantium, who has returned there from Constantinople, incites the Origenists, including the expelled forty, to take revenge on Gelasius and the Great Laura. Armed with pick-axes, shovels, iron crowbars and other tools, and reinforced by a band of peasants, they set off in a blind rage to demolish the Great Laura, but by a providential miracle, mist and darkness descend on them¹¹⁶ so that they get lost and find themselves on the next day a long way off their route: they return home with nothing achieved and put to shame.¹¹⁷

In the winter 539-540, a synod is held at Gaza in order to depose Patriarch Paul of Alexandria.¹¹⁸ After the closure of the synod, *Papas* Eusebius¹¹⁹ travels to Jerusalem, where Leontius of Byzantium presents to him the forty monks expelled from the Great Laura, who complain that Gelasius has divided the community into two parties and taken side with the opponents. Eusebius, “misled by Leontius' words and knowing nothing about their heresy”,¹²⁰ puts pressure on Gelasius either to receive back the expelled Origenists or to expel their opponents. Six anti-Origenists of the Great Laura

nately, the work is lost, but some fragments are preserved thanks to the *Acta* of the Second Council of Nicaea (787), PG 85, 1792-1793, and to some extensive quotations by John Damascenus, PG 86/2, 2045-2053 (= PG 85, 1793-1796); PG 96, cc.484, 501-505. See A. JÜLICHER, “Antipatros”, PWK 1/2 (1894), 2517-2518; S. VAILHÉ, “Antipater de Bostra”, DTC 1/2 (1931), 1440; A. DE NICOLA, “Antipatro di Bostra”, DPAC 1 (1983), 247.

¹¹⁶ This happens οὐσῆς ὥρας δευτέρας, VS 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,21-22, that is: at seven o'clock in the morning; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 120, n.285.

¹¹⁷ VS 84 (SCHWARTZ), 189,10-190,29.

¹¹⁸ Paul had been appointed patriarch of Alexandria with orders of Justinian to impose the Council of Chalcedon in Egypt, where the Monophysites long since formed the majority. He discharged the task by force and even got involved in the unauthorized execution of one deacon Psoius. This brought the resistance against him to a head and made his position untenable. Therefore, a synod is held at Gaza and Paul is replaced by another orthodox monk, named Zoilus. See L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 103-104, 169-170; E. STEIN/J.-M. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 385, 389-391. Stein/ Palanque date Paul's appointment to the patriarchate “vers la fin de 537”, *ibid.*, 385, and the Synod of Gaza “vers les premiers mois de 540”, *ibid.*, 391; Festugière dates the synod “fin 539/ début 540”, A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 121, n.286; see also the time table, *ibid.*, 134.

¹¹⁹ Probably, Eusebius represented the Patriarch of Constantinople at the synod, *ibid.*, 121, n.286.

¹²⁰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λεοντίου λόγων ἀπατηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως γνοὺς, VS 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191, 8-9.

accept a voluntary exile, but they go off to Patriarch Ephraem of Antioch to inform him about their troubles with the Origenists, showing him the writing of Antipatrus. Ephraem, stirred to action, convokes a local synod and promulgates a ban against the doctrines of Origen. Thereupon, Nonnus and his party, supported by Leontius – who has sailed back to Constantinople – as well as Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, press Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem to strike Ephraem's name off the sacred diptychs. Patriarch Peter, from his side, finds a way out by ingenious diplomacy:

At their [*scil.* the Origenists'] causing this great discord, the archbishop sent secretly for Sophronius and Gelasius¹²¹ and told them to compose a *libellus* (λίβελλος) against the Origenists,¹²² adjuring him (αὐτόν)¹²³ not to remove Patriarch Ephraem's name from the sacred diptychs. When the fathers had composed the *libellus* and presented it, the archbishop on receiving it sent it to the emperor with a letter telling him of the innovations of the Origenists. On receiving this *libellus*, our most pious emperor issued an edict¹²⁴ against the doctrines of Origen, to which edict Patriarch Menas of Constantinople and the synod under him¹²⁵ appended their signatures.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Sophronius and Gelasius are respectively the successors of the archimandrites Theodosius and Sabas, Sophronius being superior of Theodosius' monastery, *VS* 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,12-15, and Gelasius of the Great Laura.

¹²² A λίβελλος is a small book or document, here of polemical statements; see LAMPE, 801-802.

¹²³ The *libellus* had to be addressed to Patriarch Peter himself.

¹²⁴ IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem* (= *Epistula ad Menam*), ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* III, 189-214; repr. in M. AMELOTTI/L. MIGLIARDO ZINGALE, *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano*, *Legum Iustiniani Imperatoris Vocabularium*, Subsidia 3, Milano 1977, 68-118. Also: MANSI, IX, 488-533; PG 86/1, 945-989 = PL 69,177-122 (CPG 6880).

¹²⁵ The synod under Menas is the σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα (see above, 79, n.107). In his edict Justinian summoned the Patriarch to convoke all the bishops residing in the capital (ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνδημοῦντας κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους) as well as the superiors of monasteries who were present, in order to have Origen anathematized. See IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 207,30-33.

¹²⁶ πολλῆς δὲ στάσεως ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένης μεταπέμπεται ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐν μυστηρίῳ τοὺς περὶ Σωφρόνιον καὶ Γελάσιον καὶ ἐπιτρέπει αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι λίβελλον κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν ὀρκίζοντα αὐτὸν μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῶν ἱερῶν διπτύχων τὴν Ἐφραιμίου τοῦ πατριάρχου προσηγορίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πατέρες τὸν λίβελλον ποιήσαντες ἐπιδεδώκασιν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τοῦτον δεξάμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπέστειλεν γράψας αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν νεωτερισθέντα. ὄντινα λίβελλον ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεξάμενος βασιλεὺς ἴδικτον κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους πεποίηκε δογμάτων. ᾧ τινι ἰδίκτω καθυπέγραψεν Μηνᾶς ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν συνόδου, *VS* 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191,25-192,3.

Even Domitian and Theodore Ascidas are forced to sign.¹²⁷ The edict is published in Jerusalem in February 543 and subscribed to by almost all the bishops of Palestine and the superiors of the desert.¹²⁸ Nonnus and other Origenist leaders, from their side, leave the catholic communion (τῆς τε καθολικῆς κοινωνίας ἀπέστησαν)¹²⁹ and withdraw again to the πεδίας. However, from Constantinople, where Eusebius and Leontius have died in the meantime, Theodore Ascidas puts pressure on Patriarch Peter to receive them back into their laura. Nonnus, on the advice of Ascidas, writes him a letter:

We beg Your Piety to soothe our minds with a slight satisfaction by publishing, in a catholic sense (καθολικῶς) and with all willingness, the following statement: 'Every anathema not pleasing to God that has been made is to be abrogated, and has been abrogated, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. For, we will accept a suchlike satisfaction, even though it lacks strict precision.¹³⁰

The Patriarch, unwillingly but fearing Ascidas, summons Nonnus and his companions from the πεδίας, takes them privately aside and gives them the satisfaction requested. They return to the New Laura and continue their opposition. Supported by Ascidas, the Origenists become powerful now: in the streets of Jerusalem, orthodox monks are terrorized and assaulted. There is even a riot against the Great Laura, by three hundred Origenists who want to kill the monks, but when one injured victim dies a few days later, the war against the orthodox is abandoned.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Cyril observes that their hypocrisy becomes obvious, because afterwards Domitian perishes with despair and Theodore reacts by intensifying his persecutions against the orthodox, *ibid.*, 192,3-11.

¹²⁸ Cyril mentions as the only exception among the Palestine bishops one Alexander of Abila, *VS* 86 (SCHWARTZ), 192,14-17. In the edict itself, the bishops and superiors of the whole empire are summoned to sign; see IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 208,2-9.

¹²⁹ *VS* 86 (SCHWARTZ), 192,19.

¹³⁰ Δυσωποῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ὁσιότητα διὰ τινος μετρίας πληροφορίας θεραπεῦσαι τὰς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ἐν τῷ ἡμᾶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι καθολικῶς μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας καὶ λέγειν· λελυμένον ἔστω καὶ λέλυται ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος πᾶν γεγονός ἀνάθημα μὴ ἀρέσκον θεῷ. τὴν γὰρ τοιαύτην πληροφορίαν καταδεχόμεθα, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν κατὰ λεπτὸν ἀκρίβειαν ἔχει, *ibid.*, 193,1-6 (translation of R.PRICE modified).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 193,7-194,12.

At the request of his community in the Great Laura, Abba Gelasius decides to go up to Constantinople to report everything to the Emperor. As if foreseeing what is going to happen to him, he makes a farewell speech to the fathers:

“See, fathers, at your request I am going up to Constantinople, not knowing what will happen to me on the journey. I therefore beg you not to let settle with you any adherent of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was a heretic, since our sainted father Sabas abhorred him along with Origen.¹³² I myself regret deeply having appended my signature to the *libellus* made by the desert at the order of the patriarch against his being anathematized.¹³³ God, however, out of care for his church, so disposed that the *libellus* was rejected and willed that Theodore himself be anathematized.”¹³⁴

After these words, Gelasius leaves for Byzantium. In the capital, however, Theodore Ascidas has instructed everyone not to receive him, so that Gelasius has to return with nothing achieved. On his way back to Palestine, travelling by foot, he dies in October 546. On learning this, the fathers of the Great Laura go up to the Patriarch to ask for a new superior, but they are violently expelled from the episcopal palace. The Origenists are most pow-

¹³² The reason why Theodore of Mopsuestia appears here again in Cyril's account will be treated below. Gelasius refers to the exclusion of both Leontius of Byzantium and the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia from Sabas' company, during the Saint's visit to Constantinople for his encounters with Justinian in 531, *VS* 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,16-20; *VS* 74 (*ibid.*), 179,8-11 (see above, 77 with n.97).

¹³³ Shortly after Justinian's edict against Origen, at the turn of 544 and 545, the Emperor issued also an edict against Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, that is: against the “Three Chapters”. Only fragments are preserved in Latin, quoted by two defenders of the Three Chapters: Facundus of Hermiane and Pelagius the deacon. These fragments are published by E. SCHWARTZ, “Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians”, *SBAW* (1940), Heft 2, 73-81; repr. in E. SCHWARTZ, *Gesammelte Schriften* 4.Bd.: *Zur Geschichte der Alten Kirche und ihres Rechts* 4, Berlin 1960, 321-328 (CPG 6881). For the date of the edict, see *ibid.*, *SBAW* (1940), H.2, 56; *Gesammelte Schriften* 4 (1960), 302. See also R. DEVRÈSSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, StT 141, Città del Vaticano 1948, 205-206 (esp. 206, n.1). As we shall see below, this edict encountered fierce resistance, especially in the West.

¹³⁴ ἰδοῦ, πατέρες, κατὰ τὴν αἴτησιν ὑμῶν ἀνέρχομαι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὰ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ συμβησόμενά μοι μὴ εἰδώς. δυσωπῶ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς ὥστε τινὰ τῶν Θεοδώρων τῶ Μοψουεστίας προσκειμένων μὴ ἔασαι συμμεῖναι ὑμῖν, αἰρετικῶ αὐτῶ ὄντι, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάββας τοῦτον μετὰ τοῦ Ὀριγένους ἐμυσάττετο. ἐγὼ γὰρ σφόδρα μεταμελήμαί καθυπογράφας τῷ γενομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου λιβέλλῳ κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀναθεματισθῆναι αὐτόν. πλὴν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς

erful in Palestine now. By their intrigues, they have one of their number, George, made superior of the Great Laura, in February 547. A great persecution is initiated against the pious who, led by John the Hesychast, flee to the Mount of Olives; but on the same day, thanks to a miracle of God, the chief of the enemy Nonnus is seized by a sudden death.¹³⁵

After ruling the Great Laura for seven months, George is expelled by his own supporters. He is succeeded by Cassianus, a good orthodox, whose ten-month leadership offers nothing special for the hagiographer to relate.¹³⁶ Then, in July 548, Abba Conon becomes superior, a man enjoying a high reputation both for his monastic virtues and his orthodoxy.¹³⁷ his government brings recovery to the damaged community of the Great Laura. At the same time, thanks to the providence of God, the unanimity of the Origenists is broken by a schism between those of the New Laura and those of the Laura of Firminus. As usual, Cyril is extremely concise in explaining the theological backgrounds of the controversy within the ranks of the Origenists:¹³⁸

Whoever wishes may easily discover their impiety from the very names they give each other, those of the New Laura calling those of Firminus' *Protoktists* (πρωτόκτιστοι) or *Tetradites* (τετραδίται)¹³⁹ and those of Firminus' naming those

κηδόμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίας τὸν μὲν λίβελλον ἀπαράδεκτον γενέσθαι ψ-
κονόμησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ Θεόδωρον ἀναθεματισθῆναι εὐδόκησεν, *VS* 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,
17-27.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 194,27-196,2.

¹³⁶ *VS* 88 (SCHWARTZ), 196,3-18.

¹³⁷ Conon entered the Great Laura after Sabas' death. Cyril writes that “he edified all the fathers by purity of life, simplicity of character, gentleness of conduct and a combination of spiritual understanding and discernment (καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατέρας οἰκοδομήσαντα τῇ τε τοῦ βίου καθαρότητι καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἤθους ἀπλότητι καὶ τῇ τῶν τρόπων πραότητι καὶ τῇ τῆς πνευματικῆς καὶ διακρίσεως συγκράσει)”, *VS* 89 (SCHWARTZ), 196,26-28.

¹³⁸ Cyril refers to a contemporary, more detailed account by one of his confrères, refuting both Origenist currents, but unfortunately the writing is not preserved, *ibid.*, 197,10-13.

¹³⁹ The *Protoktists* represent a more moderate current of “Origenism”. Departing from their names, we may assume that they tried to preserve, in their opinions, a certain superiority of Christ with respect to the other rational beings, in the stage of pre-existence: Christ was created before the others (πρωτόκτιστος), but as a created being He was added to the Trinity as a fourth person (hence the name τετραδίται). See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 149 (also 132-133).

of the New Laura *Isochrists* (ἰσόχριστοι);¹⁴⁰ for each was allotted a name from the particular doctrines of their impiety.¹⁴¹

Theodore Ascidas' oppressive policy in favor of the Isochrists (many of them are ordained bishop) pushes the Protoktists into taking sides with the orthodox. Isidore, their superior, comes over to Abba Conon, abjures the doctrine of pre-existence and goes up with him to Constantinople in September 552.¹⁴² In the meantime, Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem dies and the Origenists of the New Laura put one Macarius on his throne: war results in the Holy City. The Emperor, fiercely indignant now with Theodore Ascidas and the Origenists, has Macarius immediately ousted from the see. Then, Conon makes the most of his chances:

Abba Conon's party, seizing the opportune moment, informed the emperor of their situation and presented him with a *libellus* revealing all the impiety of the Origenists, Isidore having died. Then, enjoying the greatest access (πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες), they proposed Eustochius, administrator at Alexandria, who was at Constantinople, as bishop of Jerusalem. Our most pious emperor de-

¹⁴⁰ The name *Isochrist* indicates a more radical current of "Origenism": in the final apocatastasis, all rational beings will be *equal to Christ* (ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, hence: ἰσόχριστοι), *ibid.* In Cyril's *Vita Cyriaci*, Abba Cyriacus makes a tirade against the Origenists reciting in a short elenchus their errors, among which: "they say that we shall be *equal to Christ* at the restoration (λέγουσιν ὅτι γινόμεθα ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει)", VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,9-10.

¹⁴¹ ῥάδιον δέ ἐστιν παντὶ βουλομένῳ καταμαθεῖν τὴν τούτων ἀσέβειαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν προσηγοριῶν ὧν περ αὐτοὶ ἀλλήλους ὀνομάζουσιν, τῶν μὲν Νεολαυριτῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Φιρμίνω Πρωτοκτίστους ἢ γοῦν Τετραδίτας καλοῦντων, τῶν δ' αὖ πάλιν Φιρμινιωτῶν τοὺς Νεολαυρίτας Ἰσοχρίστους ὀνομαζόντων. ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων ἀσέβειας δογμάτων τὰς ὀνομασίας ἐκκληρώσαντο ἕκαστοι, VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197, 13-18.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 197,19-198,6. "At the beginning of the fifteenth indiction (ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικτιόνος)", *ibid.*, 198,5-6, that is, Sept. 552. For Cyril's chronology, see above, p.68, n.61 and p.75, n.92. Diekamp put the year as 552; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 28-32, 61-62. Schwartz, trying to correct Diekamp, made it 551; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 344-345. However, Stein confirmed Diekamp's calculation; see E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 176-177. For more references, see below, 289, n.171. In this particular case, an accurate dating is very important for a correct interpretation of the relation between the condemnation of Origenism and the Fifth Ecumenical Council. I shall return to this subject below in the third chapter.

creed that Eustochius should become patriarch, and gave orders for there to be an ecumenical council.¹⁴³

Abba Conon allows Eustochius to go to Jerusalem to take up his patriarchate¹⁴⁴ and asks him to send representatives to the council. About the council itself Cyril mentions only the final result, just as he considers it:

When the fifth holy ecumenical council had assembled at Constantinople, a common (κοινός) and universal (καθολικός) anathema was directed against Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia and against the teaching of Evagrius and Didymus on preexistence and a universal restoration, in the presence and with the approval of the four patriarchs.¹⁴⁵

The acts of the council are announced in Jerusalem and approved by almost all the bishops of Palestine,¹⁴⁶ but in the New Laura they encounter only resistance:

The monks of the New Laura, however, separated themselves from the catholic communion (καθολικὴ κοινωνία). The patriarch Eustochius treated them with respect and for eight months used advice and exhortation with them; but on failing to persuade them to be in communion with the catholic Church (τῇ καθολικῇ κοινωνίᾳ), he applied the imperial commands, and got the *dux* Anastasius to

¹⁴³ οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόνωνα καιροῦ ἐπιτηδείου δραξάμενοι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ γνωρίσαντες λίβελλον αὐτῷ ἐπιδεδώκασιν πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν ἀσέβειαν ἐμφανῆ ποιήσαντες Ἰσιδώρου τελευτήσαντος. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες Εὐστόχιον οἰκονόμον ὄντα Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γεγονότα ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων προβάλλοντα, ὃ δὲ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Εὐστόχιον μὲν πατριάρχην γενέσθαι ἐθέσπισεν, ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ σύνοδον οἰκουμένην γενέσθαι, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,14-22.

¹⁴⁴ According to Diekamp, Macarius was replaced by Eustochius after two months at the most, that is, December 552; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 28. See also E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 176.

¹⁴⁵ τῆς τοίνυν ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης πέμπτης συνόδου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συναθροισθείσης κοινῶ καὶ καθολικῶ καθυπεβλήθησαν ἀναθέματι Ὀριγένους τε καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μοψουεστίας καὶ τὰ περὶ προουράξεως καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως Εὐαγρίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ εἰρημένα παρόντων τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τούτοις συναινούντων, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-6. About the number of *four* patriarchs, Festugière observes: "En fait, celui de Jérusalem n'est présent que par ses représentants," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 129, n.304.

¹⁴⁶ Alexander of Abila, the same bishop who, ten years before, had refused to subscribe to the edict against Origen, VS 86 (SCHWARTZ), 192,14-17 (see above, 83, n.128), is now mentioned again as the only exception. He was expelled from his see and perished in an earthquake, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,9-11.

expel them from the New Laura and free the whole province from their destructive influence.¹⁴⁷

On 21 February 555, Patriarch Eustochius has the New Laura re-populated by 120 orthodox monks, 60 of them from the Great Laura and 60 from elsewhere, Cyril being among the latter.¹⁴⁸ After this message, Cyril gratefully praises God, who redeemed the pious from the power of the Origenists, and concludes the *Vita Sabae*.

3. The literary genre and historical reality

As I read and re-read the *Vita Sabae*, my suspicion with regard to its historical reliability increased. Of course, the story contains many elements which are, from a historical point of view, beyond doubt. For a hagiographer of his time, Cyril shows an exceptional concern for chronological precision by indicating correlations between what he narrates and events taking place on the level of universal history.¹⁴⁹ As to these events, in most of the cases Cyril's accuracy is easy to prove. As to the content of his narration in all its details, however, it seems far from evident that he is always telling the truth. Even if precise chronological correlations with respect to universal history – combined with what we may learn from contemporary sources and from archeological evidence – force us to admit that Cyril's biography is solidly founded on historical reality, there is, at the same time, an element of subjectivity which seems so strong that it should lead us to a meth-

¹⁴⁷ οἱ μὲν Νεολαυρῖται τῆς καθολικῆς ἐχώρισαν ἑαυτοὺς κοινωνίας, ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης Εὐστόχιος διαφόρως αὐτοὺς μεταχειρισάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ μηνῶν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς νοθεσίᾳ καὶ παρακλήσει χρῆσάμενος καὶ μὴ πείσας αὐτοὺς τῇ καθολικῇ κοινωνίᾳ βασιλικαῖς κελεύσεσιν χρῆσάμενος δι' Ἀναστασίου τοῦ δουκὸς τῆς Νέας λαύρας αὐτοὺς ἐξέωσεν καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν πᾶσαν τῆς αὐτῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν λύμης, *ibid.*, 199, 11-17.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 199, 17-200, 3. For the date, see esp. E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition", 174-176. See also below, 291, n. 177.

¹⁴⁹ H. DELAHAYE, *L'ancienne hagiographie byzantine* (Conférences 1935), 2^e conf., Bruxelles 1991, 43-44.

odological doubt about the accuracy with which, in this biography, real facts are presented. The question is, in which sense and to what degree could such a doubt be justified? A first step towards an answer is to consider the literary genre of the *VS*; it will certainly differ from that of modern historiography. Insight into the literary genre of an ancient writing will provide us with a general idea about its relation to historical reality, when we apply – with appropriate caution – our knowledge about the characteristics of that specific genre to the particular writing in question. Closely related to the question of the literary genre are questions concerning the special *purpose* with which a work was written and, more generally, its proper *Sitz im Leben*.

Hagiographic discourse, spiritual biography and elements of historiography

At first sight, it seems self-evident to determine the genre of the *VS* as *hagiography*. According to the definition given by D. Farmer, this genre embraces, in a broad sense, writings about saints; and in a strict sense: forms of life descriptions which are essentially characterized by an edifying purpose.¹⁵⁰ It is easy to recognize that the *VS* corresponds to this typification in both senses. However, according to M. van Uytfanghe, *hagiography* as such is no literary genre,¹⁵¹ because the concept is too wide-ranging. Van Uytfanghe refers to a definition given by H. Delahaye, according to which *hagiography* comprises "tout document écrit inspiré par le culte des saints, et destiné à le promouvoir",¹⁵² and he adds:

¹⁵⁰ D. FARMER, "Hagiographie I: Alte Kirche", *TRE* 14 (1985), 360.

¹⁵¹ "De hagiografie is talis qualis ook geen literair genre," M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "Het 'genre' hagiografie: Christelijke specificiteit versus laat-antieke context", in *De heiligenverering in de eerste eeuwen van het christendom (conference)*, Nijmegen 1988, 63-98. Van Uytfanghe's contribution to the conference has been translated into French: M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique-tardif?", *AB* 111 (1993), 135-188. Here the phrase quoted runs: "L'hagiographie comme telle n'est pas non plus un genre littéraire," *ibid.*, 146.

¹⁵² H. DELAHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, SubsHag 18, Bruxelles 1955⁴, 2 (first ed. Bruxelles 1905). The first half of this study was published before as an article under the same title: *id.*, "Les légendes hagiographiques", *RQH* 74 (1903), 55-122 (for the definition quoted: *ibid.*, 58).

Pareil document peut être une biographie, mais aussi un martyrologe (calendrier), une épitaphe, un sermon, une hymne, une lettre, un récit de translation, un recueil de miracles (*libellus miraculorum*), etc., et bien sûr aussi le type de document par où tout a commencé, c'est-à-dire le procès-verbal (*Acta*) ou un récit plus élaboré d'un martyre (*Passio*). Certains textes relèvent simultanément de plus d'un genre ou sous-genre.¹⁵³

Within the "genres" and "sub-genres", it will be difficult to make strict classifications according to clear criteria. And the problem of finding a workable demarcation of the comprehensive hagiographic "genre" becomes even more complicated by the existence of non-Christian texts that could be classified in an analogous way. Thus, one might speak of a "pagan hagiography",¹⁵⁴ when a writing in ancient pagan tradition portrays the figure of a θεῖος ἀνὴρ.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, in late Antiquity, we see mutual influences between such writings in Christian and pagan tradition; so they should be approached, without denying the essential differences, as belonging to one and the same all-embracing "genre". Within this comprehensive genre of Christian and non-Christian "hagiographic" writings, we may isolate, with G. Bardy, the more specific genre of *biography*¹⁵⁶ or *spiritual biography*,¹⁵⁷ although it will be difficult here, again, to give clear general definitions.¹⁵⁸ We might say that the genre

¹⁵³ M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique-tardif?", 146. A comprehensive survey of the extensive domain of all hagiographic genres is given by R. AIGRAIN, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire*, Paris 1953.

¹⁵⁴ M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie: un 'genre' chrétien ou antique-tardif?", 147.

¹⁵⁵ The image of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ in both ancient paganism and the early (Jewish-) Christian tradition has been profoundly examined by L. BIELER, *Θεῖος ἀνὴρ. Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum*, Wien 1935-1936 (repr. Darmstadt, Wissensch. Buchgesellsch., 1976).

¹⁵⁶ "Il faut seulement rappeler pour l'instant que la biographie a constitué un genre littéraire spécial et qu'elle se distingue nettement de l'oraison funèbre ou de l'éloge: panégyrique et oraison funèbre étaient destinés à être prononcés; la biographie est faite pour être lue," G. BARDY, "Biographies spirituelles 1: Antiquité Chrétienne", *DSp* 1 (1937), 1624.

¹⁵⁷ The addition "spiritual" indicates that the personage of the biography is presented as an edifying model for spiritual life, as an encouraging and stimulating example, as a concrete teaching or even a "program" for spiritual perfection, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ "...jedoch ist die Gattung Biographie mit ihren zahlreichen Zwischenformen und selbständigen Ausprägungen nicht so klar zu umschreiben (...). Wenn sich schon die Biographie als solche nicht erklären läßt, ohne daß auf die Individualität von Verfasser, Held und Gehalt Bezug genommen wird, so gilt diese Feststellung erst recht für die 'spirituellen Biographien', in denen der inhaltliche Aufbau eindeutig den Vorrang genießt vor rein formalen Einteilungsgrundsätzen," M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)", *RAC* 14 (1988), 160.

of biography embraces the extensive field of all *Life* descriptions. The first Christian *Life*, the *Vita Cypriani* by Pontius (3rd century),¹⁵⁹ joins with a long tradition of pagan *Vitae* and collections of *Vitae* of illustrious men;¹⁶⁰ and the well-known Lives of Christian monks, such as the *Vita Antonii* by Athanasius,¹⁶¹ have their counterparts in βίοι of pagan philosophers, such as the *Lives of Pythagoras* by Porphyry¹⁶² and Iamblichus,¹⁶³ or the *Vita Plotini* by Porphyry.¹⁶⁴ In this field of ancient biographies, there are also the Jewish Lives of great old-testament figures, such as the *Vita Moysis* by Philo.¹⁶⁵

In view of a comparative research on the whole "hagiographic genre" as it surpasses the limits of Christian tradition, Van Uytfanghe proposes to enlarge the usual concept of *hagiography* by using the term *discours hagiographique*,¹⁶⁶ which he derives from M. de Certeau.¹⁶⁷ But Van Uytfanghe uses the term in a broader sense.¹⁶⁸ He constructs his concept of *dis-*

¹⁵⁹ Ed. A. BASTIAENSEN, in *Vita di Cipriano, vita di Ambrogio, vita di Agostino*, Milano 1975, 4-48.

¹⁶⁰ See e.g. G. BARDY, "Biographies spirituelles", 1624-1625.

¹⁶¹ Ed. G. BARTELINK, *Athanase d'Alexandrie: Vie d'Antoine*, SC 400, Paris 1994.

¹⁶² PORPHYRIUS, *Vita Pythagorae*, ed. É. DES PLACES, *Porphyre: Vie de Pythagore*, Paris 1982.

¹⁶³ IAMBLICUS, *De vita Pythagorica*, ed. M. GIANGIULO, *Giamblico: La vita pitagorica*, Milano 1991.

¹⁶⁴ PORPHYRIUS, *De vita Plotini*, ed. A. ARMSTRONG, *Plotinus I. Porphyry on Plotinus, Ennéades I*, LCL 440, Cambridge, Mass./ London 1966, 2-86. For other Lives of pagan philosophers, see M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 154. For the *status quaestionis* regarding the relationship between the VA and these Lives, see G. BARTELINK, "Die literarische Gattung der *Vita Antonii*, Struktur und Motive", *VigChr* 36 (1982), 38-62; M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)", 162-163.

¹⁶⁵ PHILO, *Vita Moysis*, ed. F. COLSON, *Philo VI*, LCL 289, Cambridge, Mass./ London 1935, 276-594. Whereas Philo's *De Abrahamo* and *De Iosepho* appear rather as "un prétexte à une dissertation morale ou une méditation religieuse", his *Life of Moses* may be considered as "une biographie véritable". See R. ARNALDEZ/ C. MONDÉSERT (e.a.), in *Philon d'Alexandrie: De vita Moysis I-II* (Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 22), Paris 1967, 12.

¹⁶⁶ M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 148. In the paragraph on the *Begriffsbestimmung* of the term "Hagiographie", in his article in *RAC*, Van Uytfanghe states "daß es einen 'hagiographischen Diskurs' gibt, der in Struktur oder bestimmten Zügen und Funktionen über das Christentum hinausreicht", *id.*, "Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)", *RAC* 14 (1988), 152.

¹⁶⁷ *Id.*, "L'hagiographie", 148 with n.47, referring to M. DE CERTEAU, "Hagiographie", *EncU* 8 (1968), 207-209 [repr. in *EncU* 11 (1990), 160-165]; and to *id.*, *L'écriture de l'histoire*, Paris 1975, 274-288.

¹⁶⁸ "M. de Certeau réduit le discours hagiographique essentiellement à un 'discours de vertues'", M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 148.

cours hagiographique starting from four components: (1) the personage allied to God or to the divine; (2) the relation between what is reported (l'énoncé) and historical reality, that is: the degree of stylization; (3) the function of what is reported; and (4) the themes and archetypes giving shape to the stylization of the portrait of the hero. These four components correspond to the main characteristics of all texts that belong to the broad, all-embracing "genre" of literature glorifying illustrious "holy men", either within or outside Christian tradition. Thus, the concept of *discours hagiographique* will help us to get more insight into some universal laws to which also the comprehensive genre of Christian hagiographic writings correspond, in all its sub-genres (according to Van Uytvanghe's *Versuch einer Klassifizierung*¹⁶⁹), such as the Christian βίος or *biographie spirituelle*.¹⁷⁰

So we may determinate Cyril's Life of Saint Sabas generally as a *discours hagiographique* and, within this all-embracing genre, as a Christian *biographie spirituelle*¹⁷¹ or, even more specifically, as a monastic biography according to the tradition initiated by Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*.¹⁷² However, we should heed Van Uytvanghe's remark that "some texts may reveal simultaneously more than one genre or sub-genre":¹⁷³ the *VS* is at the same time, and especially in some of its parts, characterized by elements of proper *historiography*.¹⁷⁴ For example, at the beginning of the account of Sabas' first mission to Constantinople in 511, when the saint meets the Emperor

¹⁶⁹ *Id.*, "Heiligenverehrung II (Hagiographie)", 152-154.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 153, referring to G. BARDY, "Biographies spirituelles", 1624-1634.

¹⁷¹ Cyril of Scythopolis' writings are mentioned in Bardy's article, *ibid.*, 1632-1633 (nrs. 15-20).

¹⁷² Cyril's close dependence on the *VA*, in general, appears from numerous parallel passages in his writings, as collected by G. GARITTE, "Réminiscences de la Vie d'Antoine dans Cyrille de Scythopolis", in *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957, 117-122. B. Flusin adds two more parallelisms to the 27 in Garitte's dossier and he states: "La Vie d'Antoine a servi en fait de modèle à Cyrille pour son oeuvre (...). Ajoutons que l'influence qu'a exercée la Vie d'Antoine sur Cyrille est de toute première importance. Les Vies de Cyrille, nous le verrons, empruntent à Athanase et la forme littéraire qu'il a créée et les conceptions de l'ascèse et de la sainteté qu'il développe." B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, Paris 1983, 44-45.

¹⁷³ M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 146 (quoted above, 90 at n.153).

¹⁷⁴ On the one hand, the two fields of hagiography and historiography should be distinguished from each other because of their objects. Limiting ourselves to Christian literature, we might say that hagiography (including biography) is especially interested in the history of one single person who serves as an edifying model for Christian life, whereas historiography is interested in the history of the universal church, or a particular local church, from

Anastasius, Cyril explicitly inserts a "historiographic" passage to explain the reason for the mission.¹⁷⁵ A similar passage precedes the story about Sabas' action at the mass-demonstration in Jerusalem against the Acephaloi.¹⁷⁶ But also the final part of the *VS* representing the story of the Origenist controversy after Sabas' death, as well as other passages which are more or less explicitly inserted to clarify historical backgrounds,¹⁷⁷ may, if isolated from their hagiographic context, be approached as "historiographic" texts.¹⁷⁸ In this respect, B. Flusin points out that Cyril's biogra-

the perspective of God's Salvation History. See G. BARDY, "Biographies spirituelles", 1624; F. WINKELMANN, "Historiographie", *RAC* 15 (1991), 748-750. On the other hand, however, it is not possible to draw a strict dividing line between the two genres. There are collections of hagiographic texts transmitted as *ιστορία*, such as Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. C. BUTLER, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius II*, Cambridge 1904, and Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia Philothea*, ed. P. CANIVET/ A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie*, 2 vols., SC 234, Paris 1977; SC 257, Paris 1979. But also single hagiographic accounts may contain historiographic aspects; therefore, F. Winkelmann even counts the genre of hagiography (or biography), together with chronography and church history, in the comprehensive genre of Christian historiography. See F. WINKELMANN, "Geschichtsschreibung in Byzanz", *WZUR* 18 (1969), 474-481; *id.*, "Historiography", 750-760. For the two historiographic genres last mentioned, see also P. SINISCALCO, "Cronografia-cronologia", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 867-872; *id.*, "Storiografia cristiana", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 3319-3326.

¹⁷⁵ *VS* 50 (SCHWARTZ), 139,29-141,5. Here, Cyril explains how Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem has roused Anastasius' rage because of his resistance to the Emperor's pro-Monophysite policy (see above, 73, n.82) and he produces a condensed survey of the tense political relations between the five patriarchates at the time. The double mentioning of Elias' sending Sabas with a delegation of monastic superiors to Constantinople (*ibid.*, p.139, lines 21-22 and p.141, lines 5-7) functions as an *inclusio* to demarcate the explanatory "historiographic" insertion. It is also introduced by the phrase: ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δι' ὀλίγων ἔρω, *ibid.*, 139,28.

¹⁷⁶ *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 148,9-150,11. Here, Cyril describes how Patriarch Flavian of Antioch has been expelled from his see (512) and substituted by Severus, leader of the Acephaloi; see above, 74, n.86. Severus' crimes and his Monophysite heresy are briefly reported, as well as Patriarch Elias' refusal to receive Severus into his communion. Therefore, Elias is also expelled from his see (516) and substituted by a certain John who, at first, seems to be more willing to yield to Emperor Anastasius. By this "historiographic" insertion, Cyril prepares the account of Sabas' "public combats (οἱ γενικοὶ ἀγῶνες)", which should be added to the saint's "private achievements and struggles (τὰ ἰδικὰ κατορθώματα τε καὶ ἀγωνίσματα)", *VS* 56 (*ibid.*), 148,6-8; 57 (*ibid.*), 150,11-158,11.

¹⁷⁷ For example: *VS* 68 (SCHWARTZ), 170,1-17.

¹⁷⁸ It is interesting to notice here that H. Mertel, who examined Cyril's small *Vitae*, arrived at the conclusion that "die Schriften des Kyrillos gehören ebenso sehr in die Gattung der Biographie wie zur geschichtlichen Literatur", H. MERTEL, *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenlegenden*, München 1909, 67. However, Mertel wrote his dissertation 30 years before Schwartz's critical edition became available, without finding access to the *VE* and the *VS*, that is, to Cyril's main writings, *ibid.*, 63.

phies are characterized by a development of the hagiographic genre in the direction of "history", a development which has already been initiated with the complex dossier of *Vitae Pachomii*.¹⁷⁹ Cyril utilized, among his numerous sources, also a Life of Pachomius, the text of which must have been similar to the *Vita Prima*.¹⁸⁰ With regard to Athanasius' VA, according to Flusin, the plan of the Life of Pachomius has been modified: the linear movement of spiritual progress in the VA was substituted by a scheme in two phases, which is more appropriate to a founder of a congregation:

A un mouvement linéaire se substitue un schéma à deux temps, où s'opposent vie au désert et vie publique et qui privilégie un moment donné, la fondation. A ce changement dans l'économie du récit correspond un changement moins visible dans l'analyse du progrès spirituel: le moment de la fondation correspond à une sorte de perfection spirituelle chez le saint,¹⁸¹ qui s'oppose au progrès continu caractérisant la *Vie d'Antoine*.¹⁸²

I doubt whether one might speak, here, of a real "opposition" between the VA and the Life of Pachomius.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, Flusin has indicated an important development of the hagiographic genre: the accent shifts from the interest in one single hero, as a model for asceticism and spiritual progress, towards the interest in a founder who is at the origins of an institutional order. "De biographie consacrée à un saint, l'hagiographie glisse vers la chronique d'une institution."¹⁸⁴ One of the consequences, according

¹⁷⁹ For the Greek *Lives*: ed. F. HALKIN, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae graeci*, SubsHag 19, Bruxelles 1932.

¹⁸⁰ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 45-46.

¹⁸¹ In this regard, Flusin compares some passages of *Vita Pachomii Prima* 22-24 (HALKIN), 14-15, respectively with some of VS 15-16 (SCHWARTZ), 97,22-99,18, and with the structure of VE 7-16 (*ibid.*), 14,21-27,4. The common characteristic of these texts is that the saint, after a solitary ascetic life which has led him first to spiritual perfection, reaches a turning point and initiates a public life with foundation activities. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 50-51.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁸³ Saint Antony is also presented, in a famous passage of the VA, as having arrived at a certain stage of spiritual perfection, after which he starts attracting disciples, VA 14,1-4, SC 400, 172-174. The real difference is that, in Antony's case, there is no "foundation" of an institutional order.

¹⁸⁴ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 52; see also *ibid.*, 182. In the VS, the demarcation line between the two phases of the saint's private life of spiritual progress and his public role as a monastic founder is very explicit. Cyril presents Sabas as having overcome the temptations of his life in the desert by the age of forty, VS 12, (SCHWARTZ), 95,11-96,11; VS 14

to Flusin, is the development of the hagiographic genre in the direction of "history".¹⁸⁵ Thus, Cyril's work is a point of convergence of various tendencies in the preceding tradition of hagiography: ascetic Life, monastic chronicle and regional biographies.¹⁸⁶ The study of Cyril's sources, as Flusin concludes, reveal the ambivalence of the hagiographic work: "oeuvre à la fois ascétique et historique".¹⁸⁷

Hagiographic stylizations of historical truth in the Vita Sabae

With appropriate refinements towards the genre of historiography, we may, as has already been said, define the VS as a *discours hagiographique* according to Van Uytvanghe's concept. I shall now apply the four components of this concept to Cyril's monastic biography and concentrate upon

(*ibid.*), 97,3-21. The Saint is then shown a gorge with a cave by an angel and instructed to make it his dwelling, VS 15 (*ibid.*), 97,22-98,10. In the next five years, he remains there in the presence of God, by a life ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, whereas the evil spirits have already been defeated (ἡττηθέντων ἤδη τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων), VS 16 (*ibid.*), 99,5-9. Then, God entrusts him with the charge of souls and instructs him explicitly not to waste any more time by combating enemies who are already defeated: at this point, Sabas starts receiving those who come to him, *ibid.*, 99,9-18. The rest of the biography (that is, five-sixths) deals not as much with Sabas' personal spiritual life, as with his achievements (κατορθώματα) to ensure the prosperity of his order.

¹⁸⁵ "Beaucoup plus que la biographie individuelle, l'hagiographie qui, au-delà d'un héros fondateur, s'attache en fait à une institution, tend vers l'histoire. Elle sent le besoin et trouve l'occasion, comme le montrent bien les deux prologues [*scil.* the prologues of the *Vita Pachomii Prima* and the VE, DH], de se situer dans le cours de l'histoire universelle. Avec les Tabennésites [*scil.* the authors of the Lives of Pachomius, DH], avec Cyrille, l'hagiographe se rapproche de l'historien," B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 52-53. "Cyrille choisit résolument le style historique," *ibid.*, 84. As opposed to this style Flusin mentions, for example, the writing of the contemporaneous Palestinian hagiographer Theodore of Petra, who composed a rhetorical eulogy on Abba Theodosius. See THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii*, ed. H. USÈNER, *Der heilige Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1890, 3-101. For an evaluation of Theodore's rhetorical style, see A. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 83-90.

¹⁸⁶ "Son [*scil.* Cyril's, DH] oeuvre apparaît comme un point de convergence des diverses tendances que l'on décèle dans l'hagiographie qui lui est antérieure: la Vie ascétique qu'est la *Vie d'Antoine* se combine avec la chronique monastique vers laquelle tend la *Vie de Pachôme* et avec l'oeuvre régionale qu'est l'*Histoire Philothée*," B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 84-85. For Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia Philothea*, see *ibid.*, 67-70 (see also above, 93, n.174).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

the question which interests us here: the relation between what the hagiographer narrates and historical reality.

a. With regard to the first component, the personage, the story of the VS is founded on a historical person. The charismatic monk Sabas, “leader of Palestinian monasticism”, lived from 439 to 532 and, apparently, attracted attention by his close relationship with God, which resulted in an exemplary life of asceticism and cultivation of virtues. Historically, he founded several laurae and cenobia in the desert east of Jerusalem, and he became the archimandrite for all anchorites in this area, as well as the legislator of the “Sabaitic” order. He had also to deal with serious resistance from within his own ranks and to struggle for Chalcedonian orthodoxy on the clerical platform of the Palestinian Church.¹⁸⁸ In the stories transmitted about him, upon which the greater part of the VS relies, his achievements and his victories were attributed to the divine grace working through him as a holy man, a grace that continued to be operative even after his death by a number of *miracula post mortem*¹⁸⁹ and by the defeat of the Origenist heresy which endangered the prosperity of his order from the inside.

b. The second component, the relation between “l’énoncé” and historical reality, coincides with our main interest: I shall treat it here more extensively. In general, a *discours hagiographique* results from a certain process of “stylization” by which historical reality may be subjected to deformations.¹⁹⁰ H. Delahaye already described a process of “déformation inconsciente de la vérité historique”¹⁹¹ which has to be located in the *Redaktions-*

¹⁸⁸ For the historical evidence of all these facts, see esp. J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*.

¹⁸⁹ In the context of the “*discours hagiographique* spécifiquement chrétien”, Van Uytfanghe writes about the divine grace working through the saint: “Même après l’accomplissement final de cette grâce, c’est-à-dire après la mort, une hiérarchie subsiste entre Dieu et l’homme devenu saint, ce qui ressort notamment des *miracula post mortem*,” M. VAN UYTFANGHE, “L’hagiographie”, 171. The hierarchy between God and the holy man, that is: “la distinction essentielle entre Dieu et le saint”, may be a point of difference between Christian and pagan *discourses hagiographiques*, *ibid.*, 170-171.

¹⁹⁰ There is an analogy with the *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the New Testament analyzed by R. Bultmann and M. Dibelius; see M. VAN UYTFANGHE, “L’hagiographie”, 148, n.50.

¹⁹¹ H. DELAHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, Bruxelles 1954, 10. See also the previous form of this study, *id.*, “Les légendes hagiographiques”, *RQH* 74 (1903), 64 (see above, 89, n.152). Further references to this study will be given according to the fourth edition of the monograph.

geschichte of a hagiographic text. An “élément subjectif”¹⁹² is introduced into reality by an “élaboration inconsciente des récits”,¹⁹³ which takes place in three subsequent stages: (a) individuals who start telling a story,¹⁹⁴ (b) the multitude who transforms it into a tradition¹⁹⁵ and (c) the hagiographer who puts it in a final writing.¹⁹⁶ Also Van Uytfanghe distinguishes, generally, three phases in the process of what he calls “stylization”:

La stilisation des données se déroule le plus souvent en trois phases: la subjectivité du personnage, la tradition orale qui continue d’orienter le substrat historique, et la mise en forme littéraire par le ou les auteur(s). L’importance et le dosage de ces phases peuvent différer considérablement, mais il y a toujours un minimum d’infléchissement “*kérygmaticque*” [italics DH].¹⁹⁷

Van Uytfanghe’s three phases may imply an important correction of Delahaye’s survey. If we assume, for each of the phases, a “minimum

¹⁹² H. DELAHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (1955⁴), 11, 14.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁹⁴ “Si nous sommes sous l’empire d’une passion ou d’un sentiment qui a troublé la claire vue des choses (...), voilà que, sans trop réfléchir, nous laissons une partie du tableau dans l’ombre, ou que nous forçons les couleurs selon que l’intérêt nous y pousse. A moins donc d’une attention extrême à la rigueur de nos raisonnements et d’une discipline parfaite de nos impressions, nous sommes exposés à donner dans nos récits une large place à l’élément subjectif, au détriment de la vérité,” *ibid.*, 13-14.

¹⁹⁵ “Ce fait banal devient beaucoup plus intéressant et plus gros de conséquences lorsqu’il se passe dans la multitude (...). Ces facultés collectives et en quelque sorte abstraites sont d’une nature toute particulière, et leurs opérations sont soumises à des lois que l’on a beaucoup étudiées de nos jours, jusqu’à leur assigner une branche spéciale de la psychologie,” *ibid.*, 15.

¹⁹⁶ On this level, Delahaye excludes from his examination the entire class of “lettrés qui se sont exercés sur la vie des saints”: some of them are to be considered as “témoins sincères”, or as “les sources les plus pures de l’hagiographie”. Also authors “qui ont entendu faire oeuvre d’historien” are excluded from the study, *ibid.*, 57. “Il faut réserver toute notre attention pour ces écrits d’un caractère factice et conventionnel, faits à distance des événements et sans attaches palpables avec la réalité,” *ibid.*, 58. After these restrictions, Delahaye passes on to the elaboration operated by hagiographers upon their (written and oral) sources: “La plupart du temps, on le sait, les matériaux étaient soumis par l’hagiographe à un travail de préparation et d’adaptation qui leur imprimait, en quelque manière, la marque de sa personnalité,” *ibid.*, 83. Even if it is difficult to formulate general precepts for how all hagiographers of all times and places – though “hagiographers” in Delahaye’s restricted sense – elaborated their sources, there will be no wrong in accusing them “de glisser souvent sur cette pente naturelle qui mène à embellir les récits pour produire plus d’effet sur le lecteur”, *ibid.*, 84.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 148.

d'infléchissement 'kérygmatic'”, we should consider the possibility of modifications of historical truth right from the origins of a hagiographic document, that is, already on the level of the hero's historical personage itself, in its subjectivity. Thus, individuals who start telling a story about a holy man – the first stage according to Delahaye – are in reality operating in a *second* phase of the stylization process (at least in many of the cases, even if they are eye-witnesses). So we should add one more stage to Delahaye's survey: “la subjectivité du personnage”. On the other hand, in Van Uyt-fanghe's schedule there is no essential distinction between the subsequent stages of the individual and the multitude, according to Delahaye (*a-b*). If we limit ourselves to Cyril's *VS*, however, such a distinction will not be of great importance.¹⁹⁸

Within the all-embracing genre of *discourses hagiographiques*, there are, of course, great differences with regard to the *degree* of “infléchissement kérygmatic” given to historical facts. According to the criterion of “le degré de sincérité et d'istorité”, Delahaye made a classification of six different groups of hagiographic documents:¹⁹⁹ (1) official reports of interrogations of martyrs; (2) reports by reliable eye-witnesses or by well-informed contemporaries, containing a subjective element, but informing us without the mediation of a written source; (3) acts, the primary source of which is a written document belonging to one of the two preceding categories – the document however underwent, to a greater or a lesser extent, a process of remodeling by being utilized; (4) historical novels, not based upon a written source but resulting from the fictive combination of some real elements, within the framework of pure imagination; (5) fictive novels, the hero of which is not even a real personage; (6) real falsifications, deliberately composed with the intention to deceive the reader.

¹⁹⁸ Delahaye was mainly interested in medieval pious legends which are, normally, characterized by a great time distance between the hagiographer and the events related. In those cases, we have to distinguish an important stage, where all kinds of “facultés collectives” contribute to a long-lasting process of deformation of historical truth, *ibid.*, 15-56. In the case of the *VS*, however, the time distance to the events related is small: Cyril took most of his information directly from eye-witnesses, if he himself was not the witness (though from his particular point of view).

¹⁹⁹ H. DELAHAYE, *Les légendes hagiographiques*, (1955⁴), 105-109; see also D. FARMER, “Hagiographie i. Alte Kirche”, *TRE* 14 (1985), 361. Apparently, the classification given in the fourth chapter of Delahaye's study may be applied to hagiographic documents of all authors, even those Delahaye has excluded in the preceding chapter. See above, 97, n.196.

These categories are characterized respectively by an increasing intensity of the process of deformation of historical truth. For documents belonging to the second category, we should be reserved with respect to the “reliability” of eye-witnesses and contemporaries as intended by Delahaye, even in the eventual case of their maximum fairness. This is a consequence of the correction implied by Van Uytfanghe's three-phase schedule. With this restriction I would place the *VS* in this second category,²⁰⁰ though it contains, at the same time, also elements of the third.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ The *VS* has to be considered together with the *VE*. In the Dedication [which has to be distinguished from the subsequent Prologue (= *VE* 1)], Cyril observes that he gathered information from truthful saints (παρὰ ἀληθευόντων ἀγίων), *VE* Ded. (SCHWARTZ), 6,5. In the Epilogue of the *VE*, he states that he joined the miracles at Euthymius' tomb, which he saw with his own eyes, to those he has “recorded on hearsay (ἐξ ἀκοῆς) concerning the monastic life of our father in the flesh (περὶ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ πολιτείας τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν)”, *VE* 60 (*ibid.*), 82,12-14. About Euthymius, who died about 80 years before Cyril wrote, the oral information is indirect; about Sabas, however, who died only 25 years before, Cyril has the disposal of direct information: “I made assiduous inquiry among the most ancient of the inspired fathers in this desert, who had acquired by oral transmission an accurate knowledge of the facts about the great Euthymius (τὰ περὶ Εὐθυμίου μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου ἀκριβῶς ἀκοῆ μεμαθηκότας) and had been contemporaries and fellow-combatants with the all-praiseworthy Sabas (τοῦ δὲ πανευφήμου Σάβα συγχρόνους τε καὶ συναγωνιστὰς γεγονότας)”, *ibid.*, 82,30-83,2. Then, Cyril describes how he wrote this information on various papyri (ἐν διαφόροις χάρταις), in ill-organized accounts, and how he felt unable to transform them into two harmonious Lives until, finally, he had an appearance of the deceased Euthymius and Sabas, *ibid.*, 83,3-84,25 (see above, 37, n.78). In the Prologue of the *VS*, Cyril repeats how he gathered his information: the facts about Sabas are derived “from truthful and pious men who were his disciples and fellow-combatants (παρ' ἀληθευόντων ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν φοιτητῶν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ συναγωνιστῶν γεγονότων)”, *VS* Prol. (SCHWARTZ), 86,8-9. He mentions John the Hesychast as his main oral source: τὸν τὰ πλεῖστα περὶ Εὐθυμίου καὶ Σάβα ὀνησιφόρων διηγημάτων ἐμοὶ παραδεδωκότα, *VS* 21 (*ibid.*), 105,19-20. For Cyril's oral sources, see also A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 9-16.

²⁰¹ Transforming his notes into coherent Lives, Cyril made intensive use of written sources (though not about the personages of his biographies). See e.g. W. BOUSSET, *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1923 (repr. 1969), 67-68; R. DRAGUET, “Réminiscences de Pallade chez Cyrille de Scythopolis”, *RAM* 25 (1949), 213-218; G. GARITTE, “Réminiscences de la Vie d'Antoine dans Cyrille de Scythopolis”, in *Silloge Bizantina*, Roma 1957, 117-122; D. ЧИТЧУ, *The Desert a City*, 131; G. HANSEN, *Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, “Einleitung”, Berlin 1971, pp.x-xi; P. DEVOS, “Cyrille de Scythopolis: Influences littéraires – Vêtement de l'évêque de Jérusalem – Passarion et Pierre l'Ibère”, *AB* 98 (1980), 29-32. In Flusin's study it becomes obvious that Cyril utilized all the “classics” of monastic literature (*VA*; *Vita Pachomii Prima* or a similar text; *Historia Lausiaca*; *Historia Philothea*; *Apophthegmata Patrum*), but also many other authors, as well as official documents concerning the theological controversies of his time. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 41-86.

Van Uytenghe's three phases are easily applied to Cyril's narrations in the *VS*. In the first phase, *la subjectivité du personnage*, the possibility of "stylizations" of historical truth by Sabas himself should be postulated especially for narrations about conflicts. Though being a charismatic saint, was Sabas always right in his perception of what happened around him? On the basis of what is known nowadays in the behavioral sciences, we may not assume that the "historical" Sabas, in the conflicts in which he was personally involved, always gave a correct "punctuation of the course of events" which would perfectly correspond to absolute reality.²⁰² Concerning Sabas' first opponents, were they just "bad" and passionately aggressive disciples who did not want to obey or to humble themselves, as they are depicted in the *VS*,²⁰³ or was it rather the charismatic leader who, as a consequence of his own *auto-conscience*,²⁰⁴ may have badly misunderstood them? Would it be too audacious to suppose that, in reality, their resistance might have been evoked also by possible shortcomings in the saint's human character? Or should we always swallow the hagiographer's *a priori* assumption which puts the saint automatically in the right? Did Sabas, for example, form an adequate opinion about Leontius of Byzantium when he judged the great theologian as an Origenist who just "feigned" to defend

²⁰² The concept of "punctuation of the course of events", in its relevance to human conflicts, has been developed in an epoch-making study in the field of behavioral sciences: P. WATZLAWICK/ J. HELMICK BEAVIN/ D. JACKSON, *Pragmatics of Human Communications. A Study of Interactional Patterns, Pathologies and Paradoxes*, New York 1967.

²⁰³ In Cyril's account, some who are σαρκικοί τῷ φρονήματι καὶ (...) πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες start concocting intrigues against Sabas and causing all kinds of trouble; they are compared with the wicked in the Scriptures, who were tolerated to a certain extent, like Judas, Gehazi (2 Kgs 5:20-27), Esau and Cain, *VS* 18 (SCHWARTZ), 103,12-17. Cyril relates how, once Sabas becomes archimandrite of the anchorites after his first successes, these opponents foment sedition against him ἔκ τινος σκαίου δαίμονος, *VS* 33 (*ibid.*), 118,21-27. They grow bold in wickedness, not bearing to walk ἐν τῇ ταπεινῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ but inventing excuses to justify their sins and their passions, *VS* 35 (*ibid.*), 120, 20-24. Finally, they rise in revolt against Sabas, ἀνανακτήσαντες (...) καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν τυφλωθέντες κακίας, *VS* 36 (*ibid.*), 122,19-23; they demolish his tower μετὰ πλείστης μανίας and leave for the place where the New Laura is to be founded, *ibid.*, 122,24-123,8. In all these confrontations, Sabas is consistently portrayed as the spiritual leader who responds to their aggression with exemplary patience.

²⁰⁴ The "subjectivity of the personage" is also indicated as: "l'auto-conscience du saint", with reference to how he conceives his own place and role in the great context of Salvation History; see M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 171-172.

the council of Chalcedon?²⁰⁵ Or, in the *VC*, at the interview of the hagiographer himself with Abba Cyriacus about Origenism: did the old man, in his fulmination against the Origenists – and let us suppose for the moment that the account of the tirade was historically exact – give an objective representation of both "Origenist" theology and all the events he mentioned?²⁰⁶ Methodologically, it appears to be erroneous when scholars, using Cyril's hagiographies as historical sources, leave out critical questions concerning the subjectivity and the "auto-conscience" of the holy man depicted.

With regard to the second phase, *la tradition orale*, we may assume that, usually, the deformation of historical truth will follow naturally from that which took place already in the first phase. For example, the judgment on Leontius of Byzantium quoted above might also result, at least partially, from a simplification by Sabas' admirers of the real interaction, as it took place historically between the saint and the theologian. In each particular case, that is, for each event orally transmitted, there will be a different division between the degree of deformation due to both phases. Admirers of a holy man may have transmitted their stories about him with a relatively high degree of accuracy from their side, or rather, they may have reinforced smaller or stronger stylizations which already existed. They may even have introduced some real distortions of historical truth.

Thus, with respect to Cyril's story about the first uprisings against Sabas we may distinguish two theoretical possibilities. (1) The account corresponds, to a great extent, to historical reality. In this case there has been little stylization both in the first and in the second phase of the *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the text. (2) The account, to a great extent, does *not* correspond with historical reality. In this case there are, theoretically again, three further possibilities: (2a) a high amount of stylization in the first phase and

²⁰⁵ As we saw above, Sabas, at his encounter with Justinian, predicted the Emperor's effective extirpation of several heresies including that of Origen, because Leontius, among his traveling companions, had been detected holding the views of Origen: τῆς γὰρ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προϊστάσθαι προσποιούμενος ἐγνώσθη τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονῶν, *VS* 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176, 15-16. Festugière translates: "Bien qu'il feignît de défendre le concile de Chalcedoine, on lui avait reconnu des sentiments origénistes," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/2, 105 (italics DH). Theoretically, this judgment may not directly (or totally) derive from the "historical" Sabas himself, but also (at least partially) from his adherents or even from the hagiographer: these possibilities however, are to be considered when one focuses upon the second and the third phases of stylization.

²⁰⁶ *VC* 12-14 (SCHWARTZ), 229,32-231,19.

little in the second; (2b) little stylization in the first phase and much in the second; and (2c) much stylization in both phases. These possibilities are represented by the vertical lines in the following scheme:

| | 1 | 2 | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| | | a | b | c |
| 1 st phase: stylization by the person himself (Sabas) | - | + | - | + |
| 2 nd phase: stylization by oral tradition (Sabas' admirers) | - | - | + | + |

According to the first possibility (1), we may assume that the "historical" Sabas was indeed a holy monk, having arrived at the stage of spiritual perfection, with a patient, exemplary character, whereas his opponents were passionate, aggressive people who should never have chosen to renounce the world for an ascetic life under his guidance. Sabas had hardly misjudged them, and his admirers transmitted the story accurately. As to the second possibility (2), however, there are three more imaginary scenarios to take into consideration. (2a) Sabas, though divinely inspired, was not free from imperfections in his human character; but, convinced of the absoluteness of his vocation by divine providence, he was not able to understand well enough that some of his own character traits might evoke, among disciples, certain difficulties. By systematically misjudging them as disobedient and arrogant, the crisis became worse and worse. Sabas' admirers from their side, living by the same spirit and taking over the hero's "punctuation of the course of events", transmitted the story from Sabas' point of view, but they did not add, in this case, too many of their own interpretations. Or, (2b) Sabas certainly had empathetic capacities, but some disciples did not support his severity and offered, very humanly, resistance to his authority. The Saint, though determined, remained peaceful and showed an exemplary patience without misjudging them at all. His admirers however, scandalized at what they considered an improper disloyalty, transmitted the story with serious distortions at the expense of the defiant disciples. Or, (2c) Sabas had character traits as depicted under 2a, without much ability to realize his own contribution to the crisis: his "punctuation of the course of events" was inaccurate, and his admirers, when transmitting the story, added more distortions in the same spirit.

At this point, I do not intend to put forward any particular choice of one of these possibilities, but I intend only to uncover the methodological error of not realizing their theoretical existence. The picture becomes even more complicated when we draw into our survey the third phase of styliza-

tion, that is: *la mise en forme littéraire*. Here, one should consider Cyril's own contribution. He, in his turn, may have composed the story he received from his oral sources either with accuracy or with many deformations. Thus, the account might again in broad strokes correspond to historical reality or not, but now, with regard to the second possibility, there are no less than seven different imaginary scenarios to take into consideration, according to the following scheme:

| | 1 | 2 | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a | b | c | d | e | f | g | |
| 1 st phase: stylization by Sabas | - | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| 2 nd phase: styl. by Sabas' admirers | - | - | - | - | + | + | + | + |
| 3 rd phase: styl. by Cyril | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + |

For particular stories transmitted in hagiographic documents, it will often be difficult to choose the right possibility, without supplementary information coming from other sources. Nevertheless, the historian who relies upon a hagiographic text should take into consideration, at least theoretically, all possibilities surveyed. Cyril's concern for indicating correlations with the events of universal history, as well as his own assertions that he is transmitting a reliable story from reliable sources, are no guarantee that he did not operate according to literary procedures typical of the *discours hagiographique*, which can imply all kinds of stylizations from his hand (2 a, c, e, g). Even if Cyril did not introduce many stylizations of his own, we do not know whether his sources were accurate in the objective-historical sense (2 b, d, f). From all this, it should be clear that historians cannot start from the *a priori* assumption that, automatically, for stories narrated in the VS the first vertical line in the survey (1) is always the valid one.

c. The third component in Van Uytfanghe's concept of *discours hagiographique* is the *function* of what is reported. This function is "correlative with the stylization",²⁰⁷ as it aims, in general, at one or more of the following purposes: apology, idealization of the personage, instruction of the readers or listeners, edification, exhortation and, sometimes, also a certain entertainment.²⁰⁸ With respect to the specifically Christian *discours*

²⁰⁷ M. VAN UYTFANGHE, "L'hagiographie", 156.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 148-149, 173.

hagiographique, Van Uytfanghe adds two more characteristics related to the function: Christian hagiography is addressed to the whole Christian community and rooted in a global liturgical context of commemoration.²⁰⁹ As to Cyril's writings, this specification should be refined by the judgment of B. Flusin, who accentuates rather the regional character of these biographies. Cyril aimed at creating for Palestine the same kind of monastic literature which already existed in Egypt and Syria; and besides, for him, the patriarchate of Jerusalem had taken over from Antioch and Alexandria the role of spiritual center in the Empire of Justinian:

l'histoire du monachisme se déplace de ses foyers d'origine pour converger vers la Palestine. (...) l'hagiographie égyptienne et l'hagiographie syrienne sont exploitées par Cyrille au profit d'une hagiographie palestinienne. Il faut voir là une clé importante pour l'oeuvre de Cyrille: les Vies sont écrites pour soutenir le trône de Jérusalem en face de ses deux voisins trop brillants.²¹⁰

Here, I would add: *within* the patriarchate of Jerusalem, Cyril intended to support the hegemony of *orthodox Sabaitic* monasticism.²¹¹ The function of his biographies may thus be specified as follows: to provide reference-points for the orthodox Sabaitic identity, in order to contribute to the further consolidation of this type of monasticism, after the defeat of the "Evagrian-Origenist" monastic current in Palestine.²¹² Against this particular

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 173-184. Christian hagiographic texts are, for the greater part, transmitted by menologies, panegyrics, and homilies, according to the liturgical calendar. For an impression, see the extensive study of A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche I-III*, TU 50-52, Leipzig 1937/ 1938/ 1952.

²¹⁰ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 86.

²¹¹ The great Palestinian monastic tradition of Gaza, for example, which flourished at the same period, is not even mentioned with a single word in Cyril's writings. For a recent introduction to this tradition, see P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH/ F. NEYT, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance I, Aux solitaires I, Lettres 1-71*, SC 426, Introd., 11-126.

²¹² In the Prologue of the *VE*, Cyril places Euthymius, together with his predecessors, in one straight line with the great events of Salvation History, *VE* 1 (SCHWARTZ), 6,22-8,10. Then, he presents his hero as a "common benefit, image and model (κοινὸν ὄφελος καὶ εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον)" to "those hereafter who wish to take thought for their salvation (τοῖς μετέπειτα βουλομένοις τῆς ἑαυτῶν προνοεῖσθαι σωτηρίας)", *ibid.*, 8,13-17. Subsequently, Euthymius and Sabas are closely connected in the Epilogue of the *VE*, 60 (*ibid.*), 82,28-85,4, as well as in the Prologue of the *VS*, (*ibid.*), 85,12-86,12 (see above, 99, n.200). Finally, the great line is concluded at the end of the *VS* by a shout of rejoicing about the relief from the plague of the Origenists: "He [*scil.* God, DH] has driven them from our presence and enabled us to inhabit their habitations. The fruit of their labors he has allotted to us, so that we may observe his commandments and study his law," *VS* 90 (*ibid.*), 200,12-15 (cf. Ps. 77 [78]: 55; Ps 104 [105]: 44-45).

background we should consider, in Cyril's writings, the general purposes of apology, idealization, instruction, edification and exhortation, purposes which will surely fortify our arguments for postulating an amount of stylization of historical truth.

d. The fourth component in the concept of *discours hagiographique* consists in the themes and archetypes giving shape to the stylization of the portrait of the hero. Here, we may consider the common places and stereotypes utilized by Cyril in passages characterizing the saint in his virtues, his struggle and his miracles. Not rarely, we may encounter parallel passages in other monastic literature.

The Story of Origenism

within the composition of the Vita Sabae

In order to find an appropriate answer to our central question concerning the historical reliability of Cyril's account of the Origenist controversy, we must approach this account as functioning within the literary context of a *discourse hagiographique* and, more specifically, within the framework of a monastic biography. This should alert us, as has been explained above, to expect a certain amount of stylization of historical truth, even if we are aware that Cyril's account may contain the elements of proper historiography.

The decisive part of the story of Origenism is narrated in the concluding chapters of the *VS*, as enacted after Sabas' death. For this part, it is true, we have to cancel the first phase of transmission according to our survey of theoretical possibilities for hagiographic stylization; that is, the phase of the "subjectivity of the personage". Besides, we have to realize that, from July 544 on, the events took place while Cyril was a young monk in the cenobium of Euthymius, a short distance east of Jerusalem,²¹³ which makes it difficult, for the final period, to distinguish consistently between the second and the third phases, that is, between the phases of "oral tradition" and "literary setting".²¹⁴ These observations, however, do not seriously affect

²¹³ Comp. with above, 38 with n.87.

²¹⁴ The fact that the final part of the Origenist Controversy was enacted contemporaneously with Cyril's ten-year stay in the monastery of Euthymius does not exclude his dependence, perhaps to a great extent, on *oral testimonies* of what happened at the time in Palestine and in Constantinople.

the possibility that, also in the final chapters of the *VS*, historical facts were transformed according to the stylization process that is proper to the *discourse hagiographique*. Moreover, we should not isolate these chapters by way of “historiographic appendix”. The complete story of Origenism (which starts in 514, if not in 507) is interwoven with the rest of the biography and its final part coincides with the final climax of the writing. Thus, the story is fitted into a hagiographic context characterized by a clear and strong one-sided interpretation scheme. To illustrate this, we have to pay some attention to the place and function of the final chapters within the total composition.

That the composition represents a fixed hagiographic pattern, followed by Cyril, becomes clear when we compare the structure of the *VS* with that of the *VE*. Both Lives form a kind of “diptych” or rather, they are conceived as “two parts of one project”.²¹⁵ Without repeating here J. Binns’ extensive survey of the common structure of the two Lives,²¹⁶ I shall limit myself to the general plan in both compositions:

[Prologue].²¹⁷

1. Birth, youth, monastic education.²¹⁸
2. Solitary life (struggle against devils, prayer, ἡσυχία).²¹⁹
3. Public life (first disciples, foundations, miracles, struggle against heresies).²²⁰

²¹⁵ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 151. The Epilogue of the *VE* and the Prologue of the *VS* are closely connected (see above, 104, n.212). Cyril concludes the *VE* with an autobiographical note upon how he took preparations for both Lives, and in the Prologue of the *VS* he resumes this communication. Besides, he relates how, in his incapacity to compose both Lives, he received supernatural assistance from both Saints who appeared to him together (see above, p.37, n.78 and p.99, n.200).

²¹⁶ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 151-153.

²¹⁷ *VE* 1 (SCHWARTZ), 6,21-8,19; *VS* Prol. (*ibid.*), 85,5-86,26. The Prologue of the *VE* (= chap.1) is preceded by a Dedication to Abba George, (*ibid.*), 5,1-6,20, from whose hands Cyril received the monastic habit, *VE* 49 (*ibid.*), 71,10-17, and who ordered Cyril to compose the Lives of Euthymius and Sabas from the notes he had already compiled, *VE* Ded. (*ibid.*), 6,11-15; *VE* 60 (*ibid.*), 83,15-23.

²¹⁸ *VE* 2-5 (SCHWARTZ), 8,20-14,2; *VS* 1-10 (*ibid.*), 86,27-93,20.

²¹⁹ *VE* 6-16 (SCHWARTZ), 14,3-25,17; *VS* 10-16 (*ibid.*), 93,20-99,9.

²²⁰ *VE* 16-39 (SCHWARTZ), 25,17-59,12; *VS* 16-76 (*ibid.*), 99,10-182,23. Although both Euthymius and Sabas attract followers already in the phase of their solitary life, there is, in both Lives, an explicit indication of the turning point, where the real public life starts. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 50-51 (as above, 94, n.181). Before that moment, Euthymius entrusts those who want to follow him to his spiritual friend Theoctistus, *VE* 8 (SCHWARTZ),

4. Death, miracles *post mortem*, prosperity of the successors.²²¹
[Epilogue].²²²

This common structure shows that in Cyril’s two main biographies – which slide “vers la chronique d’une institution”²²³ – the posthumous history forms a substantial part of the Saint’s Life. After Euthymius’ death, Cyril relates the further development of his *laura* which, according to the Saint’s prophecy and under his supernatural guidance by means of an apparition, becomes a cenobium.²²⁴ Besides, we hear about the reunion of the Aposchists with the Catholic Church,²²⁵ predicted equally by Euthymius at the same apparition;²²⁶ and we hear of numerous miracles (especially exor-

16,9-24. His own life ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ remains well protected, *VE* 10 (*ibid.*), 19, 18-19, but this does not restrain him from being a ἱεραρὸς ψυχῶν, *VE* 9 (*ibid.*), 17,4, who teaches the brethren of Theoctistus to resist their λογισμοί, *ibid.*, 17,7, and to make secret warfare against their κρύφια πάθη, *ibid.*, 18, 7-8. However, it is only after a vision that Euthymius really starts accepting disciples and making his dwelling-place a *laura*, *VE* 16 (*ibid.*), 25,17-26,23. The case of Sabas is much the same. After having shared his solitary life with one single monk, *VS* 14 (*ibid.*), p.97, lines 3-6 and 19-21, he spends five more years alone, *VS* 16 (*ibid.*), 99,5-9, before he is “entrusted by God with the charge of souls” and starts to receive those who come to him, *VS* 16 (*ibid.*), 99,10-18 (see above, 95, n.184). This marks, at the same time, the beginning of founding the Great *Laura*, *ibid.*, 100,9-11.

²²¹ *VE* 39-59 (SCHWARTZ), 59,12-82,11; *VS* 76-90 (*ibid.*), 182,23-200,3.

²²² *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 82,12-85,4; *VS* 90 (*ibid.*), 200,3-17.

²²³ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 52 (see above, 94 at n.184).

²²⁴ *VE* 43-44 (SCHWARTZ), 62,3-66,17. In one of the preceding chapters, we read that Euthymius, in his farewell-speech, tells his monks that it has pleased God to make his *laura* a cenobium soon after his death, *VE* 39 (*ibid.*), 58,28-59,1. Then, in *VE* 43, Cyril presents the deceased Saint appearing to the messenger Fidus, who suffers shipwreck on his way to Constantinople with a letter from his patriarch (see immediately below, n.226). Fidus is instructed to leave his mission and to depart to Euthymius’ *laura* where he must raze all the cells down to their foundations and build a cenobium at the place of Saint’s tomb, because it is the will of God that the *laura* become a cenobium, *VE* 43 (*ibid.*), 63,24-27.

²²⁵ *VE* 45 (SCHWARTZ), 66,18-67,20.

²²⁶ At the beginning of *VE* 43, Cyril inserts a “historiographic” passage to explain the general political situation in the period after Euthymius’ death. When Zeno has consolidated his imperial power, the climate remains favorable for the Aposchists. The new Patriarch of Jerusalem, Martyrius, “writes frankly to the Emperor (παρρησιαστικώτερον γράφει τῷ βασιλεῖ)”, complaining of the troubles caused by the Aposchists, and he sends Fidus with the letter to Constantinople, *VE* 43 (SCHWARTZ), 62,3-63,4. But Fidus suffers shipwreck and Euthymius appears to him (see above, n.224) saying that the mission is not pleasing to God: the church of Jerusalem should not worry about the Aposchists, because God will soon grant perfect unity in the diocese, *ibid.*, 63,4-23. For the prophecy, see also *VE* 45 (*ibid.*), 66,21-22.

cisms) taking place at the Saint's holy tomb.²²⁷ In his Epilogue, Cyril states that these "miracles worked after his death"²²⁸ indicate that the Saint "has not left us, but cherishes and cares for us with assistance even greater than before".²²⁹ In the same way we should interpret the series of five miracles that take place after Saint Sabas' death, as well as the subsequent account of "what happened to his successors and disciples", that is: the story about the victory of orthodoxy and the defeat of Origenism. Regarding the grace of the Saint's posthumous assistance to his successors, Cyril must have conceived the five miracles and the history of Origenism as a whole.²³⁰

The key concept, in this context, is *παρρησία*. According to a hagiographic commonplace, the martyr or holy monk obtains, after his death, *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν*.²³¹ The term indicates, etymologically, "freedom of speech" or freedom "to pronounce everything" (*πανρήτος*).²³² Hence, it assumed many meanings in ancient literature: profane or reli-

²²⁷ VE 47 (SCHWARTZ), 68,11-16; VE 50-58 (*ibid.*), 72,8-81,26 (*passim*).

²²⁸ τὰ μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κοίμησιν ἐνεργούμενα θαύματα, VE 60 (SCHWARTZ), 82,18.

²²⁹ οὐκ ἀπέστη ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μείζονος βοηθείας κήδεταί τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖται ἡμῶν, *ibid.*, 82,22-23.

²³⁰ The miracles are narrated in VS 78-82 (SCHWARTZ), 184,21-187,26, and the series is concluded by a stereotyped repetition of the opening phrase of the Epilogue in the VE, where Cyril indicated the significance of the miracles after Euthymius' death. We may compare the phrase in the VE: ταῦτα ὀλίγα ἐκ πόλλων ἀναλεξόμενος ἀνεγραψάμεν, VE 60 (*ibid.*), 82,12, with that in the VS: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ πόλλων ὀλίγα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου ἀναλεξόμενος ἀνεγραψάμεν (...), VS 82 (*ibid.*), 187,24-26. With the last phrase Cyril seems to refer implicitly to what he concluded in the VE about the Saint's posthumous assistance. He does not repeat that conclusion here, apparently, because he has more to say. The story about Origenism follows immediately; the introductory phrase is even linked together with the conclusive phrase about the five miracles by a μέν-δέ construction: (...) καλεῖ δέ με ὁ καιρὸς τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις τε καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐκ μέρους διηγῆσασθαι, VS 82 (SCHWARTZ), 187,26-27.

²³¹ It is Origen of all Christian authors who expresses this idea for the first time; see ORIGENES, *Exhortatio ad martyrium* 28, ed. P. KOETSCHAU, *Origenes Werke* I, GCS 2, Leipzig 1899, 24,7. From Philo, Origen derives the idea of *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν* attributed to Abraham and Moses as pre-eminent friends of God, *ibid.* 37, p.35,25. See PHILO, *Quid rerum divinarum heres* 5-29, LCL 261 (Philo IV), 290-358. See also G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur *παρρησία* dans la littérature paléo-chrétienne", in *Graecitas et latinitas christianorum primaeva*, Supplementum, fasc. III, Nijmegen 1968, pp.11, 12, 24-25, 32. For the development of the concept of *παρρησία*, see *ibid.*, 7-12 with n.1, referring to E. PETERSON, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *παρρησία*", in *Reinhold Seeberg-Festschrift* I, Leipzig 1929, 283-297.

²³² P. MIQUEL, *Lexique du désert. Étude de quelques mots-clés du vocabulaire monastique grec ancien*, SO 44, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1986, 203.

gious, both favorable and pejorative.²³³ Here, in Cyril's passages that interest us, *παρρησία* has a positive sense. It means: "familiarity" with God, obtained by the Saint as the final fruit of his exemplary life of monastic virtue and orthodox faith.²³⁴ Such a familiarity results in the "freedom of speech" that is only allowed in an intimate relationship with God and, thereby, in an effective intercessory power on behalf of the Saint's successors and disciples.²³⁵ In Cyril's biographies, both Euthymius and Sabas obtain *παρρησία* in this sense. In the case of Euthymius we may reach this

²³³ See LAMPE, 1044-1046; L. ENGELS, "Fiducia", *RAC* 7 (1969), 839-877 (*passim*). In profane literature, *παρρησία* is "die politische 'Redefreiheit'", as a privilege of the free citizen in opposition to slaves and strangers; see E. PETERSON, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *παρρησία*", 283. In Greek philosophy, the term has a moral sense: the frankness between friends, *ibid.*, 285. The right frankness is the privilege of the man who is free from passions; see G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur *παρρησία*", 10. In the Septuagint, *παρρησία* is for the first time applied to the relationship with God and thus transferred to the religious plan: *παρρησιασθήση ἐναντίον Κυρίου* (Job 22:26); see *ibid.* Philo, as has been said, attributes *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν* to Abraham and Moses (see above, 108, n.231). In the NT, the use of *παρρησία* (and derivatives) is frequent; see H. SCHLIER, *παρρησία/παρρησιάζομαι*, in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT* 5, Stuttgart 1954, 877-883. Here it is often used, in a profane sense (though proceeding from religious inspiration), with regard to the relationship between men: it designates *i.a.* "outspokenness" in the preaching of Christian faith, notwithstanding the threat of political authorities. In the same sense *παρρησία* is used in early Christian literature, especially in the first acts of martyrs (compare with above, 107, n.224). Then, Origen applies Philo's concept of *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν* to the Christian martyrs, in an eschatological sense; see G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur *παρρησία*", 10-12. In this sense, it is taken over by monastic authors such as Theodoret of Cyrus and Cyril of Scythopolis; see *ibid.*, 22-23. In monastic literature, however, *παρρησία* has also a pejorative sense, especially as an ill-conceived "familiarity"; see *ibid.*, 44-50. The bad kind of *παρρησία* is even considered as *γεννήτρια πάντων τῶν παθῶν*, *ApophPat*, coll. alph., Agathon 1, PG 65, 109A; see K. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1936, 203. This phrase is also quoted by Cyril, VE 19 (SCHWARTZ), 31,14. In this sense, *παρρησία* is equivalent to the Latin concept *praesumptio*; see B. STEIDLE, "Παρρησία – praesumptio in der Klosterregel St. Benedikts", in *Zeugnis des Geistes*, Beuron 1947, 44-61.

²³⁴ The exercise of virtues and especially the struggle against temptations make the monk similar to the martyr and prepares him for the eschatological *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν*. See G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations", 21-23. Also the sufferings endured in the struggle against heresies have this value; see *ibid.*, 26 (with ref. to THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Ep.* 139, SC 111, 144,14).

²³⁵ The martyr who is judged worthy of *παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν* may intercede in behalf of men on earth. See G. SCARPAT, *Parrhesia. Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino*, Brescia 1964, 93-96. The Saint who obtains *παρρησία*, becomes "un intercesseur efficace", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 179.

conclusion with certainty, even though by way of indirect evidence;²³⁶ only with regard to Euthymius' lifetime does Cyril remark that his παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν increased each day.²³⁷ As for Sabas, Cyril mentions explicitly that, after his death, his spirit "has been privileged with great παρρησία towards God".²³⁸ The five miracles *post mortem* are also explicitly presented as examples to prove that Sabas obtained παρρησία.²³⁹

The account of these five miracles is stylistically linked together with the story about the victory over Origenism.²⁴⁰ Within this story, the term

²³⁶ In his farewell-speech to his disciples, Euthymius promises that he will ask from God, if he obtains παρρησία towards Him (ἐὰν εὕρω παρρησίαν πρὸς τὸν θεόν), to stay in the spirit with them and with their successors till eternity (εἶναι με τῷ πνεύματι μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος), *VE* 39 (SCHWARTZ), 59,9-11. We just saw that Cyril presents the miracles *post mortem* as a clear indication of Euthymius' continuing presence and assistance (see above, 108, nn.228-229), thus, as the implicit confirmation that he obtained παρρησία. In the same farewell-speech, a little earlier, Euthymius foretells "with such frankness" (οὕτως μετὰ παρρησίας) that Domitian, his beloved disciple, will die seven days after him, *VE* 39 (*ibid.*), 58,22-24. In this case, Euthymius' earthly παρρησία seems to anticipate a heavenly one. Indeed, seven days after his death, Euthymius appears to Domitian to announce that he obtained the favor of having his beloved disciple with him, *VE* 41 (*ibid.*), 61,4-16. This event may also be interpreted as a proof of final παρρησία. Besides, Cyril relates a remarkable (stereotype) parallel-story at the end of the *VTheod.*: Theodosius' successor Sophronius, when dying, promises his disciple that he will come and take him on the seventh day, if he obtains παρρησία (ἐὰν εὕρω παρρησίαν); on the seventh day the disciple dies indeed, so that Sophronius' παρρησία πρὸς τὸν θεόν is made known to all, *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 3-7. For the hagiographic tradition of searching for *proofs* of παρρησία after the Saint's decease, see esp. K. HOLL, *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum. Eine Studie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen*, Leipzig 1898, 187-190; *id.*, "Die schriftstellerische Form des griechischen Heiligenlebens", in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* II (art. nr. 13), Tübingen 1928, 253-254 (first publ. 1912).

²³⁷ ἐντεῦθεν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ παρρησία ἠῤῥεανεν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, *VE* 7 (SCHWARTZ), 15,8-9; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, 66, n.27. The phrase is almost literally quoted from THEODORET CYRENSIS, *Historia Philothea* I, 3, SC 234, p.164, lines 7-8. See K. HOLL, *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt*, 185; G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur παρρησία", 23; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 64 (nr.4).

²³⁸ Cyril personally witnessed that Sabas' body has been kept sound and incorrupt up to the time when the biography is written, *VS* 77-78 (SCHWARTZ), 184,11-17; in this context he observes: τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ πολλῆς ἡξίωται τῆς πρὸς θεὸν παρρησίας, *VS* 78 (*ibid.*), 184,19-20.

²³⁹ ἢς [*scil.* τῆς παρρησίας] τὴν ἀκτῖνα δι' ὀλίγων παραδέττει πειράσσομαι, *ibid.*, 184,20-21. See also G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur παρρησία", 34-35. Also other miracles may prove Sabas' obtained παρρησία; see K. HOLL, *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt*, 188-190.

²⁴⁰ See above, 108, n.230.

παρρησία appears twice, in a very significant way. At the beginning, we see the power of the Origenists growing: it is consolidated when Domitian and Theodore Ascidas are introduced to the Emperor and allowed to "take part in the first παρρησία at the palace" (πρώτης παρρησίας ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ μετασχόντες).²⁴¹ Here, the term has a merely profane sense: it expresses that Domitian and Theodore have access to the highest circles where politics are made. Thus, under the Origenist political influence, a period of suffering begins for the orthodox monks in Palestine. At the end of the story, however, we see the tide turning. When the Origenists put Macarius as their champion on the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, they arouse the imperial rage; now the anti-Origenists, led by Abba Conon, are the ones who obtain free access to the Emperor. As Cyril describes it, they "take part in the greatest παρρησία" (πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες):²⁴² as a consequence, the Emperor receives a *libellus* and convokes the Fifth Ecumenical Council, which results in the defeat of Origenism and the victory of orthodoxy.

It is hard to deny that the two expressions quoted are connected to each other. The difference between the qualifications πρώτη and πλείστη may imply, in our context, a superlative²⁴³ referring to the winning party. The πρώτη παρρησία comes *first*. It has only a profane sense (as far as we may distinguish "profane" and "religious" in the theocracy of Justinian): the Origenists are, at first, authorized to take part in the political intrigues ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Their παρρησία on the profane level, however, is soon surpassed by πλείστη παρρησία, as enjoyed by the orthodox who are the heirs apparent of Saint Sabas. The expression πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες may well have an ambiguous meaning here, whereas the determination ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ is significantly omitted. The orthodox enjoy in a decisive way παρρησία on the profane level, finally, because they are authorized to reap the fruits of the *eschatological* παρρησία obtained by their holy protector in heaven.

If this interpretation is correct, we may conclude that Cyril's account of the second Origenist controversy, though containing elements of proper

²⁴¹ *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,5 (see the text quoted above, 80 with n.113).

²⁴² *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,18 (see the text quoted above, 86-87 with n.143).

²⁴³ The term παρρησία is, more often in Christian literature, accompanied by a determination of quantity, such as μικρά, πολλή, μεγάλη, πλείονα, πλείων, or even τελεία. See G. BARTELINK, "Quelques observations sur παρρησία", 23.

historiography, is firmly fitted within a hagiographic framework, where it functions as an exemplary story about the victory of orthodoxy, under the supernatural protection of the deceased Saint. So also for the conclusive chapters of the *VS*, we have strong reasons to expect stylizations (or perhaps distortions) of historical truth, according to our analysis of Van Uyt-fanghe's concept of *discours hagiographique*.

4. Rival stories about the struggle for orthodoxy

More concrete indications of hagiographic stylizations in Cyril's *VS* can be obtained when we compare another story about the struggle for orthodoxy in this Life with a parallel story in Theodore of Petra's *Vita Theodosii*.²⁴⁴ About the author of this panegyric, which was composed in Palestine shortly before Cyril wrote his biographies,²⁴⁵ we know very little, except that he received a rhetorical education before becoming a monk in Abba Theodosius' cenobium, that he was a former disciple of Theodosius and that, when writing, he was bishop of Petra.²⁴⁶ Abba Theodosius him-

²⁴⁴ Ed. H. USENER, *Der heilige Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1890. Usener's critical apparatus is incomplete. Shortly after his publication, K. Krumbacher found seven more MSS, four of which are dated to the 10th-11th centuries and contain variants that are indispensable to add to Usener's apparatus; so Krumbacher composed a long list of "Ergänzungen"; see K. KRUMBACHER, "Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosius", *SBAW*, Jahrg. 1892, 220-321.

²⁴⁵ Theodore's *Vita Theodosii* was originally composed by order of Theodosius' successor Sophronius (see above, 110, n.236) and pronounced for the community on the first anniversary of Theodosius' death, that is, on 11 January 530. The final version was published, with some adaptations (in particular quotations from written sources), "sicher nach 536", and "wahrscheinlich nicht vor 547", H. USENER, *Der heilige Theodosios*, IX; see also *ibid.*, 168-169; and A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, pp.85-86 and p.141, n.25. Cyril knew this text, as he refers to it in his own, short Life of Theodosius, *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 239,17-20.

²⁴⁶ THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii*, [Title] (USENER), 3,5-7; CYRILLUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 239,17-20. See also H. USENER, *Der heilige Theodosios*, VIII-XI; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 83-87.

self (c. 430-529) was, according to the *VS*, a great spiritual friend of Sabas; in 493, both became archimandrites of all the monasteries under the authority of Jerusalem: Theodosius for the cenobites and Sabas for the anchorites.²⁴⁷

Sabas and Theodosius: anchorites and cenobites

That it is a hagiographic commonplace, in sixth century monastic biographies, to present the prosperity of an order as a proof of the founder's having obtained *παρρησία* after his death, appears clearly from Theodore's *Vita Theodosii*. In this work, we read how the leader of the Palestinian cenobites, before dying, gives a farewell speech to his assembled community, while anticipating the eventual signs from which his monks may deduce whether he will have obtained *παρρησία* or not:

(...) I will give you a sign of it: if, after my passing away, you will see this monastery growing and growing ever more, know that I will have *παρρησία* towards God and that everything will occur as I have told you; but if not, it is clear that it will not occur.²⁴⁸

Then, the biographer, rhetorically addressing the deceased Theodosius, confirms that he has indeed obtained *παρρησία* pointing to the evidence. It appears not only from the oil flowing from his tomb and the healing miracles that often take place there,²⁴⁹ but especially from the prosperity of the monastery he founded:

That this holy place, which was founded by you with the assistance of the divine Providence, achieved great prosperity according to both God and man, due to your prayers, is testified by the facts. Indeed, it is bigger than all other holy monas-

²⁴⁷ *VS* 29-30 (SCHWARTZ), 113,24-115,26; *VS* 65 (*ibid.*), 166,3-167,3; *VTheod* (*ibid.*), 238,28-239,12. See also above, 69 with n.65. For Theodosius, see THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii*, [Title] (USENER) 3,3-4.

²⁴⁸ σημεῖον δὲ τούτου δίδωμι ὑμῖν· ἐὰν μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποβίωσιν τόνδε τὸν τόπον ἐπὶ πλεῖτον αὐξανόμενον θεάσῃσθε, γινώσκετε δὴ ὡς παρρησίαν ἔχω πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰτα οὕτως ὡς ὑμῖν λελάληκα γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ μή, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ γενήσεται, *ibid.*, 91,20-25 (transl. DH).

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 92,8-14.

teries, and it takes pride in the size of its buildings and in the large number of those longing for salvation.²⁵⁰

We perhaps catch the eulogist here with a chauvinistic sense of rivalry. This impression is fortified by the fact that, throughout this long laudatory oration, the name of Theodosius' colleague archimandrite Sabas is not mentioned a single time. As against the author of this local panegyric, Cyril for his part seems, at first sight, more "ecumenical": in his *VS* as well as in his *VTheod*, Theodosius' name is always mentioned with maximum reverence. Repeatedly, Cyril lays the greatest stress on the harmonious relationship between the two monastic leaders. Sabas, as an anchorite, sends his adolescent candidates to the cenobium of Abba Theodosius²⁵¹ who, in his turn, leaves nothing undone to take care of the young monks, for the sake of the one who sent them:

For they [*scil.* Sabas and Theodosius, DH] were one in soul and one in mind, breathing each other more than the air, so that the people of Jerusalem called their godly concord and unity a new apostolic pairing of Peter and John.²⁵²

According to Cyril, it is just because of this exemplary concord that Patriarch Sallustius of Jerusalem appoints both spiritual friends to be archimandrites "at the request of the whole monastic order" and supported "by common vote" among all the monks of the desert.²⁵³ Both archimandrites maintain towards each other an "unfeigned" (ἀνυπόκριτος) and "most sin-

²⁵⁰ ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ σοῦ θεοῦ προνοία συστάς οὗτος εὐαγῆς τόπος κατὰ τε θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον εἰς προκοπὰς μεγάλας διὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐλήλυθεν προσευχῶν, αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μαρτυροῦσιν. μεῖζων γὰρ τῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ εὐαγῶν τόπων, ἐν τε τῷ μεγέθει τῶν κτισμάτων καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σφίζεσθαι βουλομένων φιλοτιμούμενος, *ibid.*, 92,14-21 (transl. DH). For the monastery of Theodosius, see esp. S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *ROC* 5 (1900), 286-289; Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", 26-28; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, pp.33, 78, 102, 159-161.

²⁵¹ There is a clear parallelism with the relationship between Euthymius and Theoctistus. See above, 66, n. 54.

²⁵² γεγόνασι γὰρ ὁμόψυχοι καὶ ὁμόφρονες πνέοντες ἀλλήλους μάλλον ἢ τὸν ἀέρα, ὥστε τὴν κατὰ θεὸν αὐτῶν ὁμόνοιαν τε καὶ συμφωνίαν τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας καλεῖν ἀποστολικὴν ζυγὴν νέαν Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου, *VS* 29 (SCHWARTZ), 114,19-22.

²⁵³ Sabas' and Theodosius' appointment is related twice, *VS* 30 (SCHWARTZ), 114,23-115,26; *VS* 65 (*ibid.*), 166,12-20 (see also above, 69, nn. 67-68); the first report follows immediately at the description of their concord (quoted in the preceding footnote), and starts with ὅθεν, *VS* 30 (*ibid.*), 114,23.

cere" (γνησιωτάτη) reciprocal love,²⁵⁴ which allows them to converse together with the παρρησία that belongs only to a close spiritual friendship.²⁵⁵ In such a harmonious relationship it may occur sometimes, of course, that one of the two partners, in his frankness, slides into a misplaced little joke, but the other will always take it in good spirit:

In these conversations the sanctified Sabas frequently addressed to Theodosius, now among the saints, the following remark: "My lord Abba, you are the superior of children while I am the superior of superiors, for each of those under me, in his independence, is the superior of his own cell." Theodosius would reply to this, "I shall take your remark as being not harsh but utterly charming, for friendship will endure all it experiences or hears."²⁵⁶

In brief, from Cyril's writings we might deduce with K. Holl, that in the Palestinian desert, already from the early fifth century on, the cenobitic and anchoritic orders coexisted peacefully and harmoniously with one another.²⁵⁷ Cyril also presents Sabas and Theodosius as a solid pair of leaders, unanimous in their side-by-side struggle for Chalcedonian orthodoxy (512-518),²⁵⁸ which culminates in a long petition in their joint names addressed to Emperor Anastasius.²⁵⁹ The impression of a harmonious reciprocal relationship might derive equally from Cyril's *VTheod*. In this Life, Theodosius' virtues²⁶⁰ as well as his achievements as a founder are highly praised by the anchorite Cyril: Theodosius' great and populous cenobium "surpasses all and reigns supreme among the cenobia in the whole of Palestine".²⁶¹ One

²⁵⁴ *VS* 65 (SCHWARTZ), 166,5-8.

²⁵⁵ καὶ τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος στοργῇ παρρησίᾳ προσδιαλεγόμενος, *ibid.*, 166,21-22.

²⁵⁶ ἐν οἷς διαλόγοις τὸν ἡγιασμένον Σάβαν πυκνότερον πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις ἀποφθέγγεσθαι Θεοδόσιον λόγον τοιοῦτον: κύρι ἀββᾶ, σὺ μὲν παιδίων ὑπάρχεις ἡγούμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγουμένων εἰμι ἡγούμενος· ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ αὐτεξούσιος ὢν τοῦ ἰδίου κελλίου ἡγούμενός ἐστιν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρινόμενον· οὐ τραχύτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἐμοὶ φανήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἡδύτατος· πάντα γὰρ οἶσει φιλία καὶ πάσχουσα καὶ ἀκούουσα, *ibid.*, 166,22-167,3.

²⁵⁷ K. HOLL, *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum*, 172-178, followed by J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, p.45 with n.21 and p.160 with n.30.

²⁵⁸ *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 151,16-152,15.

²⁵⁹ *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 152,16-20. For the backgrounds of the struggle, see above, 73-75 with nn.82-88.

²⁶⁰ *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 238,24-28.

²⁶¹ πάντων ὑπερέχον καὶ προκαθεζόμενον τῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ κοινοβίων, *ibid.*, 237,25-26.

of Cyril's reasons for limiting himself to only a short account on Theodosius²⁶² is that he does not consider it necessary to add much to the excellent Life written by Theodore of Petra:

Need one say more about him? His virtues are sufficiently proclaimed by his godly life and the spiritual state of his own famous and holy monastery. In addition, the most venerable Theodore, the most pious bishop of the city of Petra, who became his disciple and is conspicuous for monastic and episcopal virtues, has written at length, with both clarity and accuracy (σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς), about his life pleasing to God.²⁶³

With all this, the absolute silence about Sabas from Theodore's side is highly surprising. One would expect here, if not a clear confirmation of the idyllic friendship as presented by Cyril, at least a reference to Sabas' role in the common struggle for orthodox faith. Indeed Theodore pays great attention to this episode,²⁶⁴ but according to him the initiatives are taken exclusively by Abba Theodosius. To make things worse, the petition to the Emperor, which is quoted in its entirety by Cyril, who explicitly attributes it to both archimandrites,²⁶⁵ is quoted in large part also by Theodore, but without any mention of Sabas. Therefore, it is hard to understand why Cyril expresses so much esteem for Theodore's qualities as a biographer. In real-

²⁶² Cyril's *VTheod* occupies no more than about five pages in Schwartz's edition (235,25-241,7); its brevity is only surpassed by the *VTheog* with not even three pages (241,8-243,19).

²⁶³ περὶ οὗ τί χρὴ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἰκανὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν τὰς αὐτοῦ ἀρετὰς ἀνακηρύττειν ἢ τε κατὰ θεὸν διαγωγή καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ κατάστασις τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐαγεστάτης καὶ περιφανεστάτης μονῆς. πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ὁ τιμώτατος Θεόδωρος ὁ ὀσιώτατος τῆς Πετραίων πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος φοιτητῆς αὐτοῦ γεγονώς καὶ τοῖς μοναχικοῖς καὶ ἀρχιερατικοῖς κατορθώμασι διαπρέπων σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν θεάρεστον αὐτοῦ συνεγράφατο βίον κατὰ πλάτος, *VTheod* (SCHWARTZ), 239,14-20. Cyril even utilized Theodore of Petra's *Vita Theodosii* when he wrote the *VS*: there are two passages which reveal a dependence; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 72.

²⁶⁴ THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 54,1-63,8. The passage is also followed by a long exposition of Theodosius' orthodox faith: *ibid.*, 63,8-68,19.

²⁶⁵ According to Cyril, both archimandrites learn about the Emperor's plan to exile them together with Patriarch John of Jerusalem, because of their joint action at a mass-demonstration in defense of the Council of Chalcedon, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 151,16-152,15. Thereupon, Theodosius and Sabas, "the captains of the monks, combatants for piety, and generals and champions of orthodoxy (οἱ τῶν μοναχῶν ταξιάρχαι καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνισταὶ καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στρατηγοὶ καὶ πρόμαχοι)", assemble together all the monks and, "being one of mind (μῆς γνώμης γεγονότες)", write the petition to the Emperor, *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 152,16-20. At this passage, the integral text of the petition follows, *ibid.*, 152,21-157,23.

ity, he must have been amazed after reading the bare title above Theodore's quotations from the petition: *From the letter to Emperor Anastasius written by Archimandrite Theodosius and the other superiors of the desert.*²⁶⁶

A.-J. Festugière suggests that, somehow, there must have been a tension between the two monastic traditions – if not a conflict, then at least a rivalry – and that Theodore's silence about Sabas appears to be deliberate.²⁶⁷ This fits in with the "chauvinism" we detected above with regard to the cenobitic eulogist.²⁶⁸ Within this context, however, Festugière questions neither Cyril's repeated stressing of the excellent mutual relationship between Sabas and Theodosius nor his explicit reverence for both Theodosius and his excellent biographer. How do we reconcile the rivalry clearly revealed by Theodore's eulogy with Cyril's remarkable attitude?²⁶⁹ The only way I can find to resolve this question is to suppose that Cyril had his motives for smoothing out the creases between anchorites and cenobites and giving an idealized picture of their mutual relationship in the begin-

²⁶⁶ Ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἀναστάσιον γραφείσης παρὰ Θεοδοσίου ἀρχιμανδρίτου καὶ λοιπῶν τῆς ἐρήμου ἡγουμένων, THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 56,19-22. See also K. KRUMBACHER, "Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosius", 308-309.

²⁶⁷ "On a presque l'impression, sinon d'un conflit, du moins d'une rivalité; et, quand on songe au rôle considérable de Sabas dans l'histoire du monachisme palestinien, le silence de Théodore paraît bien être un silence voulu," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 85. On the other hand, Theodore's possible grievances against the anchorites did not exclude a respectful remark about "Isidore, beloved by God, who became later superior of the blessed Laura of Souka", THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 71,11-13. Festugière's suggestion, that also in Palestine a certain rivalry must have existed between cenobites and anchorites, was adopted and further developed by B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, pp. 98-100, 144-148, 196, 199-200, 203-206. J. Binns, however, in his more recent study, follows Holl's old thesis of a peaceful coexistence without even mentioning Festugière and Flusin in this context. See the references to Holl and Binns, above, 115, n.257.

²⁶⁸ See above, 113-114 with n.250.

²⁶⁹ As has been said, Festugière entertains admiration for "la candeur et la précision de Cyrille" as against Theodore of Petra's abundant rhetorical style "qui encombre l'hagiographie ancienne", see above, 45 with n.126. In his appreciation of Cyril, apparently, Festugière did not deal with the question of Cyril's strange attitude, which becomes the more difficult to understand in case of a (mutual) rivalry. Cyril not only consistently stresses the harmony of relation, but he also expresses praise with regard to a biographer who must have written, in his eyes, an inaccurate account at the expense of the memory of Sabas. One might suppose that Cyril, before uttering his laudatory words concerning Theodore of Petra, had to resist a fierce temptation to confront that account with his own version of the events. However, in his short *VTheod*, Cyril does not return with a single word to the joint struggle of the two archimandrites for the Chalcedonian faith, as described in the *VS*.

ning, instead of pushing to extremes an awkward discussion of the question of whether Saint Sabas was indeed the predominant leader, as indicated in his own writing.

This might well be the *Sitz im Leben* of the embarrassing “joke”, frequently (πικνότερον) uttered – Cyril apparently could not refrain from referring to it – about Theodosius being “superior of children” and Sabas “superior of superiors”.²⁷⁰ Perhaps, Cyril put a current phrase in the mouth of the anchoritic archimandrite and joined it with a friendly response from the side of his colleague for the cenobites. It sounds much like a sympathetic recognition by the cenobites of Sabas’ authority.²⁷¹ If the curious joke originates from an *ipsissimum verbum* of the “historical” Sabas, Cyril, at least, must have fitted it in the context of a harmonious friendship which we do not find confirmed in our cenobitic document.²⁷² Probably, Cyril wanted to smooth down, in anticipation, any possible scandal provoked by eventual cenobitic objections to his claim that Sabas’ leadership was unanimously acknowledged by all monks in the Palestinian desert.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ See the text quoted above, 115 with n.256.

²⁷¹ B. Flusin explains: “Il s’agit de montrer que Sabas, de l’aveu même de Théodose, est supérieur à Théodose, comme la laure l’est au cénobion,” B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 203.

²⁷² “Rappelons que Théodore de Pétra (...) ne fait pas même mention du nom de Sabas,” *ibid.*, 145, compare with above, 117, n.267.

²⁷³ In Cyril’s *Lives* the subordination of the cenobitic life to the anchoritic is repeatedly stressed: “Blessed Sabas used to affirm and maintain that, just as the flower precedes the fruit, so the cenobitic life precedes the anchoritic,” *VIH* 6 (SCHWARTZ), 206, 8-10; see esp. *VS* 28 (*ibid.*), 113,1-23. For Cyril the cenobitic order is not an institute with a proper aim in itself, but it has a “statut de degré préparatoire à la laure”, B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 144. Cyril even presents the great cenobium of Theodosius as “une école élémentaire de la Grande Laure”, *ibid.*; see also 145-148. In his eyes “le cénobion est (...) une institution incomplète et inférieure, l’école des enfants; le moine parfait, c’est l’anachorète”, *ibid.*, 196. However, there is another document which does not accord with Cyril’s claim. Flusin points at the sequence in a list of signatures at the end of a *Libellus monachorum* addressed at Patriarch Menas in 536: here two cenobitic superiors, one of which represents Theodosius’ monastery, have signed *before* two anchorite superiors, one of whom comes from Sabas’ laura, *ibid.*, 139-140, n.259 (with ref. to *ACO* III/1, 50, nrs.109-112). In this context Flusin observes: “Entre les deux archimandrites semble n’exister aucune différence hiérarchique bien définie. Mais il paraît bien, d’après certains documents à caractère officiel, qu’en fait ce soit l’archimandrite des cénobites qui a le pas sur l’archimandrite des laures,” *ibid.*, 200 with n.159 (ref. to the sequence of signatures).

Contradictory traditions: concrete indications for hagiographic stylizations

A disguised disagreement between cenobites and anchorites about the status of their great champions may well explain the irreconcilable discrepancies between Theodore’s and Cyril’s reports of the Palestinian struggle in defense of the Council of Chalcedon. In general, Cyril is given more credit because of his clear “historical” style, whereas Theodore is taken less seriously, because his panegyric is full of rhetorical embellishments.²⁷⁴ However, the difference of style does not mean that we should always follow Cyril in his presentation of the facts.²⁷⁵ A closer comparison with Theodore’s writing at this point does reveal also present in Cyril’s account concrete evidence for hagiographic stylizations of historical truth.

a. Cyril’s account of the struggle follows his chapters about Sabas’ personal encounters with Emperor Anastasius, when the Emperor, impressed by the Saint’s holiness and reassured by the explicit dissociation of the Chalcedonians from Nestorianism, seemed to be appeased. But, as we saw, the old hostility was soon rekindled.²⁷⁶ After having narrated this, Cyril

²⁷⁴ For the difference between Cyril’s “historical” and Theodore’s “rhetorical” styles, see esp. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* III/3, 83-90. B. Flusin observes: “...la distance que l’on constate entre les productions de Cyrille et celles, par exemple, de Théodore de Pétra ne reflète pas une différence entre les cultures des deux auteurs, mais entre deux genres d’hagiographie: Théodore compose un éloge, un discours d’apparat; Cyrille choisit résolument le style historique,” B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 84 (see also above, 95, n.185). Cyril’s chronology is normally well-ordered by his habit of placing the events precisely against the background of universal history; in Theodore’s writing, on the contrary, we look often in vain for precise time indications.

²⁷⁵ Notwithstanding their appreciation of the difference between Cyril’s and Theodore’s styles (see the preceding footnote), Festugière and Flusin pass a certain criticism on Cyril’s accuracy. For Festugière, see his remark quoted above, 117, n.267. Flusin writes: “les signes que l’on peut relever chez Cyrille d’une volonté de rabaisser le rôle de Théodose conduisent à penser que notre auteur a volontairement choisi d’affaiblir le récit où s’affirme la sainteté prophétique de Théodose,” B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 100 (compare with above, 118, n.273). Flusin even points at the significant fact that Theodosius appears as the only saint in Cyril’s *Lives* who does not perform miracles, *ibid.*, 196-200. J. Binns, however, without dealing with Festugière’s and Flusin’s contributions on this point, continues to explain the discrepancies between the accounts of the two hagiographers exclusively by Theodore’s “lack of concern for historical accuracy” and his “purpose of giving an eulogy of Theodosius”, and does not question Cyril’s version at all. See J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, pp.45, 179-180.

²⁷⁶ See above, 74 with nn.83-85.

inserts in his biography the whole episode of Sabas' "public combats for the faith" (γενικοί ἀγῶνες περὶ πίστεως), which he explicitly distinguishes from his "personal achievements and struggles" (ιδικά κατορθώματα καὶ ἀγωνίσματα):

But now the time calls me to add to the personal achievements²⁷⁷ and struggles of the godly old man the public combats for the faith both of himself and of the holy fathers who attained distinction with him in this desert.²⁷⁸

The separation between "public" and "private" appears a little forced after reading the preceding chapters about Saint Sabas and the Emperor. Nevertheless, the opening phrase in the report of the joint struggle against Anastasius is clearly meant as a demarcation within the framework of Cyril's *VS*: it forms an *inclusio* with the concluding phrase at the end of the episode:

But I must now bring to an end the public combats (γενικοί ἀγῶνες) of our holy fathers and, returning to the sequence of the account devoted solely to our holy father Sabas, relate by the grace of God his noteworthy personal achievements (ιδικά κατορθώματα).²⁷⁹

Between these two demarcating phrases we read the whole story about the Palestinian resistance against Anastasius with Sabas playing the lead.²⁸⁰ The Emperor tries to press Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem to receive Severus, the leader of the Acephaloi who has been sent to be patriarch of Antioch (512), into his communion.²⁸¹ On not being recognized by Elias, Severus sends his synodical letters for the second time to Jerusalem, together with a clerical delegation and an imperial force. Then, Sabas is stirred to action:

²⁷⁷ Here, R. Price translates: "private attainments".

²⁷⁸ ἀλλὰ καλεῖ με λοιπὸν ὁ καιρὸς τοῖς ἰδικαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου κατορθώμασιν τε καὶ ἀγωνίσμασιν τοὺς γενικοὺς περὶ πίστεως ἀγῶνας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην διαπρεψάντων ἀγίων πατέρων ἐπισυνάψαι, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 148,6-9.

²⁷⁹ ἀλλ' ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τέλος τοῖς γενικοῖς τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἀγῶσιν ἐπιθετέον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ περὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα λόγου ἴτεον καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀξιομνημόνευτα ἰδικὰ κατορθώματα τῆ τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτι ἐξηγητέον, *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 158,7-11.

²⁸⁰ Flusin's conjecture that Cyril, between the two demarcating phrases, "a utilisé massivement" a hypothetical source (B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 66, n.224) adds to the evidence for hagiographic stylizations of historical truth in his account.

²⁸¹ *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), p.148, lines 9-25 and p.149, lines 27-29 (see also above, p.74, n.86 and p.93, n.176).

On learning this, our sainted father Sabas went up to the holy city with the other superiors of the desert. They drove those who came with Severus' synodical letters from the holy city and, collecting the mass of monks from all directions in front of the holy church of Calvary, shouted together with the people of Jerusalem, "Anathema to Severus and those in communion with him," while the *agentes in rebus*,²⁸² magistrates and soldiers sent by the emperor stood by and listened.²⁸³

When Patriarch Elias persists in his refusal to receive Severus into his communion, the Emperor, "bubbling over with rage" (ὕπερέζας τῷ θυμῷ),²⁸⁴ has Elias ousted from his see and substituted by a certain John,²⁸⁵ who has promised to recognize Severus and to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon. Again, Sabas takes the initiative:

The sanctified Sabas and the other fathers of the desert, on learning that John had made his promise, gathered together and adjured him not to receive Severus into communion but to bear the brunt of the battle on behalf of the Council of Chalcedon, with all of them for his allies.²⁸⁶

The new Patriarch is indeed persuaded to break his promise, with the result that he is thrown into prison. But he is soon released, after feigning to make a compact with the *dux* of Palestine, as if he is still going to carry out publicly the will of the Emperor. Once restored to his patriarchal see, he summons ten thousand monks to Jerusalem and, in front of the whole multitude and in the presence of the *dux*, he ascends the pulpit flanked by Theodosius and Sabas (Theodosius is mentioned here for the first time):

²⁸² Binns explains: "The *agentes in rebus*, part of the imperial military corps, were used as couriers," J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 215, n.74^a.

²⁸³ καὶ τοῦτο γνοὺς ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Σάβας ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς ἐρήμου ἡγουμένων τοὺς μὲν ἐλθόντας μετὰ τῶν συνοδικῶν Σευήρου τῆς ἀγίας ἀπεδίωξαν πόλεως, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν μοναχῶν πάντοθεν ἐπισυνάξαντες ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγίου Κρανίου μετὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἔκραζον λέγοντες· ἀνάθεμα Σευήρῳ καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτῷ, παρόντων ἔτι καὶ ἀκουόντων τῶν τε μαγιστριανῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατιωτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλέντων, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 148,27-149,7.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 149,29-150,1.

²⁸⁵ See also above, 72, n.79.

²⁸⁶ γνοὺς δὲ ὁ ἀγιασμένος Σάβας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῆς ἐρήμου πατέρες ταῦτα συνθέμενον τὸν Ἰωάννην συναχθέντες διεμαρτύραντο αὐτὸν Σευήρον εἰς κοινωνίαν μὴ δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προκινδυνεύειν ἔχοντα πάντας συμμαχοῦντας, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 150,11-15.

Whereas (...) the *dux* was expecting the will of the emperor to be done, the archbishop ascended the pulpit, accompanied by Theodosius and Sabas, the chiefs and leaders of the monks, and the whole congregation shouted out many times: "Anathematize the heretics and confirm the council." Without delay the three with one voice anathematized Nestorius, Eutyches, Severus, Soterichus of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and everyone who did not accept the Council of Chalcedon. When the three had proclaimed this, they descended, but Abba Theodosius ascended again and uttered the following declaration to the congregation: "If anyone does not accept the four councils like the four gospels, let him be anathema."²⁸⁷

The *dux* in fear of the multitude flees to Caesarea. But when the Emperor hears about what has happened at Jerusalem, he plans to expell by force both the Patriarch and the two archimandrites. Then, Theodosius and Sabas gather all the monks together and address a petition to the Emperor:

When this plan [*scil.* of the emperor, DH] became known in Jerusalem, those captains of the monks, combatants for piety, and generals and champions of orthodoxy Theodosius and Sabas assembled together all the monks of the desert and, being one of mind, wrote and sent to the emperor the following petition or plea.²⁸⁸

In the petition, which is quoted in its entirety by Cyril, the church of Jerusalem is presented as "the mother of the churches, Sion" and protectress of the apostolic faith against Severus; the four holy councils are confirmed and compared with the gospels, heretics such as Nestorius and Eutyches are anathematized and finally, the authors assert with great resoluteness that they will never accept union with the Aposchists.²⁸⁹ And then, according to Cyril, the whole story results in an anticlimax:

²⁸⁷ προσδοκῶντος τοῦ δουκὸς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι, ἀνέρχεται ἐπὶ ἄμβωνος ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἔχων μετ' ἑαυτοῦ Θεοδοσίον καὶ Σάβαν τοὺς τῶν μοναχῶν κορυφαίους καὶ ἡγεμόνας καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας ἔκραζεν λεγών· τοὺς αἰρετικούς ἀναθεμάτισον καὶ τὴν σύνοδον βεβαίωσον. ἀμελλητὶ οὖν οἱ τρεῖς ἐκ συμφώνου ἀναθεματίζουσιν Νεστόριον καὶ Εὐτυχεῖαν καὶ Σευῆρον καὶ Σωτήριον τὸν Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας καὶ πάντα τὸν μὴ δεχόμενον τὴν σύνοδον Χαλκηδόνος. καὶ τῶν τριῶν ταῦτα κηρυξάντων καὶ κατελθόντων ὑποστρέψας ὁ ἀββᾶς Θεοδοσίος ἀφίησιν τοιαύτην φωνὴν τῷ λαῷ λέγων· εἴ τις οὐ δέχεται τὰς τέσσαρας συνόδους ὡς τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, *ibid.*, 151,20-152,5.

²⁸⁸ καὶ τούτου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γνωσθέντος οἱ τῶν μοναχῶν ταξίάρχαι καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνισταὶ καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στρατηγοὶ καὶ πρόμαχοι Θεοδοσίος τε καὶ Σάβας συναθροίσαντες ἅπαν τὸ μοναχικὸν τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ μιᾶς γνώμης γεγονότες δέησιν ἦτοι διαμαρτυρίαν γράψαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποστέλλουσιν οὕτω περιέχουσαν, *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 152,16-20.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 152,21-157,23.

On receiving the supplication, the emperor Anastasius, being under the pressure from the attacks of Vitalian's barbarians, was advised to leave them at rest for the time being, and so John was not ousted from the see of Jerusalem.²⁹⁰

At this point the conclusive phrase, which forms an *inclusio* with the opening phrase of the whole episode, follows, in order to demarcate the transition from "the public combats of our holy fathers" to the continuation of "the account devoted solely to our holy father Sabas" regarding his ἰδικὰ κατορθώματα.²⁹¹ A few chapters later, we read only that Anastasius is killed in his palace by the divine wrath and succeeded by Justin, who immediately recognizes the Council of Chalcedon.²⁹²

b. As has been said, in Theodore of Petra's *Vita Theodosii* Sabas is not mentioned a single time. There is no parallel story corresponding to Cyril's report of Sabas' encounters with Emperor Anastasius, which precede, in the *VS*, the joint struggle for Chalcedonian faith.²⁹³ Without referring to the universal political background, as Cyril does precisely,²⁹⁴ Theodore starts the episode with a colorful description of Anastasius' perverted attempts to enlist Theodosius' support in his cause, and of the latter's persistence in his exemplary incorruptibility. When the Emperor, finally, decrees the rejection by force of the Council of Chalcedon, Theodosius is stirred to action:

The blessed [*scil.* Theodosius, DH] resisted as a lion, courageously and valorously, and in a way worthy of his passionate love for God. He gathered together all the monks of the desert and said to them that this was the appropriate moment for them to have the prophet's precept fulfilled: "let the mild-tempered become a war-

²⁹⁰ ταύτην τοῖνον τὴν ἰκεσίαν δεξάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος καὶ συνεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Βιταλιανοῦ βαρβαρικῶν ὀχλήσεων συνεβουλεύθη ἐν τῷ τέως ἡσυχάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως τοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων θρόνου οὐκ ἐξεβλήθη ὁ Ἰωάννης, *ibid.*, 158, 3-7.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 158,7-11 (quoted above, 120 with n.279). Only here, the opposition between: οἱ γενικοί τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἀγῶνες and: ὁ περὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα λόγος could be read as an acknowledgment that Sabas was just participating in a broader monastic movement of resistance.

²⁹² *VS* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 162,3-13 (as above, 75, n.89).

²⁹³ According to Cyril, Sabas is sent to Constantinople with some of the other superiors (τινάς τῶν ἡγουμένων, *VS* 50 (SCHWARTZ), 139,20; ἐτέρους σὺν αὐτῷ ἡγουμένους, *ibid.*, 141,7). The fact that Theodore does not refer to this mission, which seems crucial in the history of Anastasius and the monks of Palestine, may suggest that Abba Theodosius had nothing to do with it or rather that his eulogist had a motive to suppress it deliberately.

²⁹⁴ See above, 93, nn.175-176.

rior",²⁹⁵ as he had prepared before, in view of the struggle for faith, the firm position taken up in this respect both by himself and by his children in Christ. And he undertook to inform the emperor, and all those who governed the affairs of this land, how this position was.²⁹⁶

Then Theodore quotes two long passages from the petition which he attributes, as has been said, to "archimandrite Theodosius and the other superiors of the desert".²⁹⁷ A comparison with the parallel quotations in Cyril's *VS*²⁹⁸ shows great agreement: both biographers transcribed the text from (almost identical copies of) one and the same original document.²⁹⁹ But only Theodore quotes, in addition, a *response* of Emperor Anastasius. On receiving the petition, the Emperor "greatly admired" (ὕπερθαυμάσας) Theodosius' παρρησία and reacted by sending an apology.³⁰⁰ The letter is addressed exclusively to Abba Theodosius as we read in the title: *Letter written by Emperor Anastasius as a response to the blessed Abba Theodosius*

²⁹⁵ Joel 3:11 [16].

²⁹⁶ ὁ μακάριος ἀντιτάσσεται ὡς λέων ἀνδρικῶς καὶ γενναίως καὶ τῆ εἰς θεὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκθύμῳ πρεπόντως ἀγάπῃ. συναγαγὼν γὰρ ἔν ἅπαντας τοὺς τῆς ἐρήμου πολίτας καὶ καιρὸν εἶναι φήσας <τοῦ> τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο παρ' αὐτῶν πληρωθῆναι παραγγέλιμα τὸ φάσκον "ὁ πρῶτος ἔστω μαχητῆς", καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀλειψας ἀγῶνας τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρότερον ἔνστασιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ τέκνων, ὅποια τις εἶη, μηνύειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἄρχουσι τῶν ἀναγκάσιων ὑπελάμβανεν, THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 56,2-13, slightly emended by K. KRUMBACHER, "Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosius", *SBAW*, Jahrg. 1892, 308. (Transl. DH).

²⁹⁷ See above, 117 with n.266.

²⁹⁸ The first quotation by Theodore [= (USENER), 56,23-59,14] corresponds to *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 154,18-156,14; see also K. KRUMBACHER, "Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosius", 309. The second quotation [= (USENER), 59,16-60,11] corresponds to *VS* 57 (SCHWARTZ), 157,7-23; see also K. KRUMBACHER, *o.c.*, 310.

²⁹⁹ Cyril, who knew Theodore's writing, cannot depend exclusively on it: he quotes the whole petition, whereas Theodore quotes only roughly half of the text. As to Theodore, Krumbacher observes: "Theodoros hat das Schriftstück ziemlich frei überarbeitet," K. KRUMBACHER, "Studien zu den Legenden des heiligen Theodosius", 309. Apparently, we have to interpret this remark from a mere philological point of view: Schwartz's apparatus of the *VS*, which is for the petition also based upon Usener's edition of Theodore, supplied by Krumbacher's "Ergänzungen" (see above, 112, n.244), shows a considerable number of variants in Theodore's quotations (sometimes shared by MSS of the *VS*). Indeed, some of those variants may have been introduced by Theodore himself, for stylistic reasons, but the agreement with Cyril remains so great that, for both authors, we have to exclude the possibility of a paraphrase or substantial manipulations of the original text.

³⁰⁰ THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 60,12-16.

Archimandrite.³⁰¹ The content of the letter, as quoted by Theodore,³⁰² confirms, at least, that the Emperor addresses to *one single* person of high clerical rank, from whom he received the petition.³⁰³ After this correspondence, according to Theodore, the Emperor mitigates a little his war against the Church, showing himself pious, but soon he "returns to his own vomit"³⁰⁴ and starts issuing new decrees against the orthodox faith. This time, Abba Theodosius is explicitly mentioned as *the only one* who resists, but perhaps, as Theodore observes, this was just because all others wanted to yield the honor to their common father:

Whereas all were in distress and no one resisted – maybe, they resigned from the παρρησία in this affair to yield it to their common father, in order that his rank would be honored and his old age would be adorned with youthful audacity – [Theodosius] rose with great eagerness to complete the struggle for faith with παρρησία. He ascended the elevated place of the Holy Anastasis, where the servants of the altar are used to doing the readings in front of the people, he raised his voice and proclaimed: "If anyone does not accept like the four holy gospels the four holy councils, let him be anathema."³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Ἐπιστολὴ ἀντιγραφεῖσα παρὰ Ἀναστασίου βασιλέως τῷ μακαρίῳ ἀββᾶ Θεοδοσίῳ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ, *ibid.*, 60,17-19.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 60,20-61,25.

³⁰³ Three times a formula like "Your Grace" appears, indicated by a *second person singular*: ἡ σὴ θεοφιλία, *ibid.*, 60,20; ἡ σὴ θεοσεβεία, *ibid.*, 61,5-6; τῆς θεοφιλίας σου, *ibid.*, 61,22-23. The Emperor starts with referring to a written text he received from the sender, about evil things happening under his reign because of the faith: "Ἐγραψεν ἡ σὴ θεοφιλία, ὅτι οὐκ ὤφειλεν ταῦτα τὰ κακὰ κινεῖσθαι τῆς πίστεως ἕνεκεν, ἀ νῦν ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἐκινήθη, *ibid.*, 60,20-22. As a real politician (and in his late 80's), he does not commit himself too explicitly in concrete terms, but rather seems to elevate himself above the parties. He attributes the responsibility for the troubles to anonymous monks and clerics, liars who quarrel among themselves to take the first place and who made him almost lose his sense for the mystery of faith. He ends by asking prayers for peace and unity in the Church, expressing also gratitude for the blessings received from the petitioner as well as for the delegation of monks sent to him. With regard to this letter, L. Perrone remarks: "La severa diagnosi dell'imperatore rivela accenti così sinceri, che non può essere intesa solo come un frutto dell'incertezza politica, introdotta dalle nuove minacce di Vitaliano," L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 173.

³⁰⁴ ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἐπάνεισιν ἕμετον, THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 62,1-2 (cf. Prov. 26:11).

³⁰⁵ πάντων γὰρ ἀμχανούντων καὶ μηδ' ἑνὸς ἀντιπίπτοντος, ἴσως τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ παρρησίας παραχωρούντων, ἵνα καὶ τάξεις τιμηθῇ καὶ γῆρας εὐσεβῶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ θεοῦ κινδύνοις νεανιεύσῃται, διανίσταται προθύμως πρὸς τὸ τελέσαι μετὰ παρρησίας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀγῶνα. καὶ ἀναβάς εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεως ὑπερέχοντα τόπον, οὐ τὰς ἀναγνώσεις ποιοῦνται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν οἱ τῷ

Thus reaching the pinnacle of his fame, Theodosius starts a courageous campaign in defense of Chalcedonian faith, going through all the villages “together with the monks of the desert who were inspired by the same zeal for the faith”.³⁰⁶ A long theological passage follows, in which Theodore explains Theodosius’ doctrine of orthodox faith.³⁰⁷ Finally, we read how the Emperor Anastasius, enraged, prepares a decree to exile Theodosius; but before such a decree has become effective, the Emperor dies by divine justice.³⁰⁸

c. The irreconcilability of Theodore’s and Cyril’s stories is self-evident. We may summarize the main contradictions as follows: (1) Both biographers claim a leader’s role for their own hero, tending to monopolize the initiatives to the struggle. Theodore is the most explicit on this point: whereas Cyril at least mentions Theodosius several times, Theodore does not mention Sabas at all. (2) Cyril presents the petition to the Emperor as the final climax of the story, while Theodore puts it almost at the beginning. (3) In Cyril, the whole story is preceded by the account of an important mission of monastic superiors, headed by Sabas, to Constantinople in order to appease the Emperor; in Theodore, it is not mentioned. (4) According to Cyril, the Emperor, on receiving the petition, refrains from occupying himself with the Palestinian troubles because of new threats by Vitalian; according to Theodore, however, he reacts by writing an apologetic response which he addresses exclusively to Theodosius, and after a short interval there are new confrontations.

θουσιαστηρίω παρεδρεύοντες, ἐπῆρεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπεφθέγγετο οὕτως· “Ἐἴ τις οὐ δέχεται ὡς τὰ τέσσαρα ἅγια εὐαγγέλια τὰς ἁγίας τέσσαρας συνόδους, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα”, *ibid.*, 62,7-19 (transl. DH).

³⁰⁶ μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐρήμου τῶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ζήλῳ τῆς πίστεως ἠκονημένων, *ibid.*, 62,22-63,2.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 63,8-68,19.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 69,3-11. In the following passage, Theodore concludes Theodosius’ general efforts in defense of orthodox faith, referring also to his rejection of Origenism: “Especially, he abhorred the damned impiety of Origen, because he had bespattered the pure and odoriferous preaching of the apostles mixing it, like perfume with mud, with the Hellenistic and diabolical doctrines” (κατ’ ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν Ὀριγένους τοῦ ἐπαράτου ἐβδελύττετο ἀσέβειαν, ὅτι περ καθῶς μύρω βόρβορον, οὕτω τῷ καθαρῷ καὶ εὐώδει τῶν ἀποστόλων κηρύγματι τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ δαιμονιώδη φύρων ἐγκατέμιξε δόγματα), *ibid.*, 70,7-12. This is the only place in Theodore’s *Vita Theodosii*, where we find a possible allusion to the Origenist Controversy.

The scanty information we derive from other sources, such as the Church Histories of Theodore Anagnostes,³⁰⁹ Evagrius Scholasticus³¹⁰ and (Pseudo-) Zacharias,³¹¹ does not permit us to verify Theodore’s and Cyril’s claims concerning individual roles in the Palestinian struggle for Chalcedonian faith in the years 512-518.³¹² As a consequence, we cannot determine with certainty which of the two biographers deserves more credit. But neither can we take Cyril’s accuracy for granted *a priori*, at the expense of Theodore, merely because of their different reputations.³¹³ In both authors, we may discover not only the tendency to monopolize the role of their own hero (even claiming the agreement of the other party), but also to minimize, if not negate, the role of the other. This makes both biographers suspect.

Theodore must intentionally have negated Sabas’ possible contribution to the Palestinian resistance, especially when relating the scene at the ambo of the Anastasis. The statement “no one resisted” (καὶ μηδ’ ἐνός ἀντιπίπτοντος)³¹⁴ must have sounded like a gross misstatement in the ears of Cyril.³¹⁵ “Maybe (ἴσως)”, Theodore observes, no one resisted Anastasius’ anti-Chalcedonian decrees, because “they resigned from the παρρησία in this affair to yield it to their common father (τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ παρρησίας παραχωρούντων).”³¹⁶ By using the verb παραχωρεῖν, Theodore suggests that all others stepped aside³¹⁷ (or even: “with-

³⁰⁹ THEODORUS ANAGNOSTES, *HE*, 517-519 (fragments and excerpts), ed. G. HANSEN, *Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte*, GCS, Berlin 1971, 149-150. See also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 61-62, nrs. 5-7^b.

³¹⁰ EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* III, 30-33, ed. J. BIDEZ/ L. PARMENTIER, *The Ecclesiastical History*, London 1898, 125,32-133,14. The work should be dated to 594; see F. CARCIONE, *Evagrio di Epifania: Storia Ecclesiastica*, ColTP 141, Roma 1998, 5.

³¹¹ (Pseudo-)ZACHARIAS RHETOR, *HE* VII, 10-14, ed. E. BROOKS, CSCO 88 (= *Scriptores Syri* 42), Louvain 1924 (repr. 1954), 34-40 (Latin translation). The books VII-XII of this Syriac writing, transmitted under the name of the Monophysite Church historian Zacharias Rhetor, are a continuation by an anonymous author.

³¹² E.g. L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 163, n.51.

³¹³ See for example the approach of J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 45.

³¹⁴ THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 62,7-8.

³¹⁵ In actual fact, Cyril would *not* have been scandalized by Theodore’s presentation of the facts (comp. with the text quoted above, 116 with n.263; see also 117, n.269), only in the hypothetical case that he himself invented everything he wrote about Sabas’ leading role.

³¹⁶ THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 62,8-9.

³¹⁷ In my translation, I gave a paraphrase to render its signification (to go aside, make way, give place, yield, concede, allow, hand over, etc.). The dative expresses “in favor of s.o.” and the genitive a “resignation from s.t.” (τῆς πολιτείας, τῆς ἀρχῆς). The signification is also circumscribed as: “to step aside out of the way for another”, LIDDELL/ SCOTT, 1331. See also LAMPE, 1029.

drew from the pulpit”³¹⁸) to give place to Theodosius’ παρησία, recognizing thus his superiority and authority.³¹⁹ The full import of this suggestion only becomes clear when we compare Theodore’s account with that of Cyril: then, it appears to imply a disguised allusion to a rival tradition about Sabas, which is at the base of Cyril’s version of the struggle and which is, obviously, rejected by Theodore.

As to the scene at the ambo according to Cyril, it is the new Patriarch who takes the initiative: he summons all the monks to Jerusalem and ascends the pulpit flanked by both Theodosius and Sabas. At the shouting of ten thousand monks, the three proclaim “with one voice” (ἐκ συμφώνου) their adherence to the Council of Chalcedon, in front of the *dux*, who expects the will of the Emperor to be done. Then, they descend (κατελθόντων), by which Cyril clearly indicates that the crucial act is done. As an extra, he has Theodosius return (ὑποστρέψας) to utter his famous phrase about the four councils and the four gospels.³²⁰ Cyril, though not denying Theodosius’ action, apparently tries to minimize it as incidental. We may read here, also from Cyril’s side, a disguised attack on the rival tradition about Theodosius’ predominance, as reflected in Theodore’s writing which was known by Cyril. Thus, both stories appear to be based upon two competing traditions about the events at the mass demonstration in 516/517.

There remains the petition to the Emperor. Cyril attributes it to both archimandrites, who write it after having assembled all monks of the desert and “being one of mind” (μιᾶς γνώμης γεγονότες).³²¹ But this scene is seriously contradicted by Theodore, who not only attributes the petition to

³¹⁸ According to a Greek-Dutch dictionary, in Attic Greek the verb has the special meaning of: “to withdraw from the pulpit” (“van het spreekgestoelte weggaan: zich terugtrekken”), cf. F. MULLER/ J. THIEL/ W. DEN BOER, *Beknopt Grieks-Nederlands woordenboek*, Groningen 1984¹¹, 552.

³¹⁹ According to the Greek-Italian dictionary of Montanari, παραχωρεῖν means also: “riconoscere l’autorità di”, or: “riconoscersi inferiore a”, MONTANARI, *Vocabulario della lingua greca*, G-I, Torino 1995, 1499. See also LAMPE, 1029: 6th signification: “to be inferior”.

³²⁰ VS 56 (SCHWARTZ), 152,2-5. Cyril’s referring to Theodosius’ phrase may indicate the existence of a strong tradition in this respect, which could not be negated. Also in the petition (attributed particularly to Theodosius by Theodore), the four holy councils are put on a level with the gospels, VS 57 (SCHWARTZ), 155,17-24 = THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 58,10-19.

³²¹ VS 57 (SCHWARTZ), 152,19 (see the text quoted above, 122 with n.288).

Theodosius “and the other superiors of the desert”,³²² but also connects it with a response of Anastasius addressed exclusively to Theodosius. I presume that Theodore deserves more credit at this point. The exactitude of his quotations from the petition, as it appears from the agreement with Cyril’s parallel passages,³²³ makes it plausible that he also quoted accurately an existing letter and did not invent it or manipulate the text.³²⁴ As to Cyril, however, we can easily find an explanation for his suppressing the imperial letter (as it appears in Theodore): it implies a contradiction to his claim that Sabas, at least, wrote the petition as one of the originators side by side with Theodosius. Besides, in Cyril’s account, the absence of Anastasius’ reaction at the end causes an unsatisfactory gap, which may strengthen the suspicion that he omitted here some essential information.³²⁵

³²² THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 56,22 (quoted above, 117 with n. 266). This does not necessarily exclude Sabas’ participation, but it contradicts Cyril’s scene of two unanimous monastic leaders who took the initiative together.

³²³ See above, 124, n.299.

³²⁴ I see two more arguments pleading against an invention or manipulation by Theodore. 1) A pure invention of the imperial letter by Theodore, or even his substantially changing an existing document, which Cyril certainly would have known, makes the latter’s surprising appraisal of Theodores accuracy [*VTheod.* (SCHWARTZ), 239,19-20; see the text quoted above, 116, n.263] the more inexplicable. 2) If Theodore had invented or manipulated the text, we should draw the improbable conclusion that he, being a rhetorical panegyrist, resisted the temptation to create an exaggerated imperial reaction of submissiveness upon the holiness of his hero, according to a well-known hagiographic commonplace. Compare e.g. the meetings of Saint Sabas with Anastasius, VS 51 (*ibid.*), 142,3-21, and with Justinian, VS 71 (*ibid.*), 173, 17-27.

³²⁵ Schwartz even rejects the reason as given by Cyril for Anastasius’ refraining from a reaction upon the petition (see the text quoted above, 123 with n.290): “Vitalian war 515 derartig geschlagen, daß er für den Kaiser keine Gefahr mehr bedeutete. Die durch Theodor von Petra [p.60 Usener] erhaltene Antwort des Kaisers hat Kyrill ignoriert,” E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 158 (3-6); see also *ibid.*, 386. Festugière, however, tries to rebut Schwartz’s implicit accusation that Cyril gave a false reason, stating that “on peut tout aussi bien prendre Cyrille au pied de la lettre” and maintains that, in 518, Vitalian could have recovered his forces sufficiently to form a new threat to Anastasius. Also other political circumstances could well have pushed the 88 year old Emperor, when receiving the petition, to leave the Palestinian Chalcedonians in peace. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les Moines d’Orient*, III/2, 81, n.167 (with ref. to E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, Paris (etc.) 1949, 184 ss; and to P. PEETERS, in *Mélanges Grégoire*, Bruxelles 1950, 5-55 = *Recherches d’Histoire et de Philologie Orientales* II, Bruxelles 1951, 233 ss.). Nevertheless, Festugière concedes that Anastasius “répondit à la pétition de Sabas (*sic*) et Théodose” (with ref. to THEODORUS PETRENSIS, *Vita Theodosii* (USENER), 60,17ss.), “bien que Cyrille n’en dise mot”, A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *o.c.*, 81, n.167. Also Patrich remarks briefly that Sabas is not mentioned in the imperial letter, “which may be why Cyril does not refer to it”, J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 308.

d. A further development of the comparison between Cyril's and Theodore's accounts of the dogmatic struggle in 512-518, though interesting, would take us beyond the limits of our subject; this brief contrast is sufficient for our purpose. It shows that both biographers, following a proper tradition, claim, with regard to an important historical episode, the leading part for their own favorite, while minimizing the part of the other.³²⁶ In addition, both claim the unanimous acknowledgment of their champion's predominance within an idealized setting of peaceful agreement. Only when one sees that the two accounts are irreconcilable, does it become clear that none of these claims can fit in with historical reality. This confirms our thesis that Cyril's biography, in spite of its "historiographic" character, should be approached fundamentally as a compilation of edifying stories about an idealized hero, who assumed enlarged dimensions by a process of hagiographic stylization.

Conclusion of the first chapter

In this chapter, I surveyed the content of the *VS* in view of my argument that Cyril's account of the Origenist Controversy forms an integral part of a monastic biography. Examining the literary genre, as well as the place and function of the story of Origenism within the total composition of the biography, I arrived at the provisional conclusion that, in our approach to this story as a historical source, we should reckon with hagiographic transformations of historical truth. The comparison between another story in the *VS* about the victory of orthodoxy and a parallel source dealing with the same events appears to support this conclusion.

³²⁶ Both biographers often mention their favorite while adding: "together with the other superiors of the desert" (or an equivalent expression). This does not necessarily exclude the opposite hero but, at best, puts him on an inferior plane. As to Theodore, he never explicitly mentions Sabas but at least once, as we saw, he must implicitly have alluded to a rival tradition about him. Cyril from his side, while mostly speaking about "the other superiors" or "the holy fathers" (*etc.*), only mentions Theodosius in the context of the scene at the ambo and the petition to the Emperor, that is, when the mentioning of Theodosius was apparently unavoidable. So we may assume that Cyril, after all, was a little more sincere than the cenobitic eulogist, or perhaps, that he had to deal with stronger traditions concerning Abba Theodosius. For Cyril's tendency to suppress Theodosius' role, see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 98-100. Theodosius appears as the only saint in Cyril's Lives who does not perform miracles, in spite of "indications suffisantes" Cyril could have found in the writing of Theodore of Petra, *ibid*, 199-200. See also above, 119, n.275.

CHAPTER 2

"ORIGENISM" AND "ANTI-ORIGENISM"

IN SEARCH OF THE UNDERLYING CONFLICT

Introduction

Examining the literary genre of Cyril of Scythopolis' monastic Lives, we found an initial confirmation of our suspicion that Cyril, in general, does not always tell the truth in an objective historical sense. However, as regards the Second Origenist Controversy, it remains difficult to establish the degree to which Cyril might have distorted the facts. His account, our principal source for the conflict, is not counterbalanced by parallel sources that could permit us to evaluate more concretely its historical reliability. But we have a *corpus* of sixth-century theological writings that may partially fulfill this function. The author is identified as Leontius of Byzantium, that is, one of the actual leaders of the Origenist party in Cyril's writings. This identification, however, is surrounded by "a number of historical problems".¹ This will be the subject of a first, long section in the present chapter.

A comparison of Cyril's writings with those of Leontius not only adds to the evidence against the former's historical trustworthiness, but it also leads to the conjecture that a more complicated conflict in the Palestinian monastic world underlay the Second Origenist Controversy. It seems that there was much more at stake in the battle than the mere inheritance of Origen, or the mere theological positions that were finally condemned as

¹ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 249.

"Origenist". So the parties opposing each other must have represented more than just "Origenism" and "anti-Origenism". In the other sections of this chapter, I shall search for the various dimensions of the underlying conflict touching the Christological, the political, the spiritual and the intellectual spheres.

1. Leontius of Byzantium: a strict Chalcedonian or a crypto-Origenist?

If we may rely upon the consensus among scholars, then we have a *corpus* of authentic writings from the hand of Leontius of Byzantium, the same Leontius whom we encounter as a prominent Origenist in Cyril's *VS*. The acceptance of this identification would open a large field of possibilities for our research. We might, then, compare the picture of *Leontius the Origenist*, painted by Cyril, with the picture we derive from what *Leontius the author* reveals about himself. The fact is, there is a striking discordance between the two pictures: Leontius the author appears as a sincere Chalcedonian, who seems primarily concerned to elucidate the formula $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \upsilon\pi\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron \phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, whereas Cyril denounces *his* Leontius as a secret Origenist who only pretends to defend the Council of Chalcedon. In this section, I shall compare both pictures, and examine the consensus regarding the identity of the personage. Then, I shall evaluate the results of the comparison in view of our main interest concerning Cyril's historical trustworthiness, and indicate my position with respect to a long scholarly tradition of interpreting the discrepancy between the two portraits of Leontius.

Leontius the Origenist, as he appears in Cyril's writings

As we read in the *Vita Sabae*, in April 531, Saint Sabas, over ninety years old, is sent by Patriarch Peter on a second mission to Constantinople, this time to meet with Emperor Justinian.² In one of his encounters with the Emperor, the Saint predicts the successful restoration of the ancient Roman empire, so that Justinian may extirpate the heresies of Arianism, Nestorianism and Origenism. As has been said, the last two heresies are mentioned because among the monks accompanying Sabas, there are found, according to Cyril, adherents of both Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Origen.³ The first heretics remain anonymous and Cyril refers to them only in passing: they are detected in the basilica "when disputing with the Aposchists".⁴ The subject of Origenism, however, receives more attention and is connected with a concrete name. One of the monks with Sabas, "Byzantine by birth and named Leontius" (Βυζάντιος τῷ γένει Λεόντιος ὀνόματι),⁵ who was already among those admitted with Nonnus into the New Laura in 519/520,⁶ appears to be a secret adherent of Origen: "though pretending (προσποιούμενος) to defend the Council of Chalcedon, he was identified as holding the views of Origen".⁷ As a result, both Leontius and

² VS 70 (SCHWARTZ), 173,4-11. For the general background, see above, 75, n.91; for the question of the dating, see *ibid.*, n.92.

³ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,7-16 (see the text quoted above, 76-77 with n.97).

⁴ μετὰ τῶν Ἀποσχιστῶν ἀντιβάλλοντες, VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,9. Cyril obviously refers to preparatory encounters between Chalcedonians and Monophysites which preceded the *Collatio cum Severianis* in 532. See above, 76, n.94.

⁵ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,12.

⁶ As we saw, in 514 Nonnus and three other monks (whose names are not mentioned) were found in the New Laura as the first Origenists, according to Cyril, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,21-29 (quoted above, 72 with n.77). They were exiled to the πεδίος, where they "sowed the weeds" of their heresy, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,3-4 (see above, 72, n.78). Five years later, after the death of the superior Agapētus, "Nonnus and his companions" (οἱ περὶ Νόννον) were "secretly" (λανθανόντως) admitted by Mamas into the New Laura; from then on, they kept their heresy hidden in their hearts out of fear of Sabas, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-23 (quoted above, 73 with n.80; see also 77, n.95).

⁷ τῆς γὰρ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προϊστασθαι προσποιούμενος ἐγνώσθη τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονῶν, VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,15-16 (transl. DH; comp. with Price's transl. above, 77 at n.96). Cyril's text does not imply that Leontius was one of the first four Origenists detected by Agapētus in 514, as some scholars conclude. See e.g. L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 167, n.1. We can only conclude from the text that Leontius belonged to the group of "Nonnus and his companions", when these were readmitted into the New Laura in 519/520.

the anonymous adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia are expelled from Sabas' company⁸ and left behind in Constantinople, when the Saint sails back to Palestine in September 531.⁹

In Cyril's account of the Origenist controversy, this Leontius appears several times as one of the leaders of the Origenist party. In 536, five years after the incident that caused his expulsion as a heretic by Sabas, Leontius is found to be an influential man in the capital: due to his connection with *Papas* Eusebius, two prominent Origenists, Domitian and Theodore Ascidas, are introduced to the Emperor and, as we saw, allowed to "take part in the first παρρησία in the palace"; they become respectively the bishops of Galatia and Caesarea of Cappadocia.¹⁰ In the next year 537, when Abba Gelasius of the Great Laura has a writing of Antipatrus of Bostra against Origen read out in the church – thus causing a crisis which results in the expulsion of forty Origenists who take refuge with Nonnus in the New Laura – we find Leontius of Byzantium there on the spot. Leontius, as Cyril writes, "had returned from Constantinople and was raging against the successors of blessed Sabas, and inveighed against Abba Gelasius and the fathers of the Great Laura".¹¹ "Harboring long since a grudge against the blessed Sabas",¹² he organizes a riot against Sabas' successor Gelasius and the Great Laura, but thanks to the divine Providence this initiative turns out to be unsuccessful.¹³

About two years later, *Papas* Eusebius, coming from a synod at Gaza, passes by Jerusalem on his way back to Constantinople. According to Cyril, Leontius seizes the opportunity and presents to the high official the forty Origenists expelled from the Great Laura. They accuse Gelasius of being responsible for the split in the community by his taking side with the anti-Origenists.¹⁴ Eusebius, "misled", as Cyril writes, "by Leontius' words and knowing nothing about their heresy",¹⁵ takes the Origenists under his pro-

⁸ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,16-19 (see the text quoted above, 77 with n.97).

⁹ VS 74 (SCHWARTZ), 179,9-11. For the dating, see above, 75, n.92.

¹⁰ VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,1-9 (quoted above, 80 with n.113; see also 111 at n.241).

¹¹ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως παραγεγονότα καὶ κατὰ τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα διαδόχων ἐμμανῶς ἔχοντα κατεβῶν τοῦ τε ἀββᾶ Γελασίου καὶ τῶν τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας πατέρων, VS 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,4-7.

¹² ἐνέχων ἔκπαλαι τῷ μακαρίτῃ Σάβῃ, *ibid.*, 190,8-9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 189,14-190,29 (see above, 81 with nn.116-117).

¹⁴ VS 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191,3-7.

¹⁵ ὑπὸ τῶν Λεοντίου λόγων ἀπατηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως γνοὺς, *ibid.*, 191,8-9 (see also above, 81, n.120).

tection, so that the conflict spreads further and further. Abba Gelasius is forced by Eusebius either to receive back the expelled Origenists or to expel their opponents; six anti-Origenists accept a voluntary exile, but they go off to Patriarch Ephraem of Antioch who, alarmed, convokes a synod to condemn the doctrines of Origen. Thereupon, Nonnus and his party, "having as fellow combatants Leontius, who has sailed back to Constantinople, as well as Domitian of Galatia and Theodore of Cappadocia",¹⁶ put pressure on Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem to strike off Ephraem's name from the sacred diptychs. But the Patriarch, on his part, sends secretly for Sophronius and Gelasius (the successors respectively of the archimandrites Theodosius and Sabas), and tells them to address to him a *libellus* against the Origenists, in which they adjure him not to remove Patriarch Ephraem's name from the diptychs. Patriarch Peter receives the *libellus* and sends it to Emperor Justinian, whereupon the latter issues his edict against Origen.¹⁷ The edict is published in Jerusalem in February 543¹⁸ and subscribed to by the Palestinian bishops and superiors. Nonnus and other Origenist leaders leave the catholic communion and withdraw, again, to the πεδίασ. This news reaches Constantinople, but there, as Cyril relates, both *Papas* Eusebius and Leontius of Byzantium have already died.¹⁹ It is now Theodore Ascidas who, in spite of his degrading defeat by having been forced to sign the imperial edict,²⁰ becomes the first protagonist for Origenism in the capital: he maintains a position powerful enough, apparently, to initiate fierce persecutions

¹⁶ συνασπιστὰς ἔχοντες Λεόντιόν τε τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀναπλεύσαντα καὶ Δομετιανὸν τὸν Γαλατίας καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν Καππαδοκίας, VS 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191,21-24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 191,25-192,3 (see the text quoted above, 82, n.126; for the edict, see n.124).

¹⁸ This date is precisely indicated by Cyril, VS 86 (SCHWARTZ), 192,12-14.

¹⁹ ἤδη τοῦ πάπα Εὐσεβίου κοιμηθέντος καὶ Λεοντίου ἀποθανόντος, *ibid.*, 192,21-22. Here Cyril does not precisely indicate a date. According to the text, Leontius can hardly have died much later than the spring of 543. Justinian's edict was published in Jerusalem in February 543. After it had been subscribed to by the Palestinian bishops and superiors, the Origenists withdrew to the πεδίασ. When this news reached Constantinople, Leontius had already died (ἤδη ἀποθανόντος), *ibid.*, 192,12-22. Thus, the text permits us to assume that Leontius died either *before* or *after* Justinian issued the edict, but the distance of time cannot be very large. He must have died between the fall of 542 and the spring of 543.

²⁰ VS 85 (SCHWARTZ), 192,3-4.

against the orthodox,²¹ to rule the imperial palace,²² and to threaten Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem with deposition from his see.²³

Leontius of Byzantium is also mentioned in the *Vita Cyriaci*. In this Life, Cyril reports in an autobiographical passage the encounter he had, as a young monk, with Abba Cyriacus.²⁴ At the beginning of the episode, we read how Cyril went from the monastery of Euthymius²⁵ to the Great Laura to visit Abba John the Hesychast.²⁶ John, in his turn, sends him to Abba Cyriacus at Souka,²⁷ with a letter urging him to intercede with God on behalf of the orthodox who are hard pressed by the growing power of the Origenists:

I was sent by him [*scil.* John, DH] to Abba Cyriacus with a letter²⁸ recounting the recent civil war in the holy city and entreating him to strive now in intercession with God to quell the raging of Nonnus and Leontius and their party at the New Laura, who were campaigning against Christ by means of the doctrines of Origen.²⁹

With this message, Cyril is received by Cyriacus in his cave. The old hermit reacts with tears and utters encouraging words, addressing them to

²¹ κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων (...) βαρύτατοι διωγμοί, *ibid.*, 192,10-11 (see above, 83, n.127).

²² τοῦ παλατίου κρατῶν, *VS* 86 (SCHWARTZ), 192,22-23.

²³ ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων αὐτὸν ἐν ταύταις ποιῶ ταῖς ἡμέραις, *ibid.*, 192,26.

²⁴ *VC* 11-15 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26 (see also above, p.35, n.65 and p.61, n.13).

²⁵ ἀπὸ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐθυμίου παραβαλῶν, *VC* 11 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7. Cyril made his renunciation at Scythopolis in 543 and entered the monastery of Euthymius in July 544. We may deduce this from his other autobiographical notes, *VE* 49 (*ibid.*), 71,10-72,7; *VIH* 20 (*ibid.*), 216,8-217,12. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 14. Diekamp's chronology was confirmed (against E. Schwartz) by E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", *AB* 62 (1944), 172-174, 179. This chronology is generally accepted since. See e.g. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, pp.9, 24, 126-127 with n.159; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, pp.16, 29-30; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 91, n.104.

²⁶ In the *VIH*, Cyril relates that, after entering the monastery of Euthymius, he continually visited John the Hesychast to confess his inner state to him, *VIH* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 217,12-13.

²⁷ For the Laura of Souka, see above, 70, n.72 and the map below, 381.

²⁸ R. Price translates: "with letters".

²⁹ ἀπεστάλην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κυριακὸν μετὰ γραμμάτων διηγουμένων περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει δημοσίου πολέμου καὶ δυσωποῦντων αὐτὸν νῦν ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν πρεσβείαις πρὸς τὸ ἐν τάχει καταβληθῆναι τὸ φρούραγμα πᾶν ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ μετὰ Νόννου καὶ Λεοντίου κατὰ Χριστοῦ στρατευομένων διὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων, *VC* 11 (SCHWARTZ), 229, 9-15.

John who sent Cyril. He predicts the approaching death of Nonnus and Leontius³⁰ and the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura.³¹ When the young Cyril asks whether the views propagandized by the Origenists are indeed dangerous, Abba Cyriacus starts a fulminating tirade against their heresy. Their abominable and impious doctrines cannot come from God, who spoke through the prophets and the apostles, but they derive from Pythagoras and Plato, and from Origen, Evagrius and Didymus.³² The Origenists are wasting their energy on such harmful vanities, instead of practicing the monastic virtues and following the humble path of Christ.³³ Cyriacus continues:

The sower of all these tares³⁴ and cause of these evils was Nonnus, who, taking advantage of the death of our blessed father Sabas, began to make his neighbor drink of a foul concoction,³⁵ having Leontius of Byzantium as his assistant, champion and fellow-combatant. At first he seduced into his abominable heresy the more lettered (τοὺς λογιωτέρους), or rather [we should call them] the more unlettered

³⁰ ὁψόμεθα γὰρ ἐν τάχει τὴν μὲν Νόννου καὶ Λεοντίου ἐν θανάτῳ κατάλυσιν, *ibid.*, 229,20-21. These words suggest that Cyril's meeting with Cyriacus took place before Leontius' death, that is, at the latest, in the spring of 543 (see above, 135, n.19). However, this does not fit in with Cyril's chronology according to which he entered the monastery of Euthymius in July 544 (see above, 136, n.25), whereas the text indicates that he visited Cyriacus after that event. We have to reject Festugière's remark dating the visit to 543; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 46, n.37. Festugière's remark is based upon a footnote in his translation of the *VIH*, regarding Cyril's autobiographical passage in that Life, *VIH* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 216,8-217,12. There, Festugière follows Schwartz's comment *ad locum* (A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *o.c.*, 28, n.59), and thus he arrives at a dating of Cyril's entering the monastery of Euthymius to July 543, *ibid.*, 29, n.63. By this, however, he contradicts his own dating of the same event to July 544, elsewhere in his work, according to the consensus; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, pp.9, 24, 126-127 with n.159. We can only assume, as Cyril visited Abba Cyriacus after he had entered the monastery of Euthymius, that the visit took place after July 544. See J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 213, n.148. So the reference to a future death of Leontius, put into Cyriacus' mouth, causes a difficulty which should be resolved. I shall discuss this below.

³¹ *VC* 11 (SCHWARTZ), 229,22-24.

³² οὐ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα μεμαθήκασιν, μὴ γένοιτο, τοῦ λαλήσαντος διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος Ὀριγένους τε καὶ Εὐαργίου καὶ Διδύμου παρειλήφασιν τὰ μυστὰ ταῦτα καὶ δυσσεβῆ δόγματα, *VC* 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,11-14.

³³ *ibid.*, 230,14-24.

³⁴ Cf. Mt 13:25. See also *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,3-4.

³⁵ Hab 2:15.

(ἀλογώτερος), in the New Laura. He was not satisfied with these monks, but strove to give the other monasteries of the desert a share in his own plague.³⁶

We need not add much to the negative portrait of Leontius of Byzantium as it emerges from Cyril's writings. Leontius appears as a zealous champion for Origenism, playing a prominent part in the group of Nonnus. Expelled from the company of Saint Sabas when his heresy comes out, he soon acquires an influential position with access to the highest circles at the imperial court. As an underhand conspirator and a sly intriguer, he serves the interests of the Origenist party in the capital. Back in Palestine, he ranks among the main instigators of the escalating conflict, leading the Origenist campaign without shrinking from using even physical force. The prospect of his near death can only be a big relief for the pious in their exemplary lives of monastic virtue pleasing to God.

Leontius the author, as he appears in his own writings

In the eighty-sixth tome of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, we find an extensive corpus of writings (1193-2100) attributed to a "Leontius Byzantinus seu Hierosolymitanus".³⁷ These writings are the following: 1. *De sectis* (1193-1268); 2. *Libri tres contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (1268-1396); 3. *Adversus Nestorianos* (1396-1768); 4. *Contra Monophysitas* (1769-1901); 5. *Triginta capita adversus Severum* (also *Epaporèmata*, 1901-1916); 6. *Epilysis* or *Solutio argumentorum Severi* (1916-1946); 7. *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum* (1947-1976); 8. *Sermones* (1976-2004); 9. *Fragmenta* (2004-2016); 10. (*Appendix*;) *Leontii et Ioannis collectanea de rebus sacris* (2017-2100). The mysterious author to whom this corpus was traditionally attributed, also known

³⁶ πάντων δὲ τῶν ζιζανίων ὁ σπορευὼς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γέγονε Νόννος· ὅστις τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα κοιμήσεως δραξάμενος ποτίζειν ἤρξατο τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν, Λεόντιον τὸν Βυζάντιον ὑπουργὸν ἔχων καὶ ὑπέρμαχον καὶ συναγωνιστήν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Νέα λαύρα λογιωτέρους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀλογωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μιὰρὰν συγκατέσπασεν αἵρεσιν· καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθη τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα μοναστήρια τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεταδοῦναι λύμης ἐσπούδασεν, VC 13-14 (SCHWARTZ), 230,26-231,2 (NB. the insertion "[we should call them]" is added to Prices transl.). This text is parallel with VS 83 (*ibid.*), 188,15-20 (see the text quoted above, 78-79 with n.106).

³⁷ PG 86/1, 1185-1186.

as Leontius the Hermit or Leontius the Monk,³⁸ has long been connected with the Leontius of Cyril's writings.³⁹ However, this personage remained somewhat unknown until 1887, when F. Loofs published an epoch-making study on the subject.⁴⁰ For us, of course, it would be of great interest to meet with a "Leontius of Byzantium" appearing from his own writings, because this could offer us possibilities for checking Cyril's account on a very important issue. Therefore, we shall first have a look at the results of Loofs' research, which may be summarized in the following three points:

1. Of the *corpus* in Migne just mentioned, only the writings 2, 5 and 6 are certainly the *authentic* works of a "Leontius of Byzantium" (but 5 and 6 are printed incompletely).

2. The writings 1, 3 and 4 *indirectly* originate from the same "Leontius of Byzantium", who is called also "Leontius of Jerusalem", as the titles of 3 and 4 indicate.⁴¹ These writings, however, are all posterior adaptations of one single original "Grundschrift", or of parts of it.⁴² In this hypothetical work, the writings 5 and 6 (in their complete forms) also had a place, as did 9.⁴³ For Loofs, the authorship of 7, 8 and 10 remained questionable, although they could originate from the same author.⁴⁴

³⁸ See below, 141, n.50.

³⁹ To have some idea of the old discussions concerning the identity of "Leontius Byzantinus seu Hierosolymitanus", one may read the *Notitiae* in Migne, PG 86/1, 1185-1192. See also below, 157, n.110.

⁴⁰ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, TU 3/1, Leipzig 1887.

⁴¹ PG 86/1, 1399 (see also the *Monitum*, *ibid.*, 1395-1398); PG 86/2, 1769.

⁴² According to Loofs, the "Grundschrift" was best reflected in the treatise *De sectis*, from which he took the abbreviated title σχόλια Λεοντίου (see PG 86/1, 1193). See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 136-222; *id.*, "Leontius von Byzanz", *RE* 11 (1902), 395-397.

⁴³ The *Fragmenta* are, almost completely, parallel texts of passages in *De sectis*, *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* and *Epilysis*. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 108-120.

⁴⁴ Loofs assumed that the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum* belonged to the old collection of writings which existed already before 1000, together with the authentic works 2, 5 and 6. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 20. However, in this case he could not establish the accuracy nor the inaccuracy of the tradition attributing this work to Leontius of Byzantium, *ibid.*, 82-92. The *Sermones* and the *Appendix* were scheduled by Loofs to be examined in a second volume, which never appeared, *ibid.*, v. Loofs had to suspend his examination of the *Sermones*; see F. LOOFS, "Leontius von Byzanz", *RE* 11, 398. But in another study, he analyzed the *Appendix*, identifying it as "eine Rezention der ursprünglichen drei Teile der sog. *Sacra Parallela*"; thus, he traced John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela* (CPG 8056) back to Leontius of Byzantium. See F. LOOFS, "Leontius von Byzanz", *RE* 11, 398 (with ref. to *id.*, *Studien Über die dem Johannes von Damascus zugeschriebenen Parallelen*, Halle 1892).

3. Loofs considered the author "Leontius Byzantinus seu Hierosolymitanus" identical with Leontius, a Scythian monk who appeared in Constantinople and in Rome in 519 to participate in the struggle for the theopaschite formula.⁴⁵ He also considered him identical both with Leontius, apocrisarius of the Palestinian monks, who took part in the *Collatio cum Severianis* of 532,⁴⁶ and with Leontius, superior and legate of the Palestinian desert, who was present at the Synod of Menas in 536.⁴⁷ Finally, Loofs confirmed that this Leontius is indeed *Leontius the Origenist* in Cyril's writings.⁴⁸

An exhaustive treatment of the whole discussion provoked by Loofs' research would far exceed the limits of this study. We may observe briefly here that Loofs' results are nowadays accepted only partially by the scholarly consensus. The main difference consists in the present-day insight that, in the "single Leontius" of Loofs, at least *four* different persons should be distinguished. Unfortunately, the name *Leontius* was wide-spread in the

⁴⁵ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 227 (nr.12), 228-261. For the propagandizing of the theopaschite formula (*unus de Trinitate crucifixus*, or: *unus de Trinitate passus est carne*) by the Scythian monks in Constantinople and in Rome, see also A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 333-359.

⁴⁶ The *Collatio cum Severianis* was held in 532; see above, 77, n.94 (with references). For Loofs' dating of the colloquy to 531, see esp. F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 283-284, Anm. We have at our disposal the so-called *Acta* of the colloquy, in Latin, thanks to a letter of the orthodox participant Innocentius of Maronia to his friend, a presbyter Thomas: INNOCENTIUS MARONITA, *Epistula de collatione cum Severianis*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* IV/2, Strasbourg 1914, 169-184. The letter mentions among the orthodox participants a certain *Leontius apocrisarius patrum in sancta civitate constitutorum*, which indicates that a Leontius was present as ἀποκρισιάρχιος (legate) of the monks of the desert of Jerusalem, *ibid.*, 170,6-7. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzantium*, 227 (nr.13), 261-270.

⁴⁷ As has been said, in 536 Patriarch Menas called the σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα of Constantinople to renew the condemnation of the Monophysites. See above, 79, n.108. In the *Acta* of that Synod, the presence of a Leontius is frequently testified by the indication (with slight variations): Λεόντιος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ τοποτηρητῆς πάσης τῆς ἐρήμου, cf. Synodus Constantinopolitana, *Acta*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO* III, Berlin 1940, p.130,24, p.145,34-35, p.158,29, p.165,30, p.174,7. The name appears also as Λεόντιος ἑλέει θεοῦ μοναχός, *ibid.*, 37,1, or Λεόντιος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος ἰδίου μοναστηρίου, *ibid.*, 50,30. The indications imply that this Leontius was a ἡγούμενος "of his own monastery" (see below) and a τοποτηρητῆς (delegate) of all the monks of the deserts of Jerusalem and of the Jordan. "Es müsste ein wunderbares Spiel des Zufalls sein, wenn dieser Leontius nicht mit dem der collatio identisch wäre," F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 272; see also *ibid.*, 227 (nr.14).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 224-225, 274-297.

Byzantine Empire. Leontius the Hermit, who will appear to be identical with Cyril's Leontius of Byzantium,⁴⁹ is certainly the author of *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* (CPG 6813), *Triginta capita adversus Severum* (CPG 6814) and *Epilysis* (CPG 6815).⁵⁰ This Leontius, however, is not identical with Leontius the Scythian monk, who has no writings in the corpus of Migne,⁵¹ nor with Leontius of Jerusalem, to whom the *Adversus Nestorianos* (CPG 6918) and the *Contra Monophysitas* (CPG 6917) are nowadays attributed,⁵² nor with Leontius Scholasticus, or Pseudo-Leontius,

⁴⁹ From now on, I shall reserve the name *Leontius of Byzantium* for Cyril's Leontius, until his identity with Leontius the Hermit (see the following footnote) has been demonstrated below.

⁵⁰ Loofs' conclusion that these three writings are the authentic works of an author called Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος is almost unanimously confirmed by later scholars. For the tradition of this title, see below, 148, n.81. In the MSS, however, the author is not indicated as Leontius of Byzantium, but as Leontius the Hermit, or, more generally, Leontius the Monk. In the *Cod. Laudianus* 92 B (early 10th century, Oxford), we find in the title of the Prologue to the *Libri tres contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* the attribution Λεοντίου τοῦ ἐρημίτου. In the *Cod. Vaticanus* 2195 (1st half of the 10th century), the title of the same work contains the attribution Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ. In the *Laudianus*, there are also other titles: τοῦ ἀββᾶ Λεοντίου (second Book of *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*), Λεοντίου μονάζοντος (*Epilysis*) and Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ καὶ μεγάλης ἀσκητοῦ (in a concluding remark in red, at the end of the codex). That Leontius the author was a hermit is also testified by PHOTIUS, *Bibl.*, cod. 231, PG 103, 1092A4-6. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, pp.13-14, 22, 121-122; E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 388-389, n.2; M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", *REByz* 5 (1947), pp.31-32, n.6 and p.65, n.1.

⁵¹ B. ALTANER, "Der griechische Theologe Leontius und Leontius der skythische Mönch. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung", *ThQ* 127 (1947), 147-165. Loofs' identification of Leontius, our author, with Leontius the Scythian monk was broadly accepted, apart from some hesitations. See *ibid.*, 148-149, n.6. Altaner, however, definitively established "daß die so lange Zeit als sicher geltende Gleichsetzung (...) als irrig und unhaltbar abgelehnt werden muß", *ibid.*, 164. See also A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 194.

⁵² Leontius of Byzantium and Leontius of Jerusalem were still identified by S. REES, "The Life and Personality of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 41 (1940), 263-280. The identity was confuted by M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", *MSR* 1 (1944), 35-88 (repr. in *id.*, *Opera Minora* III, Turnhout/Leuven 1977, art. nr.59). After Richard, most scholars distinguish the two Leontii. See e.g. C. MOELLER, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* I, Würzburg 1951, 700-704; D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington D.C. 1970, 4, 139-143; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, Brescia 1980, 191-197, 260-285. Richard's arguments in favor of a real distinction were confuted by Otto who considered Leontius of Jerusalem as a "vermutliche Bearbeiter" of Leontius of Byzantium. See S. OTTO, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur spätantiken Geistes-*

who is the author of *De sectis* (CPG 6823).⁵³ Of the other writings of Migne's corpus, the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum* (CPG 6817) might also be attributed to Leontius the Hermit – the one who interests us – although this attribution remains doubtful.⁵⁴ The *Fragmenta* (CPG 6819) contain a small number of *excerpta* from the authentic writings already mentioned.⁵⁵

geschichte, München 1968, 149-151, 187-188. Rees continued to equate the two Leontii, against Richard, S. REES, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/ns* 19 (1968), 229-242. Richard's distinction was also seriously attacked by I. FRACEA, 'Ο ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΣ. Βίος καὶ Συγγράμματα. (Κριτική θεώρηση), (diss.), Athens 1984, cf. A. DE HALLEUX, [Review] *RHE* 81 (1986), 139-143. However, De Halleux judged Fracea's arguments not strong enough to convince, though he urged a reconsideration of the question. See A. DE HALLEUX, *o.c.* Finally, Grillmeier, after his analysis of the Christology of the two Leontii, rejected Fracea's thesis and concluded "daß tatsächlich zwei Autoren anzunehmen sind", A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, Freiburg (etc.) 1989, 328. For the analysis: *ibid.*, 194-241, 286-328.

⁵³ The *De sectis* is transmitted under the title (abbreviated): ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΦΩΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ (PG 86/1, 1193). Loofs, considering the work as a "Bearbeitung" of the "Grundschrift" (see above, 139, n.42) by an Abba Theodore, dated it to 579-607; see F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 136-147. Junglas rejected Loofs' "Grundschrifthypothese", but he confirmed his dating and stated "daß de sectis nicht von Leontius stammen kann", J. JUNGLAS, *Leontius von Byzanz: Studien zu seinen Schriften, Quellen und Anschauungen*, Paderborn 1908, 16 (for Loofs' "Grundschrifthypothese", *ibid.*, 1-15). Junglas identified the original author as Theodore of Raithu, but he held that *De sectis* consisted of the notes taken by Theodore's pupil Leontius, thus assuming a second "Leontius of Byzantium" in the early 7th century: Leontius Scholasticus (see the title), *ibid.*, 15-20. Yet, Junglas admitted a complete dependence of Abba Theodore upon the "first" Leontius. Rees, who accepted Junglas' hypothesis of Leontius Scholasticus, established Theodore's fundamental independence, notwithstanding his indebtedness to the first Leontius. See S. REES, "The 'De Sectis': A Treatise Attributed to Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 40 (1939), 346-360. Apart from Rees, Richard arrived at similar results; see M. RICHARD, "Le traité 'De Sectis' et Léonce de Byzance", *RHE* 35 (1939), 695-723 (repr. in *id.*, *Opera Minora* II, Turnhout/Leuven 1977, art. nr. 55). See also J. SPEIGL, "Der Autor der Schrift *De Sectis* über die Konzilien und die Religionspolitik Justinians", *AHC* 2 (1970), 207-230.

⁵⁴ See esp. S. REES, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/ns* 19 (1968), 240-242; D. STIERNON, "Léonce de Byzance, théologien et controversiste", *DSp* 9 (1976), 655.

⁵⁵ For the *Fragmenta*, see above, 139, n.43. There remain the *Sermones* and the *Appendix* in the *corpus* of Migne. The *Sermones* are nowadays attributed to a fifth Leontius: Leontius of Constantinople or Leontius Presbyter. See M. ABINEAU, *Hésychius de Jérusalem, Basile de Séleucie, Jean de Béryste, Pseudo-Chrisostome, Léonce de Constantinople: Homélie paschales*, SC 187, Paris 1972, 342-343. As to the *Appendix*, Holl rejected Loofs' relating it to the *Sacra parallela* which he considered an original work of John of Damascus (see above, 139, n.44), K. HOLL, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus*, Leipzig 1897. The *Appendix* that figures in Migne probably derives from an unknown sixth Leontius, called Leontius of Damascus; see M. RICHARD, "Florilèges spirituels grecs", *DSp* 5 (1964), 478.

Thus the *corpus leontianum*, conceived as the collection of authentic writings of Leontius the Hermit, should be reduced to three, or probably four works: 1. *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*; 2. *Triginta capita adversus Severum*; 3. *Epilysis*; 4. (?) *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum*.⁵⁶ In view of our interest in the personality of Cyril's Leontius as he might emerge from this reduced *corpus*, we should also exclude the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum* because of its doubtful authenticity. As to the other writings, some remarks have to be made concerning the titles and the contents.

The *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* consists, apart from a Prologue (1268-1272), of three Books (λόγοι α', β', γ') each of which is concluded by a florilegium of Patristic texts, printed incompletely in Migne.⁵⁷ The title usually applied to the whole work serves, according to B. Daley, only to indicate the first Book (1273-1316),⁵⁸ in abbreviation *CNE*.⁵⁹ This first treatise defends the Christological formula of the Council of Chalcedon (μία ὑπόστασις ἐν δύο φύσεσιν) against both Nestorius and Eutyches, whose opposite opinions concerning the divinity and the humanity of Christ have in common the confusion between ὑπόστασις (or πρόσωπον) and φύσις (or οὐσία).⁶⁰ In order to explain the "union of essences" (ἔνωσις

⁵⁶ See (apart from CPG 6813-6817) e.g.: J. JUNGLAS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, Paderborn 1908, 1-2; V. GRUMEL, "Léonce de Byzance", *DTC* 9/1 (1926), 401; M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", *REByz* 5 (1947), 31; D. STIERNON, "Léonce de Byzance", *DSp* 9 (1976), 653-654; D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington D.C. 1970, 1 [and also *id.*, "Leontius von Byzanz", *TRE* 21 (1991), 6-7]; B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/ns* 27 (1976), 333, n.2; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, Freiburg (etc.) 1989, 190-191, n.3.

⁵⁷ For the florilegia: PG 86/1, 1308A-1316B, 1353C-1357A, 1384B-1396A. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 24, 25, 29; J. JUNGLAS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, Paderborn 1908, 24-39; R. DEVREBESSE, "Le florilège de Léonce de Byzance", *RevSR* 10 (1930), 545-576.

⁵⁸ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 333, n.2. Daley developed his system of entitlements in his unpublished dissertation, that is, in his critical edition of Leontius' works which has been scheduled long since to appear in CCG. The system has been adopted by A. Grillmeier and will be used also in this study. See A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, pp.190-191, n.3 and p.195.

⁵⁹ The title *CNE* summarizes the Greek title (ἐπιγραφή) of the first Book, as indicated in the Prologue: τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπότητα ἐναντίας δοκίσεως Νεστορίου τε καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς, ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπή, PG 86/1, 1269B8-10.

⁶⁰ Leontius considers ὑπόστασις as the individuating principle by which different beings of the same essence (ὁμοοῦσια) are distinguished from each other, and he uses φύσις as a synonym for οὐσία. Thus specified, one might say that Nestorius, concerned for the *essential distinction* of the divine and the human φύσεις in Christ, divides the single person into "δύο ὑπόστασεις", whereas Eutyches, concerned for the *existential unity* of Christ's

κατ'οὐσίαν) between the divine and human natures in Christ,⁶¹ the author employs the anthropological analogy of the human soul and body: two different natures united in one single person.

The second Book (1316-1357), usually indicated as *CNE 2*, is called by Daley (more appropriately) *Contra Aphthartodocetas*, abbreviated *CA*.⁶² It is a dialogue between an orthodox and an "Aphthartodocete", that is, a Chalcedonian led astray by Julian of Halicarnassus' doctrine of the incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία) of the body of Christ from the moment of his conception.⁶³

The third Book (1357-1396), traditionally known as *CNE 3*, has received the title *Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos*, abbreviated

single ὑπόστασις (in which his divinity and humanity exist together), confuses the two different essences (or natures) as "μία φύσις". The same confusion of terms is at the base of the two previous opposite heresies concerning the Trinity: we might say that Sabellius' concern for the *essential unity* of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit led to the confusion of three ὑπόστασεις ("patripassianism"), whereas Arius' concern for the *existential distinction* between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit led to the (hierarchical) division of God's unique φύσις or οὐσία ("subordinatianism"). See PG 86/1, 1276B12-c9, and the comment of this passage by D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium*, 17-21.

⁶¹ Confuting Evans' interpretation of the "key Leontian phrase" ἕνωσις κατ'οὐσίαν as "union by means of essence" (that is, "union by sameness of nature"), B. Daley translates the phrase as: "union with respect to essence", or "union touching essence", or even "union of essences". According to Daley, the preposition κατά with the accusative suggests "that it is the οὐσία which is involved in the union, but not that it is itself the means of union", and he specifies: "It is precisely *different* essences (...) which are united κατ'οὐσίαν in a single hypostasis," B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 351, and *ibid.*, n.5. After the union, both natures, though connected by a mutual exchange of proper qualities (*communicatio idiomatum*), conserve their own integrity without confusion.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 333, n.2. In the Prologue, the second Book is entitled: πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν προσθεμένους τῇ κατεφθαρμένῃ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκῆτων διάλογος, PG 86/1, 1269D10-12.

⁶³ This doctrine, which has to be rejected as "docetic" (hence Leontius' designation Ἀφθαρτο-δοκηταί) was put forward about 520 by Julian of Halicarnassus against Severus of Antioch and led to an interior controversy within the ranks of the Monophysites. For a classical study, see R. DRAGUET, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ. Étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale suivie des Fragments dogmatiques de Julien (Texte syriaque et traduction grecque)* (diss.), Louvain 1924. Leontius, from his side, writes the *CA* to warn certain Chalcedonians who are seduced by Julian's doctrine. See M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", *REByz 5* (1947), 36-41; and esp. A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 223-241.

DTN.⁶⁴ This writing is a vehement attack upon those who are considered *secret* Nestorians because they adhere to Diodore of Tarsus and especially to Theodore of Mopsuestia: the diatribe is primarily aimed at the latter⁶⁵ who is denounced as a substitute in disguise for Nestorius.⁶⁶

The two other writings may be considered supplements to the first treatise *CNE* after which they follow immediately in the main manuscripts.⁶⁷ The *Epilysis* (1916-1946), abbreviated *Epil*,⁶⁸ offers, in the form of a dialogue, "solutions" (ἐπιλύσεις) in response to new questions raised by the critics. The *Triginta capita adversus Severum* (1901-1916), indicated by Daley as *Epaporèmata*, abbreviated *Epap*,⁶⁹ follows after the *Epil* and was originally meant as its second part.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 333, n.2. In the Prologue, the third Book is called: τῆς ἀπορρήτου καὶ ἀρχειδεστέρας τῶν Νεστοριανῶν ἀσεβείας, καὶ τῶν ταύτης Πατέρων, φώρα καὶ θρίαμβος, PG 86/1, 1272B15-17.

⁶⁵ The writing "is a diatribe – no other word will do – against Theodore of Mopsuestia", D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 1970, 11.

⁶⁶ The adversaries are accused of propagandizing Theodore of Mopsuestia instead of Nestorius (who is condemned): θεόδωρον ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῖς πιστοῖς προίσχονται, *DTN*, PG 86/1 1364A1-2. In this way, they sustain their communion with Nestorius, although they officially anathematize him in order to feign a communion with the Church, *ibid.*, 1364A5-10. In the rest of the treatise, the dogmatic and exegetical errors of Theodore, are exposed. Even if Diodore and Theodore are not explicitly condemned, they are cast out along with their pupil Nestorius who was struck with *anathema*, *ibid.*, 1381c8-14.

⁶⁷ For the manuscript tradition, see below, 146, n.71. Apparently, the author wrote these two works between times to defend his positions exposed in the *CNE* against counter attacks by his adversaries, before pursuing the general plan of his three-part work. See M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 57.

⁶⁸ ἐπίλυσις τῶν ὑπὸ Σευήρου προβεβλημένων συλλογισμῶν. For the abbreviation, see A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 190-191, n.3 (cf. Daley's text edition; see above, 143, n.58).

⁶⁹ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 333, n.2. For the abbreviation: A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 190-191, n.3 (as the preceding footnote). The work is better known as τὰ τριάκοντα κεφάλαια κατὰ Σευήρου. At the end, however, the author indicates the thirty *capita* as ἐπαπορήσεις ("objections"), PG 86/1, 1916A14. Daley represents the full title as follows: "Proposals and Definitions Offered as Objections (ἐπαπορήματα) against Those who Deny the Double Reality of the Divine and the Human Nature in the One Christ, after the Union", B. DALEY, "A Richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ", in *StPatr 24*, Leuven 1993, 239-240, n.4. The text of this work is also published by F. DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum*, Münster 1907, 155-164.

⁷⁰ V. GRUMEL, "Léonce de Byzance", *DTC 9/1* (1926), 402.

Thus, the writings of the reduced *corpus leontinianum*, that is, the authentic writings of Leontius the Hermit, are respectively *CNE*, *Epil*, *Epap*, *CA*, and *DTN*.⁷¹

Now, who is the author of this *corpus*? Unfortunately, he does not provide us with much concrete information about himself. In addition, his writings are extremely difficult, sometimes even "to the point of despair",⁷² and up to our present day there is no scholarly agreement about his precise theological position. In general, one might say that Leontius the Hermit takes part in the sixth century Christological discussion using a strongly polemical style and dialectics of a high technical and abstract quality.⁷³ Within the limits of this study it would take us too far astray to enter into the details of his complicated thinking; presuming that our author is indeed

⁷¹ The reduced *corpus leontinianum* is transmitted completely in Greek (in the order as indicated here) only by two MSS, which are by far the most important in the text tradition: the *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 2195 (1st half 10th cent.) and the *Codex Laudianus graecus* 92B (early 10th cent., Oxford), both mentioned above, 141, n.50. The *Vat.* 2195 contains also the *Adversus fraudes Apollinaristarum*. In the late 16th century, a Latin translation was made from the *Vat.* 2195 by the Jesuit Turrianus (Torres). This text was published as the *editio princeps* in 1603 by H. CANISIUS, *Antiquae lectiones* IV/1, Ingolstadt 1603, 1-157, and reprinted by J. Basnage in H. CANISIUS/J. BASNAGE, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum* (4 vols) I, Amsterdam 1725, 525-630. The Greek text, except the *Epap*, was published for the first time, from the *Vat.* 2195, in 1844 by A. MAI, *Spicilegium romanum* XI 2, Romae 1844, 1-151. The *Epap* is transmitted also in a 7th or 8th century florilegium entitled *Doctrina antiquorum patrum de verbi incarnatione*, partially published for the first time in 1833 by A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* VII/1, Romae 1833, 6-73. For the *Epap*, see *ibid.*, 40-45; also in ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum*, Münster 1907, 155-164. The edition of the reduced *corpus leontinianum* in Migne is a reproduction of the Latin and the Greek texts respectively of Turrianus and Mai. A brief survey of the manuscript tradition of the reduced *corpus*, without a *stemma*, is given by D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 4-7. Daley's critical edition (see above, 143, n.58) is not yet available at the moment that this section of the present study is being written.

⁷² D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 70. Loofs had already mentioned the main obstacles for the reader to acquiring a familiarity with Leontius' writings: "nicht nur die Schwierigkeit des Verständnisses des Griechischen und die Schlechtigkeit der lateinischen Übersetzung, sondern auch die Mangelhaftigkeit des Textes und der scholastische Charakter der erörterten Fragen und ihrer Behandlung", F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 22.

⁷³ M. Simonetti, introducing his text fragment of Leontius' *CNE*, observes: "La sua pagina ci dimostra a quali livelli di tecnicismo e di astrattezza potesse giungere la discussione," M. SIMONETTI, *Il Christo II. Testi teologici e spirituali in lingua greca dal IV al VII secolo*, Milano 1986, 492.

identical with Cyril's Leontius of Byzantium, all we need is a general portrait which can enable us to a certain degree to check the information provided by Cyril, especially with respect to Leontius' "Origenism".

Before we pay attention to what Leontius the Hermit tells us about himself, something must be said about the question of his identity. In agreement with Loofs, it is still generally assumed today that our author – even if his *corpus* of writings is significantly restricted – is the same person as Leontius the Origenist of the *VS*.⁷⁴ In addition, some scholars assume that this person is identical with Leontius the Monk who took part in the *Collatio cum Severianis* in 532 and in the Synod of 536.⁷⁵ The acceptance of the identity of Leontius the Hermit with Cyril's Leontius is of such fundamental importance for this study that we shall have to verify the consensus on

⁷⁴ After Loofs, the identification of Leontius the author with Cyril's Leontius was rejected by W. RÜGAMER, *Leontius von Byzanz. Ein Polemiker aus dem Zeit Justinians*, Würzburg 1894, 58-63; E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 388-389, n.2. This rejection of the identity was opposed by M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 32-33. Richard established "avec fermeté" that the two Leontii are identical, *ibid.*, 63-64. Recently, Leron Shults observed that "virtually all scholars now agree" upon the identity; see F. LERON SHULTS, "A Dubious Christological Formula: From Leontius of Byzantium to Karl Barth", *ThS* 57 (1996), 433. For explicit confirmations, see e.g. D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington D.C. 1970, 2; also *ibid.*, 147-148 (esp. n.2); P. GRAY, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leiden 1979, 90; J. MEYENDORFF, *Le Christ dans la théologie byzantine*, Paris 1969, 79; B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 334-335; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 195; J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 253.

⁷⁵ The Leontius who took part in the Colloquy and in the Synod is assumed to be identical with Leontius of *Jerusalem* by (e.g.) M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Jérusalem et Léonce de Byzance", 81-88; *id.*, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 65; B. ALTANER, "Der griechische Theologe Leontius und Leontius der skythische Mönch", *ThQ* 127 (1947), 165; C. MOELLER, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, Würzburg 1951, 686; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 191-197 with n.53; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 346-347. The Leontius of the Colloquy and the Synod is exclusively identified with Cyril's Leontius the *Origenist* – but not with Leontius our author – by E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 388-392 (see also the preceding footnote). Finally, the Leontius of the Colloquy and the Synod is identified with both Cyril's Leontius the *Origenist* and Leontius our author by (e.g.) D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 156-183 (Evans gives the most extensive and, as I think, most convincing treatment of the question); A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 195 (Grillmeier follows Daley's unpublished text edition; see above, p.143, n.58 and p.146, n.71 at the end); J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 252-253.

this point. The other question, whether this Leontius is also the one who was present at the colloquy and at the synod, although not without interest, is of secondary importance.

A serious objection could be made against the identification of our author with Cyril's Leontius: the writings of the *corpus leontinianum* do not seem to show real traces of what could be called "Origenism".⁷⁶ Nonetheless, the evidence in support of the identity, already produced abundantly in previous studies, is so compelling that we need not deal so much with whether the two Leontii are the same person, as with how to interpret an apparent "lack of Origenism" in Leontius' writings, against the background of Cyril's charges.

Three points of external evidence for the identification can already be mentioned. Firstly, the three-part work *CNE-CA-DTN* is dated to the period between 529 and 544,⁷⁷ which coincides almost exactly with the rather short "public career" of Cyril's Leontius (531-543).⁷⁸ Secondly, the author of the *corpus* is a hermit, which corresponds to the official status of Cyril's Leontius as an anchorite of the New Laura. Thirdly, Cyril qualifies his Leontius as βυζάντιος τῷ γένει⁷⁹ and he often calls him Λεόντιος ὁ Βυζάντιος;⁸⁰ the same title is traditionally applied to the author of the *corpus leontinianum*, as we find it already testified in the seventh or eighth century.⁸¹

⁷⁶ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 274-296. Loofs' analysis of this problem will be treated below.

⁷⁷ In the *DTN*, Leontius refers to the Church of Antioch with the attributive adjunct: τῆς πάλαι μὲν Ἀντιόχου, νῦν δὲ θεοῦ πόλεως καλουμένης, PG 86/1, 1364D1-3. This new name of Theopolis was given to Antioch at its reconstruction after the earthquake of Wednesday 29 November 528; see THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vol. 1, Leipzig 1881, 178,5-7. Thus, the *DTN* was written after that date. In this work, Leontius exposes Theodore of Mopsuestia as a *disguised substitute* for Nestorius, from which it becomes clear that the work was written before Theodore's official condemnation, that is, before Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters of 544. See esp. *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1381c8-14. For these reasons, Loofs dated the three-part work *CNE-CA-DTN* "zwischen 529 und 544", F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 32-33.

⁷⁸ See D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 2-3.

⁷⁹ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,12.

⁸⁰ VS 74 (SCHWARTZ), 179,9; VS 83 (*ibid.*), 189,1-2; VS 84 (*ibid.*), 190,4; VS 85 (*ibid.*), 191,22; VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,29-30.

⁸¹ The compiler of the florilegium entitled *Doctrina antiquorum patrum de verbi incarnatione* (see above, 146, n.71) quotes a fragment from the *Epil* [PG 86/2, 1932A7-B8 (= 2013A1-B2); CPG 6819,3] with the lemma: ἐκ τῶν Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βυζαντίου,

For further evidence in support of the identity of the two Leontii, we shall have to turn to the *corpus leontinianum* and see what the author reveals about himself, his friends and his adversaries. In the first lines of the common Prologue to the *CNE-CA-DTN*, Leontius the Hermit starts telling us why he intended to write the work:

Certain men loving God (θεοφιλεῖς) and zealous for the divine teachings, who have heard with approval the public lectures (τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διαλέξεις) which I have often held, have urged me to give them in writing some outlines of the questions and answers (ἐπαπορήσεις καὶ λύσεις) which have often been discussed. This would provide them, as someone said, with a medicine against oblivion, a torch to enlighten the memory, and a guide for the soul, in a time in which everything is kept concealed.⁸²

For two reasons, Leontius says, he has often postponed the task. Firstly, he considers himself incompetent because of his lack of both secular education (ἐξέω παιδεία) and spiritual instruction (πνευματικὴ διδασκαλία),⁸³ although he is not ashamed of having this low opinion of himself at a period when "those now counted wise are totally without self-knowledge (τῶν νυνὶ σοφῶν πάντη ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοοῦντων)".⁸⁴ Secondly, he feels dubious about the value of the project. If the people described as "those now counted wise" are not convinced, because of their willful misunderstanding (ἀγνομοσύνη), even by the old works of the holy Fathers "which are composed

ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum*, Münster 1907, 198 (see also PG 86/2, 2013A1). In the twelfth century, Euthymius Zigabenus quotes from Leontius using the same qualification; see EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica* 16, PG 130, 1068B7. From erroneous attributions of writings to our Leontius we may even deduce that the name Λεόντιος μοναχὸς Βυζάντιος was already used, apart from Cyril's writings, around 600. See B. DALBY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 335, n.1.

⁸² Ἄνδρες μὲν θεοφιλεῖς, καὶ τῶν θεῶν δογμάτων ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχοντες, τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν διαλέξεις, ἃς σύχνως πεποιήμεθα ἀποδειξάμενοι, προὔτρεψαν ἡμᾶς ἐγγράφως τῶν πολλάκις εἰρημένων ἐπαπορήσεων καὶ λύσεων ὑποτυπώσεις τινὰς σφίσις αὐτοῖς παραδοῦναι ὡς πού τις ἔφη, λήθης φάρμακον, καὶ μνήμης ἐμπύρευμα, χρόνου τε ἧ τὰ πάντα καλύπτεται, ψυχαγωγίαν αὐτοῖς εἰσφέρειν δυνησομένης, Prol. *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1268B1-9 (transl. DH).

⁸³ The stereotypical confession of the author's incapacity by lack of education should be considered here, even more than in Cyril's case, as a literary commonplace. Comp. with above, 37, n.78.

⁸⁴ Migne's text is defective. In c.1269A1, between ἑαυτοὺς and παλαιοῦς should be added the words: ἀγνοοῦντων ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς. See F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 22, footnote; D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 9, n.31.

with so much divine grace and wisdom and, at the same time, with a perfection according to the standards of secular philosophy (ἔξω φιλοσοφία) and the other learning (ἡ ἄλλη παιδεία), how then will this brief and imperfect treatise win them over?⁸⁵

After anticipating in the rest of the Prologue the contents of his three-part work, Leontius returns, at the beginning of the *CNE*, to the anonymous people whom he has indicated as "those now counted wise" (οἱ νῦν ὄντες σοφοί). As they confuse the concepts of ὑπόστασις (or πρόσωπον) and φύσις (or οὐσία), it is his intention to clarify these terms.⁸⁶ Apparently, Leontius does not merely aim at "Nestorians" and "Eutychians" in general, but at concrete adversaries who are "now opposing" him (οἱ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπαναστάντες).⁸⁷ These opponents stand against "the Good (τὸ καλὸν)", against "the men who speak of God (οἱ θεηγόροι ἄνδρες)" and against those who defend the teaching of the latter. Leontius himself is one of these defenders. His adversaries, however, intentionally disregard the virtue that may be acquired through ascetic works and they put others under pressure to recognize the wisdom they claim for themselves. Hence someone has nicknamed them "high philosophers".⁸⁸

Unfortunately, Leontius gives no concrete indication about the identity of these arrogant adversaries. They obviously hold high positions from which they can force others to consider them wise. Richard, followed by Evans, assumed that Leontius is alluding here to some prominent persons

⁸⁵ Prol. *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1268b10-1269A9.

⁸⁶ *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1273A1-5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, A10-11.

⁸⁸ "On the one hand they carefully neglect all virtue coming from practical works (πάση ἀρετῇ ἢ ἐν ἔργοις), on the other hand they give orders that they themselves are [to be considered] wise: they are as it were intelligent by decree, and only their will makes them appear well-educated, so that one of the wittier has elegantly called them 'high philosophers' (ἀκροφιλόσοφοι)," *ibid.*, B4-9. We are not sure about the nickname, because there are two variants: σαπροφιλόσοφοι ("dirty" or "bad philosophers") and σαρκοφιλόσοφοι ("fleshly philosophers"). According to Richard, the reading ἀκροφιλόσοφοι (*Vat. gr.* 2195) "doit évidemment être retenue", M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 54, n.2. Evans, however, prefers σαπροφιλόσοφοι referring to the "bad tree" (σαπρὸν δένδρον) in Mt. 7:17. By their negligence of "the works of practical asceticism", the σαπροφιλόσοφοι could be those "who yet will have wisdom without the works of wisdom, that is, its fruit", D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 15, n.58. I believe that Richard's choice could be defended by the same opposition to the practice of asceticism, whereas the irony of it might better fit in with the context.

behind Justinian's edict against Origen in 543,⁸⁹ but this has been called in question by Perrone.⁹⁰ We have to suspend our attempt to identify the people aimed at in the introductory paragraph of the *CNE*: even if our author is the same person as Cyril's Leontius, he may have had enemies other than only anti-Origenists.

The adversaries in the third book, whether they are the same as the previous ones or not, give us a better point of departure for our investigation into the identity of the author. As has been said, the *DTN* is a diatribe against the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The tone is much more aggressive than in the preceding two books.⁹¹ In the common Prologue, Leontius already announced that the third book would refute "those who pretend (ὑποκρινόμενοι) to adhere to the great ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, but who are the advocates of the doctrines of Nestorius (τὰ Νεστορίου πρεσβευόντες)".⁹² There is a striking similarity here, albeit in an opposite sense, with the charge uttered by Cyril against *his* Leontius when he relates how the latter was expelled from the company of Sabas: "though pretending (προσποιούμενος) to defend the Council of Chalcedon, he was detected holding the views of Origen (τὰ Ὀριγένους φρόνων)." ⁹³ The parallelism is clear: both the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Cyril's Leontius are charged with hypocrisy regarding their allegiance to the Council of Chalcedon; whereas the former are exposed as "crypto-Nestorians", the latter is unmasked as a "crypto-Origenist".

⁸⁹ M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 54-55; D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 16. According to Richard, our author wrote his works immediately after Justinian's edict had been published, as a disguised reaction against it, but this hypothesis was poorly received and also rejected by Evans who assumes that the author's enemies might also have been "just about to condemn" Origen, *ibid.* I shall return to this question below.

⁹⁰ L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 267, n.99.

⁹¹ The first book is, apart from the introductory paragraph, an abstract treatise dealing with the concepts of the Chalcedonian Christology. The second book is a relatively polite discussion about Christ's consubstantiality with us in our human nature, including the corruptible flesh. In the third book, however, "l'atmosphère devient batailleuse": there is a "violente passion que l'on sent vibrer à chaque page", M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 41, 47.

⁹² Prol. *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1272A1-4.

⁹³ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ) 176, 15-16 (see the text quoted above, 77 with n.97; see also 101, n. 205).

In the same passage of Cyril's *VS*, we also read that Leontius the Origenist was expelled by Sabas *together* with the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia. As we shall see below, it is Theodore of Mopsuestia who was defended in *anti-Origenist* circles. The anti-Origenists were the ones who offered resistance when, shortly after Leontius of Byzantium's death, Theodore of Mopsuestia was anathematized by Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters (544/545), as Origen himself had been treated by an imperial edict the year before.⁹⁴ Though strongly suppressed by Cyril, this aspect of the controversy may nonetheless be deduced from the *VS*,⁹⁵ as well as from some Latin sources which describe the condemnation of the Three Chapters as a "revenge for Origen" at the instigation of Theodore Ascidas *cum suis*.⁹⁶

All these circumstances urge us to interpret the *DTN*, written shortly before the two imperial edicts and aimed at the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia, as a full-blown attack upon those who opposed the so-called

⁹⁴ For Justinian's edict of 544/545, see above, 84, n.133.

⁹⁵ Obviously, Cyril could not avoid presenting Abba Gelasius, Leontius' main opponent, as dissociating himself from Theodore of Mopsuestia's heresy shortly before his death in 546, and regretting his previous signature under the Palestinian petition against the edict by which Theodore was condemned, *VS* 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194, 17-27 (quoted above, 84 with n.134). This fact throws a significant light upon Cyril's account of Leontius being expelled by Sabas *together* with some (anonymous) adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia, *VS* 72 (*ibid.*), 176, 7-20. For the sympathies for Theodore of Mopsuestia in anti-Origenist circles, see esp. F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 285-288; F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 50-54, 63-64; L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 173, 207; S. REES, "The 'De Sectis': A Treatise Attributed to Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 40 (1939), 358; *id.*, "The Life and Personality of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 41 (1940), 276. I shall return to the subject below.

⁹⁶ Facundus of Hermiane, a defender of the Three Chapters, refers to the ex-Origenist Domitian of Ancyra who, after his defeat, confessed that the scandal of the condemnation of the Three Chapters had been instigated by the Origenists "ad ultionum eorum quae contra Origenem gesta sunt", FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* 1, 2,4, ed. I.-M. CLÉMENT/ R. VANDER PLAETSE, *Facundi episcopi ecclesiae Hermianensis opera omnia*, CCL 90³, Turnhout 1974, 8-9 (esp. line 26). Elsewhere in his work, Facundus quotes Domitian's confession, *ibid.* IV, 4,15, p.126. The same course of events is attested by LIBERATUS CARTHAGINIENSIS, *Breviarium causae Nestorianum et Eutychianorum* 23-24, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *ACO II/5*, Berlin 1936, 139,33-141,11. Here we read that the anti-Origenists of Palestine had recourse to the influential Roman Deacon Pelagius, who became a passionate defender of the Three Chapters, as their intermediary to have Origen condemned in 543. Cyril not only keeps a total silence about the anti-Origenist cooperation with Pelagius, but he also tells a different story (see below).

"Origenist" movement in the period just preceding the first climax of the controversy. Whatever this movement might have represented, the author of the *corpus leontinianum* must have at least sympathized with it, if he was not actually a member of the "party". So here we have not only a piece of evidence in support of identifying Leontius the author with Leontius the Origenist of the *VS*, but also a way to an interpretation of the second Origenist controversy, which might substantially deviate from what we read in Cyril's hagiographic account.

The *DTN* is also highly interesting for our purpose, because it contains, in an introductory passage, the only autobiographical note of Leontius the author. He starts by saying that the third book is joined to the previous two "as a thank-offering to God and a public denunciation of the impious, and a triumph over them".⁹⁷ By God's help, he writes, he hopes to produce the work for the sake of certain people to whom he is greatly indebted. Then he reveals the reason for his gratitude:

I too once belonged to the sect (θίασος) against which, with God's help, I am now resolved to bring an open indictment (στήλην ἐγεῖραι), and over which I intend to gain a victory. Thus they will no longer exercise their heresy in secret and deceive many people without being noticed or recognized, but will become visible from afar as men to be avoided and kept at a distance. The fact is, when I was young in age as well as in reason they took possession of me neglecting none of their instruments of evil in achieving this. I had proposed to search for the exact sense of the doctrines for which I longed, having tasted of them, as the saying goes, with the tips of my fingers. There is no desire greater than the one I experienced. They took me as a blind man seeking a path and attempted to draw me down into the depths of their impiety. But a grace from above appeared to me and drew me from their jaws, even though I had already become a willing prey. This grace aroused in me such a burning desire for virtue, that I would embrace the life as a stranger (ξενιτεῖα) for the sake of it. How could it be that He who guided Israel in the desert would not become also for me a fellow-traveler in my foreign wandering (ἐκδημῖα)? He carried me with Him and did not let me go until he had put me into the hands of godly men (θεῖοι ἄνδρες). These not only purified the eye of my soul from all that infection, but also filled it with a sacred light by means of the writings of men full of divine wisdom (θεόσοφοι) from whom they derived truth and other virtues. Thus they purified also my hands and my heart. Now, would I not justly deserve to be accused of extreme impiety by those right-minded men (εὐγνωμόνες), if I permitted myself to remain completely silent about all this?⁹⁸

⁹⁷ τό τε θεῶν χαριστήριον, καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν στήλην καὶ θρόμβον, PG 86/1, 1357B2-3.

⁹⁸ *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1357c3-1360b5 (transl. DH). For the Greek text, see Appendix below, 373 (nr.1).

The heretics to whose sect the author once belonged, and whom he intends to defeat here in the *DTN*, are crypto-Nestorians⁹⁹ adhering to Theodore of Mopsuestia as is clear from the rest of the writing.¹⁰⁰ But who are the θεῖοι ἄνδρες who, after God had saved the author from his error, guided him towards truth and illumination through the books of divinely inspired men, so that he now feels obliged to defend them? One of them must be Nonnus, the leader of the Origenists. We learn this from a passage at the beginning of the *CNE*, where the author also speaks of a θεῖος ἀνὴρ, whose name is not mentioned in the text.¹⁰¹ In the *Codex Vaticanus Gr.* 2195 (f.5), however, there is a scholium in the margin which clarifies that the author is speaking here about Nonnus: περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Νόννου φησί. The scholium is written by the same hand as the text (which is dated to the first half of the tenth century) and seems "to have been copied with it from its source".¹⁰² Any remaining doubt about the reliability of this scholium is removed by a second scholium in the same manuscript (f.12) and by the same hand. This time we are correctly informed about the identity of an ἀνὴρ θεόσοφος, that is, of one of those divinely inspired men whose writings were read in the group where our author found salvation. The scholium identifies a phrase quoted in the text as coming from Evagrius of Pontus:

⁹⁹ See also Prol. *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1272A1-B17.

¹⁰⁰ "They do not at all receive the holy teachers of the Church given by God, but only Theodore and Diodore who are the first sources of their impiety, though they dissimulate (ὑποκρίνονται) by their words to receive the others," *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1360D9-13 (in D11 μηδέ is suppressed cf. the emendation of M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 43, n.4).

¹⁰¹ The text follows immediately the introductory passage referring to οἱ νῦν ὄντες σοφοί, also nicknamed ἀκροφιλῶσοφοί. See above, 150, n.88. After this passage, the author starts his treatise on the Nestorians and Eutychians who have also received an appropriate nickname. "There are the disciples of the idolatry of [Christ's] humanity (ἀνθρωπολατρεία) according to Nestorius, and there are the disciples of the fiction of Eutyches; or rather, there are the disciples of both fictions, whereas a *pious and divine man* (εὐλαβῆς καὶ θεῖος ἀνὴρ) has given them an appropriate name calling them 'docetes in the opposite sense' (ἐναντιοδοκῆτας). The former state that the divinity, and the latter that the humanity exists only in appearance (δοκῆσει) in the Savior. The only difference between the two [heresies] is that Nestorius falsely puts forward the favor (εὐδοκία) and the worthiness (ἀξία) as a substitute for the divinity, whereas Eutyches, again falsely, puts forward the ineffable flesh (ἄρρητος σάρξ) as a substitute for our [human] nature," *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1273C9-1276A7 (transl. DH).

¹⁰² B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 335, n.2. For the MS tradition, see above, 146, n.71.

περὶ Εὐαγρίου. And indeed, the phrase is found in Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*.¹⁰³ In Leontius' text, the quotation is also preceded by a long passage¹⁰⁴ which shows the influence of Evagrius' anthropology, based upon the Platonic threefold division of the soul¹⁰⁵ and elaborated by him in view of his program for the spiritual life.¹⁰⁶

From all this we may conclude that Leontius the Hermit, the author of the *corpus leontinianum*, was strongly associated with a group of people who took inspiration from the writings of so-called θεόσοφοι, one of whom was Evagrius. It is precisely this commitment that urged him to a passionate attack upon Theodore of Mopsuestia who, as we saw, was favored in anti-Origenist circles. These facts leave no room for doubt that the θεῖοι ἄνδρες to whom our author felt indebted were "Origenists", one of whom was Nonnus, as we find confirmed by the scholium in the *CNE*. Leontius the Hermit can be no one else but Leontius of Byzantium who, according to Cyril of Scythopolis, was admitted into the New Laura together with the group of Nonnus, after their stay in the πεδιάς.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ "It was well said by one of those men full of divine wisdom who lived before us (τινι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν θεοσόφῳ): 'There is only one affection (πάθος) which is good and eternal: the affection that strives for the true knowledge (τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως)' ", *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285 A14-B1, cf. EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Kephalaia gnostica*, 4,50, ed. A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les six centuries des 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique. Édition critique de la version syriaque commune et édition d'une nouvelle version syriaque, intégrale, avec une double traduction française*, PO 28/1 (1958, repr. 1977), 158-159.

¹⁰⁴ *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1284B1-1285A14.

¹⁰⁵ According to this division, the soul consists in a rational part (λογιστικόν or ἡγεμονικόν), an irascible part (θυμός, θυμικόν or θυμοειδές) and a concupiscible part (ἐπιθυμία or ἐπιθυμητικόν). See also *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1296C8-11. For the origins of this anthropology, see PLATO, *Republica* IV, 439D-E, 440E-441A, LCL 237 (*Plato* v), 396-398, 402-404; *id.*, *Phaedrus*, 246B, LCL 36 (*Plato* i), 470-472.

¹⁰⁶ The ascetic exploitation of the threefold division of the soul is surely not an exclusive "Evagrian" (or "Origenist") topic, as Evans arguing seems to suggest; see D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 106-115. Evans has been criticized for this, in spite of his own concession (*ibid.*, 111), in a review by A. DE HALLEUX, *RHE* 66 (1971), 979 [= *Muséon* 84 (1971), 556] and by B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 352-354. Anyhow, we may assume an Evagrian influence in our text, which will be demonstrated below.

¹⁰⁷ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-23 (quoted above, 73 with n.80; see also p.77, n.95 and p.133, n.6).

Leontius of Byzantium appears from the *corpus leontinianum* as a dialectician who attaches high importance not only to the Church Fathers,¹⁰⁸ but also to the classical tradition of Greek philosophy (ἔξω φιλοσοφία) and secular learning (παιδεία). At the request of those who attended his oral discourses, as he states, he decided to put them into writing. The painstaking theoretical elaboration of his dialogue *CNE* points to a sincere concern on his part to clarify the Chalcedonian Christological concepts of ὑπόστασις and φύσις which had caused such grave disruptions in the Byzantine Empire. I suggest therefore that Cyril's charge that Leontius was just "pretending" to defend the Council of Chalcedon should be rejected.¹⁰⁹ However, when we combine this charge with the parallel charge that Leontius himself brought against his opponents, it may throw a significant light upon the way the "Origenist" controversy was battled out.

Leontius is a polemicist with a biting pen. His stinging criticism and sarcastic attacks may well have brought upon him the hate of his adversaries. But is he, for that reason, the villain painted by Cyril? Such a caricature seems to be a distortion of the historical truth which might well be explained as the other side of the hagiographic procedure of enlarging the Saint: paint the opponents in as bad a light as possible. In spite of Leontius' human shortcomings which may be clear, the autobiographical note suggests that at the origins of his polemics there was, after all, an authentic spiritual experience. This allied him to the θεῖοι ἄνδρες whose influence had illuminated his soul, as he says, with a purifying light. Thus he was pushed in the direction of his alleged Origenism. However, his writings show no noticeable heresy, and the question of Leontius' "Origenism" still remains a scholarly problem. We shall have to consider the various ways in which this remarkable fact has been explained. As will become clear, these explanations result for the greater part from a failure to question seriously Cyril's historical trustworthiness.

¹⁰⁸ Leontius is much indebted to the Cappadocian Fathers. In the Preface to his first florilegium, he testifies that he learned the concepts of ὑπόστασις and φύσις and their distinction from "the great lights" Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, *CNE* PG 86/1, 1309A11-16. For the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers on Leontius, see J. JUNGLAS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 40-43; M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 46, 55.

¹⁰⁹ Doubt upon the accuracy of this charge has already been expressed above, 100-101 with n.205. Here below we shall see that Cyril's judgment upon Leontius' sincerity has been interpreted in different ways.

The "Origenism" of Leontius of Byzantium according to F. Loofs

After Loofs had re-established the identity of Leontius the author (as he conceived him) with Cyril's Leontius of Byzantium,¹¹⁰ he had to face the difficulty of Cyril's charge of "Origenism" brought against Leontius, which seems, at first sight, irreconcilable with the identification.¹¹¹ Leontius the author does not subscribe to the Origenist doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and apocatastasis,¹¹² nor to the other Origenist positions exposed by Abba Cyriacus in his tirade against the Origenists.¹¹³ If Cyril's Leontius

¹¹⁰ Before Loofs, the identity was already confirmed in 1603 by H. Canisius, in ed. H. CANISIUS/ J. BASNAGE, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum* 1, Amsterdam 1725, 527f. (see above, 146, n.71). Canisius' judgment, however, was rejected by most scholars of the 18th and 19th century, among whom Basnage himself, *ibid.*, 531f. The rejection was primarily based upon the late dating of the *De sectis* between 579 and 607 (see above, 142, n.53); in addition, this writing contains a clear denunciation of the Origenist theories of pre-existence and apocatastasis, PG 86/1, 1264B6-1268A6. By considering the *De sectis* as "eine spätere Bearbeitung einer ums Jahr 540 geschriebenen Schrift des Leontius", F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 225, Loofs had new facilities to defend the identity of Leontius the author with Leontius the "Origenist", *ibid.*, 274-297 (esp. 291). Of course, some of the pieces of evidence listed by Loofs, *ibid.*, 288-289, are outdated by the results of later research, but others could nowadays in my opinion be developed further (see below).

¹¹¹ After reciting his arguments in support of the identification, Loofs had to ask himself the question: "Doch stellt sich nicht diesen Gründen mit überlegenden Gewicht die Tatsache entgegen, dass der Leontius der vita Sabae ein Origenist gewesen ist?" *ibid.*, 289-290 (see also above, 148 at n.76).

¹¹² We have to exclude here the explicit "anti-Origenist" passage in the *De sectis* (see above, n.110) that Loofs attributed to the "Überarbeiter", *ibid.*, 291. But neither from Leontius' authentic writings may we deduce an actual adherence to the doctrines of pre-existence and apocatastasis. "Ja, wenn man genötigt wäre, ausdrückliche ausführungen über diese origenistischen Irrtümer bei dem Schriftsteller Leontius vorauszusetzen, – dann würde man allerdings, in solcher Voraussetzung getäuscht, in dem Schriftsteller Leontius den Origenisten nicht wiedererkennen können," *ibid.*, 293.

¹¹³ VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,3-10. Loofs quoted this passage from Simeon Metaphrastes' version of the VC in Cotelier's posthumous edition; see J. COTELIER, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* IV, Paris 1692, 100-127 (= *Analecta graeca*, Paris 1688, 100-127; compare with above, 61, n.20). Metaphrastes' version is also printed in Migne, PG 115, 920-944 (see above, 61, n.17). Loofs erroneously assumed that Cyril's VC was "nur in der Bearbeitung des Simeon Metaphrastes erhalten", F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 274. In fact, when Loofs published his study, Cyril's original text had already been printed from the *Vaticanus* 866 more than a century before, in AS, Septembris, t. VIII (1762; 1865³), 147-158. For the passage referred to: see *ibid.*, 152F15-153A2. Anyhow, Loofs counterbalanced his mistake by supposing "dass gerade in den betreffenden Abschnitten der Metaphrast sich genauer an die cyrillische Vorlage

held to this concrete form of Origenism, "dann könnten der Schriftsteller und der Origenist Leontius auf keinen Fall identisch sein".¹¹⁴ However, Loofs considered this identification beyond all doubt,¹¹⁵ so he had to search for a satisfying interpretation of Cyril's distinct representation of Leontius as an "Origenist". In Cyriacus' charges, Loofs argued, "kann man nur ein entstellendes Zeugnis des Feindes erblicken",¹¹⁶ just as in the other sources, such as the fifteen *Anathemata* of 553, which are closely related to Cyriacus' charges.¹¹⁷ We know the errors of the sixth century Origenists almost exclusively from hostile sources. "Unter diesen Umständen würde es verfehlt sein, wenn man bei der Frage, ob Leontius, der Schriftsteller, Origenist war, von jenen entstellenden Angaben der Gegner ausginge."¹¹⁸

We know that in Origenist circles the doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and apocatastasis were defended at least by some people.¹¹⁹ In the VC, however, Cyril does not simply state that the Origenists *adhered to* these doctrines (as we might conclude from some other passages¹²⁰), but

anzuschliessen scheint als sonst", F. LOOFS, *o.c.*, 290. Indeed, as to the contents, there are no significant deviations in Metaphrastes' text. For Loofs' quotation, see *ibid.*, 291. Cyriacus' charges against the Origenists will be examined below.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹¹⁵ "Sehen wir zunächst ab von dem Vorwurf origenistischer Ketzerei, den die vita Sabae dem Leontius macht, so kann an der Identität des Schriftstellers Leontius und des Leontius der vita Sabae nicht im geringsten gezweifelt werden," *ibid.*, 288.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 291.

¹¹⁷ For the connection between Cyriacus' charges and the 15 *anathemata* of 553, see below.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 291-292.

¹¹⁹ The defense of the pre-existence of souls and apocatastasis by "Origenists" is not only attested by Cyril of Scythopolis and by the official anti-Origenist documents, but also by sources indirectly deriving from those circles, such as the *testimonium Domitiani* quoted by FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum*, IV, 4,15, CCL 90^a, 126 (see above, 152, n.96). There is also a *libellus* in which an "ex-Origenist" denounces his former position (his *anathemata*, however, correspond for the greater part to that of 553): THEODORUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Libellus de erroribus Origenianis*, PG 86/1, 232-236. For the "Origenist" defense of pre-existence and apocatastasis, see also BARSANUPHIUS GAZAEUS/ IOHANNES GAZAEUS, *Epistulae*, Quaestiones 600-607, ed. S. SCHOINAS, Volos 1960, 283-292 (esp. Q.600, p.283, col.1).

¹²⁰ Cyril is extremely reticent when expounding the Origenist doctrines. Apart from Cyriacus' charges and a concise explanation of the split within the Origenist party, VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,13-18 (quoted above, 85-86 with n.141), there are only three passages where he offers a few words on the contents of the heresy. He represents Abba Euthymius (in the fifth century!) as combating the myth of the Origenists (τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς μυθεουμένην)

that they considered these doctrines "indifferent and harmless" (μέσα καὶ ἀκίνδυνα).¹²¹ Therefore, Loofs suggested that "unfraglich schon diejenigen zu den Origenisten gerechnet wurden, welche, ohne selbst jene Dogmen zu verfechten, ein Anathem über die Freunde derselben für unnötig hielten".¹²² This statement implies that the mere *charge* of "Origenism", brought by Cyril against Leontius, does not necessarily mean that this Leontius actually adhered to the Origenist doctrines. In fact, Cyril, dependent on second-hand information, writes only once that Leontius was *detected* holding the views of Origen (ἐγνώσθη τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονῶν).¹²³ It is true that in all other passages where Leontius is mentioned he appears as a champion of the Origenists who is involved in all kinds of intrigues, but nothing is explicitly said about his thought.¹²⁴ Thus, I suppose that Loofs was correct when suggesting that the mere *charge* of "Origenism" is no insurmountable obstacle for assuming that the two Leontii are identical.¹²⁵

In order to demonstrate that Cyril's Leontius is the same person as Leontius the author, Loofs exploited the concept of "Origenist heresy" in a larger sense which we may define as: the qualities by which Leontius could have been *susceptible to the charge* of Origenism. Thus, Loofs found a series of arguments "welche auf 'origenistische Ketzerei' bei dem Schriftsteller Leontius hindeuten", by which he could demonstrate the identity of the two Leontii. But at this point, we are interested rather in the character of

"concerning the preexistence of souls and the monstrous apocatastasis which follows from it", VE 26 (SCHWARTZ), 39,29-30. When speaking about the first Origenists in the New Laura, he observes that Nonnus "held the doctrines of the godless Greeks, Jews and Manichees, that is, the myths concerning preexistence related by Origen, Evagrius and Didymus", VS 36 (*ibid.*), 124,26-29 (quoted above, 72 with n.77). When referring to the condemnation of Origen, Evagrius and Didymus in 553, he attributes to them "the doctrines of preexistence and apocatastasis" without explicitly mentioning the Origenists, VS 90 (*ibid.*), 199,1-6 (quoted above, 87 with n.145).

¹²¹ VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,26-27.

¹²² F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 293.

¹²³ VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,16. This is the passage where Cyril relates how Leontius is expelled from Sabas company in 531 (see the text quoted above, 77, n.97; see also 133 with n.7).

¹²⁴ VS 74 (SCHWARTZ), 179,9; VS 83 (*ibid.*), 189,1-2; VS 84 (*ibid.*), 190,4; VS 85 (*ibid.*), p.191, lines 5, 8, 22; VS 86 (*ibid.*), 192,22; VC 11 (*ibid.*), 229,14; VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230, 29-30.

¹²⁵ "Unter diesen Umständen glaube ich in dem Vorwurf origenistischer Ketzerei gegen den Leontius der vita Sabae (...) kein Hindernis finden zu müssen gegen die Annahme, derselbe sei mit dem Schriftsteller identisch," F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 293.

Leontius' "Origenist heresy" as unfolded by Loofs. I shall present here the most significant of his arguments, treating them with some comment of my own.

1. In the *DTN*, Leontius criticizes the adherents of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who claim orthodoxy for Diodore on the grounds that Basil the Great wrote to him with approval.¹²⁶ Leontius responds:

Yet they do not admire Origen for the fact that Gregory Thaumaturgus, when composing his valedictory, showered him with eulogies. But why am I speaking of Origen? As a matter of fact, even Apollinaris, who deviated from the truth in the opposite direction as compared with Origen (κατὰ διάμετρον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποσφαλεῖς), boasts about the many letters he received from Athanasius the Great.¹²⁷

This is the only passage where Leontius explicitly mentions Origen. On the one hand, we see Leontius distancing himself from an error attributed to Origen concerning the pre-existent soul of Christ;¹²⁸ on the other hand, the passage confirms that the adversaries attacked in the *DTN* are *anti-Origenists* (τὸν δὲ Ὀριγένην οὐ θαυμάζουσιν). If they accept Diodore because of Basil, Leontius asks, why do they not accept Origen because of Gregory Thaumaturgus? Thus, the passage favors the supposi-

¹²⁶ *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1377b6-13.

¹²⁷ Τὸν δὲ Ὀριγένην οὐ θαυμάζουσιν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπώνυμος Γρηγόριος, τὸν ἐξιτήριον συντάττων, μυρίους ἐγκωμίων διέξεισιν εἰς αὐτὸν κύκλους. Καὶ τί λέγω Ὀριγένην; Ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, ὁ κατὰ διάμετρον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποσφαλεῖς, μυρίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολάς γεγενῆσθαι κομπάζει Ἀθανασίου τε τοῦ μεγάλου, *ibid.*, 1377b15-c6 (transl. DH).

¹²⁸ Leontius opposes Origen and Apollinaris. The latter denied a real humanity in Christ (see above, 76, n.94), by stating that in the incarnation the Logos, taking the place of Christ's human soul, was directly united with his body. As to Origen, the 2nd and the 3rd *anathema* in Justinian's edict represent the opposite opinion, according to which the pre-existent soul of Christ was directly united with the Logos without a human body, before the incarnation. See IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 213,17-21; and also *ibid.*, 198,31-33. This charge, however, was not brought against the Origenists again in the 15 *anathemata* of 553. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 338. As to the passage quoted, Rees gave a less specific interpretation by observing that the text "can best be interpreted to mean that, while Apollinaris went astray on the doctrine of the Incarnation, Origen erred on the doctrine of the Trinity", S. REES, "The 'De Sectis': A Treatise Attributed to Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS* 40 (1939), 358.

tion "dass Leontius, wenn er auch Irrtümer bei Origenes zugab, doch auf Seiten derer stand, die ein Anathem über Origenes für unnötig hielten".¹²⁹

2. The Origenists are indicated by Cyril as "the more educated" (οἱ λογιώτεροι)¹³⁰ who, as we saw, consider speculations about pre-existence to be morally neutral and harmless (μέσσα καὶ ἀκίνδονα).¹³¹ For this freedom of thought the Origenists must have appealed to the Cappadocian Fathers, especially to Gregory of Nazianzus.¹³² Thus, we find an "Origenist" milieu characterized by broad-mindedness in a period of increasing traditionalism: this is a most appropriate milieu for an author like Leontius.¹³³

3. Leontius rejects the pre-existence of the human nature of Christ.¹³⁴ With regard to the pre-existence of souls when he exploits the paradigm of the human soul and body to explain the ἔνωσις of the two natures in Christ, he observes that he himself did not make use of the anthropological paradigm for the sake of affirming the pre-existence or the co-existence.¹³⁵ Referring to this passage Loofs incorrectly observed: "[hier] scheint das προὑπάρχειν der menschlichen Seele zum mindesten nicht ausgeschlossen".¹³⁶ Actually, Leontius here agrees with his Nestorian opponents

¹²⁹ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 294. The anti-Origenists aimed at in the *DTN* are attacked *for the sake of those* to whom Leontius feels indebted, as we learned from the autobiographical passage quoted above, 153 with n.98.

¹³⁰ *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,18 (see the text quoted above, 78-79 with n.106); *VC* 14 (*ibid.*), 230,31.

¹³¹ See above, 159 at n.121.

¹³² In his interview with Abba Cyriacus, Cyril adduces a passage of Saint Gregory's *Oratio* 27,10 as cited by the Origenists to defend their free speculations on issues where "hitting on the truth is not without profit and error is without danger", *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,28-31 (see below).

¹³³ "... so erhält man den Eindruck, dass die Origenisten wirklich theologisch gebildete Leute waren, die, anknüpfend an die grossen Theologen des vierten Jahrhunderts, von diesen eine grössere Freiheit und Weite des Denkens gelernt hatten, als ihre traditionalistisch gewordene Zeit sie besass. Einen Kreis zu finden, in den der Schriftsteller Leontius besser passte, als in einen Kreis solcher 'Origenisten', wird schwer fallen," F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 294.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 295, with reference to *CA*, 1351D; *Epil.*, 1933A, 1937A, 1944A. In these passages "scheint vorwiegend an das menschliche σώμα gedacht zu sein", *ibid.*

¹³⁵ οὔτε διὰ τὸ προὑπάρχειν ἢ συνὑπάρχειν, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1280D3-4.

¹³⁶ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 295. The phrase quoted in the preceding footnote might be ambiguous: Loofs apparently presumed that the expression οὔτε διὰ τὸ προὑπάρχειν (*etc.*) could be read as an affirmation of a *possible* pre-existence of the human soul. But this is not what the phrase means. In the preceding passage, Leontius refers to objections of the "Nestorian" opponents against his using the anthropological παράδειγμα

that there is *no* pre-existence of souls, but he indicates, not without contempt, that the subject is irrelevant in the course of his argumentation.¹³⁷ In another passage, Leontius leaves the *theoretical possibility* of a pre-existent human nature of Christ, although he explicitly denies a *real* pre-existence of Christ's humanity: "We concede that (Christ's humanity) did not preexist and that it was not previously formed."¹³⁸ But for Leontius, the concept of μία ὑπόστασις in Christ is not based upon the denial that a complete humanity of Christ could have existed before the incarnation, as if it were impossible for God to be united with a complete man and to form one ὑπόστασις with him.¹³⁹ From the passages referred to we may conclude, even more explicitly than Loofs did, that Leontius dissociates himself from the "Origenist" theories concerning a pre-existent soul of Christ and of all men. However, Leontius seems to be indifferent to the subject and leaves at least some room for theoretical speculation. As to the latter passage, Loofs wondered: "Kommt diese Ausführung nicht an das τὰ περὶ

of body and soul for the union in Christ. "But man, they say, is composed of two different species (ἑτεροειδῶν) and neither of them has received its being apart from the other (ἀλλ' οὖν οὐδ' ἰσὸν αὐτῶν δίχα θατέρου τὸ εἶναι ἔσχηκεν). The Logos, however, exists even before [Christ's] humanity: whereas man is composed of two imperfect parts [*scil.* soul and body], Christ has two perfect parts [*scil.* divinity and humanity: 'perfect parts', explained by Daley as 'capable of existing by themselves'], and therefore they should reasonably not be called *parts*," *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1280b13-c4 (transl. DH). *Conceding* to these objections, Leontius responds: "The fact is, we did not take man [as παράδειγμα] for the sake of the pre-existence or the co-existence of his parts (μέρη), nor for the sake of their imperfection" (ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὔτε διὰ τὸ προυπάρχειν ἢ συνυπάρχειν, οὔτε διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῶν μερῶν), *ibid.*, 1280d3-5 (with ellipse of the verb in Migne). Referring to the μέρη (= the human soul and body), Leontius continues: "For we have to yield to those nigglers by saying that they are imperfect" (συγκεχωρεῖσθω γὰρ τοῖς κακοσχόλοις ἀτελῆ λέγειν), *ibid.*, 1280d5-6. Leontius *concedes* that the human soul and body are *imperfect*, that is, that the one cannot exist apart from the other. So the passage does not contain the slightest opening to a pre-existent soul, as Loofs suggested. For the explanation of the text as given here, see esp. B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 356.

¹³⁷ A little further, Leontius uses also the expression κακοσχολεῖν περὶ τὰς πεύσεις, *ibid.*, 1281A14, which is rendered by Lampe as: "to employ one's leisure ill in heretical quibblings", *LAMPE*, 696.

¹³⁸ τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ προφυστᾶναι, μηδὲ προδιαπεπλάσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς δώσομεν, *Epil*, PG 86/2, 1944c6-8. As we saw, Leontius also dissociated himself from the theory of a pre-existent *soul* of Christ, as attributed to Origen by Justinian's edict; see above, 160 with n.128.

¹³⁹ ὡς οὐκ ἐγχωροῦν ἄλλως οὐδὲ δυνατὸν θεῶ, καὶ τελείῳ ἀνθρώπῳ οὕτως ἐνωθῆναι, *ibid.*, 1944c9-10.

ὑπάρξεως (...) μέσα εἶναι dicht heran?"¹⁴⁰ Here he has touched upon an important aspect of the Origenist controversy. Later scholars might have overlooked the full psychological import of the fact that Leontius shows himself *indifferent* with regard to the burning questions of a passionate struggle in which he is totally involved. The mere fact of this, added to his particular alliances within a context of fierce polarization, must have been enough to make him liable to the charge of "Origenism" from the side of the rival party.¹⁴¹ Obviously, the concrete issues of pre-existence and apocatastasis were just minor points in his eyes, and maybe also in the eyes of others among his associates.

Loofs concluded his series of arguments in support of the identity of the two Leontii with a final paragraph which is very interesting for our purpose:

Diesen Gründen gegenüber ist nun allerdings zuzugestehen, dass ein ausdrückliches Eintreten für Origenes bei Leontius nicht nachweisbar ist, weiter dass er die origenistischen Vorstellungen von den letzten Dingen entschieden nicht geteilt hat (...).¹⁴² Dennoch glaube ich gewiss, dass die angeführten Argumente genügen, um zu zeigen,

¹⁴⁰ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 296. See also above, p.159 at n.121 and p.161 at n.131.

¹⁴¹ In this context, Loofs made another observation: "Endlich ist darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass bei Leontius die menschliche Seele so sehr als selbständiges Wesen erscheint, dass es, auch wenn Leontius kein προυπάρχειν derselben angenommen hat, dennoch sehr begreiflich wäre, dass Gegner diese Annahme ihm unterstellt hätten," *ibid.*, 296. To illustrate Leontius' vision of the independence of the soul, Loofs quoted the following phrase: "What could be lacking in the soul, which has an independent and proper life of its own, to be an incorporeal substance moved by itself?" *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1281b10-12. However, the phrase is meant as a nuancing of Leontius' earlier concession to the Nestorians that the soul and the body are imperfect parts and that neither of them has received its being (τὸ εἶναι ἔσχηκεν) apart from the other (see above, 161, n.136). Now, Leontius nuances that both soul and body are *not* imperfect κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πῶς εἶναι λόγον, *ibid.*, 1281b7-c7 (compare with 1280d6-7). This means for the soul that, by its union with the body, it is not prevented from being an independent οὐσία. Leontius clarifies this with a small phrase (which Loofs did not quote): "This may be clear from the fact that the soul is immortal and indestructible," *ibid.*, 1281b12. For Leontius, the independence of the soul does not imply its pre-existence, but it appears connected with its immortality. See also *ibid.*, 1284c10-d4.

¹⁴² It is only at this stage that Loofs mentioned Leontius' view regarding the apocatastasis, referring to *DTN*, PG86/1, 1368b. Daley confirms that Leontius does not hold the doctrine of apocatastasis. In his three passages dealing with the punishment of Hell, Leontius "does not explicitly discuss the eternity of Hell or the problem of apocatastasis", but these texts imply, at least, "that he regards the punishment of the damned as eternal", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 357 (referring to *CNE*, PG86/1, 1284d3-8; *CA*, 1337b12-d2; *DTN*, 1368c15-1369A6).

dass die Klagen des parteiischen Cyrillus Scythopolitanus über die origenistischen Ketzereien des Leontius keine Gegeninstanz bilden können gegen die Menge der Gründe, welche dazu nötigen, den Schriftsteller Leontius mit dem Origenisten zu identifizieren.¹⁴³

As far as I know, Loofs has remained, up to the present day, the only scholar who has sought to resolve the problem of Leontius' "Origenism" by placing a basic question mark on Cyril's accuracy. We find this criticism not only in the passage quoted but throughout the whole section about Leontius the Origenist as painted in the *VS*. Cyril's account is "vielleicht tendenziös"¹⁴⁴ and its "Unwahrscheinlichkeit" might even betray some of Cyril's unreliability.¹⁴⁵ Loofs' most significant passage, however, is a long paragraph where we read everything "was Cyrill nicht erzählt", that is, the facts concerning Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was venerated in anti-Origenist circles and whose condemnation must have resulted, as we shall see, from the parallel history of what happened to Origen. In this context, Loofs already arrived at the conclusion:

dass die vita Sabae und mit ihr die vita Euthymii eine grelle Parteifärbung tragen; sie sind geschrieben im Sinn und zu Gunsten einer nicht nur antiorigenistischen, sondern auch – nach Anschauung der Gegner Theodor's von Mopsueste – nestorianisierenden Partei. Die Anfänge des origenistischen Streites und des Dreicapitelstreites sind enger verbunden, als die bisherigen Darstellungen erkennen lassen.¹⁴⁶

The "Origenism" of Leontius of Byzantium in research after Loofs

In the days of Loofs it was almost considered a heresy even to suggest that Cyril of Scythopolis could have deviated from the historical truth. "Vollkommen in Irrtum", wrote W. Rügamer (1894) referring to Loofs' identification of the two Leontii: assuming the identity means that we should attribute to Cyril "grosse Parteilichkeit, grobe Unwahrheit und Fälschung

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 297.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 281. See also above, 43 at n.111.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 281, n.1.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 288. For the controversy over the Three Chapters, see above, 52, n.167.

der Thatsachen".¹⁴⁷ Cyril could not possibly have accused a sincere author like Leontius of "pretending" to defend the Council of Chalcedon, without betraying himself as a "böswillige Verleumder".¹⁴⁸ Rügamer opposed to Loofs' opinion the eulogy uttered by H. Usener upon Cyril's accuracy as a historian, including the lines I quoted above in my account of the *status quaestionis* for this study.¹⁴⁹ As I noted, Usener's judgment has been accepted many times since.¹⁵⁰

Not only was Rügamer's opposition against the identification of the two Leontii poorly received,¹⁵¹ but likewise Loofs' criticism of Cyril's historical reliability.¹⁵² The broad approval of Usener's positivist belief in Cyril's objectivity, based upon the latter's chronological precision, must

¹⁴⁷ W. RÜGAMER, *Leontius von Byzanz. Ein Polemiker aus dem Zeit Justinians*, Würzburg 1894, 58.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁴⁹ USENER, H., *Der heilige Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, Leipzig 1890, XIX-XX (quoted above, 42, n.110).

¹⁵⁰ See the references above, 43, nn.112-115. Also Loofs, in his defense against Rügamer, alluded to Usener's remark about Cyril: "Er nimmt in der erbaulichen litteratur des alterthums eine ehrenstelle ein" (*sic*, without capitals in the substantives; see the beginning of the passage quoted above, 42 at n.110). But Loofs observed, not without cynicism: "Unter den 'Historikern' der alten Kirche, die allen 'erbaulich' schreiben wollen und infolge ihres Verständnisse des 'Erbaulichen' sämtlich 'grobster Parteilichkeit' sich schuldig machen, nimmt Cyrillus trotzdem eine Ehrenstelle ein; Useners Lob des Cyrillus, das R. gegen mich anführt, kann ich mit geringen Abänderungen unterschreiben", F. LOOFS, [Review of Rügamer], *BZ* 5 (1896), 191.

¹⁵¹ Rügamer had brought in four more points against Loofs' identification of the two Leontii; see W. RÜGAMER, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 59-63. Although the old discussion is very interesting, it would be too much of a deviation to address it here. Besides the evidence already adduced in support of the identity, I may refer to Richard who observed of Rügamer's rejection of the identification that "son opposition n'a d'ailleurs pas trouvé grand crédit", M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 33.

¹⁵² F. Diekamp rejected Loofs' suggestion that Cyril wrote in favor of a party sympathizing with Theodore of Mopsuestia. To support his rejection Diekamp referred to several examples of Cyril's heroes taking distance from Theodore of Mopsuestia, though he had to admit a certain leniency in Cyril's denunciation of the predilection for Theodore. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 63-64. Hence, Diekamp concluded: "Also bloß eine gewisse Schonung und Nachsicht, aber nicht 'eine grelle Parteifärbung' zu Gunsten der Freunde Theodoros' von Mopsuestia ist in Kyrills Schriften wahrzunehmen," *ibid.*, 64. Below, I shall explain my vision that the "Schonung und Nachsicht" with which Cyril treats the friends of Theodore, when writing *after the Council of 553*, could rather be interpreted as a confirmation of Loofs' conclusions.

have contributed to the fact that, in the subsequent research upon the problem of Leontius' "Origenism", nobody followed the line established by Loofs. The question of Cyril's reliability has never again been posed in a systematic way, not even in this context. The scholarly consensus about the identity of the two Leontii,¹⁵³ combined with the perception that traces of "Origenism" are not easily found in the *corpus leontinianum*, led the research in quite a different direction. Scholars, apparently inspired by Cyril's charge against Leontius that he just pretended to defend the Council of Chalcedon, dedicated themselves to detecting in Leontius' writings how the theologian had cleverly concealed his true opinion.

According to M. Richard (1947), Leontius wrote his three-part work *CNE-CA-DTN* shortly after Justinian's edict against Origen in 543, as a disguised attack upon the condemnation.¹⁵⁴ Because the adversaries targeted in the *CNE*¹⁵⁵ were prominent anti-Origenists of a high social rank,¹⁵⁶ Leontius, for reasons of prudence, wanted to demonstrate his orthodoxy: "C'est pourquoi il a écrit son I^{er} livre. Sa polémique contre le nestorianisme et le monophysisme (...) n'est donc qu'un trompe-l'oeil."¹⁵⁷ For the same reason, we do not find clear traces of Origenism in the rest of Leontius'

¹⁵³ Apart from Rügamer, the only serious objection against the identity was made by E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, 388-389, n.2. Doubt was expressed by B. ALTANER, "Der griechische Theologe Leontius und Leontius der skythische Mönch", *ThQ* 127 (1947), 164-165. For the consensus about the identity, see above, 147, n.74.

¹⁵⁴ M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", *REByz* 5 (1947), 33-66. Richard's opinion that the *CNE-CA-DTN* is a reaction against Justinian's edict was generally accepted. However, a dating of the *corpus leontinianum* after the edict can hardly be reconciled with Cyril's brief message concerning Leontius' death, which must have taken place shortly before or after the publication of the edict (see above, 135, n.19). The Prologue of the *CNE-CA-DTN* indicates that the three-part work was preceded by a long time of preparation with public discourses, and Leontius observes that he often postponed the job because of his own disability, PG 86/1, 1268B 1-15. Even if the last remark might be a commonplace (see above, 149, n.83), the text indicates that the plan for the writing was conceived long before. Upon the *CNE* (in a first version?) Leontius received reactions at which he responded by writing, between times, the *Epil* and the *Epap*; thereafter, he continued to finish the *CA* and the *DTN*. All this activity can hardly have taken place after the publication of the edict, if we may give credit to Cyril's mentioning Leontius' death. Of course, precisely this study places critical questions on Cyril's reliability, but these questions do not concern his reputation of chronological precision when he represents historical facts.

¹⁵⁵ *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1273A1-B8 (see above, 150 at nn.87-88).

¹⁵⁶ M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 54-55 (see also above, 151, n.89).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

works:¹⁵⁸ all of them were written just after the edict, so his testimony must have been "bien réticent sur les sujets litigeux".¹⁵⁹ But the proof that Leontius the author was allied to the group of Nonnus¹⁶⁰ *ipso facto* meant, according to Richard, that he had fallen into the errors of Origen.¹⁶¹ Though obfuscating his Origenism in his writings, Leontius struggled for the Origenist party with all the malicious means we read of in Cyril's account.¹⁶² So in spite of his theological value, his activities were disastrous for the Church and therefore, Richard concluded, he deserves a harsh judgment.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ "Tout ce qu'on a pu relever d'un peu suspect chez lui est contrebalancé par des déclarations non équivoques contre la doctrine de la préexistence de l'âme du Christ et l'apocatastase", *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁶⁰ Although Leontius had tried to veil his "relations suspectes" by anonymous indications such as εὐλαβῆς καὶ θεῖος ἀνὴρ and ἀνὴρ θεόσοφος, the scholia identifying these persons as Nonnus and Evagrius (see above, 154-155 with nn.101-103) permitted Richard to write: "Cette demi-bravade prouve donc définitivement que Léonce l'ermite était de quelque façon affilié au clan de Nonnus," M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 35. After analyzing Leontius' writings, Richard confirmed that Leontius the Hermit "était un membre militant du parti de l'abbé Nonnus", *ibid.*, 61.

¹⁶¹ "Et que l'on ne dise pas qu'un théologien pouvait avoir de l'estime pour Nonnus et lire Évangre à l'occasion sans pourtant donner dans les erreurs d'Origène," *ibid.*, 34. This conclusion might have been drawn somewhat quickly. From the contemporary correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza we know that monks who did not agree with the Origenist doctrines selected from Evagrius' writings the texts they considered useful for the soul. See BARSANUPHIUS GAZAEUS/IOHANNES GAZAEUS, *Epistulae*, Quaestio 602, ed. S. SCHOINAS, Volos 1960, 284-285. Syrian Fathers esteemed Evagrius so much, in spite of his Origenism, that a "purified" translation of the *Kephalaia gnostica* (S₁) was made, probably by Philoxenus of Mabbug in the late 5th or early 6th century, before the integral translation (S₂) of the 6th or 7th century. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évangre le Pontique*, 200-214, 302.

¹⁶² After his examination of Leontius' writings, Richard confirmed the identity of Leontius the author with the Leontius of the *VS* especially from the circumstantial evidence: referring to Cyril's representation of Leontius, Richard wrote that the three books *CNE-CA-DTN* are exactly the work we may expect from such a man in such circumstances. "Nous pouvons donc répondre avec fermeté à la question que nous nous sommes posée au début de cet article: oui, Léonce l'ermite, auteur du *Contra Nest. et Eut.*, est bien identique au Léonce de Byzance de la Vie de saint Sabas," M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 63-64 (see also above, 147, n. 74).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 65-66. After Richard, who had established the difference between Leontius of Byzantium and Leontius of Jerusalem (see above, 141-142, n.52), a survey of the *status quaestionis* with respect to the figure of Leontius was given by S. HELMER, *Der Neuchalcedonismus. Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes* (diss.), Bonn 1962, 31-41. In this survey Richard's interpretation of Leontius' "Origenism" is briefly summarized, *ibid.*, 39-40 with n.78.

The investigation into Leontius' "hidden Origenism" received a new impulse, after A. Guillaumont had established that the *anathemata* of 553 did not so much concern the speculations of Origen himself as the "system" of Evagrius Ponticus.¹⁶⁴ Now, if one could detect a hidden dependence on Evagrius in the *corpus leontinianum*, the final proof of Leontius' actual "Origenism" would, after all, have been delivered.

The seminal study into this direction was a dissertation of D. Evans (1970).¹⁶⁵ By showing that "Leontius' Christology conforms to that of Evagrius", Evans intended to demonstrate that Cyril's charge "is in all points just and proper".¹⁶⁶ Leontius, as Evans argued, tried to advance an Origenist solution for the Christological controversies of his time.¹⁶⁷ As the official theologian of the "Origenist Chalcedonians",¹⁶⁸ he had an answer for the old dilemma of how to define the unity of the divine and human natures in Christ, and yet preserve the difference. In the *μία ὑπόστασις* of Christ, the two natures were not simply united to one another, but there was an indispensable intermediary, a *tertium quid* by which both natures could conserve their own essence.¹⁶⁹ This *tertium quid* appeared to be "the skeleton in Leontius' closet".¹⁷⁰ it was identical with Evagrius'

¹⁶⁴ A. GUILLAUMONT, "Évagre et les anathématismes anti-origénistes de 553", 219-226; *id.*, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 143-159 (see also above, 23, n.9). Independently of Guillaumont, F. Refoulé arrived at a similar conclusion; see F. REFOULÉ, "La christologie d'Évagre et l'origénisme", *OCP* 27 (1961), 221-266.

¹⁶⁵ D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, Washington D.C. 1970.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 88. Evans adduced both Cyril and "the scholiast" (see above, pp.154-155 with nn.101-103 and p.167, n.160) as two independent witnesses for the fact "that the theologian Leontius was an Origenist", *ibid.*, 85-87. As to the scholia, Richard had interpreted these marginal clarifications as "une accusation formelle d'Origénisme", M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 34. Such accusations prove only that the accusers themselves considered Leontius an Origenist.

¹⁶⁷ D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 185.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 146, 183.

¹⁶⁹ On a number of difficult pages, without a reference to Leontius' text (pp.38-42), Evans speculated about "the difference between the modes of unions of beings which are and are not one in existence and essence", *ibid.*, 40. In the Word, existence and essence are one; in the flesh, existence and essence are not one. The Word unites only with other beings which, like itself, are one in existence and essence; the flesh unites only with other beings which, like itself, are not one in existence and essence. Therefore, in Jesus Christ, the Word and the flesh may have united not in one another, but in a *third being* which must be capable of uniting both with the Word and with the flesh. This *tertium quid*, therefore, "must somehow both be and not be one in essence and existence", *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 38.

unfallen νοῦς Jesus Christ, that is, the only intellect that had remained united to the Logos after the primordial fall of the pre-existent νόες from the intelligible world.¹⁷¹ Evans found Evagrius' νοῦς Jesus Christ fitting in "astonishing well" with the *tertium quid* he claimed for Leontius,¹⁷² and at the end of a long chapter on Leontius and Evagrius, he confirmed that the Christology of both "perfectly correspond" to each other.¹⁷³ However, the *third being*, that is, a νοῦς to which Word and flesh are each united, is very difficult to discover in Leontius writings.¹⁷⁴ For Evans, this could easily be explained: Leontius had "so constructed his argument (...) as to conceal from his orthodox readers his true conviction".¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ Pursuing his speculation, Evans searched for a being that fulfilled the conditions of his *tertium quid*: "Is there any being which somehow both is and is not one in essence and existence?" And anticipating the fourth chapter of his study, he wrote: "there is indeed! He is Jesus Christ, the one unfallen nous of the Christology of the Origenist Evagrius of Pontus. (...) For Evagrius, it is the property of nous as such that it may either persist in the vision of God or fall away from it; that is, as I propose to translate, either hold to the original unity of its existence with its essence or abandon it. Nous both is and is not one in essence and existence in that it may be either the one or the other. However, in a single case it is as it were both at once. For Evagrius, we know, Jesus Christ is the single nous of the whole intellectual world who has not fallen away from the Word; but he is also by God's grace joined to his flesh. In Evagrius' Christology, then, it is the proprium of Jesus Christ to be the one nous united both to the Word and to the flesh," *ibid.*, 40-41. See also 185. Even though it is not my purpose here to evaluate Evans' interpretation of Evagrius, I want to point out the difficulty of interpreting spiritual texts with the standards appropriate for theological treatises; see also above, 27, n.25 (at the end).

¹⁷² "Evagrius' νοῦς Jesus Christ conforms to the requirements of our speculation [*scil.* concerning the *third being*] astonishing well," *ibid.*, 41.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁷⁴ When treating Leontius' threefold division of the soul (see above, 155, n.105) into "nous, thumos, and epithumia", Evans admitted "that Leontius never calls nous νοῦς, but either τὸ λογιστικόν (...) or τὸ ἡγεμονικόν (...)", D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 111, n.97. Certainly, there are νόες in Leontius' text, e.g. DTN, PG 86/1, 1369A14, but we may state with Daley that his works show "no reference to pre-existent noes", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 339.

¹⁷⁵ D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 42.

Although Evans' thesis was accepted by some scholars,¹⁷⁶ it encountered abundant criticism¹⁷⁷ and as B. Daley, the most outspoken opponent, recently wrote, it has few supporters today.¹⁷⁸ A representation of the whole discussion would lead us too far afield, but attention must be paid to Daley's criticism (1976).¹⁷⁹ For Daley, the thesis of Leontius' theological Origenism "remains unproved and thoroughly dubious",¹⁸⁰ and he demonstrates that Leontius' Christology does not imply the Evagrian-Origenist metaphysical system Evans tries to discover "behind" it.¹⁸¹ An actual dependence of Leontius' *Christology* on that of Evagrius cannot be deduced from a similarity of *anthropology* as Evans claims;¹⁸² but even this anthropological

¹⁷⁶ See esp. J. MEYENDORFF, *Le Christ dans la théologie byzantine*, Paris 1969, 79-89 (Meyendorff used an outline of Evans' unpublished dissertation, *ibid.*, 80, n.41); also *id.*, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends & Doctrinal Themes*, New York 1983 (1974), 36; P. GRAY, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leiden 1979, 90-103; C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis. A Study in Hagiography as Apology*, Brookline, Ma. 1990, 101-105. A casual reference to Evans was made by W. Frend and C. von Schönborn, both taking his thesis for granted; see W. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972, 278-279; C. VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, ThH 20, Paris 1972, 48, n.11.

¹⁷⁷ Evans' thesis was criticized or explicitly confuted by A. DE HALLEUX, [Review] *RHE* 66 (1971), 977-985 [= *Muséon* 84 (1971), 553-560]; J. LYNCH, "Leontius of Byzantium: A Cyrillian Christology", *JTS/ns* 36 (1975), 455-471 (the "Cyrillian" character of Leontius' Christology is generally not accepted); L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, Brescia 1980, p.203, n.74 and pp. 262, 268-269; *id.*, "Il 'Dialogo contro gli aftartodoceti' di Leonzio di Bisanzio e Severo di Antiochia", *CrSt* 1 (1980), 430-431; A. LE BOULLUEC, "Controverses au sujet de la doctrine d'Origène sur l'âme du Christ", in *Origeniana quarta*, Innsbruck-Wien 1987, 223-237; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, Freiburg (etc.) 1989, 198-199. The most well-founded rejection of Evans' thesis, given by B. Daley, will be treated immediately here below.

¹⁷⁸ B. DALEY, "A Richer Union: Leontius of Byzantium and the Relationship of Human and Divine in Christ", in *StPatr* 24, Leuven 1993, 241. See also L. PERRONE, "L'impatto del dogma di Calcedonia sulla riflessione teologica fra IV e V Concilio Ecumenico", in *Storia della teologia* 1, Casale Monferrato 1993, p. 575 with n.173 and p.576.

¹⁷⁹ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/ns* 27 (1976), 333-369.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 336-337.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 341. Evans utilizes "notions that are foreign to Leontius' thought", *ibid.*, and he finds a system implied in Leontius' works that shows to be "largely the product of his own fancy", *ibid.*, 352.

¹⁸² The "cornerstone" of Evans' reasoning, Daley writes, "is not anything expressed in Leontius' Christology itself, curiously enough, but rather what Evans understands to be Leontius' idea of the soul. So he sums up his argument in the following 'syllogism': 'If the soul of Leontius' anthropology is the same as the *nous* of Evagrius' cosmology and if one of

accordance itself appears "at best inconclusive".¹⁸³ Evans' project fails through lack of evidence.¹⁸⁴ Then Daley pursues his argument in the opposite direction:

A careful look at Leontius' writings provides unmistakable evidence that the theology he actually espouses *does* contradict Evagrian Origenism. Not only is there no trace in his works of Evagrius' very recognizable theological scheme and vocabulary, nor even a suggestion of what contemporaries seem to have considered the two main characteristics of Origenism: the doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and apocatastasis. The fact is, on all the major points of Evagrian theology we can find Leontius clearly maintaining a contrary position; sometimes he even seems at pains to distinguish his own position from that of the Origenists, even if he never mentions them by name.¹⁸⁵

After summarizing the main points of disagreement,¹⁸⁶ Daley arrives at what he sees as "perhaps" Leontius' "most radical divergence from Evagrius' Christology". According to Leontius, the Logos was *directly* incarnated and not through the mediation of a *tertium quid*:¹⁸⁷ "There is not

Evagrius' *noes* is Jesus Christ, then is it not at least highly probable that one of the souls of Leontius' anthropology is Jesus Christ – that Leontius' Jesus is Evagrius' *nous* Jesus? One might well answer to this: not necessarily. It is, after all, perfectly possible that two theologians could share the same philosophical anthropology without having the same understanding of Christ," *ibid.*, 352 (ref. D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 100). This argument has been brought against Evans also by A. DE HALLEUX, [Review] *RHE* 66 (1971), 980.

¹⁸³ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 352. After criticizing the anthropological similarities adduced by Evans, Daley observes that these "are all too much part of the mixed heritage of any sixth-century Greek philosopher to be by themselves evidence for the dependence of one writer on another", *ibid.*, 354.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ The "major points of Evagrian theology" on which Daley finds Leontius "maintaining a contrary position" concern the creation, the pre-existence of souls, the primordial fall, the eschatology, man's union with God and Christology. See *ibid.*, 355-359.

¹⁸⁷ "Leontius repeatedly makes it clear that it is the Logos himself who took on a human nature in the Incarnation, not a created *nous* called Christ, who is joined to the Logos by knowledge and love but who is a different being," *ibid.*, 359. A difference between the *voûç* Christ and the Logos was attributed to the Origenists by the 8th and 9th *anathemata* of 553, *ibid.*, 359, n.2-3. See *Canones xv contra Origenem sive Origenistas*, *ACO* IV/1, 249,10-18. Leontius, however, stresses that the Logos is *not* different from Christ; Daley illustrates this by the following passages: *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1385c3 f., 1392a9 f.; *Epil*, PG 86/2, 1944b5-b2. Other texts demonstrate that Leontius holds a *direct* Incarnation of the Logos without an intermediary: *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1281a1 f., 1284c8-10; *CA*, PG 86/1, 1324b3-1325a4, 1332a12, 1352d8-10, 1353a5, 12 f. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/ns* 27 (1976), 359-360.

the least suggestion of a third party in the Incarnation, mediating between the Logos and the human nature of Jesus and corresponding to the *nous* Christ of Evagrius."¹⁸⁸ Then, Daley rejects both Evans' thesis that Leontius' writings represent "an Origenist position" and Richard's suggestion that they "do not represent the real Leontius, but are the orthodox disguise of an Origenist at bay".¹⁸⁹ Daley prefers "to take Leontius' writings at their face value": they reveal to us not an Origenist, but "a strict and unbending diphysite, a Palaeo-Chalcedonian"¹⁹⁰ who was concerned above all to defend the validity of the Chalcedonian Christological formula.¹⁹¹ As a consequence, in order to maintain the identification of Leontius the author with Cyril's Leontius, Daley has to interpret Leontius' so-called "Origenism" in a broader sense, just as Loofs did. It is true that in his approach Daley does show a reserve with regard to Cyril, but only to a small degree.¹⁹² First he formulates the questions

1. what a theological epithet like "Origenist" can have meant when coming from the pen of a hostile contemporary such as Cyril; and
2. what degree of doctrinal homogeneity actually characterized the Origenist "party" among the monks of sixth-century Palestine.¹⁹³

Then, starting with the first question, Daley assumes an element of subjectivity in Cyril's judgment: "For all his apparent accuracy of detail, Cyril is scarcely a neutral observer in theological issues."¹⁹⁴ According to Daley, Cyril shows himself "a thoroughgoing and articulate Neo-Chalce-

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 360.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 361. "It would be, to say the least, a bit strange if so much passion and labour, so much subtle and consistent argument, were in the end only being expended on a façade, and could not be trusted to tell us anything of the builder's own principles," *ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Even Richard qualified the Christology expounded by Leontius as "un chalcédonisme très strict interprété à la lumière de la théologie cappadocienne et d'une philosophie originale", M. RICHARD, "Léonce de Byzance était-il origéniste?", 46, 55; see also 65. For the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers upon Leontius, see above, 156, n.108.

¹⁹¹ εἷς Χριστός, ἐν πρόσωπον, μία ὑπόστασις ἐν δύο φύσεσιν. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 361-362.

¹⁹² In a more recent article, Daley observes that Cyril, notwithstanding his passionate hostility to the Origenists, "remains a careful and, it seems, accurate witness to the facts of the dispute", B. DALEY, "What did 'Origenism' Mean in the Sixth Century?", in *Origeniana sexta*, Leuven 1995, 631 (quoted above, 49 at n.153).

¹⁹³ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 362.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

donian, extraordinarily careful in his formulation of the mystery of the Incarnation to use the language canonized by the Council of 553".¹⁹⁵ Daley concludes this from a passage in the *VE*, where Cyril puts into the mouth of Abba Euthymius a profession of orthodox faith.¹⁹⁶ Cyril's Neo-Chalcedonian position must have been determinant for his judgment on Leontius. In his eyes, as Daley observes, someone who steered "a more rigorously diphysite course" could seem "scandalously guilty of 'dividing Christ'",¹⁹⁷ and this could be enough to brand him an "Origenist" or a "Nestorian", which did not make much difference.¹⁹⁸ Thus, we see how for the first time since Loofs, Cyril's reputation for historical objectivity begins to suffer corrosion.¹⁹⁹ But unlike Loofs, who associated Cyril with "eine nestorianisierende Partei",²⁰⁰ Daley represents Cyril as a Neo-Chalcedonian in whose eyes "Origenists" and "Nestorians" could be "lumped together".²⁰¹ As a consequence, Daley has to explain Leontius' anti-Nestorian attack upon the ad-

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 40,13-41,3. Daley qualifies Euthymius' profession of faith as "almost a perfect summary of the Christology of the Second Council of Constantinople", and Euthymius' following speech as "a classic Neo-Chalcedonian explanation of Chalcedon", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 363-364. For Cyril's Neo-Chalcedonism, see also L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città", in *Cirillo di Scitopoli. Storie monastiche*, Praglia 1990, 80.

¹⁹⁷ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364.

¹⁹⁸ "And this could well have been enough to earn for a theologian like Leontius the name of 'Origenist', especially if he had been personally associated with others who subscribed more directly to an Evagrian theology. To have one's doubts about the propriety of predicating Trinitarian titles of Jesus or human sufferings to the Logos tended, in Neo-Chalcedonian eyes, to put in the same category as those who thought of Christ as a *nous* distinct from God the Word, or even as those who considered him a 'mere man'; whether one then was branded 'Nestorian' or 'Origenist' was perhaps of only secondary importance," *ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ For the sake of completeness, I have to mention here an earlier article of Rees in which Loofs' criticism of Cyril's reliability found some echo: S. REES, "The Life and Personality of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 41 (1940), 263-280 (see esp. 276).

²⁰⁰ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 288 (quoted above, 164 at n.146).

²⁰¹ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 365. Daley derives some arguments from Cyril's writings and from other sixth and seventh-century sources, to prove a "widespread identification of Origenists and Antiochenes", *ibid.* The vision that Cyril belonged to a Neo-Chalcedonian party that "lumped together" Origenists and Antiochenes was also expressed by D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 138, n.15.

herents of Theodore of Mopsuestia as an Origenist manoeuvre inspired by "diplomatic shrewdness".²⁰²

As to the second question, Daley designs a new picture of the "well-defined faction of monks" known by the name of "Origenists".²⁰³ Their apparent interest in Origen, Evagrius and Didymus does not mean – if Leontius belonged to them – that all these monks actually adhered to the doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and apocatastasis, or to an Origenist Christology. They were not so much held together by a particular system of doctrine as by "their interest in the intellectual life and in theological speculation – as exemplified, perhaps, in the Origenist approach to theology".²⁰⁴ Leontius was one of those λογιώτεροι whom Cyril presents as "a group of critical and rebellious intellectuals".²⁰⁵ He may have read the works of Origen and Evagrius with interest and found the doctrines of pre-existence and apocatastasis moderate (μέσσα) and harmless (ἀκίνδυνα), even if he did not subscribe to them. Probably, Leontius' "Origenism", if any, consisted merely in his conviction that freedom of theological speculation was a right worth fighting for.²⁰⁶

²⁰² "Their [*scil.* the Origenists'] attack on the leaders of the Antiochene school takes on a new dimension of diplomatic shrewdness: both as a way of drawing the reforming Neo-Chalcedonian fire away from themselves, and as a counterblow against Pelagius and other Westerners who found themselves in sympathy with the Antiochene tradition, but showed less sympathy with the Origenists. Leontius' *DTN*, a violent and apparently rather hastily written tirade against Theodore of Mopsuestia and his followers, may well have been the first move in this direction; it was to become the manifesto of the Origenist party's crusade, and the source-book for the Conciliar condemnation of the Three Chapters a decade later," B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 365-366. For Deacon Pelagius' role, see above, 152, n.96 (I shall return to it below).

²⁰³ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 366.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; see the passage quoted above, 30 at n.38.

²⁰⁵ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 366.

²⁰⁶ "But all the evidence suggests that he was himself an Origenist only in so far as he was one of those λογιώτεροι who believed theological speculation like Origen's or Evagrius' was in any event a useful way for a monk to spend his time, was worth reading and respecting, even if one disagreed with it at the end – and that the freedom to indulge in this kind of theological research was worth fighting for, even with 'picks and shovels and crowbars of iron' [with ref. to *VS* 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,18-19]. The Origenism of Leontius was probably only his allegiance to a group known for its free speculation, and his willingness to defend the rights of real, theological Origenists to their own views," *ibid.*, 369.

The "Origenism" of Leontius of Byzantium and Cyril's historical reliability

Daley's analysis is an important step towards the solution of the complicated problem of Leontius' "Origenism". He has turned the research away from an inquiry into a camouflaged heresy "behind" the theology of the *corpus leontinianum*, and focused the attention back upon the possibility that Cyril's charges might not be quite objective. This seems to be a more fruitful approach. But the more radical position already taken by Loofs should also be given serious consideration. Only a radical questioning of Cyril's reliability, as initiated by Loofs, can lead us towards a satisfying interpretation of the mysterious phenomenon of Leontius' "Origenism". And in light of the analysis of the literary genre of Cyril's monastic biographies, made in the first chapter of this study, we may thoroughly question Cyril's reliability.

A profound questioning of Cyril's historical trustworthiness might enable us to identify him, like Daley did, as a Neo-Chalcedonian, but a "Neo-Chalcedonian" after the Council of 553, without absolving him from his sympathies with a former "nestorianisierende Partei" as understood by Loofs. In fact, Daley's suggestion that Cyril belonged to a Neo-Chalcedonian party that "lumped together" Origenists and Antiochenes as their common opponents simply contradicts the evidence, as has already been suggested and as will be further demonstrated.

The confrontation of Cyril's account with what we may deduce from Leontius' writings leads to the conjecture that a more complicated conflict underlay the quarrel about the theological issues. Cyril of Scythopolis, our principal source, appears as the mouthpiece of the self-proclaimed winning party.²⁰⁷ In this section, we discovered him caricaturing opponents such as Leontius of Byzantium and suppressing facts that are crucial to the controversy. For example, we found Cyril's charge of Leontius' "crypto-Origenism" counterbalanced in Leontius' own writings by the parallel charge of "crypto-Nestorianism" brought against the anti-Origenists. This accusation which could be exaggerated as well is significant. Even though it does not correspond, at first sight, to much that we can read in Cyril's account, it may well be indicative of important hidden aspects of what really happened.

²⁰⁷ See above, 39-40, 49-50.

After the long, painstaking research into the questionable "Origenism" of Leontius of Byzantium, it is time to turn to the hagiographic writings of Cyril of Scythopolis. We have serious reasons now to re-examine Loofs' old thesis that these writings bear "eine grelle Parteifärbung" and that the "anti-Origenists", in whose favor Cyril wrote, were linked with "Nestorianism" by the "Origenist" enemies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, such as Leontius, in the period of struggle preceding the Council of 553.²⁰⁸ Perhaps other dimensions of the underlying monastic conflict can also be detected.

2. The doctrinal and political aspects of the conflict

When verifying the scholarly consensus about Leontius the author being the same as Cyril's Leontius the Origenist, I mentioned the sympathy for Theodore of Mopsuestia within anti-Origenist circles, which may be deduced both from the *VS* and from some Latin sources.²⁰⁹ In this section, I shall examine more closely the question of Theodore of Mopsuestia's popularity in the anti-Origenist camp. To what extent did Leontius' charge of "secret Nestorianism", brought against the anti-Origenists, correspond to historical reality? Can we consider the party Cyril sympathizes with as "eine nestorianisierende Partei", as Loofs suggested? Or, on the other hand, should we assume that the Origenists, instead of being liable to identification with the "Antiochenes",²¹⁰ were rather taking sides with the Monophysites in the persistent Christological conflict that dominated the era? Since Loofs observed that the origins of the Origenist controversy and the Three Chapters affair are "enger verbunden, als die bisherigen Darstellungen erkennen lassen",²¹¹ the question has still not yet been given the atten-

²⁰⁸ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 288 (quoted above, 164 at n.146).

²⁰⁹ See above, 152 with nn.94-96.

²¹⁰ See above, 173, n.201.

²¹¹ F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 288 (quoted above, 164 at n.146). For the Three Chapters affair, see above, 52, n.167.

tion it deserves.²¹² Within the limits of this study, only a few suggestions can be made. My central point is that a methodological doubt about Cyril of Scythopolis' historical trustworthiness could open a new line for further research.

Sabas expels the heretics: an anachronism?

Let us turn to the crucial passage in the *VS* where Cyril says something about the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia. As we know, they are briefly mentioned together with Leontius of Byzantium with whom they were expelled from Sabas' company on the Saint's mission to Constantinople in 531. I shall quote the text once again,²¹³ from the point where Sabas, encountering Justinian, predicted the reconquest of the lost parts of the Empire so that the Emperor could extirpate the heresies of Arianism, Nestorianism and Origenism. After clarifying that Sabas mentioned Arianism because it was troubling the West, Cyril explains the Saint's reference to the two other heresies:

He named the heresy of Nestorius, because some of the monks who had accompanied him had been found siding with Theodore of Mopsuestia when disputing with the Aposchists in the basilica. He included the destructive heresy of Origen in the rejection of the said heresies, since one of the monks with him,

²¹² More recently F. Carcione contributed two subsequent articles to the research upon the connection between Origenism and the Three Chapters affair: F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale della 'Seconda Controversia Origenista' (536-543). Un nuovo fallimentare tentativo d'integrazione tra monofisismo e calcedonianismo alla vigilia della controversia sui Tre Capitoli", *SROC* 8 (1985), 3-18; *id.*, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della 'Seconda Controversia Origenista' (543-553). Gli intrecci con la controversia sui Tre Capitoli", *SROC* 9 (1986), 131-147. Carcione confirms that the Origenists were deeply involved in the Christological and political conflict of their time, taking sides with the Monophysites against the defenders of the Three Chapters. He explicitly approaches the controversy as a struggle in the line of the old opposition between Antiochenes and Alexandrines. See esp. *ibid.*, 136-138. See for this aspect also S. REBS, "The Life and Personality of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS/os* 41 (1940), 278-280. For the link between Origenists and Monophysites, see e.g. J. Bois, "Constantinople (II^e concile de)", *DTC* 3/1 (1938), 1231-1232.

²¹³ The text has been quoted above, 76-77 (with the Greek text in n.97). See also above, 133-134 with nn.2-8.

Byzantine by birth and named Leontius, who was one of those admitted with Nonnus into the New Laura after the death of the superior Agapêtus, had been found embracing the doctrines of Origen; though claiming to support the Council of Chalcedon, he was detected holding the views of Origen. On hearing this and remembering the words of the blessed Agapêtus,²¹⁴ our father Sabas, acting with severity, expelled both Leontius and those with the views of Theodore and excluded them from his company, and asked the emperor to expel both heresies.²¹⁵

At first sight, this text appears as a historical account of events that took place about 25 years before the moment of writing. But there are two difficulties here. Firstly, could it be true that, *as early as 531*, Sabas, a fervent champion of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, unmasked some sympathizers of Theodore of Mopsuestia as "Nestorians", judging them bad enough to expel them rigidly from his company? Secondly, is it imaginable that Sabas, who had expressly backed Abba Agapêtus' request to prolong the exile of Nonnus and his companions, had remained *ignorant* of Leontius' belonging to this group from the time that it was "secretly" admitted into the New Laura in 519/520? These questions directly concern the issue of Cyril's historical reliability and the outcome will urge us to search for a suitable interpretation of the text.

a. The first question touches Theodore of Mopsuestia's general reputation in the early 530's. We know that this Antiochene father was not admired by the Monophysites who, following Cyril of Alexandria a century before, accused him of being the immediate predecessor of Nestorius.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ When Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem had been substituted by John, in 516, the exiled Origenists took that occasion to get permission to return to the New Laura, but Abba Agapêtus gave the new Patriarch negative advice: "They corrupt the community by fomenting the doctrines of Origen, and I would prefer rather to leave the place than to mix these men with the community entrusted to me," *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,10-13 (see also above, 77, n.96).

²¹⁵ *VS* 72 (SCHWARTZ), 176,7-20.

²¹⁶ Cyril of Alexandria's attitude had been half-hearted: though he had fulminated against the deceased bishop of Mopsuestia denouncing his doctrines as even worse than those of Nestorius, he had also expressed more favorable judgments and he had never gone as far as mentioning Theodore's name in his Twelve *Anathemata*, nor in the whole passionate debate that surrounded the Council of Ephesus. Finally, he had ended up – for reasons of opportunism – by advising Patriarch Proclus of Constantinople to leave Theodore in peace in his tomb. See É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres (affaire de)", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1870-1873. In the early sixth century, Monophysites like Philoxenus of Mabbug showed themselves less appeasable. See EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* III, 31, ed. J. BIDEZ/ L. PARMENTIER, London 1898, 127,23-128,8.

But we also know that the fathers of Chalcedon, after reading a much-discussed letter of Ibas of Edessa to Maris in which Theodore of Mopsuestia was expressly praised,²¹⁷ had acknowledged the author as orthodox.²¹⁸ This circumstance made it impossible for strict Chalcedonians to comply with the Monophysite demand of anathematizing Theodore, without harming the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. Besides, Theodore was considered to have died in peace with the Church: even at the sessions of the Council of 553 there were still discussions whether he could be anathematized *post mortem*.²¹⁹ This in brief is the state of affairs concerning the

²¹⁷ IBAS EDESSENUM, *Epistula ad Marim*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Conc. Chalcedonense* (Actio XI), *ACO* II/1,3, Berlin/ Leipzig 1935, 32-34, or [391-393]. The letter had been written shortly after the Reconciliation of 433, when the Orientals (residing under the Patriarchate of Antioch) had promised to abandon Nestorius, while Cyril of Alexandria, from his side, had dropped his Twelve *Anathemata* and subscribed to a "Formula of Union" intended to reconcile the Antiochene and Alexandrine positions. See esp. A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* I, Freiburg (etc.) 1979, 703-707; M. SIMONETTI, *Il Cristo II: Testi teologici e spirituali in lingua greca dal IV al VII secolo*, Milano 1986, 384-387. Then Ibas had written to an anonymous Persian bishop (conventionally addressed with *Mar*, hence the title Μάρης), in order to inform him about what had happened and how peace had been restored. But concerning Cyril of Alexandria, his tone had been very negative and he had also complained about Bishop Rabbula of Edessa's tyrannical campaign against "the blessed Theodore [of Mopsuestia], the herald of truth and the teacher of the Church (ὁ μακάριος Θεόδωρος ὁ κήρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διδάσκαλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας)", *IBAS, Ep. ad Marim, ACO* II/1, 3, p.33,28-29. See É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres (affaire de)", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1877-1879; R. DEVRESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Città del Vaticano 1948, 125-130.

²¹⁸ *Conc. Chalcedonense*, *ACO* II/1, 3, pp.11-42, or [370-401]. At Chalcedon, the decisions of the so-called *latrocinium Ephesinum* (the "robber's council" of Ephesus in 449) were annulled, which implied the rehabilitation of both Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa. These two authors, together with Theodore of Mopsuestia, became famous in the sixth century as the "Three Chapters": a designation that originally referred only to Justinian's three *capitula* (κεφάλαια) or *anathemata* condemning each of them, but soon indicated the authors themselves. See e.g. F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 135, n.17.

²¹⁹ The question concerning the condemnation of the death had been discussed from the fifth century on. See e.g. IOHANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Ep. ad Proclum* (*Inter ep. Procli* 6), PL 65, 877-878; É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1871-1872. Especially the Western churches opposed to the condemnation of the death because of their concern with the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. See A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografica ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, Roma 1999, pp.199, 208. Pope Vigilius, in his first *Constitutum* of 553, protesting against the Council (see below, 185, n.239), even quoted a passage of Cyril of Alexandria against the insult of the death. See VIGILIUS PAPA, *Constitutum* I, in *Collectio Avellana, Ep.* 83, CSEL 35/1, 288,4-15. At the Fifth Ecumenical

reputation of Theodore of Mopsuestia at the eve of the *Collatio cum Severianis* in 532,²²⁰ that is, at the time of Sabas' mission to Constantinople. Therefore, we should at least be suspicious about Cyril's hagiographic representation of Saint Sabas who, notwithstanding his pro-Chalcedonian zeal, expels the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia as early as 531. It is also hard to believe that Cyril reflects the historical facts when, referring to that incident, he gives an assurance, by the mouth of Abba Gelasius, that Sabas had "abhorred" (ἐμυσάττετο) Theodore of Mopsuestia "because he was a heretic" (ἀίρετικῶ αὐτῶ ὄντι).²²¹

Whether Theodore was a heretic or not, was not yet officially established in 531. The first official condemnation was issued only about 13 years later by Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters of 544/545.²²² Even a year before, in the edict against Origen of 543, Theodore of Mopsuestia's name was not mentioned in the concluding list of all heretics (among them Nestorius) who had to be renounced as officially condemned.²²³ The question of Theodore's orthodoxy must have become a burning issue, out-

Council itself, the question was discussed especially in the fifth session. See Concilium Oec. Const. II, *Gesta*, ACO IV/1, 100,32-129,16; C. HEFELE/ H. LECLERQ, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux* III/1, Paris 1909, 87-89; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, Paris 1974, 94-95. See also the testimony of EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV, 38, ed. J. BIDEZ/ L. PARMENTIER, London 1898, 187,17-18.

²²⁰ As has been said, Cyril alludes in our text to preparatory discussions in view of the *Collatio cum Severianis*, see above, 77, n.94. At that colloquy, Justinian proposed a deal with the Severian Monophysites permitting them indeed to condemn Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa, provided that they would subscribe to the Council of Chalcedon. However, the proposal failed to persuade the Severians. See the French transl. of an anonymous Syrian account in F. NAU, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Église Nestorienne* II (Textes Monophysites II, 6: Le colloque monophysite de 531), PO 13 (1917; repr. 1974), p.195 [85], lines 4-15; English transl. by S. BROCK, "The Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)", *OCP* 47 (1981), 116-117, nr.7. See also A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 261, 438. Our other source for the colloquy only reports a discussion about the rehabilitation of Theodoret and Ibas by the Council of Chalcedon; see INNOCENTIUS MARONITA, *Epistula de collatione cum Severianis*, ACO IV/2, 180,4-182,22. Innocent does not refer to Justinian's proposal. Obviously, the proposal was made out of opportunism: after the unsuccessful attempt to engineer a reconciliation, Justinian changed political course and soon the condemnation of the Monophysites was renewed at the Synod held by Menas in 536. See above, 79, n.108. The question of Theodore of Mopsuestia's heretical status became current again only after 543; see below.

²²¹ VS 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,19-22 (quoted above, 84 with n.134. See also below).

²²² See above, 84, n.133. For the Three Chapters affair, see above, 52, n.167.

²²³ IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ACO III, 208,8-13.

side the Monophysite world, only *after* the edict against Origen. According to Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus of Carthage, two Latin defenders of the Three Chapters (and of the authority of Chalcedon), the condemnation of these three authors was merely the result of a hate-campaign initiated by the Origenists at the instigation of Theodore Ascidas, to avenge the previous edict against Origen.²²⁴ Facundus writes that on that occasion an old question which had been concluded and forgotten for one hundred and twenty years, was brought up again.²²⁵ And Liberatus suggests that it was only *after* the edict against Origen that the way was opened to condemn the dead, enabling Theodore Ascidas to provoke a condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia.²²⁶ Although these partisan testimonies might not be quite

²²⁴ FACUNDUS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* I, 2,4, CCL 90^a, pp.8-9, lines 19-27; IV, 4,14-15, pp.125-126, lines 97-112; LIBERATUS, *Breviarium* 23-24, ACO II/5, 139,33-141,11. See also above, 152, n.96. In the context of Theodore Ascidas' presumed revenge, L. DUCHESNE remarked long ago: "Quant à Théodore de Mopsueste, si nulle sentence ne l'avait encore atteint, nulle sentence non plus le protégeait," L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélagie. Étude sur l'histoire de l'Église romaine au milieu du VI^e siècle", *RQH* 36 (1884), 392. For Ascidas' role, see also (among the extent literature) F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 50-55; C. HEFELE/ H. LECLERQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 5-6, n.1; L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 173-175; E. SCHWARTZ, "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians", *SBAW* (1940), Heft 2, pp.52-57 (= *id.*, *Gesammelte Schriften* 4, Berlin 1960, 298-304); R. DEVRESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, Città del Vaticano 1948, 205-206; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, Paris (etc.) 1949, 395, 634-638; É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1888; W. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972, 279-280; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 209-210 with n.90; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 439-441; A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", 134-135. See also below, 183, n.233.

²²⁵ "Sed nunc in praedudicium magnae synodi Chalcedonensis resuscitatur eius quaestio ante centum et viginti annos finita et oblivioni iam tradita," FACUNDUS, *Contra Mocianum* 63, CCL 90^a, p.415, lines 536-538. From this testimony, E. Schwartz incorrectly concluded that Theodore of Mopsuestia *himself* had been forgotten in the *Reichskirche*; see E. SCHWARTZ, "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians", *SBAW* (1940), Heft 2, p.54 (= *Gesammelte Schr.* 4, p.300 with n.2), followed by A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 440 with n.415. However, Facundus is referring only to the fifth century *question* concerning Theodore of Mopsuestia's "Nestorianism". As Theodore had combated Origen, he was well-known and venerated in anti-Origenist circles. See E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 633 with n.1 (against Schwartz). And at the *Collatio cum Severianis* in 532, Theodore's status had already been discussed. See above, 180, n.220.

²²⁶ "Origenes damnatus est mortuus, qui vivens olim fuerat ante damnatus. Et reserato aditu adversariis ecclesiae, ut mortui damnarentur, Theodorus Caesareae Cappadociae episcopus (...) cognoscens Origenem fuisse damnatum dolore damnationis eius ad ecclesiae

objective,²²⁷ they support our assumption that in the early 530's there were few reasons for a pro-Chalcedonian monastic Saint in his nineties and known for his extreme rusticity,²²⁸ to "abhor" Theodore of Mopsuestia with a sureness of judgment that urged him to expel the latter's admirers rigorously from his company.

This supposition is equally supported by Leontius of Byzantium's diatribe against Theodore of Mopsuestia, the *DTN*, composed about ten years after the incident in Sabas' company took place.²²⁹ Leontius' passionate zeal to unmask the adherents of Theodore as "secret Nestorians" who pretend to be Chalcedonians,²³⁰ and the whole florilegium compiled with that intention, would have been senseless if his public at the time had straightforwardly linked Theodore with the heresy of Nestorius. Leontius wrote with the awareness of bringing something to light that was not well-known²³¹

conturbationem damnationem molitus est in Theodorum Mompsuestenum eo quod Theodorus multa opuscula edidisset contra Origenem exosusque et accusabilis haberetur ab Origenianistis....," *LIBERATUS, Breviarium* 23-24, *ACO* II/5, p.140, lines 11-18. A. Placanica observes in this context: "Ancorché l'editto rinovasse – come sostiene l'autore – una sentenza già precedentemente portata quando Origene era ancora in vita, esso aprì la strada funesta dei giudizi contro i defunti," A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografica ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", 226.

²²⁷ Justinian's politics against the Three Chapters were certainly not the mere invention of Theodore Ascidas. As we saw, in 532 Justinian himself had proposed a deal with the Monophysites in this direction, but his attempt at conciliation had failed and he changed political course. See above, 180, n.220. However, in the early 540's, political circumstances urged Justinian to retake his pursuit of reconciliation with the Monophysites, so he had his own motives to condemn the Three Chapters. See below, 183, n.233. On the other hand, we have to give a certain credit to our Latin sources: Theodore Ascidas' zealous advocacy for the final condemnation of the Three Chapters at the Council of 553 is abundantly testified, *Concilium Oec. Const. II, Gesta, ACO* IV/1, (*passim*); see also EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV, 38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 187, 1-16.

²²⁸ *VS* 18 (SCHWARTZ), p.103, lines 25-26 and p.104, line 6 (see above, 68 with nn. 63-64).

²²⁹ See above, 145, n. 65; for the dating, see 148, n.77.

²³⁰ LEONTIUS, Prologue *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1272A1-4 (this passage belongs to the paragraph of the Prologue that anticipates the contents of *DTN*; see above, 151 at n.92). See also, and especially, *id.*, *DTN*, 1364A5-10 (and above, 145, n.66).

²³¹ "Der Verfasser [*scil.* Leontius], der von sachlichen Unwahrheiten, von Verläumdungen, sich fernhält, ist bei all diesen Mitteilungen davon überzeugt, dass er Unbekanntes ans Licht zieht. Seine Mitteilungen allein genügen, so meint er offenbar, die Verworfenheit Theodor's zu bezeugen. Von diesem Theodor kommt Nestorius her," F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 29. Leontius is surely not the first to link Theodore with Nestorius (see above, 178, n.216), but when we combine these words with Facundus' testimony (see above, 181, n.224), we may conclude that Leontius intended to draw attention to a question that easily sank into oblivion among his pro-Chalcedonian public.

and his treatise may well have served as one of the sources for the imperial decrees against the Three Chapters.²³²

Only after the first official condemnation did the issue of Theodore of Mopsuestia's heresy become a topical subject, but the question remained undecided until the Council of 553. To illustrate this, it is helpful to show here a brief overview of the history of the Three Chapters affair. The edict of 544/545 was a political move (to a certain extent at the instigation of Theodore Ascidas) to appease the Monophysites and thus to stabilize the Empire.²³³ However, the document was received with great hesitation, if not resistance, by the five patriarchs.²³⁴ Concerned for the authority of Chalcedon, the Oriental patriarchs initially resisted. Only in the second

²³² See e.g. É. AMANN, "Trois-Chartres", 1889-1890, 1897-1898; F. MURPHY/P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 75 [with n.139; NB Justinian's *Confessio fidei* (below, 185, n.238) should be dated to 551 and not 543].

²³³ Following Facundus and Liberatus, all the scholars mentioned above, 181, n.224, more or less incline to overstress the role of Theodore Ascidas' revenge (combined with Empress Theodora's pro-Monophysite intrigues) as the main stimulus for Justinian's policy. F. Carcione, however, points at Justinian's own political motives; military threats at the borders of the whole Empire, forced him to search for a reconciliation with the Monophysites, to acquire inner stabilization. "Nient'affatto vittima innamorata dei raggiri della moglie Teodora, nè teologo diletante in balia degli esperti di Corte, bensì valente opportunista pronto a seguire la politica religiosa più conveniente per le necessità del momento, Giustiniano all'indomani dell'editto antiorigenista lasciò consapevolmente spazio alla riorganizzazione dei monofisiti, per riconquistare il consenso, e non subì passivamente le iniziative di Teodoro Askida (...), ma le patrocina e diresse secondo la ragione di Stato," F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 132; see also *ibid.*, 133-134, 136. Compare with above, 182, n.227.

²³⁴ "Au premier abord, les patriarches à qui l'on demanda de signer la condamnation des trois chapitres furent saisis de scrupules. En soi, il pouvait y avoir quelque chose de répréhensible dans les écrits en question; ceux de Théodore surtout étaient difficiles à concilier avec les décisions d'Éphèse et de Chalcédoine. Mais à quoi bon s'engager dans cette voie? On venait de condamner Origène; aujourd'hui on s'attaquait à Théodore; demain ne s'en prendrait-on pas à quelque autre Père? Basile, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Hilaire, Cyrille d'Alexandrie lui-même, sans parler des auteurs plus anciens, n'avaient-ils rien écrit qui pût donner prise à la critique? Faudrait-il, d'édit en édit, jeter l'anathème sur tous les Pères de l'Église?" L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", *RQH* 36 (1884), 395. According to Facundus, the Oriental patriarchs primarily refused to sign the decree, but finally they yielded; see FACUNDUS HERMIANENSIS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum*, IV/4, 1-10, CCL 90^a, 123-125; *id.*, *Contra Mactianum* 37, *ibid.*, 409. For this episode, see e.g. E. SCHWARTZ, "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians", *SBAW* (1940), Heft 2, pp.56-57 (= *Gesammelte Schriften* 4, pp.303-304).

instance did they yield to intimidation by the court: then they subscribed to the edict only on the condition that the Patriarch of Rome, Pope Vigilius, would also give his approval. A long tug-of-war between the Pope and the Emperor followed. The Pope was forced to travel to Constantinople where he stayed for years, practically in the position of Justinian's prisoner. Representing the Latin Church in its fierce opposition against the condemnation of the Three Chapters, Vigilius, at the beginning, firmly resisted the threats of the Byzantine court. But the Oriental patriarchs, apparently out of fear, maintained their signatures and as time went by, the vexed Pope began to vacillate. In 548, he issued his *Iudicatum* against the Three Chapters, but, overwhelmed by a storm of protest from the West, he soon withdrew the document.²³⁵ To find a way out of the impasse – a complete schism was approaching – Justinian proposed to settle the matter at an ecumenical Council. In the summer of 550 all official documents condemning the Three Chapters were annulled and the question was considered open again.²³⁶ In that year, a synod was even held at Mopsuestia in order to verify, in anticipation of the proposed Council, whether Theodore's name was listed in the diptychs or not. The result was negative²³⁷ but the point that counts is that

²³⁵ The text of Vigilius' *Iudicatum* is not preserved, except for a small fragment where the Pope pronounces his condemnation of the Three Chapters, quoted by Justinian in his letter of 5 May 553 to the Council. See IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula ad Synodum de Theodoro Mopsuesteno*, ACO IV/1, 11,21-12,6. Vigilius himself quotes also from the *Iudicatum* in his *Constitutum* I; see CSEL 35/1, pp.316,3-317,16 (comp. with above, 179, n.219). Vigilius, in the second year of his lengthy, enforced stay in Constantinople, yielded to political pressure exerted by the imperial court (also at the instigation of Theodore Ascidas). The *Iudicatum* was an attempt by the Pope, practically imprisoned in Constantinople, to approve the condemnation of the Three Chapters and, at the same time, save the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. But soon Vigilius had to deal with vehement objections from the side of all the Latin churches who blamed him for having turned away from the Council of Chalcedon. As a result, Vigilius withdrew his *Iudicatum* and from then on he remained determined in his resistance, until the very end of 553. See esp. L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", 395-424; *id.*, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 178-218; C. HEFELE/H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 20-38; É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres", 1892-1908; R. DEVREESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, 210-242.

²³⁶ L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 194-195; see also 205-206.

²³⁷ Theodore's name appeared to be substituted in the diptychs by that of Cyril of Alexandria, but the books and the memories did not reach back further than the time of Zeno's *Henoticon* (c. 480), a time more favorable to Monophysites than to Antiochene fathers like Theodore of Mopsuestia. See L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", 408-409; *id.*, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 195; C. HEFELE/H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 38-40.

as late as 550 there was still a need to establish officially whether Theodore's memory was venerated or not in the place where he had been bishop. In spite of Justinian's promise that he would not pronounce any judgment before the Council, he issued in 551 a second edict against the Three Chapters, known as the *Confessio fidei*.²³⁸ This caused the most difficult episode in the relationship with Vigilius who finally refused to participate in the "ecumenical" Council of 553.²³⁹ He gave his approval only six months later, when he was brought to his knees by sickness and despair not long before he died.²⁴⁰

History shows that the question of Theodore of Mopsuestia's heretical status remained undecided until the Council of 553. Certainly, Theodore's name was much discussed from 544 on, but officially there was no *anathema* required.²⁴¹ In general, the Chalcedonians were even ill-disposed to pronounce such an *anathema*.²⁴² That is why, in the early 540's, Leontius of Byzantium had to take great pains when he wanted to demonstrate the

²³⁸ IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, ABAW, Neue Folge, Heft 18, München 1939, 72-110 (also PG 86/1, 993-1035 = PL 69, 225-267); CPG 6885. This document will appear to be of fundamental importance for Cyril of Scythopolis' theological position.

²³⁹ 14 May 553: VIGILIUS PAPA, *Constitutum* I, in *Collectio Avellana*, Ep. 83, CSEL 35/1, 230-320 (= PL 69, 67-114); CPL 1694. For an evaluation of the "ecumenism" of the Council of 553, see É. AMANN, "Trois-Chapitres", 1923; C. MOELLER, "Le cinquième concile oecuménique et le Magistère ordinaire au VI^e siècle", *RSPHTh* 35 (1951), 413-423 (quoting Amann, *ibid.*, 415-416). For complications concerning the reception of the Council, see esp. R. DEVREESSE, "Le cinquième concile et l'oecuménicité byzantine", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* III, StT 123, Città del Vaticano 1946, 1-15. I shall return to all these difficulties below.

²⁴⁰ On 8 December 553, Vigilius finally expressed his adhesion to the Council in a letter to Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople: VIGILIUS PAPA, *Epistula decretalis*, ACO IV/1, 245-247 (= PL 69, 122-128). The letter was followed by Vigilius' official approval on 23 February 554: *id.*, *Constitutum* II, ACO IV/2, 138-168 (= PL 69, 134-178). See C. HEFELE/H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 135-140; F. MURPHY/P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 109-113. The next spring Vigilius left Constantinople after an eight-year stay, and on his way back to Rome he died at Syracuse, on 7 June 555. He was succeeded by his Deacon Pelagius (see below).

²⁴¹ "In der Ostkirche urteilte man vor 553 über diese drei Namen [*scil.* the Three Chapters] zwar kritisch, aber ohne gegen sie und ihre Schriften ein Anathem zu fordern," A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 461.

²⁴² "Einem Anathem über die drei Namen [*scil.* the Three Chapters] waren die Chalcedonier in Ost und West vor allem abgeneigt, weil es die Antichalcedonier als erste und nach 532 mit steigender Heftigkeit aussprachen," *ibid.*, 461, n.503.

hidden "Nestorianism" of Theodore's admirers. This makes it hard to believe that about ten years earlier, an elderly rustic monastic leader such as Sabas could be sure enough about Theodore's heresy to take the drastic action we read in Cyril's *VS*. One might be inclined to think that the hagiographer attributed to his Saint a clairvoyance enabling him to foresee future developments.

b. The second question concerns Sabas' apparent surprise when Leontius of Byzantium was detected holding the views of Origen. Even without being paranormally gifted, he should have been able to foresee the difficulties when taking with him on his mission to Constantinople, a monk closely connected to the group of Nonnus. The only scholar, as far as I know, who actually questions this point is D. Evans, whom I shall quote here:

Why then did Sabas bring with him to Constantinople a monk closely associated since perhaps 520 with the Origenist Nonnus? (...) Had the Origenist monks, as Cyril suggests, been so utterly successful in dissimulation?²⁴³ Was Sabas himself, then ninety-two years old, too nearly senile to recognize Leontius for what he was? Or is the opposition to Origenism before Sabas' death rather less emphatic than it had become in Cyril's times? Can it be that in the days of Sabas the Origenists were tolerated in their spirituality because of their vigorous defense of Orthodoxy on other fronts? That Leontius appears in the summer of 531 as an adversary of the Monophysites strongly suggests so.²⁴⁴

We have to assume indeed that before Sabas' death the opposition to Origenism was "less emphatic than it had become in Cyril's time". Otherwise, if we accept a rigid anti-Origenism in Sabas, as Cyril suggests, the inconsistencies of the account become hard to resolve. Sabas' apparent ignorance about Leontius' background does not fit into an atmosphere of strong anti-Origenist suspicion. Certainly, Cyril states that Nonnus and his companions (including Leontius) were "secretly (*λανθανόντως*) admitted by Mamas into the New Laura" and that they "maintained their wicked fictions in their souls, but kept them totally hidden from the hearing of the monks out of fear of our sainted father Sabas".²⁴⁵ This could well explain

²⁴³ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-22.

²⁴⁴ D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 153. The question of Leontius' presence in Sabas' company is also briefly touched upon by C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 104 (see below, 188, n.251).

²⁴⁵ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,20-22 (quoted above, 73 with n.80).

Sabas' ignorance. But is it true? Can we imagine that a band of dissident monks, staying five years in the *πεδίας* where they had every opportunity to "sow their pernicious weeds",²⁴⁶ insistently preferred to return to the New Laura²⁴⁷ where they had to hide their real thought anxiously in a climate of absolute intolerance? And is it possible, after everything that had happened, that they were admitted *secretly* into the community, without Sabas' knowledge?²⁴⁸ Or could it be true that Sabas, so closely involved in the ups and downs of the New Laura, did not remember Leontius' belonging to that band when he took him with him to the capital?

The whole episode becomes much easier to explain when we assume with Evans that in the early 530's, anti-Origenism – in spite of a former incident in the days of Agapêtus (whatever it might have been) – was less vigorous than Cyril's account might suggest. Cyril himself refers to a period of relative peace between 520 and 532.²⁴⁹ However, he explains it by

²⁴⁶ τὰ πονηρὰ αὐτόθι ζιζάνια κατασπείροντες, *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,3-4 (cf. Mt. 13:25). In the *πεδίας*, the first Origenists must have found a more favorable climate to communicate their views (see above, 72, n.78). The biblical allusion, in the context of the pagan doctrines of the first Origenists, *ibid.*, 124,27, may depend on Justinian's charge against Origen of devoting himself "to support the pagan error and to sow tares (*ζιζάνια ἐγκατασπείραι*) in the souls of the weak", JUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 204,7-8.

²⁴⁷ Cyril relates that they had already tried in vain to return, *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,4-15 (see above, p.77, n.96 and p.178, n.214). As soon as Abba Agapêtus was succeeded by Mamas, they came (*ἤλθον*) once again to be admitted, *ibid.*, 125,17-19.

²⁴⁸ The adverb *λανθανόντως* can impossibly mean that the Origenists were not recognized by their confreres at their come-back. Diekamp suggests that the adverb means: "wohl ohne Vorwissen des Patriarchen oder auch des Sabas", F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 35. Perhaps the Patriarch did not know (and did not mind), but Sabas cannot have remained ignorant for a long time, if Cyril's account is true that he interfered with almost everything that was going on in the New Laura. It is in the same chapter that we read the story about the foundation of the New Laura (507), initiated by rebellious monks after their revolt against Sabas. According to Cyril, the initiative is soon taken over by Sabas himself, without much resistance from the side of the separate disciples (see above, 71 at n.74). Then, Cyril states that the Patriarch gave him "the authority over that place and those living in it as being of his own community", *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 123,23-24 (quoted above, 71 with n.75).

²⁴⁹ After Agapêtus' death, when the group of Nonnus had returned to the New Laura, and as long as Sabas was still alive, "there was only one confession of faith among all the monks of the desert", *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,22-23. With this statement, Cyril concludes his chapter on the first seeds of Origenism; later, he will open his long account of the Origenist crisis in the concluding chapters of the *VS*, by repeating this statement, *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,7-9 (see above, 78, n.102).

an attitude of timorous secrecy on the side of the Origenists, which might go beyond human proportions. Could it be that the Origenists were just "tolerated" to a certain extent,²⁵⁰ and that Cyril interprets that relative peace in the light of the later struggle that led to the Council of 553?²⁵¹

c. This last question may move us towards an interpretation that could resolve the incoherences in Cyril's text with regard to the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the one hand and Leontius of Byzantium on the other. It seems that Cyril is guilty of an *anachronism*, projecting the actuality of the second half of the 550's back to the time when the incident in Sabas' company took place. According to the hagiographic procedure of enlarging the Saint, he must have intended to represent his hero as a champion of orthodoxy not just in the Chalcedonian sense but in the sense of the new Ecumenical Council recently organized to restore political equilibrium in the Empire. In the new, post-conciliar sense, "orthodoxy" means the rejection both of Theodore of Mopsuestia and of Origen. Whatever may have really happened in Sabas' company in 531, Cyril seems to present his Saint as a paradigm of post-conciliar orthodoxy, that is, as a cornerstone for the reorganization of the Sabaite Order when the crisis in the Palestinian monastic world had ended with the re-populating of the New Laura in 555.

That Cyril's account is anachronistic here becomes more plausible when we notice that even the fifth-century Abba Euthymius is presented as a paradigm of "orthodox faith" according to the post-conciliar standards of 553. Two subsequent chapters of the *VE* are dedicated to the subject.²⁵² The first of them is highly significant, because here Cyril describes Euthymius' paradigmatic faith in an extensive passage²⁵³ full of quotations from Jus-

²⁵⁰ D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 153.

²⁵¹ Stallman-Pacitti interprets Cyril's claim to a "secret" Origenism of Leontius as a "mechanism" on the hagiographer's side to "exonerate" Sabas (and other orthodox) "from a potential charge of harboring heretics", C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 104. She concludes: "Again, we see something of the mechanisms Cyril uses for relieving awkward situations," *ibid.* However, Stallman-Pacitti does not develop her interpretation, nor does she connect it with the apparent change of the situation between 531 and the time when Cyril writes. As has been said, she qualifies Cyril's testimony in general as "at times basically inaccurate" (*ibid.*, 123), but at the same time she defends the latter's accuracy with respect to the Origenist Controversy (*ibid.*, 93, 94). See above, 48 with nn.141-142.

²⁵² *VE* 26-27 (SCHWARTZ), 39,18-45,4. This is the only place where Cyril's writings assume the character of a real theological treatise.

²⁵³ *VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 40,5-41,3.

tinian's *Confessio fidei* of 551,²⁵⁴ that is the imperial decree at the basis of the Council of 553.²⁵⁵ In the next chapter Cyril relates Euthymius' faithfulness to the Council of Chalcedon which was at the time ill received in Palestine. Cyril puts a long discourse in Euthymius' mouth that ends again with a quotation from the *Confessio fidei* (and one from Cyril of Alexandria).²⁵⁶ Thus, Euthymius' orthodoxy is narrowly formulated in accordance to Justinian's theology,²⁵⁷ so that one might consider him a "Neochalcedonian" *avant la lettre*,²⁵⁸ or rather a canonized promoter of the imperial theology of 553, whose discourse serves as a directive for Sabaite monks reading his *Life*.

²⁵⁴ See above, 185, n.238. The quotations are put together by B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Paris 1983, 74-75 (nr.5-10).

²⁵⁵ Before Flusin's study was published, B. Daley quoted a great part of the same passage [*VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 40,13-41,3] and observed that this account "is almost a perfect summary of the Christology of the Second Council of Constantinople", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 363. Daley referred to Canons 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, and 14 of the *Anathemata* of 553 against the Three Chapters, *ibid.*, 363, n.2 (*ACO* iv/1, 240-244). It is interesting to note that most of these canons already figure, in their primitive state, in Justinian's *Confessio fidei*; see ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 90-94. According to Daley, Cyril shows himself "extraordinarily careful (...) to use the language canonized by the Council of 553", *ibid.*, 362.

²⁵⁶ *VE* 27 (SCHWARTZ), 43,26-44,1 = IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 74,18 (PG 86/1, 997A7-8). See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 75 (nr.11). As to the quotation from Cyril of Alexandria: Cyril (of Scythopolis) refers to his namesake and quotes a phrase figuring in the Definition of Chalcedon, *VE* 27 (SCHWARTZ), 44,3-4 = *ACO* ii/1,2, p.129 [325], lines 31-32. See B. FLUSIN, *o.c.*, 73, n.235. These quotations clarify that the difference of natures in Christ does not injure the unity of his hypostasis, and vice versa. The terminological confusion of the concepts φύσις and ὑπόστασις (or οὐσία and πρόσωπον) was an important reason why the Christological struggle went on after the Council of Chalcedon. In the *Confessio fidei*, Justinian, confuting both Nestorians and Eutychians, continuously stresses that the distinction in Christ that concerns his natures, should not be confused with the unity that concerns his hypostasis; see IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *o.c.*, 72-90. Justinian's politics (and the Council of 553) also tended to restore Cyril of Alexandria's authority by an orthodox interpretation of his more radical works, that is, the works that seemed to favor Monophysite positions by the use of the formula μία φύσις (esp. his Twelve *Anathemata*).

²⁵⁷ "Il est clair en tout cas que, dans les passages dogmatiques de son oeuvre, Cyrille [*scil.* de Scythopolis] a le souci de montrer qu'il est en accord avec la théologie de Justinien. Et c'est là l'important: nous voyons dans ce fait la conséquence des liens qui se sont établis entre le monachisme palestinien et le pouvoir impérial. La théologie de Cyrille n'est pas seulement orthodoxe. Elle est la théologie de l'empereur," B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 76.

²⁵⁸ For the qualification of the imperial theological current as "Neochalcedonism", see below.

Just like other passages in Cyril's biographies, I think that the account of the incident in Sabas' company should be interpreted in the light of its *Sitz im Leben* implied in the actual situation immediately after the Council of 553. This would explain why in the *VS* we meet with a Saint who "acts with severity" (ἀποτομία χρησόμενος)²⁵⁹ against the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia thirteen years before the first imperial condemnation of Theodore was hesitantly accepted by the five patriarchs, and the struggle around the Three Chapters was just beginning.²⁶⁰ Such an approach also permits us to assume that Origenism became a vexed question years after the incident with Leontius, by which we may resolve the difficulty of Sabas' "ignorance". But before speculating about what really happened in 531, we have to look at another problem.

Origenists, Nestorians and Neochalcedonians

By reading the account of the incident in light of the situation in Cyril's own time, we might also answer a third important question: are the heresies of "Nestorianism" and "Origenism" represented in the text as *parallel* or as *opposed* to each other? The answer is not as obvious as it seems. The text in itself (as quoted above), when isolated from the total context, could be interpreted in both ways. Only what we know about the whole course of events, including the Council of 553, may prompt us to assume that the two heresies in our text-fragment are intended to be opposed. All the evidence points to a growing hostility from 543 on, when Justinian published his edict against Origen, between the Origenists and the defenders of the Three Chapters.²⁶¹ As we shall see below, the condemnations of Origenism and the Three Chapters in 553 were to a large extent the result of a struggle for power between two quarreling camps. Thus Cyril could have idealized his hero as a "neutral arbiter" between two *opposing* parties, both condemned in 553, thus promoting the newly established theological equilibrium.

The problem, however, is that there could be a serious reason to agree with B. Daley's suggestion that the Origenists were "lumped together with

²⁵⁹ *VS* 72 (Schwartz), 176,18.

²⁶⁰ See above, 183, n.234.

²⁶¹ See above, p.152, n.96 and pp.181-182, nn.224-226. See also F. Carcione, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 131-147.

the Antiochenes" by "Neochalcedonians" such as Cyril.²⁶² In that case we should read the text as representing a Saint who rejects two *parallel* heresies.²⁶³ When we focus only upon Christology, Origenism could be associated with a "diphysite" or "Antiochene" position, by interpreting Christ's pre-existent *νοῦς* as *distinct* from God the *λόγος*.²⁶⁴ On the other hand, one might also interpret the Origenist Christology as representing a "Monophysite" position, by interpreting the pre-existent *νοῦς* of Christ as *united* to the *λόγος*, that is, as a constitutive part of the divinity, which

²⁶² B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364-366. Before Daley, D. Evans had expressed the same vision; see D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 138, n.15 (see above, 173, n.201). L. Perrone, though observing that Daley's conjecture needs more study, shows himself well disposed to accept it; see L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 217-218 with n.110.

²⁶³ See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364.

²⁶⁴ The canons 7-9 of the 15 *Anathemata* against the Origenists of 553 condemn those who deny that it was God's *λόγος* himself who, after the Incarnation, descended from heaven, and state that it was only the *νοῦς*, whom they identify with Christ. See esp. can.9, *ACO* IV/1, 249,15-18 (= F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 93,35-94,7). "Cette christologie repose, en effet, sur une distinction radicale établie entre le Verbe de Dieu et le Christ, nature raisonnable," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 148. Guillaumont established that this Christology is coming directly from Evagrius, *ibid.*, 143-159; also *id.*, "Évagre et les anathématismes anti-origénistes de 553", 219-226 (see above, 23, n.9). A. Grillmeier, analyzing this Christology, observed that Evagrius, on the one hand, "gewissermaßen auf die arianischen Christusdeutung zurück[-fällt]", but, on the other hand, that the Evagrian *anima mediatrix* implies an immediate "Gefahr einer nestorianischen Christusdeutung", A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* 1, 564. "Das Christusbild des Evagrius trägt also deutlich die Züge, welche man für gewöhnlich als 'antiochenisch' bezeichnet", *ibid.*, 566. L. Perrone also holds that the Origenist distinction between Logos and Christ assumes "un inconfondibile accento difisita o antiocheno" and he sees "punti di contatto fra la cristologia origenista così definita e quella rigorosamente difisita", L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 217.

²⁶⁵ F. Carcione rejects Perrone's vision (see the preceding footnote); F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 146, n.59. Carcione states that the Christology condemned by *anathemata* 7 and 9 of 553 "si accorda con le implicazioni monofisite dello schema alessandrino *Λόγος-σάρξ*", *ibid.*, 145. This association with the scheme *Λόγος-σάρξ* may be debatable, as *anathemata* 7 and 9 condemn the *denial* that it was the *λόγος* himself who became *σάρξ*. But Carcione puts these charges in the line of Justinian's edict of 543, aimed at a Christology that seems to stress the *unity* of the pre-existent *νοῦς* with the *λόγος*. Thus conceived, according to Carcione, the Origenist Christology contains two suppositions that could harm the integrity of Christ's *human* nature (which implies a Monophysite or even Apollinarist position): "a) che il Cristo, ovvero la sua anima intellettuale, preesisteva unita al Logos, come facesse parte costitutiva della divinità; b) che l'incarnazione venga ridotta all'assunzione di una carne inanimata, la cui

could harm the integrity of Christ's human nature.²⁶⁵ This is not the place to give a decision on the complicated question of whether Origenist Christology in general has more affinity with Nestorianism or with Monophysitism.²⁶⁶ However, the question is legitimate, and we have to deal here with Daley's suggestion that in the sixth-century Origenist conflict the Origenists were *identified* by their contemporary enemies with Antiochenes or Nestorians. Daley adduces some passages from Cyril's writings, but these remain inconclusive.²⁶⁷ He adduces other testimony that does associate Origenists with Nestorians, but how should we judge it? From the fifth

attività razionale sarebbe gestita dal Logos attraverso l'anima preesistente," *ibid.*, 145-146. Carcione refers also to his former article; see F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 17-18 (with ref. to *anathema* 2-3 of Justinian's edict of 543, *ACO* III, 213,17-21).

²⁶⁶ Carcione qualifies the suggestion of a theological link between Origenism and Nestorianism as an "infondato presupposto", F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 10, n.24; see also *ibid.*, 12, n.27. However, this judgment is made too hastily; see Grillmeier's remark quoted above, 191, n.264. According to Grillmeier, Origenism actually implies elements of a "Trennungschristologie", as it results from Mark the Hermit's *Opusculum* xi which was apparently written against the Origenists. The long title of this treatise contains the later addition: "against those who hold the doctrines of Nestorius (ἡγουν τὰ Νεστορίου φρονοῦντα)"; see A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* I, 548-561 (esp. 548-549); *id.*, "Markos Eremites und der Origenismus. Versuch einer Neudeutung von Op. xi", in A. GRILLMEIER, *Fragmente zur Christologie. Studien zum altkirchlichen Christusbild*, Freiburg im Br. 1997, 277-317 (first publ. in Italian, *CrSt* 1 (1980), 9-58; then in German, *TU* 125, Berlin 1981, 253-283). It would be interesting to know when exactly the anti-Nestorian specification was added to the title of Mark the Hermit's writing which is dated by Grillmeier to the end of the fourth century. The apparent association of Origenism with Nestorianism in later tradition needs further research.

²⁶⁷ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364. Daley refers to a few passages in Cyril's works where Origenism and Nestorianism (or Theodore of Mopsuestia's heresy) are mentioned together: Sabas urges Justinian to combat Arianism, Nestorianism and Origenism, *VS* 72 (SCHWARTZ), 175,23-176,2; Abba Gelasius, in his farewell-speech, reminds his monks that Sabas had abhorred Theodore of Mopsuestia "along with Origen", *VS* 87 (*ibid.*), 194,21-22; John the Hesychast struggled "against the doctrines and champions of Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia", *VIH* 27 (*ibid.*), 221,19-21. However, in these passages as such we find no decisive answer to the question of whether these heresies are presented as opposed or parallel. Daley also adduces two different passages of Cyril from which we may deduce a common rejection of the theopaschite formula (*Unus de Trinitate passus est*) both by Nestorians and Origenists, *VS* 38 (*ibid.*), 127,19-24 (Nestorians); *VC* 12 (*ibid.*), 230,3-4 (Origenists). But in these passages Cyril himself does not seize the chance to draw a parallel between the two heresies.

century on, the Christological discussion had become highly sophisticated in a polemical climate where all kinds of accusations were possible. The literary practice of listing together divergent heresies in order to demonstrate an (artificial) affinity had become popular and could involve extreme over-simplifications.²⁶⁸ Daley's examples are just incidental associations or imputations, most of them dated to a later period.²⁶⁹ To my mind, they are far from strong enough to "prove" a "widespread identification of Origenists and Antiochenes" *in the sixth century*.²⁷⁰

If Daley's conjecture were correct, we would have to postulate that Cyril's "theological camp" (the anti-Origenists) consisted of a large well-defined "third" party of Neochalcedonians²⁷¹ who, before the Council of 553, were the common enemies of both Origenists and Antiochenes. We would have to attribute to them a rigid anti-Nestorianism characterized by the same extreme suspicion as was their anti-Origenism. In their eyes, as Daley observes, "anyone who could steer a more rigorously diphyssite course" within Chalcedonian limits, like Leontius of Byzantium, "would seem scandalously guilty of 'dividing Christ' (...); whether one then was branded 'Nestorian' or 'Origenist' was perhaps of only secondary importance".²⁷²

²⁶⁸ The custom of denouncing a heresy by listing it together with various older ones was inspired by the literary genre of the *Catalogues of Heresies*. See on this subject e.g. C. GIANOTTO, "Eresiologi", *DPAC* 1 (1983), 1194-1197; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/1, 89-94; B. STUDER, *La riflessione teologica nella Chiesa Imperiale (sec. IV e V)*, Roma 1989, 217-219.

²⁶⁹ The testimonies adduced by Daley are from the hand of different authors only one of whom is a contemporary of Cyril. They give "lists" of heresies or singular, unjust accusations. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364-365.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 364-365. Perrone adds to Daley's examples the seventh-century testimony of GEORGIUS HIEROMONACHUS, *De haeresibus* IX, par.11 and par.13, ed. M. RICHARD, "Le traité de Georges Hiéromoine sur les hérésies", *REByz* 28 (1970), p.260, lines 21-22 and p.261 lines 4-10. See L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 217-218, n.110. However, in the lines between the two passages quoted by Perrone, we read that George not only links the Origenists up with Nestorians, but also with Arians and Apollinarists. Richard himself qualified these connections as "assez artificiels" and attributed them – justly, as I think – to the heresiological literary tradition; see M. RICHARD, *o.c.*, 246-247. See also F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 11. Comp. with above, n.268.

²⁷¹ "...a camp that seems to have included the majority of the monks of Palestine...", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364. For Cyril's "thoroughgoing and articulate" Neochalcedonism, see *ibid.*, 362.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 364.

Within this scenario we would also have to reduce Leontius' diatribe against Theodore of Mopsuestia, the *DTN*, to a mere product of "diplomatic shrewdness": as a "first move" of a "crusade" by the Origenists, intended as a diversionary tactic to draw the attention away from themselves, and as a "counter-blow" against the influential deacon Pelagius, whom the anti-Origenists had used as their instrument to have Origen condemned in 543.²⁷³

But does this picture really correspond to the evidence we derive from our principal sources for the Second Origenist Controversy and the Three Chapters affair? It would take us too far afield to deal with this question in an exhaustive way, but it will suffice to sum up my main arguments against Daley's conjecture.

1. In Cyril of Scythopolis' writings we look in vain for a clear and unambiguous identification of Origenists and Antiochenes. The few passages where he mentions them together remain inconclusive.²⁷⁴ He deals with Nestorianism, especially to refute the Monophysite charge against the Chalcedonians of favoring this heresy,²⁷⁵ and he dedicates long chapters to Origenism; but he never draws a parallel between the two heresies. We may note only in his account of the Origenist controversy an almost complete and significant silence about the Three Chapters affair.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 365-366.

²⁷⁴ For the passages already mentioned by Daley, see above, 192, n.267. Two other passages where Theodore of Mopsuestia is mentioned – in both cases along with the Origenists – are equally inconclusive. When relating that Sabas returned to Palestine from his mission in Constantinople, Cyril briefly remarks that he left both Leontius of Byzantium and the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the capital, *VS* 74 (SCHWARTZ), 179,8-11. And in the last chapter of the *VS*, Cyril briefly mentions the condemnation of Origenism along with that of Theodore of Mopsuestia at the Council of 553, *VS* 90 (*ibid.*), 199,1-7; see also *VE* 60 (*ibid.*), 83,7-10. He praises Justinian for his decrees against Nestorius and Origen, just before the first passage mentioned, *VS* 74 (*ibid.*), 179,3-7. But from none of these texts does it become clear that Cyril intends to identify both heresies. Neither can this be said with regard to the description of Euthymius' orthodox faith, where the Saint rejects a whole series of heresies including those of Origen and Nestorius, *VE* 26 (*ibid.*) 39,24-40,13 (Origen is mentioned at 39,27, Nestorius at 40,13).

²⁷⁵ For example, Sabas is presented in an interview with the pro-Monophysite Emperor Anastasius, taking pains to defend his archbishop Elias against the charge of promoting the council of Chalcedon which, in the Emperor's eyes, approved the doctrines of Nestorius, *VS* 52 (SCHWARTZ), 143,16-144,28. The Saint assures the Emperor that the Patriarch of Jerusalem "rejects equally both Nestorius' division and Eutyches' confusion (τήν τε Νεστορίου διαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν σύγχυσιν Εὐτυχοῦς) and, following the middle road of the orthodox Church, allows deviation (...) neither to the right or to the left", *ibid.*, 144,14-16.

2. In the edict against Origen of 543, issued at the instigation of the anti-Origenists (whom Daley identifies as Neochalcedonians), we do not find a single trace of an allegation linking the two heresies together.²⁷⁶ The same is true for the anti-Origenist documents of 553, that is, Justinian's letter to the Council fathers and the 15 *anathemata*.²⁷⁷ In these documents, the condemnation of Origenism is never expressed in the Chalcedonian terminology abundantly used in the decrees dealing with "diphysitism", that is, with the Three Chapters.²⁷⁸ Origenism is condemned as a separate heresy.

3. The decrees against the Three Chapters, in their turn, do not refer to Origenism.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ In the edict of 543, Origenism is repeatedly connected with Arianism and Manichaeism, but never with Nestorianism. See esp. IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, p.189, lines 35-36 and p.191, lines 8-9, 11, 13. Nestorius is only mentioned at the end, along with Eutyches, in the long list of all heretics officially condemned, *ibid.*, 208,9.

²⁷⁷ In the documents of 553, the link with Arianism has been dropped, while Manicheism is mentioned once in Justinian's letter. See IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90,20. In this letter, Origenism is explicitly connected with Pythagoras, Plato, and Plotinus. See *ibid.*, p.90, lines 13-14 and p.95 (right col.), lines 1-2, 4, 9, 14-26 and p.96, line 11. In the fifteen *Anathemata*, no heresies or philosophers are mentioned. Following Daley's hypothesis, one could explain the absence of a link between Origenism and Nestorianism, in these later documents, by assuming that the Origenist "crusade" against the Antiochenes (see above, 194 at n.273) had been successful. But why then did Cyril, narrowly faithful to the Council of 553 as reflected by these documents, go on with "lumping" Origenists and Antiochenes "together"?

²⁷⁸ It would be superfluous here to calculate the frequency of such terms as ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, φύσις, οὐσία, ἔνωσις, διαφορά, σύγχυσις, θεοτόκος, etc., in both series of documents, and to check the sense in which they are used. A rapid glance at these texts already reveals the difference. The few passages of the anti-Origenist documents that could have given a real opportunity to link Origenism to Nestorianism are of particular interest. For example: in the edict of 543, Justinian describes briefly the mystery of the Incarnation utilizing the Chalcedonian language, but here he makes no reference to Origenist Christology; see IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 194,38-195,13. On the other hand, in *Anathemata* 7-9 of 553, where the confutation of Origenist Christology might be interpreted in an anti-Nestorian sense (see above, 191, n.264), the Chalcedonian concepts, normally used for this purpose, are totally absent, *ACO* IV/1, 249,1-18 (= ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die Origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 93,1-94,7).

²⁷⁹ In an interesting passage of the *Confessio fidei*, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius are connected with the doctrine that the two natures of Christ were endowed with previous personal existence before their unity (in the Incarnation): οἱ λέγοντες πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως δύο φύσεις ὡς προϋποσπάντα λέγουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ οὕτως ἐνωθῆναι τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ κατὰ τὴν μανίαν Θεοδώρου καὶ Νεστορίου τῶν ἀσεβῶν, IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio*

4. The concept of "Neochalcedonism" is a *modern* creation.²⁸⁰ It indicates the sixth-century effort to reconcile the Chalcedonian formula (μῖα ὑπόστασις ἐν δύο φύσεσιν) with tendencies inclined to lay more stress upon the unity of the two φύσεις.²⁸¹ Individual theologians before the Fifth Ecumenical Council may be termed "Neo-chalcedonians",²⁸² but it remains arbitrary to use a modern concept for isolating a well-defined "theological camp" as a third party in the pre-conciliar conflict.²⁸³

5. Cyril cannot properly be called a "Neochalcedonian" in a strict sense. As has been said, he is a close follower of Justinian's *Confessio fidei* that was the basis of the Council of 553.²⁸⁴ However, Justinian's "Neochalcedonism" is moderate: examining the *Confessio fidei*, A. Grillmeier concludes: "von einer ausgeprägten Neu-chalcedonismus (...) kann keine Rede

fidei, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 88,18-20. Even here, no allusion is made to the Origenist speculations about Christ's pre-existent νοῦς. And in the 14 *Anathemata* of 553 against the Three Chapters, Origen is mentioned only in canon 11 in a list of all heretics who are to be condemned, *ACO* IV/1, 242,32-33.

²⁸⁰ The term was invented by J. LEBON, *Le monophysisme Sévérien. Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite*, Louvain 1909. See for the concept: M. SIMONETTI, "Neochalcedonismo", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 2354 (with fundamental older literature); A. GRILLMEIER, "Der Neu-Chalcedonismus", in *id.*, *Mit ihm und in ihm*, Freiburg (etc.) 1987² (first publ. 1975); *id.*, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 450-459; P. GRAY, "Neuchalcedonismus", *TRE* 24 (1994), 289-296.

²⁸¹ Cyril of Alexandria especially was discussed in the controversy between Chalcedonians and Monophysites. As has been said, some of his works seemed to favor Monophysite positions by the use of the formula μῖα φύσις. See above, 189, n.256 (at the end). In view of a possible solution for the conflict, some theologians in the first half of the sixth century began to explain Cyril of Alexandria's "Monophysite" language in an orthodox, that is, Chalcedonian sense. They also tried to integrate the controversial theopaschite formula (*Unus de Trinitate passus est*) with Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

²⁸² See esp. P. GRAY, "Neuchalcedonismus", *TRE* 24 (1994), 291-293.

²⁸³ Compare with above, 193 at n.271. Could the members of a great "theological camp" in Palestine, before the Council of 553, mark themselves off from other currents by a clear "Neochalcedonian" identity? Did they have a special "program" made out of the theological attempts at conciliation? See for such questions esp. A. GRILLMEIER, "Der Neu-Chalcedonismus", in *id.*, *Mit ihm und in ihm*, 379-382. Besides, can we identify a *multitude* of monks fighting on behalf of a "Neochalcedonian" conciliation program and, *therefore*, opposing themselves rigorously to Chalcedonians like Leontius of Byzantium, "who could steer a more rigorously diphsite course"? For the phrase just quoted, see B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 364.

²⁸⁴ See above, 188-189 with nn.253-257.

sein".²⁸⁵ There is no place for the excessively suspicious anti-Nestorianism required by Daley's scenario: "Justinian hat keine furcht vor den 'zwei Naturen' Chalcedons oder der Zahl 'zwei'".²⁸⁶

6. If Leontius of Byzantium's *DTN* were a "first move" in an Origenist "crusade" against the Antiochenes, initiated in the early 540's as a diversionary tactic, how then should we read Leontius' autobiographical note?²⁸⁷ If that were the case, his testimony that he had dissociated himself vigorously from a "Nestorian" milieu before joining the group of Nonnus (with whom he entered the New Laura), would be qualified as mere fiction. If we want to give some credit to Leontius,²⁸⁸ we have to assume a real split between Origenists and sympathizers of Theodore of Mopsuestia already *before 520*, although they could have lived in relative peace between 520 and 531.²⁸⁹

7. The scanty *sixth-century* testimonies of an eventual identification of Origenists with Antiochenes by common opponents is counterbalanced by Liberatus' charge against the Origenist leader Theodore Ascidas that he was an *Acephalus*, that is, a Severian Monophysite.²⁹⁰ Even though this

²⁸⁵ A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* II/2, 458. Grillmeier distinguishes between a Neochalcedonism "im extremen oder integralen Sinn" and a "gemäßigt" Neochalcedonism, *ibid.*, 454 (NB. for the former, Grillmeier suggests the name "Neu-Cyrrillianismus", *ibid.*, 454, n.481).

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 456. Justinian's language "wäre ein Greuel für Severus", *ibid.*

²⁸⁷ LEONTIUS BYZANTINUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1357c3-1360b5 (quoted above, 153 with n.98; for the Greek text, see the Appendix below, 373, nr.1).

²⁸⁸ Even my criticism of Cyril's reliability does not imply that I suspect him of having invented mere fictions. His account of the incident in Sabas' company must have some foundation in historical reality. The same goes for Leontius' testimony.

²⁸⁹ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,22-23; *VS* 83 (*ibid.*), 188,7-9 (see above, p.78, n.102 and p.187, n.249).

²⁹⁰ "Theodorus Caesareae Cappadociae episcopus, dilectus et familiaris principum, secta Acephalus, Originis autem defensor acerrimus", LIBERATUS, *Breviarium* 23-24, *ACO* II/5, 140, 13-15 (comp. with the text quoted above, 181-182, n.226). For the denomination ἀκέφαλος, see above, 74, n.86. Inspired by Liberatus' charge, scholars usually tend to associate Ascidas with the Monophysites. See e.g. L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", *RQH* 36 (1884), 396; F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 51; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 173-174 with n.3; G. LADOCSE, "Teodoro Ascida", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 3376. However, according to W. Friend, Ascidas "was and remained a Chalcedonian", W. FRIEND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 279. According to Friend, Liberatus' charge must have been "strongly prejudiced", *ibid.*, 280, n.1.

charge might well be "deprived of objectivity",²⁹¹ it shows at least that the Origenists were equally liable to accusations in the opposite direction.

These arguments suffice to reject the conjecture that before the Council of 553, Origenists and Antiochenes were identified with each other by a third party of "Neochalcedonians" to which Cyril belonged. It has also become clear that the growing conflict between the Origenists and the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia cannot be explained by "a new dimension of diplomatic shrewdness" on the side of the Origenists.²⁹² Leontius testifies to an old hostility. Other sources indicate that this hostility was a primary factor in the complicated struggle that led to the Council of 553.²⁹³ In this struggle we may well distinguish "Origenists" and "Antiochenes" as reciprocal enemies, but there is poor evidence for the existence of a third party of "Neochalcedonians" who, as the common opponents of the former two, rigidly lumped these together.²⁹⁴ Broadly speaking there were only

²⁹¹ "Tale accusa è priva di oggettività," F. CARCIONE, *Liberato di Cartagine: Breve storia della controversia Nestoriana ed Eutychiana*, Anagni 1989, 116, n.259; see also *id.*, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 15. Carcione refers to Perrone who observes: "Tale accusa sembra priva di fondamento; Cirillo di Scitopoli non avrebbe mancato di aggiungere anch'essa all'elenco dei rimproveri sul conto di Teodoro," L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina*, Brescia 1980, 209, n.90. I brought a similar argument against Daley's suggestion that Cyril linked Origenists together with Antiochenes: Cyril could have seized the opportunity many times, see above, p.192, n.267 and p.194, n.274.

²⁹² B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 365 (italics DH).

²⁹³ Some sources already mentioned, Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus of Carthage, suggest that the whole controversy about the Three Chapters followed from a mere intrigue by the Origenists. See above, p.152, n.96 and pp.181-182, nn.224-226. Though this is exaggerated, these authors at least attest to a crucial role played by Théodore Ascidas, which is confirmed by other sources. See above, p.182, n.227 and p.183, n.233.

²⁹⁴ Carcione even avoids using the term "Neochalcedonism". He divides the Chalcedonians, before the Council of 553, only into two camps, respectively that of a "*calcedonismo integrato*", representing the search for reconciliation with Cyril of Alexandria's language, and that of a "*calcedonismo integralista*", representing a more rigid adherence to the diphysite terminology of Chalcedon. See F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 4. Carcione associates "*calcedonismo integrato*" with the Origenists ("Alexandrians"), and "*calcedonismo integralista*" with the anti-Origenists, who also defended the Three Chapters ("Antiochenes"), *id.*, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 135-140 (compare with above, 177, n.212). This picture radically differs from Daley's scenario and seems, in general, more in accordance with the evidence. However, in Carcione's model there is little place within the interplay of forces for Leontius of Byzantium's theological position. See esp. *id.*, *o.c.*, *SROC* 8 (1985), 7. Leontius, who has been qualified a "strict" Chalcedonian (see above, 172, n.190), was nevertheless

two fighting parties, but the reality must have been highly complicated. Initially, as it seems, there were no homogeneous blocks warring against each other.²⁹⁵ After Leontius' and Nonnus' death (in 543 and 547 respectively), there was even a split within the Origenist "party": the *Protoktists*, more moderate, then formed a coalition with the anti-Origenists against the *Isochrists*, who were the more radical Origenists headed by Theodore Ascidas.²⁹⁶ The *Protoktists*, as we saw, were also called "Tetradites" by their Isochrists opponents, which implies a charge of adding a fourth Person to the Trinity.²⁹⁷ A similar charge had long since been brought against Chalcedonian diphysitism by the Monophysites.²⁹⁸ And Justinian, in his *Confessio fidei*, brought such a charge against Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius,²⁹⁹ a charge which was repeated in *Anathema* 5 of the Council of 553.³⁰⁰ In my opinion, the Origenist party split under the pressure of an increasing polarization over the single issue of Christology: the *Protoktists*

labeled by his opponents as an Origenist, which should correspond to Carcione's "*calcedonismo integrato*". Apparently, we cannot rigorously apply Carcione's dichotomy to the earlier phase of the conflict, in the period before 543, though it might well reflect its crucial stage of extreme polarization in the years immediately preceding the Council.

²⁹⁵ As to the Origenist "party", Daley observes: "(...) there is good evidence that the Origenist monks of Palestine represented, as a party in the Church, a far broader range of theological opinion than the name suggests," B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 366 (quoted above, 30 at n.38; see also 174 at n.204).

²⁹⁶ VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,4-198,6 (see above, 85-86 with nn.138-142; for the terms *Protoktists* and *Isochrists*, see esp. nn.139-140).

²⁹⁷ Cyril does not clarify the terms but their etymologies may be clear. The *Protoktists* must have considered Christ the *first* of all creatures (πρωτόκτιστος) and thus added him as a *fourth* Person to the Trinity (hence the name τετραδίται).

²⁹⁸ The charge is attested (about 470) by VIGILIUS THAPSSENSIS, *Adversus Eutychetem* IV,13, PL 62, 125D11-126A2; v,17, *ibid.*, 148A5-7. Zeno alludes to the same idea in his *Henoticon* (προσθήκη υἱοῦ οὐ πεποιήκε), in EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* III,14, ed. J. BIDEZ/L. PARMENTIER, London 1898, 113,12-15. See M. SIMONETTI, *Il Cristo* II, Milano 1986, p.468 lines 2-5 (with the comment at pp.623-624, n.7). Severus for example, fulminating against the Council of Chalcedon in his treatise against Nephalius, attributes this charge to Athanasius, *ibid.*, 475,17 (Italian transl. from the Syriac by J. Guirau).

²⁹⁹ IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, p.76, line 38 to p.78, line 1 and p.88, lines 15-20. Justinian had also rejected the addition of a fourth Person (τετάρτου προσώπου προσθήκη) when propagandizing the theopaschite formula; see IUSTINIANUS, *Contra Monophysitas*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *o.c.*, 8,25-26. See also M. SIMONETTI, *Il Cristo* II, 480,4-7 (with the comment at p.626, n.3).

³⁰⁰ προσθήκη προσώπου ἡγουν ὑποστάσεως, *Canones XIV contra trium capitulorum* 5, *ACO* IV/1 (1971), 241,25-26 (Theodore and Nestorius are mentioned at line 20).

were then driven to the anti-Origenists because, as to Christology, they had a certain affinity with the Antiochene tradition, whereas the Isochrists, as the "real Origenists", harbored more sympathies for the Monophysites because their Christology was more akin to the Alexandrian tradition.

Thus, on the whole, we must distinguish *two* opposing parties at the time of the Council, and not three. This is Cyril's real situation in the light of which we may read the account of the incident in Sabas' company. In this account, the heretics expelled by the Saint can only be intended as each other's opponents. The preparatory discussions, in view of the colloquy of 532, must have given occasion to the outburst of a smouldering hostility between Leontius of Byzantium and some of his travel companions.³⁰¹ And Cyril may even have "exaggerated the importance of Sabas in the delegation", to the detriment of Leontius.³⁰² Thus the Saint became idealized as a paradigmatic "arbiter", in a post-conciliar sense, between the two struggling parties. But in that case, for the hagiographer's own "theological camp" we still do not have a fitting solution.

³⁰¹ Leontius might have shown himself well disposed to denounce Theodore of Mopsuestia whom the Monophysites abhorred, thus anticipating Justinian's proposal at the colloquy; see above, p.180, n.220 and p.182, n.227. This could have provoked a flaming row with his "Antiochene" confrères. Then, reciprocal charges of "pretending" to defend the Council of Chalcedon must have been uttered: Leontius was labeled a "secret Origenist" and he labeled his opponents "secret Nestorians". Finally, I suppose, Sabas' travel company could not remain together and had to be dissolved.

³⁰² J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 252. As has been said, a certain Leontius, present at the colloquy of 532 and at the Synod of 536, is identified by modern scholarship both with Leontius of Jerusalem and Leontius of Byzantium. See above, p.140 with nn.46-47 and esp. p.147 with n.75. The evidence produced in favor of the latter seems to be the most convincing. See D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 156-183; F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase iniziale...", *SROC* 8 (1985), 10, n.24. However, a serious objection brought against this identification concerns the implausibility that an expelled heretic should appear within a year at the colloquy in an official function representing the interests of his Patriarchate. The doubt upon Cyril's accuracy, as expressed by Binns, could eliminate this obstacle: "Leontius was at least as important as Sabas, if not more so. Far from being dismissed by Sabas, he remained in Constantinople to continue to represent the interests of the Patriarchate (...)," J. BINNS, *o.c.*, 252. Even though it remains arbitrary to speculate about the real hierarchy within the travel company – Sabas was the archimandrite – we have to admit that Cyril himself testifies that Leontius soon after the incident became an influential man at the imperial court, *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,1-9 (quoted above, 80 with n.113). Sabas' authority, as well as his reputation in the Emperor's eyes, must have been less than his *Life* suggests.

Abba Gelasius' conversion to post-conciliar orthodoxy

Perhaps we might catch a glimpse of what happened to Cyril's party, when we turn to the account of Abba Gelasius' farewell speech. There we read how in 546, when the power of the Origenists in Jerusalem (supported by Theodore Ascidas) had come to a head and a riot had even been organized against the Great Laura,³⁰³ Abba Gelasius, second successor of Saint Sabas, decided to go up to Constantinople. In the capital, however, at the instigation of Theodore Ascidas, no one received the archimandrite, so that he had to return with nothing achieved and on his way back to Palestine he died.³⁰⁴ Cyril relates also that Gelasius, before leaving the Great Laura, gave a farewell speech to the brethren of his community. I shall quote the text here once again:

See, fathers, at your request I am going up to Constantinople, not knowing what will happen to me on the journey. I therefore beg you not to let settle with you any adherent of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was a heretic (αἱρετικῶ ἀπὸ ὄντι), since our sainted father Sabas abhorred him along with Origen (τοῦτον μετὰ τὸν Ὀριγένην ἐμυσάττετο). I myself regret deeply having appended my signature to the *libellus* made by [the monks of] the desert at the order of the patriarch against his being anathematized.³⁰⁵ God, however, out of care for his church, so disposed that the *libellus* was rejected and willed that Theodore himself be anathematized.³⁰⁶

For the reader of the *VS* who is not familiar with the background of the conflict, the introduction of Theodore of Mopsuestia, at this stage, comes

³⁰³ *VS* 86 (SCHWARTZ), 193,15-194,12 (see above, 83 at n.131).

³⁰⁴ *VS* 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,27-195,6.

³⁰⁵ Gelasius alludes to Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters (544/545). As has been said, this edict met with resistance also from the side of the Oriental patriarchs. See above, 183, n.234. Especially Peter of Jerusalem opposed it fiercely: Facundus writes that a multitude of monks assembled in Jerusalem, and that the Patriarch publicly fulminated against the decree: "Quid etiam Petrus Hierosolymitanus? Nonne publica notitia refert quoniam conveniente ad se multitudinem monachorum, iuratus pronuntiavit, quod si quis eidem decreto novitio consentiret, contra Chalcedonense concilium faceret, nec tamen se ad eius consensione suspendit?" FACUNDUS, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum*, IV/4, 9, CCL 90^a, 125,61-67. However, shortly afterwards Peter had gone to Constantinople, *VS* 86 (SCHWARTZ), 193,15, and there, as it seems, he yielded to the imperial pressure. See e.g. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 55 with n.2; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 209-210 with nn.93-94.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 194,17-27 (for the Greek text, see above, 84, n.134).

as a surprise. In the whole account of the crisis³⁰⁷ Theodore of Mopsuestia is not mentioned at all, except at the end of the story, where Cyril casually refers to his condemnation at the Council along with Origenism.³⁰⁸ And the only place in the *VS* where we hear something about his adherents, albeit very little, is the passage examined above, where Cyril relates the incident in Sabas' company.³⁰⁹ If we have only a slight idea of how the Origenist controversy was interwoven with the Three Chapters affair, Cyril's stubborn silence becomes highly significant. How should we explain that?

Gelasius' speech may betray a fundamental embarrassment that could well have been shared by a great part of the anti-Origenists who constituted Cyril's "theological camp". This suggestion, at least, will enable us to resolve two difficulties at once: Cyril's conspicuous silence about the Three Chapters affair as well as our puzzle with respect to the party to which he belonged or with which he sympathized.

Abba Gelasius was not only at the head of this party,³¹⁰ but as ἡγούμενος of the Great Laura, he was also the heir apparent of the deceased Saint Sabas.³¹¹ And in the hagiographer's mind it was the Saint who kept conducting the

³⁰⁷ *VS* 83-90 (SCHWARTZ), 188,13-200,17.

³⁰⁸ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-6 (for the Greek text, see above, 87, n.145).

³⁰⁹ For the sake of completeness I have also to mention the passage where Cyril refers to the incident, observing that Sabas on his way back to Palestine left both Leontius of Byzantium and the adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the capital, *VS* 74 (*ibid.*), 179,8-11 (see above, 194, n.274).

³¹⁰ In the *VS*, we read that Gelasius started a campaign against the Origenists immediately after he became superior of the Great Laura. He summoned the brethren to the church and had a writing read aloud from Antipater of Bostra against Origen. Even from Cyril's partisan account it becomes clear that this action contributed to the escalation of the conflict, *VS* 84 (*ibid.*), 189,10-190,7 (see above, 80 at nn.114-115). Gelasius was also one of the two composers of the *libellus*, at the Patriarch's request, that incited Justinian to issue his edict against Origen, *VS* 85 (*ibid.*), 191,25-192,3 (quoted above, 82 with n.126). Liberatus of Carthage writes that "some monks from Jerusalem (monachi quidam ab Hierosolymis)" handed over extracts from Origen's writings to Deacon Pelagius, who brought them to the Emperor and engineered the publishing of the edict; see LIBERATUS, *Breviarium* 23-24, *ACO* II/5, 139,34-140,8 (see also above, 152, n.96). From this we may conclude that Gelasius was allied to Pelagius (the main defender of the Three Chapters) in his struggle against Origenism. Leontius of Byzantium on his part used the official *Papas* Eusebius in his struggle against Gelasius, *VS* 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191,1-16 [also *VS* 83 (*ibid.*), 189,1-3] (see above, 81 at nn.119-120).

³¹¹ For example, at the first escalation of the conflict, Cyril presents Leontius of Byzantium "who was raging against the successors of the blessed Sabas (κατὰ τῶν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα διαδόχων), and inveighed against Abba Gelasius and the fathers of the Great

struggle for orthodoxy from heaven, in a direct line of the miracles *post mortem* performed in virtue of the παρηγησία he had obtained by an exemplary monastic life.³¹² But unfortunately the Saint's deputy on earth had made a serious mistake, that is, according to *post-conciliar* standards. Just like Pope Vigilius of Rome, Pelagius the Deacon and Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, Abba Gelasius and a lot of his monks had taken fierce action against the condemnation of the Three Chapters by the imperial edict of 544/545.³¹³ They must have been strongly convinced to fight for the right cause: a holy war on behalf of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. But sometimes, history can take an unpredictable turn. At the Fifth Ecumenical Council (whether shortly before or shortly after), the "orthodox" must have found themselves on the wrong side. At first Patriarch Peter had yielded to imperial politics;³¹⁴ then, six months after the Council, Pope Vigilius, sick and exhausted by his exile, yielded;³¹⁵ and finally, after Vigilius' death in 555, even Deacon Pelagius, who had been a most fervent defender of the Three Chapters³¹⁶ as well as an influential protector of the anti-Origenists, yielded in prison, so that Justinian could release him to become Pope.³¹⁷ But Abba Gelasius, Saint Sabas' deputy at the head of the Sabaite order, had died too early in October 546. Somehow, the hagiographer had to find a way out of the embarrassment³¹⁸ and have the

Laura", *VS* 84 (SCHWARTZ), 190,4-7. This Leontius "who had long been hostile to the blessed Sabas (ἐνέχων ἔκπαλαι τῷ μακαρίτῃ Σάββα)", *ibid.*, 190,8-9, personally organizes, in Cyril's account, the first riot against the Great Laura, *ibid.*, 190,7-29 (see above, 81 with nn.116-117).

³¹² See above, 108-111.

³¹³ See above, 201, n.305.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* See also F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 138-140.

³¹⁵ See above, 185, n.240.

³¹⁶ The "Defense of the Three Chapters" had become almost a literary genre in the West. Also Pelagius wrote an *In defensione Trium Capitulorum*, ed. R. DEVREESSE, *StT* 57, Città del Vaticano, 1932. For the alliance between Pelagius and Gelasius (which is suppressed by Cyril), see above, p.152, n.96 and p.202, n.310.

³¹⁷ See e.g. L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", 424-427; A. PLACANICA, "Teologia e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, 168.

³¹⁸ As we know, Cyril indicates difficulties to the point of despair before he started writing his *Lives*, after the re-populating of the New Laura in 555. It took him two years of hesitation before he felt capable thanks to the support of both Saint Euthymius and Saint Sabas who appeared to him, *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,7-85,4. His claim of being ignorant and uneducated has been rejected by modern scholarship (see above, 37, n.78), but his message might also bear the marks of another embarrassment.

legitimate successor of his Saint canonized, in order to promote the new standards of post-conciliar orthodoxy.

Within the economy of the "story" of Origenism as Cyril composed it, Gelasius' speech appears as a *Fremdkorper*. But when we read the text against the background of its *Sitz im Leben* – from the viewpoint of Cyril's real life situation – we may find a perfectly fitting reason why the hagiographer could have put such a speech in the mouth of Abba Gelasius, by way of a spiritual testament. One might speculate whether the "historical" Gelasius, at the end of his life, actually dissociated himself from his sympathies with Theodore of Mopsuestia,³¹⁹ but I am disposed to believe that Cyril utilized here again – perhaps to a certain degree – an *anachronism*.³²⁰ I suppose that Cyril intended to present Abba Gelasius as the most authoritative and paradigmatic personification of his anti-Origenist party that, at least for a great part, must have converted to post-conciliar orthodoxy somewhere in the period around 553.

This brings us back to F. Loofs' thesis that Cyril wrote his biographies in favor of a "nestorianisierende Partei" and that they bear, as such, "eine grelle Parteifärbung".³²¹ But we may now complete this thesis by assuming

³¹⁹ Like many scholars, Carcione interprets Cyril's testimony in a historical sense and suggests that Gelasius abandoned his support for the Three Chapters under the pressure of a changing political climate. See F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 139-140. Even Sabas' *abhorring* Theodore of Mopsuestia as a heretic, in 531, is explained by Carcione in the historical sense as an "illustre precedente" for Gelasius for taking an equal distance from Theodore as from Origen; see *ibid.*, 140, n.32. But why then would Gelasius, as Sabas' successor, first have supported Patriarch Peter's campaign against the condemnation of Theodore?

³²⁰ Just as it is hard to believe that Sabas historically "abhorred" Theodore of Mopsuestia "as a heretic", I think it hard to believe that Gelasius, as early as 546, had changed his mind to the point of urging his monks not to receive any adherent of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Great Laura. The issue of Theodore of Mopsuestia's heretical status remained an open question until the Council of 553, as has been said. In 546, Pope Vigilius was just on his way to Constantinople; he had a ten-month delay in Syracuse and would arrive in the capital on 25 January 547. So the whole tug-of-war with Justinian had still to begin. As late as 550, the official documents condemning the Three Chapters were withdrawn and the parties agreed to resolve the question at an Ecumenical Council. At the very most, Abba Gelasius could have had his doubts upon the expediency of his previous action and he might even have experienced some political pressure. But in 546, the Oriental patriarchs had only reluctantly signed Justinian's edict against the Three Chapters, solely on the condition that the Pope would sign it too: everyone was now anxiously awaiting Vigilius' arrival in Constantinople to see how the affair would come to an end.

³²¹ F. Loofs, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 288 (see the quotation above, 164 at n.146).

a shift towards *post-conciliar* orthodoxy by Cyril's party of anti-Origenists. Thus we may reject F. Diekamp's criticism brought against Loofs, which is based upon Cyril's apparent condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia.³²² Certainly, Cyril shows no "Vorliebe für den Mopsuestener",³²³ but even Diekamp had to admit that Cyril denounced the sympathizers of Theodore somewhat leniently.³²⁴ However, Diekamp could not accept Loofs' charge of a "grelle Parteifärbung" by Cyril in favor of Theodore's friends,³²⁵ and attributed the polemical tone of the account exclusively to the author's "antiorigenistische Eifer".³²⁶ However, a few pages before, Diekamp himself had confirmed that "Origenismus und Gegnerschaft gegen Theodor von Mopsuestia waren damals innig mit einander verquickt",³²⁷ and that "Antiorigenismus und Vorliebe für Theodor von Mopsuestia [waren] häufig enge verbunden".³²⁸ We may resolve this incoherence by assuming that Cyril's "orthodox" party once did sympathize with Theodore of Mopsuestia, but that it had abandoned the Antiochene Father by shifting its ground under the pressure of the events around the Fifth Ecumenical Council.

Before 553, the anti-Origenists were Chalcedonians, and certainly not Nestorians,³²⁹ and the Origenists – at least Leontius of Byzantium – were equally Chalcedonians, and not real Monophysites. However, as the polarization increased, all kinds of accusations were heard under the common denominator of "pretend" defenders of the Council of Chalcedon. The anti-

³²² F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 63-64 (see above, 165, n.152).

³²³ *Ibid.*, 64.

³²⁴ "Nur das ist zuzugeben, daß er [*scil.* Cyril] die unter den Mönchen zeitweise stark hervortretende Vorliebe für den Mopsuestener ziemlich schonend verurteilt. Daß er sie aber verurteilt, kann nicht bestritten werden," (*sic*), *ibid.*, 63-64. Diekamp even admitted the "einseitige Berichterstattung" of Cyril's *VS* as an "antiorigenistische Parteischrift", *ibid.*, 63. In general, however, Diekamp fully subscribed to Usener's eulogy upon Cyril's qualities as a reliable historian, *ibid.*, 7-8 (see above, 43 with n.114). Although Cyril's anti-Origenism might "vielleicht seiner Objectivität bisweilen Abbruch thun" (*sic*), *ibid.*, 67, Diekamp saw no serious reasons to shed doubt upon the testimony of "ein wahrheitsliebender Historiker", *ibid.*, 75, or to distrust "die Wahrheitsliebe des Kyrillos", *ibid.*, 98.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

³²⁹ Cyril presents Saint Sabas defending Patriarch Elias and the Chalcedonian monks of Palestine against the Monophysite charge of being Nestorians, when the Saint has his encounters with the pro-Monophysite Emperor Anastasius in 511-512, *VS* 52 (SCHWARTZ), 144,10-22 (see above, 74, n.83).

Origenists were labeled "secret Nestorians", and Leontius a "secret Origenist". We have no evidence that the Origenists were also heaped together with the Monophysites, apart from a single charge,³³⁰ although they must have taken the latter's political side when the conflict reached its crucial stage.³³¹

When we limit ourselves to the Christological aspect, it remains difficult to decide whether the Origenists, in general, had more in common with Nestorians or with Monophysites. Origen and Evagrius had not expressed their Christology in the technical concepts that became usual in later controversies. Besides, their thinking and spirituality embraced a much larger field than the terminological hairsplitting that at the end nearly split up Justinian's Empire. Origen's and Evagrius' popularity among sixth-century Palestinian monks must have included other dimensions, that went beyond the human temptation of getting involved in an overpowering political fight.

3. The spiritual and intellectual aspects of the conflict

As has been said, D. Evans claimed a concealed connection between Leontius of Byzantium's Christology and Evagrius' speculations about the unfallen νοῦς Jesus Christ.³³² This claim was based particularly upon a similarity of anthropology regarding the use of the platonic threefold division of the human soul.³³³ However, it has been objected that this anthropology (and its ascetical exploitation) is not exclusively "Evagrian" or even

³³⁰ LIBERATUS, *Breviarium* 23-24, *ACO* II/5, p.140, lines 13-15 and 20-24. See above, 197-198, nn.290-291.

³³¹ See esp. F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 131-147.

³³² D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 84-131, 184-185 (see above, 168-170).

³³³ λογιστικόν (= νοῦς), θυμικόν, ἐπιθυμητικόν. See above, 169, n.174; also 155, n.105.

"Origenist".³³⁴ Especially B. Daley rejected Evans' claim that Leontius' Christology is a disguised reworking of that of Evagrius; Daley argued, instead, that Leontius holds in fact a contrary position.³³⁵ But even Daley had to give an interpretation of Leontius' "Origenism", as attributed to him by Cyril of Scythopolis. He reduced it to its social dimension: the membership of a group held together by an "interest in the intellectual life and in theological speculation", fighting for freedom in this field and represented by Cyril as "critical and rebellious intellectuals" (λογιώτεροι).³³⁶

Although, to a certain extent, Cyril's *VS* confirms Daley's picture of sixth-century Origenism, one passage of Leontius expounding his anthropology prompts us, nevertheless, to postulate that the latter's "Origenism" included more than its social dimension: it does imply an influence of Evagrius.³³⁷ But we should extend the limits of our inquiry beyond the mere issue of Christology and take into consideration also other aspects of the Origenist Controversy.³³⁸ On the one hand, indeed, there is no sound

³³⁴ A. DE HALLEUX, [review of Evans] *RHE* 66 (1971), 979 (see above, 155, n.106). Evans himself conceded, it is true, that the threefold division "is so nearly commonplace in late antiquity that it can hardly establish that Leontius depends upon Evagrius; only that he traverses the same orbit", D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 111. But then, Evans initiated a sophisticated argument to produce "more concrete evidence" that "the soul of Leontius' anthropology is none other than the fallen *nous* of the cosmology of Evagrius", *ibid.*, 119. Evans has been sufficiently criticized for this: the line of his argument was called "a convoluted one", B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 354; Evans had systematized the elements of Leontius' Christology "pour les forcer dans le moule évagrien", A. DE HALLEUX, [review] *RHE* 66 (1971), 984; Evans appeared to have "put Leontius on a theological Procrustean bed", LYNCH, J., "Leontius of Byzantium: A Cyrillian Christology", *JTS*/ns 36 (1975), 455, see also 471. We may add to these criticisms that Evans' argument has much of a *petitio principii*: the diagram with which he illustrated his "proof" that Leontius' soul is the Evagrian fallen νοῦς, can only be valid if the reader presupposes that Leontius holds the doctrine of the fallen νοῦς. See D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 118-119.

³³⁵ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 333-369 (see above, 170-172).

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 366, 369 (see above, 174 at nn.204-206).

³³⁷ Arguing against Evans, Daley observed: "The only solid piece of evidence in Leontius' text that he ever heard of Evagrius' philosophical anthropology is the fact that in his passage on the parts of the soul (*CNE* 3, 1285A15-B1) he quotes a line of Evagrius," *ibid.*, 354. On the following pages I shall demonstrate that Leontius was certainly more familiar with Evagrius than Daley suggested.

³³⁸ Already in 1935, I. Hausherr observed: "La querelle origéniste ne fut pas seulement la lutte de deux théologies; en elle s'affrontaient aussi deux spiritualités," I. HAUSHERR, "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale", *OCP* 1 (1935), 130.

evidence for an Origenist *Christology* in Leontius, dependent on Evagrius; on the other, we have Leontius' testimony that he received a *spiritual education*, in the crucial stage of his monastic life, in an environment where the writings of θεόσοφοι were read, one of whom was certainly Evagrius.³³⁹ Leontius' writings actually contain traces of it, although his works are not spiritual literature but abstract theological treatises originating in a context of vehement Christological debate which, in addition, had far-reaching political implications.

In search of the hidden conflict behind the Second Origenist Controversy, we should focus not only upon the much discussed doctrinal and political aspects, but also upon other important factors characterizing the phenomenon of "Origenism". In this regard, we should primarily raise the question to what extent the "Origenist party" of the sixth century still represented that particular intellectual and spiritual current of ancient monasticism, of which Evagrius had become the main exponent. In this section, I shall deal with this complicated question, though it is not possible to give an exhaustive treatment here. Within the limits of this study, I can only sketch some main lines to open a new direction for research on the puzzle of sixth-century Origenism.

Leontius of Byzantium and the spiritual tradition attested by Evagrius

In a passage of the *CNE*, Leontius quotes a phrase from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica* without mentioning the author by name, but only indicating him as ἀνὴρ θεόσοφος.³⁴⁰ An examination of the context in which Leontius makes this reference to Evagrius indicates that the quotation is by no means a casual one: Leontius is unfolding an anthropology based upon the platonic threefold division of the soul, which is very similar to that of

³³⁹ LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1360A11-B2 (see the final part of the text quoted above, 153). For the identification of an ἀνὴρ θεόσοφος with Evagrius, see above, 154-155 with n.103.

³⁴⁰ LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A14-B1. As has been said, in the *Codex Vaticanus* 2195 a scholium in the margin clarifies that Evagrius is meant (περὶ Εὐαγρίου). See above, 154-155 at n.103.

Evagrius. D. Evans was certainly right in arguing that Leontius depends here on Evagrius. But Evans incorrectly argued, departing from the similarity he found in the *anthropology* of both authors, that Leontius held the Evagrian doctrine of the unfallen νοῦς, and that his *Christology* was a disguised translation of that of Evagrius.³⁴¹ Leontius' text does not permit us to deduce a dependence on Evagrius in the area of Christology, nevertheless the similarity between the two authors extends beyond the use of the same "commonplace" regarding the threefold division of the soul.³⁴² Leontius' passage reveals a thorough familiarity with the *monastic spiritual tradition* attested by the writings of Evagrius.

Before establishing more precisely what we may call the "Evagrian influence" upon Leontius, an important remark must be made. Evagrius of Pontus, the "intellectual" monk, was not an isolated phenomenon in the fourth-century Egyptian desert, nor an "outsider" among confreres who were largely illiterate peasants.³⁴³ Recent studies demonstrate that Evagrius, being himself a disciple of the most renowned of the Desert Fathers, actually reflects *their* spiritual teaching in his writings. Evagrius should be located in the mainstream of the early monastic tradition, but it seems that in the fifth century, after the first Origenist crisis, the picture of that tradition was substantially transformed by later redactors of monastic sources such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*: they may have suppressed what could seem tainted

³⁴¹ In order to confirm his argument, Evans "retranslated" Leontius' Christology into that of Evagrius; see D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium. An Origenist Christology*, 127-131.

³⁴² As we saw, Evans stated that the threefold division of the soul is a "commonplace in late antiquity" which, by itself, does not suffice for affirming that Leontius depends on Evagrius; see *ibid.*, 111 (quoted above, 207, n.334, and by B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 353 at n.4).

³⁴³ A. Guillaumont presents Evagrius as an intellectual "outsider" in a rural monastic environment: "Parmi ces moines, qui sont, la plupart, des paysans égyptiens illettrés, Évagre figure tout à la fois d'étranger et d'intellectuel," A. GUILAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 52-55; see also F. REFOULÉ, "La mystique d'Évagre le Pontique", *SuppVieSp* 16/66 (1963), 457-458. L. Regnault holds that intellectuals like Evagrius, Cassian and Palladius were authors "qui certes sont intéressants, mais qui ne représentent pas la tradition pure du terroir monastique égyptien", L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du désert* III, Solesmes 1976, 8. The prejudice that the monks of fourth-century Egypt were, for the most part, illiterate peasants who did not know Greek, is widespread among scholars; see below.

with Origenism.³⁴⁴ In other words, when examining the "Evagrian influence" upon Leontius in the area of spiritual teaching, we have to keep in mind that this influence is not derived exclusively from *one* individual author, but that it comes through the mediation of that author, from a broad fourth-century spiritual current that declined in strength in the monastic world of the subsequent period.

Let us now turn to the passage from Leontius that we want to examine. We must start with the Christological discussion that precedes the text that interests us. In a feigned dialogue with the Nestorians, Leontius employs what is called the "anthropological analogy", that is, he uses the relation between the human soul and body as a paradigm to clarify the relation between the divinity and the humanity in Christ. By means of this comparison, Leontius explains both the *unity* and the *distinction* between the two natures in Christ.³⁴⁵ But he has to face the objection that in this analogy, the human soul cannot be compared with the divine Logos, as the soul is susceptible to passions (πάθη δέχεται) and the Logos is not. The opponents in the dialogue therefore hold that the Logos unlike the human soul cannot be joined with the flesh to form a complete human being.³⁴⁶ To this objection Leontius replies that the Logos, which is impassible by nature, will

preserve its impassibility (ἀπάθεια) even after union with the body. Then he passes to the human soul. Even the soul's susceptibility to passions is not dependent on its being in a body: it can experience passions because it has *passionate powers* (παθητικὰ δύνειαι) in itself which will remain after its separation from the body. In fact, the soul is passible (παθητός) in a double sense: firstly, it experiences realities separate from the body (πάσχει ἀπλῶς),³⁴⁷ because it received passionate powers in accordance with what contributes to its own good; secondly, it experiences somatic passions (πάσχει σωματικὰ πάθη) because of its mixture with the body. According to the first sense, the soul can experience the divine realities by its own nature:

The soul, when in harmony with God, can experience the divine realities, but by no means because of the body. For how could that be? In fact, the body often strives against all that. But the soul [experiences these realities] by itself and by its own nature (δι' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν) when its *concupiscible part* (ἐπιθυμητικόν) eagerly strives toward God, while its *irascible part* (θυμοειδές) manfully braces itself and unflinchingly strives together with the concupiscible, and while its *rational part* (λογιστικόν) receives the immaterial reflections without a shadow and is illuminated as being of one single form. So it was well said by a man full of divine wisdom (ἀνὴρ θεόσοφος), among those who lived before us: "There is only one desire (πόθος) that is good and eternal: the desire that strives for true knowledge (ἀληθῆς γνῶσις)."³⁴⁸ For when the soul contaminates these powers (δυνάμεις), it will drift into vice (κακία) and ignorance (ἀγνοῦσα); and yet it does not derive its vices from the body, even if some of them are effected because of the body. From those vices the Logos of God will of course never receive anything, as it is immutable and unchangeable by its nature. But it will not refuse, because of the impassibility (τὸ ἀπαθείας) of its nature, to be joined substantially with human nature.³⁴⁹ Otherwise, the refusal will become a true passion (πάθος ἀληθές) by fearing (καὶ

³⁴⁴ J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, StAns 104, Roma 1991, 332-357 (esp. 353, n.80). See also G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", *Iren* 56 (1983), 215-227, 323-360; *id.*, "Origenismus-Gnostizismus: Zum geistesgeschichtlichen Standort des Evagrius Pontikos", *VigChr* 40 (1986), 24-54; *id.*, *Evagrius Pontikos: Briefe aus der Wüste*, Trier 1986, 36-38, 41-43. S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski*, Berlin/ New York 1993, 384-401; *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth Century", in *Origeniana septimā*, Leuven 1999, 319-337 (esp. 331-333). According to G. Bunge, an anti-Origenist censorship was also carried out on Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*, in the Greek text that came to us; see *id.*, "Palladiana I. Introduction aux fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque", *StMon* 32 (1990), 79-129 (repr. in G. BUNGE/ A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Quatre ermites égyptiens d'après les fragments coptes de l'Histoire Lausiaque*, SO 60, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1994, 17-80). However, Bunge's thesis concerning the text tradition of the *Historia Lausiaca* touches highly complicated questions, such as the dating of the Coptic material on which the thesis is based: these fragments might not reflect a more original state of the text. See M. SHERIDAN [review of Bunge/ de Vogüé], *BSM* 13, nr.1141, in *CCist* 57 (1995), [548]-[552].

³⁴⁵ The comparison with the human soul and body is introduced in *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1280b7.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1284b1-9.

³⁴⁷ ἀλλὰ πάσχει μὲν ἀπλῶς ἡ ψυχὴ, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1284d12. Literally, πάσχειν ἀπλῶς could be translated: "it suffers simply" or "in an absolute way". But here πάσχειν rather means "to experience" (LAMPE, 1050). The adverb ἀπλῶς expresses that the soul is considered as separated from the body: it can "undergo experiences also apart from the body (πάσχειν καὶ χωρὶς σώματος)", 1284c13.

³⁴⁸ EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Képhalaia gnostica*, 4,50, PO 28/1, 158-159 (see above, 155, n.103).

³⁴⁹ The same thought was formulated at the Council of Chalcedon, *ACO* II/1, 14,18-19, taken from Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum*, ed. C. SILVA-TAROUCA, *S. Leonis Magni tomus ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum (Ep. xxviii)*, Romae 1932, 26 (nr.88). Justinian quotes the Chalcedonian phrase twice in his dogmatic treatises, IUSTINIANUS, *Epistula contra Tria Capitula*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, 50,1-2; *id.*, *Confessio fidei*, *ibid.*, 76,11-12. Cyril of Scythopolis in his turn, when introducing the *VE* with a survey of Salvation history, quotes the phrase from the *Confessio fidei*, *VE* 1 (SCHWARTZ) 7,11-12. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 74 (nr.4) with note 245.

τῷ δεδοικέναι) to be placed in that condition in which the souls of the zealous (σπουδαῖοι) – who had the Logos itself as their help and assistance – were not damaged by the body. They were rather enriched by God and had the disposal of their body not as an adversary but as a collaborator (συνεργός) in the acquisition of virtue (ἀρετή).³⁵⁰

The quotation from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica* is not used casually in this passage.³⁵¹ Leontius' text reflects in brief the monastic program for spiritual progress as we find it particularly expressed in the writings of Evagrius. Of course, as has been noticed, Evagrius stands in a broader tradition of spiritual life. A short remark should be added here: Many elements of Evagrius' description of the ascension of the soul to the knowledge of God are also found in the works of other Christian writers, especially in those of the Cappadocian Fathers. In fact before he moved to the desert, Evagrius was a disciple of the Cappadocians, particularly of Gregory of Nazianzus.³⁵² In his works the Cappadocian tradition meets with that of the Egyptian desert.³⁵³ As a consequence, it will be difficult to isolate exclusively "Evagrian" topics in our short passage. If we can only demonstrate that Leontius' quotation from the *Kephalaia gnostica*, far from being used casually, stands in a context which reveals a close congruency

³⁵⁰ LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A6-B14 (transl. DH. For the Greek text: see the Appendix below, 374, nr.2). The final part of the passage is difficult to translate. I interpret it as a *reductio ad absurdum* by which Leontius explains why the impassible divine Logos will not refuse, because of its very impassibility, to accept the conditions of human nature at the Incarnation (according to Leo's *Tomus*; see the preceding footnote). If the Logos refuses to be joined to a human body, Leontius argues, this refusal will be a "true passion", conflicting with the divine impassibility. In fact, the "passion" consists, in that case, of fear at being placed in that human condition, in which the souls of the zealous (who were assisted by the Logos itself) were not at all contaminated by the body. Instead, they had their body as a collaborator in spiritual progress. Thus, by refusing the Incarnation because of its impassibility, the divine Logos would not only be subjected to a real passion (fear), but would even be placed on a lower spiritual level than the zealous, both of which consequences are preposterous.

³⁵¹ Compare with B. Daley's remark quoted above, 207, n.337.

³⁵² G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, Trier 1986, 21-29.

³⁵³ According to Bunge, Evagrius strives after a "grande synthèse" of two traditions: "Les deux pôles en seront, d'une part la théologie des Pères cappadociens, avant tout Grégoire le Théologien, et leur relecture de la théologie d'Origène, et de l'autre l'expérience de la vie ascétique et spirituelle qu'il fera auprès des Pères du désert, avant tout sous la guidance de Macaire le Grand," G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", *Irén* 56 (1983), 224-225. See also S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift L. Abramowski*, 384-401 (esp. 390-394).

with the synthetic vision of the spiritual life found in the writings of Evagrius, we may conclude that in Leontius' environment this vision, *mutatis mutandis*, was still current.

The threefold division of the human soul into a rational part (λογιστικόν, νοῦς), a concupiscible part (ἐπιθυμητικόν) and an irascible part (θυμοειδές) has its origins in the works of Plato.³⁵⁴ This platonic psychology became widespread in ancient literature. To give an impression we may mention, apart from Evagrius, authors like Philo,³⁵⁵ Clement of Alexandria,³⁵⁶ Origen,³⁵⁷ Basil the Great,³⁵⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus,³⁵⁹ Gregory of Nyssa,³⁶⁰ Cassian³⁶¹ and Theodoret of Cyrus.³⁶² According to this psychology, the rational part is the superior part of the soul; the concupiscible and the irascible parts constitute the inferior part, or the "passionate part of the soul (τὸ παθητικόν [μέρος] τῆς ψυχῆς)".³⁶³ The rational part is the "leading fac-

³⁵⁴ PLATO, *Republica* IV, 439D-E, 440E-441A, LCL 237 (*Plato* v), 396-398, 402-404. Plato likens the human soul to the composite nature of a pair of winged horses (the concupiscible and the irascible parts) and a charioteer (the rational part); see *Phaedrus* 246A-256D, LCL 36 (*Plato* i), 470-502. See also above, 155, n.105.

³⁵⁵ PHILO, *Legum allegoriae* III,115, LCL 226 (*Philo* i), 378; *De agricultura* 73, LCL 247 (*Philo* III), 144; *De confusione linguarum* 21, LCL 261 (*Philo* IV), 20-21. See also e.g. *Quid rerum divinarum heres* 225, *ibid.*, 394.

³⁵⁶ CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Paedagogus* III,1,2, SC 158, 12. See also e.g. *id.*, *Stromateis* V,80,9, SC 278, 156,26-27; *id.*, *Stromateis* VI,9,74,1, GCS 15, 468,30-31.

³⁵⁷ ORIGENES, *Selecta in Exodum*, PG 12, 285A12-14. See also e.g. *Fragm. 54 in Lucam*, GCS 9, 260.

³⁵⁸ BASILIUS MAGNUS, *Homilia adversus iratos* 5, PG 31, 365A9-B6.

³⁵⁹ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS, *Carmina* II,1,47, PG 37, 1382A1-8 (the ὀρέξεις in A1 correspond to the concupiscible part; compare with LAMPE, 970-971). See also e.g. *Oratio* 44,7, PG 36, 613C12-D2.

³⁶⁰ Gregory of Nyssa frequently refers to the platonic threefold division of the soul: GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De vita Moyses*, II,96, SC 1^{bis}, 58-59; II,123, SC 1^{bis}, 67; *Epistula canonica*, PG 45, 224A12-14, c10-11; *Adversus Apollinarium* 8, PG 45, 1140B3-12; *De anima et resurrectione* 8, PG 46, 48C6-68A5 (*passim*). See also e.g. *De virginitate* 18,2-3, SC 119, 468,2-472,4.

³⁶¹ CASSIANUS, *Conlationes* XXIV,15, SC 64, 187.

³⁶² THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *In Rom.* 7,17, PG 82, 124B1-125A5; *Graecarum affectionum curatio* V,31, SC 57, 235,22-236,2; V,76-79, *ibid.*, 251,10-252,11; *De Providentia* VI, PG 83, 648B12-C11; *Historia Philothea*, Prol 5, SC 234, 132,9-10, combined with Prol 6, *ibid.*, 136,46-51 (see the comments, *ibid.*, 152-153, n.6; 154-155, n.9).

³⁶³ See e.g. ORIGENES, *Comm. in Matth.* 15,4, GCS 40, 358,32-33; EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Capita practica* 49, 74, 78, 84, SC 171, pp.666,1-2, 610,3-612,1, 662,1-2, 674,3; *id.*, *Gnosticus* 2, SC 356, 90; *Scholia in Proverbia* 127, SC 340, 224,5-7; MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Ambiguorum liber*, PG 91, 1196A7-8.

ulty" of the soul, also called τὸ ἡγεμονικόν:³⁶⁴ it has the task to exert authority over the lower parts like a pilot (κυβερνήτης)³⁶⁵ or a charioteer (ἡνίοχος),³⁶⁶ and turn their natural movements from vice (κακία) to virtue (ἀρετή).³⁶⁷

In Evagrius' anthropology,³⁶⁸ the rational part of the soul is a direct extension of the original νοῦς, the pure mind. The νοῦς has fallen away from the essential knowledge and the Unity for which it was created.³⁶⁹ In

³⁶⁴ LEONTIUS BYZANTINUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1296c10-11. The term ἡγεμονικόν has its origins in Stoic philosophy (where other divisions of the soul were made) and is frequently used by Christian authors, esp. by Origen. See C. BLANC, *Origène. Commentaire sur Saint Jean*, note complém. 5, SC 120, Paris 1966, 339-400; M. BORRET, *Origène: Contre Celse*, SC 132, Paris 1967, 202-203, n.1; *id.*, note complém. 11, in *Origène: Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques* II, SC 376, ed. L. BRÉSARD/ H. CROUZEL/ M. BORRET, Paris 1992, 764-765. Evagrius also uses this term; see EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *De oratione* 21, PG 79, 1172b10; *id.*, *Capita practica*, Prol.2, SC 171, 484,9.

³⁶⁵ See e.g. PLATO, *Phaedrus* 247c, LCL 36 (*Plato* I), 476; PHILO, *Legum allegoriae* III, 118, LCL 226 (*Philo* I), 380; CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromateis* II,11,51,6, SC 38, 75; ORIGENES, *Contra Celsum*, VI,19, SC 147, 226 (quoting Plato, *o.c.*); THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia Philothea*, Prol 6, SC 234, 136,46; *id.*, *De Providentia* VI, PG 83, 648c8. See also the following footnote.

³⁶⁶ See e.g. PLATO, *Phaedr.* 246A-256D (*passim*), LCL 36 (*Plato* I), 470-502; PHILO, *Leg. alleg.* III, 118, LCL 226 (*Philo* I), 380; *id.*, *De agricultura* 73, LCL 247 (*Philo* III), 144; GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De anima et resurrectione* 8, PG 46, 49c12 (referring to Plato's image of a chariot; see above, 213, n.354); THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *In Rom.* 7,17, PG 82, 124c13. The image of the "steersman" is a commonplace which can be found "in the philosophical literature as well", M. SHERIDAN, "'Steersman of the mind': The Virgin Mary as Ideal Nun (an interpretation of Luke 1:29 by Rufus of Shotep)", in *StPatr* 30, Leuven 1997, 268 with n.18.

³⁶⁷ GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *De anima et resurrectione* 8, PG 46, 61A8-B14.

³⁶⁸ This is not the place to give a detailed survey of Evagrius' anthropology in the context of his cosmology. I shall only sketch a brief outline and refer the reader, for more elaborated surveys, to: A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 37-39, 103-113; A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, SC 170, Paris 1971, *Introd.*, 104-107; P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies aux Proverbes*, SC 340, Paris 1987, *Introd.*, 34-37; G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, 118-125; M. O'LAUGHLIN, *Origenism in the Desert. Anthropology and Integration in Evagrius Ponticus*, Harvard University 1987, 153-188; J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 6-18.

³⁶⁹ Usually, the Origenist theory of pre-existence of souls is also attributed to Evagrius. However, Bunge suggests that it could be wrong to apply our categories of time and space to the metahistorical realities beyond the present human condition, as intended by Evagrius. Bunge avoids the use of temporal conceptions like "pre-existence", and he searches for a reorientation in our approach to Evagrius' thought. See G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, p.156, n.19 and p.396, n.52; and esp. *id.*, "Mysterium Unitatis. Der Gedanke der Einheit von Schöpfer und Geschöpf in der evagrianischen Mystik", *FZPhTh* 36 (1989), 449-469. See

its fall, the νοῦς "disintegrates" into a soul.³⁷⁰ It belongs to the intelligible world, but on becoming a soul it is joined to a body, and thus linked with the material world as a secondary condition.³⁷¹ This is possible because in addition to its rational part the soul has assumed a passionate part, by which it receives impulses from the five senses of the body. In this condition man can return to the original state of knowledge, departing from the contemplation of the physical world, and climbing by various levels of knowledge until he reaches the ultimate stage, the knowledge of the Holy Trinity.³⁷² On this path, however, man needs a fundamental healing. If not purified, the passionate part of the soul is overwhelmed by vices (κακία) resulting from the passions (πάθη): they obfuscate the rational part of the soul and obstruct its devotion to contemplation, so that it regresses into ignorance (ἀγνωσία) instead of progressing in knowledge. Therefore, Evagrius makes two major divisions in the spiritual life: *praktikè* and *knowledge*.³⁷³ *Praktikè* is the stage of ascetic

also J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 7-8 with nn.3-7. For Origen's own anthropology, in a cosmological context similar to that of Evagrius, see H. CROUZEL, "L'anthropologie d'Origène dans la perspective du combat spirituel", *RAM* 31 (1955), 364-385; *id.*, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 123-130; *id.*, "L'anthropologie d'Origène: de l'arché au telos", in *Archè e telos. L'antropologia di Origene e di Gregorio di Nissa*, Milano 1981, 36-49; *id.*, *Origène et Plotin. Comparaisons doctrinales*, Paris 1992, 261-268.

³⁷⁰ J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 8 with n.7. See e.g. EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* III,28, PO 28/1, 109. Evagrius' metaphysical speculation is very close to that of Origen: the human soul, in its original state, was a pure νοῦς (mind) and belonged to the unity of reasonable beings absorbed in the contemplation of God. However, by the decision of its free will, caused by satiety and negligence, "elle est tombée de sa ferveur, elle s'est refroidie et ainsi de νοῦς elle est devenue ψυχή", H. CROUZEL, "L'anthropologie d'Origène", *RAM* 31 (1955), 369. Origen utilizes a sophisticated etymology derived from Plato and Aristotle, paralleling ψῦχος (cold) with ψυχή. See H. CROUZEL/ M. SIMONETTI, *Origène. Traité des principes* II, SC 253, 204, n.23; H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 273 with n.22.

³⁷¹ Driscoll notices that "Evagrius never uses the expression 'second creation', as Origen does". The term could be associated too much with a temporal conception (see above, 214, n.369). Evagrius indeed considers the material world as a world of "second beings", but this "implies more a secondary condition, a condition at odds with God's original intentions, an ontological assessment, without necessarily implying an actual second creation", J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 9, n.9.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 15-18.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11 with n.18. In fact, Evagrius utilizes a threefold division, as the stage of *knowledge* is subdivided in *physikè* (the knowledge of nature) and *theologikè* (the knowledge of the Holy Trinity), EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 1, SC 171, 498. See also A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 38-39 (with notes); G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, 119-120.

practice where the monk struggles against vices in order to purify the passionate part of his soul³⁷⁴ and to establish virtue (ἀρετή) in it, so that he may reach the state of passionlessness (ἀπάθεια) as a necessary condition for passing on to *knowledge*.³⁷⁵ For Evagrius, the ascetic goal of ἀπάθεια does not imply the suppression of the concupiscible and the irascible parts of the soul,³⁷⁶ but it means that these parts are turned to the good,³⁷⁷ and that, when purified, they function according to nature (κατὰ φύσιν)³⁷⁸ and cooperate

³⁷⁴ "Praktikè is the spiritual method which purifies the passionate part of the soul", EVAGRIUS, *Cap. Pract.* 78, SC 171, 666.

³⁷⁵ Only those who are impassible (οἱ ἀπαθεῖς) are capable of spiritual knowledge, EVAGRIUS, *Gnosticus* 45, SC 356, 178. For ἀπάθεια as a goal of *praktikè* and a condition for *knowledge*, see esp. G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, 123; P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies aux Proverbes*, 42; J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 11-12. In the Evagrian spirituality, the demons (νόες that fell to a lower state than man) are the adversary powers that try to prevent the monk from returning to the original state of knowledge through the ascetic goal of ἀπάθεια. They inspire the eight principal evil thoughts (λογισμοί): gluttony, fornication, love of money, sadness, anger, listlessness, vainglory and pride. See EVAGRIUS, *Cap. Pract.* 6, SC 171, 506-508. Each of these thoughts is related to the concupiscible part or to the irascible part of the soul: if the monk allows them to linger, they unleash the passions (πάθη) in him, which keep him imprisoned in vice and ignorance (or false knowledge) and prevent him from acquiring virtue and knowledge. Therefore the ascetic struggle of *praktikè*, in order to purify the passionate part of the soul and achieve ἀπάθεια, principally consists in combating evil thoughts and in acquiring constant vigilance over them. See A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique I*, 55-57, 90-98; P. GÉHIN, *o.c.*, 37-42; J. DRISCOLL, *o.c.*, 13-15; *id.*, "Apatheia and purity of heart", in *Purity of Heart*, Collegeville, Minn. 1999, 141-159. For Evagrius' relation with Origen on the issue of ἀπάθεια, see the recent contribution of R. SOMOS, "Origen, Evagrius Ponticus and the Ideal of Impassibility", in *Origeniana septima*, leuven 1997, 365-373.

³⁷⁶ A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique I*, 106. The authors quote passages from Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Origen which suggest, as against Evagrius, that in the ideal condition of ἀπάθεια the passionate part of the soul is actually suppressed, *ibid.*, 106, n.2.

³⁷⁷ Also for Gregory of Nyssa ἀπάθεια does not mean the denial of the passionate powers (nor of the passions, nor of the body), but it rather implies their appropriate orientation. See e.g. M. ABINEAU, *Grégoire de Nysse: Traité de la virginité*, SC 119, Paris 1966, *Introd.*, 157-158, 167-168, 176-177.

³⁷⁸ EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 73, 86, SC 171, pp.660, 676. The passionate powers can also function against nature (παρὰ φύσιν), *cap.* 24, SC 171, 556. The concepts of κατὰ φύσιν and παρὰ φύσιν derive from Plato and were widespread among the Greek Fathers; see A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique II*, SC 171 (comment to *cap* 86), 676-677. In ancient Christian language, the expression κατὰ φύσιν refers to the original state, as intended by the Creator before the Fall of Adam. As a fruit of the ascetical practice, the monk can be restored to that state, like Saint Antony. See ATHANASIUS, *VA* 14,3-4, SC 400, 172,9-174,19.

with the rational part in its ascension to *knowledge*, that is, to the stage of contemplation.³⁷⁹

A clear echo of this Evagrian spirituality can be heard in the passage of Leontius of Byzantium, quoted above. But first we have to notice two differences: 1) Leontius does not repeat Evagrius' speculations concerning the fallen νοῦς, and 2) he utilizes the concept ἀπάθεια³⁸⁰ differently from Evagrius. The first point touches Leontius' attitude concerning the pre-existence of souls, which has been elucidated sufficiently.³⁸¹ As to the second point, in the Christological debates in which Leontius was involved, ἀπάθεια is used in a *doctrinal* context, indicating an exclusively *divine* quality which is attributed to the Logos,³⁸² in an absolute sense, in close connection with the divine immutability and incorruptibility.³⁸³ Evagrius

³⁷⁹ "Perfect passionlessness means that health is established in the two passionate parts of the soul, the concupiscible and the irascible. Then these two parts work together to maintain the soul in this state and to leave it free for its higher part, the rational, to function for knowledge. The concupiscible part *desires* virtue and knowledge. The irascible part *fights* the evil thoughts which attack all three parts of the soul. In the passionless soul, thoughts from the passionate part no longer mount up to darken the mind, and thereby is the rational part ready to pass into knowledge," J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 12; *id.*, "Apatheia and purity of heart", in *Purity of Heart*, 145. For the positive role of the passionate powers according to Evagrius, see also T. SPIDLÍK, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien. Manuel systématique*, OCA 206, Roma 1978, 265; G. BUNGE, *Briefe aus der Wüste*, 122-123; P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies aux Proverbes*, 35-36.

³⁸⁰ ἀπάθεια is found in the text immediately preceding our passage: LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1284c1. Besides, up from 1284b1, allied concepts (πάθος, πάσχειν, παθητικός, παθητός) are frequent, and in our passage itself, the neutral form τὸ ἀπαθές is used, 1285b6.

³⁸¹ As we saw, Leontius' writings provide no evidence at all that he adhered to the theory of pre-existence of souls (see above, 161, n.136 and Daley's observation quoted *ibid.*, 171 at n.185). However, within the context of the whole Origenist Controversy, he shows himself remarkably indifferent with regard to the subject. See F. LOOFS, quoted above, 162-163 at n.140. As to Evagrius' own position regarding a possible "pre-existence" of souls, see above, 214, n.369.

³⁸² See LAMPE 170, signification A2, referring to the text of Leontius mentioned above, n.380.

³⁸³ One of the vexed questions in the Christological debates is how to interpret the assumption of a real *passible* human nature by the *impassible* divine Logos. The Fathers of Chalcedon adopted Leo the Great's statement that "the impassible God did not refuse to become a passible man" and, as we saw, Leontius expresses the same Chalcedonian view in our passage; see above, 211-212 with nn.349-350. In the *CA*, Leontius had to deal with certain Chalcedonians who, though orthodox, were fascinated by the doctrine of Christ's incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία). See above, 144, n.63. Leontius from his side stresses the real character of Christ's *passible* human nature in the Incarnation. In this context, he renders the concept

from his side uses ἀπάθεια in a *spiritual* context, where it indicates, in a relative sense, the psychological *human* condition that results from ascetic practice.³⁸⁴ When comparing Leontius with Evagrius, we have to appreciate their use of the term ἀπάθεια in different theological and spiritual contexts.

Taking this for granted, we may return to our passage of Leontius in order to identify the "Evagrian" influence. Like Evagrius, Leontius connects the platonic threefold division of the human soul with the spiritual life in its striving for the knowledge of God. He associates the pair of concepts κακία and ἀγνωσία with the condition of impurity in the passionate part of the soul, and he implicitly associates the opposite pair ἀρετή and (ἀληθῆς) γνῶσις with the condition of purification.³⁸⁵ As to this condition, he presents the ἐπιθυμητικόν and the θυμοειδές as functioning according to their natures,³⁸⁶ working together with the λογιστικόν in order to achieve the goal of the spiritual life, that is: to penetrate, through the contemplation of the intelligible world, to the knowledge of God. This state of spiritual health corresponds with the state of ἀπάθεια according to

ἀπάθεια as an exclusively divine quality by which, according to his opponents, the incarnated Logos remained insusceptible to suffering. In this sense we find ἀπάθεια in PG 86/1, 1320B2 and C6, 1321D1 (but the use of ἀπαθής and τὸ ἀπαθές is more frequent). See on this subject A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* II/2, 223-241 (esp. 226).

³⁸⁴ See LAMPE 170-171, signification c, referring to a broad spiritual tradition including Evagrius. The state of ἀπάθεια, as applied to human beings, can only be achieved in a relative sense, as far as man can realize the spiritual ideal of *imitatio Dei* within the contingency of his earthly life.

³⁸⁵ Comp. with EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.*, I,59, PO 28/1, 45; *Keph. gnost.* I,84, p.57; *Keph. gnost.* II,18, p.69; *id.*, *Ad monachos* 24 (DRISCOLL), 49; *id.*, *Schol. Prov.* 64, SC 340, p.157; *Schol. Prov.* 77, p.177; *id.*, *Cap. pract.* 87, SC 171, p.678. For Evagrius, the two pairs κακία/ἀρετή and ἀγνωσία/γνῶσις are closely related to the major divisions of the spiritual life. In the stage of *praktikè*, the monk purifies the passionate part of his soul, which implies a progress from κακία to ἀρετή; in the stage of *knowledge*, the rational part of his soul is devoted to contemplation and knowledge, which implies a progress from ἀγνωσία to γνῶσις. "Thus, the monastic life as conceived by Evagrius is the entire struggle to rid oneself of evils (related to the passionate part) and ignorance (related to the rational part) and to establish in the soul *virtue* (related to the passionate part) and knowledge (related to the rational part). For Evagrius there can be no knowledge in the higher part of the soul without virtue first being established in the passionate part of the soul," J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 11.

³⁸⁶ Leontius states that the soul can experience the divine realities δι' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν, due to the proper functioning of its three parts; see LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A6-14.

Evagrius.³⁸⁷ But, for reasons that we may well understand, Leontius does not use the term in a spiritual sense as applied to the *human* soul, when he is, at the same time and in the context of a theological treatise, dealing with ἀπάθεια in the sense of an exclusive *divine* attribute.³⁸⁸ Nevertheless, Leontius refers exactly to the spiritual condition that, in Evagrian asceticism, is considered the goal of *praktikè*. In this state, Leontius writes, the soul is not harmed by the body, but the body has become a "collaborator"

³⁸⁷ See above, 217, n.379. For Evagrius, "l'impassibilité consiste précisément dans cette harmonie établie entre les trois parties de l'âme, quand chacune d'elles a une activité pleinement conforme à sa nature", A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 106. See also above, 216, n.378.

³⁸⁸ In the Christian Latin tradition, we may notice a general reluctance to use ἀπάθεια (understood as *impassibilitas*) other than of God. This reluctance was particularly reinforced by a controversy initiated by Jerome, in 414, with an attack on Evagrius' use of the term: HIERONYMUS, *Ep* 133 (*ad Ctesiphontem*), 3, CSEL 56, pp. 244,19-247,21. See M. SHERIDAN, "The Controversy over ἀπάθεια: Cassian's Sources and his Use of them", *StMon* 39 (1997), 287-310. However, Leontius' avoiding the use of ἀπάθεια for the human soul is not directly connected with this controversy, which was exclusively Latin; see *ibid.*, 289. On the other hand, scholars also point to a certain hesitation in the Greek Christian tradition, to apply ἀπάθεια to a human being. See e.g. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 100. After stating that this Stoic term was introduced into the Christian language by Clement of Alexandria, A. Guillaumont observes: "Le mot est rare chez Origène et chez les Cappadociens, qui l'emploient surtout appliqué à Dieu," A. GUILLAUMONT, "Le gnostique chez Clément d'Alexandrie et chez Évagre le Pontique", in *id.*, *Études sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien*, SO 66, Bégrolles-en-Mauges 1996, (151-160), 155, n.2 (art. first publ. in *Ἀλεξανδρῖνα: Mélanges Mondésert*, Paris 1987, 195-201). A similar reluctance can be found in Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia Philothea*: "Théodoret (...) emploie avec discrétion les mots ἀπάθεια et ἀπαθής en parlant de l'homme dans sa condition temporelle," P. CANIVET/ A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie* I, SC 234, Paris 1977, 149, n.6. In his *Eranistes* (PG 83, 233-317), Theodoret even refuses to apply ἀπάθεια to human beings; see esp. P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, ThH 42, Paris 1977, 269-270. As an Antiochene Father Theodoret was especially concerned for defending the divine impassibility; see J. O'KEEFE, "Kenosis or Impassibility: Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret of Cyrus on the Problem of Divine Pathos", in *StPatr* 32, ed. E. LIVINGSTONE, Leuven 1997, 358-365. After the Council of Chalcedon, Greek authors such as Leontius could have hesitated to apply ἀπάθεια to human beings also due to the influence of Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum*: the Council had adopted a phrase from Leo which explicitly opposes the divine impassibility to the human condition, in the context of Christ's Incarnation. See above, 211, n.349 (and also below, 227, n.428). The relation between the Latin and the Greek traditions with regard to the term ἀπάθεια needs further research. In the context of this study I would only affirm the following: if Leontius had used the term, within the context of his theological argument, both as a divine attribute and as spiritual state of the human soul, he would have produced a confusing text.

(συνεργός) in the acquisition of virtue (ἀρετή).³⁸⁹ This corresponds with the Evagrian recognition of the body as an instrument for spiritual progress.³⁹⁰ In two other passages, Leontius explicitly equates the ascetic struggle for acquiring virtue with the Evagrian concept *praktikè*.³⁹¹ And in the passage we have just examined, he clearly refers to the stage of contemplation that Evagrius called *knowledge*.

As has been said, many elements in our passage are also found in the works of other writers. Combined as they appear, however, they closely correspond to the synthesis of the spiritual life as elaborated in the writings of Evagrius. Leontius even quotes a phrase from Evagrius which is crucial in the total context: he refers to the desire for *true knowledge* that, in the

³⁸⁹ LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285B10-14.

³⁹⁰ For Evagrius, the body is "un instrument indispensable pour l'exercice de la *praktikè* et pour la connaissance sensible, de laquelle l'homme peut s'élever à la science spirituelle", A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 106-107. "Evagrius again and again stresses the utility of the body. The contemplative activities of the *nous* cannot begin if a seeing *organon*, the body, is removed," M. O'LAUGHLIN, *Origenism in the Desert*, Harvard Un. 1987, 160 (with ref. to EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* IV,60, 62); see also *ibid.*, 157-164. The ἀπάθεια of the soul is acquired "through this body (διὰ τοῦ σώματος τούτου)", EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 53, SC 171, 620,4. On the other hand, the purified soul can also contemplate "outside this body (χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος τούτου)", *id.*, *Comm. in Psalm.* 141,8, PG 12, 1668B5-7 – Syriac in *Keph. gnost.* IV,70, PO 28/1, 167 – see A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* II, 613, n.49. Also for Leontius the soul can experience "apart from the body (χωρὶς σώματος)", LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1284C13 (see above, 211, n.347).

³⁹¹ In the *CA*, Leontius argues that if the Logos had not been incarnated in a passible and corruptible human body, Christ could not have been our Paradigm to imitate (cf. 1Cor 11:1), as the Teacher would be too far away from those who lead their (ascetic) lives (πεπολιτευμένοις) in a weak nature. See LEONTIUS, *CA*, PG 86/1, 1349A1-c5. Then he writes: "Superfluous to say that in an incorruptible body it is impossible to find the laws of the human virtues of *praktikè* (πρακτικῆς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς νόμους). For him who is above human passions, there is no hunger, let alone abstinence (ἐγκράτεια), no labor, let alone perseverance (ὑπομονή), no pride, let alone humility (ταπεινότης), (...). It is not audacious to say that we cannot expect proofs of virtue (ἀρετή) in an incorruptible nature that has no needs. For in a nature free from pain there is no struggle (ἀγών), and without struggle there is no victory; and without victory there is no wreath," *ibid.*, 1349C5-15. The second passage is found in the *DTN*, where Leontius accuses his (anti-Origenist) opponents of neglecting ascetical practice, "for they even reject *praktikè* (τὴν πρακτικὴν διαβάλλουσι) and are not able to endure it, nor even its name", LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1361C6-8. I shall return to this passage below.

teaching of Evagrius, is the ultimate goal of the spiritual life.³⁹² This makes the connection with Evagrius' spirituality throughout the whole passage undeniable.

Once this connection has been established, it can throw more light upon the Origenist milieu where Leontius experienced spiritual healing through the agency of certain θεῖοι ἄνδρες. As he writes in his autobiographical note, they "purified the eye of my soul"³⁹³ and "filled it with a sacred light by means of the writings of the θεόσοφοι",³⁹⁴ one of which is certainly Evagrius.³⁹⁵ From these books Leontius' teachers derived "the truth and the rest of the virtues" and, as he writes, "they purified both my hands and my heart".³⁹⁶ From Evagrius Leontius must have learned that purification makes the monk capable of contemplating the intelligible world³⁹⁷ so that he may pass on from *praktikè* to *knowledge*³⁹⁸ and join the

³⁹² See e.g. EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 32, SC 171, 572-574. Regarding the ultimate state of spiritual contemplation, Evagrius frequently opposes γνώσις ἀληθῆς to γνώσις ψευδῆς (cf. 1Tim 2:4, 6:20), because of his concern to warn his readers against certain Gnostic teachers who must have been popular in the Egyptian desert. See G. BUNGE, "Origenismus – Gnostizismus", 24-54 (esp. 28-31); J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 150 with nn.188, 190. False knowledge is linked by Evagrius to vices and evil thoughts; see P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique: Scholies aux Proverbes*, 38-40.

³⁹³ τὸ ὄμμα τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεκάθηραν, LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1360A13-14 (see the passage quoted above, 153, at the end; and Appendix, below, 373, nr.1). In Evagrian language, the "eye of my soul" may indicate the νοῦς; see EVAGRIUS, *Scholias in Proverbia* 127, SC 340, 224 (P. GÉHIN, *ibid.*, 35).

³⁹⁴ φωτὸς ἱεροῦ ἀπέπλισαν ταῖς τῶν θεοσόφων βίβλοις, LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1 1360A14-15. The idea that the divine light opens the "eyes of the soul" is already found in Philo; see M. SHERIDAN, "Jacob and Israel: A Contribution to the History of an Interpretation", in *Mysterium Christi*, StAns 116, Roma 1995, 229 with n. 45 (ref. to PHILO, *De migratione Abrahami* 39; *De praemiis et poenis* 37).

³⁹⁵ In the text examined, the same expression θεόσοφος indicates Evagrius. See above, p.155 with n.103 and p.208 with n.340.

³⁹⁶ παρ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ ἀρετὴ, τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ χεῖρας καὶ φρένας ἀγνίσαντες, *ibid.*, 1360A15-B2. The expression ἡ λοιπὴ ἀρετὴ could mean "virtue" in general or, possibly, the four cardinal virtues (temperance, courage, wisdom, and justice). Φρήν may indicate the *heart* "as seat of the passions" (LIDDELL/SCOTT, 1954). Apparently, in this passage Leontius uses euphemistic expressions (ὄμμα τῆς ψυχῆς, φρένες, χεῖρες) to indicate a total purification of mind, soul and body.

³⁹⁷ EVAGRIUS, *Ad monachos* 133 (DRISCOLL), 70; comp. with LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A12-14.

³⁹⁸ EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 78, SC 171, 666; *id.*, *Cap. gnost.* 45, 49, SC 356, resp. 178 and 191. See esp. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Le gnostique*, SC 356 (1989), *Introd.*, 24-28; J. DRISCOLL, "Apatheia and Purity of Heart", in *Purity of Heart*, 141-159.

exclusive circle of γνωστικοί who, as a fruit of their ascetical life, have become worthy of divine illumination and of receiving the most elevated truth.³⁹⁹

Cyril of Scythopolis and Evagrius

In our inquiry into the spiritual aspect of the sixth-century Origenist conflict, we shall now turn to the Lives of Cyril of Scythopolis. Can we also detect Cyril's attitude towards the Evagrian inheritance, traces of which we found in the infrequent spiritual passages of Leontius' theological writings? How does Cyril the anti-Origenist relate to Evagrian spirituality? Cyril mentions Evagrius explicitly only three times in passing, each time in a negative sense and in association with Origen and Didymus.⁴⁰⁰ But this does not necessarily mean that Cyril was not influenced, directly or indirectly, by some elements of Evagrian spirituality. Evagrius was not *personally* condemned in 553, as was Origen.⁴⁰¹ Although Evagrius' theological speculations were detested, his writings dealing principally with *praktikè*⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ See the subtitle of Evagrius' *Gnosticus*: "To Him Who Has Become Worthy of Knowledge". For the exclusive character of the stage of *knowledge*, see esp. A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Le gnostique*, 37-40.

⁴⁰⁰ VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,28; VS 90 (*ibid.*), 199,3, 5; VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,13.

⁴⁰¹ As has been said, the 15 *anathemata* against Origenism depend more upon Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica* than upon Origen's own writings. See above, p.23 with n.9 and p.168 with n.164. But these *anathemata* do not mention anyone personally. Evagrius and Didymus are not even mentioned in any of the official documents relating to the Council of 553 (and neither in Justinian's edict of 543). As to Origen, his name appears in a traditional "list of heretics" in the 11th of the 14 *anathemata* against the Three Chapters, ACO IV/1, 242,33; he is also mentioned (apart from the edict of 543) twice in Justinian's letter to the Council Fathers that underlies the anti-Origenist *anathemata*. See IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90,14 (right col.) and 96,19.

⁴⁰² Traditionally, Evagrius' works are divided into his ascetic and his speculative writings, according to his major division of the spiritual life into *praktikè* and *knowledge*. Indeed, most of Evagrius' singular works are more concerned with one or the other of these stages. Nevertheless, J. Driscoll warns against exaggerating the distinction: "Yet pushing this division too strongly can be misleading in that it may cause us to overlook how often Evagrius establishes links between *praktikè* and knowledge throughout his writings," J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 33. Especially the *Ad monachos* combines both dimensions of the spiritual life, *ibid.*, 34-35. See also the remarks concerning *De oratione*, *ibid.*, 34, n.22.

were tolerated if not admired in broad monastic circles.⁴⁰³ A first testimony of this ambiguous attitude can be found in the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza, which probably dates from the period just before 543.⁴⁰⁴ Both Fathers condemn Evagrius' speculations as diabolic; nonetheless, Abba John recommends the reading of those parts of Evagrius' works which are useful for the soul.⁴⁰⁵ It would be interesting to know whether such an ambiguity characterizes also Cyril's works, and if not, what conclusions may be drawn from this with respect to the spiritual dimension of the Origenist conflict.

In his study on Cyril's literary sources, B. Flusin puts together all the passages he found in Cyril's works paralleled by certain passages from other writings. Thus Flusin demonstrates that Cyril used an impressive collection of previous literature⁴⁰⁶ which is dominated by the most important of the ancient monastic writings.⁴⁰⁷ However, in Flusin's survey, the reader will look in vain for parallels with Evagrius. This is very significant, be-

⁴⁰³ Several works of Evagrius are transmitted under a different name, which may illustrate their popularity. Four of them are attributed to Nilus of Ancyra and edited by Migne under his name: *Tractatus ad Eulogium monachum*, PG 79, 1093-1140; *De octo spiritibus malitiae*, 1145-1164; *De oratione*, 1165-1200; *De diversis malignis cogitationibus*, 1200-1233.

⁴⁰⁴ In the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John, letters 600-607 are dedicated to the problem of Origenism. In the introduction to the new edition (only partially available at this moment), these letters are dated "vraisemblablement juste avant l'édit de l'empereur Justinien paru en janvier 543", P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH/ F. NEYT, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance* I/1 (Ep.1-71), SC 426 (1997), 33.

⁴⁰⁵ In letter 600 (see the preceding footnote) we read how Abba Barsanuphius, when questioned about the Origenist doctrines, firmly rejects the speculations of Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*, which "do not lead to progress according to God, but to progress according to the devil", BARSANUPHIUS GAZAE/ IOHANNES GAZAE, *Epistularium* 600, ed. S. SCHOINAS, Volos 1960, 284A6-8 (NB. the text is emended in the new ed.; the editor was so kind to consign a copy to me). Barsanuphius urges his addressee not to err regarding the γνῶσις of the future realities, *ibid.*, 284A22-23, but to concentrate in this lifetime rather upon the ascetic struggle (ἀθλησις) for acquiring virtue, *ibid.*, 284A36-B5. And Abba John, questioned in the same way, equally rejects Evagrius' speculations as coming from the devil, Ep. 601, *ibid.*, 284B15-31. But at a second question, whether one should refrain from reading Evagrius' works, he replies: "Do not accept such doctrines, but read of him, if you wish, what contributes to the benefit of the soul (τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς)," Ep. 602, *ibid.*, 284B37-39. I shall return to these texts below.

⁴⁰⁶ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 41-86 (see above, 38, n.79).

⁴⁰⁷ For Cyril's use of the *Vita Antonii*, see above, 92, n.172; for the *Vita Pachomii prima*, *ibid.*, 94, n.181.

cause Cyril made extensive use of an ascetic writing from the hand of another author involved in the condemnations of 553, Theodoret of Cyrus, one of the so-called "Three Chapters", who wrote a history of the monks of Syria.⁴⁰⁸ Like Evagrius, Theodoret was not personally condemned in 553, although some of his writings were. But unlike the case of Evagrius, we know well that Theodoret's name was explicitly discussed at the official sessions of the Council.⁴⁰⁹ Cyril, however, keeps a total silence about what happened to Theodoret. Nevertheless, when referring to the condemnations which he claims were delivered by the Council, he does mention Evagrius.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia Philothea* (or *Hist. Religiosa*; CPG 6221), ed. P. CANIVET/ A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie*, SC 234, Paris 1977; SC 257, Paris 1979. Flusin observes that "l'influence que Théodoret a exercée sur Cyrille est presque comparable par son importance à celle des Vies d'Antoine et de Pachôme", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 70. Cyril's reminiscences to Theodoret "impliquent une longue familiarité avec l' *Histoire Philothée*", *ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ At the fifth session of the Council of 553, many passages of Theodoret's writings were read, see Concilium Oec. Const. II, *Gesta, ACO* IV/1, 130,10-136,27. Thereupon, the Council Fathers declared that their predecessors at Chalcedon had been well aware of Theodoret's blasphemies, and that he had only been rehabilitated after he had anathematized Nestorius, *ibid.*, 136,28-32. The 13th of the 14 *anathemata* against the Three Chapters is explicitly dedicated to Theodoret: the condemnation does not touch him personally, but only his writings against Cyril of Alexandria and those defending Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius and their adherents, *ibid.*, 243,31-244,6 (Greek); 219,13-21 (Latin). As far as Evagrius is concerned, his name is not mentioned in the documents relating to the Council (as they have come to us); see above, 222, n.401. In addition, these documents together indicate that the question of Origenism was not discussed at all at the official sessions of the Council, but only before the opening; see also above, 21, n.2.

⁴¹⁰ Cyril writes: "When the fifth holy ecumenical council had assembled at Constantinople, a common and universal *anathema* was directed against Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia and against the teaching of Evagrius and Didymus on pre-existence and universal restoration, in the presence and with the approval of the four patriarchs," VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-6 (quoted also above, 87 with n.145). Cyril's suppressing the *anathema* against Theodoret of Cyrus fits in with our picture, represented above, 168-173, according to which the anti-Origenist party had initially sympathized with Theodore of Mopsuestia and participated in the campaign in favor of the Three Chapters. About 553, as we saw, the anti-Origenists saw themselves forced to renounce Theodore of Mopsuestia for the sake of orthodoxy in the new imperial sense. However, Theodoret of Cyrus was not personally declared *anathema*: one could continue to read most of his works and yet remain orthodox. In fact, the same goes for Evagrius, but here Cyril's attitude appears to be different. In the next chapter, I shall return to the relation between Theodoret and Evagrius with regard to the condemnations of 553.

This selectivity, combined with the absence of Evagrius in Flusin's survey, suggests that Cyril, unlike the more moderate John of Gaza, was not even interested in harmless Evagrian passages that could be useful for the soul. But perhaps Cyril assimilated some elements of Evagrian spirituality in an indirect way. Flusin found a single allusion to a phrase of Evagrius which he does not reproduce in his survey, but elsewhere in his study as an indirect influence.⁴¹¹ The allusion can reveal something more about Cyril's attitude. At the beginning of the VS, we read that Sabas, when working in the monastery garden as a young monk, is tempted by the desire (ἐπιθυμία) to eat a nice, ripe apple. Reflecting upon Adam's sin, he decides not to turn away from the beauty of abstinence (ἐγκράτεια),⁴¹² arguing: "For just as blossom precedes every fruit-bearing, so abstinence precedes every good work."⁴¹³ These words correspond to the opening phrase of Evagrius' treatise on the eight evil spirits: "The beginning of fruit-bearing is blossom, and the beginning of *praktikè* is abstinence."⁴¹⁴ Whether Cyril directly or indirectly depends on Evagrius here⁴¹⁵ is difficult to say,⁴¹⁶ but he might have known the text. Like Evagrius, Cyril puts the struggle for ἐγκράτεια

⁴¹¹ The text contains "une pensée déjà exprimée par un auteur honni par Cyrille [*scil.* Evagrius, DH], mais dont il ne peut que dépendre, fût-ce indirectement", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 106.

⁴¹² VS 3 (SCHWARTZ), 88,18-28.

⁴¹³ ὡςπερ γὰρ πάσης καρποφορίας προηγείται ἄνθος, οὕτως ἡ ἐγκράτεια πάσης προηγείται ἀγαθοεργίας, *ibid.*, 88,28-29 (NB. ἐγκράτεια is translated by R. Price as "self-control").

⁴¹⁴ EVAGRIUS, *De octo spiritibus malitiae*, PG 79, 1145A3-4; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 106, n.93. Evagrius puts gluttony at the head of all passions: ἀρχὴ παθῶν γαστριμαργία, PG 79, 1145A6. Gluttony is the first of the eight evil thoughts; see EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract* 6, SC 171, 506 (see also above, 216, n.375). So the monk has to start the ascetic struggle by fighting for abstinence: "le moine qui s'engage dans la *praktikè* doit commencer par se restreindre dans le manger et le boire, pratiquer la vertu à laquelle Évagre donne le nom d' ἐγκράτεια, l' 'abstinence'," A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 91.

⁴¹⁵ Compare with above, n.411.

⁴¹⁶ If Cyril directly quoted from Evagrius' text, did he know who the author was? The text belongs to one of the works transmitted under Nilus of Ancyra's name; see above, 223, n.403. They were put under this name "senza dubbio al tempo del concilio di Costantinopoli del 553 e delle condanne dell'origenismo", J. GRIBOMONT, "Nilo di Ancira († ca. 430?)", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 2404. In any case, Cyril knew the works of Nilus and utilized the *De monastica exercitatione*, PG 79, 720-809; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 70-71. This work is considered authentic; see J. GRIBOMONT, *o.c.*, 2403.

– against ἐπιθυμία – at the head of the monastic program of asceticism,⁴¹⁷ and both authors refer in this context to the original sin in Paradise.⁴¹⁸ But the point that interests us is that in Cyril's (direct or indirect) allusion, the Evagrian concept of πρακτική is substituted by ἀγαθοεργία. Cyril nowhere uses the term πρακτική, though he often refers to the ascetic practice of his heroes. Leontius of Byzantium for his part uses the term twice in treatises which are merely theological.⁴¹⁹ Cyril, adopting an Evagrian thought, could have deliberately suppressed the association with Evagrius.⁴²⁰

In another passage, Cyril renders the Evagrian concept of "listlessness" (ἀκηδία) in the sense of "disgust at the place where we are", and he combines it with the evil thought (λογισμός) that urges us to move to other places.⁴²¹ The theme of "evil thoughts" which frequently appears in Cyril's works was widely diffused in the monastic tradition,⁴²² and does not point to a direct dependence on Evagrius. But ἀκηδία, in the specific sense indi-

⁴¹⁷ In the context of our passage (VS 3-4), Cyril frequently uses ἐγκράτεια and ἐπιθυμία: ἐγκράτεια (4x): p.88, lines 27, 29 and p.89, lines 5, 7 (apart from ἐκράτησεν ἑαυτοῦ in 88,21), and ἐπιθυμία (4x): p.88, lines 18-19, 20 and p.89, lines 1, 3. Compare with chap.1 of Evagrius' *De octo spir.*, PG 79, 1145A3-B13, where we find ἐγκράτεια (1x): A4 (apart from ὁ κρατῶν γαστρός in A4 and ὁ κρατήσας in A10-11), and ἐπιθυμία (2x): A10, B1.

⁴¹⁸ Sabas' reflection in VS 3 (SCHWARTZ), 88,22-27 corresponds to EVAGRIUS, *De octo spir.*, PG 79, 760B1-3, but there is no linguistic relation.

⁴¹⁹ See above, 220, n.391.

⁴²⁰ Leontius accuses his anti-Origenist opponents with neglecting the ascetic practice, for "they even reject *praktikè* and are not able to endure it, nor even its name", LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1361C7-9. The accusation, in all its implications, must be exaggerated. However, Leontius' allusion to the aversion against the name of *praktikè* could be read as a caricature of an anti-Origenist tendency to avoid the use of outspoken Evagrian language. The term πρακτική, as a substantive feminine adjective, was particularly developed by Evagrius (following Philo and Origen) into a specific technical term for the preliminary stage of ascetic practice (*within* the anchoritic life), in its subordination to the complementary stage of γνωστική. Cyril's substitute ἀγαθοεργία ("well-doing", "good works", LAMPE, 4) corresponds rather to a more general signification of the term πρακτικός, before Evagrius. For that signification, see A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* 1, 38-52.

⁴²¹ VE 19 (SCHWARTZ), 30,16-20.

⁴²² The term λογισμός is frequently used already in the VA. See the index in G. BARTELINK, *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine*, p.409. In most of the cases it is used in a negative sense, often provided with a qualifying adjective; see A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* 1, 57-58.

cated by Cyril, is an original Evagrian theme.⁴²³ However, this theme, which is "essentiellement liée à l'état de vie anachorétique",⁴²⁴ soon became commonplace in anchoritic milieus, so that even in this particular case we cannot conclude that Cyril directly depends on Evagrius.⁴²⁵

The aim of ascetic practice for Evagrius is ἀπάθεια. Cyril nowhere uses this term, although he is familiar with the general monastic tradition according to which the struggle against πάθη is an element of ascetic practice.⁴²⁶ Leontius, as we saw, uses the term ἀπάθεια only in a doctrinal context, exclusively attributed to the Logos.⁴²⁷ Cyril, for his part, twice uses the allied term ἀπαθής in the same sense.⁴²⁸ However, there is a great difference between Leontius and Cyril with respect to Evagrius. Leontius actually avoids the use of the term ἀπάθεια in the spiritual sense

⁴²³ The term ἀκηδία is found only once in the VA, in the general sense of "discouragement", VA 36,2, SC 400, 234,5. Evagrius presents the vice as the sixth of the eight evil thoughts, EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 6, SC 171, 508,4, but he specifies its meaning as: "listlessness", "annoyance", and hence as the temptation of the monk to leave his cell and to abandon the ascetic practice, esp. in c.12, *ibid.*, 520-526. See A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* 1, 84-90; G. BUNGE, *Akedia. Die geistliche Lehre des Evagrius Pontikos vom Überdruß*, Köln 1989; J. DRISCOLL, "Listlessness in *The Mirror for Monks* of Evagrius Ponticus", *CSQ* 24 (1989), 206-214 (repr. in *id.*, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 219-226).

⁴²⁴ A. & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* 1, 89.

⁴²⁵ Cyril's expression μίσος πρὸς τὸν τόπον, VE 19 (SCHWARTZ), 30,17-18, is found literally in EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 12, SC 171, 522,9. However, the Latin equivalent *horror loci*, rendered by Cassian and specified as *cellae fastidium*, CASSIANUS, *Inst.* x,2, SC 109, 384, indicates that the expression had long since become commonplace in anchoritic milieus. Cyril also uses three times the verb ἀκηδιᾶν in the general sense of "losing heart" in the ascetic struggle, VE 19 (SCHWARTZ), 31,1; VS 41 (*ibid.*), 131,21; VS 44 (*ibid.*), 135,13.

⁴²⁶ VE 6 (SCHWARTZ), 14,16-17 (quoted from THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia Philothea* 8,1, SC 234, 374,17-18); VE 9 (SCHWARTZ), 18,7-8; VE 19 (*ibid.*), 31,3.14-15 (quoted from *ApophPat.*, coll. alph., Agathon 1, PG 65, 109A12-14); VS 39 (SCHWARTZ), 129,21-23; VS 47 (*ibid.*), 138,5.

⁴²⁷ See above, 219 with n.388.

⁴²⁸ Introducing the VE with a survey of salvation history starting with the Incarnation of the Logos, Cyril quotes the Chalcedonian phrase: "Though impassible (ἀπαθής) God, he did not refuse to become man capable of suffering (παθητός) and, though immortal, he consented to be subjected to the laws of death," VE 1 (SCHWARTZ) 7,11-13, cf. ACO II/1 (1933), 14,18-19. The phrase derives from Leo's *Tomus ad Flavianum*, see above, 211, n.349 [and compare (*ad loc.*) with LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285B6-8]. In a second passage, Cyril puts a discourse in Euthymius' mouth, which historically anticipates the imperial orthodoxy of 553; see above, 188-189 with nn.252-258. The Saint explains the Chalcedonian expressions ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως, VE 27 (SCHWARTZ), 43,10-11 [= ACO II/1, 325,31], renouncing both the Nestorian and Monophysite positions. Regarding the confusion of natures of the Monophysites, Euthymius states: "according to their account, neither can Christ's passibility (τὸ παθητόν) be preserved because of the impassible

as we find it in Evagrius' works, but he does describe a condition of the human soul which corresponds exactly to the spiritual condition expressed by ἀπόθεια: in the purified soul the ἐπιθυμητικόν and the θυμοειδές cooperate, according to nature, with the λογιστικόν, so that the soul may ascend towards spiritual knowledge.⁴²⁹ In Cyril's works, we find no trace of this psychology. Terms like ἐπιθυμητικόν, θυμικόν (or θυμοειδές) and λογιστικόν (or ἡγεμονικόν) are absent, and as far as Cyril uses the more general terms ἐπιθυμία and θυμός,⁴³⁰ he never puts them together in a dynamic vision as "passionate powers of the soul" which, by purification, become instruments for achieving contemplation.⁴³¹

For Evagrius, the ideal of ἀπόθεια is not only the goal of *praktikè*. It is the necessary condition for passing into the stage of *knowledge* which, in its subsequent degrees, comprises the ultimate goal of spiritual progress. In our examination, Leontius appeared to be familiar with Evagrius' major divisions of the spiritual life. For Cyril, however, the spiritual life does not consist primarily in the two stages of *praktikè* and *knowledge*. Of course he knows the general dimensions of ascetic practice and contemplation, but these are

bility (τὸ ἀπαθές) of his godhood nor, conversely, can his impassibility (τὸ ἀπαθές) because of the passibility (τὸ παθητόν) of his manhood", *ibid.*, 43,21-22.

⁴²⁹ LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A8-B3 (see the text quoted above, 211 at n.348, and the Appendix below, 374, nr.2). Comp. with above, p.217, n.379 and p.219, n.387.

⁴³⁰ Cyril uses the term ἐπιθυμία in various ways: 1) In a general sense as "desire" without an explicit moral qualification: *VE* 22 (SCHWARTZ), 35,5-6; *VS* 7 (*ibid.*), 91,3; *VIH* 17 (*ibid.*), 214,21. 2) In a negative sense as a passion that should be conquered (see also above, 226, n.417): *VE* 25 (*ibid.*), 38,20; *VS* 3 (*ibid.*), p.88, lines 18-19, 20 and p.89, lines 1, 3; *VS* 18 (*ibid.*), 102,21. 3) As "desire" in an outspoken positive sense: ἐπιθυμία θεάρεστος, *VS* 6 (*ibid.*), 90,7; ἐπιθυμία τῶν κρειττόνων, *VS* 65 (*ibid.*), 166,11; *VIH* 11 (*ibid.*), 290,16; θεῖα ἐπιθυμία, *VTheod* 2 (*ibid.*), 236,9. The term θυμός does not appear in the context of ascetic practice, but, in a negative sense, it is sometimes attributed to hostile individuals, *VS* 35 (*ibid.*), 120,19; *VS* 56 (*ibid.*), 150,1; *VS* 86 (*ibid.*), 192,24; *VIH* 13 (*ibid.*), 211,17.

⁴³¹ The expression αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς is found once, *VS* 16 (SCHWARTZ), 99,13-14, in a passage taken from NILUS ANCYRANUS, *De monastica exercitatione*, PG 79, 760c3-9. The context is that Sabas, having arrived at the end of his personal ascetic struggle, passes to the stage of directing others (for this transition in Cyril's Lives, see above, p.94, n.181 and p.106, n.220). Cyril utilizes Nilus' passage to explain that Sabas was persuaded by the Word of God to transfer the *powers* of his soul "from the warlike disposition (ἀπὸ τῆς πολεμικῆς ἕξεως)" to directing others in the struggle against evil thoughts. There is no indication that Cyril, by reproducing Nilus' expression αἱ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς, actually intends the *παθητικαὶ* δυνάμεις, that is, ἐπιθυμία and θυμός. Anyway, Nilus' passage, though acknowledging that certain "powers" of the soul are utilized in the ascetic struggle, does not refer to their cooperation in progressing towards contemplation; the text just presents them as instruments for spiritual guidance.

not a subject for elaborate reflection. With regard especially to the state of contemplation, his references are rare and appear as brief, stereotyped allusions.⁴³² Should we explain this by a general reluctance to speak about the contemplative dimension, a reluctance that has been noted also in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*?⁴³³ Or do the stereotyped references also reveal that in Cyril's monastic world the real experience of that dimension had vanished to a certain degree⁴³⁴ among a large part of the population of monks, as a consequence of what B. Flusin has called "le poids de l'institution"?⁴³⁵

In Cyril's eyes, the ultimate goal of asceticism is not θεωρία⁴³⁶ or γνῶσις,⁴³⁷ as an individual state attained during life,⁴³⁸ on the basis of

⁴³² "Le degré ultime du progrès spirituel, l'enthousiasme, la familiarité avec Dieu, n'est pas l'objet chez Cyrille d'une analyse théorique poussée. Les expressions qui le désignent sont rares et mécaniques. Si les Vies nous renseignent quelque peu sur la pratique ascétique, elles se taisent sur la gnose qui en résulte," B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 123.

⁴³³ A. GUILLAUMONT, "Les visions mystiques dans le monachisme oriental chrétien", in *Les visions mystiques*, Paris, 1977, 116-127; G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", 344-345.

⁴³⁴ J. Driscoll suggests that in the monastic generation of the early fifth century, after the first Origenist crisis (a period which left a strong mark on the final redaction of the *Apophthegmata*), there could have been "perhaps not simply a reluctance to speak of the realm of knowledge, but even perhaps a tendency to let that dimension fade", J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 356.

⁴³⁵ B. Flusin, analyzing Cyril's vision of sainthood, adduces "le poids de la tradition" together with "le poids de l'institution" as the determining factors; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 88-155.

⁴³⁶ The term θεωρία (contemplation) does not occur in Cyril's works. The verb θεωρεῖν, instead, is frequently used in the general meaning of "to see". Sometimes it indicates a supernatural perception (in a vision), e.g. in the similar accounts of Sabas' encounters with Anastasius and Justinian, when both Emperors "perceive" the Saint's holiness, *VS* 51 (SCHWARTZ), 142,18; *VS* 71 (*ibid.*), 173,21.

⁴³⁷ The term γνῶσις is rarely used in Cyril's works. The expression γνῶσις (τοῦ) θεοῦ appears only three times in a quotation of Saint Paul, *VE* 6 (SCHWARTZ), 14,18-19 [2Cor 10:5]; *VIH* 3 (*ibid.*), 203,4 [2Cor 10:5]; *VIH* 26 (*ibid.*), 221,4 [Rom 11:3]. See also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 123, n.177. Apart from the biblical quotations, γνῶσις appears another three times, but only in the sense of "acquaintance" (with facts:) *VS* 63 (SCHWARTZ), 164,26; (with persons:) *VS* 69 (*ibid.*), 171,8; *VIH* 20 (*ibid.*), 217,14. Cyril also uses three times the term θεωρογνώσια, but in each of the cases the context indicates that he intends the result of correct religious teaching rather than that of contemplation, *VE* 1 (SCHWARTZ), 7,14; *VE* 34 (*ibid.*), 52,24; *VS* 65 (*ibid.*), 166,20. See LAMPE, 624. The term ἐπίγνωσις is used in a similar sense, *VS* 38 (SCHWARTZ), 128,10; see LIDDELL/SCOTT, 627 (referring to this passage).

⁴³⁸ Departing from a passage in the *Vita Pachomii prima* (c.21, ed. F. HALKIN, 13,19-14,10), Flusin associates the spiritual γνῶσις with "la connaissance de la parfaite volonté de Dieu", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 169 (for the passage, see *ibid.*, 167). Subsequently,

which certain anchorites in the laura might distinguish themselves from others as γνωστικοί.⁴³⁹ Abba Euthymius, when he is about to die, recommends to his monks pure love as "the source and goal of every good work" (that is, of all asceticism).⁴⁴⁰ But the recommendation is primarily embedded in the Saint's concern for the total welfare of his foundation.⁴⁴¹ Euthymius hopes to obtain heavenly παρρησία, as the final fruit of his ascetic life, so that he may assist in a supernatural way the future development of his community.⁴⁴² For Cyril ascetic practice ultimately aims at *citizenship of heaven*.⁴⁴³ This goal can only be attained in the life to come,⁴⁴⁴ and it has a strong collectivist dimension. It should be striven for, preferably through the mediation of the well-organized monasteries founded by the protago-

Flusin connects γνώσις not only with "la vision de Dieu" – according to the spiritual tradition of which Evagrius is a main exponent – but also with "le pouvoir dioratique", which is an important theme in the Lives of Antony and Pachomius, and equally in Cyril's works. Cyril attributes this clairvoyance to Sabas who, as Flusin writes, acts "en fonction de sa connaissance des plans divins", *ibid.*, 170. Of course, this particular kind of "knowledge" is attained during one's lifetime. But it should be noted that Cyril does not use the term γνώσις here. In the language of Evagrius, γνώσις is primarily allied to what Flusin calls "la vision de Dieu", that is, the contemplative dimension Cyril scarcely refers to; see above, 229, n.432.

⁴³⁹ The term γνωστικός (just like πρακτικός) does not appear in Cyril's works. See also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 123, n.177. Neither does Cyril utilize the allied term θεωρητικός.

⁴⁴⁰ ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος πάσης ἀγαθοεργίας τὴν εἰλικρινῆ ἀγάπην διὰ παντὸς κτήσασθε, *VE* 39 (SCHWARTZ), 58,4-5. Also here ἀγαθοεργία indicates the ascetic practice (see above, 226, n.420): Euthymius presents love as a necessary condition for achieving virtue, *ibid.*, 58,6-13.

⁴⁴¹ In his valediction, Euthymius twice urges his monks to keep his commandments (which is addressed to all readers of the Life), *ibid.*, 58,4 and 59,9. He has his monks elect a successor and gives him precise directions concerning the future change of his laura into a cenobium, *ibid.*, 58,20-59,6.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 59,9-11. The heavenly παρρησία is also anticipated by Euthymius' earthly παρρησία with which he foretells the future, *ibid.*, 58,23-24. For the concept of παρρησία, see above, 108-111.

⁴⁴³ Euthymius, Sabas and Theodosius are introduced as οὐρανοπολίται who have actually achieved their status in heaven, *VE* 2 (SCHWARTZ), 8,20; *VE* 60 (*ibid.*), 84,24; *VTheod* 1 (*ibid.*), 235,27. Cyril also uses ἐπουρανίου πολίτης, *VS* 1 (*ibid.*), 86,27. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/1, 59, n.9.

⁴⁴⁴ Cyril's attitude concerning the "practical" and the "contemplative" stages of the spiritual life is similar to that of Barsanuphius who, railing against the Origenist's erring about the γνώσις of future things, preaches to his addressee: "Brother, here the labor, there the reward; here the struggle, there the crowns", BARSANUPHIUS ET IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Epistularium* 600 (SCHOINAS), 284A36-37. See also above, 223, n.405.

nists of his Lives, who, by divine grace and as a prolongation of salvation history, have colonized the desert and reclaimed territory from the devils.⁴⁴⁵ It is primarily *their* paradigmatic asceticism which has been crowned with heavenly παρρησία, and they are the ones who keep directing the populous institution, due to a supernatural privilege to intercede on behalf of their legitimate successors. In such an all-embracing vision of the spiritual life, can there be a place for individual monks who follow a more private inspiration, visiting each other's cells as they seek to become initiates in what they consider the mysteries of *knowledge*?

This brief analysis needs to be further elaborated. But for the moment we may conclude that apart from the assimilation of certain ascetic themes that are common in sixth-century monasticism, Cyril appears to be far removed from Evagrius' spirituality. By this, the main features of a conflict in the spiritual field become visible: the writings of Leontius and Cyril reflect divergent spiritual ideals which may indeed be difficult to reconcile.

Intellectualism versus anti-intellectualism?

From Cyril's account of the Origenist Controversy we may deduce that, in the sixth-century Palestinian monastic world, there was an increasing number of monks who did not integrate well into the streamlined organization of Saint Sabas' monastic order. Who were these monks? Can we identify them as critical intellectuals held together by a common interest in fighting for intellectual freedom?⁴⁴⁶ The problems leading to the founda-

⁴⁴⁵ Cyril initiates his Lives by presenting Euthymius, as the first of his Saints, in the perspective of God's Salvation History, placing him in a direct line with the incarnate Christ, the Apostles, the holy martyrs and the first monks, *VE* 1 (SCHWARTZ), 6,22-8,10. By their monastic foundations Cyril's Saints have "colonized" (πολιτίζειν) the Palestinian desert, *VE* 14 (*ibid.*), 24,4; *VS* 6 (*ibid.*), 90,8-9; *VS* 15 (*ibid.*), 98,2; *VS* 19 (*ibid.*), 8-9; *VS* 27 (*ibid.*), 110,27; *VS* 58 (*ibid.*), 158,17-18. This "colonization" means a conquest upon the demons for the Kingdom of God; see esp. *VS* 27 (*ibid.*), 110,1-111,24. This theme, frequent in the *VS*, occurs twice in the *Vita Antonii*, *VA* 8,2, *SC* 400, 156; *VA* 14,7, *ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁴⁶ B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", *JTS*/ns 27 (1976), 366, 369 (see above, p.174 at nn.204-206 and p.207 at n.336).

tion of the New Laura,⁴⁴⁷ as well as Cyril's disapproval of the Origenists as λογιώτεροι,⁴⁴⁸ strongly suggest so. This leads us to the question to what extent the Second Origenist Controversy can be interpreted as a manifestation of the classical opposition between "intellectualism" and "anti-intellectualism".

At first sight, the controversy could appear as a conflict between "educated" and "uneducated" monks. Evidence for such an opposition might be derived already from the previous history of the conflict, when Sabas' first community grew and some of his disciples started complaining about their charismatic leader's rusticity. In Cyril's eyes however, this quality rather contributes to Sabas' aura of holiness.⁴⁴⁹ As we shall see, the lack of classical education is often presented in monastic literature as a spiritual ideal; Cyril applies this commonplace also to himself.⁴⁵⁰ As to the Origenists, he presents Abba Cyriacus strongly criticizing them as λογιώτεροι, who are wasting their time with idle intellectual sophistries, instead of dedicating themselves to the ascetic practice and the humble path of Christ.⁴⁵¹

However, it would be too simple to consider the opposition between Origenists and anti-Origenists as an opposition between "educated" and "uneducated" monks.⁴⁵² Cyril himself, a fervent anti-Origenist, must have

⁴⁴⁷ VS 19 (SCHWARTZ), 103,8-105,2 (see above, 68 with nn.62-64); VS 36 (*ibid.*), 122,19-124,21 (see above, 70).

⁴⁴⁸ VS 83 (*ibid.*), 188,18 (see the text quoted above, 79 with n.106); VC 13 (*ibid.*), 230,31 (see the text quoted above, 137-138 with n.36).

⁴⁴⁹ Cyril relates how some of the monks go up to the Patriarch to demand a new superior, but the Patriarch confirms Sabas in his position, ordaining him priest in front of their eyes. In the account the complainers appear as bad monks who neglect their original vocation, VS 19 (SCHWARTZ), 103,8-105,2.

⁴⁵⁰ VE 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,23-25; VS Prol (*ibid.*), 86,12 (see above, 37, n.78).

⁴⁵¹ VC 13-14 (*ibid.*), 230,10-32.

⁴⁵² J. Binns presents the Second Origenist Controversy largely as a conflict between "simple" and "intellectual" monks; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 201-207. According to Binns, the early monks (of fourth-century Egypt) "saw no need for intellectual study", *ibid.*, 203, but in sixth-century Palestine an increasing group of "frustrated intellectuals", *ibid.*, 207, vehemently protested against "Sabas' intolerance of intellectual study", *ibid.*, 204, and finally formed a well-organized Origenist party, *ibid.*, 207. Also for the First Origenist Controversy, certain aspects could lead to the interpretation of the conflict as a struggle between educated and uneducated monks. According to the traditional view, the so-called "Anthropomorphists" of the Egyptian desert opposed to Origen's allegorical exegesis of the first chapters of Genesis; they were "simple" monks who took the biblical account literally and held that God was human in form. See H. EVELYN WHITE,

received a good education in spite of his assertions to the contrary,⁴⁵³ and the same holds for his hero Sabas.⁴⁵⁴ So in the Second Origenist Controversy we see the remarkable phenomenon of *educated* monks opposing themselves to a certain kind of "intellectualism" and propagandizing the ideal of "simplicity". How should we interpret this phenomenon? The question is a difficult one as it touches the complex reality of the origins of Christian monasticism. I can only give a rough outline of an answer here, which I shall articulate in three phases: a) the degree of literacy and illiteracy in ancient monasticism; b) the *Sitz im Leben* of the ideal of "simplicity" in ancient monasticism; and c) the role of this ideal in the Second Origenist Controversy.

a. According to an opinion widespread among scholars, the Egyptian monks of the fourth century were for the greater part illiterate peasants.⁴⁵⁵ Their ascetic movement, originating in the rural area of middle and upper

The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn II, New York 1932, 125, 132; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 59-61. However, this picture needs to be adjusted. G. Bunge speaks of a "symbiose paisible" between simple and intellectual monks, *before* the outbreak of the conflict. See G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", 350-351 with n.181. The difficulties only began when *educated* people like Epiphanius, Jerome and Theophilus started a campaign against the legacy of Origen. S. Rubenson sees no evidence for "a strong anti-Origenistic tendency among the monks prior to the crisis", nor for "a rift between two groups of monks", S. RUBENSON, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth Century", in *Origeniana septima*, 333. M. Sheridan states that the division into two camps of supporters and opponents of Origen (after the outbreak of the conflict) "non coincide per nulla con la distinzione tra colto e non-colto", M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, SEAug 56, Roma 1997, 185, n.30.

⁴⁵³ See above, p.38, n.79 and p.223 at n.406.

⁴⁵⁴ Sabas' "extreme rusticity", which – according to Cyril – caused so much trouble among his disciples (see above, 232, n.449) is certainly an exaggeration and should not be taken in the sense of illiteracy. Cyril himself relates that, as a young novice, Sabas learnt the Psalter and the rest of the rule in a short time, VS 2 (SCHWARTZ), 87,26-88,1. It would be hard to imagine that a simple, uneducated monk could become archimandrite, ruler and lawgiver of all the anchoritic order in the highly developed and populated monastic world of sixth-century Palestine, VS 30, (*ibid.*), 114,25-26; 115,15-26; VS 65 (*ibid.*), 166,14-16. For Sabas' merits as a monastic legislator, see esp. J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 255-275. Also Sabas' role in the struggle for orthodoxy, as claimed by Cyril (see above, 113-130), is hard to reconcile with the picture of an illiterate, rustic monk: here the Saint appears as a spiritual leader who is perfectly familiar with the complicated theological discussions of his time.

⁴⁵⁵ See also above, 209, n.343. The opinion that the majority of the first monks were illiterate has been shared, in the past decades, by prominent scholars of early Christianity and monasticism. Some examples: "Die Mehrzahl der Mönche wird aus Analphabeten

Egypt, is said to have been "basically a Coptic movement", as opposed to the dominant Greek and Roman culture which towards the end of the century had affected also some "intellectual" monks in lower Egypt.⁴⁵⁶ These intellectuals, however, lived amidst a large majority of "simple, uneducated people"⁴⁵⁷ and were only exceptions in the desert. Thus, though being appreciated as interesting, authors like Evagrius, Cassian and Palladius were considered not to represent the "pure tradition" of Egyptian monasticism.⁴⁵⁸ The "great monks" were Antony, Pachomius, Shenoute, Macarius of Egypt, etc., all of them originating in a rural Coptic milieu of illiterates.⁴⁵⁹ Saint Antony, the father of Christian monasticism, was said to be an "unlettered Copt"⁴⁶⁰ in the sense of an "analphabetic"⁴⁶¹.

bestanden haben", K. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1936, 278. The Egyptian monastic population was "à peu près complètement illettrée, ignorante de la langue grecque, ne parlant que les divers idiomes coptes", J. LABOURT, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres IV (Ep. LXXI-XCV), "Appendices"*, Paris 1954, 186. Labourt's phrase was quoted and subscribed to by A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient I. Culture ou sainteté*, Paris 1961, 77, n.4. D. Chitty wrote: "Antony was an illiterate layman, and the majority of the Egyptian monks were much the same", D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, Crestwood 1966, 86.

⁴⁵⁶ J. MOHLER, *The Heresy of Monasticism. The Christian Monks: Types and Antitypes. An Historical Survey*, Staten Island, N.Y. 1971, 69; see also *ibid.*, 46. For a similar opinion: W. FRIEND, "Monks and the End of Graeco-Roman Paganism in Syria and Egypt", *CrSt* 11 (1990), 468.

⁴⁵⁷ R. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, Edinburgh 1988, 268. The early monks, in general, are even considered as harboring a hostility towards intellectual study: "I monaci infatti, nella stragrande maggioranza, non solo erano ignoranti ma erano anche ben contenti di esserlo," M. SIMONETTI, "La controversia origeniana: Caratteri e significato", *Aug* 26 (1986), 30. Or, at least, they were indifferent; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 203 (see above, 232, n.452).

⁴⁵⁸ L. REGNAULT considers Evagrius, Cassian and Palladius (among others) as "d'auteurs qui certes sont intéressants, mais qui ne représentent pas la tradition pure du terroir monastique égyptien", L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du désert III*, Solesmes 1976, 8. However, see the remarks concerning Evagrius, made above, 209-210 at nn.343-344.

⁴⁵⁹ J. MOHLER, *The Heresy of Monasticism*, 69.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 46; see also 50.

⁴⁶¹ According to L. Duchesne, followed by G. Bardy, Saint Antony remained illiterate during his whole life, not only ignorant of Greek but even incapable of reading Coptic. See L. DUCHESNE, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église II*, Paris 1907, 488-489; G. BARDY, "Les origines des écoles monastiques en Orient", in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck I: Antiquité*, Gembloux 1951, 293. G. Garitte, referring to many scholars not yet quoted here, summarized this traditional picture of Antony as follows: "C'était, nous dit-on, un copte sans éducation ni culture, qui n'avait reçu aucune instruction, même élémentaire, au point qu'il ne savait ni lire ni écrire," G. GARITTE, "A propos des lettres de S. Antoine l'ermite", *Muséon* 52 (1939), 11. Garitte himself rejects this opinion.

In the fifth century, according to this representation, the pure, unsophisticated monastic tradition that reached back to the original Desert Fathers, had not survived through the writings of Evagrius, Cassian, Palladius, but primarily through the environment of Abba Poemen, an enigmatic figure who is by far the most dominant person in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.⁴⁶² These collections of Sayings⁴⁶³ were considered the real place where we should search for the concealed original spirituality of the desert.⁴⁶⁴ According to this vision, our main sources for uncovering the "oldest and most authentic thread" of Egyptian monasticism are the *Apophthegmata*,⁴⁶⁵ a literature originating in an "unliterary" or even "anti-literary" milieu.⁴⁶⁶ In spite of an earlier warning against the use of the *Apophthegmata* as a historical source reaching back directly to the fourth century,⁴⁶⁷ the Say-

⁴⁶² Scholars usually distinguish two different currents in ancient monasticism, represented on the one hand by Abba Poemen and on the other by authors like Evagrius, Cassian and Pallade. According to L. Regnault (see above, 234, n.458), the "pure tradition" is represented by the environment of Poemen, as it appears from the *Apophthegmata*. "Or l'intérêt propre des Apophthegmes réside dans le fonds primitif qui s'est constitué aux quatrième et cinquième siècles, surtout à Scété, dans l'entourage de l'abbé Poemen," L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du désert III*, 8. For the role of Poemen in the *Apophthegmata* and the obscurity surrounding his historical person, see J.-C. GUY, *Les Apophthegmes des Pères. Collection systématique I (I-IX)*, SC 387, Paris 1993, 77-79.

⁴⁶³ The *Apophthegmata* are transmitted in three major collections: Alphabetic (according to the names of the Fathers), Anonymous (not referring to a particular Father) and Systematic (according to several subjects). The main editions of the Greek text are: *ApophPat.* coll. alph., PG 65, 71-449; *ApophPat.* coll. anon., (incomplete): F. NAU, *ROC* 12 (1907), 48-68, 171-181, 393-404; *ROC* 13 (1908), 47-57, 266-283; *ROC* 14 (1909), 357-379; *ROC* 17 (1912), 204-211, 294-301; *ROC* 18 (1913), 137-146; *ApophPat.* coll. syst., (incomplete): J.-C. GUY, *Les apophthegmes des Pères. Collection systématique I (I-IX)*, SC 387, Paris 1993 (to be supplemented by the Latin version of Pelagius and John, PL 73, 851-1022).

⁴⁶⁴ L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du désert IV. Collection alphabétique*, Solesmes 1981, 220.

⁴⁶⁵ "C'est ce filon le plus ancien et le plus authentique qu'il faut s'efforcer de dégager pour retrouver dans toute sa force et sa vigueur premières la sève des origines monastiques," L. REGNAULT, *Les sentences des Pères du désert III*, 8.

⁴⁶⁶ "The *Apophthegmata Patrum* originated in an unliterary, indeed occasionally anti-literary, milieu, a milieu in which books, writing and dogma took second place to attitudes and way of life," F. YOUNG, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and its Background*, London 1983, 47.

⁴⁶⁷ H. LEFORT, [Review] "K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*", *RHE* 33 (1937), 341-348. For the validity of Lefort's warning up to our present time, see M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", 183-184 (esp. n.26), 191.

ings have continued to be used in this way. H. Dörries⁴⁶⁸ regarded them as the "Hauptquelle" (or "Primärquelle") for our knowledge of Egyptian eremitism. He employed the series of thirty-eight Sayings connected with Antony's name⁴⁶⁹ as the touchstone for verifying the historical trustworthiness of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*.⁴⁷⁰ From a comparative analysis Dörries concluded that notwithstanding notable differences with that of the Sayings the image of Antony presented by the *Vita* does have a foundation in historical reality. But Athanasius transformed a humble hermit, fleeing from worldly temptation and struggling with his own human weakness,⁴⁷¹ into the paradigm of the "True Christian" to show it to the world: a Coptic monk, without any education and living merely from the Bible and experience, is superior to all pagan culture with its philosophy and sophistication, thanks to the grace of Christ acting in his inner self.⁴⁷²

S. Rubenson, however, has questioned again the reliability of the Sayings as a historical source.⁴⁷³ The different collections of *Apophthegmata* went through a very complicated process of redaction modification so that

⁴⁶⁸ H. DÖRRIES, "Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle", in *Wort und Stunde i. Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1966, 145-224.

⁴⁶⁹ *ApophPat*, coll. alph., Antonius 1-38, PG 65, 76A6-88B10.

⁴⁷⁰ "Und doch ist es jedenfalls der jüngeren Forschung nicht zweifelhaft, daß als die Hauptquelle für unsere Kenntnis des ägyptischen Eremitentums nicht die Berichte noch so urteilsfähiger Besucher, sondern die eigenen Aussagen dieser Einsiedler zu gelten haben; in Sammlungen aus ihren eigenen Reihen überliefert, bedeuten sie eine Selbstdarstellung von höchster Treue," H. DÖRRIES, "Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle", 146. "Der Sinn des ursprünglichen Mönchtums und die Züge eines seiner anziehenden Führer sind aus seinen Worten zuverlässig zu erkennen. Er hat das erste Recht zu reden, und was von seinen Worten auf uns gekommen ist, gibt die sicherste Auskunft über das, was er wollte und dachte. Die Antonius-Apophthegmen sind die Primärquelle; sie leihen uns die Kriterien her, alle weiteren Berichte zu prüfen und einzustufen," *ibid.*, 195. Dörries rejected a criticism uttered decades before by K. Heussi, qualifying almost half of the 38 sayings as "zweifelhaft oder sicher unecht", K. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, 107, n.1. In two single cases Dörries agreed with Heussi's reserve, but in general he considered the sayings of Antony as "die primäre Quelle, die ihrerseits über den Wert aller übrigen entscheidet", H. DÖRRIES, *o.c.*, 147-148, n.3.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 177-193, 197. This image of St. Antony, according to Dörries, should be considered valid along with that of the *Apophthegmata*, *ibid.*, 199.

⁴⁷³ S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony. Monasticism and the Making of a Saint*, Minneapolis 1995, 131, 145-162, 188 (NB. Rubenson's study was published before as: *The Letters of St. Antony. Origenist Theology, Monastic Tradition and the Making of a Saint*, Lund 1990).

already in the Sayings themselves the image of Antony was "transformed according to the needs of the monastic tradition".⁴⁷⁴ So the *Apophthegmata* are not a reliable check of Antony's image emerging from the *Vita*. Instead, Rubenson regards the corpus of seven *Letters* attributed to Antony as the real source by which we can correct the traditional image.⁴⁷⁵ This source, however, has received little attention, because of doubts about its authenticity⁴⁷⁶ and especially because of the extreme linguistic and philological difficulties complicating a scholarly approach. Undeterred by these obstacles, however, Rubenson started a detailed examination of the letters.⁴⁷⁷ His analy-

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 188. In research on the sayings, according to Rubenson, "there has been little discussion on the possibility of later influences on the compilation of the collections, influences which may have distorted the picture presented of the origins of the monastic movement", *ibid.*, 146. Also *ibid.*, 39, 162.

⁴⁷⁵ A corpus of seven letters is preserved partially in Coptic and Syrian, and entirely in Georgian, Latin and Arabic. Originally, the letters must have been written in Coptic (about 340), but there is only a fragment of this text left, published by E. WINSTEDT, "The Original Text of One of St. Antony's Letters", *JTS/os* 7 (1906), 540-545. Another letter (the first in all traditions) is transmitted in a Syrian version published by F. NAU, "La version syriaque de la première lettre de saint Antoine", *ROC* 14 (1909), 282-297. All seven letters are preserved in a Georgian version published (with the preserved Coptic fragment) by G. GARITTE, *Lettres de saint Antoine. Versions géorgienne et fragments coptes*, CSCO 148-149, Louvain 1955. An obscure Latin translation of these seven letters, based on a lost Greek text which was still available in 1475, was published in 1516 and reproduced by MIGNE, PG 40, 977-1000. An Arabic version of the same letters, extended with thirteen other letters attributed to St. Antony, was finished in 1271 and has been transmitted by many MSS. A Latin translation of the Arabic corpus, made in 1641, is reproduced by MIGNE, PG 40, 999-1066. Finally, a quotation of the first letter in Greek has been transmitted by the *Apophthegmata*, coll. alph., Antonius 22, PG 65, 84AB. For details concerning this information, see S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 15-34.

⁴⁷⁶ This is not the place to repeat the discussion about the authenticity of the letters. Rubenson adduces seven arguments in favor of the authenticity, *ibid.*, 36-38. He also rejects the arguments against the authenticity, stating that these arguments are all based upon the traditional image of Antony as an illiterate monk who did not know Greek. According to Rubenson, the primary sources from which this image proceeds can hardly have a literal sense (see also below). By consequence, there is no serious reason to dismiss *a priori* the authenticity of the letters, *ibid.*, 38-42. See also S. RUBENSON, "Der Vierte Antoniusbrief und die Frage nach der Echtheit und Originalsprache der Antoniusbriefe", *OrChr* 73 (1989), 98-103; *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth Century", in *Origeniana septima*, 321 with n.7.

⁴⁷⁷ The thirteen supplementary letters attributed to Antony in the Arabic tradition are excluded from Rubenson's study not because they are "of no importance for the legacy of the letters", but because of "the lack of editions and the difficulties inherent in the dating and the analysis of them", S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 14. Nowadays, these letters

sis leads to a portrait of St. Antony which differs much from the traditional image gained from the *Vita* and the *Apophthegmata*.⁴⁷⁸ The author of the *Letters* was by no means an illiterate monk, but he must have been "a man of letters",⁴⁷⁹ at least "possessed of some education".⁴⁸⁰

The real Antony was a "charismatic teacher of spiritual *gnosis*"⁴⁸¹ emphasizing primarily self-knowledge (γνώθι σεαυτόν). His (unsystematic) teaching was deeply influenced by contemporary Platonic traditions as well as by Origenist theology.⁴⁸² However, his image was transformed both by the *Vita* and by the *Apophthegmata*. In the *Vita* he is presented as an uneducated monk⁴⁸³ or an ἰδιώτης⁴⁸⁴ who is exclusively "taught by God" (θεοδίδακτος),⁴⁸⁵ and whose "*gnosis* by faith" triumphs over the "*gnosis*

are for the greater part attributed to Ammonas, disciple of Antony. See F. KLEJNA, "Antonius und Ammonas. Eine Untersuchung über Herkunft und Eigenart der ältesten Mönchsbriefe", *ZKT* 62 (1938), 309-348; B. OUTTIER/ L. REGNAULT, *Lettres des Pères du désert*, SO 42, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1985, 15-46; M. EL-MASKINE, *Saint Antoine. Ascète selon l'Évangile*, SO 57, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1993, 12-13.

⁴⁷⁸ S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 10-12.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 185 (italics: Rubenson).

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 141. See also 144, 162, 189.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 185-186. For the influence of Origen and the Alexandrian theological tradition in Antony's letters, see also S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und der Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift L. Abramowski*, 390; *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth century", 320-324.

⁴⁸³ Athanasius writes already in the first chapter that Antony could not bear to learn letters: γράμματα μὲν μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, VA 1,2, SC 400, 130,7. Later, in the context of a discussion with pagan philosophers, Athanasius returns to the subject: Καὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν, ὅτι, γράμματα μὴ μαθὼν, ἀγχίνους ἦν καὶ συνετὸς ἄνθρωπος, VA 72,1, *ibid.*, 320,1-3. Athanasius even suggests that Antony does not know Greek: he needs to discuss with philosophers assisted by an interpreter (δι' ἑρμηνέως), VA 72,3, *ibid.*, 320,7; see also: VA 74,2, *ibid.*, 324,7; VA 77,1, *ibid.*, 330,2-332,1. Some visitors think they can jeer at him because of his illiteracy: Ἄλλων δὲ πάλιν τοιούτων ἀπαντησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἔξω καὶ νομιζόντων χλευάζειν, ὅτι μὴ μεμάθηκε γράμματα, VA 73,1, *ibid.*, 322,1-3. However, Antony strikes them dumb by saying that for the healthy-minded the study of letters is not necessary: Ὡ τοίνυν ὁ νοῦς ὑγιαίνει, τούτῳ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα τὰ γράμματα, VA 73,3, *ibid.*, 322,8-9. In fact, true faith in God and the acknowledgment of his providence are possible without the study of letters: ἡμεῖς μὴ μαθόντες γράμματα, πιστεύομεν εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἐπιγινώσκοντες διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς πάντα πρόνοιαν, VA 78,1, *ibid.*, 334,5-7.

⁴⁸⁴ VA 73,3, SC 400, 322,11; VA 85,5, *ibid.*, 354,15.

⁴⁸⁵ VA 66,2, SC 400, 308,4-5 (cf. Js. 54:13, Jr. 31:33-34, Joh. 6:54). See also S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 40, 142, n.8.

by education" of pagan philosophers.⁴⁸⁶ In the *Apophthegmata* he is presented as "an authority for the most important principles of monastic life",⁴⁸⁷ according to "the ideals of later generations of his disciples".⁴⁸⁸ This transformation of Antony's image by texts written in the century after his death⁴⁸⁹ is at the base of the widespread modern prejudice according to which Antony and his fellow-monks were simple, illiterate peasants.⁴⁹⁰ In reality, however, a large number of the first monks were not only "literate" in the sense of capable of reading and writing in Coptic,⁴⁹¹ but also "people of education" who "cannot have been strangers to the philosophical and religious ideas around them".⁴⁹²

This is not the place for an exhaustive evaluation of the accuracy of Rubenson's conclusions,⁴⁹³ but I shall adduce some other studies with results pointing in the same direction. E. Wipszycka disputes the validity of

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 187. In a long discussion with other philosophers, as related by Athanasius, Antony claims the superiority of "effective faith" (ἡ δι' ἐνεργείας πίστις) – or "action through faith" (ἡ διὰ πίστεως ἐνεργεία) – over his opponent's rational argumentations and sophisticated syllogisms, as a way to acquiring the knowledge of God (ἡ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ γνῶσις), VA 77, SC 400, 330-332.

⁴⁸⁷ S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 188.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 91, 119, 151, 185. Recently, also M. SHERIDAN signaled a "diffuso pregiudizio secondo il quale i monaci egiziani erano fondamentalmente contadini illetterati", M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", 177. See also *ibid.*, 184-185, n.28.

⁴⁹¹ For Rubenson's arguments in favor of a widespread literacy in fourth-century Egypt, see S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 89-125.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 121. See also M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Closing the Gap between Antony and Evagrius", in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 346.

⁴⁹³ Rubenson's revolutionary conclusions evoked different reactions. G. Gould in particular rejects his "optimistic claims" for Antony's literacy and refuses to accept that the image of Antony transmitted by the *Vita* and the *Apophthegmata* should be considered a product of "distortion"; see G. GOULD, "Recent Work on Monastic Origins: a Consideration of the Questions Raised by Samuel Rubenson's *The Letters of St. Antony*", in *StPatr* 25, Leuven 1993, 405-416. *Id.*, "The Influence of Origen on Fourth-Century Monasticism: Some Further Remarks", in *Origeniana sexta*, Leuven 1995, 591-598. Gould still sees "good arguments" for the historical reliability of the oral tradition on which the *Apophthegmata* depend, with regard to fourth-century monasticism, *ibid.*, 592-593. See also *id.*, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*, Oxford 1993, 9-25. Another critical reaction is given by T. BARNES [review], *JTS*ns 42 (1991), 723-732. For a less critical reaction, see G. BARTELINK [review], *VigChr* 45 (1991), 185-186.

the current opinion according to which the degree of illiteracy in Byzantine Egypt increased rapidly in the period from the fourth to the seventh century.⁴⁹⁴ Illiteracy must have been exceptional, not only among the clergy⁴⁹⁵ but also in the monastic world.⁴⁹⁶ Egyptian monks descended from all strata of society: the numerical domination of Copts among them does not mean that they were illiterate peasants in the large majority.⁴⁹⁷ A considerable section must have belonged to the rising Coptic élite of Byzantine Egypt: bilingual people who, though capable of reading and writing Greek, felt

⁴⁹⁴ In the period of crisis and decline of the ancient civilization, the old bureaucratic structures persisted and an ecclesiastical machinery grew within the Byzantine Empire. After treating the details of the question, Wipszycka concludes from these circumstances that the degree of literacy in Egypt certainly did not decrease between the 4th and the 7th centuries. See E. WIPSYCKA, "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine", *REAug* 30 (1980), 279-296 (repr. in *id.*, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, SEAug 52, Roma 1996, 107-126).

⁴⁹⁵ The exercise of liturgical functions, the familiarity with the Scriptures and the ecclesiastical administration, with its abundant correspondence, required alphabetization of the clergy on a very large scale, *ibid.*, 290-291.

⁴⁹⁶ Also the monastic practice of *lectio divina* presupposes literacy on a large scale, as we learn from the Latin Rule of Pachomius: "nullus erit in monasterio qui non discat litteras et de scripturis aliquid teneat" (*Praecepta*, c.139-140). The Rule speaks about (library-)books lent to the brothers (c.100), *ibid.*, 292-293. Monks often maintained themselves by transcribing books, *ibid.*, 293, and they produced an abundance of texts in the form of letters, notes, inventory-lists, accounts of expenses, etc., or even decorative inscriptions in their cells, *ibid.*, 294. Socrates' testimony that Theophilus in his zeal against the Origenists had carried away with him the majority of monks who were "for the most part uneducated (ἰδιώτας) and illiterate (ἀγραμμάτους)", SOCRATES, *HE* VI,7, GCS, Neue Folge 1, 324,4-6, must be considered inaccurate and prompted by Socrates' partiality for Theophilus' victims. See E. WIPSYCKA, "Le monachisme égyptien et les villes", (repr. in *id.*, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, SEAug 52, Roma 1996, 330 [art. first publ. in *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), 1-44].

⁴⁹⁷ Egyptian monasticism was *not* a rural phenomenon, set in motion by a majority of uneducated peasants who isolated themselves from civilization. Instead, the geographical conditions of Egypt where the desert is close to the cultivated land along the Nile facilitated intensive exchange between the monasteries and the civilized world, *ibid.*, 282-323. Such contacts were sustained because of the theological controversies in which the monks were fervently participating, *ibid.*, 303-312, but also for economical, psychological and pastoral motives, *ibid.*, 324-329.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 329-332. Archaeological discoveries in the hermitages of Kellia also indicate that a large number of monks originated from the élite, *ibid.*, 332-333.

themselves Copts and created their own Coptic literature.⁴⁹⁸ They must have been largely familiar with the cultural inheritance of late antiquity and although their attitude to it might have been ambivalent, they assimilated it to a much higher degree than they were conscious of.⁴⁹⁹

The picture of an isolated current of "rustic" monasticism representing the original ideal as against a less authentic (minority) current of Hellenized "intellectuals", is inaccurate for the fourth century. M. Sheridan, in a study of an early Christian interpretation of the biblical change of the name *Jacob* into *Israel* (Gen. 32:29), shows that this interpretation, found for the first time in the works of Philo of Alexandria according to whom the change refers to the two major divisions of the spiritual life (practice and contemplation), was widely diffused in the monastic world at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth.⁵⁰⁰ A familiarity with this exegetical tradition is found equally in the earliest Coptic monastic literature.⁵⁰¹ In another study, Sheridan examines the spiritual and intellectual world of early Egyptian monasticism (with special attention for the technical vocabulary and the interpretation of Scriptures), as it emerges from both Greek

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 333-336. For Wipszycka, the phenomenon of early monasticism is strongly rooted in the preceding classical culture. "Le travail fait dans les dernières décennies sur certains textes connus depuis toujours ainsi que sur des textes découverts récemment (avant tout le grand dossier de Nag Hammadi), oblige à réviser l'opinion selon laquelle le mouvement ascétique serait né hors de la culture classique et aurait eu un caractère populaire. L'ascèse telle que nous la voyons aux temps héroïques du IV^e siècle, a des racines dans la culture des siècles précédents, et plus précisément (précision nécessaire, car la culture des premiers siècles de l'Empire est très différenciée) dans la culture des élites, et non dans celle des masses," *ibid.*, 335.

⁵⁰⁰ In Gen 32:29 we read that after his struggling with the angel, Jacob's name was changed to Israel. According to Philo, *Jacob* symbolizes the aspect of practice or training (ἄσκησις), that is, the struggle against passions in order to acquire virtues and to reach the state of ἀπάθεια. And *Israel* (which means "the one who sees God") symbolizes the aspect of contemplation (θεωρία), when the soul acquires inner peace and becomes the dwelling place of God. A profound influence of this exegesis appears in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Evagrius, Cassian and others. See M. SHERIDAN, "Jacob and Israel", in *Mysterium Christi*, Roma 1995, 219-241. For the two major divisions of the spiritual life in Evagrius, see above, 215 at n.373 (also 222, n.402).

⁵⁰¹ Allusions to the same interpretation of the names of Jacob and Israel appear in the letters of Antony and in the Coptic versions of the Life of Pachomius. See M. SHERIDAN, "Jacob and Israel", 236-237.

and Coptic speaking environments.⁵⁰² Concluding this study, Sheridan rejects the conception of radically differing types of monasticism in fourth-century Egypt. He proposes as a better working hypothesis the supposition of one single and common tradition with reference to the fundamental nature of spiritual and interior life.⁵⁰³ This all-embracing tradition, which extended from Philo to Origen, the Desert Fathers, the Cappadocian Fathers, Evagrius and Cassian, was founded on the postulate that, by struggling against the passions, man could make spiritual progress towards God. Central to this tradition was the text of the Scriptures. It was intensively read, memorized, recited and constantly reinterpreted according to the principles of allegorical exegesis,⁵⁰⁴ by which the old Hebrew Scriptures could assume new spiritual meanings in the light of the New Testament.⁵⁰⁵ These

⁵⁰² M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, SEAUG 56, Roma 1997, 177-216. Three monastic environments are examined: the world emerging from the *Vita Antonii*, *ibid.*, 193-201, the Coptic world connected with Paul of Tamma in Middle Egypt, *ibid.*, 201-207, and the Pachomian world that we know also in large part through Coptic tradition, *ibid.*, 207-215.

⁵⁰³ "Invece di ipotizzare l'esistenza di tipi di monachesimo radicalmente diversi in Egitto, con diverse fonti di ispirazione e diverse impostazioni spirituali, sarebbe meglio prendere come ipotesi di lavoro la supposizione di una tradizione comune rispetto alla natura fondamentale della vita spirituale/interiore," *ibid.*, 215. Sheridan formulated this conclusion earlier in *id.*, "The Development of the Interior Life in Certain Monastic Writings in Egypt", in *The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism*, Cracow 1995, 104.

⁵⁰⁴ The Alexandrine tradition of allegorical exegesis was not an exclusive trade mark of a few educated monks in the desert. J. Driscoll examined some *Apophthegmata* on the issue of exegetical procedures in Abba Poemen, whom L. Regnault considered as representing the pure, rustic tradition, untouched by "intellectuals" like Evagrius (see above, p.234, n. 458 and p.235, n.462). See J. DRISCOLL, "Exegetical Procedures in the Desert Monk Poemen", in *Mysterium Christi*, StAns 116, Roma, 1995, 155-178. In his conclusion, Driscoll suggests that Abba Poemen, even if he does not show himself a sophisticated exegete, "relies heavily on sophisticated exegetical traditions" and that his exegesis presumes "the legitimacy of allegory", *ibid.*, 177. This conclusion supports Sheridan's hypothesis of one single and all-embracing early monastic tradition, centered round an intensive practice of reading the Scriptures according to allegorical principles. However, after the first Origenist crisis, this tradition was transformed by the suppression in the monastic sources (including the *Apophthegmata*) of much that could be associated with Origenism. See above, 210, n.344.

⁵⁰⁵ M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", 215-216. Concluding his study with a summary of the elements of the spirituality of early Egyptian monasticism, Sheridan observes that with regard to the basic concepts and the technical vocabulary, its conception of the spiritual life was much indebted to the Greek philosophical world. The Greek influence was particularly present – through the works of

practices are unthinkable without assuming a high level of literacy in all branches of early Egyptian monasticism.

b. If this is true, how then should we interpret the *ideal* of "simplicity", so abundantly testified by the ancient sources? As we saw, Saint Antony is depicted as an uneducated monk or an *ιδιώτης*.⁵⁰⁶ Abba Arsenius, a man of high culture, disparages his own secular education (*κόσμου παιδεία*) and comes to the desert to learn virtue from rustic (*ἄγροικοι*) Egyptians.⁵⁰⁷ Abba Euprepus, filled with compunction at the word of an elder instructing him not to speak before being questioned, says: "I have read many books, but never have I received such education (*παιδεία*)."⁵⁰⁸ Abba Serapion refuses to give a word to a monk whose shelves are full of books.⁵⁰⁹ Uneducated (*ἀγράμματος*) Abba Pambo, on being taught the Psalm verse: "I shall watch over my ways, so that I shall not sin with my tongue" (Ps 38/39:2), refuses to receive all further teaching and spends nineteen years learning to put this single text into practice.⁵¹⁰

The monastic ideal of simplicity is also attested by "intellectual" authors, including those who, as has been said, were considered not to represent the pure tradition.⁵¹¹ Evagrius presents a Saying according to which Saint Antony, on being asked how he managed to persevere without the consolation of books, replies that his book is the nature of the created things which is always at hand when he wants to read the words of God.⁵¹² Cassian writes that simplicity, as a state of interior poverty, is an outstanding quality

Philo and Origen – in the practice of spiritual exegesis, by which the text of the Scriptures became a "veicolo di trasmissione" for the monastic teaching concerning the cultivation of the interior life. See *ibid.* I shall return to this subject below.

⁵⁰⁶ See above, 238, nn.483-484.

⁵⁰⁷ *ApophPat.*, coll. alph., Arsenius 5-6, PG 65, 88D1-89A13. The *Apophthegmata* are explicitly said to be transmitted "in a simple and unorganized style (*ἀπλῶ καὶ ἀκατασκευάστῳ λόγῳ*)", *ibid.*, ProL., PG 65, 72A14-15 = coll. syst., SC 387, 94,3 (NB. There is a considerable common part at the beginning of the Prologues both of the alph. and the syst. collections: PG 65, 72A3-74B9 = SC 387, 92,1-94,8).

⁵⁰⁸ *ApophPat.*, coll. alph., Euprepus 7, *ibid.*, 172D4-11. This text probably should be restored to Evagrius; see A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 52, n.19.

⁵⁰⁹ *ApophPat.*, coll. alph., Serapion 2, PG 65, 416C6-10.

⁵¹⁰ SOCRATES, *HE* IV,23, GCS, Neue Folge 1, 251,8-17.

⁵¹¹ See above, p.234, n.458 and p.235, n.462.

⁵¹² EVAGRIUS, *Capt. Pract.* 92, SC 171, 694. For the small collection of Sayings at the end of this writing, see A & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* I, 118-120.

of the soul: it is a natural protection against the attacks of Satan and a necessary condition for prayer.⁵¹³ Rufinus presents John the Hermit railing against monks who have no concern for ascetic practice only boasting that they heard a word from such and such holy Father. Even though subjected to passions and vices, as soon as they have gained some knowledge they want to become teachers or even priests. Others, however, who *are* capable as a result of their virtues, do not dare to teach.⁵¹⁴ At the beginning of his *Life of Saint Benedict* Gregory the Great relates that the Saint, despising the study of letters, renounced the world "scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus".⁵¹⁵

Notwithstanding the evidence adduced above that literacy and assimilation of the Hellenistic range of thought were widespread among the early monks of Egypt, a general reserve about the fruits of κόσμου παιδεία appears nevertheless in the ancient sources. This tension in the attitude of Christian monks towards the cultural inheritance of late antiquity is an important phenomenon open to further research. One needs to distinguish between the different situations in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. If the first monks were immersed in classical culture to a higher degree than has been admitted until recently, what about the *Sitz im Leben* of their opposing an ideal of "simplicity" to the fruits of secular erudition? Here, I can only indicate in brief the main aspects of this monastic ideal.

The opposition of a certain ideal of "simplicity" to the values of secular culture is already found in the New Testament. Jesus praises the νήπιοι, as against σοφοὶ καὶ συνετοί (Mt 11:25), the apostles Peter and John are called ἀγράμματοι and ἰδιῶται (Acts 4:13), and Saint Paul opposes the folly of the cross to all human wisdom (1Cor 1:18-2:5). In Christianity all common values are turned upside down.

In his discourse against the pagan philosophers, Saint Antony also refers to the cross of Christ as superior to secular wisdom and science.⁵¹⁶ The γνῶσις of God is not acquired by demonstrating proofs and sophistic syllogisms, but only by action through faith (ἡ διὰ πίστεως ἐνέργεια).⁵¹⁷ Thus in the *Vita*,

⁵¹³ CASSIANUS, *Conlationes* x,11, SC 54, 90-93.

⁵¹⁴ RUFINUS, *Historia monachorum* 1,3, 14-16, ed. E. SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, PTS 34 (1990), 258-259.

⁵¹⁵ GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dialogus* II, Prol.1, ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogus II*, SC 260, Paris 1979, 126,11-15. See also *ibid.* 1,1, p.129,1-2.

⁵¹⁶ ATHANASIUS, VA 74-80, SC 400, 324-340. Antony refers to 1Cor 2:4, calling Saint Paul ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν, VA 80,1, *ibid.*, 338,4-5.

⁵¹⁷ VA 77, *ibid.*, 330-332 (see above, 239, n.486).

Saint Antony becomes the prototype of the Christian "philosopher" who does not need the study of letters;⁵¹⁸ he is taught exclusively by God (θεοδίδακτος)⁵¹⁹ in the practice of the ascetic life.⁵²⁰ In monastic literature, real knowledge and contemplation (θεωρία) are opposed, to secular knowledge as well as to the "mere" knowledge (γνώσις ψιλῆ) of the divine realities. The contemplative experience is not acquired by intellectual efforts without *practice* (πρᾶξις). It is not the result of a splendid performance of human intelligence, but it is conceded by God to the "simple" soul that purifies itself through ascetic practice and thus achieves the state of ἀπάθεια.⁵²¹ This fundamental reality of the spiritual life is implied in the monastic ideal of simplicity.⁵²² The ideal is also connected with the general experience that the rational activity of the mind and silent prayer are difficult to reconcile.⁵²³ In the text referred to, Cas-

⁵¹⁸ VA 73,1-3, *ibid.*, 322,1-11 (see also above, 238, nn.483-484).

⁵¹⁹ VA 66,2, *ibid.*, 308,4-5 (as above, 238, n.485).

⁵²⁰ In the first chapter of the VA, Athanasius writes that Antony "could not bear to learn letters, as he wanted to stand apart from the company of other boys. It was his only desire, in accordance with the Scriptures, to inhabit his house as an untouched (ἄπαστος) man", VA 1,2-3, *ibid.*, 130,7-10. The reference is made to Gen 25:27 (LXX), where Jacob, staying in his tent, is opposed to Esau who became a rude hunter. The sense of Antony's renunciation of secular education at the beginning of the *Vita* is implied in the presentation of his life program: Antony refuses to contaminate himself by the pursuit of a successful career in late-antique society, and withdraws to dedicate himself to ascetic practice like Jacob. For the widely diffused tradition of Jacob symbolizing the ascetic life, see above, 241, n.500.

⁵²¹ J. LEMAITRE, "Contemplation chez les grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens" III,1,1, *DSp* 2 (1953), 1802-1805; I. HAUSHERR, *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois*, OCA 144, Roma 1955, 89-93.

⁵²² "Les plus illustres des pères spirituels doivent leur réputation non pas à leurs études, mais à leur vie et aux dons qu'elle leur a valu de la part de Dieu, aussi bien dans la Scété du quatrième siècle que dans la Russie du dix-neuvième. Que si pourtant ils avaient des lettres, leurs biographes auront soin ou de les passer sous silence ou de les minimiser, ou en tout cas de démontrer que ces connaissances humaines méritent à peine une mention, parce qu'elles ne sont pour rien dans la science infuse de leur héros. (...) ici vaut, seule, la science reçue de Dieu au prix de la pureté d'âme et d'intelligence," *ibid.*, 89.

⁵²³ Festugière observes: "L'étude risque d'occuper *tout* l'esprit, de ne plus y laisser place pour la pensée de Dieu," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient I. Culture ou sainteté*, 83. But he adds a refinement to this statement, from the experience that long years of perseverance in study require a discipline which may also lead to prayer: "Durant cette longue préparation, si l'homme qui étudie a l'esprit de religion, il ne laisse pas de reconnaître que ses lumières sont courtes, qu'il a besoin de l'aide divine. Son travail même l'incite à prier. Et comme ce travail est lassant, c'est aussi dans la pensée de Dieu, dans la prière, dans la méditation, qu'il trouve son repos," *ibid.*

sian⁵²⁴ writes that the soul, when dedicating itself to incessant prayer, should shake off all the excess baggage of its thoughts and persevere in a condition of inner poverty and simplicity.

After the first Origenist crisis in the fifth century, a shift of emphasis occurs from the dimension of γνῶσις to that of προᾷτις.⁵²⁵ As a result, the fruits of intellectual study are no longer opposed to the contemplative experience⁵²⁶ that results from ascetic practice, but rather to the practice itself.⁵²⁷ This stress upon practice is illustrated *in extremo* by the example of Abba Pambo who needed nineteen years to "learn" only half of a Psalm verse.⁵²⁸ Here, the whole point is that every intellectual effort which is not coupled with practice, should be considered idle. Therefore, the world of the *Apophthegmata* is characterized by an increased reserve towards classical παιδεία or even the utilization of books, as the Sayings of Arsenius, Euprepus and Serapion clearly demonstrate.⁵²⁹ Closely associated with this aspect is the theme of pride and humility, which we find also illustrated in Rufinus' account.⁵³⁰ Knowledge, especially when it is not accompanied by the practice of virtue, could lead to the temptation of vainglory. So it becomes a favorite commonplace in monastic circles that "knowledge inflates" and that the monk should refrain from intellectual achievements in order to avoid inflation and pride.⁵³¹ Thus, the ideal of "simplicity" is also combined with the monastic virtue of humility.

⁵²⁴ See above, 243-244, at n.513.

⁵²⁵ See above, 229, n.434.

⁵²⁶ In Antony's discourse against the philosophers, the discussion is about the right way leading to the γνῶσις of God; see esp. VA 77,3-4, SC 400, 332,7-13 (see above, p.239, n.486 and p.244 at n.517).

⁵²⁷ Bunge observes that the *Apophthegmata* do not speak any more about the aspect of true γνῶσις, that is, the aim and justification of so much ascetic labor; "décapiter ainsi l'ascèse, c'est l'exposer au danger du fakirisme", G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", 354.

⁵²⁸ See above, 243 at n.510.

⁵²⁹ See above, 243 at nn.507-509. It is interesting to compare these Sayings with Pachomius' prescriptions concerning study and the use of books, see above, 240, n.496.

⁵³⁰ See above, 244 at n.514.

⁵³¹ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1. *Culture ou sainteté*, 82. Festugière adds a notable criticism to the adage that "knowledge inflates", observing that the advice to avoid being puffed up does not even hold for the case of knowledge: "Car, s'il est possible qu'un peu de science enfle, c'est une vérité manifeste que beaucoup de science rend modeste," *ibid.*, 82-83.

These different aspects of the ideal of simplicity will explain something of the ambiguity in the monastic attitude towards κόσμου παιδεία. In the fourth and the fifth centuries, many monks continued to be profoundly influenced by secular education, but, at the same time were increasingly reserved about it.

c. In the sixth century, reserve towards the Hellenistic intellectual inheritance became an outspoken hostility among the supporters of imperial orthodoxy. In Justinian's Empire, Christian faith was consolidated far enough (in spite of dangerous theological conflicts) to become the cornerstone of society in all its branches: there was no place left for the intellectual achievements of paganism. In 529, according to an old tradition, Justinian closed the Platonic Academy of Athens.⁵³² In his letter against the Origenists addressed to the Council fathers of 553, the Emperor rails against philosophers such as Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus:⁵³³ they are the ones responsible for Origen's madness.⁵³⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis too, speaking through Abba Cyriacus, presents Pythagoras and Plato in a negative sense as the predecessors of Origen, Evagrius and Didymus, and explicitly opposes their doctrines to the teaching deriving from God.⁵³⁵ He qualifies the Origenist

⁵³² For the discussion about what did happen in 529 and to what extent this date actually marks the end of pagan philosophy in Justinian's Empire, see H. BLUMENTHAL, "529 And its Sequel: What Happened to the Academy?", *Byz* 48 (1978), 369-385.

⁵³³ IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEBKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90-97 (right col.); see esp. p.90, lines 13-14 and p.95, lines 1-2, 4, 9 and p.96, line 11.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 96,11-19.

⁵³⁵ VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,11-14 (quoted above, 137, n.32). Here we are far away from the first Christian attempts to span a bridge between Christianity and the inheritance of pagan philosophy. Justin wrote that even if Christianity was the most exalted of all philosophies and Moses the first of all authors, "seeds" of the divine Logos had been sowed in pagan philosophers like Socrates and Plato who could be considered "Christians" *avant la lettre*. See IUSTINUS MARTYR, *Apologia* 1, 44,8-10, ed. M. MARCOVICH, *Iustini Martyris apologiae pro christianis*, PTS 38, Berlin/ New York 1994, 94-95; *Ap. I*, 46,2-4 (*ibid.*), 97; *Ap. II*, 10,1-5 (*ibid.*), 151; *Ap. II*, 13,2-5 (*ibid.*), 157. According to Clement of Alexandria, pagan philosophy had been a necessary preparation for Christianity; see CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromateis* 1,5, 28,1-3, SC 30, 65. Clement was convinced that Plato, when composing his *Laws*, had utilized the Books of Moses; see *Strom.* 1,25, 165,1-2 (*ibid.*), 164. For the assimilation of the pagan philosophical inheritance by early Christian authors, see esp. W. JAEGER, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, London/ Oxford/ New York 1961 (paperback, 1969); C. GNILKA, *Χρησις, Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur* 1. *Der Begriff des "rechten Gebrauchs"*, Basel/ Stuttgart 1984.

interest in pagan scientific speculation as "vain labors" and "idle disputing", opposing it to the practice of monastic virtues and to "the humble path of Christ".⁵³⁶ The old monastic ideal of simplicity, traditionally associated with practice and humility, is here extended by the dimension of orthodox faith: in Cyril's eyes, a good monk does not contaminate his mind with the writings of pagan philosophers. Cyril himself belongs to the first Christian intellectuals who received their rhetorical formation without reading pagan authors.⁵³⁷

However, in the sixth century, even for a strict orthodox monk, it was not possible *not* to be affected by the influence of pagan philosophy. This is excellently illustrated by the passage where Cyriacus opposes the divine teaching and monastic virtues to the idle disputes of the Origenists who follow the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato:

What hell blurted out these doctrines? They have not learnt them from the God who spoke through the prophets and apostles – perish the thought – but they have revived these abominable and impious doctrines from Pythagoras and Plato, from Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus. I am amazed what vain and futile labors they have expended on such harmful and laborious vanities, and how in this way they have armed their tongues against piety. Should they not rather have praised and glorified brotherly love, hospitality, virginity, care of the poor, psalmody, all-night vigils, and tears of compunction? Should they not be disciplining the body by fasts, ascending to God in prayer, making this life an exercise of death (μελέτη θανάτου), rather than prating such idle disputes?⁵³⁸

The second part of this text (from the words: "they have armed their tongues") is a close reminiscence of a passage of Gregory of Nazianzus⁵³⁹ which, as far as I know, has not yet been noticed. I shall return to the paral-

⁵³⁶ VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,14-24.

⁵³⁷ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 84; J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 28. See also above, 38, n.79.

⁵³⁸ VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,10-22 (NB. Price translates μελέτη θανάτου: "a rehearsal of death", and the concluding words of our passage: "rather than meditating such sophistications?"). The text will be analyzed in the next chapter. The Greek text is quoted, within a longer passage, in the Appendix below, 376 (within passage nr.3, *ibid.*, 374-377).

⁵³⁹ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS, *Oratio* 27,7, ed. P. GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours* 27-31, SC 250, Paris 1978, 86,8-15. Another passage from the same *Oratio* has already been quoted shortly before, with reference to Gregory's name: VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,27-31 (= *Or* 27,10, SC 250, p.96, line 17 to p.98, line 22); see above, 161, n.132. I shall return to these quotations below.

lelism below. For the moment, I want to focus upon the expression μελέτη θανάτου which is part of the text taken from Gregory. This expression, employed by Cyril to propagandize practicing virtues in opposition to speculating in the line of authors such as Plato and Evagrius, not only derives from Plato himself,⁵⁴⁰ but is used even by Evagrius!⁵⁴¹ The latter writes: "Our Fathers called the exercise of death (μελέτη θανάτου) and the flight from the body (φυγή τοῦ σώματος) *anachoresis*." The two expressions, attributed by Evagrius to the previous Fathers, who equated them with the essence of the ascetic life, "strongly echo the philosophical tradition".⁵⁴² The idea that asceticism implies a continuous meditation on death was widespread in ancient monasticism in various formulations,⁵⁴³ and has been called an "echo of a Stoic *Leitmotiv*".⁵⁴⁴ Cyril's passage of the *Vita Cyriaci* shows how when this "echo" of pagan philosophy finally reached sixth-century orthodox circles, it was appropriated as a traditional monastic theme precisely to combat the influence of pagan philosophy.

Cyril claims that he did not receive a secular education (ἔξωθεν παιδεία).⁵⁴⁵ He presents himself as an ἰδιώτης lacking all the capacities which according to the criteria developed by pagan culture are necessary to compose literary works such as his Lives. Only due to a miraculous intervention of the deceased Euthymius and Sabas in their supernatural status as οὐρανοπολίται⁵⁴⁶ was Cyril, a humble and ignorant monk, enabled to ac-

⁵⁴⁰ PLATO, *Phaedo* 80E-81A, LCL 36, 280-282. See also 67D-E, *ibid.*, 234.

⁵⁴¹ EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 52, SC 171, 618,3. See also *id.*, *Ad Eulogium*, PG 79, 1117D6.

⁵⁴² J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 370 (with ref. to A & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* II, 620).

⁵⁴³ ATHANASIUS, VA 19, SC 400, 186,5-8 (with ref. to 1 Cor 15:31); VA 89, *ibid.*, 364,14-15; VA 91, *ibid.*, 368,16-17; *Pachomii vita altera* 71 (HALKIN), 245,27-28; ANONYMUS, *Apophthegmata Macarii Magni* 1, PG 34, 233A14-15; EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 29, SC 171, 566; *id.*, *Ad monachos* 54 (DRISCOLL), 54; PALLADIUS, *Historia Lausiaca*, Prol (BUTLER), 10,21-23; CASSIANUS, *Inst.* V,41, SC 109, 256,7; *ApophPat.*, coll. alph., Joannes Colobos 34, PG 65, 216C3-4. See A. GUILLAUMONT, "Le problème des deux Macaire dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Irén 48 (1975), 50-51; A & C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique* II, 566-569.

⁵⁴⁴ "Écho d'un *Leitmotiv* stoïcien", *ibid.*, 569.

⁵⁴⁵ VE 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,24 (quoted below, 250, n.547). As has been said, the claim to be uneducated is a commonplace feature. See above, 37, n.78. Even Leontius of Byzantium, notwithstanding his employing dialectics of a high technical level (see above, 146 at n.73), claims that he did not receive ἔξω παιδεία, LEONTIUS, *CNE-CA-DTN*, Prol, PG 86/1, 1268B13 (see above, 149 at n.83).

⁵⁴⁶ See above, 230, n.443.

comply with the task.⁵⁴⁷ This stereotyped account⁵⁴⁸ adds divine authority to his works, which are meant to provide the right models for the monastic life. These writings are not the fruit of any human intellectual effort according to the standards of secular culture, but they directly derive from the will of God.⁵⁴⁹

The same is true of Sabas' achievements related in the *VS*. Cyril applies the old monastic ideal of simplicity to his hero, presenting him as a "rustic" charismatic leader who is exclusively led by the divine will in his project to colonize the desert.⁵⁵⁰ Thus, the foundation of the Sabaite institution is presented as the realization of a divine plan, instead of being the result of pure human ingenuity, brought about by the resources of secular culture. In such an all-embracing vision, "intellectuals" (λογιώτεροι)⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ Cyril relates how he gathered all the information for his *Lives* and how he felt incapable of starting the work, until Euthymius and Sabas finally appeared to him (see also above, 37, n.78). He writes: "I was at a loss how to begin the composition since I was uncultivated (ιδιώτης) and had been through nothing in the way of secular education (διὰ παιδείας τῆς ἕξωθεν); in addition, I was ignorant (ἄπειρος) of the divine Scriptures and also slow of speech. But the God of marvels, who has implanted in all men a tongue, who gives resource to the resourceless, who smoothes out difficulties in things and makes the speech of stammerers distinct, performed through Euthymius and Sabas his servants a prodigy in the case of my lowliness (ταπεινωσις), when being at a loss for words and expressions I had already thought of abandoning my pages, except that I plied fervent petitionary prayer," *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,23-31.

⁵⁴⁸ Cyril's account of his own incapacity and the appearance of the two Saints enabling him to achieve the work is paralleled by a similar story in (Pseudo-)BASILIUS SELEUCIENSIS, *Miraculi S. Theclae* 34, ed. G. DAGRON, *Vie et miracles de Sainte Thècle*, SubsHag 62, Bruxelles 1978, 372-374. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 54 with n.202.

⁵⁴⁹ As has been said, Leontius also claims to be uneducated (see above, 249, n.545), but unlike Cyril, he does not oppose the divine will to the standards of secular culture. Referring to the writings of the holy Fathers, Leontius asserts that "they are composed with so much divine grace and wisdom and, at the same time, with a perfection according to the standards of secular philosophy (ἕξω φιλοσοφία) and the other education (ἄλλη παιδεία)", LEONTIUS, *CNE-CA-DTN*, Prol, PG 86/1 1269A4-7 (see above, 150 at n.85).

⁵⁵⁰ For example: Sabas is "predestined by God from the womb" like Jeremiah, *VS* 2 (SCHWARTZ), 87,21-23. It "was necessary" that the desert "be colonized by him" and that the prophecies in this respect (Is 41:18-20, 51:3) be fulfilled, *VS* 6 (*ibid.*), 90,8-10. The cave where Sabas founds his first laura is revealed to him in a vision, *VS* 15 (*ibid.*), 97,26-98,11. The church for the divine office of the laura is a natural cave found as a "church created by God" (θεόκτιστος), *VS* 18 (*ibid.*), 101,20-102,7. The demons driven from Castellion – by which the place is purified for a new cenobium – recognize Sabas as accomplishing a divine mission, *VS* 27 (*ibid.*), 110,19-111,5.

⁵⁵¹ *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,18 (quoted above, 78-79 with n.106); *VC* 13 (*ibid.*), 230,31 (quoted above, 137-138 with n.36).

like the Origenists and their predecessors⁵⁵² become the natural antagonists. The first disciples who start complaining about Sabas' lack of education as the source of his incapacity to direct the growing laura, become rebels who oppose their own will to the will of God.⁵⁵³ Monastic vices such as obstinacy, arrogance, disobedience and a resistance to humiliation are attributed to these monks⁵⁵⁴ who "could not bear to walk in the humble path of Christ",⁵⁵⁵ whereas Sabas, assisted by God, appears as a model of simplicity, humility, obedience, patience and mildness.⁵⁵⁶ Sabas' first opponents are succeeded by the Origenists. They are depicted as λογιώτεροι who again refuse to "follow the humble path of Christ"⁵⁵⁷ and to practice monastic virtues.⁵⁵⁸ Due to their pride as well as to their interest in pagan philosophers, they have been led astray by a defiled heresy⁵⁵⁹ founded on "the doctrines of the godless Greeks, Jews and Manichees".⁵⁶⁰

We may conclude that the Second Origenist Controversy was not a simple conflict of intellectualism versus anti-intellectualism. Even Cyril and other anti-Origenists were intellectuals.⁵⁶¹ However, a traditional *ideal*

⁵⁵² Those monks among Sabas' first disciples who, in Cyril's account, resist their leader because of his "rusticity", precede the first Origenists. Their number steadily increases, until a crisis leads to the foundation of the New Laura, in 507. In their midst, in 514, the incident with the group of Nonnus takes place. Cyril isolates only four monks as the instigators (whatever might have happened in historical reality), but he also indicates that many monks of the New Laura were liable to get involved in the heresy, *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,21-125,4 (see the survey above, 69-72).

⁵⁵³ Cyril writes how Sabas' disciples, who go up to the holy city to bring their case before the Patriarch, receive a significant reply from one of the dignitaries: "God who assisted him [*scil.* Sabas] in bringing you together and founding the place, will assist him in governing it", *VS* 19 (SCHWARTZ), 104,10-12 (see also above, 68 at nn.62-64).

⁵⁵⁴ *VS* 35 (SCHWARTZ), 122,8-10.

⁵⁵⁵ *VS* 35 (*ibid.*), 120,22-23 (compare with above, 248 at n.536).

⁵⁵⁶ *VS* 33 (*ibid.*), 118,27-29; *VS* 35 (*ibid.*), 120,18-20; 122,12; *VS* 36 (*ibid.*), 123,14-22.

⁵⁵⁷ *VC* 13 (*ibid.*), 230,23-24.

⁵⁵⁸ *VC* 13 (*ibid.*), 230,16-21 (= GREG. NAZ., *Or.* 27,7, SC 250, 86,8-15, as above, 248, n.539).

⁵⁵⁹ *VC* 14 (*ibid.*), 230,30-32.

⁵⁶⁰ *VS* 36 (*ibid.*), 124,26-29.

⁵⁶¹ For Cyril, see above, 37, n.78; for Saint Sabas, 233, n.454. As regards other anti-Origenists, we may point at several *libelli* addressed to the Emperor. The edict against Origen of 543 is preceded by (and depends on) a *libellus* of the anti-Origenist archimandrites Sophronius and Gelasius, composed at the request of the Patriarch, *VS* 85 (SCHWARTZ), 191,25-192,3 (quoted above, 82 with n.126; see also 135 at n.17). A *libellus* was composed by the

of simplicity, extended by the aspect of orthodox faith, had become a standard value in wide circles of sixth-century monasticism; as such, it was easily employed in the struggle by the anti-Origenists. They put forward the ideal of simplicity not to propagandize illiteracy but to urge an exclusive orientation towards what they considered the will of God, as opposed to human efforts brought about by secular culture, especially in the intellectual field. This opposition was inspired primarily by a fierce resistance to the integration of the Hellenistic philosophical inheritance with the monastic spiritual tradition. The anti-Origenists combated this integration, and therefore they brought against their opponents the stereotyped monastic charge of wasting time with idle intellectual speculations and neglecting ascetic practice.⁵⁶² But the anti-Origenists hardly realized their own unconscious degree of "contamination" by the fruits of pagan culture.

anti-Origenist monks (and signed by Gelasius) against Justinian's edict of 544/545 anathematizing the Three Chapters, *VS* 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,22-27 (quoted above, p.84 with n.134 and p.201 with n.306). In 552, the anti-Origenist superior Abba Conon presented another *libellus* to the Emperor, "revealing all the impiety of the Origenists", *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,14-17 (quoted above, 86-87 with n.143).

⁵⁶² Even Leontius the dialectician, notwithstanding his positive judgment on secular philosophy and education (see above, 250, n.549), opposes secular wisdom to practicing virtue. In the *CNE*, when railing against "those now counted wise", he observes that they "deliberately ignore all virtue coming from practical works", *CNE, ibid.*, 1273B4-5 (see above, 150, n.88). And in the *DTN*, a diatribe against *anti-Origenist* adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Leontius utters a remarkable charge: "When their prey is a monk, they urge him to read pagan discourses (ἑλληνικοὺς λόγους) if they find him suited to this. They disparage the simplicity (ἀφέλεια) of the [monastic] Order, as if fasts, vigils and *anachoresis* count for nothing – for they even reject *praktikè* and they are not able to endure it, not even its name – and they urge him to change the habit as if it were an obstacle to political philosophy (πολιτικὴ φιλοσοφία)," LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1361c2-10 (see also above, 226, n.420). I shall return to this passage, as well as to the phenomenon of parallel accusations, in the next chapter.

Conclusion of the second chapter

This long chapter touched upon various aspects of the complicated conflict known as the Second Origenist Controversy. First, the writings of Leontius of Byzantium were examined, as far as they enable us to verify the accuracy of Cyril of Scythopolis' version of the conflict. The portrait of Leontius the Origenist, painted by Cyril, appears to be a caricature, especially as regards Cyril's charge that Leontius was a crypto-Origenist who pretended to defend the Council of Chalcedon. As a matter of fact, Leontius' "Origenism" in a theological sense cannot be deduced from his writings. Reconsidering different solutions which have been given to this problem led us to arrive at a rehabilitation of Loofs' old thesis put forward in 1887: Cyril wrote a partisan account in favor of the anti-Origenists who were at the same time defenders of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Three Chapters affair. However, Loofs' thesis needs to be harmonized with Cyril's (moderate) denunciation of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The evidence points to a *conversion* to imperial orthodoxy by the anti-Origenist camp which must have distanced itself from Theodore of Mopsuestia in the period around 553. Cyril's assertions that Sabas and Gelasius already "abhorred" Theodore in 531 and 546, can hardly be taken in a historical sense: they appear rather as anachronisms which, resulting from a hagiographic literary procedure, reflect the post-conciliar situation of the late 550's, the time when Cyril wrote his *Lives*.

This second chapter may also contribute to a solution for the much-discussed question of Leontius' "Origenism" by introducing a distinction between the *dogmatic* and the *spiritual* fields. Leontius is no "Origenist" in a doctrinal sense. However, a few passages in his theological writings reveal a thorough familiarity with Evagrian spirituality, as well as his links to a monastic environment which has been shown to be inspired by Evagrian-

Origenist mysticism.⁵⁶³ Cyril, who represents a strongly institutionalized monasticism within the political structures of Justinian's theocracy, appears to be far removed from Evagrius' spirituality, apart from ascetic themes that have become commonplace in his time.

Consequently, we should see in the Second Origenist Controversy a combat on the doctrinal and the political ground, and a clash of two competitive visions of the *spiritual life*. A somewhat collectivist current ran in opposition to a more individualist current. The former was primarily concerned with the spiritual (and material) prosperity of a growing monastic Order and with consolidating itself by adherence to imperial orthodoxy, after shifting from former sympathies with the Three Chapters. The latter remained faithful to an older monastic tradition of harmonizing Christian mysticism with pagan philosophy. In the context of this opposition, a commonplace ideal of monastic "simplicity" was easily employed by the anti-Origenists as a stereotype argument: the real monk should not inflate his mind with idle intellectual speculations, but should dedicate himself to ascetic practice and walk in the humble path of Christ.

All these spiritual and intellectual aspects of the controversy could not, of course, be easily addressed by a series of official *anathemata* pronounced by an Ecumenical Council. For that reason, we can see how the whole conflict and the power game became focused on a quarrel about "hard" theological points. Against this background, it is highly significant that Leontius of Byzantium, who was even branded an Origenist *leader*, showed himself *indifferent* to the central theological issues of pre-existence and apocatastasis. Do the theological positions condemned by the *anathemata* actually reflect the total movement of "sixth-century Origenism"? As for Cyril of Scythopolis with his hagiographic stylization of historical reality, he must have suppressed many important aspects of the underlying conflict.

⁵⁶³ It remains extremely difficult, if not impossible, for modern scholarship to grasp the spiritual current of sixth-century Origenism. The Evagrian-Origenist inheritance might have gone through the pantheism of the Syrian Stephen Bar Sudaili (see above, 24, n.12), in the first decades of the century, but we cannot establish the dimensions of the latter's influence on the *whole* movement, from the 530's to the 550's. From Leontius we do not learn much more about Evagrian-Origenist mysticism than what I deduced from scarce passages in his writings: Leontius was not a mystic but a dialectician. A contribution pointing to a connection between some anti-Origenist documents and Pseudo-Dionysius is forthcoming (and already available as a symposium abstract). See I. PERCZEL, "Pseudo-Dionysius and Palestinian Origenism", in *The Sabaitic Heritage*, University of Haifa 1998, 24-25.

CHAPTER 3

THE COMBAT

INACCURATE CHARGES, DISTORTIONS AND CLASHING IDEALS

Introduction

If the conclusions of the preceding chapter are true, Cyril's writings provide us with a defective picture of sixth-century Origenism. Can we also get an idea of the possible extent of Cyril's inaccuracy in this respect? Our distinction between the dogmatic and the spiritual in approaching Leontius' Origenism is not without consequences regarding that question. On the one hand, Leontius proves not to be an Origenist in a doctrinal sense. So we may check whether Cyril does attribute Origenist *theological positions* to Leontius, and if so, search for an evaluation of such charges. On the other hand, Leontius appears to be an Origenist as far as he gives evidence of adhering to an Evagrian spiritual current that is not in harmony with the spirituality dominating Cyril's Lives. We may examine the possibility of retrieving that opposition and search for an appropriate interpretation of this aspect of the conflict.

This third chapter will be dedicated to a further investigation into the degree of Cyril's inaccuracy regarding the Second Origenist Controversy and its consequences for our interpretation of the real opposition. In the first section, I shall examine a crucial text of Cyril's *Vita Cyriaci*, where concrete charges are brought against the Origenists, including Leontius. In the second section I shall deal with another crucial text, the final chapter of the *Vita Sabae*, where Cyril provides us with a specific report on the events

related to the Fifth Ecumenical Council. As far as our investigation permits us to confirm with certainty the defectiveness of Cyril's representation, we may raise questions for further research on the hidden conflict that underlay the Second Origenist Controversy. This will be the central issue of the concluding section of this chapter.

1. Abba Cyriacus' tirade against the Origenists (VC 11-15)

In the course of this study I have referred several times to Cyril's account of his personal meeting with Abba Cyriacus,¹ which should be dated shortly after his entering the monastery of Euthymius in July 544.² Together with the passages in the *VS* dealing with Origenism,³ this text of the *VC* ranks among the main sources for our knowledge of the Second Origenist Controversy. It contains concrete charges brought against the Origenists. It will be necessary here to quote the whole passage and present it within the context of the Life. Subsequently, I shall deal with some literary questions regarding the text, and then examine the charges and search for a suitable interpretation.

¹ VC 11-15 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26. For references to the whole passage, see above, p.35 with n.65, p.61 with n.13 and p.136 with n.24. A great part of the passage is referred to above, 101 with n.206. For partial quotations, see p.136 with n.29, pp.137-138 with n.36 and p.248 with n.538.

² As has been said, Cyril entered the monastery of Euthymius in July 544; see above, 136, n.25. A difficulty for the exact dating of the meeting with Cyriacus is the fact that, in Cyril's account, Cyriacus *predicts* the death of Leontius of Byzantium, which took place, at the latest, in the spring of 543; see above, p.135, n.19 and p.137, n.30. For questions of chronology related to Cyril's biographies, see also above, 75, n.92.

³ Esp. *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,21-125,25; *VS* 72 (*ibid.*), 175,24-176,20; *VS* 83-90 (*ibid.*), 187,28-200,17. For a survey (within the context of the whole *VS*), see above, 65-88.

Cyril's account of his meeting with Abba Cyriacus: presentation of the text

In the order of the *corpus cyrillianum*, the *VC* is the fourth of Cyril's series of seven Lives⁴ and the second of the five shorter ones.⁵ In the ten chapters preceding the text in which we are interested, we read Cyriacus' *curriculum vitae* before Cyril meets him as a ninety-five year old hermit living in the cave of Chariton at the laura of Souka.⁶ Born in Corinth in 449,⁷ Cyriacus receives his vocation in a way very similar to that of Saint Antony⁸ and he travels to Jerusalem at the age of seventeen.⁹ In 467, he goes to the laura of Euthymius and receives the habit,¹⁰ but because of his youth he is first sent to the cenobium of Gerasimus.¹¹ In 475, after Euthymius' and Gerasimus' death, Cyriacus, at the age of twenty-six, comes to the laura of Euthymius, where he participates in the building of the cenobium.¹² In 485, because of a conflict between the monasteries of Euthymius and Theoctistus, Cyriacus moves to the laura of Souka.¹³ There,

⁴ See above, 34-35, nn.56-62.

⁵ Of the five "shorter" Lives, the *VIH* and the *VC* are relatively long, while the *VTheod.*, the *VTheogn* and the *VAbr* are really short. For the *corpus cyrillianum*, see above, 58-65.

⁶ The laura of Souka, at c. 1 mile north-east of Thekoa, was founded by Chariton about 345 as one of the first Palestinian laurae. See above, p.33, n.49 and p.70, n.72; see also the map below, 381.

⁷ VC 1 (SCHWARTZ), 223,1-6.

⁸ VC 3 (SCHWARTZ), 224,3-7, compare with VA 2, 3-5, SC 400, 132,12-134,26. For the parallelism, see G. GARITTE, "Réminiscences de la Vie d' Antoine dans Cyrille de Scythopolis", in *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati*, Roma 1957, 121 (nr.21); B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 101 with n.79.

⁹ VC 3 (SCHWARTZ), 224,8-12.

¹⁰ VC 3-4 (SCHWARTZ), 224,15-23. Euthymius founded his laura in 428, VE 16 (*ibid.*), 26,14-23, and shortly after his death (473) it was transformed into a cenobium, VE 43-44 (*ibid.*), 63,4-66,17. See above, 66, n.53.

¹¹ VC 4 (SCHWARTZ), 224,23-225,2. For the cenobium of Gerasimus, see above, 67, n.56. For the custom not to admit youths in a laura, see above, 66, n.54.

¹² VC 5-6 (SCHWARTZ), 225,21-26 (see also above, n.10).

¹³ VC 7 (SCHWARTZ), 226,20-22. In the *VE* we read about the idealized friendship between Euthymius and Theoctistus, VE 7 (*ibid.*), 14,21-15,9, which is much the same as the relation, in Cyril's representation, between Sabas and Theodosius, VS 29 (*ibid.*), 114,19-22 (quoted above, 114 with n.252); VS 65 (*ibid.*), 166,5-8 (see above, 114-115 with n.254). In the *VC*, Cyril relates that the monasteries of Euthymius and Theoctistus were still in harmony when Cyriacus came to the laura of Euthymius, but soon a quarrel about a heritage led to the separation of the two monasteries, VC 6 (*ibid.*), 226,3-13.

after having filled some offices, he becomes treasurer and canonarch for a period of thirty-one years.¹⁴ Cyril even records that Cyriacus told him that in all these years, “the sun never saw me eating or in a temper.”¹⁵

At the age of seventy-six, Cyriacus withdraws with a disciple to the “utter desert” (πανέρημος) of Natoupha.¹⁶ Five years later, fleeing for his fame caused by a miracle, he moves to the “inner desert” (ἐνδοτέρα ἔρημος) of Roubâ.¹⁷ And after another five years, because the sick and those troubled by unclean spirits are carried to him, he flees again to a place that is “pure desert” (πανέρημος) and “hidden away” (ἀπόκρυφος), called Sousakim.¹⁸ Seven years later, during a great pestilence, the fathers of the laura of Souka urge him to come back to their laura.¹⁹ Cyril concludes the tenth chapter with Cyriacus’ return to the laura, observing that he “took up his abode in the anchoritic cell of the sainted Chariton” and “strove for five years against the Origenists”.²⁰ Our text then follows:²¹

11. At this time, having come from the monastery of the great Euthymius to the Great Laura of blessed Sabas to visit Abba John, bishop and solitary,²² I was sent by

¹⁴ VC 7 (SCHWARTZ), 226,22-227,1. The treasurer (κειμηλιάρχης) was responsible for the sacred vessels and the canonarch (κανονάρχης) for leading the divine office. See J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 260, n.6.

¹⁵ οὐκ εἶδέν με ὁ ἥλιος ἐσθίοντα οὐδὲ ὀργιζόμενον, VC 8 (*ibid.*), 227,3-4.

¹⁶ VC 8 (SCHWARTZ), 227,6-9. The further one travels from Jerusalem towards the Dead Sea, the more desolate the desert becomes. Especially the last belt of land to the east was called πανέρημος and was inhabited only by experienced anchorites, in most cases only at certain times of the year. See J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, xviii; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 293. Natoupha, about 2 mi. north of Thekoa, means a first step into that direction.

¹⁷ VC 10 (SCHWARTZ), 228,14-18. Roubâ is part of the πανέρημος (see n.16 above).

¹⁸ VC 10 (SCHWARTZ), 228,19-26. “Sousakim is further to the east and south than the other monasteries described by Cyril,” J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 260, n.8. The VC shows a strong *crescendo* in the description of Cyriacus’ *anachoresis*.

¹⁹ VC 10 (SCHWARTZ), 228,30-229,4. Cyril speaks of “the days of the great and terrifying mortality”, *ibid.*, 229,1, alluding to the pestilence of 541/542. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient III/3*, 46, n.35, with ref. to E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 270 (Κυριακός).

²⁰ VC 10 (SCHWARTZ), 229,4-6.

²¹ The text is represented here in the English translation of R. PRICE, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, CS 114, Kalamazoo 1991. For the Greek text, see the Appendix below, 374-377 (nr.3).

²² John the Hesychast played an important role as Cyril’s spiritual guide, when the latter came from Scythopolis to Jerusalem and finally entered the monastery of Euthymius in

him to Abba Cyriacus with letters recounting the recent civil war in the holy city and entreating him to strive now in intercession with God to quell the raging of Nonnus and Leontius and their party at the New Laura, who were campaigning against Christ by means of the doctrines of Origen (διὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων). When I had accordingly arrived at Souka and gone to see him in the cave of Saint Chariton with his disciples Zosimus and John, I made obeisance and gave him the letter, adding a verbal message to him from the mouth of the inspired Abba John the solitary. Abba Cyriacus replied with tears: “Say to the one who sent you: Let us not be despondent, father, for we shall see the overthrow of Nonnus and Leontius in death²³ and the expulsion of the rest of them from the New Laura, in order that the genuine disciples of blessed Sabas may inhabit the New Laura, once the false ones have been chased out.”²⁴

12. I asked him, “Father, what of the views they advocate? They themselves affirm that the doctrines of pre-existence and restoration are indifferent and without danger (μέσα τυγχάνει καὶ ἀκίνδυνα), citing the words of Saint Gregory, ‘Philosophize about the world, matter, the soul, the good and the evil rational creatures, the Resurrection and the Passion of Christ; for in these matters hitting on the truth is not without profit (οὐκ ἄχρηστον) and error is without danger (ἀκίνδυνον).’”²⁵ The elder replied in the following words: “The doctrines of pre-existence and restoration are not indifferent and without danger, but dangerous (ἐπικίνδυνα), harmful (ἐπιβλαβῆ) and blasphemous (βλάσφημα). In order to convince you, I shall try to expose their multifarious impiety in a few words (ἐν ὀλίγαις λέξεσι). They deny that Christ is one of the Trinity. They say that our resurrection bodies pass to total destruction, and Christ’s first of all. They say that the holy Trinity did not create the world and that at the restoration all rational beings, even demons, will be able to create aeons. They say that our bodies will be raised ethereal and spherical at the resurrection, and they assert that even the body of the Lord was raised in this form. They say that we shall be equal to Christ (ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ) at the restoration.

13. What hell blurted out these doctrines? They have not learnt them from the God who spoke through the prophets and apostles – perish the thought – but they have revived these abominable and impious doctrines from Pythagoras and Plato, from Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus. I am amazed what vain and futile labors they have expended on such harmful and laborious vanities, and how in this way they

July 544, VE 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,20-72,7; VIH 20 (*ibid.*), 216,8-217,12 (see above, 38 at nn.86-87). Also after that date, Cyril continually visited him (συνεχῶς ἀπερχόμενῃ πρὸς αὐτόν) to lay his state before him, VIH 20 (SCHWARTZ), 217,12-13. John the Hesychast was even close friends with Cyril’s parents, *ibid.*, 217,13-20.

²³ For the dating of Leontius’ death about 542/543, see above, p.135, n.19 and p.137, n.30. For Nonnus’ death in 547, see above, 85 at n.135.

²⁴ In Cyril’s account, Cyriacus predicts the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura and its being repopulated by 120 orthodox monks in February 555, as related in VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,11-200,3 (see above, p.39 with nn. 88-89 and p.88 with nn.147-148).

²⁵ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *Oratio* 27,10, SC 250, p.96, line 17 to p.98, line 22.

have armed their tongues against piety. Should they not rather have praised and glorified brotherly love, hospitality, virginity, care of the poor, psalmody, all-night vigils, and tears of compunction? Should they not be disciplining the body by fasts, ascending to God in prayer, making this life an exercise of death (μελέτη θανάτου), rather than prating such idle disputes?²⁶

But – the elder added – they did not wish to follow the humble path of Christ but instead ‘they became futile in their thoughts and their senseless heart was darkened; saying they were wise, they became fools.’ (Rom 1:21-22). The sower of all these tares and cause of these evils was Nonnus, who, taking advantage of the death of our blessed father Sabas, began to make his neighbor drink of a foul concoction (cf. Hab 2:15), having Leontius of Byzantium as his assistant (ύπουργός), champion (ύπερμαχος) and fellow-combatant (συναγωνιστής).

14. At first he seduced into his abominable heresy the more lettered (τους λογιωτέρους),²⁷ or rather the more unlettered (άλογωτέρους), in the New Laura. He was not satisfied with these monks, but strove to give the other monasteries of the desert a share in his own plague. What stratagems did he not use to drag in as well poor lowly me? But God showed to me by revelation the filth of his heresy. What schemes did he not employ to communicate his evil teaching (κακοδοξία) to the community of Souka? But he failed, since I by the grace of Christ warned and exhorted each one not to depart from the true faith. When he strove to make a supporter of his heresy – I mean Peter the Alexandrian – superior in our laura²⁸ and thereby to enslave the community, he did not succeed: on the contrary, the community bestirred itself and expelled Peter from being superior. Again, Nonnus, shamelessly bestirred himself into setting up another Peter, the Greek, a supporter of the plague of Origen, as our superior,²⁹ but the community was again stirred by spiritual

²⁶ Price translates μελέτη θανάτου: “a rehearsal of death”, and the concluding words of this paragraph: “rather than meditating such sophistries?” (the passage is quoted above, 248 at n.538).

²⁷ Compare with VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,18 (text quoted above, 78-79 at n.106). See also above, 137-138 with n.36, where a part of our passage from the VC is quoted. For references to Cyril’s indication of the Origenists as λογιώτεροι, see above, p.161 at n.130, p.232 at n.448 and p.250 at n.551.

²⁸ Peter of Alexandria is mentioned also in VS 86 (SCHWARTZ), 193,15-17, where we read that Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem was forced by Theodore Ascidas to take with him, as chancellors on his journey to Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria and a certain John Strongulus. Cyril mentions that journey immediately after the events that followed at the edict against Origen in 543, *ibid.*, 192,12-193,14. The travel must be connected with the troubles in Jerusalem caused by the edict against the Three Chapters of 544/545, although Cyril keeps silent about that occasion. See above, 201, n.305. The pressure exerted by Ascidas by means of the two Origenist chancellors must have contributed to Patriarch Peter’s yielding to the imperial politics, when he finally signed the edict against the Three Chapters. See *ibid.* and 203 with n.314. Abba Cyriacus, however, refers to a previous event: Peter of Alexandria must have been put forward by the Origenists as a superior of the laura of Souka somewhere in the 530’s (comp. with the chronology below, 261, n.30).

²⁹ Peter the Greek is an unknown Origenist, mentioned only in this passage.

zeal into expelling Peter from being superior; going to the laura of blessed Sabas, it took for itself its present superior, Abba Cassianus, who is of Scythopolis by birth,³⁰ orthodox, and adorned both in his life and in his teaching. It was then that we succeeded, with difficulty, in repelling the supporters of Origen.”

15. When he had told me this, the servant of God Cyriacus, overjoyed (περιχαρής γεγωνώς) at learning that I am of the great monastery of blessed Euthymius,³¹ said to me, “See, you are of the same cenobium as I (συνκοινοβιώτης μου εἶ).” And he proceeded to begin to recount to me many of the facts (πολλά) about Saints Euthymius and Sabas that I have placed in the two works I have already written about them.³² And so, having nourished my soul with these accounts, he sent me on my way in peace (άπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ).

After this episode, Cyril relates that, at the age of ninety-eight, Cyriacus withdraws again to the desert of Sousakim³³ as soon as Nonnus has died, and that he lives there as a solitary for another eight years.³⁴ Cyril pays him a second visit.³⁵ Again, he records that Cyriacus “is overjoyed (περιχαρής γεγωνώς)” at seeing him, as he considers him “of the same cenobium (συνκοινοβιώτης).”³⁶ We also read, again, that Cyriacus tells Cyril “many of the facts (πολλά) about Saint Euthymius”,³⁷ and that, at the end of the visit, he sends him “on his way in peace” (άπέλυσεν με ἐν εἰρήνῃ).³⁸

³⁰ In the VS we read that the same Cassianus of Scythopolis had governed the laura of Souka for eight years and had founded a monastery in Scythopolis, when he became superior of the Great Laura; he died ten months later, on 20 July 548, VS 88 (SCHWARTZ), 196,7-18 (see above, 85 at n.136). This means that Cassianus became superior of Souka not later than 538.

³¹ ὅτι (...) εἰμί. R. Price translates: “that I am (...)”. A past tense, which would be grammatically correct, could be appropriate here. Cyril wrote the VC in the years 557-558, when he had already left the cenobium of Euthymius and, after a two-year stay at the New Laura, had become an anchorite of the Great Laura. See VE 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,12-22; VS 82 (*ibid.*), 187,21-24; VS 90 (*ibid.*), 199,11-24; VIH (*ibid.*), 217,21-23 (see also above, 39 with nn.89, 93). However, in our text, Abba Cyriacus, having already left the monastery of Euthymius for more than fifty years, responds that Cyril is “of the same cenobium” as he. If the monks considered themselves as belonging to a monastery where they had spent an important part of their ascetic lives, we may maintain the present tense in the English translation, in the case of Cyril.

³² In the VE, Cyril repeatedly refers to Abba Cyriacus as his oral source, VE 19 (SCHWARTZ), 29,27-30,6; VE 21 (*ibid.*), 34,1-3; VE 22 (*ibid.*), 35,9-10; VE 45,18-19. In the VS, however, we do not find this reference.

³³ See above, 258, n.18.

³⁴ VC 15 (SCHWARTZ), 231,27-232,3.

³⁵ VC 15-16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,3-22.

³⁶ VC 16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,9-10, compare with VC 15 (*ibid.*), 231,20-22.

³⁷ VC 16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,14-15, compare with VC 15 (*ibid.*), 231,22-25.

³⁸ VC 16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,22, compare with VC 15 (*ibid.*), 231,26.

Then, after some other stories, Cyril briefly recounts the last two years of Cyriacus' life. After the departure (ἀναχώρησις) of the Origenists from the New Laura,³⁹ the fathers of Souka come to Sousakim and bring him back to the cave of Chariton. There, Cyril often visits him for the benefit of his soul.⁴⁰ In spite of Cyriacus' extreme old age of 107,⁴¹ he remains strong and zealous and able to do everything. Cyril describes him as "mild and approachable" (πρᾶος καὶ εὐπρόσιτος), gifted with prophecy and teaching, and "utterly orthodox" (ὀρθοδοξότατος).⁴² After a very short illness, he dies in peace in the winter of 556/557.⁴³

³⁹ According to the *VS*, the Origenists were expelled from the New Laura by military force, *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,14-17 (quoted above, 87-88 with n.147). Subsequently, the New Laura was repopulated by 120 orthodox monks on 21 February 555. See *ibid.*, 199,17-200,3 (and above, 88 at n.148). Although the text could suggest that the two events occurred immediately one after another, it does not exclude a certain interval: καὶ τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ δουκὸς διωχθέντων παρελάβομεν τὴν Νέαν λαύραν μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ... (*etc.*), *ibid.*, 199,26-200,2. In any case, the repopulating of the New Laura should be dated to Febr. 555 and not 554. See the references above, 39, n.89 (and for the discussion concerning this dating, below, 291, n. 177). In a footnote to his French translation of the *VC*, Festugière dates the expulsion of the Origenists to February 554; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 51, n.50. However, Festugière is not consistent in his dating (as has been noticed above, 137, n.30): in his time table, he dates the expulsion of the Origenists to the fall of 554 and the repopulating of the New Laura to Febr. 555, *ibid.*, 25 (comp. with *ibid.*, 9).

⁴⁰ ἐγὼ ὁ ταπεινὸς πικρῶς παρέβαλλον αὐτῷ καὶ πολλὴν τῆ ψυχῆ μου ὠφέλειαν ἐκαρπούμην, *VC* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 234,28-29.

⁴¹ Cyril observes that Cyriacus "had completed his hundred-and-seventh year", *VC* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 234,29-30, but the text is not clear about the exact moment of which Cyril is speaking. As Cyriacus' birth is dated to 9 January 449, *VC* 1 (*ibid.*), 223,4-6, he must have completed his 107th year on 9 January 556, and not 557 as Festugière suggests; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 52, n.51.

⁴² *VC* 21 (SCHWARTZ), 235,13-14 (perhaps ὀρθοδοξότατος?).

⁴³ Cyril does not indicate exactly the date of Cyriacus' death, but he writes that Cyriacus was brought back to the cave of Chariton "after the departure of the Origenists from the New Laura", *VC* 20 (SCHWARTZ), 234,24-27, and that (at a certain time) he "had completed his hundred-and-seventh year", *ibid.*, 234,29-30, and that he was brought back to the cave of Chariton "two years before his death", *VC* 21 (*ibid.*), 235,7-9. The expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura can be dated somewhere between the fall of 554 and 21 Febr. 555 (see above, n.39), so Cyriacus died in the winter of 556/557. Cyril gives a survey of Cyriacus' life, indicating the number of years for all the subsequent periods, *VC* 21 (*ibid.*), 234,30-235,7. When we calculate, the total comes to 108. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* III/3, 52, n.52. However, these numbers may not indicate full years (cf. E. SCHWARTZ, *ad loc.*). If Cyril's remark that Cyriacus had "completed" his 107th year actually refers to his last birthday, he must have died before 9 January 557 (see above, n.41); otherwise, he died a little later. See on this subject also T. HERMANN, "Zur Chronologie des Kyrill von Skythopolis", *ZKG* 45 (1926), 333-338.

Did Cyriacus deliver the discourse?

In the text quoted above Cyriacus replies to Cyril's question whether the doctrines of the Origenists are really dangerous, by attributing to them a series of five heretical propositions, all of which are introduced by λέγουσι(ν ὅτι).⁴⁴ We shall verify the accuracy of these charges below, but for the moment we may state with A.-J. Festugière that each of the charges corresponds to one or more of the fifteen *anathemata* against the Origenists of 553.⁴⁵ A. Guillaumont even affirms that the Origenist doctrine, as summarized by Cyriacus, is "absolument identique à celle des quinze anathématismes de 553".⁴⁶ This raises the question of the historicity of Cyriacus' discourse represented in the *VC*: is it possible that Cyriacus made such charges in the period claimed by Cyril? According to Festugière there are only two possibilities: 1) Cyril composed the text from notes he took during (or just after) a particular meeting with Cyriacus in 543;⁴⁷ or 2) Cyril *invented* "sinon le récit même de sa visite à Cyriaque, du moins quelque partie de la réponse de celui-ci, en lui faisant réciter une liste d'hérésies empruntée aux canons de 553".⁴⁸

Festugière does not make a choice between the two hypotheses. In the first case, we should postulate (as Festugière proposes) the existence of a certain catalogue of anti-Origenist charges, preceding the *anathemata* of 553, which could have been quoted by Cyriacus.⁴⁹ However, if Cyriacus

⁴⁴ *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,3-10.

⁴⁵ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* I, 85-87. Festugière distinguishes six propositions, because the third sentence introduced by λέγουσι consists of two parts (λέγουσιν ὅτι...καὶ ὅτι...), *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,5-7. However, these two parts are closely connected, both grammatically and by their contents, see below.

⁴⁶ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 151.

⁴⁷ The meeting must have taken place after July 544 (see above, 256, n.2). Festugière is not consistent on this point. See above, 137, n.30 (and comp. with 262, n.39). But the hypothesis that Cyril reproduced a "historical" discourse from his notes could be valid: at the end of the *VE* he confirms that he composed the Lives of Euthymius and Sabas from notes he took from oral testimonies, after assiduous inquiry among the fathers of the Palestinian desert, *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 82,28-83,7.

⁴⁸ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* I, 88-89, n.35.

⁴⁹ "S'il [*scil.* Cyril, DH] a donc noté aussitôt le réponse de Cyriaque, comme il est évident que Cyriaque récite un catalogue qu'il a pris ailleurs," *ibid.* The accordance of Cyriacus' charges with the *anathemata* of 553 (which will be indicated below) prompts us to assume that these charges derive from a written source. If they do not derive from the *anathemata* and Cyriacus pronounced them ten years before, there must be an indirect con-

indeed pronounced the charges somewhere around 544, intending to expose the Origenist impiety “in a few words” (ἐν ὀλίγοις λέξεσι)⁵⁰ in order to demonstrate its danger, why did he not simply summarize the official *anathemata* of Justinian’s edict of 543, recently published in that period?⁵¹ If Cyril’s account reflects a real historical discourse, we would expect agreement with the imperial document of 543, rather than a connection with the official condemnation of 553.⁵² This consideration, combined with our the-

nection. Otherwise, we should assume that Cyriacus spontaneously formulated a series of charges against the Origenists, that Cyril took notes from it and kept them in his cell and that, when he finally wrote the *VC* in 557/558, this series appeared to be a perfect summary of the official condemnation of 553. B. Flusin, after comparing Cyriacus’ charges with several parallel texts (both before and after Cyril’s account), concludes: “les rencontres verbales que nous avons relevées sont trop nombreuses pour être le fruit du hasard”, B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 80. If Cyriacus’ charges preceded the *anathemata* of 553, we may postulate the existence of a previous document as their common source. Festugière proposes two lost writings as a possible source: the σύγγραμμα of Antipatrus of Bostra which was read in the church of the Great Laura in 537, *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,20-22 (see above, 80-81 with n.115), or the *libellus* against the Origenists, sent by the orthodox monks to Justinian just before he wrote the edict of 543, *VS* 85 (*ibid.*), 191,25-192,3 (quoted above, 82 with n.126). See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* 1, 88-89, n.35.

⁵⁰ *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,2.

⁵¹ There is a striking lack of accord between Cyriacus’ charges and the *anathemata* of 543. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* 1, 88, n.35 (see also below). Can we assume that Cyriacus, being an old hermit in the cave of Chariton, had remained ignorant of Justinian’s edict published more than a year before? Cyril relates that Cyriacus had returned from the utter desert of Sousakim to take up his abode in the cell of Chariton at Souka, “where he strove for five years against the Origenists”, *VC* 10 (SCHWARTZ), 229,4-6. We also read that Cyriacus remained in the cave of Chariton until Nonnus’ death (547) ended the control of the Origenists, which made him feel free of care, so that he could withdraw again to Sousakim, *VC* 15 (*ibid.*), 231,27-232,3. If we are to pay some credit to this picture of Cyriacus as a prominent anti-Origenist who was closely involved in the controversy in the period of 542-547, we have to exclude his ignorance of Justinian’s edict.

⁵² There are significant differences between the *anathemata* of 543 and those of 553, indicating an important development of sixth-century Origenism (as represented by hostile sources). Whereas the text of 543 reflects a “traditional” Origenism, that of 553 is rather aimed at the Isochrists who separated from the Protoktists after Nonnus’ death in 547. See A. D’ALÈS, “Origénisme”, *DAFC* 3 (1916), 1228-1258; G. FRITZ, “Origénisme”, *DTC* 11/2 (1932), 1574-1588; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 146-151. For the split between Isochrists and Protoktists, see *VS* 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,13-18 (quoted above, 86 with n.141). If Cyriacus’ discourse were really delivered around 544, we would expect agreement with the edict of 543 and not with the text of 553. Even if we assume that Cyriacus’ charges derive from one of the two lost writings proposed by Festugière (see above, n.49 at the end), the difficulty remains that these sources preceded the edict of 543 and so cannot have reflected the later development of Origenism as presented by the *anathemata* of 553.

sis that Cyril had already made use of anachronisms when attributing post-conciliar speeches to Abba Euthymius⁵³ and Abba Gelasius,⁵⁴ makes the second hypothesis more probable: Cyriacus’ discourse reflects the situation after the Fifth Ecumenical Council and it is possible that Cyril put in Cyriacus’ mouth a series of charges derived from the *anathemata* of 553.

We find further evidence in support of this hypothesis when we look at the literary composition of the discourse which appears to depend on various written texts. The general setting is reminiscent of the world of the *Apophthegmata*: a young monk comes to an old Abba with a vexed question and he asks him for a word. In our text, however, the accent has shifted from the spiritual life to doctrine: what should one think about the Origenists and their arguments, since they appeal even to the authority of Gregory the Theologian? In support of their claim that the doctrines of pre-existence and apocatastasis are indifferent (μέσσα) and without danger (ἀκίνδυνα), they adduce the concluding passage of Gregory’s *Oratio* 27, where the theologian enumerates a series of questions open to speculation within the limits of orthodox faith.⁵⁵ Cyril’s quotation of the text is so accurate,⁵⁶ that he must have had it in front of him when writing the account of his dialogue with Cyriacus.

At this point, Abba Cyriacus starts his discourse by stressing that the doctrines of pre-existence and apocatastasis are actually dangerous and harmful. “In order to convince you,” he says, “I shall try to expose their multifarious impiety (τὴν πολυσχεδῆ αὐτῶν ἀσέβειαν στηλιτεύσαι) in a few words.”⁵⁷ The Greek expression appears also in the *VS* with reference to the Origenists.⁵⁸ Thereupon Cyriacus starts reciting a series of charges

⁵³ *VE* 26 (SCHWARTZ), 40,5-41,3 (see above, 188-189 with nn.252-258).

⁵⁴ *VS* 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,17-27 (quoted above, p.84 with n.134 and p.201, n.306).

⁵⁵ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS, *Oratio* 27,10, SC 250, p.96, line 17 to p.98, line 22 (see above, 161, n.132). As to the origins of Gregory’s position: “c’est sans doute la fameuse préface du *De Principiis* d’Origène”, P. GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 27-31 (Discours théologiques)*, SC 250, Paris 1978, 96-97, n.7 (*ad loc.*). I shall return to Gregory’s text below.

⁵⁶ *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,27-31.

⁵⁷ *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,2-3.

⁵⁸ When speaking of the split between *Protoktists* and *Isochrists*, Cyril refers to a contemporary account in which “the multifarious impiety of both (ἡ ἀμφοτέρων πολυσχεδῆς ἀσέβεια) has been recorded (στηλιτεύεται)” in a more detailed way, *VS* 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,10-13. Unfortunately, this text has not been preserved; see also above, 85, n.138. For the parallel expression in the *VS* and the *VC*, see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 83.

which, as has been said, must derive from a written source.⁵⁹ Subsequently, he exclaims: “What hell blurted out these doctrines?” and opposes Pythagoras, Plato and their followers Origen, Evagrius and Didymus to “God who spoke through the prophets and apostles”.⁶⁰ As we saw, the representation of Pythagoras and Plato in a negative sense as the predecessors of Origen and the Origenists has a parallel in Justinian’s letter against the Origenists addressed to the Council fathers of 553.⁶¹ Then Cyriacus uses a text from *Oratio* 27 of Gregory of Nazianzus.⁶² As far as I know, this second reference to the same writing has not yet been noted, so I shall put the texts together:

Gregory of Nazianzus,
Or. 27,7 (86,8-15):

Τί τὰς χεῖρας δῆσαντες τὰς γλώσσας ὠπλίσασμεν; Οὐ φιλοξενίαν ἐπαινοῦμεν; Οὐ φιλαδελφίαν, οὐ φιλανδρίαν, οὐ παρθενίαν, οὐ πτωχοτροφίαν θαυμάζομεν; Οὐ ψαλμωδίαν, οὐ πάννουχον στάσιν, οὐ δάκρυον; Οὐ τὸ σῶμα νηστείαις ὑποπιέζομεν (cf. 1Cor 9:27); Οὐ δι’ εὐχῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδημοῦμεν; Οὐ τῷ κρείττονι τὸ χεῖρον ὑποζεύγνυμεν, “τὸν χοῦν” λέγω τῷ πνεύματι, ὡς ἂν οἱ τῷ κράματι δικαίως δικάζοντες; Οὐ “μελέτην θανάτου” τὸν βίον ποιοῦμεθα;

Cyriac of Scythopolis,
VC 13 (230,14-22):

ἐγὼ δὲ θεαύμακα πόσους τε εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην πόνους ἀνήντησαν εἰς τοιαύτας ἐπιβλαβεῖς ματαιοπονίας καὶ πῶς οὕτως τὰς ἰδίας ὠπλίσαν γλώσσας κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας. οὐκ ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν φιλαδελφίαν φιλοξενίαν παρθενίαν πτωχοτροφίαν ψαλμωδίαν τε καὶ πάννουχον στάσιν καὶ δάκρυα κατανύξεως; οὐκ ἔχρην αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ὑποπιέζειν νηστείαις τὸ σῶμα (cf. 1Cor 9:27) καὶ δι’ εὐχῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδημεῖν καὶ μελέτην θανάτου τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐρεσχελίαις ἀδολεσχεῖν;

⁵⁹ See above, 263 with n.49.

⁶⁰ *VC* 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,10-14.

⁶¹ JUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, p.90, lines 13-14 and p.95, lines 1-2, 4, 9 and p.96, lines 11-19, (see above, 247 with nn.533-535). The parallel with Justinian’s letter is also noticed by B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 80 (nr.9).

⁶² GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS, *Oratio* 27,7, SC 250, p.86, lines 8-15 (see also above, 248, n.539).

Gregory’s text is not quoted literally, but the dependence is obvious. Cyril only reworked the passage to fit it into the thread of Cyriacus’ discourse. Cyriacus here appears to be parrying the Origenist appeal to Gregory’s authority, which gave cause to Cyril’s opening question, by adding another passage from the very same writing used by the Origenists.

Cyriacus then complains that the Origenists “did not wish to follow the humble path of Christ”.⁶³ Cyril had already brought this accusation against Sabas’ first opponents.⁶⁴ Cyriacus’ charge is followed by a literal quotation of Rom 1:21-22, and the biblical quotation is followed by a parallel with a passage in Cyril’s account of the Origenist Controversy in the *VS* (including a reminiscence to Hab 2:15):

VS 83 (188,15-19):⁶⁵

οἱ γὰρ περὶ Νόννον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν κοιμήσεως δραξάμενοι, λέγω δὴ Σάβα, τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῶν σπλάγχθων δημοσιεύσαντες κακοδοξίαν ἐπότιζον τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν (cf. Hab 2:15)

καὶ οὐ μόνον πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Νέα λαύρα λογιωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν μιὰν συγκατέσπασαν αἴρεσιν...

VC 13-14 (230,26-32):

πάντων δὲ τῶν ζιζανίων ὁ σπορευὺς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος γέγονε Νόννος.⁶⁶ ὅστις τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα κοιμήσεως δραξάμενος ποτίζειν ἤρξατο τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν (cf. Hab 2:15), Λεόντιον τὸν Βυζάντιον ὑπουργὸν ἔχων καὶ ὑπέρμαχον καὶ συναγωνιστήν.

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Νέα λαύρα λογιωτέρους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀλογωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μιὰν συγκατέσπασεν αἴρεσιν.

These two passages are both followed by the observation that Nonnus and his companions exerted themselves to spread the Origenist heresy in other monasteries.⁶⁷ At this point, Cyriacus passes, in his discourse, to the local struggle against the Origenists taking place in his own laura, until he

⁶³ ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν τῇ ταπεινῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πορευθῆναι, *VC* 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,23-24 (see also above, 248 at n.536).

⁶⁴ καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένους ἐν τῇ ταπεινῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαδίζειν, *VS* 35 (SCHWARTZ), 120,22-23 (see also above, 251 at n.555).

⁶⁵ See the passage quoted above, 79 with n.106.

⁶⁶ Compare with *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,3-4 (cf. Mt 13:25, and quoted above, 72 with n.78).

⁶⁷ *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,19-24; *VC* 14 (*ibid.*), 230,32-231,2.

and his orthodox allies finally succeeded in repelling the enemies.⁶⁸ This is the only part of the discourse that does not consist of parallels with other written texts.

This brief analysis reveals that Cyriacus' discourse is composed for the greater part of a chain of quotations and reminiscences. Such a polished speech can hardly reflect a spontaneous oral reply of Cyriacus in the context of a real dialogue, to the question of what to think about Origenism. It is hard to believe that Cyril wrote this carefully arranged text from provisional notes taken on such a particular occasion. The composition urges us rather to assume that Cyril himself drafted the speech, using written sources, and then put it in the mouth of Abba Cyriacus.⁶⁹ This does not exclude the possibility that he had really visited Cyriacus⁷⁰ and that the old hermit, like others, had warned him against the injurious influence of the Origenists.⁷¹ But the discourse that we read in the *VC* cannot have been delivered by Cyriacus.

This means that we need not explain the agreement between Cyriacus' charges and the *anathemata* of 553 by postulating a hypothetical document cited by Cyriacus as early as 544.⁷² We may simply assume that the text,

⁶⁸ *VC* 14 (SCHWARTZ), 231,2-19.

⁶⁹ Flusin also arrives at the conclusion that "la rencontre entre Cyriaque et Cyrille est largement recomposée", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 80. For further evidence, Flusin points to the "grave difficulté" of "données contradictoires" with respect to the dating of the meeting. As has been said, the meeting should be dated to a period *after* Cyril's entering the monastery of Euthymius in July 544, and yet we hear Cyriacus *predicting* Leontius' death in 542/543. See above, p.135 with n.19, p.137 with n.30 and p.256 with n.2. We may add to this argument Cyriacus' other "prophecies", concerning Nonnus' death and the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura, as indications of a fictional discourse.

⁷⁰ Cyril not only testifies to other visits with Cyriacus, *VC* 15-16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,3-22 (see above, 261, n.35); *VC* 20 (*ibid.*), 234,28-29 (see above, 262, n.40), but he also presents Cyriacus as his oral source for several stories in the *VE*. See the references above, 261, n.32.

⁷¹ Cyril twice relates that when he departed from Scythopolis for Jerusalem in November 543 his mother warned him against the Origenists and that, at the same time, she recommended him to the spiritual guidance of John the Hesychast, *VE* 49 (SCHWARTZ), 71,20-27; *VIH* 20 (*ibid.*), 216,11-15 (see above, 38 at n.86). In our account of the *VC*, Cyril is sent to Cyriacus precisely by John the Hesychast because of troubles caused by the Origenists, *VC* 11 (*ibid.*), 229,7-15. Both John the Hesychast and Cyriacus are presented by Cyril as leading figures in the struggle against Origenism, *VIH* 27 (*ibid.*), 221,18-21; *VC* 10 (*ibid.*), 229,5-6; *VC* 15 (*ibid.*), 231,27-232,3. We have no reason to doubt that Cyril indeed paid visits to Cyriacus and that, on such occasions, Cyriacus used to rail against the Origenists.

⁷² See above, 263, n.49. As has been said, if such a hypothetical document also preceded the edict of 543, we should reject this hypothesis. See above, 264, n.52 (at the end).

like other speeches in Cyril's *Lives*, reflects the contemporary situation immediately after 553. The only remaining question is whether Cyril indeed summarized the *anathemata* of 553, as Festugière's second hypothesis suggests. Guillaumont rejects this possibility because of a slight difference between Cyriacus' charges and the *anathemata*.⁷³ I shall treat this below. However, Cyril wrote the *VC* in 557/558, and he even mentions the *anathemata* against the Origenists elsewhere, when referring to the Council of 553.⁷⁴ Should we then exclude, because of a slight deviation within the context of a striking agreement, the possibility that he used the official text of the *anathemata*? In any case, if the charges do not directly depend on the *anathemata*, they at least derive from an allied document dating from the same period.⁷⁵ B. Flusin also arrived at the conclusion that "la polémique anti-Origéniste de Cyrille se rattache aux écrits de 553".⁷⁶

⁷³ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 151.

⁷⁴ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-6 (quoted above, 87 with n.145).

⁷⁵ One should add to Festugière's hypotheses the possibility that Cyril took the charges from the anti-Origenist *libellus* presented to the Emperor by Abba Conon in the fall of 552, "revealing all the impiety of the Origenists", *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,14-17 (quoted above, 86-87 with n.143). The existence of such a document is also mentioned in EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,23-189,2. Evagrius' testimony suggests that there might have been more documents: there is a plural in 188,24 (ἐκ λιβέλλων) followed by a singular in 189,1 (τοῦ λιβέλλου), but the testimony is vague. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, "Évagre: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, traduction", *Byz* 45 (1975), 404-405, n.106 (*ad loc.*). Both Cyril and Evagrius also mention a certain Cyriacus in this context, but Cyril indicates that this person was the superior of the laura called "The Spring" (ἡ Πηγὴ), *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,28: he cannot be identified with Abba Cyriacus of the *VC*.

⁷⁶ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 81. Along with the *libellus* of Conon (see the preceding footnote) Flusin points to the lost writing Cyril mentions in the *VS*, when speaking of the split between *Protoktists* and *Ischrists*, *VS* 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,10-13 (see above, 265, n.58). Flusin finally proposes the hypothesis that this is the writing Cyril used as his source for the charges he attributed to Cyriacus; see B. FLUSIN, *o.c.*, 83. However, Cyril specifies that this writing was composed "at the present time (κατὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον)", which could theoretically mean as late as 557, when he wrote the *VS*. So this document itself could well depend on the *anathemata* of 553.

The accuracy of Cyriacus' theological charges

A.-J. Festugière, when demonstrating the parallelisms between Cyriacus' series of charges and the anti-Origenist *anathemata* of 553, dealt also with the question of whether the charges actually represent the thought of Origen. For each of the charges, his answer was negative.⁷⁷ In view of our central theme of Cyril's historical trustworthiness, we should extend Festugière's question: do these charges accurately summarize the theological positions of the sixth-century Origenists? Because of the lack of non-hostile sources, there is no possibility of an exhaustive verification. Nevertheless, there are two approaches that allow us to address the question at least partially. First, Cyriacus' charges are closely allied to the *anathemata* of 553. Since A. Guillaumont demonstrated that the *anathemata* are not so much derived from the works of Origen, himself, as from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*,⁷⁸ we may easily establish some relation between the charges and Evagrius. But this would provide us only with a superficial confirmation that Cyriacus' charges have at least some connection with "Origenism". The second approach, however, is more interesting. In the account of his meeting with Cyriacus, Cyril mentions Leontius of Byzantium three times. If Leontius is also included among those to whom the theological positions formulated by Cyriacus are attributed, this will provide us with concrete material for pursuing our inquiry into Cyril's accuracy, taking as a reference point Leontius' actual theological position.

So first we must check how Leontius' name appears in the text. The account starts with an introductory chapter, where Cyril describes the general background of his meeting with Cyriacus. Because of troubles with the Origenists, he is sent by John the Hesychast to Cyriacus to ask him to intercede with God "to quell the raging of Nonnus and Leontius and their party at the New Laura", who are campaigning "in favor of the doctrines of Origen (διὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων)".⁷⁹ A few lines further on, Cyriacus predicts the approaching death of Nonnus and Leontius and the expulsion

⁷⁷ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1, 85-87.

⁷⁸ A. GUILLAUMONT, "Évagre et les anathématismes antiorigénistes de 553", 219-226; *id.*, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 143-159. See also above, p.23 with n.9 and p.168 with n.164.

⁷⁹ VC 11 (SCHWARTZ), 229,12-15 (NB: Price translates: "by means of the doctrines").

of "the rest" (οἱ λοιποί) from the New Laura.⁸⁰ At this point, Cyril poses his question concerning "the views they advocate (τὰ παρ'αὐτῶν πρεσβεύόμενα)", that is, the question of whether their δόγματα of pre-existence and apocatastasis are harmless or not.⁸¹ The personal pronoun (αὐτῶν) refers to Nonnus, Leontius and "the rest". Cyriacus replies that their δόγματα are certainly dangerous.⁸² In order to illustrate this, he formulates the charges as a summary ἐν ὀλίγαις λέξεσι of the Origenist "multifarious impiety (ἡ πολυσχεδῆς αὐτῶν ἀσέβεια)".⁸³ This expression refers to the δόγματα of which they are speaking and in favor of which Leontius also is campaigning. Then the quotations and allusions follow. The chain is concluded by the parallel text with a passage from the VS, as has been previously shown.⁸⁴ In both texts Nonnus is accused of having taken advantage of Sabas' death to spread the evil of Origenism. Cyriacus affirms that "the sower of all these tares (ζιζανία) and cause of all these evils (κακῶν) was Nonnus."⁸⁵ In this phrase ζιζανία and κακῶν refer to the δόγματα summarized by the five charges. There is a common allusion to Hab 2:15 in the two texts which is followed in Cyriacus' discourse by the comment that Nonnus "had Leontius of Byzantium as his assistant (ὑπουργός), champion (ὑπέρμαχος) and fellow-combatant (συναγωνιστής)".⁸⁶ The analysis clearly shows that Cyril has attributed the Origenist theological positions, as formulated in the charges, also to Leontius of Byzantium.

I shall now examine the five individual charges put by Cyril into Cyriacus' mouth. For each of them I shall indicate briefly their relation to three official anti-Origenist documents: Justinian's edict of 543, Justinian's letter of 553 to the Council Fathers and the *anathemata* of 553. At the same time, I shall indicate their connection with Origen, Evagrius and Leontius. To a certain extent the following survey will be a combination of the results

⁸⁰ VC 11 (SCHWARTZ), 229,20-22.

⁸¹ VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,24-27.

⁸² VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 229,31-230,1.

⁸³ VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,2-3.

⁸⁴ VC 13-14 (SCHWARTZ), 230,26-32, parallel with VS 83 (*ibid.*), 188,15-19 (see above, 267).

⁸⁵ VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,26-27.

⁸⁶ VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,29-30.

of previous studies – mentioned many times already – of F. Diekamp,⁸⁷ A.-J. Festugière,⁸⁸ A. Guillaumont,⁸⁹ B. Daley⁹⁰ and B. Flusin.⁹¹

1. Cyriacus' first charge reads: "They say that Christ is not one of the Trinity."⁹² Such a charge is not found in Justinian's edict of 543, nor in his letter of 553, but it corresponds to Canon 8 of the *anathemata* of 553, which condemns the assumption of a certain split between the divine λόγος and Christ as the unfallen νοῦς who is the subject of the Incarnation.⁹³ This has

⁸⁷ Diekamp compared Justinian's letter of 553 to the Council Fathers with the *anathemata* of 553; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 90-97. At the end of his letter, Justinian mentions a non-preserved "appended exposition" (ὑποτεταγμένη ἔκθεσις) containing "chapters" (κεφάλαια) which the Fathers are ordered to condemn; see IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene*, ed. DIEKAMP, *o.c.*, 96,20-97,4. Diekamp concludes his comparison by confirming that the fifteen *anathemata* of 553 "die in dem Briefe Justinians 'an die heilige Synode' erwähnten κεφάλαια sind, die der Kaiser den im Jahre 553 in Konstantinopel versammelten Bischöfen zur Untersuchung und Bestätigung zugeschiedt hat", *ibid.*, 97. Presumably, the "appended exposition" Justinian refers to was (derived from) the *libellus* he had recently received from Abba Conon, which informed him of the Origenist positions of that period. See above, 269, n.75.

⁸⁸ Festugière compared Cyriacus' charges with the *anathemata* of Justinian's edict of 543 and the *anathemata* of 553, and he also indicated the connection with Origen himself. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1, 85-87 (as above, 270, n.77).

⁸⁹ Guillaumont compared the *anathemata* of 553 with some passages from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*. See A. GUILLAUMONT, "Évagre et les anathématismes antiorigénistes de 553", 219-226; *id.*, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 143-159. See also above, 270, n.78 (with the other ref.). From Guillaumont's study we may conclude that the κεφάλαια of the "appended exposition" mentioned by Justinian (see above, n.87), which underlay the *anathemata* of 553, were extracts from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*.

⁹⁰ Daley compared the condemned Evagrian passages with the theological position taken by Leontius of Byzantium. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 355-361.

⁹¹ Flusin compared each of Cyriacus' charges with a series of parallel texts, both earlier and later than Cyril's account. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 76-83. The previous texts derive from the three official anti-Origenist documents just mentioned, and also from a *libellus* sent to Justinian in December 552, by Theodore of Scythopolis, in which he abjured his former Origenism, PG 86/1 232B1-236B15. This brief document contains twelve *anathemata* which for the greater part reflect those of the edict of 543; it represents an "étape intermédiaire" between the *anathemata* of 543 and those of 553; see A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 151, n.91.

⁹² λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἓνα τῆς τριάδος τὸν Χριστόν, VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,3-4.

⁹³ Canon 8 condemns the denial that God the λόγος, who is consubstantial with God and *One of the Holy Trinity* (ἐνὰ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος), is Christ in a proper sense (κυρίως). According to the notion condemned, the divine λόγος is called Christ only in an improper sense (καταχρηστικῶς), because of his union with the νοῦς, who is Christ in the proper

nothing to do with Origen,⁹⁴ but there is a real connection with the writings of Evagrius where Christ the νοῦς seems to be distinguished from the divine λόγος.⁹⁵ The Nestorians also are charged with separating Christ from the Holy Trinity⁹⁶ and, on this particular point, we can even see Severus the Monophysite being lumped together with Nestorius.⁹⁷ Leontius of Byzantium, however, repeatedly stresses that Christ is not a being different from the divine λόγος, and that it is the λόγος itself who became

sense and who is the one who became man by abasement (κενώσαντα ἑαυτόν); in the same way, the νοῦς is improperly called God because of the λόγος. See ACO IV/1, 249,10-14 (= ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 93,23-34). The next *anathema*, Canon 9, explicitly condemns the notion that only the νοῦς and not the λόγος itself, is the subject of the Incarnation, *ibid.*, 249,15-18 (= ed. DIEKAMP, *o.c.*, 93,35-94,7).

⁹⁴ "Ceci (...) n'a nul rapport avec Origène," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1, 85. For Origen, the pre-existent soul of Christ is the soul with which the divine λόγος united itself, but there is no split. In the Incarnation, this soul unites in itself both the qualities of the Son of God and the Son of man (*communicatio idiomatum*). See esp. ORIGENES, *Princ* II, 6,3, SC 252, 314-316.

⁹⁵ See above, 191, n.264. A. Guillaumont observes that for Evagrius "le Christ fait (...) partie des natures raisonnables; il 's'abreuve' à la Trinité mais ne fait pas partie de celle-ci," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 153. Some texts of the *Kephalaia gnostica* indeed seem to express the distinction: "Si autre est l'héritier et autre l'héritage, ce n'est pas le Verbe qui est celui qui hérite, mais le Christ hérite le Verbe, lequel est l'héritage, parce que quiconque hérite ainsi s'unit à l'héritage et que le Verbe Dieu est libre d'union," EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* IV,9, PO 28/1, 139. "L'onction intelligible est la science spirituelle de l'unité sainte, et le Christ est celui qui est uni à cette science. Et s'il en est ainsi, le Christ n'est pas le Verbe au début, mais celui-là [λόγος] à cause de celui-ci [Christ] est le Christ, et celui-ci [Christ] à cause de celui-là [λόγος] est Dieu," *ibid.*, IV,18, 143. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *o.c.*, 153-154. The final part of this phrase is literally quoted in Canon 8 of the *anathemata* of 553; see also *id.*, "Évagre et les anathématismes antiorigénistes de 553", pp.220, 224.

⁹⁶ Elsewhere, Cyril charges two Nestorian monks with the doctrine that Christ is not one of the Trinity, VS 37 (SCHWARTZ), 127,22-24. The charge is derived from IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 92,6-7. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 76 (nr.13). In this context, I already pointed to the possibility of associating (Evagrian-)Origenist Christology with a "Nestorian" position according to Grillmeier's indication of a "Gefahr einer nestorianischen Christusdeutung", A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus* I, 564. See above, 191, n.264. However, I also rejected Daley's suggestion that before the Council of 553, Origenists and Nestorians were "lumped together" by anti-Origenists like Cyril. See above, 192-198.

⁹⁷ IUSTINIANUS, *Contra monophysitas* 192, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 41,7-12. The charge against Severus is explicit: κατὰ τὴν Νεστορίου βλασφημίαν μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν θεὸν εἶναι καὶ ἓνα τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, *ibid.*, 41,10-11.

flesh.⁹⁸ Daley observes that this is perhaps Leontius' "most radical divergence from Evagrian Christology".⁹⁹ Thus Cyriacus' first charge appears to be a stereotype charge which cannot be brought against Leontius.

2. The second charge reads: "They say that our resurrection bodies pass to total destruction, and Christ's first of all."¹⁰⁰ This charge is not found in the *anathemata* of Justinian's edict of 543, but the long text of the edict says that according to Origen rational beings will be restored to their former state and "their bodies will be totally cast off".¹⁰¹ The conception of a "total destruction", which applies also to the body of Christ, is formulated in Justinian's letter of 553¹⁰² and corresponds to Canons 10-11 of the *anathemata* of 553.¹⁰³ This conception, however, cannot be attributed to Ori-

⁹⁸ Daley adduces many passages demonstrating that Leontius identifies the Incarnate Christ with the Logos itself: the Logos and Christ are not ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, but εἷς; see LEONTIUS BYZANTINUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1392A15-B2; *Epil*, PG 86/2, 1944D5-6. That the Logos itself is the subject of the Incarnation can be found in: *CNE*, 1281A1-2, 1284C8-10; *CA*, 1324D3-1325A4, 1332A12, 1352D8-10, 1353A12-14 (cf. B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 359-360). Leontius' statements, expressed in these passages, imply that for him Christ is One of the Trinity. On the other hand, Leontius remains careful in his terminology: he does not attribute the human qualities of the Incarnate Logos to "One of the Trinity", but rather to "Christ" or to "the Lord", and he also avoids the theopaschite formula (*Unus de Trinitate passus est*), which had become popular among his Neo-Chalcedonian contemporaries, *ibid.*, 360.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 359.

¹⁰⁰ λέγουσι τὰ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως σώματα ἡμῶν εἰς παντελεῖ ἀπόλειαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ Χριστοῦ πρώτου, *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,4-5.

¹⁰¹ παντελῶς ἀποτιθεμένα τὰ σώματα, IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, *ACO* III, 190,19-20. The doctrine is attributed to Origen himself, see *ibid.*, 190,15.

¹⁰² (λέγουσι...) καὶ ὅτι παντελής ἐστι τῶν σωμάτων ἀναίρεσις, αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου πρώτου ἀποτιθεμένου τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων, IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene*, ed. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 94,13-17 (right col.).

¹⁰³ The opinion attributed to the Origenists, concerning the future fate of the human body, is more extensively expressed in Canons 10-11 of the *anathemata* of 553. In Canon 10 three positions are rejected: that the resurrection body of the Lord and of all others will be ethereal and spherical, that the Lord will be the first to depose his body (ὅτι αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου πρώτον ἀποτιθεμένου τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα), and that the nature of the bodies of all others will pass to non-existence, *ACO* IV/1, 249,19-22 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 94,8-18 (left col.)]. Canon 11 condemns the notions that the Last Judgment means the total destruction of bodies (ἀναίρεσις παντελής τῶν σωμάτων) and that in the future world there will be no material but only the naked νοῦς, *ibid.*, 249,23-25 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 94,19-25 (left col.)].

gen.¹⁰⁴ Evagrius indeed affirms that in the final Unity the bodies of rational beings will be dissolved,¹⁰⁵ and there will be only "naked νόες".¹⁰⁶ But Leontius nowhere enunciates the theory of an annihilation of the body after the resurrection. On the contrary, he explicitly confirms that all men, just and unjust, will then share in the immortality and incorruptibility of the flesh of the Lord, without suffering from hunger, thirst and sleep,¹⁰⁷ and that the human body will be restored.¹⁰⁸

3. The third charge reads: "They say that the holy Trinity did not create (ἐδημιούργησε) the world and that at the restoration all rational beings, even demons, will be able to create (δημιουργεῖν) aeons."¹⁰⁹ Festugière treats the two clauses of this sentence as two singular propositions,¹¹⁰ and

¹⁰⁴ "Ceci (...) ne peut être tiré directement du *Péri Archôn*, du moins dans l'état fragmentaire où nous le possédons. Certains passages, il est vrai, 'donneraient à entendre que ces supports provisoires (les corps ressuscités) des âmes retombent dans le néant,'" A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* I, 86 (nr.2), with a quotation from A. D'ALÈS, "Origenisme", *DAFC* 3 (1916), 1246 (nr.15). For Origen, who speculates about "ethereal" bodies of rational beings in the pre-existence and after the resurrection, "l'incorporité absolue est le privilège de la Trinité seule", H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 269. See also *id.*, *Origène et Plotin. Comparaisons doctrinales*, Paris 1992, 138-140, 232-235; H. CROUZEL/M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des Principes* II, SC 253, Paris 1978, 102 (nr.32), 126-129, 139-141 (nr.7).

¹⁰⁵ "En effet, tous ceux qui ont été joints à des corps en seront libérés nécessairement," EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* 1,58, PO 28/1, 45. "Accompagnent la science qui concerne les *logikoi* la destruction des mondes, la dissolution des corps et l'abolition des noms..." II,17, *ibid.*, 67. "...la trompette dernière fera connaître la destruction des corps," III,66, *ibid.*, 125. See also A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 116 with nn.156-157.

¹⁰⁶ For Evagrius the final Unity "est un paix indicible et il n'y a que des *noes nus*", EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* 1,65, PO 28/1, 47. See also A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, p.156 with n.105, p.157. Compare with Canon 11, above, 274, n.103.

¹⁰⁷ In the *CA*, Leontius states that the imitation of Christ requires that we shall not disdain our similarity with Him in suffering (ὁμοιοπάθεια). However, the same goes for "the qualities that both the just and the unjust will have in common after the resurrection, I mean immortality (ἀθανασία) and incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία), and, in view of this, the absence of hunger, thirst and the need of sleep, as this is attributed as a great quality to the flesh of Christ", LEONTIUS, *CA*, PG 86/1, 1337A14-B3; see also *ibid.*, 1344A4-8. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", 357-358.

¹⁰⁸ The union of the resurrection will perfectly restore the parts of our bodies "just as nature knit them together when it formed them in the womb", LEONTIUS, *Epil*, PG 86/2, 1944D6-7. See B. DALEY, "The Origenism", 357-358 (d).

¹⁰⁹ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἡ ἅγια τριάς οὐκ ἐδημιούργησε τὸν κόσμον καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει δυνησονται πάντα τὰ λογικὰ μέχρι καὶ δαιμόνων δημιουργεῖν αἰῶνας, *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230, 5-7.

¹¹⁰ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* I, 86-87 (nrs.3-4). See also above, 263, n.45.

Guillaumont, when referring only to the second part, isolates it from its context and makes it a separate proposition.¹¹¹ However, the grammatical structure urges us to conceive the whole statement as a single proposition.¹¹² Also the content points to a unity: the proposition rejects the opinion that the power of creation is not an attribute of the Holy Trinity, but of (Christ the νοῦς and) all rational beings, once they are restored to their original state.¹¹³

In this form, the proposition has no parallel in Justinian's edict of 543,¹¹⁴ nor in his letter of 553.¹¹⁵ But there is again a clear agreement with the *anathemata* of 553. Here a small digression is needed. Canon 6 (at the end) condemns the opinion that "it was not the all-holy and consubstantial Trinity who created (ἐδημιούργησε) the world", but that the existence of the world was caused, instead, by "the νοῦς who, as they say, pre-existed the world as a craftsman (δημιουργικός)".¹¹⁶ When we *combine* this charge

¹¹¹ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 151 (see below).

¹¹² All propositions of Cyriacus' charges are introduced by λέγουσι(ν ὅτι) and the only exception would appear when we cut the third statement into two separate propositions. Within that context it is preferable to approach this statement with the grammatical structure λέγουσιν ὅτι...καὶ ὅτι... as a unity.

¹¹³ The first part of the statement concerns the denial that the Trinity created (ἐδημιούργησε) the world, which can only be understood against the background of the isolation of Christ as the unfallen νοῦς who created the world, from the Trinity, according to the first charge. Subsequently, the second part anticipates the last charge, where the opinion that in the apocatastasis all rational beings will be equal to Christ (ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ) is rejected. This implies that all of them, including the demons, will then share in the power of Christ to create (δημιουργεῖν) worlds.

¹¹⁴ Festugère connects the second part of the statement (as a separate proposition) with *anathema* 9 of Justinian's edict; see A.-J. FESTUGÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1, 86-87 (nr.4). However, the agreement with this *anathema* does not go further than a rejection of the restoration of the demons and the impious people in the apocatastasis. See IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ACO III, 214,4-6.

¹¹⁵ The "Origenist" cosmogony is briefly described in Justinian's letter, but the Emperor does not refer to an explicit denial that the Holy Trinity created the world, nor to an attribution of the creation to Christ as being a separate νοῦς. See IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 90,22-92,23 (r. col.). The Emperor mentions the concept of a restoration of the demons and the impious people in the apocatastasis (as he did in *anathema* 9 of the edict), and he specifies that according to the Origenists "there will be no difference between Christ and the other rational beings, in substance, in knowledge, in power, or in operation (οὔτε τῆ οὐσίᾳ οὔτε τῆ γνώσει οὔτε τῆ δυνάμει οὔτε τῆ ἐνεργείᾳ)", *ibid.*, 94,33-95,1; but he does not explicitly refer to an attribution of creative power to all rational beings.

¹¹⁶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡ παναγία καὶ ὁμοούσιος τριάς ἐδημιούργησε τὸν κόσμον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔστι γενητός, ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς, ὃν φασί, δημιουργικός προὑπάρχων τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῷ τῷ κόσμῳ παρέχων γενητὸν ἀνέδειξεν, ACO IV/1, 248,31-33 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 92,32-37 (left col.)].

with Canon 13, we come very close to what Cyriacus says in the second half of his third charge. Canon 13 condemns the doctrine that (in the apocatastasis) "Christ will be no different in relation to any other rational being, neither in substance, nor in knowledge, nor in power and operation with respect to everything (οὐδὲ τῆ ἐφ' ἅπαντα δυνάμει ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ)".¹¹⁷ In the Greek expression quoted, the power of Christ as a δημιουργός (separate from the Trinity as specified in Canon 6) is implied, though it is not explicitly formulated. So the condemned doctrine includes the concept that there will be no difference between the δημιουργός of the world and *any* (ἐν) of the other rational beings, the Devil among them (which had been formulated already in Canon 12¹¹⁸). Guillaumont, however, considers the second part of Cyriacus' third charge "une proposition (...) à laquelle rien ne correspond dans les quinze anathématismes".¹¹⁹ The statement is too categorical and founded upon the separation of that "proposition" from the first part of Cyriacus' charge. Because of this single deviation, Guillaumont rejects the possibility that Cyril derived the series of charges from the fifteen *anathemata* of 553.¹²⁰ However, the deviation is much smaller than Guillaumont suggests, and Cyril could well have been influenced by frequent oral discussions when he simplified and radicalized in a few words (ἐν ὀλίγαις λέξεσι) what everyone could read in the official *anathemata*.

The notion that it was not God as the Holy Trinity who created the world, but Christ as a separate νοῦς (which is tacitly included in Cyriacus'

¹¹⁷ οὐδὲ μίαν παντελῶς ἔξει ὁ Χριστὸς πρὸς οὐδὲ ἓν τῶν λογικῶν διαφορὰν, οὐδὲ τῆ οὐσίᾳ οὐδὲ τῆ γνώσει οὐδὲ τῆ ἐφ' ἅπαντα δυνάμει ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ, ACO IV/1, 249,30-31 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 95,3-8 (left col.)]. This phrase depends on a passage of Justinian's letter of 553, ed. DIEKAMP, 94,30-95,1 (r. col.), quoted above, 276, n.115. But at the end, the expression οὔτε τῆ δυνάμει οὔτε τῆ ἐνεργείᾳ of Justinian's letter has been changed into οὐδὲ τῆ ἐφ' ἅπαντα δυνάμει ἢ ἐνεργείᾳ.

¹¹⁸ Canon 12 condemns the notion that all rational beings, including the Devil and the evil spirits (καὶ ὁ διάβολος καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας) will be united to the divine λόγος, just like the νοῦς who is called Christ by the Origenists, ACO IV/1, 249,26-29 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 94,26-95,2 (left col.)].

¹¹⁹ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 151.

¹²⁰ Guillaumont is followed by B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 81. For this reason Flusin formulates his hypothesis concerning Cyril's alternative source, *ibid.*, 83, but, as has been said, the writing he mentions could, theoretically, depend on the *anathemata* of 553. See above, 269, n.76.

third charge), can by no means be attributed to Origen.¹²¹ Nor did Origen say that in the apocatastasis all rational beings including demons can “create aeons”.¹²² He shows himself inclined to exclude a final salvation of the Devil.¹²³ Evagrius for his part not only distinguishes Christ the *νοῦς* from the divine *λόγος*,¹²⁴ but also attributes the creation of the “second beings” – that is, the material world – to Christ,¹²⁵ whom he calls: *δημιουργὸς τοῦς λόγους τῶν αἰώνων*.¹²⁶ This expression corresponds to that of *δη-*

¹²¹ In brief, Origen distinguishes two creations: that of the intelligible world, with the rational beings in their pre-existence; and after the primordial fall, that of the sensible world, “comme un moyen de rédemption pour les créatures tombées: il est à la fois la conséquence de leur chute, mais par l’action créatrice de Dieu, et l’instrument de leur relèvement,” H. CROUZEL/M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des Principes* II, SC 253, p.132 (nr.7). Origen associates the “first creation” with the biblical account of the creation of man in Gen 1:27, 2:7, and the “second creation” with the account about the “garments of skin” in Gen 3:21. See H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 132, 283-284; *id.*, *Origène et Plotin: comparaisons doctrinales*, 140-141, 233-235. In all three biblical texts, the creation is attributed to God, and Origen nowhere changes this into Christ as a separate *νοῦς*. See also above, 273, n.94.

¹²² Festugière translates Cyril’s expression *δημιουργεῖν αἰῶνας* as “gouverner le monde éternel” and observes that the charge, thus interpreted, “découle de la notion même de l’apocatastase” and that this is a “doctrine, authentiquement origéniste”, which is condemned by *anathema* 9 of Justinian’s edict of 543. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* I, 86-87 (nr.4). However, Cyriacus’ charge does not mean *reigning over* the eternal world, but *sharing in the creative power* of Christ (as a separate *νοῦς*). This doctrine is found neither in Origen’s works nor in the edict of 543.

¹²³ A passage of Origen’s *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* could pass for an affirmation of the salvation of the Devil: ORIGENES, *Princ.* III, 6,5, SC 268, p.244, lines 134-141. However, Origen himself, when seeing this opinion attributed to him, fiercely protests in the letter to his friends of Alexandria, which is partially preserved in RUFINUS, *De adult. librorum Origenis* 7, CCL 20, 11-12, and in HIERONYMUS, *Apol. adv. libri Rufini*, SC 303, p.152, lines 64-70. See on this question H. CROUZEL/M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des Principes* IV, SC 269, 138-140 (nr.26); H. CROUZEL, *Origène*, Paris 1985, 337-341. Certain texts might reveal that Origen is “plus enclin à accepter l’éternité des peines pour les démons que pour les hommes”, *id.*, “L’Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène”, *Greg* 59 (1978), 328. On the other hand, Origen shows a certain hesitation, within the antithetical structure of the *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, regarding the question how to reconcile an “eternal” punishment in Gehenna with the goodness of God, *ibid.* 329, 331.

¹²⁴ See above, 273 with n.95.

¹²⁵ “La science qui concerne la nature seconde est la contemplation spirituelle dont s’est servi le Christ en créant la nature des corps et les mondes à partir d’elle,” EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* III, 26, PO 28/1, 107.

¹²⁶ EVAGRIUS, *Pseudo-supplementum ad Keph. gnost.* I, Greek in *Skemmata*, ed. J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana*, Paris 1931, 38 (cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 155, n.101). Guillaumont observes: “Le créateur des êtres seconds, le ‘démurge’ (...), est donc le Christ, et non pas Dieu lui-même, qui est seulement le créateur des êtres premiers ou intellects,” *ibid.*, 155 (with ref. to *Keph. gnost.* III, 24).

μιοργεῖν αἰῶνας, which is utilized in Cyriacus’ third charge with reference to all rational beings. The notion rejected there that all rational beings will receive the capacity to create worlds, is derived from Evagrius.¹²⁷ Likewise, the idea of a final restoration of the demons is affirmed in his *Képhalaia gnostica*, “bien que d’une façon assez voilée”.¹²⁸ As against Evagrius, Leontius attributes the creation of the world to the divine *λόγος*.¹²⁹ Although he does not explicitly discuss the eternity of Hell, he certainly cannot be charged with propagandizing the doctrine of apocatastasis¹³⁰ and a final salvation of the Devil.¹³¹ We cannot find anything in Leontius’ writings which would justify Cyriacus’ third charge being brought against him.

4. The fourth charge reads: “They say that our bodies will be raised ethereal and spherical at the resurrection, and they assert that even the body of the Lord was raised in this form.”¹³² This is the only one among Cyriacus’

¹²⁷ “Lorsque le *nous* recevra la science essentielle, alors il sera appelé aussi Dieu, parce qu’il pourra fonder aussi des mondes variés,” EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* V, 81, PO 28/1, 211. This goes for *all* of the rational beings: in the final Unity “tous seront dieux”, *ibid.*, IV, 51, PO 28/1, 159. For the accordance between Evagrius’ first statement (V, 81) and Cyriacus’ charge, see A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 155-156; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 81. The Evagrian notion that all rational beings will be able to “create worlds” is not *explicitly* formulated in the *anathemata* of 553, but, as has been said, this does not exclude Cyril’s dependence on that document.

¹²⁸ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 116 (with ref. to *Keph. gnost.* VI, 15, VI, 27). Evagrius is inspired by Paul’s eschatological vision in 1 Cor 24-28. See *ibid.*, 117.

¹²⁹ The *λόγος*, being immutable (ἀτρεπτος), infinite (ἀπερίγραπτος) and free from suffering (ἀπαθής), did not lose these divine qualities “when he created the world (κόσμον κτίζων) and brought it to its present form in which it had not existed before”, LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1284B14-C2. Comp. with B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 355-356 (a).

¹³⁰ Leontius affirms that the sufferings of the damned “contribute, in a certain sense, to the endurance and staying power of those being punished (συντελεῖ τι πρὸς τὴν διαρκῆ ἐπιμονὴν τῶν κολαζομένων)”, LEONTIUS, *CA* 1337C10-11. Here Daley notices: “The implication, at least, is that he regards the punishment of the damned as eternal,” B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 357 (d).

¹³¹ Leontius speaks of the “Judgment of God” (κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ) not only as a “remedy (φάρμακον) of sinners”, but also as a “worthy end of the Devil (τοῦ διαβόλου ἄξιον τέλος)”, which will consist of “Gehenna and darkness and the gnashing of teeth”, LEONTIUS, *DTN* 1368C15-D10 (cf. Mt 22:13).

¹³² λέγουσιν ὅτι αἰθέρια καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ἐγείρονται ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου οὕτω φασὶν ἐγγεῖρηθαι σῶμα, *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230, 7-9.

charges that has a parallel in the *anathemata* in the edict of 543. Canon 5 condemns the concept of “spherical” resurrection bodies, without mentioning the qualification “ethereal”.¹³³ The charge is not found in Justinian’s letter of 553, but it appears again in Canon 10 of 553, with both qualifications “ethereal” and “spherical”.¹³⁴ The concept of a spherical resurrection body has nothing to do with Origen,¹³⁵ but he speculates about ethereal bodies of Christ and other human beings after the resurrection.¹³⁶ Nor does Evagrius hold the doctrine of a spherical resurrection body.¹³⁷ As has been said, for Evagrius the bodies of rational beings will finally be dissolved,¹³⁸ but all men will first arise like angels or demons, which implies that before the final annihilation their bodies will consist of “lighter” or “heavier” elements according to their spiritual state.¹³⁹ In Leontius’ writings, we cannot find the slightest suggestion of ethereal or spherical bodies at the resurrection.¹⁴⁰

5. The fifth charge reads: “They say that we shall be equal to Christ (ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ) at the restoration.”¹⁴¹ The Greek expression literally refers to the *Isochrists*. This charge is not found in the edict of 543. Both Justinian’s letter of 553 and Canon 13 of 553 condemn the notion that “there will be no difference (διαφορά) at all between Christ and other rational beings”,¹⁴²

¹³³ IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Origenem*, ACO III, 213,25-26. Canon 5 does not mention the body of Christ, but a passage of the edict does refer to the Lord’s body, *ibid.*, 204,10-27. Also in this passage, there is only a question of “spherical” (σφαιροειδῆ) resurrection bodies, and not “ethereal” (αιθέρια).

¹³⁴ ACO IV/1, 249,19-20 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 94,8-13 (left col.)].

¹³⁵ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* I, 87 (nr.5). Festugière also dedicated an article to the subject, *id.*, “De la doctrine ‘origéniste’ du corps glorieux sphéroïde”, *RSPHTh* 43 (1959), 81-86.

¹³⁶ H. Crouzel adduces some texts to illustrate that for Origen the “ether” means both “un lieu du ciel” and “la nature des corps qui vivent dans ce lieu”, H. Crouzel, “La doctrine origénienne du corps ressuscité”, *BLE* 81 (1980), 192. Crouzel goes on: “Dans tous ces textes Origène paraît accepter sans difficulté, même si quelquefois la phrase est un peu interrogative, la doctrine de l’éther, soit comme lieu, soit comme qualité dont jouissent les corps les plus purs, celui de Jésus glorifié au ciel, ceux des hommes ressuscités,” *ibid.*, 193.

¹³⁷ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 358, n.2.

¹³⁸ See above, 275, n.105.

¹³⁹ See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 114-116.

¹⁴⁰ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 358, (d). See also above, 275, n.108.

¹⁴¹ λέγουσιν ὅτι γινόμεθα ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀποκατάστασει, *VC* 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230, 9-10.

¹⁴² IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 94,30-33 (r. col.); *Canones* xv, Can.13, ACO IV/1, 249,30-31 [= ed. DIEKAMP, 95,3-6 (left col.)].

but the expression ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ is not used in these documents. For Origen, the eschatological union of rational beings with God by contemplation and love is no pantheist absorption into the divine essence: all rational beings will preserve their individuality.¹⁴³ And Christ, as the divine λόγος coeternal with God, will be distinguished from created spirits.¹⁴⁴ In Evagrius’ *Képhalaia gnostica* the idea of a final equality of all rational beings with Christ is present, even though he does not use the expression ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹⁴⁵ For Evagrius, the eschatological unity is a restoration of the original *henad* of all rational beings, including the νοῦς Christ who “will again be indistinguishable from the rest”.¹⁴⁶ Leontius, on the contrary, “seems to be repudiating” this conception which “characterized the Evagrian understanding both of the origin and the goal of creation”.¹⁴⁷ B. Daley draws this conclusion from a long passage¹⁴⁸ where Leontius attacks the Nestorian concept of “union in dignity” (ἔνωσις κατ’ ἀξίαν) with God as “not enough to account for the uniqueness of Christ”.¹⁴⁹ The union in dignity is the union *by grace* which is shared by all men. This is “completely different from the unique natural union with God proper to Christ as only-begotten Son”.¹⁵⁰ For Leontius, Christ is distinguished from “all

¹⁴³ In the final state, “Dieu sera l’unique objet de contemplation et d’amour. Mais l’accent mis sur la personnalité et la liberté exclut tout sens panthéistique: la créature n’est pas absorbée dans l’essence divine,” H. CROUZEL/M. SIMONETTI, *Origène: Traité des Principes* IV, SC 269, 132 (nr.15). See also G. BARDY, “Origène”, *DTC* 11/2 (1932), 1552; H. CROUZEL, “Différences entre les ressuscités selon Origène”, in: *Jenseits-vorstellung in Antike und Christentum*, JAC 9 (1982), 107-116.

¹⁴⁴ A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d’Orient* I, 87 (nr.6).

¹⁴⁵ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 155. Each νοῦς that receives the essential knowledge “sera appelé aussi Dieu”, EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* v,81, PO 28/1, 211. In the final Unity “tous seront dieux”, *ibid.*, IV,51, p.159. See also above, 279, n.127. Evagrius’ vision of the eschatological parity of all νοῦς with Christ is based on the Pauline idea of “co-inheritance”. See M. O’LAUGHLIN, “Closing the Gap Between Antony and Evagrius”, in *Origeniana septima*, 349-350.

¹⁴⁶ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 343. Because of the final annihilation of the body, all mutual differences between the rational beings will be abolished: “Il ne saurait donc y avoir place pour une prééminence quelconque du Christ,” A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 156.

¹⁴⁷ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 358 (e).

¹⁴⁸ LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1300c4-1301c2.

¹⁴⁹ B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 342-343. Daley quotes the second part of the whole passage (up from 1301A5) and affirms: “As well as being anti-Nestorian, the passage has in fact an unmistakably anti-Origenist flavor,” *ibid.*, 343.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 358 (e).

rational and blessed creation”¹⁵¹ by his “union in essence” (ἕνωσις κατ’ οὐσίαν)¹⁵² with God.

We may summarize the results of our examination in the following table:¹⁵³

| Cyriacus' charges | 9 <i>anath.</i> 543 | <i>ep. Just.</i> 553 | 15 <i>anath.</i> 553 | Origen | Evagrius | Leontius |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| 1. Christ separated from the Trinity | - | - | + (8) | - | + | - |
| 2. final annihilation of the resurrection bodies | - (+) | + | + (10-11) | - | + | - |
| 3. - the Trinity did not create the world | - | - | + (6) | - | + | - |
| - all rational beings will be able to create worlds | - | - | - | - | + | - |
| - salvation of the Devil | + (9) | + | + (12) | - (?) | + | - |
| 4. resurrection bodies: | | | | | | |
| - ethereal | - | - | + (10) | + | + | - |
| - spherical | + (5) | - | + (10) | - | - | - |
| 5. we shall be ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ | - | + | + (13) | - | + | - |

¹⁵¹ πάσης τῆς λογικῆς καὶ μακαρίας κτίσεως, LEONTIUS, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1301A6.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 1301B13.

¹⁵³ The table shows agreement [+] and absence of agreement [-]. For the *anathemata* of the edict of 543 and the fifteen *anathemata* of 553, the numbers of the Canons are indicated. Cyriacus' second charge does not correspond to any of the Canons of 543, but as has been

Our table shows that Cyriacus' charges correspond to a high degree with the *anathemata* of 553 and with Evagrius' speculations. There is much less agreement with the nine *anathemata* (and the rest of the edict) of 543 and with Justinian's letter of 553.¹⁵⁴ There is almost no agreement with the thought of Origen himself, but this is not surprising and is to be expected from the results of previous studies. We may notice only that Cyril explicitly attributes Cyriacus' propositions to Origen.¹⁵⁵ But the really interesting fact emerging from our analysis is the total lack of agreement between these propositions and the writings of Leontius. In our previous chapter, we already saw that a doctrinal "Origenism" cannot be deduced from Leontius' writings, even though he shows himself an "Evagrius Origenist" in the spiritual sense. Now we may conclude that the account of the VC is seriously inaccurate in this regard: a doctrinal summary of Evagrius Origenism, which is closely related to the official condemnation of 553, is attributed to one of the most prominent Origenists, notwithstanding the fact that it does *not at all* correspond to his real theological thought. Thus it becomes clear that Cyril derived from the *anathemata* (or from an allied document) a set of stereotyped charges to use as a *passé-partout* for the whole movement of sixth-century Origenism. We may establish with certainty that, to a considerable extent, that movement does not coincide with the picture provided by either Cyril's writings or by other hostile sources.

said, there is a certain agreement in the text of the edict: this is indicated by the addition of (+). Origen tends to negate a final salvation of the Devil, yet he shows a certain hesitation: this is indicated by the addition of (?).

¹⁵⁴ As has been said, Justinian joined a non-preserved series of κεφάλαια to his letter which must have underlain the *anathemata* of 553. See above, 272, n.87. The lack of accord, as revealed in our table, only shows that Justinian did not repeat all points in his letter.

¹⁵⁵ Immediately after the propositions, Cyril affirms that these doctrines are derived from Pythagoras, Plato, Origen, Evagrius and Didymus, VC 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,11-14 (see above, 266 at n.60). There is a certain connection with Justinian's letter of 553; see above, 266, n.61. In the *anathemata* of 553, however, not a single name is mentioned: they appear to be aimed rather at the sixth-century Origenists (the *Isochrists*) than at Origen himself. The "Origenism" represented both by Cyril and by these *anathemata* does not accurately represent the thought of Origen. See esp. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Les moines d'Orient* 1, 85-87 (as above, p.270, n.77 and p.272, n.88). As has been said, Guillaumont revealed that it is much more indebted to Evagrius; see A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 143-159. See also above, 270 with n.78 (and with the other ref.).

Stereotyped representations and historical truth

As Cyriacus' charges and the *anathemata* of 553 indeed correspond to certain texts of Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*,¹⁵⁶ we cannot deny that they have something to do with "Origenism" in general. On the other hand, we established that they do not at all embrace the totality of the mysterious movement known as "sixth-century Origenism". Leontius' writings even contradict the theological positions that are attributed to the Origenists. In the second chapter of this study, we traced the existence of a complicated underlying conflict, with various doctrinal, political, spiritual and intellectual aspects, which appears only defectively from our sources. Apparently, the concrete charges that are explicitly formulated do not reflect much more than some "burning issues", by which a much more embracing movement was grasped within stereotyped representations, seeking to achieve first its official condemnation and then claim the victory in its defeat.

Against this background it is interesting to have one more look at the account of the VC. Cyril molded his memories of actual visits with Abba Cyriacus on a standard story of a young monk coming to an old Abba and asking for a word. Thus he staged an edifying dialogue with Cyriacus for readers of the late 550's, to demolish once and for all the arguments that had long been used by the Origenists, who even dared to refer to Gregory the Theologian's authority. Before the official condemnations of 543 and 553, such arguments, revealing as they did the complexity of the matter, easily led to confusion. After 553, however, much of that confusion vanished and the vexed question seemed to be resolved.

To illustrate this we may compare Cyril's dialogue with a similar one, attested by the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza.¹⁵⁷ The text can probably be dated to the period just before 543, that is, just before the first condemnation by Justinian's edict.¹⁵⁸ In their correspondence, we

¹⁵⁶ The 15 *anathemata*, and especially Cyriacus' concise propositions, reflect some "hard points" that are isolated from the total context of Evagrius' enigmatic speculative world. As such, they can easily lead to misinterpretations of what Evagrius really meant. See also above, p.27, n.25 and p.169, n.171 (at the end).

¹⁵⁷ BARSANUPHIUS et IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Epistularium* 600-607, (SCHOINAS), 283-292. A new text edition by P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH/ F. NEYT (with a French translation by L. Regnault) in several volumes is partially available (at this moment) in SC. See above, 223, nn.404-405.

¹⁵⁸ P. DE ANGELIS-NOAH/ F. NEYT, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance* 1/1 (Ep. 1-71), SC 426, Paris 1997, Intro., 33.

read how a brother questions Barsanuphius and John about the Origenist doctrines of pre-existence and apocatastasis, saying: "My soul is in difficulty, because of doubts as to whether these doctrines are true or not."¹⁵⁹ Here we feel the inward conflict of a young monk desperately searching for the truth more than we do in Cyril's account. The monk's confusion is caused particularly by the fact that certain Fathers accept the Origenist doctrines and are yet known as "good monks" who "give heed to themselves".¹⁶⁰ The whole dialogue is much longer than the one reported by Cyril; there is an alternation of elaborate questions and responses, and there are more refinements.¹⁶¹

This text not only reflects the general climate of Gaza, which was less intolerant than Cyril's milieu,¹⁶² but, as far as Barsanuphius' and John's

¹⁵⁹ BARSANUPHIUS et IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Epistularium* 600 (SCHOINAS), 283A21-23.

¹⁶⁰ "And how is it possible that some of the present Fathers accept these doctrines and yet we find that they are good monks and that they give heed to themselves (ὅτι καλοὶ μοναχοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ προσέχοντες ἑαυτοῖς)?" BARSANUPHIUS et IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Ep.* 603 (SCHOINAS), 285A8-11. The expression "to give heed to oneself" (προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ) and its derivation "heed", or "attention" (προσοχή), belong to the basic technical vocabulary of the monastic tradition. The notion refers to the attitude of vigilance with regard to the inner self and is closely connected with the old Greek maxim: "know yourself" (γνῶθι σεαυτόν). See esp. P. MIQUEL, *Lexique du désert*, SO 44, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1986, 251-258; M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", 194-195. Comp. with above, p.149 with n.84 and p.238 at n.482. Origenists who "keep watch on themselves" are, anyhow, exemplary monks who lead a spiritual life according their vocation, which explains the young monk's embarrassment. The expression προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ (or a derivation) appears not only frequently in the VA (see Bartelink's index in SC 400, p.418) but also in Cyril's Lives. See VE 21 (SCHWARTZ), 34,20; VE 25 (*ibid.*), 39,11-12; VE 29 (*ibid.*), 46,10; VE 30 (*ibid.*), 48,21; VE 39 (*ibid.*), 58,27-28; VE 50 (*ibid.*), 23-24. For the expression γνῶθι σεαυτόν (which is not found in Cyril's works), see also below, 366, n.533.

¹⁶¹ As we saw, Abba John, when asked whether one should read Evagrius' writings or not, replies with the moderate advice to reject the doctrines exposed in these works, but to read "what contributes to the benefit of the soul", BARSANUPHIUS et IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Ep.* 602 (SCHOINAS), 284B37-39 (see above, 223, n.405).

¹⁶² Cyril writes that during the first crisis in the New Laura in 514, Nonnus and his companions were exiled to the πεδίας – which, as I indicated, must refer to the coastal plain in the region of Gaza – and that they found more opportunities there to spread their thought, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,3-4 (see above, 72, n.78). We also know that Dorotheus of Gaza, a prominent disciple of Barsanuphius and John, continued to utilize Evagrius' writings, including the *Kephalaia gnostica*, perhaps even after the Council of 553. See DOROTHEUS GAZAEUS, *Instructiones* (= *Doctrinae diversae*) VIII, 89,2-5, SC 92, 306; *Instr.* XII, 126,1-5, *ibid.*, 384; *Instr.* XII, 131,16-17, *ibid.*, 392; *Instr.* XIV, 153,16-21, *ibid.*, 430; *Instr.* XVI, 166,20-21; *Instr.* XVII, 176,42-45, *ibid.*, 480. Inauthentic texts are attributed to Evagrius in *Instr.* II, 29,14-15,

anti-Origenism is concerned, it also illustrates the difference of period. Before the publishing of Justinian's edict, an extended dialogue with many refinements was needed to deal with the delicate question of Origenism. But Cyril, backed by the condemnations of 553, can limit himself to a single question followed by a clear reply "in a few words".¹⁶³ For demonstrating the error of Origenism, it is enough to recite a brief series of well-defined theological charges derived from the official *anathemata* (if not from a closely allied document). There is no need for a young monk to rack his brains over the Origenists' claim that even Saint Gregory pleads for open research on questions that are harmless. But does not the same Gregory in the same text preach that a good monk should dedicate himself to ascetic practice? In Cyril's paradigmatic story, the refutation of the Origenists has become easy. There is no reason at all to raise the question of whether these heretics are good or bad monks. A list of stereotype accusations proves their "multifarious impiety". As heretics who follow pagan philosophers, they are morally bad. They inflate themselves with idle disputes, instead of following the humble path of Christ and practicing the monastic virtues. And a simple chain of quotations and allusions is enough to confirm the clichéd picture of heretics.

Our analysis has revealed the stereotyped nature of Cyril's account. This is seen also from the final paragraph.¹⁶⁴ There Cyril relates that, after concluding his discourse, Cyriacus "is overjoyed (*περιχαρῆς γεγονώς*)" at learning that he, Cyril, is of the monastery of Saint Euthymius. He calls him "of the same cenobium as myself" (*συνκοινοβιότης μου*); starts telling him "many of the facts (*πολλά*) about Saint Euthymius and Sabas";¹⁶⁵ and finally sends him "on his way in peace" (*ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ*). This idyllic end, with a concluding remark that appears as a standard formula in Cyril's Lives,¹⁶⁶ does not quite fit with the mood of Cyriacus'

tirade.¹⁶⁷ As we saw above, all the expressions used to evoke this peaceful scene are immediately repeated in the subsequent paragraph, where Cyril records a second visit with Cyriacus.¹⁶⁸ This can only mean that Cyril molded his memories of actual visits with Cyriacus on a stereotyped pattern, the result of which is the account just examined. Scholars using this text as a source for sixth-century Origenism should, therefore, reckon with all kinds of hagiographic transformations of historical truth.

2. Cyril of Scythopolis and the Fifth Ecumenical Council (VS 90)

Another text that deserves critical attention is the concluding chapter of the VS, where Cyril gives his version of the condemnation of Origenism which, as he claims, was the main issue at the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. As we saw, Cyril concludes his VS with a series of chapters relating the course of events from Sabas' death (532) to the Council, followed by the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura and its re-population by the orthodox monks (555).¹⁶⁹ An examination of the total text which is very long, would take too much space within the limits of this study. After the evidence which has already been produced, it will be enough for this section to restrict our inquiry to the text of the final chapter, since it offers the most striking leads for a further criticism of Cyril's historical accuracy.

ibid., 190; *Instr.* VIII, 89,1-2, *ibid.*, 306. See esp. P. CANIVET, "Dorothee de Gaza est-il un disciple d'Évagre?", *REG* 78 (1965), 336-346. The influence of Evagrius on Dorotheus has also been examined by F. NEYR, *Les lettres à Dorothee dans la correspondance de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza* (unpublished diss.), Louvain 1969, 546-567.

¹⁶³ ἐν ὀλίγαις λέξεσι, VC 12 (SCHWARTZ), 230,2.

¹⁶⁴ VC 15 (SCHWARTZ), 231,20-26.

¹⁶⁵ Cyril repeatedly refers to Cyriacus as his oral source, see above, 261, n.32.

¹⁶⁶ The formula ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ is also used in VE 43 (SCHWARTZ), 64,2; VS 27 (*ibid.*), 111,16; VS 44 (*ibid.*), 135,22-23; VS 74 (*ibid.*), 178,20; VC 16 (*ibid.*), 232,22.

¹⁶⁷ There is a certain tension in the VC with regard to Cyriacus' character. On the one hand the tirade against the Origenists bears witness to a passionate intolerance; on the other hand Cyril qualifies Cyriacus as "mild and approachable (*πρᾶος καὶ εὐπρόσιτος*)", VC 21 (SCHWARTZ), 235,13 (see above, 262 at n.42). Cyril even records – as an amiable trait – that Cyriacus claimed of himself that, in many years, the sun never saw him "in a temper (*ὀργιζόμενος*)", VC 8 (*ibid.*), 227,3-4 (see above, 258 with n.15). One might suppose that the anti-Origenist discourse was held after sunset.

¹⁶⁸ VC 16 (SCHWARTZ), 232,3-22 (see above, 261 with nn.35-38).

¹⁶⁹ VS 83-90 (SCHWARTZ), 187,28-200,17 (summarized above, 78-88).

*Cyril's account of the victory over Origenism:
presentation of the text*

For the sake of the reader, I shall summarize once again the main lines of Cyril's account of events after Sabas' death, before presenting the text that interests us.

In Cyril's version, the outbreak of the Origenist Controversy comes after Sabas' death, when Nonnus and his companions seize the opportunity to sow the seeds of Origenism in the New Laura and in other monasteries. Through the agency of Leontius of Byzantium, the Origenists consolidate a position of power in Constantinople, especially through the person of Theodore Ascidas. In Palestine, Sabas' weak successor Abba Melitas is succeeded by Abba Gelasius (537), who becomes the chief opponent of the Origenists. A *libellus*, written at the request of Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem by Gelasius and his fellow archimandrite (for the cenobites) Sophronius, is sent to Emperor Justinian and results in the edict against Origen (543). About the same time, Leontius dies in Constantinople. In Palestine, the power of the Origenists continues to increase. When their oppression of the orthodox comes to a head, Abba Gelasius, after regretting publicly his participation in Patriarch Peter's campaign against the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, goes up to the capital in search of support.¹⁷⁰ However, due to intrigues on the part of Theodore Ascidas, Gelasius has to return with nothing achieved and dies on his way back home (546). Then the Origenists put forward a figurehead, Abba George, as Gelasius' successor and initiate a great persecution against the orthodox. At this stage, due to a miraculous intervention by God, things change for the better: Nonnus dies (547) and the ranks of the Origenists are split by dissension into Isochrists (radicals) and Protoktists (moderates). At the same time, George is expelled by his own supporters and succeeded by Abba Cassianus, an orthodox. Ten months later (548), Cassianus is succeeded by Abba Conon,

¹⁷⁰ In his farewell speech to the brethren of the Great Laura, Gelasius alludes to Justinian's first edict against the Three Chapters (544/545) followed by Patriarch Peter's campaign against it, and he urges his community not to receive any adherent of Theodore of Mopsuestia, VS 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194, 17-27 (quoted above, p. 84 with n. 134 and p. 201 at n. 306). For the edict against the Three Chapters, see above, 84, n. 133; and for Patriarch Peter's campaign against it, see 201, n. 305.

who brings about a restoration of the Great Laura. The Isochrists push the Protoktists into taking sides with the orthodox. Conon goes up to Constantinople together with Isidore, the leader of the Protoktists. From Cyril's chronological indication at the end of the penultimate chapter, we can deduce that the journey took place in September 552.¹⁷¹ At this point, our text begins:¹⁷²

On arriving at Constantinople, Abba Conon's party was subjected by Ascidas to a variety of trials, but through endurance came out victorious (νικηφόροι ἀνεδείχθησαν). For when a short time afterwards, at the death of archbishop Peter, Macarius was ordained through the willfulness (αὐθάδεια) of the monks of the New Laura and war resulted in the holy city, the most pious emperor, fiercely incensed against Ascidas and the Origenists, gave orders for Macarius to be ousted from the episco-

¹⁷¹ Cyril writes that Conon and Isidore traveled to Constantinople "at the beginning of the fifteenth indiction (ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικτιόνοϋ)", VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 198, 5-6. According to Schwartz, Cyril refers to the year from 1 Sept. 551 to 31 Aug. 552, so that the journey took place in Sept. 551; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 344-345 (see also his comment *ad loc.*). However, Diekamp had established before that, from April 531 on, Cyril's ἰνδικτιόνες should be augmented with one unit; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 11-15 (see above, 76, n. 92). Thus Conon's travel should be dated to Sept. 552. See *ibid.*, 28-32, 61-62; followed *e.g.* by A. D'ALÈS, "Origénisme", *DAFC* 3 (1916), 1235; G. FRITZ, "Origénisme", *DTC* 11/2 (1932), 1579. Diekamp has been supported by later research, against Schwartz, in his approach to Cyril's chronology. See esp. E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis. A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", 176-177 (see above, 86, n. 142). Chitty erroneously refers to Stein as he dates the journey to "the end of A.D. 551", D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, 129, 141, n. 39. The correct year 552, in agreement with Stein, is found *e.g.* in A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 128, n. 299; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 133; K. CHRYSOS, "Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἐ' Οἰκουμένηκῆς Συνόδου καὶ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ὀριγένους", in *Θεολογικὸν Συμπόσιον*, Thessalonikè 1967, 270-271; F. MURPHY/P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 83; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 213; F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 143; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 339 with n. 17.

¹⁷² VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198, 7-200, 17. The English translation is by R. PRICE, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 207-209. For the Greek text, see the Appendix below, 377-379 (nr. 4). Brief fragments from this passage are also quoted above, pp. 86-87 with nn. 143, 145 and pp. 87-88 with n. 147. Here we should also notice that Binns' time indication, put in the margin of Price's translation, is not always consistent: AD 551/2 for the year of Conon's journey, in agreement with Schwartz (see the preceding footnote), does not fit with Binns' own treatment of Cyril's chronology in agreement with Diekamp, see J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis, o.c.*, 217, n. 110.

pacy.¹⁷³ Abba Conon's party, seizing the opportune moment, informed the emperor of their situation and presented him with a petition (λίβελλος) revealing all the impiety of the Origenists, Isidore having died. Then, employing complete frankness (πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες), they proposed Eustochius, administrator at Alexandria, who was at Constantinople, as bishop of Jerusalem. Our most pious emperor decreed that Eustochius should become patriarch, and gave orders for there to be an ecumenical council (ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν γενέσθαι). Abba Conon, when sending (ἀπολύων) Eustochius on his way to Jerusalem, asked him to send (ἀποστεῖλαι) Eulogius, superior of the monastery of blessed Theodosius, so that he too should be present at the council that was assembling. Eustochius, entering onto his patriarchate, sent (ἀπέστειλεν) three bishops to take his place at the council, and also sent (ἀπέστειλεν) Abba Eulogius with two other superiors, Cyriacus of the Laura called "The Spring"¹⁷⁴ and one Pancratius, a stylite.

When the fifth holy ecumenical (οἰκουμενικὴ) council had assembled at Constantinople, a common (κοινός) and universal (καθολικός) anathema was directed against Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia and against the teaching of Evagrius and Didymus on preexistence and a universal restoration, in the presence and with the approval of the four patriarchs.¹⁷⁵ When our divinely protected emperor sent to Jerusalem the acts of the council (τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ πραχθέντα), all the bishops of Palestine confirmed and approved them orally and in writing, except Alexander of Abila, who was therefore expelled from the episcopacy and was finally buried by an earthquake in Byzantium.¹⁷⁶ The monks of the New Laura, however, separated themselves from the catholic communion (καθολικὴ κοινωνία). The patriarch Eustochius treated them with respect and for eight months used advice and exhortation with them; but on failing to persuade them to be in communion with the catholic Church (τῇ καθολικῇ κοινωνίᾳ), he applied the imperial commands, and got the *dux* Anastasius to expel them from the New Laura and free the whole province from their destructive influence. Not wishing to leave the place uninhabited, he chose one hundred and twenty monks and transplanted them there, sixty from the Great Laura, from whom he ordained a former *scholarium* called John to be superior, and another sixty from the other orthodox monasteries of the desert; I am one of these, summoned from the monastery of Saint Euthymius by the fathers of the Great Laura on the advice and with the leave of the inspired John, bishop and solitary. Assembled accordingly in the holy city, we set off with the patriarch and the new superior to the village of Thekoa and, when the Origenists had been expelled by the *dux* Anastasius, we took over the New Laura on 21

¹⁷³ Binns observes in his comment that "Macarius later renounced his Origenist sympathies and was restored to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 563, where he remained until his death in 583", J. BINNS, in *ibid.*, 219, n.133 (ref. to EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV,39; v,16).

¹⁷⁴ Cyriacus of "The Spring" is not the same as Abba Cyriacus whose tirade has been analyzed in the previous section, above 256-287.

¹⁷⁵ Festugière explains the number of four patriarchs by the absence of Eustochius of Jerusalem; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 129, n.304 (see above, 87, n.145).

¹⁷⁶ For Alexander of Abila, see above, p.83, n.128 and p.87, n.146.

February of the second indiction in the twenty-third year since the death of blessed Sabas.¹⁷⁷ So it was that the war against piety came to an end.

I myself, on the point of stopping my account of the godly old man, shall utter appropriately the prophetic saying, "Let the desert rejoice and blossom like the lily",¹⁷⁸ for God has had mercy on his children, saying of himself, "Looking, I have beheld the affliction of my people in Jerusalem and heard their groaning, and I wish to deliver them".¹⁷⁹ Having wished, "he has visited" (ἐπεσκέψατο) us;¹⁸⁰ and having

¹⁷⁷ According to Cyril's chronology, corrected by Diekamp (see above, 289, n.171), the re-populating of the New Laura took place on 21 Feb. 555, that is, in the *third* indiction and in the 23rd year after Sabas' death, calculated from 5 Dec. 532. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 65-66; followed e.g. by G. FRITZ, "Origenisme", *DTC* 11/2 (1932), 1588. For the date of Sabas' death, see above, 78, n.100. Schwartz, in disagreement with Diekamp, dated the re-populating of the New Laura to 21 Feb. 554; see E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, 343-344. However, the year 555 was confirmed by E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", 174-176 (see also above, 88, n.148). It was also confirmed (indirectly) by F. DÖLGER, [review Schwartz] *BZ* 40 (1940), 480. Stein is now followed by most scholars: e.g. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 136 (though Festugière inserts 554 into the text of his translation, *ibid.*, 130); D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, 129; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 31, n.111; F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 147; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, 209 (margin); *id.*, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 33; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 341. A hesitation may be expressed, as the dating to Feb. 555 separates the re-populating of the New Laura from the Council sessions by an interval of 1 1/4 years, whereas Cyril speaks only of a period of 8 months for Patriarch Eustochius' negotiations with the Origenists. See e.g. D. CHITTY, *o.c.*, 141, n.42; J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis, o.c.*, 219, n.138. However, the lapse of time between the Council and the re-populating of the New Laura is not restricted to the period of Eustochius' negotiations. In addition, Cyril separates Conon's journey (Sept. 15th indiction, less than a year before the Council) from the re-populating of the New Laura (Feb. 2nd indiction) by an *absolute* interval of 2 1/2 years (NB. after 15, the counting starts again, see above, 68, n.61). So if we accept Sept. 552 for the former event, we cannot accept Feb. 554 for the latter, as it occurs in K. CHRYSOS, "Αἱ μαρτυραὶ τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ περὶ τῆς Ἐοικουμηνικῆς Συνόδου καὶ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ὀριγένους", in *Θεολογικὸν Συμπόσιον*, 265-270. Given the date of 5 Dec. 532 for Sabas' death, *ibid.*, 265, and Sept. 552 for Conon's journey, *ibid.*, 270, the year 555 remains as the only possibility for dating the re-populating of the New Laura in agreement with Cyril's indications that it happened in the 23rd year after Sabas' death and 2 1/2 years after Conon went up to Constantinople.

¹⁷⁸ Is 35:1.

¹⁷⁹ Ex 3:7-8.

¹⁸⁰ Comp. with Ex 4:31 (within the context of the preceding reminiscence): ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο ὁ θεὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ. See also Lk 1:68. In these biblical passages, the divine "visit" (ἐπισκοπή) takes place out of mercy, because God has been touched by the suffering of his people. Elsewhere, the divine "visit" means rather a purifying castigation; e.g. Ps 88 [89]:33; Hos 4:14.

visited us, he has rescued and redeemed us from the power of the Origenists. "He has driven" them "from our face"¹⁸¹ and "enabled" us "to inhabit their habitations".¹⁸² "The fruit of their labors" he has "left to us as an inheritance",¹⁸³ so that we may "observe his commandments and seek his law".¹⁸⁴ To him be the glory for ever and ever. – Here ends the Life of our father Saint Sabas.

The main questions raised by this account concern the following issues: 1) the reason why Justinian convoked the Council of 553 and the moment when he took the first initiatives; 2) Abba Conon's predominant role; 3) the unanimous atmosphere of the Fifth Ecumenical Council and the "common and universal" status of the condemnation of Origenism; 4) the fates of Evagrius and of Theodoret of Cyrus and their possible connection; and 5) Cyril's claim to a total victory over Origenism. Some of these issues have been given much attention, but they have never been examined systematically in the context of a critical analysis of Cyril's historical trustworthiness as a source for sixth-century Origenism. These questions will be studied now from this point of view.

Why and when did Justinian convoke the Council?

At the beginning of our text, Cyril mentions Abba Conon's arrival in Constantinople and his subjection to the trials of Theodore Ascidas. However, the final victory of Conon's party, thanks to divine Providence and the occurrence of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, is already anticipated. Cyril starts relating the events which he claims led to the Council. Shortly after Conon's departure for Constantinople, Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem dies and the Origenists of the New Laura, driven by the vice of self-will (αὐθάδεια), put forward their own candidate, Macarius, to take up the patriarchate. This Origenist coup provokes the anger of the Emperor, who immediately has Macarius ousted from the throne. Justinian's anger against the Origenists is presented as a crucial turning point in the balance of power:

¹⁸¹ καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, cf. Ps 77 [78]:55. Price translates: "He has driven them from our presence."

¹⁸² Cf. Ps 77 [78]:55.

¹⁸³ καὶ τοὺς πόνους αὐτῶν κατεκληρονόμησεν ἡμᾶς, cf. Ps 104 [105]:44. Price translates: "he has allotted to us".

¹⁸⁴ Ps 104 [105]:45. Price translates: "study his law" (ἐκζητήσωμεν).

the account suggests that, at this stage, Theodore Ascidas and his party had already played their part.¹⁸⁵ Conon's party seizes the opportunity and presents an anti-Origenist *libellus* to the Emperor. Surpassing now the Origenists in παρρησία toward the secular authority,¹⁸⁶ they succeed in getting their favored candidate Eustochius made Patriarch of Jerusalem. Eustochius' accession to the patriarchal throne can be dated with certainty to the end of 552, probably December.¹⁸⁷

According to Cyril, it is the influence of the anti-Origenists in Constantinople before the end of 552, that incites Justinian to call the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and from that moment on, Theodore Ascidas seems to have fallen definitively into disgrace with the Emperor. This representation of the facts seriously contradicts the historical evidence. Actually, the first steps toward the Council were taken as early as 550, when the lengthy conflict between Justinian and Pope Vigilius had reached its worst moment and the Three Chapters affair threatened to cause a total schism between the East and the West.¹⁸⁸ This previous history is completely ignored by

¹⁸⁵ The account shows a straightforward movement toward the Origenist defeat and Theodore Ascidas, once he has provoked the imperial anger that gets the process going, is not mentioned again.

¹⁸⁶ πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,18. As we saw, the expression could be read as a superlative related to the "first παρρησία" enjoyed by the Origenists when they started to consolidate their power position at the court, VS 83 (*ibid.*), 189,5 (see above, 111 with nn.241-242).

¹⁸⁷ F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 28-32, 62 (compare with the dating of Conon's journey to Sept 552, above, 289, n.171). Diekamp observed that Macarius' episcopacy lasted two months at the most, *ibid.*, 28. For the date of Eustochius' nomination, see also E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", 176-177; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, p.629 with n.2 and pp.655-656; A.-J. FESTUGIERE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 129, n.300, and "note complém. 2", *ibid.*, 136.

¹⁸⁸ A brief survey of the Three Chapters affair has been given above, 183-185. At the beginning of 550, Justinian and Vigilius, trying to resolve the impasse caused by the latter's first *Iudicatum* of 548, agreed to refrain from further condemnation of the Three Chapters and to leave that question open for discussion at an ecumenical council. In 550, in anticipation of the proposed council, a local synod was held at Mopsuestia in order to verify the state of Theodore of Mopsuestia's memory in his former diocese. In July 551, Justinian, notwithstanding his agreement with Vigilius, issued his second edict against the Three Chapters (*Confessio fidei*). The relationship with Vigilius deteriorated and for a time the idea of an ecumenical council seemed to be off. But in June 552 a certain reconciliation took place, and the plan for the Council must have been taken up again soon after that date, though the sources are not clear on this point. For the preparations of the Council, see C. HEFELE/ H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire*

Cyril.¹⁸⁹ There are abundant contemporary testimonies to the fact that the real problem leading to the Council was the Three Chapters affair, which had far-reaching consequences for the whole Empire.¹⁹⁰ The sources also indicate that Theodore Ascidas was closely involved in the preparation of the Council and that he continued to play a dominant role even at the official sessions from 5 May to 2 June 553.¹⁹¹ At the same time, we have little information about the precise relationship between Origenism, a local Palestinian question, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council, even though a certain

des Conciles III/1, 37-67; L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 193-206, 209-211; J. BOIS, "Constantinople (II^e concile de)", *DTC* 3/1 (1938), 1234-1236; L. BRÉHIER, "Le concile de Constantinople et la fin du règne de Justinien", in *Histoire de l'Église* IV, ed. A. FLICHE/ V. MARTIN, Paris 1948, 467-472; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 643-660; É. AMANN, "Trois-chapitres (affaire des)", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1895-1903; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 78-85; A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, Roma 1999, 142-159.

¹⁸⁹ Cyril does mention the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, but in his report of the previous history of the Council, he suppresses completely the Three Chapters affair.

¹⁹⁰ To give an impression I shall mention briefly the main extant documents relating to the Council or to its previous history and indicating that the issue involved the Three Chapters. There are some writings of Justinian: *Epistula contra Tria Capitula* (549), ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 45-69; *Confessio fidei* (551), *ibid.*, 72-110 (see above, 185, n.238). There are also writings of Vigilius: four letters (551-552) edited by E. SCHWARTZ, *Vigiliusbriefe*, *SBAW*, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (1940/2), München 1940, 1-25; *Constitutum* I (14 May 553) (see above, 185, n.239); *Epistula decretalis* (8 December 553) (see above, 185, n.240); *Constitutum* II (24 February 554) (see above, *ibid.*). There is also a Latin text of the *Acta* of the eight Council sessions (5 May-2 June 553), *ACO* IV/1, including letters of Justinian, Vigilius and Patriarch Eutychius with regard to the reason why the Council was convoked (*ibid.*, 8-18; the latter two also in Greek, 235-238).

¹⁹¹ A complete survey of Theodore Ascidas' role would exceed the limits of this study. Suffice it to say that we find Ascidas as a strong proponent of the condemnation of the Three Chapters (see above, p.152 with n.96, p.181 with n.224 and p.183 with n.233), and a central figure in Justinian's policy against Vigilius; see esp. VIGILIUS, *Epistulae*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Vigiliusbriefe*, 1-31. The *Acta* of the Council testify to his prominence at the sessions. In the subsequent lists of participants he is always mentioned as one of the first after the patriarchs (and those representing Eustochius of Jerusalem), *ACO* IV/1, p.3,13-14, p.20,13, p.32,13, p.39,13, p.73,14, p.137,13, p.183,13, p.203,16-17, p.222,14. In the first session, immediately after the solemn introduction of the Gospel, Theodore Ascidas is introduced as the imperial *silentarius* who brings the Emperor's official letter to be read at the opening of the Council, *ibid.*, 8,1-12. Theodore's interventions (see e.g. the next footnote) are frequent, and it is due to his competent direction that the Council follows strictly Justinian's program. See F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 98.

connection cannot be denied.¹⁹² Cyril, however, claims that the Second Origenist Controversy was the real and only motive for Justinian's convoking of the Council,¹⁹³ and the account wrongly suggests that this initiative marked the end of Theodore Ascidas' political career.

Also the date suggested by Cyril for the official convocation of the Council is problematic. Unfortunately, the contemporary sources do not indicate exactly when the convocation letters were sent out all over of the Empire.¹⁹⁴ As has been said, the first initiatives toward the Council had

¹⁹² In the crucial documents adduced above, 294, n.190, the question of Origenism is almost completely neglected. Only in the *Acta* of the Council we read that, at the fifth session, Theodore Ascidas briefly alluded to a certain condemnation of Origen, which must have been recent at that time. See *ACO* IV/1, 114,9-12. And in the 11th of the 14 *anathemata* pronounced at the final session, Origen's name is inserted in a general list of heretics that are to be condemned, *ibid.*, 218,9. For these references to Origen in the *Acta*, see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 67-76, 97-98. Other documents confirm that the Origenist question was somehow related to the events that led to the Council. Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus of Carthage claim that the first edict against the Three Chapters (544/545) resulted from an Origenist intrigue out of revenge for the edict against Origen (543). See above, 152, n.96. A brief *libellus* of Theodore of Scythopolis, PG 86/1, 232B-236B, who abjures his former Origenism, is dated to December 552 and can only be interpreted in the light of the approaching Council; see F. DIEKAMP, *o.c.* 125-129. But the two main documents pointing to a connection between the Origenist Controversy and the Council are Justinian's *epistula ad synodum de Origene* and the 15 *anathemata* against the Origenists, two short texts closely related to each other; see F. DIEKAMP, *o.c.* 82-97. However, these documents are transmitted independently from the *Acta*. The link with the sessions of the *Ecumenical Council* is only indicated in the title above the 15 *anathemata*, whereas, according to Diekamp, Justinian himself did not consider the assembly of bishops, to which he addressed his letter, as the official Council; see DIEKAMP, *o.c.* 135. Other documents (including Cyril's *VS*) adduced by Diekamp as contemporary sources indicating that Origenism was an issue at the Council, *ibid.*, 98-107 (and below, 302, n.232), are accounts *after* the event, *ibid.*, 135. These texts provide us with *interpretations* of what happened and as such, they are relevant primarily for the history of the *reception* of the Council.

¹⁹³ Diekamp already noted: "Ueber die wahre Veranlassung der fünften allgemeinen Synode läßt Kyrillos von Skythopolis uns in Unkenntniß. Oder vielmehr, er ruft durch seine Berichterstattung den falschen Schein hervor, daß der Kaiser sich zur Berufung der Synode erst durch das Drängen der palästinensischen Mönche und somit primär durch die origenistischen Wirren habe bestimmen lassen," F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 63.

¹⁹⁴ From Justinian's letter to the Council Fathers, which was read at the opening session, we know that the Emperor indeed called the bishops to the capital, *ACO* IV/1, 11,9-10. The convocation letter itself, however, is not preserved; see C. HEFELE/ H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 65.

been taken in 550. However, because of deteriorating relations between Justinian and Vigilius, the plan for the Council seemed to have been put off during 551.¹⁹⁵ After a certain reconciliation in June 552,¹⁹⁶ the plan must have been taken up again soon, but it is only from 6 January 553 on that the contemporary sources give us concrete evidence of this. On that date, Eutychius, the new Patriarch of Constantinople and the successor of Menas (who had died on 24 August 552), wrote a letter to Vigilius in which he confessed his Chalcedonian faith and invited the Pope to preside at the future assembly, during which the question of the Three Chapters was expected to be resolved.¹⁹⁷ Vigilius immediately entered into communion with the new Patriarch and accepted the proposal.¹⁹⁸ However, further complications in the struggle between Emperor and Pope led to the latter's refusal to participate in the Council. Justinian, losing patience, then forced the Council sessions to be held in Vigilius' absence. Six months later, the sick and exhausted Pope gave his approval in a letter to Patriarch Eutychius, dated 8 December 553,¹⁹⁹ and he confirmed it officially in a new decree on 23 February 554.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ See above, 293, n.188.

¹⁹⁶ In June 552, Patriarch Menas, Theodore Ascidas and other bishops who had been excommunicated by Vigilius came to the Pope's residence to make an act of submission. Vigilius accepted the gesture which led to his provisional reconciliation with Justinian. See e.g. L. DUCHESNE, *L'Église au VI^e siècle*, 205-206; E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 651-652; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 83; A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, 155-156.

¹⁹⁷ EUTYCHIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Ep. ad Vigilium*, transmitted in Latin by VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* I, in *Collectio Avellana*, *Ep* 83,11-18, CSEL 35/1, 232-234; also in *ACO* IV/1, 15,2-16,15. The Greek text, transmitted by a MS of Paris, is repr. *ibid.*, 235,2-236,25 (Latin and Greek together in PL 69, 63A1-65B3). See e.g. C. HEFELE/ H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 64-65; R. DEVREESE, "Le cinquième concile et l'oecuménicité byzantine", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* III, StT 123, Città del Vaticano 1946, 9-10; L. BRÉHIER, in *Histoire de l'Église* IV, ed. A. FLICHE/ V. MARTIN, 471; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 84; A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, 157 with n.139.

¹⁹⁸ VIGILIUS, *Epistula* 1 (olim XVI) *ad Eutychium*, *ACO* IV/1, 16,17-18,14; Greek text: *ibid.*, 236,30-238,32.

¹⁹⁹ VIGILIUS, *Epistula decretalis*, *ACO* IV/1, 245-247 (see above, 185, n.240).

²⁰⁰ VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* II, *ACO* IV/2, 138-168. For a recent and well documented survey of the events mentioned, see A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, 146-163. For the *Constitutum* II, see *ibid.*, 189-191.

Leaving aside the previous preparations of 550, one might think that Justinian called the Council only after the first conciliation of Patriarch Eutychius and Pope Vigilius, that is, not before January 553.²⁰¹ By that time, however, the patriarchs and many other bishops had already assembled in Constantinople, obviously in expectation of the Council.²⁰² We have strong reasons for assuming that the convocation letters had been sent even *before* Patriarch Menas' death on 24 August 552. In the *Vita Eutychii*, composed by Eustratius soon after Patriarch Eutychius' death in 582,²⁰³ we read that the Fifth Ecumenical Council was organized to oppose the Three Chapters.²⁰⁴ Eustratius writes that when "from each city the holy bishops were convoked",²⁰⁵ God disposed that, because of a disease, the metropolitan of Amasea was unable to come and that he had to send Eutychius to represent him at the Council.²⁰⁶ In a vision, God revealed to Eutychius that he would become bishop of Constantinople.²⁰⁷ Then he met personally with Patriarch Menas who predicted: "This monk will be my successor."²⁰⁸ Menas sent the holy man to the Emperor, where all kinds of theological discussions were held.²⁰⁹ In the subsequent section, it becomes clear that Eustratius alludes to preparatory discussions in view of the Council, because some of those present raised the question of whether it was permitted to anathema-

²⁰¹ See L. DUCHESNE, "Vigile et Pélage", *RQH* 36 (1884), 417; J. BOIS, "Constantinople (II^e concile de)", *DTC* 3/1 (1938), 1236; É. AMANN, "Trois-chapitres (affaire des)", *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1900-1901.

²⁰² In his official letter for the opening session of the Council, Justinian refers to Eutychius' conciliation letter to Vigilius of 6 January 553 as having been written *after* the arrival of the bishops in the capital, *ACO* IV/1, 12,17-19 (also in *alia recensio*, *ibid.*, 11,29-31). The patriarchs Apolinarius of Alexandria and Domninus of Antioch, and other bishops, had also put their signatures to Eutychius' letter; see VIGILIUS, *Ep* 83,19, *Collectio Avellana*, CSEL 35/1, 234,15-19. See also F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 84.

²⁰³ EUSTRATIUS (Presbyter), *Vita Eutychii*, PG 86/2, 2273-2390. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 79.

²⁰⁴ EUSTRATIUS, *Vita Eutychii*, 3,19, PG 86/2, 2296D6-2297A9. Eustratius explicitly refers to the Fifth Ecumenical Council: ἡ...πέμπτη ἁγία σύνοδος, 2296D7-8; ἡ ἁγία οἰκουμένηκη σύνοδος, 2297A9. Though not being an admirer of the Origenists, he nowhere mentions the condemnation of Origenism as an issue at the Council. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 79-81.

²⁰⁵ ἕκ πάσης πόλεως οἱ ἁγιώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι μετεστέλλοντο, *ibid.*, 2297A10-11.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 2297A10-B9. The hagiographer observes that, by this divine disposal, the concealed treasure of the holy man would become manifest, *ibid.*, 2297B1-2.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 3,21, 2297C11-2300A5.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 3,22, 2300A12-B8.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3,22, 2300B8-15.

tize persons who were detected as heretics only after their death.²¹⁰ Eutychius found a way out of the dilemma by referring to the biblical example of King Josiah, who had the bones of the idolaters dug up to be burned after their death.²¹¹ This ingenious intervention provoked the Emperor's admiration and when only a few days later (οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας) Patriarch Menas died,²¹² Justinian had Eutychius ordained as Menas' successor, as had been foretold by the divine revelation.²¹³

According to this sixth-century panegyric, the invitations to the Council had already been sent, and preparatory discussions were going on before Menas' death, that is, before August 552.²¹⁴ This early date for the convocation of the Council is also attested by Evagrius Scholasticus (594).²¹⁵ In

²¹⁰ A great cause of resistance, especially on the part of the Western churches, with regard to an official condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia was the fact that he had long since been considered to have died in peace with the Church. The question was even discussed at the Council itself. See above, 179, n.219, and compare with 181, n.226.

²¹¹ EUSRATIUS, *Vita Eutychii*, 3,22, PG 86/2, 2300B15-c8 (with ref. to 4 Kgs 23:16).

²¹² *Ibid.*, 3,23, 2300D6-11.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 3,23-26, 2300D11-2305B3.

²¹⁴ Eustratius' panegyric, which is full of embellishments, might make us suspicious with regard to the details. However, it would be too much to reject the whole story as mere fiction. Diekamp qualifies the hagiographer as a "langjähriger Vertrauter" of Eutychius, "der auch die von 12. April 565 bis zum October 577 dauernde Verbannung des Patriarchen geteilt hatte", F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 79. Having been the Patriarch's confidant, Eustratius wrote the Life about 30 years after his hero's accession to the throne, when many eye-witnesses were still alive. So he had no reason for inventing a story that would conflict basically with historical reality. We may credit at least the main elements: Eutychius was sent to Constantinople, during Menas' lifetime, by the metropolitan of Amasea to represent him at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and when participating in preparatory discussions, he attracted Justinian's attention (as a potential ally) so that he became Menas' successor.

²¹⁵ Evagrius starts his account of the Council by mentioning the patriarchs in the period of its convocation: "In the time when Vigilus was bishop of Rome, Menas first and then Eutychius bishop of the New [Rome], Apolinarius bishop of Alexandria, Domninus bishop of Antioch and Eustochius bishop of Jerusalem, Justinian convoked the Fifth Council for the following reason" (Τῆς πρεσβυτέρας μὲν οὖν Ῥώμης ἡγουμένου Βιγιλίου, τῆς δὲ νέας πρῶτα μὲν Μηνᾶ, εἰτ' Εὐτυχίου, τῆς δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀπολινάρου, καὶ τῆς Ἀντιόχου Δομνίνου, Ἱεροσολύμων τε Εὐστοχίου, τὴν πέμπτην μεταπέμπεται σύνοδον Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης), EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/PARMENTIER), 186,23-27. Apparently, Evagrius refers to the convocation of the Council as an organizational process which took a certain time: first Menas was bishop of Constantinople, and then Eutychius. Thus the process was still going on when Eustochius became patriarch of Jerusalem in December 552 (even though Evagrius' account suggests an earlier date for the beginning of Eustochius' patriarchate; see below).

addition, Evagrius relates the same story about Eutychius' intervention on the question of anathematizing the dead. According to Evagrius, the intervention took place at a certain assembly before Menas' death,²¹⁶ and he writes: "Justinian, when informed about this, had him [*scil.* Eutychius] ascend the throne of the capital, as soon as Menas was dead."²¹⁷ Even though Evagrius' account of the Council contains certain inaccuracies which will be treated below,²¹⁸ the agreement with Eustratius on Eutychius' intervention, which led to the latter's patriarchate, prompts us to assume that the Council was indeed called before August 552²¹⁹ or, at least, that preparations for the Council were well underway when Abba Conon arrived in Constantinople.²²⁰

²¹⁶ EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/PARMENTIER), 187,17-27. Evagrius specifies that Eutychius was already among the participants during Menas' lifetime (ζῶντος Μηνᾶ), not as one of the important persons, but as an apocrisiarius of the bishop of Amasea, 187,19-21, which corresponds to what we read in Eustratius' account. For the nature of the assembly, see immediately below, n.218.

²¹⁷ Ὅπερ καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐγνωκὼς εἰς τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης αὐτὸν ἀνεβίβασε θρόνον, παραυτίκα Μηνᾶ τελευτήσαντος, EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/PARMENTIER), 187,27-29 [εἰς = ἐς in Bidez/Parmentier].

²¹⁸ We may notice already that Evagrius remains vague about the status of the assembly mentioned, at which both Origenism and the Three Chapters were under discussion, *ibid.*, 187,11-16 (quoted below, 303 with n.235). Was it only a preparatory meeting in view of the Council? The text gives no clear indication separating its status from that of the official Council sessions, where *anathemata* were issued (according to Evagrius) both against the Three Chapters and Origenism, *ibid.*, 187,30-189,29. The assembly that interests us here can only have been a preparatory one, because it was held shortly before Menas' death in the summer of 552. R. Devreesse observes: "Au cours de l'été, un concile restreint avait tenu séance à Constantinople," R. DEVREESSE, "Le cinquième concile et l'oecuménicité byzantine", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* III, 9 with n.32. See also A. PLACANICA, "Teologia polemica e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", in *Res christiana*, 156 with n.136.

²¹⁹ F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 103 with n.1, 130 (nr.3), 133. Schwartz, though criticizing Diekamp's solution for Cyril's chronology (see above, 76, n.92), agrees with the latter on dating the convocation of the Council "im Juli oder August 552, jedenfalls noch zu Lebzeiten des Konstantinopler Patriarchen Menas", E. SCHWARTZ, "Zur Kirchenpolitik Justinians", *SBAW* (1940), Heft 2, 71 (= *id.*, *Gesammelte Schr.* IV, 319). See also E. STEIN, "Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres", 176-177; E. STEIN/J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 654-658; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 128, n.299; F. MURPHY/P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 326.

²²⁰ See above, 297-298 at n.210. Theoretically, Evagrius could have taken from Eustratius the account of Eutychius' intervention. However, he shows himself also independent of that possible source. For Eustratius the only reason for the Council was the Three Chapters affair (see above, 297, n.204), but Evagrius treats the question of Origenism as an important

How should we interpret Cyril's apparent inaccuracy when he dates the convocation of the Council to the end of 552? Was it merely the result of an "inadvertence d'ailleurs excusable", because Cyril was not really concerned with the "grande histoire" taking place in Constantinople, as has been suggested by A.-J. Festugière?²²¹ Or did Cyril only allude to a certain "pre-synod", held in the spring of 553 before the real Council, when he wrote that Justinian "gave orders for there to be an ecumenical council",²²² as has been proposed by K. Chrysos?²²³ Of course, after the anti-Origenists had brought their case to Justinian's attention by the end of 552, the bishops who had already assembled in the capital in view of the Council (delayed by the tension between the Emperor and the Pope), were indeed ordered to pronounce *anathemata* against Origen and his followers.²²⁴ But

issue along with that of the Three Chapters (see below). If Evagrius indeed chose to adopt the story about how Eutychius became patriarch from Eustratius' panegyric – only a decade after its composition – this might add to the evidence produced above that the story cannot be basically in conflict with historical reality. See above, 298, n.214.

²²¹ "C'est par une inadvertance d'ailleurs excusable (car il ne se mêle pas des événements de Constantinople et ne se hausse pas à la grande histoire) que Cyrille (198.21) place ici la convocation au Concile de Constantinople," A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient III/2*, 128, n.299.

²²² ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν γενέσθαι, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,21-22.

²²³ K. CHRYSOS, "Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ περὶ τῆς Ε΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ὀριγένους", in *Θεολογικὸν Συμπόσιον*, Thessalonikè 1967, 259-273. Chrysos departs from Diekamp's thesis that Origenism was not condemned at the official Council sessions, from 5 May to 2 June 553, but at a previous assembly gathered as a σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα in March or April 553. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 131-132, 133, 137. This thesis, as the main result of Diekamp's research, has generally been accepted by later scholars. See above, 21, n.2 (and for some inaccurate criticism: below, 314, n.286). Chrysos interprets Cyril's reference to the Ecumenical Council as a reference to that particular "pre-synod" (προσύνοδος); see K. CHRYSOS, *o.c.*, 271. Thus, Chrysos tends to resolve the difficulties in Cyril's text, in particular those concerning the date of the convocation of "the Council" and the date of the re-populating of the New Laura. However, Chrysos' chronology does not fit with that of Cyril; see above, 291, n.177 (at the end). In addition, Chrysos is not clear about how Cyril confused the "pre-synod" and the official Council. Did Cyril lump them together into one great "Fifth Ecumenical Council" as he mentions the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia (K. CHRYSOS, *o.c.*, 264-265), or did he refer *exclusively* to the "pre-synod" as the "Fifth Ecumenical Council" neglecting the official Council sessions, which would permit us to assume a greater lapse of time between what Cyril indicates as "the Council" and the re-populating of the New Laura (*ibid.*, 269)? See also below, 310, n.267.

²²⁴ See esp. IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 96,20-97,4.

why did Cyril substitute this imperial command with the one that an *ecumenical council* should be held, notwithstanding all the evidence that the preparations for that council were already in an advanced state? Was it ignorance?²²⁵ Or did Cyril perhaps need this inaccuracy for his claim that it was due to Conon's *libellus* that Justinian convoked the Ecumenical Council? In fact, by shifting the date of the convocation as he did, Cyril could compose his account of a providential Origenist defeat by a "common and universal *anathema*", pronounced at an ecumenical council through the agency of Sabas' heir, without being forced to say too much about the painful (to Cyril and his party) Three Chapters affair. In reality, the Origenist coup in Jerusalem, followed by Conon's action in Constantinople, was only a matter of minor importance.²²⁶ This local crisis was not the one that led to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, nor did it substantially affect the power position of Conon's arch-enemy Theodore Ascidas.

A hagiographic enlargement of Abba Conon's role?

The preceding analysis justifies the question regarding the degree of hagiographic stylization present in the final chapter of the Life of Sabas. How should we evaluate the figure of Abba Conon, who is Sabas' successor as the archimandrite for the anchorites of the Palestinian desert and the head of Cyril's order? Also when Cyril relates the developments after the convocation of the Council, Conon is presented as the main figure controlling the events. Conon releases (ἀπολύων) the new Patriarch Eustochius from his obligation to stay in the capital for the Council and sets him free to enter into his patriarchate.²²⁷ Conon also asks him to send (ἀποστελεῖν) Eulogius, the successor of Theodosius, so that the archimandrite of the ceno-

²²⁵ Compare with K. CHRYSOS, "Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ", 265, n.14. See also above, 300, n.221.

²²⁶ See esp. above, 294-295, nn.190, 192. Diekamp already concluded that the action taken against the Origenists must have been a minor detail in the great history leading to the Council: "Erstens galt die Action gegen die Origenisten gegenüber der Angelegenheit der drei Capitel als recht bedeutungslos. Der Kaiser hatte die Bischöfe nur zur Erledigung der letzteren berufen. Nur diese erregte das allgemeine Interesse," F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 133.

²²⁷ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), p.198, lines 22, 25.

bites may also be present at the Council.²²⁸ The hierarchy as conceived by Cyril is clear: Conon, who arranged that Eustochius become patriarch and through whose agency the Council was called, remains in a position superior to the Patriarch. And the latter, in his turn, is placed above Theodosius' successor Eulogius. This hierarchy, expressed in particular by the sequence of the verbs ἀπολύειν and ἀποστέλλειν, could point to a minimization of the role of the cenobites in the events that led to the Council: the cenobitic archimandrite is invited only when the decisive action is complete. Is this perhaps a continuation of the enlargement of Sabas' role in the struggle for orthodoxy, at the expense of Theodosius?²²⁹

Evagrius Scholasticus offers a different version of Conon's role in Constantinople and it is interesting to compare it with Cyril's presentation. He opens his account by referring to the convocation of the Council in the time of Menas' patriarchate.²³⁰ Then, indicating the reason for the convocation,²³¹ he describes the troubles caused by the Origenists in Palestine²³² and immediately starts referring to their expulsion from the New Laura by Patriarch Eustochius.²³³ Subsequently, Evagrius mentions the pernicious

²²⁸ παρεκάλεσεν ἀποστῆλαι τὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδοσίου ἡγούμενον Εὐλόγιον, ἐφ' ᾧ εὗρεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀθροισμένῃ συνόδῳ, *ibid.*, 198,23-25.

²²⁹ Our comparison between Theodore of Petra's *Vita Theodosii* and Cyril's *VS* confirmed the existence of two rival traditions concerning the struggle for orthodoxy. Both hagiographers appear to have enlarged the figure of their own hero at the expense of the other. See above, 113-130.

²³⁰ EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 186,22-27 (quoted above, 298, n.215).

²³¹ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε, *ibid.*, 186,27.

²³² Evagrius' *HE* is one of the few sixth-century sources according to which Origenism was an issue at the Fifth Ecumenical Council. In addition to Cyril's own account and that of Evagrius, Diekamp adduces only a brief remark in a fragment from a lost writing attributed to Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria (580-607) as belonging to those sixth-century texts according to which Origenism was treated at the Council itself. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, Münster 1899, 107. See also C. MOELLER, "Le cinquième concile oecuménique et le Magistère ordinaire au VI^e siècle", *RSPHTh* 35 (1951), 420. For the Greek text, see [EULOGIUS], *De Trinitate*, PG 86/2, 2944, B8-c2. As we saw, the earlier documents, Justinian's *Epistula ad synodum de Origene* and the subsequent 15 *anathemata* against the Origenists, testify only to the existence of a *certain link* between Origenism and the Ecumenical Council; they do not prove that Origenism was treated at the official Council sessions. See above, 295, n.192 (at the end).

²³³ EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 186,28-33. According to Cyril, the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura, by order of Eustochius, took place shortly before its re-population by the anti-Origenists in Feb. 555 (see above, 291, n.177), a relatively long time after the Council, and that event marked the end of the Origenist Controversy, *VS* 90

role of their defender Theodore Ascidas, as a result of the latter's familiarity with Justinian.²³⁴ Because of all these troubles, Patriarch Eustochius sends two Palestinian superiors to Constantinople:

Because he [*scil.* Theodore Ascidas] troubled the Empire and called all kinds of impiety and unlawful deeds a matter worthy of support, Eustochius sent to the capital Rufus, superior of the monastery of Theodosius, and Conon, superior of the monastery of Sabas; they held the first rank in the desert, both because of their proper merits and because of the monasteries they directed. Also others (καὶ ἕτεροι), not much inferior in dignity, came along with them. These people set in motion, in the first instance (πρωτοτύπως), the discussion about Origen and also Evagrius and Didymus. Theodore the Cappadocian, however, desiring to drag them away in another direction, introduced (ἐπεισόγει) the discussion about Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret and Ibas. Thus God, who is all-good, disposed everything well, so that by both the former and the latter discussions all impiety would be cast out.²³⁵

Evagrius' account is not free of inaccuracy.²³⁶ In agreement with Cyril, he holds that the Council was convoked primarily because of the Origenists;

(SCHWARTZ), 199,11-200,4. Evagrius, however, places the expulsion of the Origenists by Eustochius at the very beginning, before the Council, and he writes that, from then on, the Origenists increased their number so that the controversy actually began. Diekamp explained this deviation by assuming that Evagrius had erroneously confused the events of 555 with an earlier (voluntary) exile of the Origenists, after Justinian's edict of 543 [comp. with *VS* 86 (*ibid.*), 192,12-20]; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 32. In any case, Cyril does not testify to an *expulsion* of the Origenists *by force* before the Council. We know also that Eustochius became patriarch as late as the end of 552 (see above, 293 with n.187), so that Evagrius' version, which implies an earlier date for Eustochius' patriarchate, must be the one that is inaccurate on this point, *ibid.*

²³⁴ EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 186,28-187,6.

²³⁵ Κουκῶντος οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀθεμιτοῦργίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα καλοῦντος, στέλλονται πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως πόλιν πρὸς Εὐστοχίου Ῥοῦφος ἡγούμενος τῆς Θεοδοσίου μονῆς καὶ Κόνων τῆς Σάβα, τὰ πρῶτιστα τῆς ἐρήμου φέροντες ἕκ τε τῆς οἰκείας ἀξιώσεως καὶ ὧν ἡγοῦντο φροντιστηρίων· γεγόνασι δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕτεροι, οὐ πολλῶ τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῶν λειπόμενοι. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τὰ κατὰ Ὀριγένην πρωτοτύπως ἐκίνουν καὶ Εὐάγριον καὶ Δίδυμον. Θεόδωρος δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης, ἐτέρωθι τούτους ἀφέλκειν ἐθέλων, ἐπεισάγει τὰ κατὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν Μοψουεστίας καὶ Θεοδώρητον καὶ Ἰβαν, τοῦ παναγάθου θεοῦ πάντα καλῶς οἰκονομήσαντος ἵν' ἐκεῖθεν ἐντεῦθεν τὰ βέβηλα ἐξωσθεῖν, *ibid.*, 187,4-16 (transl. DH). For the status of the assembly as a "restricted council", gathered in the summer of 552, see above, 299, n.218.

²³⁶ See also above, n.233. To evaluate Evagrius' historical reliability would be a subject for another study. However, Evagrius has conscientiously consulted official documents relating to the Council, so we cannot simply reject his account on all points where he deviates from Cyril; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, Münster 1899, 100-106.

against Cyril, however, he testifies explicitly that the Three Chapters affair was also treated at the Council, albeit as an issue introduced in a second instance.²³⁷ Thus Evagrius mistakes the main issue of the Council for a secondary matter.²³⁸ Nevertheless, there are three points in the text that deserve our attention, as they allow us to question the hierarchy presented by Cyril. According to Evagrius, *a*) Patriarch Eustochius gives the order to Conon's mission; *b*) Conon is sent to the capital together with Rufus, his fellow archimandrite for the cenobites; *c*) Conon is mentioned only in the second place, after Rufus.

Regarding the first point, Evagrius must be wrong in reporting that Conon was sent by Patriarch Eustochius, who ascended the throne only near the end of 552.²³⁹ However, the error could be restricted to the *name* of Eustochius, and Conon could indeed have been sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem.²⁴⁰ Cyril for his part does not indicate that Conon was *sent on a mission*: by his silence, he creates rather the impression that Conon went on his own initiative.²⁴¹ As we saw, Cyril presents a hierarchy according to

On the other hand, a time gap of 40-50 years separates Evagrius' testimony from the period of the Council. Evagrius depended not only on the documents he had at his disposal, but also, as it seems, on existing contradictory traditions concerning the issue of the Council.

²³⁷ Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus of Carthage testify indeed that the Three Chapters affair was introduced by a diversionary action of Theodore Ascidas (out of "revenge" for Origen), but this must have happened already in 543/544, long before plans for an ecumenical council were made; see above, p.152, n.96 and p.181, n.224. Besides, Ascidas' role on this point might be over accentuated by the tradition, as Justinian had his own political motives for paying attention to the Three Chapters; see above, p.182, n.227 and p.183, n.233.

²³⁸ For the real proportion between the Three Chapters affair and the Origenist Controversy in their relation to the Council, see the documents adduced above, 294-295, nn.190, 192.

²³⁹ See above, 293 with n.187. Cyril dates Conon's journey explicitly to September 552: ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικτιόνοϋ, VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 198,5-6 (see above, 289, n.171). It is a crucial theme in Cyril's account that Eustochius became patriarch *due to* Conon's action in Constantinople, after Macarius' illegal accession to the throne in the fall of 552; see VS 90 (*ibid.*), 198,9-21.

²⁴⁰ If Cyril's date is correct, and Conon was indeed sent to the capital by his Patriarch, it must have been Eustochius' predecessor Peter who gave orders to the mission, shortly before he died. Evagrius mentions this Patriarch (and also Macarius' coup) in the preceding section; see HE iv,37 (*ibid.*), 186,14-16.

²⁴¹ After relating the conciliation between Isidore, the chief of the Protoktists, and Abba Conon, VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,26-198,4, Cyril writes nothing more than that Isidore "went up with him [*scil.* Conon] to Constantinople (ἀνέβη σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει)" in September 552, *ibid.*, 198,5-6.

which Conon's authority surpasses even that of the Patriarch; in Evagrius' account, however, we find Conon in a position subordinate to that of the Patriarch.

As for the second point, we should notice first that Cyril does not mention Rufus at all, although he presents Abba Eulogius as the superior of Theodosius' monastery.²⁴² Again, Evagrius could be wrong on a name. But we cannot exclude the possibility that Rufus was Eulogius' *predecessor* and that he was still alive in September 552.²⁴³ Nor can we say for certain that Rufus was not sent to Constantinople together with Conon "and others (καὶ ἕτεροι)", as testified by Evagrius.²⁴⁴ Abba Conon could have shared his prominent position in the delegation with a cenobitic colleague. Cyril, however, mentions as Conon's traveling companion only Isidore,²⁴⁵ who dies shortly upon arrival in the capital.²⁴⁶ The decisive action that led to the condemnation of Origenism is then attributed exclusively to "Abba Conon's party (οἱ περὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόνωνα)".²⁴⁷ Did Cyril perhaps suppress the role of the cenobites in this crucial stage of his account?

The third point reinforces our suspicion. Even if Evagrius were wrong concerning Rufus' name, his mentioning the superior of Theodosius' cenobium in the *first* place, *before* Conon, could indicate that the cenobites

²⁴² VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,23-25 (quoted above, 302, n.228). See also A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, "Évagre: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, traduction", *Byz* 45 (1975), 402, n.97.

²⁴³ When writing about the Council sessions, Evagrius also mentions Eulogius as one of the authors of certain *libelli* against the Origenists; see EVAGRIUS, HE iv,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,25 (see below). Cyril for his part mentions Eulogius only in the passage quoted above, 302, n.228, that is, *after* Eustochius had become patriarch at the end of 552. Elsewhere we read that Theodosius himself was succeeded by Sophronius on 11 January 529; see VS 70 (SCHWARTZ), 171,26-172,1; *VTheod* 4-5 (*ibid.*), 239,27-240,2. Sophronius died on 21 March 543, *VTheod* 5 (*ibid.*), 241,2-3. Cyril does not mention a new successor and so leaves a gap between 21 March 543 and the end of 552, a period in which Rufus could have been the archimandrite for the cenobites. Festugière's remark that "Eulogius a donc succédé à Sophronios" might be too hasty; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 128, n.301.

²⁴⁴ Theoretically, Rufus could have died shortly after the arrival of the delegation in the capital, just like Isidore, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,17. Patriarch Eustochius could then have sent Eulogius as Rufus' successor to be present at the Council. See *ibid.*, 198, lines 23-25 and 27.

²⁴⁵ VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,26-198,4 (see above, 304, n.241).

²⁴⁶ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,17 (see above, n.244).

²⁴⁷ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,14.

were generally considered superior to the anchorites,²⁴⁸ and that they did participate in the events that took place in Constantinople from the time of the arrival of the delegation sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Also when we compare the sequels in both accounts, the suspicion grows that Cyril has enhanced Abba Conon's role at the expense of the latter's cenobite colleague. Cyril writes that Patriarch Eustochius, on arrival in Jerusalem, sends three bishops to take his place at the Council,²⁴⁹ and that (at Conon's request) he sends Eulogius, Theodosius' successor, who is accompanied by two other superiors, Cyriacus²⁵⁰ and Pancratius.²⁵¹ As we shall see, Evagrius mentions the same delegation. After the passage quoted above he reports first the story of Eutyichius who, due to his intervention, becomes patriarch of Constantinople.²⁵² He then relates the treatment of the Three Chapters at the Council, which results in the fourteen *anathemata*.²⁵³ And finally, he returns to the question of Origenism:

Because of certain *libelli* (ἐκ λιβέλλων) submitted by the monks Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus and Pancratius against the doctrines of Origen, called also Adamantius, and the adherents of his impiety and error, Justinian inquired of the Council (σύνοδος), which was gathered together, about this matter. Meanwhile he joined [to his letter] a copy of the *libellus* (τοῦ λιβέλλου τὸ ἴσον) as well as the letter he had sent to Vigilus on the question. From all these documents, one might easily be persuaded that Origen devoted himself to fill up with Greek and Manichean chaff the simplicity of apostolic doctrine. Thus a report was sent to Justinian by the

²⁴⁸ I pointed out already a list of signatures (adduced by B. Flusin) which does not confirm Cyril's claim to an anchoritic superiority with regard to the cenobites. In that document, the signatures of two cenobites figure *before* those of two anchorites. See above, 118, n.273 (second part).

²⁴⁹ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,25-27. Cyril does not mention Eustochius' representatives by name. The lists of participants in the *Acta* of the Council confirm that Eustochius was represented by three bishops: Stephen, George and Damian ("vicem agentes Eustochii"). See e.g. the list of the first session, ACO IV/1, 3,7-10. See also the address of Justinian's letter read at that session, *ibid.*, 8,17-18.

²⁵⁰ Cyriacus of "The Spring" is not the Cyriacus we met in the previous section (as above, 290, n.174).

²⁵¹ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,27-199,1.

²⁵² EVAGRIUS, HE IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 187,17-29 (see above, 299 with nn.216-217).

²⁵³ EVAGRIUS, HE IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 187,30-188,24. For the 14 *anathemata* of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, see ACO IV/1, 215-220 (Latin); 239-245 (Greek).

Council (σύνοδος), after its pronouncements (ἐκβοήσεις) against Origen and those who erred on the same points as he did.²⁵⁴

The account continues with some quotations in which the Council Fathers confirm that they have anathematized the heresy of Origen.²⁵⁵ Subsequently, Evagrius refers to the propositions they added, with which they illustrated the impiety of Theodore Ascidas and the Isochrists,²⁵⁶ and finally, he observes that they adduced many other blasphemies extracted from Didymus, Evagrius Ponticus and Theodore Ascidas.²⁵⁷

The quotations prove that Evagrius had consulted records of a certain assembly dedicated to the condemnation of Origenism, and the way he assimilates that source shows that he considered it as a component of the *Acts* of the Ecumenical Council.²⁵⁸ However, as we know, this assembly must have taken place *before* the official Council sessions, in March or April 553.²⁵⁹ An interesting point for us to notice is that Evagrius did consult official documents and that he mentions a whole series of writings. Certain anti-Origenist *libelli* are handed over by a monastic delegation consisting

²⁵⁴ ἐκ λιβέλλων δὲ ἐπιδεδομένων πρὸς Εὐλογίου, Κόνωνος, Κυριακοῦ, καὶ Παγκρατίου μοναχῶν κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους τοῦ καὶ Ἀδαμαντίου δογμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων τῆ τοῦτου δυσσεβείᾳ καὶ πλάνῃ, πυνθάνεται Ἰουστινιανὸς τῆς ἀλισθείσης συνόδου περὶ τούτων, συζεύξας καὶ τοῦ λιβέλλου τὸ ἴσον ἀτὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Βιγίλιον περὶ τούτων ἐπεσταλμένα. Ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἔστιν ἐλεῖν ὅπως ἐσπουδάσθη τῷ Ὀριγένει Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ Μανιχαϊκῶν ζιζανίων ἐμπλήσαι τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων τὸ λιτόν. Ἀναφορὰ τοίνυν γέγονε πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν παρὰ τῆς συνόδου μετὰ τὰς γενομένας παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκβοήσεις κατὰ Ὀριγένους καὶ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ πεπλανημένων, EVAGRIUS, HE IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,24-189,8 (transl. DH).

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 198,9-16.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 198,17-26.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 198,26-29.

²⁵⁸ "Mit sicherheit darf behauptet werden, erstens, daß Evagrius auch diese Mittheilungen aus Protokollen, die ihm vorlagen, entnommen, und zweitens, daß er selbst seine Quelle für einen Bestandtheil der Acten der fünften allgemeine Synode gehalten hat. Wahrscheinlich waren diese Protokolle in der Handschrift, die er benutzte, mit den Sitzungsberichten über die drei Capittel vereinigt und schlossen sich unmittelbar an die letzteren an," F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 101.

²⁵⁹ See above, p.21, n.2 and p.300, n.223. That the assembly must have taken place *before* the official Council can be deduced (in combination with all the other evidence) from two indications of a recent condemnation of Origen in the *Acta* of the Council. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 131 (nr.8); see also above, 295, n.192. Very few scholars continue to hold that the condemnation of Origenism was pronounced *at* the official Council; see below, 314, n.286.

of Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus and Pancratius, and these writings prompt Justinian to bring the question of Origenism to the attention of the Council Fathers.

Even though we may find the same delegates in Cyril's account, the differences are noticeable. According to Cyril, the *libellus* that stirs the Emperor to action against the Origenists is attributed exclusively to "Conon and his party", and it is handed over in the fall of 552, when the other delegates are still at home. Evagrius, however, who has consulted official documents, attributes the crucial anti-Origenist petition(s) to the whole delegation.²⁶⁰ In Cyril's account, we read that at Conon's request the cenobitic archimandrite Eulogius is sent to Constantinople (along with the two other members of the delegation) after the decisive action has been taken. Evagrius for his part writes not only that Eulogius²⁶¹ is a participant in the decisive action, but he mentions him *before* Conon as the first member of the delegation. This is the second time that Evagrius places a cenobite archimandrite before Conon.²⁶² Do these data reflect what Evagrius could find in the documents before him? If that is true, the cenobites of Theodosius must have made an important contribution to the final condemnation of Origenism. This would imply a serious exaggeration in

²⁶⁰ We could try to harmonize Cyril's and Evagrius' accounts by assuming the existence of one *libellus* delivered first (in the fall of 552) by "Conon and his party", and another delivered later (in the spring of 553) by the whole delegation; see L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 214-215. Unfortunately, Evagrius remains vague about the documents he mentions. First he attributes *libelli* (ἐκ λιβέλλων, in plural) to the whole delegation, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,24-25, and then he mentions a copy of the *libellus* (τοῦ λιβέλλου, in singular) joined by Justinian to his letter to the Council, *ibid.*, 189,1. We may suppose with Festugière that "τοῦ λιβέλλου 189.1 reprend ἐκ λιβέλλων de 188.24, *scil.* les libelles d'accusation contre Origène remis à l'empereur par les moines antiorigénistes de Palestine", A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, "Évagre: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, traduction", *Byz* 45 (1975), 404, n.106. Justinian testifies indeed that he had joined an "explanation" (ὑποτεταγμένη ἔκθεσις) to his letter, containing the Origenist κεφάλαια he wanted condemned; see IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 97,1-2. For us, it is not necessary to speculate about the exact number of *libelli* Justinian received from the anti-Origenists. The question that counts is: *who* delivered the crucial one? Cyril and Evagrius do not agree on this point.

²⁶¹ At this stage Evagrius mentions Eulogius and not Rufus, which is in agreement with Cyril. See A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, "Évagre: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, traduction", p.402., n.97, p.404, n.105. Eulogius could have been Rufus' successor; see above, 305, nn.243-244.

²⁶² Rufus is also mentioned *before* Conon; see EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 187,6-8. Compare with above, 306, n.248.

Cyril's hagiographic account, of the part played by Sabas' successor Conon in the victory of orthodoxy.

A straightforward Ecumenical Council against Origenism?

After mentioning the monastic delegation, Cyril immediately passes to the Council. His report, which I shall quote again for the benefit of the reader, is extremely concise:

When the fifth holy ecumenical (οἰκουμενική) council had assembled at Constantinople, a common (κοινός) and universal (καθολικός) anathema was directed against Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia and against the teaching of Evagrius and Didymus on preexistence and a universal restoration, in the presence (παρόντων) and with the approval (συναίνουόντων) of the four patriarchs.²⁶³

As has been said, the *anathemata* against Origenism must have been pronounced when the bishops, who had already assembled in Constantinople, convened like a σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα,²⁶⁴ *before* the official sessions of the Ecumenical Council,²⁶⁵ in March or in April 553.²⁶⁶ The Council itself was dedicated to the much more embracing question of the Three Chapters, which is almost completely ignored by Cyril. But he mentions the condem-

²⁶³ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,1-6 (for the Greek text, see above, 87, n.145).

²⁶⁴ After Justinian had already convoked the bishops in order to resolve the question of the Three Chapters, the Origenist Controversy was brought to his attention, as has been described above. The Emperor must then have taken the occasion to deal with this local question. As Origen had already been condemned by the imperial edict of 543 (which had not troubled the Empire as had the decrees against the Three Chapters), it was considered enough, as Diekamp wrote, "wenn die zu anderen Zwecken berufenen Bischöfe zu diesen Berathungen nur wie zu einer σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα zusammentraten", F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 133. See also above, p.21, n.2 and p.300, n.223.

²⁶⁵ Diekamp observed: "Diese Verhandlungen [*scil.* the final condemnation of Origenism, DH] fanden, wenn meine These richtig ist, vor der Eröffnung der ökumenischen Synode statt und werden von den Kundigen nie als zu dieser gehörend betrachtet," *ibid.*, 137. Even Justinian did not consider the pre-synod as the official Council, *ibid.*, 135. See also above, 295, n.192 (close to the end).

²⁶⁶ The *terminus a quo* of March 553 is deduced by Diekamp from Evagrius' testimony to the contribution of Eulogius, Cyriacus and Pancratius, who, according to Cyril, had been sent to the capital by Patriarch Eustochius after his arrival in Jerusalem, *ibid.*, 131-132. See also above, 307-308 with n.260.

nation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which means that he does not exclusively intend the pre-synod when referring to the Ecumenical Council.²⁶⁷ He amalgamates the pre-synod with the official Council in order to launch the former under the flag of the latter and then, indeed, he focuses one-sidedly upon the former, as if the whole Ecumenical Council were organized merely because of the Origenists. This fundamental inaccuracy of his account has been sufficiently elucidated.

But there is another difficulty that needs our attention: Cyril writes that the Council decisions were taken “in the presence of the four patriarchs and with their approval”.²⁶⁸ In Justinian’s era, however, a Council was called “ecumenical” only when it was held with the participation of five patriarchs.²⁶⁹ four were not enough.²⁷⁰ Of course, one patriarch was

²⁶⁷ K. Chrysos, in his article mentioned above (300, n.223), examined two phrases in Cyril’s account: 1) the Emperor “gave orders for there to be an ecumenical council”, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,21-22 (quoted above, 300, n.222), and 2) the Emperor “sent to Jerusalem the acts of the council (τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ πραχθέντα)”, *ibid.*, 199,7-8. According to Chrysos, the difficulties of Cyril’s account may only be resolved when these phrases are taken to indicate not the official Council sessions, but the pre-synod; see K. CHRYSOS, “Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ”, 271. However, does Cyril allude *exclusively* to that pre-synod? Chrysos himself, noting that Cyril refers to the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, writes that anti-Origenists had no difficulty with fusing together the pre-synod with the Council under the common name of “holy fifth ecumenical council”, *ibid.*, 265. But only by assuming that Cyril alludes exclusively to the pre-synod, can Chrysos propose his eventual solution for the chronological problem; see above, p.291, n.177 and p.300, n.223 (at the end).

²⁶⁸ παρόντων τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τούτοις συναινούντων, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,5-6.

²⁶⁹ “Le droit oriental exigeait, pour qu’il y eût concile oecuménique valable, la participation des cinq patriarches,” É. AMANN, “Trois-chapitres (affaire des)”, *DTC* 15/2 (1950), 1922.

²⁷⁰ R. Devreesse, examining the chaotic history of the reception of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in the Byzantine tradition, held that the concept “ecumenical” was conceived in a specific sense already in the time of Justinian: “Quand on parlait d’oecuménicité, on ne dépassait pas l’horizon byzantin, celui que dominait le maître de l’oikouménē, c’est à dire l’empereur,” R. DEVRESSE, “Le cinquième concile et l’oecuménicité byzantine”, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* III, StT 123, Città del Vaticano 1946, 14. Devreesse drew this conclusion from the confusing fact that in the Byzantine tradition different synods of Justinian’s era, such as the Synod of Menas of 536, are called the “Fifth Ecumenical Council”. He suggested that this denomination could have indicated “tout simplement le recueil des conciles réunis au cours du règne de Justinien”, *ibid.*, 15. Devreesse was attacked for this by C. Moeller, who argued that such an exclusive concept of ecumenicalism, requiring only the

represented by delegates, but apart from that, there were only *three* patriarchs “present” at the Council sessions from 5 May to 2 June.²⁷¹ Moreover, if the pre-synod against Origenism was indeed held in March or April 553, no more than *three* patriarchs can have been present also at that synod. Eustochius had been sent to his patriarchate at the turn of 552-553,²⁷² and Vigilius, whose refusal to participate at the official Council had delayed it, must have stayed away also from the pre-synod which was meanwhile held at the Emperor’s command.²⁷³ However, we may assume that Vigilius gave his approval to the condemnation of Origenism by letter in advance.²⁷⁴ But

approval of the four Oriental patriarchs without that of Rome, “date d’une époque voisine ou postérieure au schisme”, C. MOELLER, “Le cinquième concile oecuménique et le Magistère ordinaire au VI^e siècle”, *RSPHTh* 35 (1951), 423, n.28. Justinian’s violent policy to enforce Pope Vigilius’ cooperation with the condemnation of the Three Chapters proves that – at least before the Council was officially opened in Vigilius’ absence – the Emperor “savait indispensable l’approbation pontificale”, *ibid.* Even when Justinian and the Council Fathers broke off with Vigilius, they tried to preserve the communion with the Apostolic See of Rome; see below, 313 with n.280.

²⁷¹ The eight council sessions, from 5 May to 2 June 553, were held *in the presence* of only the Patriarchs Eutychius of Constantinople, Apolinarius of Alexandria and Dominus of Antioch. See esp. the attendance lists: *ACO* IV/1, p.3,4-6, p.8,15-17, p.20,4-6, p.32,4-6, p.39,4-6, p.73,5-7, p.137,4-6, p.183,4-6, p.203,5-9; see also p.220 (*passim*).

²⁷² See above, p.293 with n.187 and p.301 with n.227.

²⁷³ That the pre-synod against Origen must have assembled without Vigilius is strongly suggested by Evagrius Scholasticus, who writes that Justinian joined a letter, sent to Vigilius about the Origenist question (τὰ πρὸς Βιγίλιον περὶ τούτων ἐπεσταλμένα), to his own letter to the synod when he commanded the condemnation of Origenism; see EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,27-189,2 (quoted above, 306-307 with n.254). Another old testimony may confirm Vigilius’ absence from the synod against Origenism, although this source, like Evagrius, confuses the pre-synod with the official Council. In the years 692-695, Anastasius of Sinai, writing about the Fifth Ecumenical Council, refers to a letter from Vigilius to Justinian, approving the proposed condemnation of Origenism, “which was communicated to the Council and inserted in the memoranda of the Council (ἥτις καὶ ἐνεφανίσθη ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, καὶ ἐγκεῖται ἐν τοῖς πραχθεῖσι παρ’ αὐτῆς ὑπομνήμασι)”, ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *De haeresibus et synodis*, ed. J. PITRA, *Iuris ecclesiastica Graecorum historia et monumenta* II, Romae 1868, 264,17-18. For Anastasius’ testimony, see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 111-115. Like Evagrius, Anastasius must depend on a MS in which the acts of the synod against Origenism were joined to those of the official Council; see above, 307, n.258.

²⁷⁴ In the *Acta* of the official Council we read that at the fifth session, Theodore Ascidas, referring to a recent condemnation of Origen, remarks: “quod [*scil.* the condemnation] etiam nunc in ipso [*scil.* Origen] fecit et vestra sanctitas et Vigilius religiosissimus papa antiquioris Romae”, *ACO* IV/1, 114,11-12 (see also above, 295, n.192). Hefele held that Ascidas alludes

this was not intended as a papal confirmation of a decision taken by an ecumenical council.²⁷⁵ As a matter of fact, in the second half of the sixth-century all the subsequent papal writings as well as other Eastern and Western sources show “daß damals weite Kreise die antiorigenistischen Verhandlungen als nicht zum fünften Concil gehörig betrachtet haben”.²⁷⁶

here to a subscribing of Justinian's edict of 543; see C. HEFFLE/ H. LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* III/1, 88, n.1. However, as Ascidas addresses himself to the Council through Patriarch Eutychius (“vestra sanctitas”), who became patriarch in 552, the remark can only be understood as an allusion to a very recent (“etiam nunc”) condemnation of Origenism by the bishops who were present at the Council, as well as by Vigilius. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 97-98. Besides, in the passage where Evagrius speaks of a letter (from Justinian) to Vigilius (πρὸς Βιγίλιον, see the preceding footnote), a text variant reads πρὸς Βιγίλιου, which would indicate a letter from Vigilius to Justinian, *ibid.*, 100, n.3. In any case, Evagrius testifies to the existence of a correspondence between Justinian and Vigilius concerning the condemnation of Origenism. Festugière supposes that Justinian's edict of 543 is meant; see A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, “Évagre: *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, traduction”, 404-405, n.106. However, it is much more probable that the correspondence dates to the period immediately preceding the Council. Diekamp concluded this from Anastasius of Sinai's testimony that Vigilius by that time had indeed written a letter to Justinian, in which he approved in advance the condemnation. See F. DIEKAMP, *o.c.* 114 (cf. the preceding footnote). When we combine these testimonies, we may assume that Vigilius, though not participating at the pre-synod, approved the condemnation of Origenism by writing; see *ibid.*, 132 (nr.9). Guillaumont even suggests that Justinian used the condemnation of Origenism as “un excellent moyen de se concilier le pape Vigile”, A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d'Évagre le Pontique*, 174.

²⁷⁵ Reflecting upon the question of whether Vigilius' approval conferred on the 15 *anathemata* against Origenism has the status of an infallible judgment, Diekamp observed: “Als ein Urtheil der ökumenischen Synode kann es nicht gelten, da es als ein solches nicht intendiert und auch niemals als ein solches bestätigt worden ist. Da es außerdem nicht möglich ist, zu zeigen, daß Vigilius seine Zustimmung zu dem Entwurfe Justinians als ein endgültiges und die ganze Kirche bindendes Urtheil betrachtet wissen wollte, so haben die fünfzehn Anathematismen dieser Kirchenversammlung gegen die origenistischen Lehren an sich nicht die Bedeutung einer unfehlbaren Entscheidung. Vielleicht haben sie diese Bedeutung dadurch erlangt, daß sämtliche Bischöfe sie nachträglich angenommen haben. Aber sicher wissen wir dies nur von den Bischöfen Palästinas,” F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 137-138.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 132 (nr.11). See also 77-81. As regards the reception of the condemnation of Origenism in the late sixth-century East, Moeller observed that “l'enseignement ordinaire des théologiens, même en Orient, était loin d'être unanime au sujet de la signification de cette condamnation”, C. MOELLER, “Le cinquième concile oecuménique et le magistère ordinaire au VI^e siècle”, *RSPHTh* 35 (1951), 421.

In other words, Cyril's claim that both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia were struck by a “common and universal” *anathema* enunciated at the Fifth Ecumenical Council “in the presence and with the approval of the four patriarchs” is full of inaccuracies. Origen must have been condemned at a pre-synod in the actual presence of only three patriarchs and, probably, with the approval of all five, although the condemnation was not a judgment passed by an ecumenical council. Theodore of Mopsuestia was condemned at a series of council sessions which were held in the actual presence of three patriarchs and with the approval of four, but in open disagreement with the Patriarch of Rome. On 24 May, when six sessions had already been held, Vigilius published his first *Constitutum*,²⁷⁷ in which he explicitly refused to condemn Theodore of Mopsuestia²⁷⁸ and the other two of the Three Chapters.²⁷⁹ In response, the Council complied with an imperial command to strike Vigilius' name from the dyptichs in the universal Church, although without the intention of breaking off communion with the Apostolic See of Rome.²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, it has been argued that from that moment on, the Council Fathers themselves had made their decisions invalid.²⁸¹ Only when Vigilius, yielding to pressure, gave his official approval afterwards, in his second *Constitutum* of 23 February 554,²⁸² did these decisions receive the status of decisions taken by an ecumenical coun-

²⁷⁷ VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* I, in *Collectio Avellana*, Ep. 83, CSEL 35/1, 230-320 (see above, p.185, n.239 and p.294, n.190). The text was finished already on 14 May.

²⁷⁸ VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* I, nrs.202-220, CSEL, 35/1, 286,11-293,4. See A. PLACANICA, “Teologia e storiografia nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli”, in *Res christiana*, 188 with nn.306-310.

²⁷⁹ VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* I, nrs.221-227, CSEL 35/1, 293,5-295,7 (Theodoret); *Const.* I, nrs 236-283, CSEL 35/1, 296,28-310,22. See A. PLACANICA, “Teologia e storiografia nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli”, 188-189 with nn.311-313.

²⁸⁰ Concilium Oec. Const. II, *Actio septima*, ACO IV/1, 202,7-20. The distinction between Vigilius' person and the Apostolic See was made according to a principle formulated by Leo the Great: “aliud sunt sedes, aliud praesidentes”, ACO II/4, 61,30. See e.g. E. STEIN/ J.-R. PALANQUE, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II, 666-667; F. MURPHY/ P. SHERWOOD, *Constantinople II et Constantinople III*, 104-105.

²⁸¹ Notwithstanding the distinction between *sedes* and *praesidens* (see the preceding footnote), Amann observed: “En fait, par leur séparation explicite d'avec le pape, les Pères du V^e concile ont frappé eux-même de nullité toutes leurs décisions ultérieures, c'est à savoir le décret dogmatique de la séance du 2 juin, avec les anathématismes qui y sont annexés,” É. AMANN, “Trois-chapitres”, 1922.

²⁸² VIGILIUS, *Constitutum* II, ACO IV/2, 138-168 (as above, 296, n.200).

cil, but only in so far as the Pope had subscribed to them.²⁸³ However, the papal approval concerned only the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Neither in Vigilius' official decree nor in his previous letter of 8 December 553 to Patriarch Eutychius²⁸⁴ is a reference made to the condemnation of Origenism.²⁸⁵ Thus from a formal viewpoint, we may reject Cyril's claim that a "common and universal" *anathema* was directed against the Origenists by the "fifth holy ecumenical council".²⁸⁶

Cyril's reference to the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia is also inaccurate. As far as he refers to the Three Chapters affair (he mentions Theodore's name only in passing), the false picture is evoked of a Council proceeding smoothly with harmonious relations among the *four*

²⁸³ Following Amann (see above, 313, n.281), C. Moeller wrote that "depuis la vi^e session, le concile était *en rupture ouverte avec le Pape Vigile*. Du même coup toutes les décisions du 2 juin (viii^e session) sont frappées de nullité. Elles ne sont approuvées que dans la mesure exacte où elles sont reprises dans le *Judicatum* (23 février 554) où Vigile se ralliait aux décisions du concile de Justinien," C. MOELLER, "Le cinquième concile oecuménique", 414.

²⁸⁴ VIGILIUS, *Epistula decretalis*, ACO IV/1, 245-247 (as above, 296, n.199).

²⁸⁵ "Beide Decrete gedenken mit keinem Worte der Verurtheilung des Origenes und seine Anhänger," F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 77 (nr.1).

²⁸⁶ That it is still useful, a century after Diekamp, to explain the theory that Origen was *not* condemned by an ecumenical council, but by a pre-synod shortly before, becomes clear when we read the arguments in two studies which continue to claim that the condemnation took place at the official Council. C. Stallman-Pacitti rejects the theory of the pre-synod merely because of K. Chrysos' support of it, which is based on a dating of the re-populating of the New Laura to Feb. 554 instead of 555; see above, 291, n.177 (at the end). Ignoring all the evidence for the pre-synod produced by Diekamp himself, Stallman-Pacitti observes: "Perhaps it is better to move forward a year the reestablishment of Orthodoxy in the New Lavra [that is, to date the event to Feb. 555, DH], (...), rather than to postulate an 'endemousa' synod for which there is no direct textual evidence," C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis: A Study in Hagiography as Apology*, Brookline, Mass. 1991, 91. Suffice it to note here that it was precisely Diekamp who established 555 as the correct year for the re-populating of the New Laura; see above, 291, n.177. The second scholar, J. Binns, does take the study of Diekamp as his point of departure. But he one-sidedly adduces the sixth-century and seventh-century sources, set out by Diekamp, according to which Origenism was debated at the Ecumenical Council. Ignoring all other testimonies examined by Diekamp, as well as the distinction between *contemporary* sources and *later* accounts (see above, 295, n.192 at the end), Binns asserts: "This collection of evidence leaves no room for doubt that the Fifth Ecumenical Council anathematized the teaching of Origen, as well as that of his followers Didymus and Evagrius," J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 217.

participating patriarchs, among whom, obviously, Vigilius is reckoned.²⁸⁷ On the other hand, if Vigilius indeed subscribed to the decisions of the pre-synod,²⁸⁸ Cyril is right that the condemnation of Origenism was unanimous within the universal Church. However, he is wrong in attributing that condemnation to the Ecumenical Council, and presenting it even as its main issue. But also, and especially, he is wrong in evoking the idealized picture of a Holy Ecumenical Council organized by a divinely protected Emperor in an atmosphere of mutual concord within the universal Church. If Cyril were a reliable historian, who kept silent about the Three Chapters affair only because he was focusing on Origenism without concern for the "grande histoire",²⁸⁹ he would have been more reserved on the point of idealizing the Fifth Ecumenical Council. In fact, Justinian's aggressive power game of forcing the Council to be held on his conditions as he strived to appease the Monophysites brought the universal Church in 553 to the verge of total schism between East and West.

What about Theodoret of Cyrus?

Apart from Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia, four other authors were anathematized in 553, although not personally but only for some of their writings. Evagrius of Pontus and Didymus the Blind were condemned

²⁸⁷ When Cyril wrote his *VS* in 557, the Council had meanwhile received the status of "ecumenical" because of Vigilius' final approval. So Cyril could claim rightly that the Ecumenical Council, in general, had enunciated "common and universal (κοινὰ καὶ καθολικά)" *anathemata*. As has been said, in Justinian's era, the concept of ecumenicalism was not restricted to the Byzantine horizon, but it required also the agreement of Rome. See above, 311, n.270. As Cyril speaks of the *universal* Church, we cannot interpret "the four patriarchs" as referring merely to the Oriental patriarchs (including Eustochius who was formally "present" in his representatives, and excluding Vigilius who refused his participation when the Council sessions were held). For such an exclusively Oriental interpretation, see C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 78. However, "the four patriarchs" can only be understood as indicating "the other patriarchs" who were at Constantinople, after Eustochius' absence has been explained. See also A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d'Orient* III/2, 129, n.304 (as above, p.87, n.145 and p.290, n.175).

²⁸⁸ See above, 312, n.274 (at the end).

²⁸⁹ See above, 300, n.221.

along with Origen, whereas the names of Theodoret of Cyrus²⁹⁰ and Ibas of Edessa²⁹¹ were coupled with that of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The two groups show a striking parallel structure with regard to their hierarchies. Both consist of three individuals, one of which is the main figure who is condemned personally after his death, while the other two are condemned only to a lesser degree. Thus, one might ask why Cyril does not counterbalance the mention of Evagrius and Didymus by referring also to Theodoret and Ibas. Even if he were not interested in the Three Chapters, he could have mentioned them in passing, to avoid an incomplete representation of the Fifth Ecumenical Council. This silence cannot be explained by assuming that Cyril was ignorant of the “common and universal” *anathema* against the discussed writings of Theodoret and Ibas.²⁹² Cyril wrote four years after the Council, using an abundance of official documents²⁹³ and other literary sources,²⁹⁴ and as we know, he excelled in relating events in the context of the universal historical background.²⁹⁵ If he had no access to the exact text

²⁹⁰ For the condemnation of some writings of Theodoret of Cyrus, see also above, 224, n.409.

²⁹¹ In the 430's, Ibas of Edessa had written a much discussed letter to Maris in which he had praised Theodore of Mopsuestia and complained about Cyril of Alexandria. See above, 179, n.217.

²⁹² K. Chrysos states that Cyril “had no clear knowledge about the achievements of the Council” and that this was demonstrated by his “ignorance” about the *anathemata* against Theodoret and Ibas; see K. CHRYSOS, “Αἱ μαρτυραὶ τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ”, 265, n.14 (see also above, 301 with n.225). C. Stallman-Pacitti also remarks that “perhaps Cyril did not know of their condemnation”; see C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 78.

²⁹³ The documents used extensively by Cyril include those that are closely related to the Fifth Ecumenical Council. As we saw, Cyril describes fifth-century Abba Euthymius' orthodoxy by quoting many passages from Justinian's *Confessio fidei*, VE 26 (SCHWARTZ); 40,5-41,3 (see above, 188-189 with nn.253-254). B. Daley observed that this account “is almost a perfect summary of the Christology of the Second Council of Constantinople”, B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 363 (quoted above, 189, n.255).

²⁹⁴ See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 41-86 (see above, p.38, n.79 and p.223 with n.406).

²⁹⁵ Cyril owes his reputation as a reliable historian particularly to his remarkable ability to present the events in a hagiographic framework and within the context of their universal historical background. Good examples of this skill can be found in the chapters dedicated to Sabas' struggle for Chalcedonian orthodoxy against Emperor Anastasius in 511-518. See esp. VS 50 (SCHWARTZ), 139,20-141,23; VS 56 (*ibid.*), 148,9-22. In these passages, Cyril shows that he made extensive use of Theodore Anagnostes' Church History; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 61 (nr.4).

of the *anathemata* in the *Acta* of the Council, then at least he knew a similar text from Justinian's *Confessio fidei*.²⁹⁶

In my opinion, Cyril's silence about Theodoret and hence about Ibas when he mentions the authors condemned by the Council, must have been deliberate. In the previous Chapter of this study, I produced evidence for the thesis that Cyril and his anti-Origenist party had initially sympathized with Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Three Chapters, but that, at a certain point, they dissociated themselves from their former sympathies and adopted the new concept of imperial orthodoxy, according to the criteria of the Fifth Ecumenical Council.²⁹⁷ This could explain Cyril's embarrassment concerning Theodore of Mopsuestia,²⁹⁸ as well as his persistent silence about the Three Chapters, when he relates the events surrounding the Council.²⁹⁹ Even though he cannot deny the decisions taken against the Three Chapters, it is clear that he tends to minimize their importance as far as possible. When we realize that Cyril remained an admirer of Theodoret of Cyrus,³⁰⁰ as late as 557, we might suggest that the repudiation of the Three Chapters in the anti-Origenist camp was by no means radical, but that it remained restricted to the minimal requirements of the Council. Theodore of Mopsuestia was indeed to be renounced as a heretic, but Theodoret's reputation could be considered in the eyes of his admirers, as essentially intact: the Council

²⁹⁶ As has been said, Cyril made extensive use of the *Confessio fidei* (551); see above, 316, n.293 (with ref.). This imperial decree contains 13 *anathemata*, the text of which represents an earlier stage of the 14 *anathemata* formulated by the Council. Large parts of the *anathemata* of Justinian's decree are reproduced verbatim in those of the Council, which are more elaborate. For a detailed comparison, see J. BOIS, “Constantinople (II^e concile de)”, *DTC* 3/1 (1938), 1239-1259. In Justinian's decree, canons 12 and 13, respectively condemning the defenders of the writings of Theodoret of Cyrus that were in question and the letter of Ibas to Maris, correspond to canons 13 and 14 of the Council. Although the Council thoroughly changed the texts of these two canons, the sense of these *anathemata* remained the same. See IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Drei dogmatische Schriften*, 94,14-33, and comp. with *ACO* IV/1, 243,31-244,21.

²⁹⁷ See above, 201-205.

²⁹⁸ Cyril is noticeably reluctant at mentioning Theodore of Mopsuestia; see above, 202 with nn.308-309.

²⁹⁹ As I suggested, Cyril's shifting the date of the convocation of the Council might have made it easier for him to avoid referring to the history of the Three Chapters; see above, 301 at n.226.

³⁰⁰ Flusin points at Theodoret of Cyrus' *Historia Philothea* as one of Cyril's main sources; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 70. See also above, 224, n.408.

forbade the defense only of a small number of writings, which did not seriously affect the integrity of his massive literary output.³⁰¹

Evagrius of Pontus had likewise been condemned for only a part of his writings. However, the text of the fifteen *anathemata* against the Origenists was in large part excerpted from one of Evagrius' masterpieces, the *Kephalaia gnostica*.³⁰² Even though this partial condemnation might have been the maximum the anti-Origenists could achieve against Evagrius within the balance of power between the struggling parties, in their eyes it must have been a heavier blow than the one dealt to Theodoret. The κεφάλαια extracted from Evagrius and condemned by the fifteen *anathemata* were, in their firm belief, central issues within Origenist circles.³⁰³ As a result of this condemnation they were able to believe that their opponents had been struck at the root while they themselves had received only a glancing blow. Thus we may explain how, in a hagiographic account claiming a total victory over the perverse opponents, Cyril has tendentiously enhanced the significance of the *anathemata* against the Origenists, and minimized the condemnation of the Three Chapters.

The juxtaposition of Evagrius and Theodoret in the battle appears clearly also from Justinian's letter to the pre-synod against Origenism.³⁰⁴ Here we can find the evidence that not only was Origen played off against Theodore

³⁰¹ Theodoret of Cyrus (c. 393-460) had been involved, as a defender of Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia against Cyril of Alexandria, in the Christological controversy leading to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. See esp. G. BARDY, "Théodoret", *DTC* 15/1 (1946), 299-302; É. AMANN, "Trois-chapitres", 1873-1877; A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* 1, 692-700. Only the works that are connected directly with this controversy were condemned in 553; a large number of other works were not touched by this condemnation and have been preserved. See H. OPITZ, "Theodoretos", *PWK* 2/5 (1934), 1794-1801; G. BARDY, *o.c.*, 303-317.

³⁰² Comp. with above, p.270 n.78 (with the other ref.) and p.272, n.89.

³⁰³ The correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza testifies that Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica* was a main source of inspiration for Origenist monks in Palestine already before Justinian's edict of 543. In the letters dedicated to the question of Origenism (600-607), the *Kephalaia gnostica* are mentioned repeatedly; see BARSANUPHIUS et IOHANNES GAZAEI, *Ep.* 600, (SCHOINAS), 283A5-6, 34-35; *Ep.* 603, 285A21. For the dating of these letters, see above, 223, n.404. The influence of the *Kephalaia gnostica* in these letters has been examined by F. NEYT, *Les lettres à Dorothee dans la correspondance de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza* (unpublished diss.), Louvain 1969, 541-567. On the other hand, our previous analysis has pointed out that not everyone who was branded an "Origenist" adhered to the theological positions condemned by the 15 *anathemata*, see esp. the table above, 282.

³⁰⁴ IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 90-97 (right col.).

of Mopsuestia, but also, and especially, Evagrius against Theodoret. As we saw, certain anti-Origenist *libelli*, submitted by a Palestinian monastic delegation, prompted Justinian to command the condemnation of Origenism.³⁰⁵ It is generally assumed that the imperial letter, like the edict of 543, reflects to a large extent the content of the *libelli* (or *libellus*) received from the anti-Origenists.³⁰⁶ The Emperor initiated his letter with a stereotype formula expressing his concern for preserving the orthodox faith,³⁰⁷ and then communicated that he had learned that there were monks in Jerusalem following Pythagoras, Plato and Origen and that he had made an inquiry into the question.³⁰⁸ Subsequently, he summarizes the Evagrian-Origenist speculations concerning the original Henad (ἐνός), the pre-existence, the fall of the rational beings, the creation of the bodies, the angels and the demons, Christ who remained united to the Henad, the final annihilation of the bodies and the apocatastasis of the rational beings including the demons.³⁰⁹ In the second part of the letter, the Emperor rejects these "insane doctrines" as

³⁰⁵ Whereas Cyril attributes the crucial *libellus* exclusively to "Conon and his party", Evagrius Scholasticus writes that it came from a whole delegation. See above, 308, n.260.

³⁰⁶ See e.g. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 88; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 135.

³⁰⁷ IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad syn. de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 90,5-10 (r. col.). Several imperial documents open with a similar phrase; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 87.

³⁰⁸ IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad syn. de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 90,11-21 (r. col.). As has been said, Justinian's theocracy was characterized by a growing hostility towards the Hellenistic philosophical inheritance. In that climate, prominent philosophers like Pythagoras and Plato, and also Plotinus, were derided as the pagan inspiration of the Origenist cosmogony. See above, 247 at nn.532-534. We saw also Abba Cyriacus, in the tirade examined, bringing such a charge against the Origenist, *VC* 13 (SCHWARTZ), 230,11-14 (quoted above, 137, n.32; see also 247, n.535). And when Cyril relates the first incident with the Origenists in the New Laura (that is, the group of Nonnus in 514), he puts "the myths concerning preexistence related by Origen, Evagrius and Dydimus" in the same line as "the doctrines of the godless Greeks ('Ἕλληνες), Jews and Manichees", *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,25-29 (quoted above, 72 with n.77). All these accusations indicate that in the sixth-century Origenist milieu there must have still existed, somehow, a continuation of the original philosophical tradition which, according to recent studies, was widespread among the Egyptian monks before the first Origenist crises. See above, 238-243. Following S. Rubenson, M. O'Laughlin characterizes this early monastic tradition as "a direct extension of that prevailing in Christian Alexandria" and he adds: "This was the tradition of Philo, Clement and Origen, a Platonizing philosophy with Gnostic elements", M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Closing the Gap Between Antony and Evagrius", in *Origeniana septima*, 346.

³⁰⁹ IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad syn. de Origene* (DIEKAMP), 90,22-95,1 (r. col.).

coming from Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus.³¹⁰ Finally, the participants of the synod are summoned

to read carefully the appended explanation (ὑποτεταγμένη ἔκθεσις) and to condemn and anathematize each of its chapters (κεφάλαια), along with the impious Origen and with all who think or who will think in the same way, until the end.³¹¹

As we saw, Evagrius Scholasticus writes that Justinian had joined a copy of an anti-Origenist *libellus* to his letter to the synod,³¹² so we may assume that the ὑποτεταγμένη ἔκθεσις, in the phrase quoted, refers to that *libellus*. The ἔκθεσις contains certain κεφάλαια that are to be condemned: they must be represented, perhaps literally, by the text of the fifteen *anathemata* against Origenism.³¹³ From this we may deduce that the anti-Origenists had delivered a *libellus* (or *libelli*) to the Emperor with excerpts from Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*.³¹⁴ The content of the same excerpts is also reflected by Justinian's own summary of the Evagrian-Origenist speculations, in the first part of his letter to the synod.

Now the remarkable point is that in the second part of Justinian's letter, the refutation of these Evagrian-Origenist speculations consists almost exclusively of quotations precisely from Theodoret of Cyrus.³¹⁵ In other

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95,1-96,19 (r. col.).

³¹¹ (...) ἐπιμελῶς ἐντυχεῖν τῇ ὑποτεταγμένῃ ἔκθεσει καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίων κατακρίναί τε καὶ ἀναθεματίσαι μετὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Ὀριγένους καὶ πάντων τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονούντων ἢ φρονησόντων εἰς τέλος, *ibid.*, 97,1-4 (transl. DH).

³¹² EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,38 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 188,24-189,2 (quoted above, 307 with n.254; see also 308, n.260).

³¹³ "Wir können also mit gutem Grunde behaupten, daß diese fünfzehn Anathematismen die in dem Briefe Justinians 'an die heilige Synode' erwähnten κεφάλαια sind, die der Kaiser den im Jahre 553 in Konstantinopel versammelten Bischöfen zur Untersuchung und Bestätigung zugeschickt hat," F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 97.

³¹⁴ For the link between the 15 *anathemata* and Evagrius' *Kephalaia gnostica*, see the ref. mentioned above, 318, n.302.

³¹⁵ The refutation of the Evagrian-Origenist speculations in Justinian's letter consists of a collage of four passages from Theodoret, in order to demonstrate that these speculations derive from Pythagoras, Plato and Plotinus. All texts are quoted in footnotes in Diekamp's edition of the letter; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, p.95, nn.2-3 and p.96, nn.1-2. The first three passages are derived from Theodoret's great apology of the superiority of Christian faith to Greek philosophy: THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, II,22, ed. P. CANIVET, *Théodoret de Cyrus: Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, SC 57/1, 144,13-14; v,13, *ibid.*, 229,28-230,2; xi,40-41, SC 57/2, 405,11-406,7. The last of these three quotations includes a passage from PLATO, *Phaedrus* 249AB, LCL 36, 480. The fourth quotation, the text of which appears to be corrupted, is derived from THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* v, PG 83, 480c5-D1.

words, the anti-Origenists had not only provided the Emperor with a series of κεφάλαια extracted from Evagrius, but they had added on the very eve of Justinian's Council against the Three Chapters, passages actually taken from Theodoret of Cyrus in order to demonstrate the heretical character of the Evagrian texts.³¹⁶

This might throw more light upon the strategies employed by the opposing parties. In 542, the anti-Origenists had attracted the Emperor's attention to their case, by sending him a *libellus* through the Roman deacon Pelagius, who turned out to be a fervent defender of the Three Chapters.³¹⁷ That action had resulted in an imperial edict against Origen. Thereupon, Theodore Ascidas, a prominent defender of the Origenists, had employed his influence at the court to vigorously support the imperial policy against the Three Chapters, which had also resulted in an imperial edict.³¹⁸ The anti-Origenists of Palestine had then participated in a campaign in defense of the Three Chapters.³¹⁹ Only when an official *anathema* was made unavoidable by the course of historical events, did they dissociate themselves as far as necessary from their former sympathies. Such "conversions" were quite common on both sides of the struggle, and presumably, they were to a large extent inspired by opportunism gener-

³¹⁶ In Justinian's other theological writings, such as the edict against Origen, we may notice a well developed recourse to the so-called "patristic" argument, that is, a whole series of quotations from canonized Fathers is employed to support the argumentation. This literary process is typical for sixth-century theological polemics. See e.g. L. PERRONE, "L'impatto del dogma di Calcedonia sulla riflessione teologica fra IV e V Concilio Ecumenico", in *Storia della Teologia* I, Casale Monferrato 1993, 519, 527-530. Against this background it is very significant that, in Justinian's brief letter to the Council Fathers against the Origenists, we find Theodoret of Cyrus as the only patristic authority adduced in the argumentation, albeit that his name is not mentioned.

³¹⁷ For the alliance between Gelasius and Pelagius, see above, p.152, n.96 and p.202, n.310.

³¹⁸ Theodore Ascidas was even accused of having set in motion the whole Three Chapters affair out of revenge for Origen; see above, 181, n.224. However, it has been argued that Justinian had also his own political motives for his action against the Three Chapters; see above, 183, n.233.

³¹⁹ As we saw, Cyril presents Abba Gelasius, in his farewell speech, as regretting his former adhesion to a *libellus* made at the order of Patriarch Peter against Justinian's first condemnation of the Three Chapters (544/545), VS 87 (SCHWARTZ), 194,22-24. See above, p.201, n.305 and p.203 at n.313.

ated by political pressure.³²⁰ In any case, the anti-Origenists could continue to harbor sympathies with Theodoret of Cyrus, as far as these sympathies were legitimate. When the Council against the Three Chapters, which was going to bring a great victory to Ascidas and his allies, was drawing near, the anti-Origenists provided the Emperor with a new *libellus*, in which they used Theodoret's writings to incriminate Evagrius. Thus they could effectively attack the Origenists and, at the same time, diminish the damage they might expect for their own party.³²¹ Justinian tried to strike a balance between the parties and allowed them a pre-synod against Origen, Evagrius and Didymus. In his letter to that synod he even adopted from their own *libellus* some approved passages of Theodoret. Then he insisted on opening the intended Council against the Three Chapters.

³²⁰ "Conversions", under the pressure of Justinian's politics, were quite common among ecclesiastical leaders. Theodore Ascidas and Domitian of Ancyra, two prominent Origenists, had subscribed to the edict against Origen of 543, and Cyril specifies that it was out of hypocrisy, *VS* 85 (SCHWARTZ), 192,3-11. Ascidas must also have subscribed to the 15 *anathemata* of 553; see below, 326, n.340. Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, who had directed the Palestinian resistance against the condemnation of the Three Chapters in the mid 540's, shortly afterwards subscribed to that condemnation; see above, p.201, n.305 and p.203 at n.314. In Dec. 552, Bishop Theodore of Scythopolis wrote a *libellus* in which he abjured his former Origenism: THEODORUS SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Libellus de erroribus Origenianis*, PG 86/1, 232B-236B; see also above, 295, n.192. Even Pope Vigilius made a volte face, when he subscribed to the condemnation of the Three Chapters after the Council; see above, p.185 with n.240 and p.296 with nn.199-200. And Deacon Pelagius, the most fervent defender of the Three Chapters, abjured his sympathies in 555, after which he became Vigilius' successor; see above, 321 at n.317. Another defender of the Three Chapters who changed his mind after the Council was the African bishop Primasius of Adrumetum. See A. PLACANICA, "Teologia e storiografia ecclesiastica nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli", 227-229. Thus we can also see Macarius, the illegal Origenist Patriarch who had been substituted by Eustochius, abjuring his Origenism about a decade later and then being restored to his patriarchate; see EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,37 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 190,13-16 (quoted below, 327, n.345).

³²¹ We can see both parties fighting to increase their influence at the imperial court, which, as we saw, appears also clearly from Cyril's account. Initially, the Origenists "take part in the first παρρησία at the palace", *VS* 83 (SCHWARTZ), 189,5, but at the end, the anti-Origenists "take part in the greatest παρρησία", *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,18. See the texts quoted above, p.80 with n.113 and pp.86-87 with n.143; see also p.111 with nn.241-242.

A total victory over Origenism?

After his concise report on the Fifth Ecumenical Council, Cyril goes on to write that Justinian sent to Jerusalem the acts of the Council (τὰ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ πραχθέντα) and that they were approved by all the bishops of Palestine, except for one.³²² Then he relates how the monks of the New Laura separated themselves from the catholic communion (καθολικῆ κοινωνία) and how Patriarch Eustochius spent eight months patiently urging them to stay in communion with the catholic Church (τῇ καθολικῇ κοινωνῆσαι ἐκκλησία). When these efforts were ineffective, the Patriarch had the Origenists expelled from the New Laura.³²³ Not wishing to leave the place uninhabited, the Patriarch had it re-populated by 120 orthodox monks, Cyril among them, on 21 February 555. This marked the final victory over Origenism.³²⁴

K. Chrysos argues that in Cyril's account the "acts of the Council" refer exclusively to the acts of the pre-synod against Origenism. This enlarges the lapse of time between "the Council" and the re-populating of the New Laura, which Chrysos dates to 21 February 554.³²⁵ In my opinion, Chrysos' solution is inaccurate. Not only does his chronology not fit with Cyril's own time indications,³²⁶ but Cyril is also explicitly speaking about the *Ecumenical* Council in which he includes the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia.³²⁷ In addition, I believe that Cyril has idealized the picture of a smooth agreement among the Palestinian bishops with regard to the results of the Council; he suppressed even the discord surrounding the Council itself. When we understand the power struggle between Origenists and

³²² *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,6-11 (see above, p.87, n.146 and p.290 at n.176). From Cyril's message that the Palestinian bishops approved the acts of the council "orally and by writing (χειρὶ καὶ στόματι)", *ibid.*, 199,8, we may deduce that a synod was held in Jerusalem, shortly after the Council. See e.g. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 64-65.

³²³ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,11-17 (quoted above, 87-88 with n.147).

³²⁴ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,17-200,4. For the date, see above, 291, n.177.

³²⁵ K. CHRYSOS, "Αἱ μαρτυρίαι τοῦ Κυρίλλου Σκυθοπολιτοῦ", 264-269. According to this interpretation, "the acts" could have been sent to Jerusalem as early as March or April 553. Some time was needed for a "patriarchal synod in Jerusalem", *ibid.*, 265, at which the Palestinian bishops subscribed to the decisions of the pre-synod, and then Eustochius spent 8 months negotiating with the Origenists before their expulsion and the re-populating of the New Laura in Feb. 554.

³²⁶ See above, 291, n.177 (at the end).

³²⁷ See above, 310 with n.267.

anti-Origenists in the Palestinian Church on the eve of the Council,³²⁸ we can imagine that it must have been difficult for the episcopacy to arrive at an easy consensus concerning the condemnation of Origenism. Immediately after the Council, there was also room for disagreement concerning the “ecumenical” status of both the pre-synod and the Council itself.³²⁹ Cyril’s frequent use of the adjective καθολικός, in this context, could suggest that an agreement among the Palestinian episcopacy was attained only after the Council had received the status of “ecumenical” by Pope Vigilius’ approval on 23 February 554.³³⁰ And perhaps it was by way of a compromise that the Palestinian bishops finally agreed to recognize *both* the condemnation of the Three Chapters *and* that of the Origenists as Council decisions with the same ecumenical status. In any case, the solution was not accepted by the zealous Origenists of the New Laura, and thus we may understand how Cyril could claim *after* February 554 that “they separated themselves from the *catholic* communion”.³³¹ Subsequently, Patriarch Eustochius started his negotiations to obtain their cooperation in establish-

³²⁸ From the mid 540’s, according to Cyril, the Origenists held crucial positions allowing them to oppress the orthodox, VS 86 (SCHWARTZ), 193,15-25. Just before Conon’s journey to Constantinople in Sept. 552, we read that Theodore Ascidas “had many of them [*scil.* the Isochrists] ordained bishops of Palestine”, and even the superior of the New Laura, Theodore, became metropolitan of Scythopolis. See VS 90 (*ibid.*), 197,19-23. The power of the Origenists went to the extent of placing Macarius on the throne as their illegal patriarch, after which Eustochius was sent by the Emperor to take his place. See VS 90 (*ibid.*), 198,9-21, confirmed by EVAGRIUS, HE IV,37 (BIDEZ/PARMENTIER), 186,15-18. As we shall see, the order was not immediately restored when Eustochius entered into his patriarchate, even though Theodore of Scythopolis soon abjured his former Origenism (see above, p.295, n.192 and p.322, n.320).

³²⁹ Origenists, sympathizing with the condemnation of the Three Chapters, could contest the ecumenical status of the pre-synod against Origenism. Anti-Origenists, who had taken sides with Deacon Pelagius and supported the Western resistance against the condemnation of the Three Chapters, could contest the ecumenical status of the official Council, as long as Pope Vigilius had not given his approval.

³³⁰ Diekamp dates the synod of Jerusalem to “einige Monate nach dem Schlusse des ökumenischen Concils”, F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 65. In his timetable he specifies this as: “553 Ende oder 544 erste Monate”, *ibid.*, 141. See also *e.g.* E. STEIN, “Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres”, 180; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d’Orient* III/2, 136. This chronology fits with the suggestion that the Palestinian bishops might have arrived at a consensus only *after* the Council had received an official *ecumenical* status, after Vigilius’ letter to Patriarch Eutychius of 8 December 553 (see above, 296, n.199).

³³¹ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐχώρισαν ἑαυτοῦς κοινωνίας, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 199,11-12.

ing peace in the Palestinian Church. About eight months later, however, in the fall of 554, he gave up his patient attempts and took recourse to military force.³³²

In Cyril’s account, the expulsion of the Origenists marks the end of the Origenist Controversy. The Life of Sabas is concluded by an exuberant shout of jubilation, in which quotations and reminiscences of the Scriptures are accumulated in a way similar to the opening paragraph of the Dedication before the diptych of Cyril’s two major Lives.³³³ Identifying the anti-Origenists with the biblical people of Israel, once inflicted with slavery in Egypt, Cyril rejoices that God has “beheld the affliction” of his people and “visited” them in order to “redeem” them from the power of the Origenists.³³⁴ With other biblical allusions he asserts that God has “driven” the Origenists “from the face”³³⁵ of the anti-Origenists and “enabled” the latter “to inhabit the habitations”³³⁶ of their defeated opponents and to enjoy “the fruit of their labors” as their “inheritance”.³³⁷ However, there are strong reasons to cast doubt on the assertion that at this stage, the anti-Origenists had gained a total victory over their enemies, whom they branded as Origenists, and that the war had thus come to an end.³³⁸ The evidence suggests otherwise:

1. The condemnation of Origenism, enunciated at the pre-synod, did not affect substantially Theodore Ascidas’ position of power,³³⁹ as against what Cyril suggests in his account. On the contrary, the outcome of the Ecumenical Council, that is, the condemnation of the Three Chapters insisted upon by Justinian and the painfully obtained approval afterwards of

³³² Diekamp dates the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura to 554, without a further specification, F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 141. According to Stein, the Origenists were expelled “vers l’automne de 554”, E. STEIN, “Cyrille de Scythopolis: A propos de la nouvelle édition de ses oeuvres”, 180, followed by A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Moines d’Orient* III/2, 136. In these chronologies, a short lapse of time is assumed between the expulsion of the Origenists and the re-populating of the New Laura on 21 Feb. 555. Comp. with above, 291, n.177.

³³³ “Dedication” (SCHWARTZ), 5,1-17.

³³⁴ VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 200,8-12 (comp. with Ex 3:7-8, 4:31, and see above, 291 at nn.179-180).

³³⁵ Cf. Ps 77 [78]:55 (see above, 292 at n.181).

³³⁶ Cf. *ibid.* (see above, 292 at n.182).

³³⁷ Cf. Ps 104 [105]:44 (see above, 292 at n.183).

³³⁸ τέλος ἐδέξατο ὁ κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας πόλεμος, VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 200,4.

³³⁹ See above, 294, n.191.

Vigilius, must have been a great personal success for Ascidas, which he gained *after* the condemnation of Origenism.³⁴⁰

2. The history of the reception of the Council in the second half of the sixth century shows great dissension concerning the recognition of its status as “ecumenical”.³⁴¹ In addition, there remains from Cyril’s own time a great confusion about the question of who exactly had been condemned.³⁴² These facts may prompt us to assume that immediately after the Council, the opposing parties continued combating each other, and thenceforth, the validity of the Council decisions must have been at stake.

3. This impression is reinforced by the fact that in 563-564, about six years after Cyril wrote the *VS*, Patriarch Eustochius was deposed and replaced by the same Macarius whom the Origenists had put forward as their candidate after Patriarch Peter’s death in the fall of 552. According to Cyril, that coup had aroused Justinian’s anger, at which point Macarius

had been ousted from the throne and replaced by Eustochius.³⁴³ Evagrius Scholasticus, who confirms Macarius’ deposition and succession by Eustochius,³⁴⁴ later writes that Macarius was “restored to his own throne (τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ) when he had anathematized Origen, Didymus and Evagrius after the deposition of Eustochius”.³⁴⁵ Could Macarius have made his comeback after a coup simply by abjuring his Origenist sympathies? Was “Origenism” his real major interest?³⁴⁶ In any case, the fact that he could make a comeback indicates that the power group that was branded as “Origenist” was not totally defeated after the well-known condemnation of some Evagrian-Origenist theological positions by the fifteen *anathemata*. M. Van Esbroeck even puts forward the thesis that Macarius never left his post. For some period, there must have existed competing claimants to the episcopal throne in Jerusalem: Macarius should be identified with an *anti-patriarch* Justus, whose name is transmitted by some Armenian texts.³⁴⁷ If it is true that Macarius never submitted to the imperial command after Eustochius had been sent to Jerusalem, then the expulsion of the Origenists from the New Laura, heavy as that blow might have been, did not imply a total defeat of the so-called “Origenist” party with its hierarchy.³⁴⁸ At the end of his reign Justinian restored cordial

³⁴⁰ Guillaumont thinks that Theodore Ascidas betrayed his Origenist allies at the crucial moment, because other ambitions, such as the condemnation of the Three Chapters or even his “*désir de rester dans les bonnes grâces de l’empereur*”, might have prevailed over his Origenist conviction. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évagre le Pontique*, 174-175. We might rather assume, after our critical analysis of the anti-Origenist charges against Leontius of Byzantium, that the theological positions condemned by the fifteen *anathemata* did not really correspond to Ascidas’ fundamental conviction. The “Origenism” of Ascidas could have been much the same as that of Leontius.

³⁴¹ C. Moeller has examined Leontius Scholasticus’ *De sectis* (see above, 142, n.53), which is a theological *manual* dated to 580-607. For the author, who continues to sympathize with the Three Chapters, the *anathemata* against Theodoret and Ibas are not articles of faith, but merely the results of Justinian’s political acts; the Fifth Council is *not* ecumenical. See C. MOELLER, “Le cinquième concile oecuménique et le Magistère ordinaire au VI^e siècle”, 417-419. Moeller continues: “Ce qui compte ici, c’est qu’en *Orient*, quelques années après la mort du terrible empereur, on sait publier un *manuel de théologie* où cette opinion sur le synode de 553 figure comme allant de soi. Ce fait prouve que, Justinien disparu, l’opinion théologique, par la voie du Magistère, n’*imposait pas* l’acceptation du fameux concile impérial comme faisant partie des *assemblées oecuméniques*,” *ibid.*, 420 (italics *sic*). The author of the *De sectis* keeps silent about the condemnation of Origenism, but Patriarch Eulogius, another late sixth-century author examined by Moeller, affirms only that the Council condemned Origenism, and does not mention the Three Chapters, *ibid.*, 420-421 (see above, 302, n.232). Moeller concludes that “L’Orient chrétien est donc loin d’être unanime, entre 580-607, sur le synode de 553”, *ibid.*, 421.

³⁴² Diekamp has put together all the Eastern and Western testimonies about the Council, from the time of the Fifth Ecumenical Council until the Middle Ages. These sources contradict each other noticeably as to who exactly had been condemned. See F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 77-82, 98-120.

³⁴³ *VS* 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,12-21.

³⁴⁴ EVAGRIUS, *HE* IV,37 (BIDEZ/ PARMENTIER), 186,15-18 (see also above, 324, n.328).

³⁴⁵ Μακαρίου αὐθις ἀποδοθέντος τῷ οἰκείῳ θρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ Ὀριγενήν καὶ Δίδυμον καὶ Εὐάγριον ἀνατεμάτικε μετὰ τὴν Εὐστοχίου καθάρεισιν, *ibid.*, 190,13-16 (see also above, 322, n.320).

³⁴⁶ Compare with above, p.322, n.320 and p.326, n.340.

³⁴⁷ “(…) il est évident que Macaire II n’a pas abandonné son poste. Il doit avoir existé, pendant un certain temps, à Jérusalem, une double tradition épiscopale. Celle de Macaire II a pris le nom de Juste de Jérusalem conservé dans une série de textes arméniens, et que l’on retrouve du côté Orthodoxe associé à un texte antique, sous le nom de Barsabée de Jérusalem,” M. VAN ESBRÖECK, “L’homélie de Pierre de Jérusalem et la fin de l’origénisme palestinien en 551,” *OCP* 51 (1985), 57-59 (with nn.150, 152-153).

³⁴⁸ F. Carcione, following Van Esbroeck, writes: “Un simile provvedimento [*scil.* the expulsion of the Origenists and the re-populating of the New Laura by the orthodox, DH], comunque non riuscì certamente ad annientare l’origenismo, che nel nazionalismo palestinese trovò un fertile terreno per sopravvivere. Esso seppe mantenere anche una gerarchia autonoma dopo la morte di Pietro, poiché Macario non sottostette alla revoca imperiale, esercitando la giurisdizione patriarcale in antitesi con Eustochio,” F. CARCIONE, “La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...”, *SROC* 9 (1986), 147. See also *id.*, *Evagrio di Epifania: Storia Ecclesiastica*, ColTP 141, Roma 1998, 256, n.139.

relations with them,³⁴⁹ so he must have finished by making a deal with the "Origenists" in which Macarius abjured his former Origenism so that he could be recognized as the legal patriarch, after his opponent Eustochius had been deposed.³⁵⁰

Whatever might have happened in the subsequent history after Cyril's death, it is far from evident that in 557, when he finished his *Life of Sabas* with a biblical shout of jubilation, the anti-Origenists had gained a total victory over their enemies. When Cyril writes that (almost) all the Palestinian bishops subscribed to the Council decisions, he might have ignored all the adherents of the anti-patriarch,³⁵¹ excluding them as not belonging to the catholic communion. His account, though conceived as an edifying story about a providential victory of orthodoxy through the mediation of Sabas and his Order, reveals itself as having propagandistic and apologetic purposes in a war that obviously had not yet come to an end.

Once again we may conclude our analysis with the affirmation that a crucial text of Cyril about the Second Origenist Controversy is full of hagiographic idealizations and distortions of historical truth. Justinian did not convoke the Council because of the Origenists. Sabas' successor, Conon, was not the one who took the decisive initiatives. The actual Council, dealing with the Three Chapters, did not pass off smoothly with the unanimous agreement of the patriarchs. The legacy of Theodoret of Cyrus was an important factor in the struggle and something that an accurate report would not be able to conceal. And Cyril's jubilation over a final victory is at the very least premature.

³⁴⁹ Carcione refers to Michael the Syrian (12th century) who testifies that an Origenist bishop of Joppe (Palestine) became Justinian's new theological adviser, after Theodoret Ascidas had disappeared from the scene in 558. See F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", *SROC* 9 (1986), 147, with ref. to MICHAEL SYRIACUS, *Chronicon* IX,36, ed. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, t.II, Paris 1901, 272 (French transl.; Origenism is indicated as "l'hérésie des Phantasiastes").

³⁵⁰ See F. CARCIONE, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva...", 147.

³⁵¹ As has been said, many Origenists had been ordained bishops in Palestine; see above, 324, n.328.

3. A defective picture of sixth-century Origenism: further questions

In the previous sections of this chapter, I examined the two texts in Cyril's *Lives* that have greatest prominence among those in which he talks about the Second Origenist Controversy. From the analysis of Cyriacus' tirade I concluded that the movement of sixth-century Origenism is, to a considerable extent, not covered by the theological charges of which we read in Cyril's *VC*. These charges, deriving from the fifteen *anathemata* of 553, prove to be a simplified representation of a movement that must have been much more complex in historical reality. From the examination of our second text, the final chapter of the *VS*, it has also become clear that Cyril's version of the events contains a surprising number of historical inaccuracies. These are all centered around the hagiographic claim to a total victory for orthodoxy (according to the new standards of the Council of 553), that was the result of the decisive action of Saint Sabas' successor.³⁵² Some of the inaccuracies exposed above have already been treated to some degree in other modern studies.³⁵³ However, the traditional picture of the Second Origenist Controversy which is usually provided by the secondary literature, continues to coincide for the most part with Cyril's representation of it. The establishment of the defectiveness of that picture in a much more radical way, as a result of the present study, might help us to extend our inquiry into the Second Origenist Controversy and search for a more comprehensive understanding of what was going on in the Palestinian monastic world in the middle of the sixth century.

³⁵² In my opinion, the final section of the *VS*, dealing with Origenist Controversy (*VS* 83-90), is the culmination point of the whole diptych consisting of the *VE* and the *VS*. At this stage of my study, I can firmly reject C. Stallman-Pacitti's vision of the anti-Origenist section as a kind of "appendix", by which Cyril "has prolonged unnecessarily" the *VS*, and as a section which "lacks a real hagiographic function", C. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 6-7.

³⁵³ The most important contribution to a critical approach to Cyril's representation of the Second Origenist Controversy remains, in my opinion, Diekamp's much discussed thesis that the condemnation of Origenism took place at a *σύνδοκος ἐνδημοῦσα* before the official Council. See esp. above, p.21, n.2, p.300, n.223 and p.314, n.286. On the other hand, Diekamp's analysis did not go so far as to affect Cyril's well established reputation as a reliable historian; see F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten*, 7 (see also above, 43

Much has already been said in the second chapter of this study where I showed the indications of a more extensive underlying conflict. In particular, I produced evidence for the existence of two competitive spiritual currents which were clashing within the political and ecclesiastical structures of Justinian's theocracy, with its increasing institutionalization of the monastic Order and its growing hostility towards the Hellenistic intellectual inheritance. At the same time I demonstrated that Cyril's testimony should be approached primarily as a *retrospective account* of what historically happened, written from a partisan view point in the light of the renewed, contemporary situation immediately after the Fifth Ecumenical Council. Here we may add that not only does Cyril, in his hagiographic retrospective, propagandize the merits of the founder of his Order, Saint Sabas, but he also gives the latter's successors, Gelasius and Conon, dominant roles on the historical scene, presenting them as main defenders of post-conciliar imperial orthodoxy and claiming prematurely for them a victory that has not yet been definitively gained.

I established beyond doubt that Cyril's representation of the Second Origenist Controversy is seriously defective. Cyril is not a reliable historian who can be trusted uncritically.³⁵⁴ Should we therefore regard him as a deliberate deceiver? Passing a moral judgment on Cyril's honesty is not the purpose of this study.³⁵⁵ The point that interests us is that what he offers is a *record* of events, colored by *interpretations*, whereas the *events them-*

at n.114, combined with the quotation at 42, n.110). Even though Diekamp admitted that Cyril's "einseitige Berichterstattung", *ibid.*, 63, and the "polemische Gegensatz" could "vielleicht seiner Objectivität bisweilen Abbruch tun", *ibid.*, 67, he saw no reason, nor did other scholars of his time, to cast any doubt upon Cyril's "Wahrheitsliebe", *ibid.*, 75, 98. As we saw, even more recent scholars are inclined to excuse Cyril for the apparent inaccuracies in his account, such as his shifting the date of the convocation of the Council (see above, 300 with n.221) and his persistent silence about the Three Chapters affair (see above, 316 with n.292).

³⁵⁴ Some attention has already been paid to the question of historical reliability, especially with regard to Cyril's miracle stories. See e.g. B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 190; J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors of Christ*, 218-221 (see also above, p.45 with n.128 and p.46, n.131).

³⁵⁵ We may assume that Cyril was not a deceiver whose intentions were morally wrong. On the other hand, his Lives contain serious distortions of historical truth. From our viewpoint, we might even reproach him with his partiality and his one-sided representation of facts. However, the question as to what extent a colored version of a conflict, by one of the parties involved, passes into actual *deception* is primarily a matter of psychology. In Cyril's case, this goes beyond our capacity to judge.

selves are to a great extent concealed from us.³⁵⁶ Once this has been acknowledged, a large field of questions concerning the opposing parties with their specific ideals is opened. In the concluding section, I shall touch upon some of these questions that are open to further research.

One of the most important of these questions concerns the relation between sixth-century Origenism as it existed in the Palestinian monastic world at the eve of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, and the original monastic movement of the fourth-century Egyptian desert. As has been said, our picture of that primitive Egyptian monasticism has been substantially changed by a series of recent studies.³⁵⁷ This reassessment of the early monks might also allow us to acquire a better insight into the conflict that divided the Palestinian monastic world in the midst of the sixth century, and that finally led to a series of condemnations which apparently damaged the transmission of the original spiritual tradition. It will be useful, therefore, to initiate this section with a summary of the readjusted picture of early Egyptian monasticism.

³⁵⁶ Dealing with the reliability of Cyril's miracle stories (see above, 330, n.354), J. Binns observes: "The only answer to the question of whether the miracles really happened is that the writers believed they did. There are no grounds for imputing fraud, deception, or invention to the Palestinian hagiographers. We are offered a record of an event, shaped by the understandings and beliefs of the time. The events themselves are concealed from us," J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 219-220. Unfortunately, Binns restricts the consequences of his statement to the particular case of the *miracles*. But in general, he represents the events recorded by Cyril as historical facts. For example: the account of Euthymius' defending the Council of Chalcedon is considered by Binns as "historically exact", notwithstanding his acknowledgment of a certain "sign of later reconstruction" (without the mention of Justinian's influence; see above, 189 with nn.254-257), *ibid.*, 186. And Abba Gelasius' denunciation of Theodore of Mopsuestia is presented by Binns in a historical sense as an *attack on Nestorians*, in order to prove to the Palestinian people that the bishops and superiors "upheld the historic Christian faith" (without the mention of Patriarch Peter's campaign in defense of the Three Chapters, which was first supported by Gelasius; see above, 201 with n.305), *ibid.*, 200. Like other scholars, Binns follows Cyril closely in his representation of the Second Origenist Controversy. See *ibid.*, 205-211.

³⁵⁷ See above, 233-243. See also immediately below, 332, n.359.

*Fourth century Egyptian monasticism:
an inner way of spiritual progress*

It is especially due to the research of S. Rubenson,³⁵⁸ but also to that of many other scholars,³⁵⁹ that a new picture of early monasticism has recently emerged. It differs remarkably from the traditional view that the first Egyptian monks were for the most part illiterate peasants, among whom educated authors like Evagrius Ponticus lived as intellectual outsiders.³⁶⁰ Evagrius did not come to the Egyptian desert as a foreign teacher who introduced a new Origenist theology taken from Gregory of Nazianzus;³⁶¹ rather, he arrived as a disciple and was then initiated into what

³⁵⁸ S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony. Monasticism and the Making of a Saint*, Minneapolis 1995 (published before: Lund 1990; see bibliography and also above, 236, n.473); *id.*, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift für Luise Abramowski*, Berlin/ New York 1993, 384-401; *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth Century", in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 319-337.

³⁵⁹ (For most of the following studies, see also above, p.210, n.344 and pp.240-242, nn.496-505) G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", *Irén* 56 (1983), 215-227, 323-360; *id.*, "Origenismus-Gnostizismus", *VigChr* 40 (1986), 24-54; *id.*, *Evagrius Pontikos. Briefe aus der Wüste*, Trier 1986, 36-38, 41-43; *id.*, "Palladiana I", *StMon* 32 (1990), 79-129 (repr. in G. BUNGE/ A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Quatre ermites égyptiens*, SO 60, Abbaye de Bellefontaine 1994, 17-80); A. VEILLEUX, "Monasticism and Gnosis in Egypt", in *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1986, 271-306 [publ. before in French, *LTP* 40 (1984), 275-294; 41 (1985), 3-24, and *CCist* 46 (1984) 239-258; 47 (1985), 129-151]; E. WIPSYCKA, "Le degré d'alphabétisation en Égypte byzantine", *REAug* 30 (1980), 279-296 (repr. in *id.*, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, SEAug 52, Roma 1996, 107-126); *id.*, "Le monachisme égyptien et les villes", in *Travaux et Mémoires* 12 (1994), 1-44 (repr. in *id.*, *Études, o.c.*, 281-336); J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism in Early Christianity. Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Legacy of Origen*, Macon, Ga. 1988; J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, StAns 104, Roma 1991, 332-357; *id.*, "Exegetical Procedures in the Desert Monk Poem", in *Mysterium Christi. Festschrift B. Studer*, StAns 116, Roma 1995, 155-178; M. SHERIDAN, "Jacob and Israel", in *Mysterium Christi, o.c.*, 219-241; *id.*, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, SEAug 56, Roma 1997, 177-216; M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Closing the Gap Between Antony and Evagrius", in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 345-354.

³⁶⁰ For the traditional picture of the early Egyptian monks as simple, illiterate Copts who opposed the Hellenistic influence of late Antiquity, see the studies mentioned above, p.209, n. 343 and pp.233-235, nn.455-462.

³⁶¹ Even though Gregory of Nazianzus had been Evagrius' main teacher before the latter came to the desert, there are, according to Rubenson, great differences between the two authors. "Gregorius war kein treuer nachfolger von Origenes und hat nur eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften gebilligt. Die Richtung, in der Evagrius die Theologie von Origenes

we may call a "pre-Evagrian-Origenist tradition". This spiritual tradition was already widespread among the preceding generation of Desert Fathers.³⁶² Its most important testimony is the *corpus* of letters of Saint Antony.³⁶³

However, as we saw, the image of Saint Antony was transformed by the subsequent monastic literature, in particular by the *Vita Antonii*³⁶⁴ and the *Apophthegmata*.³⁶⁵ In general, the whole history of early monasticism has been obscured by hagiographic transformations³⁶⁶ and in particular by the need to rewrite that history after the Origenist crisis of the

weiterentwickelte, ist kaum in den Schriften von Gregorius zu spüren. Die entscheidenden Impulse seiner Theologie muß Evagrius nach seiner Abreise aus Konstantinopel bekommen haben," S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift L. Abramowski*, 391.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 385-394. In the *Historia Lausiaca*, the *Apophthegmata* and Evagrius' own writings, the young Evagrius does not appear as a teacher introducing a new tradition, but as "eine suchende und fragende Gestalt" who comes to learn, *ibid.*, 391-392. There is sufficient evidence for a widespread "vor-Evagrianische theologische Tradition alexandrinischer Prägung" in the fourth-century Egyptian desert, *ibid.*, 389-390. Previous scholars such as A. Guillaumont, using Epiphanius and Palladius, did acknowledge the existence of Origenist monks in Egypt before Evagrius' arrival. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 55-59. However, Guillaumont reduced them to a "groupe assez restreint", which was opposed by a majority of uneducated anti-Origenist monks, *ibid.*, 59-61. That picture of a restricted Origenist élite in the Egyptian desert has already been corrected by G. Bunge, who concluded that at least at the time of Theophilus' anti-Origenist action, the Origenists "formaient la quasi-totalité des habitants de Kellia", G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", *Irén* 56 (1983), 355-356. J. Dechow has extensively surveyed the widespread Origenism that existed *within* the mainstream of Orthodox monasticism, before the end of the fourth century, both in the deserts of Lower and Upper Egypt. See J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism*, 93, 96-105, 142-240. In this survey, Dechow presents Evagrius as "the creative synthesizer of Egyptian Origenism", *ibid.*, 177.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 390, 394-399. See also S. RUBENSON, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition of the Fourth Century", in *Origeniana septima*, 320-324, 336; M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Closing the Gap Between Antony and Evagrius", *ibid.*, 345-354. For Rubenson's previous analysis of Antony's letters, see above, 237-238 with nn.475-480.

³⁶⁴ See above, 238-239 with nn.483-486.

³⁶⁵ See above, 239 with nn.487-488.

³⁶⁶ Along with the *Vita Antonii*, Rubenson mentions the *Vita Pachomii* and the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*; see S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", in *Logos. Festschrift L. Abramowski*, 385. And also the *Historia Lausiaca* is not a reliable source for an adequate knowledge of the theological thought of the monks in the fourth-century Egyptian desert, *ibid.*, 393.

390's.³⁶⁷ During the fifth-century, subsequent redactors of the collections of *Apophthegmata* had become cautious about anything that could be interpreted as "Origenist"; they even suppressed the evidence that there had been a conflict among the monks.³⁶⁸ We also need to adjust the traditional view that the Egyptian desert had already been divided by a conflict between "Origenist intellectuals" and "anti-Origenist anthropomorphites" before the crisis.³⁶⁹ There is no evidence that such a conflict existed among the Egyptian monks before the Origenist controversy started in Palestine.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁷ M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Closing the Gap Between Antony and Evagrius", in *Origeniana septima*, 346.

³⁶⁸ S. RUBENSON, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition", 331. The compilers of the Sayings of the Fathers "found it advisable not to get involved in the matter of Origenism", *ibid.* (comp. with above, 236-237 at n.474). M. Sheridan also has emphasized recently the deficiency of the *Apophthegmata* as historical sources for our knowledge of fourth-century Egypt: "(...) si tratta di una collezione formata nell'arco di un lungo periodo di tempo, tratta da una varietà di fonti scritte e orali, filtrata alla luce di avvenimenti successivi rispetto alle figure monastiche in essa menzionate, tra i quali la controversia origenista alla fine del quarto secolo non è il meno importante. Nessuna delle diverse raccolte di *Apophthegmata* può essere datata prima della seconda metà del quinto secolo," M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, 183-184. See also above, 235-236 with n.467.

³⁶⁹ According to the traditional view, Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria published, in 399, a (not preserved) paschal letter with an Origenist content, causing a vehement reaction among a majority of "anthropomorphist" monks. These were simple people who, unable to conceive the immaterial world, rejected all allegorical exegesis and, taking Gen.1:26 literally, represented God according to the form of man. They also opposed the Evagrian-Origenist ideal of "pure prayer", detached from corporeal images. Theophilus yielded to their pressure because of a personal animosity against the "tall brothers", who were Origenists; he made a volte-face and finally expelled the Origenists of the desert. See e.g. H. EVELYN WHITE, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn* II, 125, 132-141; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 59-64; E. CLARK, *The Origenist Controversy. The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton, N.J. 1992, 43-84. See also above, 232, n.452. From a critical examination of the sources upon which this traditional representation is based Rubenson concludes that there is no real evidence for any pressure exerted by a mass of anti-Origenist monks on Theophilus; the conflict was rather stirred up by the latter for fear of the monks becoming too influential. See S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", 387-389; *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition", 334-336.

³⁷⁰ "Der Angriff gegen ein verbreiteten Origenismus hat außerdem nicht in der Wüste begonnen, sondern in Jerusalem und Bethlehem, und die Hauptfiguren im Streit waren keineswegs die Mönche, sondern Bischöfe wie Epiphanius von Salamis, Johannes von Jerusalem und Theophilus von Alexandrien sowie lateinische Theologen wie Hieronymus und Rufinus," S. RUBENSON, "Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste", 387. See also *id.*, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition", 334.

and was then transferred to the Egyptian desert by Theophilus. There is no solid evidence that "any conscious anti-Origenism" existed among the Egyptian monks prior to the crisis.³⁷¹ So if Saint Antony himself, contrary to the image appearing from the later literature, appears as an "Origenist" and if, at the same time, we cannot discover any significant anti-Origenism in the Egyptian desert before the end of the fourth century, it may be better to assume a *single* common spiritual tradition among the early monks of Egypt. These monks, certainly with variations, must have been all united in the fact that they "owed a great deal to the Hellenistic philosophical and religious traditions that spread from Alexandria to the towns of upper Egypt".³⁷²

Such a hypothesis of one all-embracing monastic tradition in fourth-century Egypt which was much indebted to the Greek philosophical world, has also been put forward by M. Sheridan.³⁷³ From his examination of the technical vocabulary and the practice of reading Scripture in different Egyptian monastic environments, both Greek and Coptic, Sheridan concludes that the *cultivation of the interior life* was central to the whole phenomenon of early monasticism.³⁷⁴ The common tradition was founded on the possi-

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 333, 337. Bunge hesitated concerning the exact number of "Anthropomorphites" before the Origenist crisis; see G. BUNGE, "Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire", *Irén* 56 (1983), 356. He supposed that the so-called "spiritualité Évagrienne" must have been "en bonne partie simple monnaie courante aux Kellia et à Scété", *ibid.*, 357. A similar picture emerges from the research by Dechow, who finds scarce evidence for monastic anti-Origenism, both in Lower and in Upper Egypt, before 400; see J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism*, 96-105 (for Bunge's and Dechow's contributions, see also above, 333, n.362). Sheridan also casts doubt on the existence of any anti-Origenism among the monks before the end of the fourth century: the phenomenon must have been "introdotta da provocatori di fuori", M. SHERIDAN, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, 187, n.37.

³⁷² S. RUBENSON, "Origen in the Egyptian Monastic Tradition", 336. For the close connections between the Egyptian towns and the original monastic centers, see the summary of E. Wipszycka's findings above, 240, n.497.

³⁷³ M. SHERIDAN, "The Development of the Interior Life in Certain Early Monastic Writings in Egypt", in *The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism*, Cracow 1995, 91-104; and esp. *id.*, "Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano", in *L'Egitto cristiano*, 177-216 (see esp. the passage quoted above, 242, n.503).

³⁷⁴ "La coltivazione della vita interiore era effettivamente al cuore di tutto il fenomeno," *ibid.*, 215. Sheridan remarks that the development of the interior life had already been indicated as the aim of the early Egyptian monastic movement by K. Holl, a century ago, *ibid.*, 215, and also 189 with n.45 (ref. to K. HOLL, "Über das griechische Mönchtum", in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* II, nr. 14, Tübingen 1928, 270-282, first publ. in 1898). However, after Holl, many other interpretations of early monasticism have been given. See M. SHERIDAN, *o.c.*, 189-192.

bility of making spiritual progress, through the struggle against the passions, toward union with God in the contemplative life: an aim which was to be pursued through watching oneself, self-knowledge and asceticism. For its basic concepts, as well as for a great part of its terminology, this spiritual vision “doveva molto al mondo filosofico greco”.³⁷⁵ And also in the monastic exegetical practice which served the cultivation of the inner life, there was a profound influence of the Greek philosophical tradition. This tradition had first been synthesized with that of the Hebrew Scriptures by Philo of Alexandria.³⁷⁶ Subsequently, this “fusion” had been christianized,³⁷⁷ especially by Origen who, using Philo’s exegetical procedures³⁷⁸ and inspired by St. Paul,³⁷⁹ reinterpreted the Hebrew Scriptures in the light of the New Testament.³⁸⁰ Thus, the text of the Scriptures, intensively read and spiritually interpreted, became the “vehicle of transmission” for the monastic teaching about spiritual progress.³⁸¹ The goal was “to find nourishment for the soul, for the development of the interior life”.³⁸²

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 215.

³⁷⁶ Philo introduced to the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures Greek philosophical ideas and also hermeneutic procedures which had been developed in the exegesis of classical authors. See *ibid.*, 215-216. Thus he applied the allegorical method of the commentators of Homer to the Scriptures, using “des concepts empruntés au stoïcisme, au moyen-platonisme, à l’aristotélisme”, A. SOLIGNAC, “Philon d’Alexandrie II. Influence sur les Pères de l’Église”, *DSp* 12/1 (1984), 1369. See also e.g. M. SIMONETTI, *Lettera e/o allegoria. Un contributo alla storia dell’esegesi patristica*, SEAug 23, Roma 1985, 14-19. By his allegorical exegesis, Philo applied the scriptural images primarily to the development of the interior life. A clear example for this is his interpretation of the names Jacob and Israel (Gen.27:36, 32:29-30) as symbolizing the two main stages of the spiritual life: asceticism and contemplation. See M. SHERIDAN, “Jacob and Israel”, in *Mysterium Christi*, 222-233.

³⁷⁷ For example, Philo’s spiritual interpretation of the names Jacob and Israel was widely used by Christian authors, especially in the monastic literature, *ibid.*, 219-222, 233-241.

³⁷⁸ See e.g. J. DANÉLOU, “Origène”, *DBS* 6 (1960), 898-902.

³⁷⁹ See e.g. Gal.4:21-31 (see also below, n.382).

³⁸⁰ M. SHERIDAN, “Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano”, 216.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* See also above, 242 with nn.504-505.

³⁸² M. SHERIDAN, “The Development of the Interior Life in Certain Early Monastic Writings in Egypt”, in *The Spirituality of Ancient Monasticism*, 104. It was again Origen who put forward “the idea of the spiritual or allegorical sense of the Scriptures as spiritual nourishment”, inspired especially by the Pauline metaphors in 1Cor 3:2-3, 10:1-4. See *ibid.*, 104, with n.48.

The monastic movement of fourth-century Egypt in all its ramifications, appears from recent research as a common movement which, heavily dependent on Greek philosophical traditions that had been synthesized with Christianity, was focused primarily on the development of the interior life. M. O’Laughlin speaks of a “platonizing, spiritual strain embodied in the Alexandrian tradition”.³⁸³ He connects this strain with fourth-century Origenism and situates Evagrius Ponticus in it as its main representative: “Origenism, particularly as seen in the figure of Evagrius, is a Christian Neo-Platonism. It is based on the discovery of God in the depth of the self.”³⁸⁴ As has been said, the Platonic anthropology with its threefold division of the human soul (widespread among the early Christian authors) was at the base of Evagrius’ synthesis of the spiritual life: by the purification of the three parts of the soul through the practice of the ascetic life, man could reach the state of ἀπόθεια, which enabled him to pass into the contemplative life and attain to the knowledge of God.³⁸⁵

Evagrius’ theological speculations were not so much intended as the advancement of an objective doctrinal system focused on an outward reality, but rather as the search for a theoretical framework within the context of the contemporary philosophical world view, upon which he could build his program for the development of the interior life. His basic assumption was, as Rubenson observes, “nicht das Dogma oder die Offenbarung, sondern die Erfahrungen der eigenen Seele”.³⁸⁶ Rubenson even calls him “ein Psychoanalytiker des vierten Jahrhunderts” who taught only “was er aus eigener Erfahrung erkannt hat” and who developed his speculative system only as “ein Versuch, das nackte menschliche Dasein in all seinen seelischen Verzweigungen zu verstehen und einzuordnen”.³⁸⁷

With this general characterization of the phenomenon of early monasticism, we can easily understand that at the outbreak of the First Origenist Controversy as well, an underlying conflict must have dominated the mere doctrinal issues. O’Laughlin interprets the crisis as a manifestation of “a

³⁸³ M. O’LAUGHLIN, “Evagrius Ponticus in Spiritual Perspective”, *StPatr* 30, Leuven 1997, 226.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 227. O’Laughlin speaks also of “the mystical experience of God within the self”, *ibid.*, 229.

³⁸⁵ See above, 213-217.

³⁸⁶ S. RUBENSON, “Evagrius Pontikos und die Theologie der Wüste”, 400.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

basic division or split between an inward perspective and a more normative outward orientation".³⁸⁸ This approach comes close to what we found in the present study with reference to the Second Origenist Controversy. It might provide us with a workable key for interpreting what happened historically in the monastic world of sixth-century Palestine. But we should also examine the weight of the Sabaite institution on the development of the spiritual life.

Spiritual progress within the framework of an institution

When Cyril of Scythopolis wrote his *Lives* in the mid-sixth century, Palestinian monasticism had become a mass movement at the height of its expansion.³⁸⁹ From simple, independent communities in the beginning of the early fourth century,³⁹⁰ the movement had developed into a powerful institution completely integrated, as we shall see, into the ecclesiastical, political and social structures of the Byzantine Empire,³⁹¹ and closely involved in the life of the Holy City.³⁹² From all over the Empire, people had come to Palestine to lead their ascetic lives in the neighborhood of the Holy Places.³⁹³ The increase of the monastic population had led to a process of colonization of the Judean desert beginning already in the early fifth cen-

³⁸⁸ M. O'LAUGHLIN, "Evagrius Ponticus in Spiritual Perspective", 224. O'Laughlin even observes: "The doctrinal charges are more a smokescreen than serious", but then, mitigating this statement, he suggests that the charges might, at best, represent the opponents' interpretation of the phenomenon of Origenism. See *ibid.*, 228.

³⁸⁹ In a brief survey of the development of Palestinian monasticism, Binns observes "that the monastic movement was at the zenith of its size and influence between 450 and 600", J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, xi. The peak of monastic foundations should be located in the early sixth century, *ibid.*, x-xi. See also *id.*, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 89-91 (and below, 339, n.394).

³⁹⁰ For the origins of Palestinian monasticism, which are largely obscure, see above, 33 with nn.48-50.

³⁹¹ J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, pp.v, 44, 71, 76, 182.

³⁹² L. PERRONE, "Il deserto e l'orizzonte della città. Le Storie monastiche di Cirillo di Scitopoli", in *Cirillo di Scitopoli. Storie monastiche*, 12, 19-24.

³⁹³ In the last quarter of the fourth century, there were already famous examples of the ascetic migration to the Holy Land, such as the establishment of Jerome in Bethlehem and those of Melania the Elder and Rufinus on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. See e.g. D. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, 46-50.

ture. Personal initiatives had been followed by well-organized foundations which had become numerous and large.³⁹⁴ Cyril mentions a number of 10,000 monks for the entire monastic population of Jerusalem and the Judean desert in 516,³⁹⁵ but modern scholars rate the maximum at 3,000.³⁹⁶

That the collectivization of monasticism involved a need for structuring can easily be understood. We can also understand the particular tension that must have arisen between the enthusiastic and fervent communities, formed by a spontaneous movement which had become powerful by its number, and the well-developed ecclesiastical and political establishment of the sixth-century theocratic society, in whose interest it was to assimilate that movement into its own structures.³⁹⁷ The integration of such a charismatic movement into the administrative structures of Church and Empire, albeit partially successful, is a trade mark of Palestinian monasticism in Cyril's time.³⁹⁸ A monastic hierarchy was shaped, in which the two major branches, cenobites and anchorites, were brought under the head of two archimandrites appointed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in a more or less

³⁹⁴ The alphabetical list of Palestinian monasteries, compiled a century ago by S. VAILHÉ, counts 14 monasteries founded in the fifth century, and 16 in the sixth. See S. VAILHÉ, "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *ROC* 4 (1899), 512-542; *id.* 5 (1900), 19-48, 272-292. Vailhé's list is briefly commented on by J. BINNS, in *Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives*, x-xi. For recent archaeological studies of these monasteries, see Y. HIRSCHFELD, "List of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1990, 1-90; *id.*, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven/London 1992. For the building projects of the Sabaite Order in the fifth and the sixth centuries, see also J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 51-166.

³⁹⁵ Before the passage relating Sabas' and Theodosius' action on the ambo at the church of St. Stephen (see above, 122 with n.287), Cyril writes that all the monks, that is, a multitude of ten thousand, were summoned to Jerusalem by the new Patriarch John, *VS* 56 (SCHWARTZ), 151,7-10.

³⁹⁶ Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Judean Desert Monasteries*, 78-79. See also J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 8-9 with n.6.

³⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 9, 287. For the whole movement of oriental monasticism in the fifth and the sixth centuries, see H. BACHT, "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in der Kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon II*, Würzburg 1953, 291-313.

³⁹⁸ On the one hand, Cyril's *Lives* give the impression of a well-organized monastic society which was smoothly fitted into the framework of the ecclesiastical and political hierarchies. On the other hand, his idealized picture does not conceal that the Palestinian monastic world was seriously divided by various conflicts during the whole period between the Council of Chalcedon and that of Constantinople. But Cyril identifies exclusively the well-organized orthodox current as the authentic monastic tradition.

democratic way.³⁹⁹ Thus, the monastic movement was embodied in an institutional framework of control and supervision,⁴⁰⁰ intended to subordinate the monks to the authority of the ecclesiastical and political administration.⁴⁰¹ However, the relation with the official hierarchy was not a simple one-way communication, in which the monks were only governed by an exterior body. L. Perrone speaks rather of a “symbiosis”, in which the monasteries themselves delivered to an increasing extent the ecclesiastical personnel.⁴⁰²

But the relation between the monks and the ecclesiastical and civil hierarchies is even more complicated. On the one hand, in Cyril’s time, the monastic movement had indeed become a well-organized institution under the authority of the ecclesiastical and political establishment. On the other, Cyril’s writings give evidence of a strong conviction that the monastic in-

³⁹⁹ The first archimandrite mentioned by Cyril is Passarion (χωρεπίσκοπος καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀρχιμανδρίτην), who came to the laura of Euthymius in the company of Patriarch Juvenal, for the dedication of the church in 428, *VE* 16 (SCHWARTZ) 26,17-23. It seems that Passarion was the only archimandrite for all the monks. But soon after his death, there must have been two archimandrites. Cyril relates that, in the struggle about the Council of Chalcedon, the usurper Theodosius sends two archimandrites, Elpidius and Gerontius, to persuade Euthymius to join his party, *VE* 27 (*ibid.*), 42, 10-15. Later, when the function had declined, two archimandrites were succeeded by one, Marcianus, who was appointed by Patriarch Sallustius, *VS* 30 (*ibid.*), 114,23-115,14. After Marcianus’ death (493), both Theodosius and Sabas are appointed by the same Sallustius, “at the request” (αἰτηθεὶς) of all the monks and “by common vote” (κατὰ κοινὴν ψηφόν), *ibid.*, 115,15-26; *VS* 65 (*ibid.*), 166,12-20 (see above, pp.68-69 with nn.65-68 and p.114 with n.253). See also E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyriillos von Skythopolis*, 290; L. PERRONE, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche*, 38-39 with n.9; B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 137-139; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 287-299.

⁴⁰⁰ L. PERRONE, “Il deserto e l’orizzonte della città”, 22.

⁴⁰¹ Patrich observes that the office of archimandrite must have had its main importance “within the framework of the church administration as a means for subordinating the monks to its authority”, J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 297.

⁴⁰² Perrone characterizes the reciprocity of the relationship between monasticism and hierarchy as follows: “Da un lato, il vescovo di Gerusalemme segue con attenzione e partecipa in diversi occasioni alla vita dei monasteri del deserto. Dall’altro lato, la simbiosi fra monachismo e gerarchia è confermata anche dalle dinamiche in direzione inversa: i monasteri del deserto forniscono in misura crescente personale ecclesiastico per il clero della Città Santa e di altri diocesi della Palestina,” L. PERRONE, “Il deserto e l’orizzonte della città”, 23. Cyril mentions an impressive number of first disciples of Euthymius, the charismatic monastic founder, who were later invested with an important clerical office. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 151-152; J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 161.

stitution was, from the spiritual viewpoint, superior to that establishment. This ambiguity is particularly expressed by the miracle stories in Cyril’s Lives, as has been elucidated by B. Flusin.⁴⁰³ There is a close connection between miracle and institution.⁴⁰⁴ The miracles are the supernatural confirmation of the claim that the ideal institution for human society is the monastic one, and in particular the one in which the cenobium is subordinated to the laura.⁴⁰⁵ Saint Sabas, who is claimed to be at the head of that institution, appears by his miraculous powers in a position superior even to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Cyril relates how, after a period of more than four years of drought and famine, Patriarch John, fearing a revolt and unable to resolve the problem by human ingenuity, begs Sabas for a miracle and the latter obeys with due modesty.⁴⁰⁶ The monastic institution, directed by Sabas and his successors, is thus presented as spiritually superior to the ecclesiastical hierarchy,⁴⁰⁷ though this pretension is counterbalanced by a careful conserving of the Patriarch’s formal authority.⁴⁰⁸ In a similar sense, spiritual superiority is claimed with respect to the political hierarchy. The two accounts of Sabas’ meetings respectively with the Emperors Anastasius and Justinian are composed according to a stereotype pattern in which the

⁴⁰³ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 192-208.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴⁰⁵ Flusin points out that in Cyril’s Lives the “distribution” of miracles to the various saints and their respective import are strictly linked to the place and function of these saints in the monastic institution. Within this hierarchy, Abba Theodosius, the cenobitic superior, appears as the only saint who does not perform any miracle, notwithstanding the “indications suffisantes” Cyril could have found in the writing of Theodore of Petra. See *ibid.*, 196-200. As we saw, the cenobites not only disagreed with the anchorite claim to superiority, but from the historical evidence they might well appear as the ones who were generally considered superior. See above, pp.117-118 with nn.267-273 and pp.305-306 with n.248.

⁴⁰⁶ *VS* 67 (SCHWARTZ), 167,25-169,24.

⁴⁰⁷ Abba Conon is also represented in a role superior to the Patriarch; see above, 301 at n.227.

⁴⁰⁸ “Il faut prendre garde cependant aux limites que Cyrille sait imposer lui-même à ses prétentions. D’un côté, il cherche clairement à pousser aussi loin que possible le pouvoir de l’archimandrite des laures (...). Mais d’un autre côté, Cyrille conserve soigneusement l’ordre hiérarchique institutionnel. Sabas se substitue au patriarche défaillant, mais à sa demande, par obéissance: ‘pour obéir à Votre Béatitude, je supplierai la face de Dieu’ [ref. to *VS* 67 (SCHWARTZ), 169,2-3]. Le chef des moines reste donc soumis au chef du clergé et l’on ne voit nulle part, dans nos textes, la trace d’un conflit entre le monachisme et la hiérarchie ecclésiastique. Mais la hiérarchie monastique est parfaite, proportionnée à la grâce divine: la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, elle, ne l’est pas forcément,” B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 204.

Saint's holiness is miraculously revealed to the Emperors, who are deeply impressed to the point of humbling themselves before the Saint's spiritual authority.⁴⁰⁹ Nevertheless, both Emperors are respected in their role as political authorities, who are in the powerful position of yielding to the requests of the holy man.⁴¹⁰

In Cyril's eyes, the ideal monastic institution, in the form in which he propagandizes it, is not only spiritually superior to the ecclesiastical and political authorities, but it is also the perfect realization of a divine plan. In such a vision, the actual hierarchy of the monastic institution coincides with "la hiérarchie invisible et réelle de la sainteté".⁴¹¹ As a result, Cyril's retrospective representation of the history of that institution through the Lives of the holy founders, is strongly marked by deterministic interpretations, according to which all the actions of the founders are equated with the performance of a supernatural program, established from all eternity in the transcendent world. Within this context the spiritual life of the saint is primarily valued in the perspective of the realization of a divine project in the human world: the monastic foundation. Compared with much of the earlier monastic literature, in Cyril's Lives the interest is displaced from the person to the group; from the saint, and his personal (and exemplary) way of spiritual progress, to the monastery or the institution which is founded

⁴⁰⁹ VS 52 (SCHWARTZ), 142,17-21; VS 71 (*ibid.*), 173,17-27 (see above, p.74 at n.83 and p.76 at n.93). Sabas appears even in the position of refusing a miracle to Empress Theodora, because of her Monophysite sympathies, VS 71 (SCHWARTZ), 173,28-174,11; see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 206. And the holy man predicts to Justinian that God will grant him a successful reconquest of the Western parts of the Empire, if he concedes to the requests on behalf of the Palestinian Church, VS 72 (SCHWARTZ), 175,19-23. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 207.

⁴¹⁰ VS 54 (SCHWARTZ), 145,30-146,4; VS 73 (*ibid.*), 176,21-22. In the case of the orthodox Emperor Justinian, an anecdote is even added to underline the clear distinction between the monk's contribution on the spiritual level and the emperor's task in the area of secular politics. We read in Cyril's account how Sabas, while Justinian is engaged in the political arrangements to fulfill the Saint's requests, draws slightly apart and starts reciting Davidic psalms according to the divine office of that hour. When one of his companions asks Sabas whether it be convenient to keep himself to one side in such a situation, the Saint answers: "They, my child, are doing their work. Let us in our turn do ours," VS 73 (SCHWARTZ), 178,9-18. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 207.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 200.

by the saint, according to the divine predestination, as the fruit of his spiritual perfection attained by the ascetic life.⁴¹²

Such an absolutist vision of the monastic institution as the realization of a divine plan has far-reaching consequences for the cultivation of the spiritual life within that institution. A closer examination of the spiritual climate of Sabaitic monasticism, in relation to the original spiritual ideals of the monastic movement of fourth-century Egypt, could significantly contribute to our understanding of the conflict that underlay the sixth-century Origenist Controversy. In view of further research in that direction, I shall indicate briefly some noticeable characteristics of the spiritual climate that must have dominated Cyril's environment, as we may deduce it from his writings.

1. The vision of the monastic institution as pre-established in the supernatural world leads to a definite conception of its sanctity, to which personal sanctity is subordinated.⁴¹³ As has been said, the hagiographic interest in the Saint as a paradigm for spiritual progress shifts into an interest in his actions as the holy founder of the institution.⁴¹⁴ In addition, spiri-

⁴¹² "(...) il nous faut insister un fois de plus sur le changement d'échelle qui nous paraît être l'un des traits essentiels de l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis: l'intérêt n'est plus centré sur la personne; il s'est déplacé vers le groupe qui s'est réuni autour du saint, vers le monastère ou la congrégation qu'il a fondées," *ibid.*, 182. Elsewhere, Flusin observes: "De biographie consacrée à un saint, l'hagiographie glisse vers la chronique d'une institution," *ibid.*, 52 (quoted above, 94 at n.184). This institutionalization process of monasticism had already been initiated in the Pachomian environment. It is precisely in the context of the influence of the dossier of Lives of Pachomius, which is one of Cyril's main sources, that Flusin makes the last observation. For that influence, see *ibid.*, 45-53.

⁴¹³ According to Flusin, an important innovation in Cyril's Lives is the fact that sanctity is not attached any more to a person, but more and more to an institution. His Lives are not merely individual biographies, but all elements are arranged in close connection to the ideal organization and hierarchy (in Cyril's eyes) of Palestinian monasticism. In that context, "la sainteté personnelle joue, par rapport à la sainteté de l'institution, un rôle secondaire", B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 153.

⁴¹⁴ In the VE and in the VS, a relatively small part is dedicated to the private ascetic life of the saint as a preparatory stage to his public action. The latter stage receives, proportionately, much more attention. Of the 60 chapters of the VE, chapters 6-16 are dedicated to Euthymius' solitary ascetic life, and chapters 16-39 to his public life. Of the 90 chapters of the VS, only chapters 10-16 describe the preparatory stage of Sabas' solitary life, while chapters 16-76 are dedicated to his public life. See the composition scheme of both Lives, above, 106 with nn.219-220. See also Flusin's observation concerning the scheme "à deux temps", quoted above, 94 at n.182.

tual progress in general becomes closely associated with progress in a monastic career within the structures of the sacred institution.⁴¹⁵ As a consequence, Cyril's Lives reflect a spiritual mentality, in which the attention to the development of the interior life as an individual way toward contemplation tends to fade into the background. Certainly, Cyril does refer to that dimension, but these references are rather scarce.⁴¹⁶ He gives no long developments in this respect, but only abbreviated and stereotyped formulas which are owed to a long ascetic tradition.⁴¹⁷ It would be instructive to examine Cyril's writings with regard to his descriptions of the development of the interior life and, in particular, the relative attention given to the two major stages of ascetic practice and contemplation.⁴¹⁸

2. The inquiry into Cyril's view of the spiritual life should not be restricted to the saints of his Lives but should take into consideration also the members of the institution, that is, the *readers* who are addressed through the figures appearing in the Lives. Cyril's writings, especially the *VE*, con-

⁴¹⁵ After examining a series of miracles performed by Sabas in the early stage of his life, miracles that are respectively linked to the cenobitic and the anchoritic state, Flusin concludes: "Mais il faut remarquer que le progrès spirituel de Sabas est en même temps un progrès dans une carrière parmi les institutions monastiques," *ibid.*, 196. Elsewhere, Flusin examines Cyriacus' exemplary monastic career (compare with above, pp.257-258, 261-262), and observes: "les degrés de la hiérarchie monastique correspondent censément aux progrès dans la montée vers Dieu", *ibid.*, 147.

⁴¹⁶ See above, 229 with n.432 and comp. with *ibid.*, nn.436-437.

⁴¹⁷ To give an impression of Cyril's stereotyped representation of the spiritual lives of his saints, in function of their later foundation activities, I shall use the following example. In the passage introducing the transition from Sabas' solitary life into the stage of his public action, Cyril describes how the Saint spent five years alone in a gorge, dedicating himself to ascetic practice. The description is extremely concise and the expressions are not only derived from Theodoret of Cyrus (including a reminiscence to 2Cor 3:18), but they are also repeated in the description of John the Hesychast's ascetic practice, *VS 16* (SCHWARTZ), 99,5-9; comp. with *VIH 11* (*ibid.*), 209,13-16, and with THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Historia Philothea* I, 3,2-5, SC 234, p.164; II, 4,22-23, p.202. Also for the description of the turning point in Sabas' spiritual life, Cyril depends on a written source. Sabas is persuaded by the word of God not to spend more time in his private ascetic struggle, but to dedicate himself to conducting others in their spiritual lives, *VS 16* (SCHWARTZ), 99,11-17; closely parallel with NILUS ANCYRATUS, *De monastica exercitatione*, PG 79, 760c3-9. Finally, Cyril remarks that Sabas "began to receive all those who came to him", 99,17-18; taken from the *Vita Pachomii prima* 24 (HALKIN), 14,28-29. For all Cyril's sources mentioned here, see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 46 (nr.2), 67-68 (nr.3), 68 (nr.6), 71 (nr.3).

⁴¹⁸ For Evagrius' major divisions of the spiritual life into *praktiké* and *knowledge*, which became classical in the monastic tradition, see above, 215-216 with nn.373-375.

tain various passages in which the Saint gives a spiritual teaching to one or more monks, usually in the context of a certain edifying story. An inventory of these passages,⁴¹⁹ and their analysis, could be helpful for our insight into the concept of the spiritual life in Cyril's milieu. For example, examining some of these passages, Flusin points out that individual virtues like hospitality (φιλοξενία), obedience (ὕπακοή) and perseverance (ὕπομονή) have become fundamental laws for the prosperity of the institution.⁴²⁰ In other passages, Cyril combines the ascetic theme of impure thoughts (ἀίσχροὶ λογισμοί) with an unworthy participation in the community Eucharist,⁴²¹ or with the abuse of a function by purloining the property of the monastery.⁴²² The ascetic practice is also closely connected with promotion from the cenobium to the laura.⁴²³ An examination of Cyril's use of traditional ascetic language in function of the interests of the institution may allow us to define more precisely to what extent a shift has taken place, with respect to the ascetic practice, from the sphere of personal spiritual progress to that of the institutional interest.

3. In a sacred institution, where everything is perfectly established according to the divine will, there might, nevertheless, emerge people who

⁴¹⁹ E.g. *VE 9* (SCHWARTZ), 17,3-18,11; *VE 17* (*ibid.*), 28,1-8; *VE 18* (*ibid.*), 29,22-24; *VE 19* (*ibid.*), p.30,11-15 and p.31,24 to p.32,3; *VE 24* (*ibid.*), 36,21-37,22; *VE 29* (*ibid.*), 46,5-47,4; *VE 39* (*ibid.*), 58,2-20; *VE 50* (*ibid.*), 73,23-74,15; *VS 16* (*ibid.*), 100,20-101,2; *VS 28* (*ibid.*), 113,10-15; *VS 39* (*ibid.*), 129,17-23; *VS 47* (*ibid.*), 138,2-7; *VS 58* (*ibid.*), 159,14-21.

⁴²⁰ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 185-187 (ref. to *VE 17-19*).

⁴²¹ *VE 29* (SCHWARTZ), 46,5-47,4. In this passage, Cyril gives also a list of thoughts, in which we may discern three of Evagrius' classical eight evil thoughts: gluttony (γαστριμαργία), anger (ὄργή) and pride (ὑπερηφανία), 46,24-26. Compare with EVAGRIUS, *Cap. pract.* 6, SC 171, 506-508 (see above, 216, n.375). As we saw, the scarce influence of Evagrius in Cyril's writings is due to the latter's assimilation of monastic themes that had become common in his time; see above, 222-231.

⁴²² *VE 50* (SCHWARTZ), 72,21-74,27. Here, we can find two more "thoughts" from Evagrius' classical list (see the preceding footnote): avarice (φιλαργυρία) and vainglory (κενοδοξία), 74,11-12.

⁴²³ Only those who have learned the office of psalmody accurately, and who have become capable of "keeping a watch on their minds (τὸν ἑαυτὸν νοῦν τηρεῖν)" and "fighting against the alien thoughts (πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοτρίους λογισμοὺς ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι)", are judged worthy to receive a cell in the laura, *VS 28* (SCHWARTZ), 113,16-20. On the other hand, anchorites who are not able to guard their eyes are sent back to the cenobium, until they have learned "to keep a careful watch on their eyes and their thought (πάσῃ φυλακῇ τηρεῖν τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν)", *VS 47* (*ibid.*), 138,5-10.

are charismatically inspired by new spiritual experiences. Of course, the tradition has developed certain criteria for verifying (as far as possible) the authenticity of such experiences. Even the Saint who is venerated as the holy founder must once have faced the necessity of passing this exam. Whether new spiritual experiences of other members become fruitful with initiatives enriching the institution depends to a large extent on the dialogue with a spiritual guide and with the formal authority. If this communication fails – regardless of the value of the experiences – there is a permanent source of conflict and discord within the community. We do not know what happened exactly during the various uprisings of large groups of monks against Saint Sabas.⁴²⁴ All we know is that we cannot rely upon Cyril's representation of the facts. Whatever might have actually happened, from his accounts a picture of Sabas' predominance emerges, which should be further examined.⁴²⁵ We see more than once, especially in the foundation stories, the phenomenon of initiatives taken by others, which are overruled by Sabas, whereas these others are represented as bad, violent, arrogant or disobedient monks.⁴²⁶ Could such retrospective accounts perhaps be in-

dicative of a spiritual climate in Sabas' foundation in which, once the foundation had become a sacred institution, there was not much space left for new personal inspirations that escaped from the central control?

4. The absolutist view of a supernaturally predetermined institution is coupled with a concept of the transcendent world as an outside reality from which, by miraculous interventions, the course of human history is conducted.⁴²⁷ This "materialized" concept of the supernatural world is connected with the spiritual current that has been indicated by I. Hausherr as "l'école du sentiment ou du surnaturel conscient".⁴²⁸ According to this current, in general, man can have a "perception expérimentale du surnaturel".⁴²⁹ Such perceptions can be more or less "sensible", by apparitions or visions. Hausherr has opposed this current to another one which he calls "intellectualisme mystique",⁴³⁰ or "spiritualité intellectualiste",⁴³¹ and which he associates with Origenism⁴³² and with Evagrius of Pontus as its main representative.⁴³³ According to this spiritual current, the only contact with the

vene. Whatever might have happened, Cyril must have suppressed important information about a struggle at the end of which a movement of "liberal" monks was brought back under the control of Sabas' authority. More or less the same impression is conveyed by other foundation stories. When a certain James tries to found a laura, his initiative is overruled by Sabas, James being put aside with the classical vices of disobedience, arrogance and the following of his self-will, *VS* 39 (*ibid.*), 129,3-130,27. When Sabas returns with gifts from Emperor Justinian, his distribution of the money to the monasteries grieves one Jeremias, who withdraws from the Great Laura to settle on his own in the desert. In a brief account, we read how Jeremias is immediately visited by Sabas, while all the traces of a conflict have vanished. Sabas, overjoyed on seeing Jeremias' place, takes the initiative to make that place a laura and Jeremias himself is appointed superior and receives the rules of the Great Laura, *VS* 74 (*ibid.*), 179,11-25.

⁴²⁷ For example, Cyril himself is assisted in a miraculous way by the apparition of the deceased Euthymius and Sabas, to accomplish the task of composing their Lives, *VE* 60 (SCHWARTZ), 83,25-84,25. At the beginning of his solitary life, Sabas is led by an angel to the place of what will be the Great Laura, *VS* 15 (*ibid.*), 97,26-98,10. The place of the Church for the divine office of the Great Laura is shown in a vision to Sabas, by a pillar of fire: it is a cave with the shape of a Church and an apse which is "made by God (θεόκτιστος)", *VS* 18 (*ibid.*), 101,20-102,9. Cyril's Lives are full of supernatural interventions.

⁴²⁸ I. HAUSHERR, "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale", *OCA* 1 (1935), 126-128.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁴³⁰ I. HAUSHERR, "Les grands courants", 128.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 122, 130.

⁴³³ "Évagre est l'organisateur de la doctrine spirituelle orientale inspirée par Origène," *ibid.*, 123.

⁴²⁴ According to the *VS*, a first serious crisis occurs already in the years between 486-491, when the Great Laura has become a populated monastery, *VS* 19 (SCHWARTZ), 103,8-105,2. In the years 501-503, the continuing opposition leads to a sedition of 40 monks, causing Sabas' first withdrawal, *VS* 33 (*ibid.*), 118,21-31. Shortly after Sabas' return, a second revolt, this time of 60 monks, leads to a second temporary exile of the Saint, and finally, after a violent scene, to the foundation of the New Laura in 507, *VS* 35-36 (*ibid.*), 120,13-123,28. See above, 68-71. See also J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 197-202.

⁴²⁵ J. Binns seems to be misled by the hagiographic idealizations intended to transform the portrait of Sabas into that of a meek and humble saint, reluctant to impose his authority on his subordinates; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 162. In my opinion, a critical examination of Sabas' personality, as depicted by Cyril, will rather reveal a predominant authority, whose role, notwithstanding the stereotyped picture of a humble saint, has been enlarged considerably. The "historical" Sabas escapes to a large extent our perception, it is true, but from Cyril's hagiographic representation we may at least draw some conclusions concerning the concept of authority within the Sabaite institution.

⁴²⁶ There is a remarkable inconsistency in the account of the foundation of the New Laura, *VS* 39 (SCHWARTZ), 122,19-123,28. The foundation results from a rebellion of 60 monks who intend to escape from Sabas' authority. But once these rebels have settled near Thekoa, we see Sabas interfering in their initiative to the point of taking full authority, backed by the Patriarch. Cyril represents this action as a proof of Sabas' compassion with his opponents in distress. However, after the previous history of a growing conflict over twenty years, we would expect the greatest resistance against any attempt by Sabas to inter-

transcendent world occurs through the contemplation of the *naked* νοῦς (mind or intellect), cleaned of all images, after the soul has reached the state of ἀπάθεια by the purification of its passionate parts, θυμός and ἐπιθυμία.⁴³⁴ Visions and apparitions, which are of crucial importance for the first spiritual current, are absolutely rejected by the second.⁴³⁵ The opposition between the two currents becomes particularly clear in their different approaches to prayer: the first current tends to represent it as a “materialized” conversation:

La vision de Dieu elle aussi devient imaginative; la lumière divine tout intellectuelle chez Évangre tend à se matérialiser; l'oraison = ὁμιλία νοῦ πρὸς θεόν chez Nil,⁴³⁶ se transforme en conversation réciproque avec l'interlocuteur divin qui répond verbalement aux questions du voyant.⁴³⁷

A. Guillaumont has suggested that the so-called “anthropomorphite movement” at the outbreak of the First Origenist Controversy, could have been a reaction against the theories of “pure prayer” as we find them in Evagrius’ treatise on prayer.⁴³⁸ An analysis of the way Cyril deals with prayer and of his concept of the human intercourse with the transcendent world in general,⁴³⁹ might give us a more detailed insight into the spiritual

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 121-122. Comp. with above, pp.213-214 and pp.216-217 with nn.376-379.

⁴³⁵ “L’intellectualisme mystique condamne absolument les apparitions comme les locutions sensibles,” I. HAUSHERR, “Les grands courants”, 126.

⁴³⁶ With ref. to EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *De oratione* 3 (transmitted under the name of Nilus of Ancyra).

⁴³⁷ I. HAUSHERR, “Les grands courants”, 128.

⁴³⁸ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les ‘Képhalaia gnostica’ d’Évangre le Pontique*, 59-61. See also above, 334, n.369. As has been said, recent research on the First Origenist Controversy has pointed out that there is no evidence for the existence of an “anthropomorphite” resistance against Origenism in the Egyptian desert before the conflict was stirred up by outsiders at the end of the fourth century. See esp. above, 334, n.370. On the other hand, once the conflict had come to a head, “anthropomorphism” must somehow have been one of the factors. A further investigation into this subject might be useful, but it would surpass the limits of the present study.

⁴³⁹ In Cyril’s Lives, apparitions and visions may assume a roughly “material” character. For example, a certain Cyriacus, after committing perjury at the holy tomb of Euthymius, is visited in a supernatural way by the deceased Saint with five younger monks. On the Saint’s command, the man is stretched out by four of the monks and, without mercy, so badly beaten with a rod by the fifth, that he cannot be healed from his injuries and dies on the next day. See VE 58 (SCHWARTZ), 79,24-81,26.

current that must have dominated the Sabaite institution when Cyril became the spokesman of it.

I have mentioned four characteristics of the spiritual climate connected with an absolutist vision of the monastic institution as it emerges from Cyril’s Lives: 1) an impoverished attention to the interior life as an individual way toward contemplation; 2) a certain shift, with respect to ascetic practice, from the sphere of personal spiritual progress to that of the institutional interest; 3) the dominant authority of the sacred leader and the lack of room for new productive spiritual experiences; and 4) a materialized vision of the transcendent world and the consequent effects on human attempts to access it. These characteristics, when further examined, might help us to understand more precisely the various aspects of the opposition that was provoked within the Sabaite institution among wide circles of monks. In view of an adequate understanding of that opposition, we should also pay attention to Theodoret of Cyrus’ influence on the spiritual and intellectual climate of Cyril’s environment.

The influence of Theodoret of Cyrus

As has become clear from this study, Theodoret of Cyrus was admired by those who belonged to the anti-Origenist camp. Not only was he a main source for Cyril,⁴⁴⁰ he also appears as the author of certain works which – though he was incriminated for other works – were employed to set the Emperor against Evagrian Origenism.⁴⁴¹ For an inquiry into the backgrounds of the Second Origenist Controversy it will thus be necessary to investigate the particular influence that Theodoret must have exerted on the anti-Origenists, as against the influence that authors such as Evagrius exerted on the opposite camp. It may be useful to indicate here some points of departure for future investigation.

One may distinguish four different areas in which Theodoret might have influenced the sixth-century Palestinian anti-Origenists: the Christological position; the attitude toward the Hellenistic philosophical inheri-

⁴⁴⁰ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 67-70. See above, p.224, n.408 and p.317, n.300.

⁴⁴¹ See above, 320-322 (esp. 320-321 with nn.315-316).

tance; exegesis; and monastic spirituality. One should also take into consideration that the anti-Origenists might have made a selective use of Theodoret's legacy. They could have radicalized some aspects of it at the expense of others.

1. The area of Christology is a difficult field for investigation as we have few *direct* indications of the way in which the anti-Origenists were possibly participating in the Christological debate. In any case, earlier in this study F. Loofs' thesis that Cyril wrote in favor of a "nestorianisierende Partei",⁴⁴² was confirmed, but the thesis needed to be completed by the postulate of a conversion of this party towards post-conciliar orthodoxy, around 553.⁴⁴³ Another complicating factor is that the epithet of "Nestorian" is very difficult to interpret, especially in the sixth century, when all kinds of charges were uttered.⁴⁴⁴ The conflict between Nestorius and Cyril of Alexandria would never have led to an absolute schism, if the parties had been more willing (or able) to understand each other's language and sensibility. As for Theodoret of Cyrus, his real Christological thought was, after all, not so different from that of Cyril of Alexandria.⁴⁴⁵ So even if the anti-Origenists sympathized with Theodoret, it does not seem that they took

⁴⁴² F. LOOFS, *Leontius von Byzanz*, 288 (see the quotation above, 164 at n.146; see also 204 at 321).

⁴⁴³ For the whole argumentation, see the section about the doctrinal and the political aspects of the Second Origenist Controversy in the 2nd chapter, above, 176-206 (esp. 204-205) and also 253.

⁴⁴⁴ We can even see Severus of Antioch being lumped together with Nestorius, on the point of separating Christ from the Holy Trinity; see IUSTINIANUS, *Contra monophysitas* 192 (quoted above, 273, n.97). In general, it may be better to consider the qualification "Nestorian" in a *relative* sense: those who were more inclined to follow the Antiochene tradition were liable to the charge of "Nestorianism" from the side of those who had more affinity with the Alexandrian tradition. It has already been observed that the anti-Origenists, before 553, were "Chalcedonians, and certainly not Nestorians"; see above, 205 at n.329. On the other hand, they were sympathizing with the Three Chapters, "converting" as far as necessary from these sympathies when the Council of 553 drew near. It is only from that point of view, that they may be called a "Nestorianizing" party.

⁴⁴⁵ A. Grillmeier observes: "Trotz der verschiedenen Sprache und theologischen Orientierung will schließlich der Bischof von Cyrus dasselbe, was auch Cyrill von Alexandrien erstrebte: eine Theologie der Mitte, welche sowohl die Trennung Christi in zwei Personen als auch die Vermischung der Naturen vermeiden will. Er selbst erkennt, daß zwischen ihm und dem Cyrill der Union von 433 kein Unterschied der Auffassung besteht, so daß er schließlich dazu übergeht, seine eigene Christologie mit Zitaten aus Cyrill zu stützen," A. GRILLMEIER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* 1, 700.

from him an explicit Christological doctrine with which they opposed the Origenists.⁴⁴⁶

2. Theodoret's apology for the superiority of Christian faith to Greek philosophy, the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*,⁴⁴⁷ was certainly an important source of inspiration for the anti-Origenists.⁴⁴⁸ This writing has generally been praised as "the last and most beautiful apology of Christianity".⁴⁴⁹ When it was written the threat of paganism had much diminished since the second century,⁴⁵⁰ even though the anti-Christian reaction was still strong among the educated.⁴⁵¹ Theodoret treats his addressees as friends. He responds to their questions and, at the same time, demonstrates by means of their own philosophers the superiority of Christian truth.⁴⁵² In that context he makes use of and attacks, alternately, great classical authors like Plato, Plotinus and Porphyry.⁴⁵³ The general mood is one of an amiable conversa-

⁴⁴⁶ Apparently, Christology was not a main issue in the previous history of the Second Origenist Controversy. This impression is reinforced by the split among the Origenists themselves when, under the pressure of imperial politics, Christology had become a real question: the Protoktists were then driven to the (Nestorianizing) anti-Origenists, and the Isochrists harbored more sympathies for the Monophysites. See above, 199-200.

⁴⁴⁷ THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, ed. P. CANIVET, *Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, SC 57/1-2, Paris 1958.

⁴⁴⁸ As has been said, the anti-Origenists employed Theodoret's writings to bring the heretical character of Evagrius' speculations to the attention of Justinian; see above, 321-322. Four quotations from Theodoret figure in Justinian's letter to the pre-synod against the Origenists, three of which are derived from the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*; see above, 320, n.315. For an idea of their relative importance: they occupy about a quarter of the whole letter, which is only a few pages in modern print.

⁴⁴⁹ Introducing his edition of the *Curatio*, P. Canivet observes: "Les historiens de la littérature patristique s'accordent depuis Tillemont à reconnaître que la *Thérapeutique* est 'la dernière et la plus belle apologie du christianisme'," P. CANIVET, *Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique*, 46, n.1. See also G. BARDY, "Théodoret", *DTC* 15/1 (1946), 307-308.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁴⁵¹ From the reign of Theodosius (379-395), the dominant position of the Church was established all over the Empire, and manifestations of pagan culture were forbidden. However, the minds of many intellectuals had remained attached to paganism and prejudiced against Christianity. See P. CANIVET, *Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique*, 31-32, n.3. "(...) malgré l'assurance de l'apologiste [*scil.* Theodoret] à proclamer la victoire définitive du christianisme sur les faux dieux, son insistance même et sa sûreté ne laissent pas de révéler des adversaires encore redoutables," *ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁵² The subtitle of the apology runs: *Knowledge of the Evangelical Truth, Departing from Greek Philosophy* (Εὐαγγελικῆς ἀληθείας ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπίγνωσις), *ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 33.

tion in which, however, a strong sense of triumphalism can be sensed, as well as the author's conviction that his addressees suffer from diseases (παθήματα) for which they need therapy.⁴⁵⁴ P. Canivet distinguishes a *positive* and a *negative* aspect of the apology: positive, as Theodoret yields to the requirements of pagan philosophy acknowledging that it contains certain elements of truth;⁴⁵⁵ negative, as he systematically criticizes the pagan philosophers, especially Plato, as incoherent and contradictory among themselves.⁴⁵⁶ It would be interesting to know to what extent the sixth-century anti-Origenists may have exploited the negative aspect in Theodoret's apology, at the expense of the positive, in their outspoken hostility toward the Hellenistic philosophical inheritance,⁴⁵⁷ and to evaluate the weight of this factor in the Origenist Controversy.

3. The interpretation of the Scriptures does not appear as a main issue in the Second Origenist Controversy. As we saw, the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical exegesis, developed especially by Philo and Origen, had become popular among the first monks of the Egyptian desert.⁴⁵⁸ Allegorical exegesis was also an issue, although not the most important, for the fourth-century anti-Origenist criticism⁴⁵⁹ uttered by Epiphanius,⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁴ The first title runs: *A Therapy of the Diseases of the Greek* (Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων), *ibid.*, 48.

⁴⁵⁵ Like previous apologists such as Justin, Clement and Eusebius, Theodoret holds that the Greek philosophers were, to a certain extent, also inspired by the Word of God and that they took the elements of truth in their thought from Moses and the prophets, who were previous to them. See *ibid.*, 50-53 and comp. with above, 247, n.535.

⁴⁵⁶ P. CANIVET, *Théodoret de Cyr: Thérapeutique*, 48-50.

⁴⁵⁷ For the anti-Origenist hostility toward pagan philosophy in the sixth century, see above, 247-251.

⁴⁵⁸ See above, pp.242-243 with nn.504-505 and p.336 with nn.376-382.

⁴⁵⁹ Guillaumont has called allegorism "un aspect plus extérieur de l'origénisme", A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 102. "Ce n'est pas là qu'est l'essentiel de l'origénisme", *ibid.*, 103. However, we should distinguish allegorism as a secondary issue in the Origenist Controversy from allegorism as a fundamental exegetical practice for those who were charged with Origenism.

⁴⁶⁰ EPIPHANIUS SALAMINUS, *Ancoratus* 54, ed. K. HOLL, *Epiphanius I: Ancoratus und Panarion* (haer. 1-33), GCS 25, Leipzig 1915, 63,10-11; *Ancor.* 62 (*ibid.*), 74,5-75,18; *id.*, *Panarion* 64, 4,11, ed. K. HOLL, *Epiphanius II: Ancoratus und Panarion* (haer. 34-64), GCS 31, Leipzig 1922, 413,2-4; *Pan.* 64, 65,11 (*ibid.*), 505,26-506,1; *id.*, *Ep. ad Ioannem Hierosol.*, in HIERONYMUS, *Ep.* 51, 5,4-7, CSEL 54, pp.404,2-405,19. See also A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, pp.85-86 with nn.22-23 and p.89 with n.37; J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism*, 315-347.

Jerome⁴⁶¹ and Theophilus.⁴⁶² In the fifth century, Theodore of Mopsuestia, the main representative of the Antiochene exegetical tradition, became the most fervent opponent of Origen's allegorism.⁴⁶³ This must have contributed to his popularity among the sixth-century anti-Origenists.⁴⁶⁴ However, our sources for the Second Origenist Controversy scarcely allude to the existence of a quarrel over exegesis between the two camps. That the issue still existed can be deduced from a passage in Leontius of Byzantium.⁴⁶⁵ In any case, if the anti-Origenists of the sixth century were actually opposing the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical exegesis,⁴⁶⁶ they cannot have de-

⁴⁶¹ HIERONYMUS, *Contra Ioann. Hieros.* 7, PL 23 (ed. 1865), 376c12-d2. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 90 (6); J. DECHOW, *Dogma and Mysticism*, 333 with n.185.

⁴⁶² THEOPHILUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Ep. fest.* 17 (anno 402), in HIERONYMUS, *Ep.* 98,10, CSEL 55, pp.194,4-195,7 (esp. 194,4-6). See also A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 99-100 with n.82.

⁴⁶³ See esp. M. SIMONETTI, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 167-180.

⁴⁶⁴ R. DEVRESSE, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste*, 205.

⁴⁶⁵ In Leontius' diatribe against Theodore of Mopsuestia, the latter is vehemently attacked for his "scoffing and poking fun at the labor of the holy teachers who exerted themselves" for the interpretation of the divine Scriptures (σκώπτων καὶ διασύρων τοὺς πόνους τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς κεκημηκότων ἱερῶν διδασκάλων), LEONTIUS, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1364d8-9 (for the whole passage: 1364d7-1368a12). Leontius blames Theodore for "cutting off" (ἀπέτεμεν) from the Holy Scriptures the Song of Songs, which has been praised by all the "men full of divine wisdom" (θεοσόφοι) and by all the Christians, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1365d6-14. Actually, Theodore, because of his strict literalism, interpreted the Song of Songs as a mere exaltation of profane love and denied its religious and Christological content. See M. SIMONETTI, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 173-174, 198-199. It is also interesting to notice that Leontius' passage gives us additional evidence for his sympathy with Origen (comp. with above, 160-161 at nn.127-129). Origen, though not mentioned here, is certainly intended among the ἱεροὶ διδάσκαλοι (he was the main exegete at whom Theodore was aiming). In addition, the word θεοσόφος appears again: elsewhere Leontius uses this word both for Evagrius, *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285a14, and for the authors who were read in the Origenist milieu where he found his spiritual teachers, *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1360a15. See above, pp.154-155 with n.103, p.208 with n.340 and p.221 with nn.394-395.

⁴⁶⁶ There is no trace of allegorical exegesis in Cyril's Lives (but they are not conceived as biblical commentary). Cyril uses the Bible frequently. Sometimes even he composes a collage of biblical passages; see P. VAN DER HORST, "Some Observations on the Role of Scripture in Cyril of Scythopolis' *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*", in *The Sabaitic Heritage* (Forthcoming; the author kindly gave me a copy of his paper). For such collage, see above, 325 with nn.333-337. Usually Cyril quotes brief biblical passages as if sanctioning his own viewpoint, or that of the Saint whom he presents giving spiritual teaching. Van der Horst points at the "eminently practical orientation" of Cyril's use of Scripture, confirming indi-

rived much inspiration, on that point, from Theodoret of Cyrus. The latter, though solidly rooted in the Antiochene tradition, showed himself open to Alexandrian exegesis,⁴⁶⁷ even to the point of being strongly influenced by Origen in his commentary of the Song of Songs.⁴⁶⁸

4. The apparent influence of Theodoret's monastic spirituality on the sixth-century anti-Origenists and particularly on Cyril, is by far the most promising topic for a further investigation. This point requires a more extensive development. Cyril shows himself strongly dependent on Theodoret's history of the monks of Syria, and he is far removed from Evagrius' spirituality,⁴⁶⁹ which reflects, as we have seen, the mainstream of fourth-century monasticism.⁴⁷⁰ A comparison between Theodoret's ideal of the monastic life and that of Evagrius might therefore be very instructive for our understanding of the sixth-century conflict, provided that we take into account also the *selective* use Cyril made of Theodoret. Against the background of a general characterization of Theodoret's approach to the spiritual life, we should examine Cyril's relation to him, not only by analyzing the explicit quotations and allusions, but also by tracing other points of affinity. Some important elements that Cyril took from Theodoret have already been mentioned by B. Flusin: the ascetic and mystical vocabulary and certain con-

rectly Cyril's lack of interest in allegorism: "Exegetical debates are avoided, interpretive subtleties eschewed, theoretical exercises rejected, for the only thing that counts is a strong practical and ethical commitment to Scripture," P. VAN DER HORST, *o.c.*

⁴⁶⁷ Although Theodoret was firmly rooted in the Antiochene tradition, in his approach to Scriptures the polemical spirit against the allegorists, as expressed in the works of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, was very much attenuated. See M. SIMONETTI, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 190.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 198-200. Without mentioning Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret rejects his teacher's profane interpretation of the Cantic; see THEODORETUS, *In Cant.*, Prol., PG 81, 29A8-B7. And he mentions Origen explicitly among those who confirm the spiritual nature of the book, *ibid.*, 32B3. Simonetti points at a very extensive use of Origen in Theodoret's commentary: "egli ha fatto tesoro soprattutto, se non esclusivamente, di Origene e l'ha utilizzato a piene mani", M. SIMONETTI, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 199. See also A. GALLICO, *Teodoretto di Cirro: Storia di monaci siri*, CoITP 119, Roma 1995, 35 with n.212. However, Theodoret's commentary of the Song of Songs was an early work; as it seems, he dissociated himself radically from Origen's exegesis in his later biblical commentaries. See J. GUINOT, "Théodoret a-t-il lu les homélies d'Origène sur l'Ancien Testament?", *VetChr* 21 (1984), 285-312.

⁴⁶⁹ See above, 222-231.

⁴⁷⁰ See esp. above, pp.209-210 at n.344 and p.337 at n.384.

cepts concerning miracles.⁴⁷¹ However, these elements result from a more fundamental affinity concerning the vision of the spiritual life.

A main characteristic of Theodoret's *History of the Monks* is the emphasis on an external asceticism, which is totally focused on physical endurance, while there is much less attention on the development of the interior life.⁴⁷² In general, we can state that "histrionic feats of self-mortification" were the trade mark of Syrian monasticism.⁴⁷³ Theodoret's writing bears clear marks of it,⁴⁷⁴ but it reveals also the bishop's concern for moderating the ascetics in their extreme penitence.⁴⁷⁵ However, Theodoret does

⁴⁷¹ B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 70. More generally, Cyril derives from Theodoret his project of a collection in which he groups various Lives of Saints, in his case for Palestine, and thus, the concept of a strictly regional hagiography. Cyril shows himself particularly inspired by Theodoret's model of the Life of Symeon the Stylite (*Historia Philothea*, 24), *ibid.*

⁴⁷² R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria by Theodoret of Cyrrhus*, CS 88, Kalamazoo, Mich. 1985, Introd., XXXI-XXXII.

⁴⁷³ P. BROWN, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", *JRS* 61 (1971), 91. Brown accentuates especially the *social* significance of asceticism. By extreme, visible ascetic achievements, the holy man became a total "stranger" beyond humanity. Thus, he maintained his position as a "bearer of objectivity", functioning as an arbiter in the late Antique society with all its tensions and needs, and – by his miraculous power and his intimacy with God (παρηγοία) – as a mediator between the human and the divine world; see *ibid.*, 91-94. See also R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, xxiii-xxix. Many elements of this conception appear also in Cyril's Lives. However, by the strong institutionalization of Palestinian monasticism and its close involvement in the life of the Church and State, Cyril's saints have lost, to a large extent, such a position as "strangers" with regard to human society. Nevertheless, Cyril, inspired by the models from previous literature, continues to portray his heroes with that aura.

⁴⁷⁴ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr*, Paris 1977, 264. Canivet gives a short summary of the most striking ascetic practices in the *Historia Philothea*: "certains ascètes vivent sans abri, sans feu ni lumière artificielle, ne mangent ni ne boivent rien qui soit passé par le feu, s'attachent par le pied, s'enferment dans des cages, se chargent de chaînes et de carcans ou entretiennent des plaies sur leur corps," *ibid.* For similar surveys of Syrian asceticism, see *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines de Syrie* 1, SC 234, Paris 1977, Introd. 1, 45; R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, Introd., xxxii; J. PATRICH, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, 22.

⁴⁷⁵ "Théodoret en parle avec respect (...). Mais l'évêque de Cyr n'approuve pas de telles austérités sans réserves: dans l'*Histoire Philothée*, il ne les exprime pas explicitement, mais lorsqu'il entre en scène en usant son autorité épiscopale, c'est souvent pour inviter les ascètes à se modérer dans leurs pénitences," P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 264-265. See also *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 46-47.

not enter into the details of their prayer life,⁴⁷⁶ nor does he give a systematic analysis of their interior spiritual combat.⁴⁷⁷ The emphasis is on the external aspects of the ascetic practice: these are “visible and manifest to the lay observer”.⁴⁷⁸ They prove that the monk is capable of surpassing the limitations of human nature⁴⁷⁹ and that man, through the power of divine grace, can participate in the heavenly life of the angels.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, the spiritual life is presented as an “object of veneration” for the pious reader.⁴⁸¹

In this perspective, Theodoret portrays his monks as superhuman heroes with traits derived from the Greek epic tradition.⁴⁸² As against previous Lives of the Desert Fathers, the *Historia Philothea* is a eulogy of glorious monks who have no defects or weaknesses.⁴⁸³ Little attention is paid to their formation or to their difficulties and temptations, because these monks are “consistently fully formed and faultless”.⁴⁸⁴ They are superior to the

⁴⁷⁶ R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, xxxii.

⁴⁷⁷ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 261.

⁴⁷⁸ R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, xxxii. “The histrionic element in Syrian asceticism reveals a mentality in which outward actions have their own value, quite apart from their influence on the soul; it was a spirituality where interior cultivation was not the one, all-absorbing concern,” *ibid.*, xxxiv.

⁴⁷⁹ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 94, 283; *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 44.

⁴⁸⁰ R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, xxx-xxxii.

⁴⁸¹ What Theodoret offers to his reader is a spiritual life that is “actually visible and a direct object of veneration, quite apart from conjecture on the state of the soul”, *ibid.*, xxxiv. His narratives “draw our attention in the first place to outward behavior of strong symbolic resonance, and to the desire of the pious layman, in all ages perhaps, to venerate the visible manifestations of divine grace”, *ibid.*

⁴⁸² P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 65-68; *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 44.

⁴⁸³ “Le lecteur familier avec des *Vies* des Pères du Désert ne manque pas de constater avec surprise que l’*Histoire Philothée*, systématiquement élogieuse, ne révèle ni chute ni défaut chez les moines”, P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 72. See also *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 46.

⁴⁸⁴ R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, xxix. The *Historia Philothea* appears not to be composed as a guide for beginners in the spiritual life. Topics that would be important to them – like formation, temptations, or even the inner life of prayer – receive little attention. “The work is clearly intended for the awestruck observer who wishes to venerate the monks, rather than imitate them, let alone to join them,” *ibid.*, xxix-xxx. “It is the same ideal of saintliness that is reiterated again and again; and monotony is accentuated by the tone of panegyric, with its rigorous refusal to attribute to any of the holy men defects or limitation,” *ibid.*, xv.

heroes of Homer and the Greek tragedians, and also to the pagan philosophers.⁴⁸⁵ But the *Historia Philothea* is more than an incitement to admiration: it is an apology to defend the monastic life against pagan criticism⁴⁸⁶ and to demonstrate its superiority as the “true philosophy”.⁴⁸⁷ Like the *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, it shows the final victory of Christ over Hellenism.⁴⁸⁸

In such a representation of the spiritual life it is not difficult to find the main differences from Evagrius, who focuses on the interior struggle of the soul to purify itself from its weaknesses in order to become capable of contemplation. Theodoret’s spiritual vocabulary is not that of Evagrius.⁴⁸⁹ However, we should give a nuance here. Our characterization of Theodoret’s view of the monastic life might suggest that he was not at all interested in the interior life of the soul, but that is not true. Like many other Christian writers, he adopts the Platonic psychology with its famous threefold division (νοῦς, ἐπιθυμία, θυμός).⁴⁹⁰ In his commentary of Paul’s letter to the Romans he dedicates a long passage to these parts of the soul in relation both to the passions (παθήματα, πάθη) and to the desire (πόθος) for God.⁴⁹¹ Sometimes he alludes briefly to the purification of the soul and its dedication to divine contemplation.⁴⁹² And we should mention here especially his

⁴⁸⁵ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 68-69; *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 47-48.

⁴⁸⁶ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 72-77; *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 45-46.

⁴⁸⁷ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 273-275.

⁴⁸⁸ P. CANIVET, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 23. See also *id.*, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 76 with n.44.

⁴⁸⁹ P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 91 with n.17; *id.*, in *Théodoret de Cyr: Histoire des moines* 1, 43. “Théodoret ne croit pas que le chrétien, dans la condition présente, puisse arriver à l’impassibilité (ἀπάθεια). Sur ce point, il s’écarte franchement d’Évagre dont il ignore d’ailleurs le vocabulaire technique,” *id.*, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 269-270. The concept of ἀπάθεια, which is central to Evagrius’ vision of the spiritual life, is almost exclusively attributed to the divine nature by Theodoret, *ibid.*, 270. See also above, 219, n.388.

⁴⁹⁰ See above, p.213 with nn.354, 362.

⁴⁹¹ THEODORETUS, *In Rom.* 7:17, PG 82, 124B1-125A5. See P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 272-273. Apparently, the similarities with Evagrius in this passage are restricted to what had become common property among Christian authors. There are few indications of a more direct influence of Evagrius, as has been established for the passage of Leontius examined above, 208-222.

⁴⁹² For example, describing the eremitic life of Zeno, Theodoret writes: “He lived alone, purifying his soul, constantly cleansing his eye, and dedicating himself to the divine con-

treatise *De caritate*, which he added as an epilogue to the *Historia Philothea*, so as to reveal the real power that enabled his heroes to perform their superhuman asceticism: their ardent love for God.⁴⁹³

Cyril, however, does not quote from Theodoret's *De caritate*, nor does he show much familiarity with the common Platonic psychology⁴⁹⁴ that appears also in Theodoret's writings. Obviously, he pays even less attention to the interior life than the latter does.⁴⁹⁵ A systematic comparison between the two authors might enable us to specify how and to what degree the interest in that dimension has diminished in Cyril's Lives. Only a few brief expressions quoted from Theodoret allude slightly to it.⁴⁹⁶ Other ex-

templation" (μόνος διήγε, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκκαθαίρων καὶ τὸ ταύτης ὀπιτικὸν ἀεὶ ἀπορρῦπτων καὶ τὴν θεῖαν φανταζόμενος θεωρῶν), THEODORETUS, *Historia Philothea*, XII,2, SC 234, p.462, lines 5-7. Compare with P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 281.

⁴⁹³ The modern reader who might have difficulties with finishing the thirty chapters of Theodoret's *History of the Monks*, will be relieved when he starts reading his treatise on the divine love. The difference is so striking that Bardy expressed doubt on its authenticity: "il est fort douteux que ce beau morceau ait été écrit par Théodoret", G. BARDY, "Théodoret", *DTC* 15/1 (1946), 314. However, Canivet demonstrated its authenticity convincingly; see P. CANIVET, "Le Περὶ Ἀγάπης de Théodoret de Cyr postface de l'Histoire Philothée", *StPatr* 7 (= TU 92), Berlin 1966, 143-152; *id.*, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 87-94. He even presented the *De caritate* as Theodoret's reaction against his own tendency "de détourner au profit des manifestations extérieures du sacré l'attention qu'il aurait dû concentrer sur la vie intérieure", *ibid.*, 144. In the *De caritate*, several terms for "love" (ἀγάπη, φίλτρον, ἔρωσ, πόθος) are frequently used, terms that are also frequent in Evagrius. But Canivet observed that "les mots plus caractéristiques, γνῶσις et ἀπάθεια, sont absents du traité *Sur la Charité*", *ibid.*, 91, n.17. Even if the word γνῶσις figures actually three times in *De caritate* (SC 257, p.286,17, p.288,20, 27; see also 268,17 with n.3), the treatise does not reveal more Evagrian influence than Theodoret's other writings, *ibid.*, 91.

⁴⁹⁴ See above, 228 with nn.430-431.

⁴⁹⁵ Compare with above, 229 with n.432.

⁴⁹⁶ For example, Cyril uses three times the expression "conversing with God (ὁμιλεῖν τῷ θεῷ)" in a context that reveals an apparent dependence on Theodoret; see *VE* 7 (SCHWARTZ), 14,27-15,1; *VS* 16 (*ibid.*), 99,5-6; *VIH* 11 (*ibid.*), 209, 12-13. Comp. with THEODORET, *Historia Philothea* II,4, SC 234, p.202,21-23, and see B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 68 (nrs.5-6). The expression in itself is common property and is used by Evagrius in relation to the νοῦς. See above, 348 with n.436. In another passage, Cyril describes briefly the young Euthymius' ascetic practice, alluding to the struggle against passions: "He cut off the passions at the root like a good cultivator" (ὡς ἄριστός τις γεωργὸς τῶν παθῶν τὰς ἀκάνθας προρίζους ἐξέτεμεν), *VE* 6 (SCHWARTZ), 14,16-17. The phrase is an almost literal quotation from THEODORET, *Hist. Phil.* VIII,1, SC 234, p.374,17-19. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 68 (nr.11). The image might originally derive from Philo's *De agricultura*; see esp. I,7; II,10-12; IV,17, ed. F. COLSON/G. WHITEAKER, LCL 247 (*Philo* III), Cambridge, Mass./ London 1932, 110-116.

pressions from Theodoret may also imply an inner state of the soul, but Cyril uses them only as outward descriptions of the Saint's spiritual attainments,⁴⁹⁷ especially with respect to παρρησία.⁴⁹⁸ Usually, Cyril exploits quotations and reminiscences from Theodoret as brief standard formulas to indicate other themes.⁴⁹⁹ However, a complete analysis of Cyril's references to Theodoret would not suffice. One would have to consider also the general characteristics of Theodoret's view of the monastic life, as summarized above, and see to what extent Cyril was inspired by it.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁷ For example, after alluding to the young Euthymius' ascetic practice, Cyril mentions his "singleness of character, meekness of behavior and humility of heart (ἀπλότητι ἡθους καὶ πραότητι τρόπων καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνη καρδίας)", *VE* 7 (SCHWARTZ), 15,5, deriving partially from THEODORET, *Hist. Phil.* XI,2, SC 234, p.456,1-2.

⁴⁹⁸ Cyril writes that the young Euthymius' "familiar access to God increased each day (ἐντεῦθεν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ παρρησία ἠῶξαν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν)", *VE* 7 (SCHWARTZ), 15,8-9 = THEODORET, *Hist. Phil.* I,3, SC 234, p.164,7-8. As we saw, παρρησία is a key concept in Cyril's vision of monastic perfection; see above, 108-111. The same goes for Theodoret; see P. CANIVET, *Le monachisme Syrien*, 118, 278 with n.99. The attainment of παρρησία "in the court of heaven" (during life and after death) was closely connected with the Saint's powers to perform miracles and to intercede on behalf of men, which ensured his social status of spiritual authority. See P. BROWN, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man", 94-96 (comp. with above, 355, n.473); see also B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 134-135, 207.

⁴⁹⁹ For example: the detachment from earthly cares, *VE* 6 (SCHWARTZ), 14,13-14 (= THEODORET, *Hist. Phil.* V,2, SC 234, p.330,2); the sundering of human intercourse, *VE* 7 (*ibid.*), 14,27; *VIH* 11 (*ibid.*), 209, 12 (comp. with *Hist. Phil.* II,4, SC 234, p.202,21-22); enduring physical labor and hardships, *VE* 9 (*ibid.*), 17,18-26 (comp. with *Hist. Phil.* X,3, SC 234, pp.440,12-442,26); the miracles *post mortem* at the Saint's tomb, *VE* 21 (*ibid.*), 34,28-30 (comp. with *Hist. Phil.* VII,4, SC 234, pp.3-5); the Saint as a youth surpassing all others in ascetic practice, *VS* 4 (*ibid.*), 89,12-13 (comp. with *Hist. Phil.* VII,4, SC 257, p.166,3-4); the passing to the eternal life, *VS* 27 (*ibid.*), 112,14-15 (= *Hist. Phil.* II,22, SC 234, p.244,11-12). The references to Theodoret are for the greater part in the *VE*. One might think that Cyril needed here more material to fill up his lack of knowledge caused by the time distance.

⁵⁰⁰ The heroic ideal of faultless saints is also shared by Cyril. See e.g. *VS* 37 (SCHWARTZ), 125,26-28; *VS* 77 (*ibid.*), 183,3-5; *VTheogn* (*ibid.*), 241,11-13. His saints, as well as other paradigmatic monks, are celebrated "luminaries" (φωστῆρες), resplendent on account of their "achievements" (κατορθώματα). These terms appear frequently in his Lives. Their struggle against temptations receives relatively little attention: temptations are easily overcome and all emphasis is on the final victory. See e.g. *VS* 3-4 (*ibid.*), 88,18-89,14; *VS* 12 (*ibid.*), 95,18-96,1 (compare with Antony's painstaking struggle against the devil in *VA* 5). For Cyril, the Saint's spiritual struggle is just a transitory stage, *VS* 16 (*ibid.*), 99,5-18. See also above, 106, n.220. Cyril concentrates, like Theodoret, on the eremitical life at the expense of the cenobitic. See R. PRICE, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, XVIII. He is certainly an admirer of extreme ascetic practices; see e.g. *VS* 24 (SCHWARTZ), 107,26-108,23 (taken

Polarization

I have already contrasted the spiritual climate of Cyril's environment as reflected by his writings, with the original spiritual tradition of fourth-century Egypt. However, that older tradition did not vanish after Theophilus had chased the Origenist monks from the desert in 400. It is difficult to establish a clear historical connection between these monks and the Origenists of sixth-century Palestine, but we know that many elements of the spiritual ideal of the former, focused on the cultivation of the inner life, became very popular among the latter. Apparently, the process of institutionalization of Palestinian monasticism was coupled with a remarkable revival of the desire for inner life and mysticism. How do we interpret this phenomenon? We may start with something that occurred at the beginning of the century.

Shortly after 512, a Syrian monk, suspected of heresy after a meeting with Bishop Philoxenus of Mabbug (Hierapolis), fled from Edessa and came to Palestine. His name was Stephen Bar Sudaili.⁵⁰¹ Philoxenus, a Monophysite who was to a certain extent an admirer of Evagrius,⁵⁰² found it necessary to write a letter to two priests of Edessa, Abraham and Orestes, to warn them against Stephen's writings.⁵⁰³ In this letter, Evagrius' name is

from *ApophPat*, coll. alph., Bessarion 4, PG 65, 140B8-141A3). But usually the achievements of asceticism in his Lives are not so rigid as they are in Theodoret's writing. Important differences with Theodoret include the much higher degree of monastic institutionalization in Cyril's Lives, the greater involvement of the monks in the life of the Church and State, and especially the emphasis on the Saints as founders (which is absent in Theodoret).

⁵⁰¹ Stephen's flight to Palestine is briefly described by Michael the Syrian, a twelfth-century chronicler; see MICHAEL SYRIACUS, *Chronicon* IX,30, ed. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)* II, Paris 1901, 249-250 (left col.). See also A. GUILLAUMONT, "Étienne Bar Soudaïli", *DSp* 4 (1960), 1482; *id.*, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 304 with n.7.

⁵⁰² Probably, Philoxenus was the editor of the purified Syrian version (S₁) of Evagrius' *Képhalaia gnostica*. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 207-213, 302; F. REFOULÉ, "Le mystique d'Évagre et l'Origénisme", *SuppVieSp* 16/66 (1963), 460. Philoxenus is also mentioned twice by Cyril, but only in the context of the whole political intrigue that brought Severus to the patriarchal throne of Antioch in 512, *VS* 50 (SCHWARTZ), 141,20; *VS* 56 (*ibid.*), 148,14.

⁵⁰³ Philoxenus' letter to Abraham and Orestes was published (with Eng. transl. and commentary) by A. FROTHINGHAM, *Stephen Bar Sudaili. The Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leyden 1886, 28-48. See also T. JANSMA, "Philoxenus' Letter to Abraham and Orestes Concerning Stephen Bar Sudaili. Some Proposals with Regard to the Correction of the Syriac Text and the English Translation", *Muséon* 87 (1974), 79-86.

mentioned in passing, and this may be interpreted as a hint of Stephen's main inspiration.⁵⁰⁴ Philoxenus starts his letter by stating that Stephen "has been residing for a short time in the region of Jerusalem".⁵⁰⁵ The location is even more precisely indicated by an anecdote in which Stephen is found with a Jew at the tomb of Abraham.⁵⁰⁶ That place is only about 10 kilometers from the New Laura, where in 514, according to Cyril, the first incident took place with Nonnus' group of four Origenists.⁵⁰⁷ Whatever might have happened, the coincidence of time and place allows us to assume a close connection between that incident and Stephen Bar Sudaili's presence.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁴ Philoxenus writes that Stephen took the term "motion" (κίνησις) from Evagrius, *ibid.*, 37,5-6 (N.B. quotations from Philoxenus' letter are given here according to the Eng. transl.). Guillaumont observes: "Cette indication, donnée comme en passant, met sur la voie de la principale source de la pensée d'Étienne Bar Soudaïli," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 318. Philoxenus mentions only one other name as a source of Stephen: John the Egyptian, PHILOXENUS, *Epistula ad Abraham et Orestes* (FROTHINGHAM), 33,19, whom Guillaumont identifies as John of Apamea; see A. GUILLAUMONT, *o.c.*, 316-317. However, Evagrius is definitely Stephen's main inspiration, *ibid.*, 318-332. See also below.

⁵⁰⁵ Frothingham translates: "(who) now resides in the country of Jerusalem", PHILOXENUS, *Ep. ad Abr. et Or.* (FROTHINGHAM), 29,2-3. Guillaumont translates: "dans la région de Jérusalem" and "depuis quelque temps", A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 305.

⁵⁰⁶ PHILOXENUS, *Ep. ad Abr. et Or.* (FROTHINGHAM), 45,1-6.

⁵⁰⁷ *VS* 36 (SCHWARTZ), 124,21-125,4 (see above, 72 with nn.77-78).

⁵⁰⁸ "Il y a un lien évident entre cet incident et la venue, en ces parages et dans le même temps, d'Étienne Bar Soudaïli," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 305. As we cannot rely much upon Cyril's account, we may push our speculations even further than Guillaumont did. He considered Cyril as "un guide sûr, malgré son hostilité à l'égard des Origénistes", *ibid.*, 129 (quoted above, 47, n.138). Was Stephen involved in the incident? There are reasons at least for assuming that he stayed in the New Laura. He had come to that region, presumably, "parce qu'il savait y trouver des moines qui seraient en sympathie avec ses idées", *ibid.*, 306. The New Laura was just the place of liberal monks who, apparently, had attempted to escape from Sabas' dominating authority; see above, 346, n.426. From Philoxenus we know that Stephen had a monastic cell. "Trustworthy men", coming from Palestine, had revealed that they had found a pantheist inscription on the wall of his cell: "All nature is consubstantial with the divine Essence." According to Philoxenus, the discovery of the text provoked a scandal among many monks, so that Stephen, afraid, "removed it from the wall, but secretly put it into his writings", PHILOXENUS, *Ep. ad Abr. et Or.*, (FROTHINGHAM), 43,26-32. In Cyril's account, it is the new superior of the New Laura, Agapêtus, who discovered the first Origenists. Cyril isolates a group of only four "instigators" of what could have been a greater spontaneous movement. Cyril could also have had a reason for suppressing Stephen's possible involvement: by alluding to it, he could have been

However, it is impossible to establish with precision Stephen's influence on the Origenists of Palestine.⁵⁰⁹ Only one of his writings has come down to us. It contains an esoteric teaching and is transmitted in Syriac under a pseudonym: *Liber de sancto Hierotheo*.⁵¹⁰ Hierotheus was the supposed teacher of Dionysius the Areopagite,⁵¹¹ but was not a historical person.⁵¹² The attribution of the writing to Dionysius' fictional teacher must

forced to put Philoxenus of Mabbug, the Monophysite bishop who was not in communion with the Jerusalem patriarchate, in a positive light. Cyril could have simplified a more complicated incident, traces of which might also be found in Philoxenus' letter to Abraham and Orestes. Besides, there is an interesting parallel regarding the secrecy out of fear, attributed by Cyril to Nonnus and his companions, after their readmission into the New Laura in 520, VS 36 (SCHWARTZ), 125,17-23 (quoted above, 73 with n.80).

⁵⁰⁹ "Quelle fut la part d' Étienne Bar Soudaïli dans le développement de l'origénisme qui se propagéa en ces milieux? Il est certain qu'il avait déjà des opinions origénistes quand il y vint, mais rien ne permet d'affirmer qu'il y fut lui-même l'introduit de l'origénisme," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 305.

⁵¹⁰ The text was published (with Eng. transl. and commentary) by F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, Oxford 1927 (see also above, 24, n.12 at the end). An important study on the writing appeared a few years later: I. HAUSHERR, "L'influence du 'Livre de Saint Hiérothée'", *OC* 30 (1933), 176-211.

⁵¹¹ In the first quarter of the sixth century, after 510, a corpus of writings appeared from a mysterious author who presented himself as Dionysius the Areopagite, the Greek philosopher who was converted by Paul's preaching in Athens (Acts 17:34). See esp. R. ROQUES, "Denys l'Aréopagite (le pseudo-)" I-III, *DSp* 3 (1957), 244-286. For the date, see *ibid.*, 249, 256. Hausherr dates the first appearance of the writings to 520; see I. HAUSHERR, "L'influence du 'Livre de Saint Hiérothée'", 184, 198. See also A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 327, n.90. A recent survey of Pseudo-Dionysius' mysticism is found in B. MCGINN, *The Foundations of Mysticism. Origins to the Fifth Century* (vol. 1 of *The Presence of God. A History of Western Christian Mysticism*), New York 1995, 157-182.

⁵¹² In the context of his fiction of being a first-century disciple of St. Paul, Pseudo-Dionysius mentions also a certain Hierotheus, who "was a teacher and friend to us, after the divine Paul (καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ φίλον ὄντα καὶ ἡμᾶς...μετὰ Παῦλον τὸν θεῖον)", (Pseudo-)DIONYSIUS AREOPAGITA, *Div. Nom.* III,2, ed. B. SUCHLA, *Corpus dionysiacaum* I. *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De divinis nominibus*, PTS 33, Berlin/ New York 1990, 140, 3-4. Pseudo-Dionysius even quotes from certain writings of this person. However, according to Marsh, this Hierotheus "was not a historical person, but a character wholly or partly created by the imagination of pseudo-Dionysios", F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, 245. For a survey of all passages in Pseudo-Dionysius where reference is made to Hierotheus or where quotations are intended as deriving from him, see *ibid.*, 236-240.

be later than the redaction of that writing,⁵¹³ probably it was due to a disciple of Stephen.⁵¹⁴ Actually, the Book of Hierotheus is not prior to the *corpus dionysiacaum*, but Stephen depends on Dionysius.⁵¹⁵ The main source of Stephen's writing, however, is Evagrius' *Képhalaia gnostica*.⁵¹⁶ The relationship between the two influences is difficult to interpret,⁵¹⁷ and is characterized by Guillaumont as a "paradoxical" combination of Evagrian and Dionysian mysticism, by which Stephen "a mis ensemble deux systèmes radicalement différents".⁵¹⁸ This is not the place for an analysis of the differences, but it is certainly a point for further investigation in view of a

⁵¹³ F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, 194; A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 328-329. The fiction that the work derives from the first-century Greek environment is even expressed by the preface, where a "translator" claims that he has translated the book from Greek into Syriac. However, the consistent agreement of all biblical quotations with the *Peshitta* forces us to conclude that the book was "originally written in Syriac", F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, 203-204.

⁵¹⁴ A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 329.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 327 with n.89.

⁵¹⁶ Guillaumont observes: "On peut dire que, tout comme l'origénisme est la clé des *Képhalaia gnostica*, la doctrine d'Évagre est la clé du *Livre de Hierothée*", *ibid.*, 318. See also above, 361, n.504.

⁵¹⁷ The composition of the Book of Hierotheus shows a great disorder, to the extent that one might question the unity of authorship and postulate manipulations by a later hand. However, Marsh was more inclined to attribute the inconsistencies and awkward transitions to the lack of skill of a single author. See F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, 214-216. Hausherr and Guillaumont also assume the unity of authorship. According to Hausherr, the book was composed in two redactions: an "ébauche première", which was totally "d'inspiration évagrienne" (this first draft was already known to Philoxenus of Mabbug, when he wrote to Abraham and Orestes; see above, 360, n.503), and a much later definitive redaction by Stephen Bar Soudaïli himself, into which he inserted Dionysian ideas, once the writings of the Areopagite had become known. According to Hausherr, these infiltrations are of secondary importance; substantially, the Book of Hierotheus reflects Evagrian thought. See I. HAUSHERR, "L'influence du 'Livre de Saint Hiérothée'", 188-199. Guillaumont, however, holds that Hausherr has minimized the Dionysian influence: "Il nous semble que les éléments dionysiens sont trop liés à la substance du livre pour qu'on puisse les considérer comme surajoutés," A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, 329, n.99. On the other hand, Guillaumont admits that Stephen did not exploit, to build up his fiction, the "hierothean" material he could have found in Dionysius works (which we would expect, if the Dionysian influence were already in the first stratum of his book), *ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 327.

deeper understanding of the sixth-century spiritual movement known as Origenism.⁵¹⁹

This brings us back to the question of Stephen Bar Sudaili's influence on that movement.⁵²⁰ Was the Book of Hierotheus the main expression of its *doctrine*?⁵²¹ In view of the fact that Cyril's anti-Origenist charges which are a summary of the official condemnation do not at all correspond with the theology of one of the most prominent "Origenists", Leontius of Byzantium, it cannot be held that Stephen's pantheism was adopted by all those who were accused of Origenism.⁵²² Stephen's writing is only one of the expressions of the great eclectic sixth-century "courant mystique" that C. Moeller defined as "une renaissance du mysticisme néoplatonicien", which had as its two main manifestations Origenism and Dionysian mysticism.⁵²³ Only in this respect, Stephen, the pantheist, can be put in the same category as Leontius, the Chalcedonian. In addition to the influence of Evagrius spirituality already noted in his work,⁵²⁴ Leontius also quotes "the

⁵¹⁹ A noticeable contribution to the investigation into a connection between Pseudo-Dionysius and sixth-century Origenism has recently been made by I. PERCZEL, "Pseudo-Dionysius and Palestinian Origenism", in *The Sabaitic Heritage* [forthcoming]; see above, 254, n.563. Perczel points to certain links between several Dionysian passages and some of the fifteen anti-Origenist *anathemata* of 553 (combined with Justinian's letter to the Council, *i.e.* the pre-synod against the Origenists).

⁵²⁰ See above, 362, n.509.

⁵²¹ H. Crouzel, eager to have Origen absolved from the later condemnations, and thus speaking of "l'evagriano dei monaci palestinesi della prima metà del VI sec.", asserts: "La principale espressione della loro dottrina è il *Libro di san Hieroteo*, opera del monaco siriano Stefano bar Sudayle, che esaspera la 'scolastica' origenista di Evagrio fino a un panteismo radicale," H. CROUZEL, "Origenismo", *DPAC* 2 (1984), 2535. And recently: "En effet, la doctrine condamnée dans les quinze anathématismes [*scil.* of 553] est bien plus celle des isochristes, inspirés d'Évagre et d'Étienne bar Sudaili, que celle d'Origène," *id.*, "Les condamnations subies par Origène et sa doctrine", in *Origeniana septima*, Leuven 1999, 315.

⁵²² Leontius, who is presented by Cyril as one of the most fervent Origenists, died before the split of his party into moderate Protoktists and radical Isochrists, *VS* 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197, 13-18. The designation for the radicals alludes to a pantheist doctrine, but as an *accusation by opponents* it does not *prove* that all those intended really held "that we shall be equal to Christ at the restoration", *VC* 12 (*ibid.*), 230, 9-10.

⁵²³ C. MOELLER, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle", in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* 1, Würzburg 1951, 641-642.

⁵²⁴ See above, 208-222.

great Dionysius".⁵²⁵ In fact, Pseudo-Dionysius, the anonymous "Christianizer" of the fifth-century pagan philosopher Proclus,⁵²⁶ quickly became popular after the appearance of his writings. They were soon commented on by John of Scythopolis,⁵²⁷ the erudite *Scholasticus*, who was bishop of Cyril's own birthplace around 540.⁵²⁸ This John, who was accused of involvement in "pagan mysteries" by a certain Basil,⁵²⁹ continued to speak with respect about

⁵²⁵ ὁ μέγας Διονύσιος, LEONTIUS, *CNE* 1288c1, 1304D13. The first reference (1288B9-c1) is doctrinal and concerns the nature of the Trinity; in the second passage (1304D12-1305A3), Leontius borrows the image of light and a torch from Dionysius. See D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium*, p.35 with n.45 and p.47 with n.65. Evans wrote an article on the relation between Leontius and Dionysius (in which he defends himself against Daley's criticism; see above, 170-172); D. EVANS, "Leontius of Byzantium and Dionysius the Areopagite", *ByzSt/ÉByz* 7 (1980), 1-34. Concluding that article, Evans speculates that Dionysius was possibly "a member of the Protoktistoi, or at very least their inspiration", which could have been a reason for Leontius to attack him, *ibid.*, 34. However, apart from the appraisal already mentioned, Leontius' florilegium at the end of the *CA* (of which Migne gives only a very small part, PG 86/1, 1356c13-1357A5), may reveal that he considered Dionysius as a contemporary (σύγχρονος) of the Apostles, as Evans himself notices, *ibid.*, 28, n.125. Compare with D. EVANS, *Leontius of Byzantium*, 24, n.6. The question is too difficult for a serious treatment within the limits of this study.

⁵²⁶ Hausherr characterized Pseudo-Dionysius as "Proclus christianizans", I. HAUSHERR, "L'influence du 'Livre de Saint Hiérophée'", 198. The pseudonym might imply a deliberate expression of the faith that the Hellenistic philosophical inheritance could be harmonized with Christianity, as a reaction against the growing hostility toward pagan philosophy in the early Byzantine theocracy.

⁵²⁷ IOHANNES SCYTHOPOLITANUS, *Scholia in corpus Areopagitem*, PG 4, 14-432, 527-576.

⁵²⁸ John the Scholastic was bishop of Scythopolis *after* Theodosius, who was bishop in 536. We know also that, at least between 548-552, Theodore of Scythopolis, who abjured his Origenism (see above, p.295, n.192 and p.322, n.320), was bishop. John must have been bishop *before* the outbreak of the controversy over the Three Chapters, by Justinian's edict of 544/545. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 17-21 (with ref. to F. Loofs and M. Richard). J. Binns, confuting this dating, claims that John was bishop only after 553; see J. BINNS, *Ascetics and Ambassadors*, 247-248. Binns' arguments are based upon 1) Cyril's silence about John, 2) the rejection of the possibility that Cyril could have been tonsured as a young boy and 3) the rejection of Richard's motives for dating Leontius of Jerusalem's *Contra monophysitas* – in which John is mentioned as a bishop – before 544. In my opinion, none of these arguments is conclusive, so I prefer to maintain the traditional dating to *c.* 540, for which we have strong evidence. See immediately below, 366, n.530.

⁵²⁹ PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 107, PG 103, 376D-381A. See B. FLUSIN, *Miracle et histoire*, 24 with n.71. Flusin gives an impressive list of pagan and Christian authors who are quoted by John, *ibid.*, 22-24.

Origen and Evagrius, even though he did not accept the “Origenist” theological positions.⁵³⁰

Cyril’s silence regarding John⁵³¹ and his railing against Leontius – two authors who can by no means be considered as radical “Origenists” – suggests an atmosphere of extreme polarization. Divergent ideals of the intellectual and the spiritual life, which could have had some corrective influence upon each other, had become irreconcilable. The atmosphere of conflict must have had centrifugal effects, by which moderate sympathizers of Origen and Evagrius, who had not adopted their cosmological speculations, were easily lumped together with radical pantheists, who had pushed those speculations to the utmost degree. The common principle of all these so-called “Origenists” was not so much a “particular system of doctrine”, but more “their interest in the intellectual life and in theological speculation”, as B. Daley wrote.⁵³² But more than that, perhaps, it was the same desire for inner life and mysticism that had urged the first monks toward a life in the desert,⁵³³ under the inspiration of both the Jewish-Christian biblical tradi-

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 27. A bishop of Scythopolis (that is, a metropolitan of *Palestina II*) would never have permitted himself to express respect for Origen and Evagrius after the Council of 553. We know that Bishop Theodore had been forced to abjure his Origenism publicly in 552, and we may therefore reject Binns’ inconclusive arguments for dating John’s episcopacy to a period after 553. See above, 365, n.528.

⁵³¹ If the dating of John’s episcopacy to c. 540 is correct, he could have been bishop when Cyril left his monastery in Scythopolis for Jerusalem, warned by his mother against the influence of the Origenists, *VE* 49 (SCHWARTZ) 71,16-27; *VIH* 20 (*ibid.*), 216,8-15. See above, 38 with nn.85-86. Did Cyril’s departure perhaps have something to do with John’s episcopacy?

⁵³² B. DALEY, “The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium”, 366.

⁵³³ Inner life and mysticism were closely connected in the spirituality of fourth-century Egypt. For Antony, self-knowledge was essential for attaining spiritual γνῶσις. His device, according to the old Greek maxim, was: γνῶθι σεαυτόν. See S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*, 59 with n.1; M. SHERIDAN, “Jacob and Israel”, 231 with n.54; *id.*, “Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale”, pp.194-195 with n.70, p.215. See also above, p.238 at n.482 and p.285 with n.160. In this context, it is very interesting to pay attention again to Leontius’ reproach addressed in the Prologue of his tripartite writing to (unidentified) opponents: “those now counted wise are total ignorant of themselves (πάντη ἑαυτοῦς ἀγνοοῦντων)”, LEONTIUS, Prol. *CNE-CA-DTN*, PG 86/1, 1268B15-1269A1 (quoted above, 149 with n.84). A strong emphasis on self-knowledge is also present in Stephen Bar Sudaili’s *Book of Hierotheus*. A Syrian expression translated by Marsh as “do thou take heed” (v,2) might, as Marsh comments, “be regarded as a rendering of γνῶθι σεαυτόν”, F. MARSH, *The Book Which Is Called the Book of the Holy Hierotheos*, 214 (for the text in Eng. transl., see *ibid.*

tion and the inheritance of Hellenistic philosophy. In sixth-century Palestine, in some situations, although we do not know the scale, this desire had been radicalized into heretical forms when it could no longer be fruitfully cultivated within the framework of an over-organized monastic institution which had become totally incorporated into the administrative structures of the early Byzantine theocracy.

Conclusion of the third chapter

In this chapter it has been established beyond doubt through a thorough examination of the crucial passages, that Cyril’s account of the events of the Second Origenist Controversy cannot be accepted as a reliable historical source. Cyril is inaccurate on the most essential points. In the first section, his inaccuracy was demonstrated with respect to his attributing certain doctrinal positions to the whole “Origenist” movement. In the second section, his inaccuracy was shown regarding his claim of a predominant role for Sabas’ successor in events that led to the Ecumenical Council; against all historical evidence, Cyril presents the Council as a successful project of Justinian aimed almost exclusively at the defeat of the Origenists of Palestine.

Taking a critical distance from Cyril’s account, we may find space to seek a more adequate interpretation of what was going on in the Palestinian

133). At the beginning of the Second Discourse, where Stephen starts describing the Ascent of the Mind, the addressee is exhorted: “O, my son, enter into thy Chamber and shut the door”, II,1 (*ibid.*), 26 (cf. Mt 6:6). And elsewhere, he writes: “Be not afraid to enter into the Inner Chamber”, v,3 (*ibid.*), 135. Marsh explains that the expression is “the technical term used by mystics for that introversion which is the prelude to mystical Union”, *ibid.*, n.1. Marsh writes also that Stephen “declares that his story is based chiefly on his own experience”, *ibid.*, 216. See in this context also O’Laughlin’s interpretation of the First Origenist Controversy, where he opposes “a more normative outward orientation” to a Platonizing spiritual current which is based on the “discovery of God in the depth of the self”, M. O’LAUGHLIN, “Evagrius Ponticus in Spiritual Perspective”, 224-230 (see also above, 337 with nn.383-384).

monastic world in the first half of the sixth century. In the final section of this chapter, some interesting questions for further research have been indicated, with regard particularly to the hidden spiritual dimension of the conflict. Thus I have developed further the findings of the second chapter. Besides the conflict in the area of doctrine and politics there was apparently a clash of two competitive ideals of the spiritual life: a somewhat collectivist current, focusing particularly on external aspects, and a more individualist current, concentrating primarily on the development of the interior life. By the cultivation of the desire for inner life and mysticism, the second current appears as the one which was more akin to the original monastic tradition, even if, perhaps, it might have needed some corrective influence from the first. However, in an atmosphere of polarization, the two currents must have radicalized each other to the point of becoming irreconcilable.

CONCLUSION

Cyril's presentation of the Second Origenist Controversy has proved to be historically inaccurate to a much greater degree than has hitherto been acknowledged. As a consequence, a summary of Cyril's presentation of the struggle cannot serve as an adequate survey of the events relating to that controversy. A radical critique of his testimony is necessary. This does not imply that everything he writes should be rejected, but, we must know how to interpret his *Lives* in order to use them for our knowledge of sixth-century Origenism. Cyril wrote a strongly partisan account in which he enlarged the role of his heroes according to specific hagiographical procedures. He did this in the aftermath of the Fifth Ecumenical Council, aiming at a well-defined public and with a well-defined purpose. What he wrote reveals more about the time and context in which it was written than about the events related. Our hermeneutical approach to this source should be similar to that developed by modern exegesis with respect to the Gospels. On the one hand, the historical reality reflected by the narrative cannot be completely verified by other sources. On the other, an analysis of the context in which that narrative was produced enables us to obtain a better understanding of its content. Only in this way may we continue to use Cyril's testimony as a historical source for the Second Origenist Controversy.

An important result of such an approach is the need to readjust the common portrait of the "Origenists of the sixth century". They are usually depicted as a homogeneous group of heretics who, radicalizing Evagrius' "systematization" of Origen's speculations under the influence of Stephen Bar Sudaili's extreme pantheism, pushed the legacy of Origen beyond the limits of orthodoxy, and thus became responsible for the latter's condemnation. However, that portrait appears to depend largely on hostile sources such as Cyril. As a matter of fact, we do not know who the "Origenists" of sixth-century Palestine were. From the analysis in the present study some features of the complicated conflict in which they were involved have emerged. But these results need to be further developed; they touch the wider area of late antique Christianity, including not only the history of

theology and dogma but also, and in particular, the development of monastic spirituality. In this conflict the Origenists appear to represent the desire for mystical experience nourished by the Jewish-Christian exegetical tradition and the legacy of Hellenistic philosophy, as it had been originally cultivated on a large scale in fourth-century Egyptian monasticism. However, such a desire had become more and more difficult to realize in the sixth century, because of all the circumstances described in the present study. In brief, we may state that within the political and ecclesiastical structures of the early Byzantine theocracy, with its hostility to the Hellenistic inheritance and with a particular role assigned to the monastic movement, spiritual progress had become to a high degree subordinated to the interests of a well-organized institution. In such a context, the interest in the interior aspects of the spiritual life tended to shift away from the individual to the more collective, exterior dimension. Sixth-century "Origenism", in all its various manifestations, can best be understood as the natural reaction to that shift.

On the other hand, an excessive rehabilitation of the Origenists should be avoided. They certainly do not deserve all the blame they received. The negative picture derived from Cyril's account, as well as from the other anti-Origenist sources, needs a correction by comparing it, for example, with the testimony of the correspondence of Barsanuphius and John. There we find at least some Origenists described as "good monks who give heed to themselves",¹ in spite of their apparently heretical views. However, in their struggle for more room to cultivate the inner life and mysticism, many Origenist monks were obviously not saints who had reached the state of passionlessness. Leontius of Byzantium, for example, has been characterized as a polemicist with a biting pen, whose sarcasm can only have contributed to the bitterness of the conflict. Cyril also testifies more than once to the occurrence of physical violence. Even though we should criticize the accuracy of the view that the Origenists alone were responsible for the virulent fights, we may at least conclude from what Cyril writes that human passions played an important role in the Second Origenist Controversy. There must have been many monks, also among the Origenists, who had not yet passed from the stage of *praktikè* into that of *knowledge*, according to Evagrius' monastic ideal.

¹ ὅτι καλοί εἰσι καὶ προσέχοντες ἑαυτοῦς, BARSANUPHIUS ET JOHANNES GAZAELI, *Ep.* 603 (SCHOINAS), 285A8-11 (see above, 285 with n.160).

Cyril of Scythopolis has appeared from the present study as a main representative of an institutionalized monasticism, integrated within the framework of Justinian's theocracy, in which the original conception of the monastic life as an interior way of spiritual progress² tended to fade away because of an increased emphasis on external dimensions.³ The Origenist movement could be explained as the natural reaction. Perhaps we might also draw a certain conclusion from this for our own time, in which many people, desirous of spiritual experience, turn away from the ecclesiastical institutions and embrace the various currents of New Age. In any case, the tragedy of sixth-century Palestine is that two diverging monastic currents with a potential for balancing each other became irreconcilable in an atmosphere of extreme polarization, with the result that the transmission of a rich spiritual tradition was seriously damaged.

² See esp. the collection of essays on this theme: J. DRISCOLL/ M. SHERIDAN (ed.), *Spiritual Progress. Studies in the Spirituality of Late Antiquity and Early Monasticism*, StAn 115, Roma 1994.

³ Already in the fifth-century Abba Poemen lamented: "Many of our fathers have become very courageous in asceticism, but in finesse of perception there are very few" (πολλοὶ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο ἀνδρείοι εἰς τὴν ἀσκησιν. εἰς δὲ λεπτότητα, εἶς, εἶς), Poemen 106, *ApophPat*, coll. alph., PG 65, 348c5-7, transl. by B. WARD, *The Sayings of the Desert fathers. The Alphabetical Collection*, CS 59, Kalamazoo/ Oxford 1984 (1975¹), 182. See in this context J. DRISCOLL, *The 'Ad Monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus*, 356 with n.90. See also Poemen 133, PG 65, 356b2-3. This tendency seems to have increased in a great part of the sixth-century Palestinian monastic world.

APPENDIX¹

1. LEONTIUS BYZ., *DTN*, PG 86/1, 1357c3-1360b5 (quoted above, 153 at n.98):

- 1357c3 Καθ' ὧν γὰρ στήλην ἐγεῖραι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτι προήρημαι, θρίαμβόν τε
c5 αὐτοῖς περιστῆσαι, μηκέτι τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐν κρυπτῷ ταμειουμένοις, καὶ
τῷ ἀφανεῖ καὶ ἀγνώστῳ πολλοὺς δελεάζοντας, ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν φαινομένους,
καὶ ταύτη γινομένους φευκτοὺς ἀποτροπαίους, ἦν ὅτε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχον
c10 τοῦ θιάσου μέρος. Νέον γὰρ τότε ὄντα με, τόν τε χρόνον καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν
ἠρπάκεισαν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ τῶν τῆς κακίας ὀργάνων εἰς τοῦτο κινήσαντες·
προθέμενον γὰρ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν, ὧν ἐπειδὴ γευσάμενος,
1360a1 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἄκρω δακτύλῳ, λίχνος τε ἐγενόμην, καὶ προθυμίας
εἰς μέτρον οὐδὲν ὅ τι ἐνέλιπον. Οἱ δὲ λαβόμενοι ὡσπερ τυφλὸν ὁδοῦ
τινος ἐφιέμενον, εἰς τὸ τῆς σφετέρας ἀσεβείας κατασπᾶσαι βάραθρον
a5 ἐπεχείρησαν. Ἄλλ' ἄνωθέν μοι τις ἐπιφανεῖσα χάρις, ἐκ μέσου τῶν
ὀδόντων ἤρπασεν, ἐτοιμότατον ἤδη γενόμενον θήραμα, πόθον τε
θερμότατον ἀρετῆς ἐμβαλοῦσα, καὶ τῆς διὰ ταύτην ξενιτείας ἐπάξιον.
a10 Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἤμελλεν ὁ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ἐρήμῳ καθοδηγήσας, κάμοῦ
συνέμπορος γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκδημίας; φέρων τε οὐπω πρότερον ἀνήκει,
ἕως με θείων ἀνδρῶν ἐγκα[τέ]θετο παλάμαις, οἳ γε οὐ μόνον πάσης ἐκείνης
τῆς λήμης, τὸ ὄμμα τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἀπεκάθηραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωτὸς ἱεροῦ
a15 ἀπέπλισαν ταῖς τῶν θεοσόφων βίβλοις, παρ' ὧν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ
b1 λοιπὴ ἀρετὴ, τὰς ἐμὰς καὶ χεῖρας καὶ φρένας ἀγνίσαντες. Ἐὰρ οὖν οὐκ
ἀσεβείας ἐσχάτης γραφὴν ἂν παρὰ τῶν εὐγνωμόνων ἐνδίκως ἀπηνεγκάμην,
b5 εἰ ταῦτα σιωπῇ παντελεῖ παραδοῦναι ὑπέμεινα;

¹ The Greek texts of several longer passages quoted in this study (in English translation) are presented in this appendix.

2. LEONTIUS BYZ., *CNE*, PG 86/1, 1285A6-B14 (quoted above, 211-212 at n.350):

1285A6 Πάσχει δ' ἄν καὶ κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεῖα, ἥκιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ σῶμα. Πῶς
 γὰρ; ὁ γε καὶ ἀντιτείνει πολλάκις· ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν,
 τοῦ μὲν ἐπιθυμητικοῦ ἐρωτικῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνατεταμένου· τοῦ δὲ
 A10 θυμοειδοῦς ἀβρηνωπῶς τετονωμένου, καὶ ἀκλινῶς τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ
 συντεταμένου· τοῦ δὲ λογιστικοῦ τὰς ἀύλους ἐμφάσεις ἀσκήτως δεχομένου,
 καὶ ἐνοειδῶς ἐλλαμπομένου. Καὶ καλῶς εἴρηται τι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν
 A15 θεοσόφῳ· Εἰς πόθος ἀγαθὸς καὶ αἰώνιος ὁ τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ἐφέ-
 B1 μενος.² Ταύτας γὰρ καὶ ῥυπῶσα τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ
 γίνεται, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τὰς κακίας ἔχει, κἄν τινες αὐτῶν διὰ
 B5 τοῦ σώματος ἐκτελοῦνται· ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος δέξαιτ' ἄν ποτε,
 ἄτρεπτος ὧν τῆ φύσει καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος. Οὐ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀπαθὲς τῆς φύσεως,
 ἀνθρώπου φύσει συνάπτεσθαι οὐσιωδῶς παραιτήσεται·³ ἵνα μὴ μέλλοι
 πάθος ἀληθὲς εἶναι ἢ παραίτησις, καὶ τῷ δεδοικέναι ἐν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι,
 B10 ἐν οἷς αἱ τῶν σπουδαίων ψυχῶν αὐτὸν ἔχουσαι βοηθὸν καὶ συλλήπτορα,
 οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος εἰλήφασιν βλάβος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον Θεῷ
 πεπλουτήκασιν, τῷ σώματι συνεργῶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀντιπάλῳ χρῆσάμεναι.

3. CYRILLUS SCYTH., *VC* 11-15 (SCHWARTZ), 229,7-231,26 (quoted above, 258-261):

229,7 (11) Τότε δὲ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐθυμίου παραβαλὼν
 εἰς τὴν Μεγίστην λαύραν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα τῷ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννη τῷ ἐπισκό-
 10 πῳ καὶ ἡσυχαστῇ ἀπεστάλην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κυριακὸν
 μετὰ γραμμάτων διηγουμένων περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει δη-
 μοσίου πολέμου καὶ δυσωπούντων αὐτὸν νῦν ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐν ταῖς πρὸς
 θεὸν πρεσβεΐαις πρὸς τὸ ἐν τάχει καταβληθῆναι τὸ φρύγαμα τῶν ἐν τῇ
 Νεᾷ λαύρᾳ μετὰ Νόννου καὶ Λεοντίου κατὰ Χριστοῦ στρατευομένων διὰ
 15 τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων. ἔλθων τοίνυν ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν Σουκᾶν καὶ μετὰ
 Ζωσίμου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ἀπελθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ
 σπήλαιον τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Χαρίτωνος καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκα
 τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἶπον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοσπεΐου
 ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἡσυχαστοῦ λεχθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἀββᾶς Κυριακὸς δακρῦσας

² EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Kephalaia gnostica* IV,50, PO 28/1, 159.

³ Cf. LEO MAGNUS, *Tomus ad Flavianum* 88, (ed. SILVA TAROUCA), 26.

20 εἶπεν· εἶπε τῷ ἀποστείλαντί σε· μὴ ἀθυμήσωμεν, πάτερ· ὁψόμεθα γὰρ ἐν
 τάχει τὴν μὲν Νόννου καὶ Λεοντίου ἐν θανάτῳ κατάλυσιν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
 λοιπῶν ἐκ τῆς Νεᾷς λαύρας ἐκβολὴν πρὸς τὸ τοὺς γνησίους τοῦ μακαρίου
 Σάβα μαθητὰς τὴν Νεᾷν λαύραν οἰκεῖν τῶν νόθων ἐξ αὐτῆς διωχθέντων.
 25 (12) ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον· τί γὰρ ἔστι, πάτερ, τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν πρεσβευόμενα;
 ἐπεὶ περ αὐτοὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται ὅτι τὰ περὶ προυπάρξεως καὶ ἀποκαταστά-
 σεως δόγματα μέσα τυγχάνει καὶ ἀκίνδυνα, προφέροντες καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ
 παρὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου λεγόμενα· φιλοσόφει μοι περὶ κόσμου, περὶ
 ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ λογικῶν φύσεων βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ
 30 ἀναστάσεως <κρίσεως ἀνταποδόσεως>, Χριστοῦ παθημάτων· ἐν τούτοις
 γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπιτυγχάνει οὐκ ἄχρηστον καὶ τὸ διαμαρτάνειν ἀκίνδυνον.⁴
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίθη ὁ γέρων καὶ εἶπεν· οὐ μέσα καὶ ἀκίνδυνα τὰ περὶ
 230,1 προυπάρξεως δόγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα καὶ ἐπιβλαβῆ καὶ βλάσφημα.
 ἵνα δέ σε πληροφορήσω, ἐν ὀλίγαις λέξεσι τὴν πολυσχεδῆ αὐτῶν ἀσέβειαν⁵
 στηλιτεῦσαι πειράσομαι. λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἕνα τῆς τριάδος τὸν Χριστόν·⁶
 λέγουσι τὰ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως σώματα ἡμῶν εἰς παντελεῆ ἀπώλειαν ἐλθεῖν
 5 καὶ Χριστοῦ πρῶτον·⁷ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἡ ἀγία τριάς οὐκ ἐδημιούργησε τὸν
 κοσμὸν καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει δυνήσονται πάντα τὰ λογικὰ μέχρι
 καὶ δαιμόνων δημιουργεῖν αἰῶνας·⁸ λέγουσιν ὅτι αἰθέρια καὶ σφαιροειδῆ
 ἐγείρονται ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου

⁴ GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS, *Oratio* 27,10, SC 250, p.96, line 17 to p.98, line 22.

⁵ Compare with VS 89 (SCHWARTZ), 197,10.

⁶ Cf. Conc. Oec. Const. II, *Canones xv contra Origenem* 8, ACO IV/1, 249,10-14. See also EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Kephalaia gnostica* IV,9, PO 28/1, 139; IV,18, *ibid.*, 143. And compare with IUSTINIANUS, *Confessio fidei* (ed. SCHWARTZ), 92,6-7; *id.*, *Contra monophysitas* 192 (*ibid.*), 41,7-12.

⁷ Cf. Conc. Oec. Const. II, *Canones xv contra Or.* 10-11, ACO IV/1, 249,19-25. See also IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (ed. DIEKAMP), 94,13-17 (right col.); EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Keph. gnost.* I,58, PO 28/1, 45; I,65, *ibid.*, 47-49; II,17, *ibid.*, 67; III,66, *ibid.*, 125.

⁸ Cf. Conc. Oec. Const. II, *Canones xv contra Or.* 6, ACO IV/1, 248,31-33 (in combination with *id.*, *Can.* 12-13, *ibid.*, 249,26-31). Evagrius attributes the creation of the material world to Christ. See EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* III,26, PO 28/1, 107; *Pseudo-suppl. ad Keph. gnost.* I (ed. MUYLDERMANS), 38. Christ (the νοῦς) seems to be distinguished from the divine λόγος in the passages mentioned above, n.6. At the end, the νοῦς will be able to create worlds (*Keph. gnost.* V,81, PO 28/1, 211) and all rational beings will share in this capacity (IV,51, *ibid.*, 159).

οὕτω φασὶν ἐγγεῖρθαι σῶμα⁹ λέγουσιν ὅτι γινόμεθα ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ
10 ἐν τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει.¹⁰

(13) ποῖος τοίνυν ἄδης ταῦτα ἐρεύξατο; οὐ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα
μεμαθήκασι, μὴ γένοιτο, τοῦ λαλήσαντος διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων,
ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος Ὀριγένους τε καὶ Εὐαγρίου καὶ
15 Διδύμου παρειλήφασι τὰ μυσσὰρὰ ταῦτα καὶ δυσσεβῆ δόγματα. ἐγὼ δὲ
θεθαύμακα πόσους τε εἰκῆ καὶ μάτην πόνους ἀνήντησαν εἰς τοιαύτας
ἐπιβλαβεῖς ματαιοπονίας καὶ πῶς οὕτως τὰς ἰδίας ὤπλισαν γλώσσας
κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας. οὐκ ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοξάζειν
φιλαδελφίαν φιλοξενίαν παρθενίαν πτωχοτροφίαν ψαλμωδίαν τε καὶ
20 πάννουχον στάσιν καὶ δάκρυα κατανώξεως; οὐκ ἔχρην αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον
ὑποπιέζειν νηστείας τὸ σῶμα¹¹ καὶ δι' εὐχῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἐκδημεῖν καὶ
μελέτην θανάτου τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐρεσχελίας
ἀδολεσχεῖν;¹²

Καὶ λέγει ὁ γέρων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠβουλήθησαν τῇ ταπεινῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ πορευθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν
25 καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ αὐνέτος αὐτῶν καρδίᾳ· φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμψ
ράνησαν.¹³ πάντων δὲ τῶν ζιζανίων ὁ σπορευὸς καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος
γέγονε Νόννος· ὅστις τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα κοιμήσεως
δραξάμενος ποτίζειν ἤρξατο τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολεράν,¹⁴ Λέοντιον
30 τὸν Βυζάντιον ὑπουργὸν ἔχων καὶ ὑπέρμαχον καὶ συναγωνιστήν.

(14) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ λογιωτέρους, μᾶλλον
δὲ ἀλογωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μιανὰν συγκατέσπασεν αἴρεσιν.¹⁵ καὶ
231,1 οὐκ ἠρκέσθη τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα μοναστήρια τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς

ἑαυτοῦ μεταδοῦναι λύμης ἐσπούδασεν. ποίαις δὲ μηχαναῖς οὐκ ἐχρήσατο
κάμῃ τὸν ταπεινὸν συγκατασπᾶσαι; ὁ δὲ θεὸς δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἔδειξέ
5 μοι τὸν τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῦ βόρβορον. ποίαις δὲ μεθοδείαις οὐκ ἐχρήσατο
τῇ τοῦ Σουκᾶ συνοδίᾳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεταδοῦναι κακοδοξίας; καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσεν
ἐμοῦ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι ἕκαστον νουθετοῦντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος
τῆς ὀρθῆς μὴ ἀποστῆναι πίστεως. καὶ αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαντος ἡγούμενον
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αἰρέσεως ὑπασπιστὴν καταστήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα λαύρᾳ,
10 Πέτρον φημί τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα, καὶ δουλώσαι τὴν συνοδίαν, [καὶ] οὐκ
ἠδυνήθη, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἡ συνοδία κινηθεῖσα τῆς ἡγεμονίας Πέτρον
ἐξέωσε. πάλιν μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ Νόννον ἀναιδῶς κινούμενοι ἄλλον Πέτρον
Ἐλλαδικὸν τῆς Ὀριγένους λύμης ὄντα ὑπασπιστὴν ἡγούμενον ἡμῶν ἐγ-
κατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡ συνοδία πάλιν ζήλω πνευματικῶ κινουμένη Πέτρον
15 μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξέωσεν καὶ εἰς τὴν λαύραν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα
ἀπελθοῦσα ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῇ τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασιανὸν Σκυθο-
πολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον.
καὶ τότε μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν τοὺς Ὀριγένους ὑπασπιστὰς ἀποκρούσασθαι.
20 (15) Ταῦτα διηγησάμενός μοι ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Κυριακὸς καὶ γνοὺς
ὅτι τῆς μεγάλης μονῆς Εὐθυμίου τοῦ μακαρίου εἰμί, περιχαρῆς γεγωνῶς
εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ καὶ σύνκοινοβιότης μου εἶ, καὶ λοιπὸν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο
διηγεῖσθαι μοι πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν ἀγίοις Εὐθυμίου τε καὶ Σάβα,
ἅπερ ἔθηκα ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἤδη ρηθεῖσι δυοῖς λόγοις. καὶ οὕτως ἐν
25 τοῖς τοιούτοις διηγήμασι τὴν ἐμὴν διαθρέψας ψυχὴν ἀπέλυσεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

4. CYRILLUS SCYTH., VS 90 (SCHWARTZ), 198,7-200,17 (quoted above, 289-292):

198,7 Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόνωνα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γεγονότες
καὶ διαφόροις θλίψεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκιδᾶ καθυποβληθέντες διὰ τῆς
ὑπομονῆς νικηφόροι ἀνεδείχθησαν. ὀλίγων γὰρ διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν
10 Πέτρον τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τελευτήσαντος καὶ Μακαρίου ὑπὸ τῆς αὐ-
θαδεῖας τῶν Νεολαυριτῶν χειροτονηθέντος καὶ πολέμου ἐν τῇ ἀγία πόλει
γεγονότος ὁ μὲν εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς σφοδρῶς ἀγανακτήσας κατὰ τε
τοῦ Ἀσκιδᾶ καὶ τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν Μακάριον τῆς ἐπίσκοπης ἐξεωθῆναι
ἐκέλευσεν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Κόνωνα καιροῦ ἐπιτηδείου δραξάμενοι
15 τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ γνωρίσαντες λίβελλον αὐτῷ ἐπιδεδώκασιν
πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν ἀσέβειαν ἐμφανῆ ποιήσαντες Ἰσιδώρου
τελευτήσαντος. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πλείστης παρρησίας μετασχόντες Εὐστόχιον

⁹ Cf. Conc. Oec. Const. II, *Canones xv contra Or.* 10, ACO IV/1, 249,19-20. For spherical resurrection bodies, see also IUSTINIANUS, *Edictum contra Or.*, *Can.* 5, ACO III, 213,25-26. Only the notion of ethereal resurrection bodies is found in Origen; see H. CROUZEL, "La doctrine origénienne du corps ressuscité", *BLE* 81 (1980), 192-193. For Evagrius, the bodies will first arise ethereal, but finally they will be annihilated. See A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les 'Képhalaia gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1962, 115-116.

¹⁰ Cf. Conc. Oec. Const. II, *Canones xv contra Or.* 13, ACO IV/1, 249,30-31. See also IUSTINIANUS, *Ep. ad synodum de Origene* (ed. DIEKAMP), 94,30-33 (right col.); EVAGRIUS, *Keph. gnost.* IV,51, PO 28/1, 159; v,81, *ibid.*, 211.

¹¹ Cf. 1Cor 9:27.

¹² Cf. GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS, *Oratio* 27,7, SC 250, p.86, lines 8-15.

¹³ Rom 1:21-22.

¹⁴ Cf. Hab 2:15. Compare with VS 83 (SCHWARTZ), 188,15-17.

¹⁵ Compare with *ibid.*, 188,18-19.

οικονόμον ὄντα Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γεγονότα
 20 ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων προβάλλοντα, ὃ δὲ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς
 Εὐστόχιον μὲν πατριάρχην γενέσθαι ἐθέσπισεν, ἐκέλευσεν δὲ καὶ σύνοδον
 οἰκουμενικὴν γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς δὲ Κόνων ἀπολύων ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα
 τὸν Εὐστόχιον παρεκάλεσεν ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ μακαρίου
 Θεοδοσίου ἡγούμενον Εὐλόγιον, ἐφ' ᾧ εὐρεθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ
 25 ἀθροισμένη συνόδῳ. ὅστις Εὐστόχιος τῆς πατριαρχίας ἐντὸς γενόμενος
 τρεῖς μὲν ἐπισκόπους ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ
 ἀναπληροῦντας, ἀπέστειλεν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀββᾶν Εὐλόγιον μετὰ ἄλλων δύο
 ἡγουμένων Κυριακοῦ τε τῆς λαύρας τῆς λεγομένης Πηγῆς καὶ Παγκρατίου
 199,1 τινὸς στυλίου. τῆς τοίνυν ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς πέμπτης συνόδου ἐν
 Κωνσταντινουπόλει συναθροισθείσης κοινῶ καὶ καθολικῶ καθυπεβλή-
 θησαν ἀναθέματι Ὀριγένους τε καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ Μομφουεστίας καὶ τὰ
 περὶ προουπάξεως καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως Εὐαγρίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ εἰρημένα
 5 παρόντων τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχῶν καὶ τούτοις συναινούντων. τοῦ
 μέντοι θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν βασιλέως ἀποστείλαντος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰ
 ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ πραχθέντα καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἐπισκόπων
 χειρὶ καὶ στόματι ταῦτα βεβαιωσάντων καὶ κυρωσάντων πλὴν Ἀλε-
 10 ξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀβίλης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθέντος καὶ ἐν
 τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ὑπὸ σειμοῦ καταχωσθέντος οἱ μὲν Νεολαυρίται τῆς καθ-
 ολικῆς ἐχώρισαν ἑαυτοὺς κοινωνίας, ὃ δὲ πατριάρχης Εὐστόχιος δια-
 φῶρως αὐτοὺς μεταχειρισάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ μηνῶν τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 νοθεσίᾳ καὶ παρακλήσει χρησάμενος καὶ μὴ πείσας αὐτοὺς τῇ καθολικῇ
 15 κοινωνίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ βασιλικαῖς κελεύσεσιν χρησάμενος δι' Ἀναστασίου
 τοῦ δουκὸς τῆς Νέας λαύρας αὐτοὺς ἐξέωσεν καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν πᾶσαν
 τῆς αὐτῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν λύμης. μὴ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀοίκητον ἔᾶσαι τὸν
 τόπον ἕκαστὸν εἴκοσι μοναχοὺς ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐκεῖσε κατεφύτευσεν,
 ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἐκ τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας, ἐξ ὧν ἐχειροτόνησεν Ἰωάννην
 20 τινὰ ἀπὸ σχολαρίων ἡγούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν
 τῆς ἐπήμου ὀρθοδόξων μοναστηρίων. ὧν εἷς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ μεταπεμφθεὶς ἐκ
 τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Εὐθυμίου ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας πατέρων
 γνώμη καὶ ἐπιτροπῇ τοῦ θεσπεσίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ ἡσυχαστοῦ.
 25 τοιγαροῦν συναθροισθέντες εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐξήλθομεν μετὰ τοῦ
 πατριάρχου καὶ τοῦ νέου ἡγουμένου ἐπὶ Θεκῶν τὴν κώμην καὶ τῶν
 200,1 Ὀριγενιαστῶν ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου τοῦ δουκὸς διωχθέντων παρελάβομεν
 τὴν Νέαν λαύραν μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ εἰκάδι πρώτη τῆς δευτέρας
 Ἰνδικτιόνης τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα κοιμήσεως χρόνῳ.
 καὶ ἐν τούτοις μὲν τέλος ἐδέξατο ὁ κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας πόλεμος, ἐγὼ δὲ

5 ἐνταῦθα στήσαι μέλλων τὸν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου λόγον τὴν
 προφητικὴν φωνὴν προσφόρως ἐρῶ· ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ἔρημος καὶ ἀνθείτω
 ὡς κρίνον,¹⁶ ὅτι ἠλέησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, ἐκεῖνα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
 εἰπῶν· ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου¹⁷ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ
 10 τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀκήκοα καὶ βούλομαι ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ
 βουληθεὶς ἐπεσκέψατο¹⁸ καὶ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἔσωσεν καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς
 ἐκ τῆς καταδυναστείας τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν καὶ ἐξέβαλεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ
 προσώπου ἡμῶν καὶ κατεσκήνωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν¹⁹
 καὶ τοὺς πόνους αὐτῶν κατεκληρονόμησεν²⁰ ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἂν φυλάξωμεν
 15 τὰ δικαιώματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσωμεν.²¹ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

– βίος τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα –

¹⁶ Is 35:1.

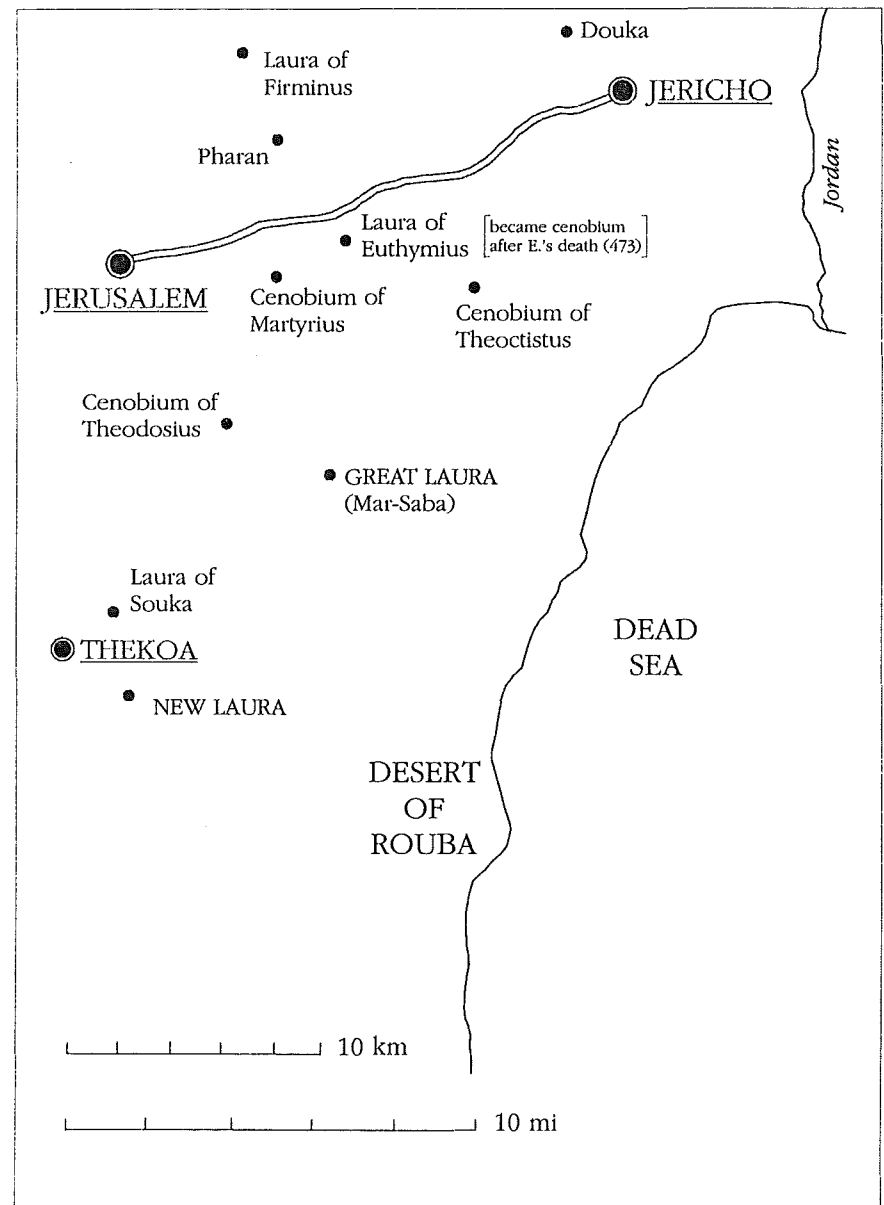
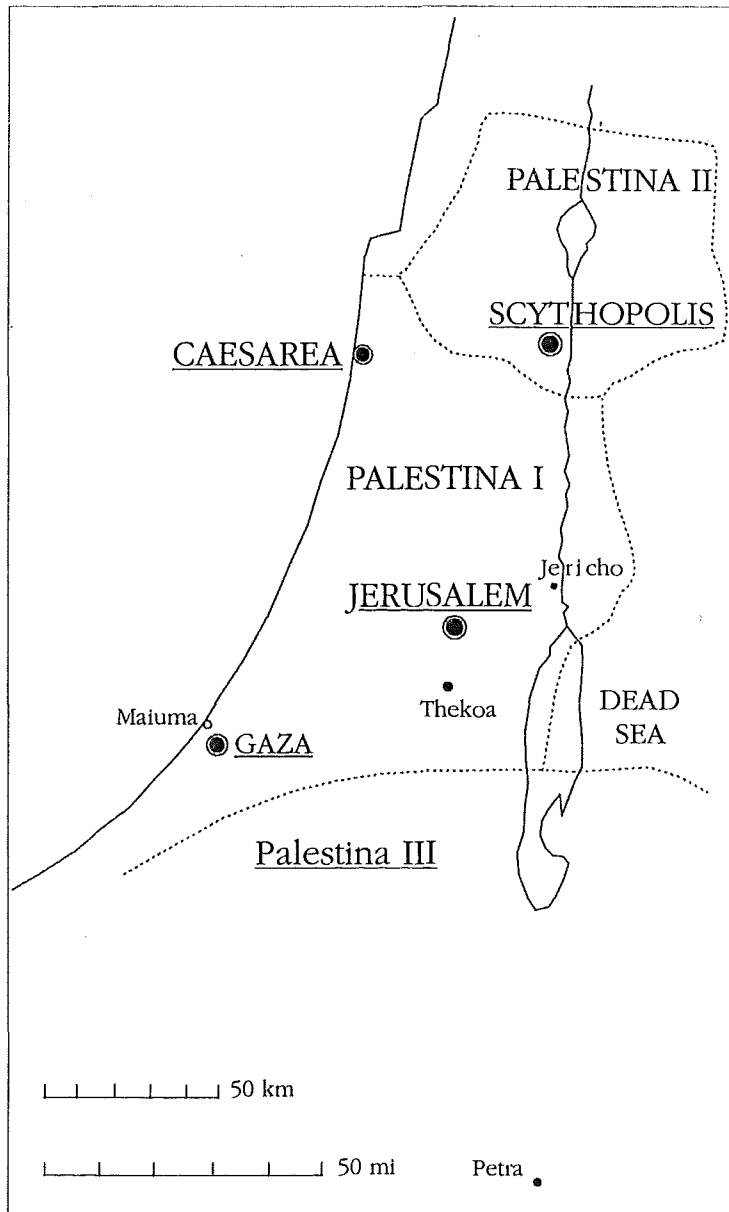
¹⁷ Ex 3:7, 8.

¹⁸ Cf. Ex 4:31; Lk 1:68.

¹⁹ Ps 77 [78]:55.

²⁰ Cf. Ps 104 [105]:44.

²¹ Cf. Ps 104 [105]:45.



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