

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE



The Real Cassian Revisited

*Monastic Life, Greek Paideia, and
Origenism in the Sixth Century*



P. TZAMALIKOS

BRILL

The Real Cassian Revisited

Supplements
to
Vigiliae Christianae

Texts and Studies of
Early Christian Life and Language

Editors

J. den Boeft – B.D. Ehrman – J. van Oort
D.T. Runia – C. Scholten – J.C.M. van Winden

VOLUME 112

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.nl/vcs

The Real Cassian Revisited

Monastic Life, Greek *Paideia*, and
Origenism in the Sixth Century

By
P. Tzamalikos



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2012

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tzamalikos, P. (Panayiotos), 1951-

The real Cassian revisited : monastic life, Greek paideia, and Origenism in the sixth century / By P. Tzamalikos.

pages cm. – (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae ; VOLUME 112)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-22440-7 (hardback : alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-22530-5 (e-book)

1. Church history—Primitive and early church, ca. 30-600. 2. Book of Monk Cassian the Roman. 3. Cassian, the Sabaite, approximately 470-548. I. Title.

BR227.T93 2012

270.2092—dc23

2011049118

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.nl/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0920-623X

ISBN 978 90 04 22440 7 (hardback)

ISBN 978 90 04 22530 5 (e-book)

Copyright 2012 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανόν,
Σκυθοπολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει,
ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον.

... the present hegoumen, abba Cassian, who is of Scythopolis by birth, orthodox, and adorned both in his conduct of life and in his teaching.

Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, AD 547/8.

interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est.

[Christian authors] are sometimes compelled to say not what they [really] think, but what necessity dictates.

Jerome, *Epistula* 49.13.

And what the dead had no speech for, when living,
They can tell you, being dead: the communication
Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the language of the living.

...

So I assumed a double part, and cried
And heard another's voice cry: 'what! are *you* here?'

...

For last year's words belong to last year's language
And next years words await another voice.

...

Being between two lives—unflowering, between
The live and the dead nettle. This is the use of memory:

...

History may be servitude,
History may be freedom. See, now they vanish,
The faces and places, with the self which, as it could, loved them,
To become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern.

...

Those men, and those who opposed them
And those whom they opposed
Accept the constitution of silence.

T.S. Eliot, *Little Gidding*

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations.....	IX	
Preface.....	XI	
Abbreviations.....	XV	
Introduction. Monk Cassian, the Sabaite of Scythopolis in Palestine and John Cassian, the Scythian of Marseilles. The Resurrection of an Eclipsed Author		1
Metœora	1	
Cassian as an Intellectual.....	4	
The Akoimetoï.....	13	
A Sabaite Scholar Monk at the Monastery of the Akoimetoï ('the Never-Sleeping' Monks).....	27	
An Anonymous Addresser Addressing an Anonymous Addressee.....	37	
Conclusion	42	
1. Testimonies, Addressees, and Cassian's Real Milieu.....	49	
Gennadius of Marseilles	49	
Photius	60	
Leontius	66	
Cyril of Scythopolis.....	78	
Castor.....	83	
Antiochus of Palestine.....	86	
John Cassian, the Scythian of Marseilles.....	92	
2. Cassian the Sabaite	115	
The 'Monk and Presbyter Cassian' in AD 536.....	115	
The Texts of the Codex	116	
Abba Cassian and Posterity.....	123	
The Anchorites	131	
3. A Greek Writer.....	149	
Manuscript Editions.....	149	
Writings by a <i>Graeculus</i> ?	152	
A Sixth-Century Writer	186	

4. An Eclipsed Author	207
Scribing in the Middle Ages	207
Why Was Cassian Styled 'Roman' in Later Byzantine Literature?	227
5. Hellenism in The Sixth Century.....	243
Cassian and Greek Philosophy	243
Hellenism and Christianity: The Ancient Question.....	246
Hellenism and Sixth-Century Challenges.....	255
6. Doctrinal Decorum and Imperial Power	259
The Sixth-Century Origenism	259
The Origenism and Pseudo-Origenism	321
7. Late Antique Intellectual Interplay	333
Christian Influence on Neoplatonism	333
1. Proclus	336
2. Simplicius and Damascius.....	366
Stoicism	377
Aristotelism	380
Conclusion	391
Appendix I. The <i>Book of Cassian</i> Copied by Posterity	407
Appendix II. Greek References to Cassian	433
Appendix III. Cassian and Caesarius Reviewed By Photius	437
Bibliography	443
I. Codices	443
II. Primary Sources.....	444
III. Modern Sources	483
IV. Ancient Lexica of Greek Language.....	487
Index of Persons of Antiquity, Locations, and Notions	489
Index of Greek Terms and Expressions	513
Index of Modern Authors.....	520

ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>Fig. 1.</i> Meteora-monasteries ‘in the air’	524
<i>Fig. 2.</i> The Judaeen desert, where the Great Laura is located	525
<i>Fig. 3.</i> The Great Laura, on the west side of <i>brook Cedron</i>	525
<i>Fig. 4.</i> The Great Laura from inside (north-east) of <i>brook Cedron</i>	525
<i>Fig. 5.</i> West side of the Great Laura (main entrance)	526
<i>Fig. 6.</i> The Great Laura today. The vault of the main church (καθολικόν)	527
<i>Fig. 7.</i> The Great Laura today. West side of the main church (καθολικόν)	528
<i>Fig. 8.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573	529
<i>Fig. 9.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573	529
<i>Fig. 10.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 1 ^r , colophon: Κασσιανού μοναχού βιβλίον (‘The Book of Monk Cassian’)	530
<i>Fig. 11.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573. Inside face of front cover	531
<i>Fig. 12.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 22 ^v	532
<i>Fig. 13.</i> Codex 573, folio 56 ^v	533
<i>Fig. 14.</i> Codex 573, folio 80 ^r	534
<i>Fig. 15.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 101 ^r	535
<i>Fig. 16.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 245 ^r	536
<i>Fig. 17.</i> Codex Sabaiticus 76, folio 132 ^r	537
<i>Fig. 18.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 226 ^v	538
<i>Fig. 19.</i> Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 92 ^v	539
<i>Fig. 20.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 221 ^r	540
<i>Fig. 21.</i> Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 96 ^v	541
<i>Fig. 22.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 211 ^r	542
<i>Fig. 23.</i> Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 98 ^v	543
<i>Fig. 24.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 232 ^v	544
<i>Fig. 25.</i> Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 113 ^v	545
<i>Fig. 26.</i> Codex Metamorphosis, folio 209 ^r . Cassian’s mathematical rules for forming the calendar	546
<i>Fig. 27.</i> Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 209 ^v . Cassian’s mathematical rules for forming the calendar	547
<i>Fig. 28.</i> Metamorphosis 573, folio 290 ^r	548

PREFACE

The present volume, along with its sibling, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father (Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by John Cassian of Marseilles)*, which is published simultaneously in the same series, is the result of research initially set out to determine the real author of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. These Scholia were discovered in 1908, in Codex 573 of the Monastery of Metamorphosis in Meteora, Greece, and Adolf von Harnack rushed into ascribing them to Origen, only four months after he saw them for the first time, in July 1911. Never did this attribution enjoy unanimous acceptance by scholars ever since, hence this set of comments on part of John's Apocalypse has remained an 'orphan' text, which made no mark in scholarship. My initial impression was that six months could suffice to determine their author, since meantime several scholars had come up with different opinions with respect to authorship. It took me three years, only in order to reach the mistaken conclusion that the author of the Scholia is Theodoret of Cyrillus heavily drawing on a lost commentary on the Apocalypse by Didymus the Blind. Only after I was granted access to the Codex itself did Cassian the Sabaite come into the scene as a commanding figure who claims our attention, and as an immensely erudite author who deserves a fair hearing. Therefore, this monograph is an argument establishing the existence of Cassian the Sabaite as a first-class Christian intellectual, following the study and critical edition of his texts included in the same Codex. He is the author of a vast number of theological tracts currently classified as spuria, such as *De Trinitate* (Pseudo-Didymus), the *Erotapokriseis* by Pseudo-Caesarius, and several other pseudepigrapha.

We come across an unknown Greek Father, who was condemned to spiritual death and total extinction, only because inquisitors of doctrine deemed him as a sympathizer of Origen and an admirer of Didymus the Blind and of Evagrius; in other words, an author who drew on 'heretics' into his own writings. However, Cassian the Sabaite was in essence an Antiochene, who cherished the patrimony handed down by the great doctors of Antioch: Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrillus, and Nestorius to a certain extent. His association with all of these names, which emerges out of critical study of his texts, was sufficient reason for him to be regarded as a prime suspect of heresy.

The importance of pursuing this project turned out to lie not simply in the discovery of certain unpublished texts. The real treasure of Codex 573 lies in what we learn about the turbulent times of Cassian of Sabaite. The sixth-century controversy over what 'Origenism' really meant during those times comes up as an issue that receives further light. In addition, we come across a learned employment of the Aristotelian thought, which had been cultivated by the great schools of Edessa and Nisibis. Furthermore, it turns out that Classical and Late-Antique Greek patrimony were alive well into the sixth century, despite intolerant fanaticism by intellectuals of the imperial church and oppression by a crude despot such as Justinian, who revelled in thinking of himself as a theologian.

The real value of Cassian the Sabaite is that he shakes part of our traditional knowledge, which we have been educated to take for granted. As a result, we realize that Theodoret was not the *last* great scholar of the early Christian era; Hellenism was *not* dead, not even moribund, at the time when Justinian closed down the Academy of Athens; what was styled 'Origenism' by that time, was a concoction by unlearned fanatic monks, who composed 'anti-Origenistic' documents and anathemas, which Justinian simply signed for the sake of his political aims and sanctioned as 'edicts' of his own.

These texts of Cassian the Sabaite treasure an abundant wealth of Greek as well as Christian learning and heritage. It is then only a supplementary conclusion that 'John Cassian', the alleged 'father of Western monasticism', is only a figment fabricated by means of extensive blatant Medieval forgery. As a result, Cassian, a native of Scythopolis, monk and presbyter, who died an abbot of the Great Laura of Sabas on 20 July 548, was condemned to utter obliteration as an intellectual and author. All of his writings were attributed to stars of Christian theology that were long dead: these texts are currently known as 'spuria' ascribed to either Athanasius, or Theodoret, or Justin, or Gregory of Nyssa, or Basil of Caesarea, or others. At the same time, his monastic texts were determined as the work by a phantasmal figure called 'John Cassian', allegedly a native of Scythia who lived in Marseilles.

The ninth-century Codex 573 of Metamorphosis (the Great Meteoron) is the sole extant set of documents that can reveal this canard. It survived the rage of men and the frenzy of centuries by being hidden in a vault, only to be discovered in 1908, along with another 610 codices that had remained concealed in that monastery for centuries, and their existence was unknown even to the monks themselves.

There are many voices coming out of the texts of Cassian that are included in this monument, which is as much a beautiful piece of art, as it is a meek and gentle record. The most humble, and yet most clear, of these

voices is the one of Cassian the Sabaite himself, resounding the Classical and Late Antique Hellenism, along with a glorious tradition of Christian scholarship. He put to use both traditions during the dark period of the 530s and 540s. He did so vigorously and fruitfully, although it takes critical reading in order to realize that he applied his erudition in a clandestine manner. Now is the time to listen to this voice of Cassian the Sabaite, and to allow him to advise us that, in some important respects, the sixth century was somewhat different from what it is currently thought.

I thank Professor Jan den Boeft for having read the manuscripts himself, before they were sent out to anonymous readers. I am also grateful to him for his unfailing support and encouragement during a time of uncertainty, when I was groping for my own way in the open sea of this far-reaching research, the outcome of which was yet far from being clear.

In the person of Publishing Manager Louise Schouten I thank Brill for including these books into this series, and for having assented to my wish to present the Codex-text and the monograph in two separate consecutive volumes. I also thank Editor Mattie Kuiper for her diligent care and kindness. It was a blessing that the typesetter that effected production of both volumes happened to be also a scholar of remarkable erudition, especially knowledge of Greek: through his several remarks, Johannes Rustenburg made a noteworthy contribution to the presentation of this edition, for which I am profoundly grateful.

I am grateful to Archbishop of Constantina, Aristarchos Peristeris, the Chief-Secretary of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, who granted me access to the treasures of the Patriarchal Library, he guided me personally through the manuscripts, and allowed me to use photos of several of the codices I explored.

The inspiring love and support from my family has imbued this project, which resulted in three volumes. Acknowledgement of this is only a small token of my gratitude to my wife Eleni and to my beloved adolescent daughters Maritsa and Leto.

P. T.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACO	Schwartz, E., <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i>
AP	<i>Apophthegmata Patrum</i>
COT	P. Tzamalikos, <i>Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time</i>
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i>
PG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (volume / page / line)
PHE	P. Tzamalikos, <i>Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology</i>
PL	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> (volume / page / line)
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (volume / page / verse)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur

Origen

<i>Cels</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
<i>selGen</i>	<i>Selecta in Genesim</i>
<i>homEx</i>	<i>Homiliae in Exodum</i>
<i>commEx</i>	<i>Fragmentum ex Commentariis in Exodum (= In Illud: Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis)</i>
<i>selEx</i>	<i>Selecta in Exodum</i>
<i>selDeut</i>	<i>Selecta in Deuteronomium</i>
<i>selPs</i>	<i>Selecta in Psalmos</i>
<i>excPs</i>	<i>Excerpta in Psalmos</i>
<i>frPs</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Psalmos</i>
<i>expProv</i>	<i>Expositio in Proverbia</i>
<i>schCant</i>	<i>Scholia in Canticum Canticorum</i>
<i>homJer</i>	<i>In Jeremiam (homiliae 12–20)</i>
<i>JesNav</i>	<i>In Jesu Nave homiliae xxvi (fragmenta e catenis)</i>
<i>frJer</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Jeremiam</i>
<i>selEz</i>	<i>Selecta in Ezechielem</i>
<i>commMatt</i>	<i>Commentaria in Matthaicum</i>
<i>frLuc</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Lucam</i>
<i>commJohn</i>	<i>Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis</i>
<i>frJohn</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Evangelium Joannis</i>
<i>commCor</i>	<i>Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Epistolam I ad Corinthios</i>
<i>deOr</i>	<i>De Oratione</i>
<i>Princ</i>	<i>De Principiis</i>

Didymus

<i>commZacch</i>	<i>Commentarii in Zacchariam</i>
<i>frPs(al)</i>	<i>Fragmenta in Psalmos (e commentario altero)</i>

commEccl *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*
commJob *Commentarii in Job*
commPs *Commentarii in Psalmos*

Eusebius

DE *Demonstratio Evangelica*
PE *Praeparatio Evangelica*
commPs *Commentaria in Psalmos*

Theodoret

intPaulXIV *Interpretatio in XIV Epistulas Sancti Pauli*
commIs *Commentaria in Isaiam*
De Providentia *De Providentia Orationes Decem*
intDan *Interpretatio in Danielelem*
intProphXII *Interpretatio in XII Prophetas Minores*

Cyril Of Alexandria

In Joannem *Commentarii in Joannem*
In Isaiam *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*
commProphXII *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*
De Adoratione *De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate*
GlaphPent *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*
expPs *Expositio in Psalmos*

Theodore of Mopsuestia

expPs *Expositio in Psalmos*
commProphXII *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*

Pseudo-Justin or Pseudo-Theodoret

QetR *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*

Pseudo-Caesarius

QR (chapter/line) *Erotapokriseis (Quaestiones et Responsiones)*

Epiphanius of Salamis

Panarion *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*

Cassian the Sabaite

Const *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Canonicis Occidentalis et Aegyptio-*
 nis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus
OctoVit *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus*
ScetPatr *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum*
SerenPrim *Ad Leontium Hegumenum Contributio Sereni Abbatis Prima*

<i>De Panareto</i>	<i>Ad Leontium Hegumenum Contributio Sereni Abbatis De Panareto</i>
<i>DT</i>	<i>De Trinitate</i> (Pseudo-Didymus = Cassian the Sabaite)

All Authors

<i>commEccl</i>	<i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i>
<i>commJob</i>	<i>Commentarii in Job</i>
<i>commPs</i>	<i>Commentarii in Psalmos</i>
<i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>

Psalms are numbered after LXX.

INTRODUCTION

MONK CASSIAN, THE SABAITE OF SCYTHOPOLIS IN PALESTINE AND JOHN CASSIAN, THE SCYTHIAN OF MARSEILLES

The Resurrection of an Eclipsed Author

Meteora

In July 2008 a ‘miracle’ happened: I was almost through with proofing my manuscript exploring the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, which Adolph Harnack had falsely ascribed to Origen a century ago. My two-year exertions in order to be granted access to the Codex that incorporates the sole manuscript of the *Scholia* had been unsuccessful up until that time. Suddenly, though, an unexpected chain of events brought it about that the door of the Great Meteoron monastery was opened to me and I found myself studying the precious Codex and its palaeographical texts.

The rock complex of Meteora in Thessaly, with impressive monasteries ‘in the air’, perched on the summits and in the caves of the gigantic rocks, is regarded by some as a second Mount Athos. This is a token of Byzantine monasticism, which inspires pilgrims to scale the heights in order to visit the monastic settlements at Meteora. Their origin was the Scetis of Doupiani, in the early fourteenth century. Yet the real story began in the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Athonite monk and hesychast Athanasius settled on the Broad Rock (Πλάτῦς Λίθος) and founded there what was soon to become the Monastery of Metamorphosis, the Great Meteoron, which currently preserves Codex 573.

This Codex of the Great Meteoron (the Metamorphosis Convent) has been surmised to be a tenth-century one, but my own opinion is that this is an early ninth-century manuscript.¹ Of its nearly three hundred folia, only the last forty-five were related to my topic at that time. Hence, on the last day of my study, I came to examine the book as a beautiful artefact of an ancient

¹ P. Tzamalikos, *An Ancient Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, A critical edition of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* from an ancient manuscript with Commentary and an English translation, Cambridge University Press (forthcoming), Introduction, (‘The Codex’). Hereafter, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

epoch, when I noticed the rubric on top of the initial page of this elegant book. “The book of monk Cassian the Roman” (Κασσιανου μοναχου βιβλιον). Below that, a header introduced to the first text comprising this collection: “By monk Cassian the Roman, *To Bishop Castor On the Rules and Regulations of the Coenobia in the East and Egypt*” (Κασσιανου μοναχου Ῥωμαίου, πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον, Περὶ διατυπώσεως καὶ κανόνων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κοινοβίων). It was only then that a phrase on the upper right side of folio 290^r, written by a later hand, made some sense: Κασσιανου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου μοναχοῦ.²

The rubric, beautifully adorned, informs the reader that this is ‘the Book of monk Cassian the Roman’ (Κασσιανου μοναχου βιβλιον). The title of the first work follows: this is the beginning of the work addressed to Bishop Castor about the Institutions of the monasteries ‘in Egypt and in the East’. Therefore, *all* of the volume is ‘Cassian’s book’. In order that no doubt should remain to any future reader, an anonymous hand added this to the top of the last page. Folio 290^r has a note in the upper margin going thus: κασιανου του ρομεου μου, intending Κασσιανου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου μοναχοῦ (‘monk Cassian the Roman’). A later hand advising posterity that the Scholia represent Cassian’s teaching evidently added this. This note is followed by a barely legible abbreviated note of the kind used in ancient codices, which, to the best of my ability, I could tentatively render thus: οὗ ὁμιλῖαι πρὸς πάντα(ς) (‘whose [sc. Cassian’s] this [book] contains homilies to everyone’). Later though this hand is, it is still not a much later one. The text written on the top of that (last) page of the Codex is the concluding section of the Scholia, and advises that Cassian was involved either with the Scholia, or both with them and the rest of the book. In all probability this manuscript was copied from a book belonging to Cassian himself and my comparative studies have brought it about that the reproduction took place at the *scriptorium* of the Laura of Sabas. The Codex was copied by a monk called Theodosius (as well as one or two other monks) and the critical apparatus to the Scholia shows that the accompanying text of Revelation which Cassian used was one of Antiochene/Syrian rendering. We know of a certain Theodosius scribe in the monastery of the Stylites in Syria, working around the year 806 who was a Monophysite. However, a comparison of Codex 573 with Codex St. Sabas 76, fol. 131^v–132^r makes it all too evident that both codices (both dated to the ninth–tenth cent.) were written by the same hand, or at least, within the same *scriptorium*.

² See this point canvassed in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

The unknown later reader who made the note on top of folio 290^r confirms that this was the Book of Cassian, as indicated on the first-page rubric, as well as on the internal face of the front cover. It seems that this reader knew that the anonyma Scholia were written by Cassian himself, hence the note on folio 290^r. Following on with analysis, we now know that Cassian reproduced passages by Didymus, Clement of Alexandria and Theodoret, along with comments of his own which he wrote during his composition. Among other points, this is evident from the portion of Revelation 14:3–14:5 on folio 290^r. This is of the same provenance as the one used in all the previous Scholia: it comes from a Syrian version and is (like the rest of the scriptural text) akin to the text K that Arethas later used with minor emendations of his own.

By that time, I had reached the conclusion that the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* were a compilation by an Antiochene, who probably was Theodoret of Cyrrhus heavily quoting from the lost Commentary on the Apocalypse by Didymus the Blind, as well as from his own work on the Book of Paralipomenon, plus a portion from Clement of Alexandria. It turned out that the author was Cassian, yet not the one known from the Latin account about him, but *another* Cassian: a Sabaite monk, who was a spiritual offspring of the great Antiochene doctors (Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus) and of St Sabas himself. He was an intellectual of Antiochene extraction, who was born in Scythopolis in c. 470 and died an abbot of the renown Laura of Sabas on 20th July, 548AD.

Up to that moment, my education had instructed me that Theodoret was the last scholar of Late Antiquity. I now believe that the Antiochene tradition lasted for another hundred years and Cassian himself was a great scholar, who took part in the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, at a time when he lived and wrote at the monastery of the Akoimatoi. His texts tell us important things about Aristotle and Aristotelian tradition, about the Neoplatonism of Proclus, Damascius, Simplicius, as well as about Dionysius Areopagite, whom Cassian had definitely met personally. Cassian is also the author of a number of texts currently known as ‘spuria’ under the names of great Christian theologians. In like manner, the monastic texts of the present Codex have been attributed to Athanasius. He is the author of the text ascribed to Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus,³ as much as he is the author of *De Trinitate*, which has been falsely ascribed to Didymus the Blind.⁴ In Cassian’s text there is an abundance of instances revealing

³ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Appendix II.

an immensely erudite scholar, who knew Plato as much as Aristotle; he was aware of Classical poetry and prose in-as-much as he had read oriental writings, such as those by Hermes Trismegistus or the *Oracula Sibyllica*. Exploration of the text by Cassian, which occupies the first 118 folia of the Codex, reveals much the same readings and liabilities of the author as the last 45 folia of the same Codex, where the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* are located. Above all, he is a distinctly Antiochene scholar, who also shows himself a devout student of the Alexandrians—Origen, Didymus, Cyril. For indeed to the mainly Antiochene community of the Akoimetoι Origen was as much part of their patrimony as his detractors. Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mop-suestia, and Theodoret were as much so as Cyril, whereas the daemonization of Nestorius as well as Severus of Antioch had not touched them at all.

This was precisely the ‘universal’ spirit of the community of the Akoimetoι in the sixth century. Thanks to the compilation of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* by Cassian, when we now speak of ‘the most ancient commentary on the Apocalypse’, we actually go back by two more centuries, compared to what has been thought heretofore. For it is currently believed so far that Oecumenius’ Commentary on the Apocalypse, written during the 540s, is ‘the most ancient commentary on the Apocalypse’ extant. Cassian, however, has preserved for us a very large part of Didymus’ own Commentary on the Apocalypse, which was written two centuries before Oecumenius set out to write his own commentary, indeed almost simultaneously with Cassian writing his own compilation of the Scholia.

Cassian as an Intellectual

Once discovered, an ancient manuscript deserves to be published on its own merits. In the process of this exploration, however, Cassian turned out to have important things to say. Following what I now claim to be a mythology that has been built upon the historical existence of a person called ‘John Cassian’, I realised that what I styled ‘the resurrection of an author’ will not be easily allowed by current scholarship dealing with the figment called ‘John Cassian’. This alleged Latin author is currently associated with religious allegiances, as well as with scholarly aspirations endeavouring to make him ‘the link between eastern and western monasticism’. I have no such allegiances and, as I have said in previous works of mine, I only wish to be an accurate scholar while being utterly disinterested in modern disputes between different Christian denominations. Since, however, religious interests and scholarly aspirations are there anyway, my point calls for sound

and indisputable evidence, which is par excellence concerned with establishing the existence of Cassian the Sabaite, the real Cassian.

The Latin texts currently attributed to 'John Cassian' are simply a forgery made out of the original Greek, written by a Greek-speaking author in 'The book of Cassian the monk' (which is the colophon of the Meteora Codex 573).⁵ Latin translators have normally lengthened, as well as abridged, amended or omitted certain passages, which has resulted in a text suitable to a *scholastic* paraphrase of Cassian's texts. The fable that 'John Cassian' was indeed the author of these renderings was thereby reinforced, at least in the minds of those to whom the original texts were not available. Besides, Greek translations of 'John Cassian's' works were produced and proliferated later, which contributed to the impression that Latin, not Greek, was their original language. Attentive scholars such as Franz Diekamp and Otto Chadwick were not unwary, still they could not suspect that a Greek text such as that of Codex 573 was there to prove the 'Latin-factor' a mendacious invention.

Cassian was above all an intellectual monk; and yet his moral teaching is all but imposition of a stringent life on monks. He shapes his argument and mounts his replies taking into account the variety of human physical construction, character and needs, thus aspiring to being a corrector of the novice rather than a dogmatist. He wrote with animus, yet his animadversion is levelled against *sin* rather than sinners; his instruction aims at countering *cogitation* of evil rather than the subsequent evil action by all those who abjure worldly and sensual pursuits in order to live in unimpaired equanimity. Keeping pace with the gist of Origenism, Cassian inculcates righteousness with pious understanding and teaches that mastery of the body conduces to the apprehension of wisdom. For all this, he was as broad-minded a man as to refuse to impose universal rules of fast, on account of the different physical construction of each human being. Each person needs a different amount and quality of food, which is a good reason for banning any universal regulation of fast. Despite its intellectualistic tenor, the text does not make as much of the dichotomy between matter and spirit as one might

⁵ The *Catalogue of the Meteora Manuscripts* was published posthumously by the Centre for the Study of Medieval and Modern Hellenism at the Academy of Athens: *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων, Κατάλογος περιγραφικῶς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδικῶν τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς Μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ Νίκου Α. Βέη* (The Manuscripts of Meteora: a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts conserved in the monasteries of Meteora, published from the extant stuff initially compiled by Nikos A. Bees), Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Κέντρον Ἐρεῦνης τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ καὶ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Ἀθήναι, 1998, Τόμος Α', *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως*. Volume 1 of the catalogues published by the Academy of Athens, pp. 598–601 & 681.

have expected. It was then natural that this set of texts became a companion of monks, particularly neophytes, as indeed it also offered the basis for composing constitutions of new monasteries. For not only is daemonology an everyday concern to monks: anchorites are also satisfied that the dregs of evil still linger in the soul, even in one that has been reformed. It is impressive, however, that Cassian hardly ever perturbs his readers with stories of punishment after death, or at least he does so to the minimum possible, when he refers to the eight dispositions to evil.

Once Cassian's texts are scrutinised, one finds an entire library, both Christian and Greek, condensed in his succinct statements. In this library, the leading role is played not only by Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Alexandria, but also by Lucian of Samosata, Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Plutarch, Galen, Proclus, Simplicius, Damascius, John Philoponus. The writer clearly intended a return to intellectualism. In terms of philosophy, this means a return to the Greek patrimony. In terms of theology, this meant revisiting Origen.

Cassian lived in an environment that encouraged struggle with the new challenges of the era. Whereas scholars in the capital (such as John Grammaticus) endeavoured to cultivate the so-called neo-Chalcedonism, it seems that the monastic community of the Akoimetoï were more radical, and more tolerant to the notion of 'heresy' none the less. This means that the hypothecation of 'long orthodox traditions' being carried on in these texts should be avoided. The clergy and courtiers alike must have looked on the Akoimetoï with consternation, as something of a hotbed of libertine preaching. In contrast to the neo-Chalcedonians who sought a 'third way' by obscuring or eliminating uncomfortable terminology, it seems that in divergent approaches to Chalcedon, the Akoimetoï were seeing more homology than polarity, which in turn called for clarification rather than obscurity of the theological apparatus. This notwithstanding, forgeries that were produced in their *scriptorium* represented defunct authorities as vatic figures being the mouthpieces of old ecclesiastical platitudes entertained within the new hot Christological context. This, however, eventually turned out to be a cause of discord rather than concord.

This community was in effect a spiritual colony of Antioch in Constantinople. The monks of this monastery carried on the noble tradition of Antioch rather than Alexandria cherishing the textual tradition of such figures as Origen and Didymus, alongside Aristotle and his late antique commentators, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias. The community entertained mutual tolerance to divergent theological understanding between its own members. This I could style a sort of 'Christian universalism', meaning that

they drew without encumbrance on the entire Christian patrimony to no exclusion of authors that had been disputed as heretics, save the Arians. This is all too evident in Cassian's work. His predilection for the great Antiochene doctors such as Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, is all too evident, and yet this does not overshadow his respect for Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, the Cappadocians, Evagrius, and of course Origen, let alone his heavy liabilities to Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Chrysippus.

What makes Cassian's scholarship interesting is that he felt free to glean from all streams of Christian tradition, actually from all streams of thought, including the Greek patrimony and the Oriental lore. This means that despite specific streams of thought traced here and there in his writings, he actually saw one tradition available to him, which was the treasures of Christian and Greek patrimony. Cassian's work is a novel fusion. In what follows, it will be argued through evidence that this could have happened only during the first half of the sixth century. For we are faced with a new sort of style defiantly drawing on Greek lore, with no inflated despise against the very source of its own spiritual inspiration. Not only was Cassian familiar with Proclus' theology, but he was also immersed in the Neoplatonic currents of his own day. His aim however was not to row against the persecuted resplendence of Damascius and Simplicius. Rather, he sought to equip himself with the oars of that fresh Neoplatonic wisdom in order to arrive at Christian formulations that were called for by the sixth-century challenges. These challenges were not seen as mere doctrinal ones. The decline of the civic ethos was only a mirror of the decline of the monastic ethos, which ought to be a source of inspiration and yet it was not. If these writings emit an aroma of munificence, this is so because the author takes this virtue into counsel against covetousness, vainglory, greed, pride,—in short, passions that flourished in society only because they burgeoned within monasteries in the first place. Put differently, the veracity of Cassian's purpose cannot be assessed apart from the alimentary social setting and chain of events, which at his time both nourished and were nourished by the decline of the monastic ethos. His purpose, therefore, is to contribute to adjudication of the ravages of his time by supplying not only a nursery of prototypal monastic paradigm and rigour, but also an operative exemplar for a way out of this exigency by means of both righteous ethos and intellectual enlightenment.

With Cassian's texts we come upon an unabashed revolt against the official state renouncing Classical Greek lore. This is availed of to the extreme, thus marking an audacious revival of the spirit of acquiescence to these

sages of the ‘outsiders’ that had been condemned in the person of Origen. Despite the hostility that was aired in the official environment of his epoch, Cassian’s work turns out to be a milestone marking a decisive shift from the professed anti-Hellenism of Justinian’s era towards a spirit openly embracing the Greek patrimony—a process that culminated with Photius and, later still, with Michael Psellus. This process resulted in the empire’s physiognomy transformed into a Greek one. It is an irony of history that this course, though clandestine and risky, was initiated during Justinian’s reign. The monastery of the Akoimetoi was the isolated milieu where the eggs of this bold and libertarian attitude were hatched. Justinian himself was aware of this fatal process. Even though he issued his *Novellae* in Greek, he refers to Latin as the ‘language of our fathers’⁶ in a sentiment of nostalgia, indeed with a taciturn mourning for the Roman character of the empire doomed to be lost to the Greek. He was of course the source of all power, which was actually put to use: the Akoimetoi were written off and after 534 their monastery entered a process of decline, which resulted in ruin. However, the present texts reveal that much of their treasure was rescued by the amiable environment of the monastery of Studios, with Theodore Studites being the intellectual who saw the value of their heritage, and the importance of Cassian himself.⁷

Cassian was a Christian by upbringing and no doubt he took pride in himself having been personally trained during his boyhood by St Sabas himself. Though careful he appears to expound what he saw as orthodox dogma, he does not care to extol Christian superiority. His style is far too distant from the tedious pertinacity of old-time converts, who had chosen to see in paganism nothing but a simple-minded practice of idolatry, and had presumed that all ‘the outsiders’ had cared to treasure was the licentious conduct of their gods and the abominable trappings of the mysteries. In *De Trinitate* he quotes heavily from ‘the outsiders’ (οἱ ἕξω) in order to make the point that they said certain divine things *as well as* Christians did. In other words, he does not feel he is at war with either the Greek spirit or the Oriental one. The schizophrenic early Christian attitude aiming at daemonising and exorcising the Greek lore, while drawing on that in order to produce a Hellenized Christianity, was now past. Once the author of *De Trinitate* comes upon an ‘outside’ asseveration making the same point as

⁶ See p. 239.

⁷ See *infra*, pp. 209; 234.

Christian literature does, he says so, although he refrains from assessing the comparative value of either of them. This was the culmination of a process of conflict. During the sixth century this process reached a peak, and started to decline thereafter. It is certainly not a coincidence that all those who saw the value of the 'outside' lore and made something of it were either anathematised (Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, Philoponus) or placed *sub par* (Clement of Alexandria, even Gregory of Nyssa), or indeed extinguished altogether from and by the imperial intellectual mindset, which is indeed the case with Cassian.

Three years after the Local Synod of Constantinople, in 536, where Cassian was present as a delegate of the Laura of Sabas (since he happened to be present in the capital at the time) he moved to the monastery of Souka where he became abbot to remain there until October, 447. Holding views of this kind (which must have been appalling to some monks in the region) was not the best credential to make him popular with the so-called anti-Origenist party. For this party, if we are to believe the chronicler-monk Cyril of Scythopolis (525–558), did not include the most ingenious of intellectuals. Cyril dreaded the 'Origenists' on account of their scholarship and mental qualities. This must have been a reason for Cassian to choose to live in Constantinople after the death of his tutor Sabas, in 532. Had he continued to live in the Laura, he would have had to observe the common ordinances established therein, and to be vexed by the shortcomings of a fanatical climate amid different parties cherishing different values, different aspirations and different levels of education. This means that he had to take sides, indeed with regard not only to the patrimony of theological knowledge, but also to everyday communal principles and priorities, which is why he describes current state of monastic affairs as sheer decay. Cassian succeeded in becoming acceptable by the two parties. As a result, and already having been an abbot of Souka for eight years, he was summoned to become abbot of the Great Laura in 548, at the recommendation of Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the consent of the strong Origenistic group which by that time had taken hold of the Laura of Sabas. This assignment was a compromise-solution between the two conflicting parties, at a time of passionate Origenistic controversy with Origenists having the upper hand. He was after all a well-respected intellectual and writer. Being a *hegoumenos* in a certain monastery and subsequently transferred to another was a very exceptional event. This bespeaks the distress felt by the Patriarch and the monks of all parties interested in the election of a suitable abbot: Cassian was acceptable by all those living in the Great Laura, especially the powerful Origenists.

The monastery of Souka has been identified with the monastery of Chariton.⁸ It was located south east of Jerousalem, as far from Bethlehem as the Great Laura was to the east. Southeast farther still, the New Laura was located at a distance that was half as far as the Great Laura was. This is the place where the renowned coenobite Cyriacus (448–557) lived, whose biography (indeed hagiography) Cyril of Scythopolis wrote.

It seems however that Cassian's reputation underwent a sea change after his death in 548. The custodians of orthodoxy kept an open file against his name for the next decades, which turned out to be centuries. His writings survived, yet transcribed under names of old authorities, and he himself was condemned to spiritual death and scholarly extinction. He thus suffered the 'second-death' mentioned in the book of Revelation, of which he made much in his own *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. The feigned anachronistic authorship ascribed to 'John Cassian' is only part of this development.

The texts that are included in Codex 573 are imbued by a prodigious Greek Classical lore, at a time when Hellenism was still a cause of defamation rather than adulation. The lesson Cassian had learnt as an Antiochene was that Aristotle rather than Plato was more appropriate in affording a sophisticated account of the doctrine. Following his great masters (Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret) he viewed Alexandrian Platonism as the cause of much theological aberration. At the same time though it was clear that there was an enormous treasure enshrined in the works of Alexandrian doctors such as Origen, Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria, which no one could afford not to take advantage of. Now, after a century since the passionate debate between Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria, it was clear that there were no substantial differences between the two masters, especially with respect to Christology.⁹ An Antiochene though he was, Cassian saw the feat of the church of Alexandria, namely canons and formulations of both scripture and doctrine. Redundant as his admonition may appear to a modern reader, or to a well-groomed audience, the gist of it should not elude us: Cassian carries on the shift marked by the Evagrian return to the Origenist legacy, namely, return to intellectualism, and he seeks to build on the ancestral wisdom by crowning faith with knowledge.

The fact that Cassian seeks to inspire a fresh start of a monasticism cherishing knowledge as much as uprightness, should not be obscured by

⁸ See Y. Tsafir, L. Segni, J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani Judaea Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 236.

⁹ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

the ostensible wish for mere 'return' to the ethos of the ancient anchorites. The heroes of his dialogues only make up the scenery for Cassian himself to teach.¹⁰ Whereas they declare themselves 'ignorant' and 'simpletons', they are made to entertain a highly refined Aristotelian language, with nuances that many modern Aristotle-scholars are simply not aware of.¹¹ Therefore, the apparent simplicity of Cassian's writings should not delude us. As a matter of fact, they are works calling for proficient readers. For beyond their outwardly simple words used by the staged anchorites, these characters are the vigorous proof of monks embracing intellectual analysis. In other words, they employ an attitude which is far too different from the fourth-century monastic ideal of mere *praxis*. They advance the ideal of *knowledge* that bred the great theologians of old, who in effect had set out to improve on the Origenist legacy.

This is why Cassian's writings are more than a prolonged and dextrous wrestling with the difficulties of monastic life. Whether aware of it or not, he brought Origen to the fore. Some of his statements bear on tenets that were branded 'Origenistic', although Origen himself never actually held them. He definitely drew on Didymus as much as he did on Cyril. In his writings the Antiochene spirit prevails, yet Alexandria is present, even if sometimes only in terms of terminology rather than specific doctrinal points of view. Above all, Cassian is the best pupil of Gregory of Nyssa and draws on him abundantly, in precisely the same sense Gregory himself was the best pupil of Origen. At the same time, the Greek Classical prose, poetry, Aristotle and his commentators (from Alexander of Aphrodisias to John Philoponus) make a distinctive mark, along with the Neoplatonic patrimony of Proclus, Simplicius, and Damascius. In Cassian's texts the affinities with Simplicius and Damascius are so striking (and, sometimes, with no other parallel) that one can hardly escape surmising that there had been a personal acquaintance between Cassian and these philosophers, either in the region of Antioch, or in Constantinople.

To a certain extent, I have explored the close relation between Simplicius and the text of *De Trinitate*, and I suggest that Simplicius' *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion* probably bespeaks a personal relation between this Neoplatonist philosopher and Cassian.¹² I also suggest that when Cassian

¹⁰ Cf. Photius referring to Caesarius' dialogue as only a literary scheme staged by the author. *Bibliotheca*, Codex 210, p. 168b: Εἰς ἐρωτήσεις δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις μεθ' ὑποβολῆς προσώπων τὸ τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα πεποιήται. Full text in Appendix III.

¹¹ Cf. the distinction between *σκοπὸς* and *τέλος* in edition volume, Cod. p. 57^r and note 7 (pp. 216–217).

¹² *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II.

makes the threefold classification of human ‘established habit’ (ἔξις) in babyish (νηπιώδης), practical (πρακτική) and cognitive (γνωστική), he bespeaks a certain close relation to the Neoplatonist master. A unique analysis by Simplicius advises that this was in fact a classification made by Epictetus: men are classified under the labels of ‘idiots’, those ‘progressing’, and ‘philosophers’. The first group corresponds to Cassian’s ‘babyish’ character, the second to the ‘practical’ and the third to the ‘cognitive’.¹³

When Cassian expresses the notion of something involving ‘much difficulty’ through the expression δυσχέρειαν πολλήν εἶναι,¹⁴ he actually uses an Aristotelian formula.¹⁵ Although Aristotelian commentators followed this usage (from Alexander of Aphrodisias to Eustratius of Nicaea, and certainly Simplicius), Cassian is the sole Christian author to entertain this. Likewise, the elegant expression λύεται ἡ ζήτησις (‘the quest is now resolved’), which had remained out of use for centuries, revived in the sixth century through Cassian and Simplicius.¹⁶ By the same token, the expression τελειοτάτη ἀρετή¹⁷ (‘most perfect virtue’) comes from Chrysippus and only a handful of authors used it.¹⁸ Of Christian authors alongside Cassian, it was only Theodoret who entertained both this notion and expression,¹⁹ which is absent from the parallel Latin text.²⁰ Besides, Cassian’s term δυσἀπόβλητος (‘one who is hard to expel’)²¹ only tells us that he used an epithet which otherwise remained exclusive to Aristotelian commentators. So was the expres-

¹³ See endnotes 11, 12 (pp. 351–353) to the Greek text, *De Panareto*, p. 102^v. Cf. Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 132.

¹⁴ See endnote 37 (p. 227) to the Greek text, *ScetPatr*, Cod. p. 61^r.

¹⁵ Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, 1091b22; (Cf. 1085b17; 1086b12); *De Partibus Animalium*, 645a28; *Politica*, 1261a10; 1263a22; 1335a2.

¹⁶ See Cod. p. 112^v and note 27 (p. 362) in edition volume.

¹⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 5^v and note 11 (p. 70) in edition volume.

¹⁸ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 459: ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 9: κρατίστην ἀπασῶν ἀρετῆν καὶ τελειοτάτην. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 116–117: αὐρὰ τινὶ τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. *De Specialibus Legibus* (*lib. i–iv*), 2.68: τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τελειοτάτην. *De Aeternitate Mundi*, 75 (quoting Chrysippus): ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, p. 114: καὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν γιγνώσκειν δικαιοσύνην, ἥς συμπληρωτικαὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ καὶ ἥς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὄφελος. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13,1, pp. 145–146: ὃ γὰρ φρόνησις πάρεστι, πάντα γινώριμα τὰ πρακτέα τελειοτάτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀρετή.

¹⁹ Theodoret, *Quaestiones In Octateuchum*, p. 207: καὶ μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῇ τελειοτάτῃ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νομοθέτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ παροιμία. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.117.42–44: Ὁ δὲ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὴν τελειοτάτην δεικνύς ἀρετὴν, ἔφη,

²⁰ Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.7, PL.49.161B: alii traditur seniori, qui decem junioribus praeest, quos sibi creditos ab abbate instituit pariter, et gubernat: secundum illud scilicet quod ordinatum in Exodo legimus per Moysen.

²¹ *OctoVit*, p. 30^r.

sion about ‘those who are excellent and good’ (τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς),²² which is one more token of Cassian’s Aristotelian learnedness and did not enjoy due attention, until conspicuous Aristotelian commentators such as Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponus took this seriously. The formula never attracted Christian authors, which attests to Cassian’s personal education. Unique instances of this kind bring Cassian’s special spiritual relation with Theodore Studites to the fore, since canvassing of the texts reveals tens of instances where Theodore turns out to be a staunch follower of Cassian’s language and the Studite environment turns out to be the place where Cassian’s treasures were preserved and cherished.

Philological and philosophical exploration of Cassian’s text reveals a clandestine interplay between Christian theologians, on the one hand, and Proclus, Damascius and Simplicius on the other, which took place under the nose of imperial autocracy. It then becomes quite plain that Neoplatonism was a stock that Christians have been more eager to appropriate than the Neoplatonists to share. In view of condemned Christian theologians who are shown to have been heavily involved in Cassian’s education and writings, it could be claimed that somehow these texts adumbrate a deviant Christianity. This may be true. But were that the case, this is an aberrance of a remarkable tenacity and refinement.

Out of this give-and-take, only the Areopagite escaped condemnation and survived, perhaps because his fanciful adumbration of ‘divine hierarchies’ was too fascinating to jettison, notwithstanding his Origenism and implicit Monophysitism imbuing his texts, alongside crude Neoplatonic adaptations.

The Akoimetoι

Any Syrian or Antiochene monk was quite at home living at the Akoimetoι (‘sleepless monks’),²³ whose roots were in fact Syrian. The founder of the institution was Alexander (c. 350–430), who engaged in monastic life in Syria in c. 380, and went to Constantinople after 404, the same year when he

²² *Const*, p. 18^v. See endnote 21 (p. 73) to the Greek text.

²³ Rudolf Riedinger, “Akoimeten”, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Pt. 2 (1978), p. 149. Also, Vernace Grumel, *Acémètes, Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 1 (1937), pp. 169–176. Jules Pargoire, *Acémètes, Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 1/1 (1907), 307–321. S. Vaillhé, *Acémètes, Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, 1 (1912), pp. 274–281. How did the community of Akoimetoι fare until the eighth century, see Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850*, Cambridge, 2007, *passim*.

appeared in Antioch to be thence expelled forthwith. Cassian himself was in a familiar milieu, not only because his writings make clear that Syria was his place, but also because his native Scythopolis was part of the *Koile* Syria. The relations between the Akoimetoï and the wider region of Palestine were close and both the Akoimetoï and the Great Laura were renowned for their libraries. The library of the Akoimetoï was later reproduced by its daughter-monastery of Studios,²⁴ through the exertions of the already mentioned famous abbot Theodore Studites, who created one of the greater *scriptoria* of his times there. The library of the Laura is mentioned in the *Vita Stephani Sabaitae*,²⁵ which advises that Stephen had been appointed to care for the library when he became a cell dweller. It seems he used to take care of preservation and classification of books in his cell. The author of the collection of stories relating monastic experience entitled *Pratum Spirituale* (*Λειμωνάριον*), John Moschus (c. 550–619, born in Damascus), and his pupil Sophronius settled in the New Laura for a long period of time and used to visit the Great Laura frequently. The seventh-century Sabaite monk and abbot Antiochus of Palestine composed his *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae* within the same premises drawing heavily on Cassian's texts, as shown in Appendix I. It is then pretty plain that once intellectuals of this level were able to work in the Great Laura, there was a society of intellectual monks being around. There are testimonies of similar intellectual activity, as well as copying of manuscripts, in other desert monasteries, too. Among them the Laura of Souka appears,²⁶ which is a telling fact explaining Cassian's decision to join the specific monastery upon his return to Palestine from Constantinople.

The strictures against the Akoimetoï reflected on Cassian himself. He was vilified by different quarters competing for championing the imperial orthodoxy, which took no pride in the fact that an intellectual such as Cassian had decamped to Constantinople from Palestine. His teaching, no matter how prone to Origenistic tendencies or Nestorian sympathies, or tolerant of the Monophysite cause it was, was embraced (or tolerated) only

²⁴ Parts of that library were probably transferred to Studios, following the decline of the Akoimetoï, after their condemnation by Pope John II of Rome, on charges of Nestorianism in 534, instigated by Justinian.

²⁵ G. Garitte, "Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte tertouvé en arabe au Sinai", *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), 332–369, p. 354.

²⁶ R.P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIII siècle", *Le Muséon* 78, 1965, pp. 367–380. S.H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*", *Byzantion* 56, 1986, pp. 117–138. A. Linder, "The Christian Communities in Jerusalem", in J. Prawer, ed., *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Islamic Period (638–1099)*, Jerusalem (Hebrew), 1987, pp. 112–113.

so long as Justinian was seeking compromises with theological dissent and had not yet communicated his despotic resolutions to the clergy.

I will canvass how Nestorius and the Monophysites entertained the notion of *συνάφεια* ('coherence') which makes plain that Cassian (and Caesarius, who is the selfsame person) applies the idea more or less in the same sense.²⁷ Beyond such points, however, Cassian advises that 'in another work of his' (*καθὼς γὰρ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ εἶπομεν*) he has argued that 'the Holy Spirit does not give birth to progeny' (*τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ*).²⁸ It was Nestorius who had made the notion of the Holy Spirit 'begetting' (*apud* John 3:3&3:7) a major point of dispute and he had himself defended his position vigorously, only to be followed by Cassian.

Theologians used to quote John 3:3–7 conveniently, taking this to bespeak spiritual, ethical, and existential renewal: a rebirth, or a new life, through the sanctifying action of the Holy Spirit. Although the scriptural portion involves a notion of birth 'from the Spirit', almost no author took this statement to suggest that 'the Holy Spirit' gives any kind of 'birth' to any kind of offspring. Beside Nestorius himself, it was Cassian alone who felt it necessary to make the assertive proclamation that 'the Holy Spirit does not give birth to' progeny (*τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ*). As was the case with the implicit homage Cassian used to pay to Origen, this was in effect his manner to pay his respects to Nestorius, too. His statement is practically a confident Nestorian echo and a courageous defence of his compatriot. No matter what his dissent from Nestorius, this did not go as far as to disown the feeling of spiritual alliance with a doctor who had stood up against the Alexandrian extreme apotheosis of Christ at the expense of his humanity. It was after all Theodoret who had vouched for the real import of Nestorius' preaching and the master of Cyrrhus was a real spiritual father to Cassian. Nestorius had contended that the portion of Matthew 1:20, 'for that which was conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit' has consequential things to say: 'It is one thing to co-exist with that which was conceived; but it is quite another to argue that it was the Holy Spirit that made that which was in' Mary's womb (*ἄλλο ἐστὶ τὸ συνεῖναι τῷ γεγεννημένῳ καὶ ἄλλο τὸ γεννᾶσθαι*). As I will sustain presently, no one has ever been able to make a convincing case against Nestorius' forceful argument: 'For the holy fathers, who had a profound knowledge of the holy scriptures, saw that, if we substitute the expression *the one who was incarnated* with *the one who was born* [from the Holy Spirit], then the Son

²⁷ See Cod. p. 84^v and endnote 17 (pp. 298–299).

²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, Cod. p. 116^f. See endnote 39 (pp. 366–370) to the Greek text.

becomes son of the Spirit, which results in [Jesus Christ] having been born of two fathers. And if [the word γεγεννημένω] were written with one *n*, [viz. γεγενημένω] then God the Logos becomes a creature of the Spirit'. Nestorius' point is clear-cut: 'the fathers' deliberately refrained from ascribing 'the *conception*' of Jesus in the womb to the Holy Spirit. Instead, they opted for reference to '*incarnation* by the Holy Spirit'. First and foremost was John the Evangelist who eschewed the term 'conception' or 'birth', and employed the expression 'incarnated from the Holy Spirit' instead. Although Nestorius was thrown to fire, no theologian did ever take the risk of maintaining that the Holy Spirit is a progenitor whatsoever, or specifically that Jesus was *born of* the Holy Spirit. Everyone, including Justinian and his anathemas, found it more safe to postulate that Jesus 'was born of Mary'. Nestorius was eventually adjudged a heretic, his teaching was indiscriminately proscribed, yet no formulations explicitly running contrary to this specific reasoning of his were ever issued by anyone. What therefore Cassian actually did was to endorse Nestorius' argument banning any notion of 'birth given' *by* the Holy Spirit. He does not fail to advise us that he has argued for this thesis 'in another work' of his, too, which means that he had expounded in more detail what at the present point he mentions only in passing. The portion of Matthew 1:20 was naturally quoted without encumbrance by gifted as much as mediocre theologians. All of them, however, (including the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon) saw the precariousness of the point and were quick to append the additional avowal that Jesus was 'conceived from the Holy Spirit *and* the Virgin Mary'. In other words, Jesus' human generation was not ascribed to the Holy Spirit alone at the exclusion of Mary. But it was Cassian alone who was bold enough to stand by Nestorius, for which he subsequently paid a heavy posthumous price.

When Cassian the Sabaite wrote the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,²⁹ his main source to quote from was Didymus' commentary on the same scriptural book. It then hardly comes as a surprise that these *Scholia* are anonyma. The dominating figure underlying them is Didymus, a *persona non grata* during the 540's, which could immediately put Cassian at risk. That Didymus was condemned in 553 clearly bespeaks that his theological views were current among certain monastic circles, such as the Origenists in Palestine and the monastery of Akoimetoi in the capital. How could Cassian possibly

²⁹ Not only is this work anonymous, it has no title either. There is only a series of portions of the Apocalypse, with each of them followed by a comment. I use this title only as a conventional one, which is how it appears in the forthcoming edition volume published by the Cambridge University Press.

have divulged this source of his amidst an environment where controversy was raging over Origen, Didymus and Evagrius? In addition, the Scholia are the fruit of an amazingly rich library having been studied by Cassian. As a matter of fact, Cassian wrote the Scholia entertaining his education, which related not only to orthodox theologians and the acceptable Philo, but also to an impressive abundance of pagan writers. Those were philosophers,³⁰ poets,³¹ biographers,³² anthologists,³³ historians,³⁴ rhetors and orators,³⁵ Late-Antiquity sophists,³⁶ as well as 'heretics',³⁷ including 'dangerous' Arianists,³⁸ at a time when Arianism was not simply a problem of the past, but a menace to the north of the empire, namely, Arian Goths.

Cassian appears not to have set a great store by words themselves, as distinct from the truth that a particular statement means to convey. Quite simply, he declined to eschew a word or expression only because inauspicious parties had used them. Therefore, the paradox of the period is this: whereas it had been thought that the wave of great theologians during the fifth century had definitely settled the doctrine, it appeared after Chalcedon that no general agreement had been achieved about cardinal issues. Following the fourth century self-confident sense of doctrinal clarity and conclusiveness, the dogma once again appeared to have settled in semi-fixed and ambiguous formularies. Of this development, Neo-Chalcedonism is a conspicuous emblem. Although an 'Oecumenical' Council, Chalcedon was now negotiable, which stands in stark contrast with the obdurate tenacity of the terminology employed at Nicaea.

Neo-Chalcedonism sought compromise by means of withholding too much construal of statements by either party. However, their analyses were more likely to obfuscate than to illuminate the mind, to cloud the issues rather than clarify them. The *Akoimetoï*, on the other hand, appear to have

³⁰ Plato, Aristotle, Speusippus, Theophrastus, Plotinus, Albinus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Aspasius, Posidonius, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Hermias of Alexandria, Ammonius of Alexandria, Elias of Alexandria, Hierocles of Alexandria, Olympiodorus of Alexandria, David of Alexandria, John Philoponus, Dexippus, Plutarch, Damascius, Simplicius.

³¹ Homer, Hesiod, Anacreon, Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides.

³² Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch.

³³ Stobaeus.

³⁴ Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodore of Sicily, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cassius Dio.

³⁵ Demosthenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, Lysias, Hermogenes, Libanius.

³⁶ Apollonius, Claudius Aelianus, Aelius Herodianus, Aelius Aristides, Dio Chrysostom, Lucian of Samosata.

³⁷ Origen, Evagrius of Pontus, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Diodore of Tarsus, Marcellus of Ancyra, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Severus of Antioch.

³⁸ Aetius of Antioch, Asterius of Antioch, Julian the Arian.

seen their production as part of the required increasing explicitness, which had started with Origen, proceeded with Nicaea but was rescinded by Chalcedon. This is probably a reason why they felt it more safe to put their analyses on the lips of defunct authorities, thus resting their case with the stainless orthodoxy of Athanasius, the Cappadocians, Cyril, Chrysostom, and others. On the one hand, this was a way to expound resolutions on concepts that were beset with misunderstanding and subsequent controversy. On the other, they sought to shield themselves from the shifting imperial vicissitudes of the era. Henceforth, several works actually written by Antiochene hands gave the impression of being Alexandrine. *De Trinitate*, with its ample scriptural quotation, is an outstanding paradigm, which shows two things. One, how far and wide Antiochene influence had expanded. Two, the author of *De Trinitate* (that is, Cassian himself)³⁹ essayed to preserve a modicum of Classical learning, which Alexandria since Origen had been all too shy to do, and had actually seen this as an almost sacrilegious anomaly. This tendency, however, could not mushroom until a couple of centuries later, since this train of thought was not, and could not be, in ascendancy during Justinian's reign. At the same time, compromises were deemed inevitable. Which is why during the heated controversies which swirled around Origen's thought, authors ostensibly endorsed Justinian's skewed depiction of Origen. No matter how irritating plagiarism is to modern scholarship, the Akoimetoi produced their writings being under the impression that these works were solicitous for the welfare of the entire Church.

The Akoimetoi were completely on their guard against falling into the pitfall of extremism. Which is why they were by no means shy to draw on Greek traditionalism. This can be gleaned from Cassian's writings, abounding in terse yet revealing references, where subterranean echoes of Aristotle and Stoicism are audible, even though Cassian is always ready to part company with them whenever necessary. The Akoimetoi freed themselves of fanaticism, yet they incurred imperial onslaught demanding everyone to take sides unequivocally and be a downright Chalcedonian in unswerving compliance to the official faith. The predicament of their monastery in 534 shows that broadmindedness did not avail against the storm, and yet its survival shows that the community held out against staggering odds.

Both truth and error sought to undergird their arguments by means of Scripture, while at the same time decking themselves out in the nomenclature and subtleties of philosophy. Alexandria sought to do this by means

³⁹ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II.

of Plato, only to be accused by Antiochenes that they caused the city to become the incubator of all heresies. In order to overcome this, Antioch employed a doctrine of hermeneutics combined with the philosophy of Aristotle, which was in turn held accountable for such aberration as the Three Chapters and heretics as Nestorius, not to mention Theodore of Mopsoestia. The Akoimetoï seem to have held that quite simply both Alexandria and Antioch had hyperbolised their differences, which seemed rather idle from a distance of the time-span of a century.

Personal antipathies deformed the appraisal of many churchmen in the sixth century, as in the fourth. Once an embittered antagonist had found reason for branding one of his opponents an Origenist or a Nestorian or a Monophysite, Cassian could have been tarred with every heresy that rancour could lay at his door. This was not difficult, as a matter of fact, let alone that Cassian's traffic with Origenist, Nestorian and Monophysite thought can definitely be traced following the analyses in this book. Especially after the Akoimetoï had come under the emperor's disfavour in 534, and his hardening of policy after 536, it was all too convenient for anyone to trade on the notoriety of Origen, Nestorius, and Severus, rather than to investigate the writings of a specific author such as Cassian. As heresy after heresy was laid at Origen's door, it was not difficult for critics to find causes for scandal in Cassian's teaching. Apparently heresiologists convicted Cassian of straying to Origenism, even though the notion itself was increasingly obscure: to them it sufficed that the emperor had convicted Origen and his eminent followers. Likewise, the blame of Nestorianism and Monophysitism must have been laid at his door, too, which was the case with the Akoimetoï as a whole. The fact is, however, that coming across instances of vocabulary that is redolent of the ferment over Nestorius or Monophysitism, does not mean espousal of doctrine. What we know about the theology of condemned figures is mostly onslaught by the synods. But we also know that these synods present antipodal arguments unsympathetically, in highly abbreviated form, and with only the scantiest indication of how these arguments had been meant to work.

Cassian did not deserve such a fate, no matter what his delinquencies may have been. All the more so, since his language reveals his dues to his eminent predecessors, who are in fact those who allow us to identify him as a *Greek* Christian author. However, he was the perfect match: he had composed monastic tracts that were handy for the dawning western monasticism; he was disfavoured, yet not so famous as to be anathematised by name, by any synod. The bulk of his Greek manuscripts perished through destruction or neglect, or indeed through attribution to past stars of

Christian literature, whereas his boldest speculations are the ones that his enemies would have been most zealous to suppress and his admirers least solicitous to shelter.

Certain writings strongly point to Cassian being their author. Among them, many of the epistles of the collection *Epistulae et Amphilochia* (currently attributed to Photius) present us with striking evidence which is hard to overlook. The same goes for the texts currently under the name 'Pseudo-Justin', 'Pseudo-Clement', 'Pseudo-Macarius', the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* currently ascribed either to Pseudo-Justin or Pseudo-Theodoret by different editors, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (Pseudo-Athanasius), *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae* (Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia), *Oratio Quatra Contra Arianos* (Pseudo-Athanasius). I am confident that future philological exploration will reveal Cassian as the author of a prodigious literary output. Moreover, Migne published two works: *De Incarnatione Domini* and *De Sancta Trinitate* under Cyril of Alexandria's name. They are now believed to be Theodoret's, all the more so since there is a testimony by Gennadius of Marseilles,⁴⁰ according to which Theodoret had written a book on the Incarnation of the Lord. However, both are conspicuously present in our explorations of Cassian's work and their possible relevance to his pen should remain a moot question calling for investigation.

A prolific writer though Cassian was, his name had to be associated only with monastic writings attributed retrospectively to *another* 'Cassian'. All that was needed about Cassian was silence; neither tendentious invective, nor dispute, not even dabbling in the rest of his writings: it could suffice to attribute these writings to Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others. The true Cassian was an antecedent to be done away with. The role of ancestor was reserved for another Cassian. Not much was needed anyway: it sufficed to present this other Cassian as having composed these writings as answers to the same problems and having deduced his stance from identical premisses. Revisiting the collection of biographies by Gennadius of Marseilles, interpolating an alleged biography of a figment 'John Cassian' plus some tampering

⁴⁰ Gennadius of Marseilles, *De Viris Illustribus*, LXXXIX: "Theodoretus Bishop of Cyrrhus (for the city founded by Cyrrhus King of the Persians preserves until the present day in Syria the name of its founder) is said to have written many works. Such as have come to my knowledge are the following: On the incarnation of the Lord, Against Eutyches the presbyter and Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria who deny that Christ had human flesh; strong works by which he confirmed through reason and the testimony of Scripture that He had real flesh from the maternal substance which he derived from His Virgin mother just as he had true deity which he received at birth by eternal generation from God the Father."

with some other points of the same collection was enough to put the real Cassian to a 'second death' and give rise to a 'link between the eastern and western monasticism' under the name of a phantom called 'John Cassian'.

Telling points of Cassian's text direct us to the pseudepigrapha *Erotapokriseis* (Pseudo-Caesarius) and *De Trinitate* (Pseudo-Didymus). In turn, these texts open the door to the monastery of the Akoimetoï, the broad-minded but intractable community of Constantinople. This was the place where the Areopagite corpus was composed. This was also the place where Pseudo-Caesarius (that is, Cassian)⁴¹ met Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite personally, so that he could advise posterity that this mysterious figure was a monk coming from the region of Thace. The adventure of exploring these works shows how the Akoimetoï hankered for Greek patrimony, and how persistently did they avail themselves of this patrimony despite all odds and threats by the hostile imperial environment. Not only do we owe them a good number of Greek epigrammatic passages not otherwise attested, but we also arrive at the conclusion that most of the collection *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, currently ascribed to Photius, are their product and probably the fruit of Cassian's own pen. Furthermore, it is Cassian's own texts that compel us to reconsider several epistles ascribed to Basil of Caesarea and ascribe them to Cassian himself. It seems that Rudolf Riedinger was right in endorsing Uwe W. Knorr's claim, according to which what we are currently presented with as 'epistles by Basil' are actually compilations (Lesefrüchte) from Basil's epistles. Cassian's texts allow us to go a step further and ascribe some of these epistles to Cassian drawing on Basil, or at least inspired by the Cappadocian.⁴²

Cassian himself was treated as a heretic and his writings fell prey to mongers and forgers. The name 'Cassian' was purloined from a real author who was pushed to extinction. Subsequently, the existence of a phantom, which was subsequently made a skeletal phenomenon until flesh tints were applied to that, was only a matter of fissiparous reproduction. All begun with the phantasmal flesh and blood interpolated in the text of Gennadius of Marseilles, which was subsequently peppered accordingly from start to finish.

For all this, the process marked by the tolerant Akoimetoï was irreversible and texts such as the monastic ones, as well as the Caesarius-one and *De Trinitate*, mark this course, no matter how censorious religious

⁴¹ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

⁴² Rudolf Riedinger, "Akoimeten", p. 149.

orthodoxy might be of them. While Cassian draws conveniently on Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, and others, he goes a step *beyond* them, in the sense that his respectful attitude towards Greek letters is *ipso facto* professed. Origen was shy about quoting much of Greek philosophers and poets in *Contra Celsum*, whereas Theodoret sought a ‘cure for the Greek maladies’. Origen’s cautious and reticent (and yet condemned) reference to the Greeks was that ‘those outside the faith’ have said certain things that have been ‘well-said’,⁴³ still he was prompt to add that Moses and the prophets had said the same things in a fuller and more correct manner.

It has been believed that, all of a sudden, John of Damascus (c. 676–749) appeared on stage in order to offer an account of the doctrine, which may not have been original, yet it rendered the spirit of previous theologians. Cassian fills the gap. For he is the *synthesis* of Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Didymus, Evagrius. Cassian is not the meeting-point between east and west: quite simply, St. Benedict and his successors drew heavily on his work. Rather, he is a continuation, as well as fresh start of the uninterrupted eastern tradition well into the sixth century. This process was accomplished by Sabaite intellectuals and nourished in the libraries, as well as the asceticism, of the monastery of the Akoimatoi. Antiochus and Damascenus, who both drew on the Sabaite library that was available to them within the same premises, took up Cassian. Scribe Theodosius, who reproduced ‘the book of Cassian’ (Metœora Codex 573) was a Sabaite monk, as Codex 76 and Codex 8 of St. Sabas show.

Whereas Cassian’s monastic texts draw heavily (yet covertly) on Greek philosophy (especially on Aristotle, who was favoured by the Nestorian legacy), in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* the presence of a vast number of pagan intellectuals turns out to be dominating. Which is why the Scholia were written as anonyma, whereas the text of Caesarius was written as a pseudonymous one. Cassian must have been encouraged by the work of such personalities as Dionysius Areopagite and John Philoponus. There can be no doubt that he endeavoured to comply with the official doctrine, as far as he was able to grasp and treat it. He did not succeed all the way through none the less, yet he was writing under the strong protection of such powerful persons as Leontius. Along with Theodore Askidas and Domitian, he took part in the Local Synod of 536 in the capital and subscribed to its acts, thus complying with the wishes of Leontius and of the emperor

⁴³ Origen, *Cels*, VII.46 & *Philocalia*, 15.5: Πρὸς ταῦτα δ’ ἡμεῖς φήσομεν, οἱ μελετήσαντες μηδὲν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τῶν καλῶς λεγομένων, κἂν οἱ ἕξω τῆς πίστεως λέγωσι καλῶς.

himself. None of the aforementioned intellectuals had to be present in that synod, since this was a local (ἐνδημοῦσα) one and only those who happened to be in the capital should have been present. Had they wished not to be there, they could have simply set sail for Palestine (or, anywhere else) for a while. Still they went and paid this service to the court. Theodore and Domitian were rewarded for this: they both became bishops of powerful and historical sees. Cassian had already been rewarded with a convenient abode in the monastery of Akoimetoi, where a vast library was available for him to compose his works. Two monks in that synod (the sole synod in which the Akoimetoi appear to have been represented) also stood for the monastery of Akoimetoi at the Local Synod of 536: 'John, presbyter and archimandrite', and 'Euethius, deacon and archimandrite'.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the year 536 marks a shift of Justinian's policy towards not only Monophysites, but also whatever he saw as aberration by living and deceased theologians alike. Justinian's sympathies changed and developed over time, with the result that those favoured by him got regularly juggled, too. Cassian realised this change in the air, as indeed the entire community of the Akoimetoi must have done, too. It was time for him to leave the capital. Considerate and aware of the balance of power as he was, he knew that to return to his own monastery of Sabas would only promise him a hard time: the new abbot Gelasius, appointed in 535, was a staunch anti-Origenist. It only remained for Cassian to go somewhere else and, once again, his friend Leontius must have played his part. Instead of subduing himself to the rule of Gelasius, Cassian was appointed an abbot by another historical monastery, that of Souka, in 539. The years 536–539 would have not been easy for him. Justinian's change of policy made Cassian vulnerable to censure by the new custodians of mandatory orthodoxy. The monastery of Akoimetoi as an institution had a hard time against the imperial authority, which is probably why they were present in the synod of 536, in order to offer the emperor a supine appeasement. Following this period, *De Trinitate* must have been written by Cassian in defence of himself when he was an abbot of the Souka monastery, that is, during or after 539. This is a work clearly evincing the distress of its author being faced with stricture. It is easy to see his anxious endeavour to show that, unlike his unlearned detractors,

⁴⁴ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 47: 'Ἰωάννης ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς εὐαγοῦς μεγάλης μονῆς τῶν Ἀκοιμήτων τῆς ὑπὸ Φωτεινὸν τὸν ὀσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Χαλκηδονίων λαμπρᾶς μητροπόλεως ὑπέγραψα. op. cit. p. 68: Εὐήθιος διάκονος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς εὐαγοῦς μονῆς τῶν Ἀκοιμήτων ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμῇ.

he is a knowledgeable theologian that had said nothing wrong, and he makes his point by composing a Greek tract exhibiting ample knowledge of both Greek and Oriental writings. *De Trinitate* is indeed the work where a vast number of pagan quotations are lavishly offered. Some of them are treasures that have never been attested otherwise, and we are not able to identify the source of them all, although there is some room for guessing. It is in this same tract that the author announces his subsequent work, which is no other than the text written under the name 'Caesarius'. It is known that the opening of this work is a *grosso modo* quotation from the *Ancoratus* by Epiphanius of Salamis. Although some scholars have been apt to style this 'plagiarism', this is actually far from being so. The author writing in the arrogant and exhibitionist style of a highly erudite theologian that just escaped condemnation, declares himself as orthodox as Epiphanius himself was. The latter was not chosen at random: for the Bishop of Cyprus was a most stern inquisitor as regards what he saw as theological deviation. It should be noticed, however, that this is not a verbatim quotation. Among minor differences here and there, one should be pointed out. Whereas Epiphanius was a bishop and was so addressed (ὁ δέσποτα), the author of *Erotapokriseis* is addressed 'child-loving father' (φιλότεκνε πάτερ), thus emending Epiphanius' text on this small but telling point, which means that he was an abbot, not a bishop.⁴⁵

A survey may furnish instances of influence or conflict, even though occasional similarities lurk only to obscure research. In the first place there is some chance to reveal the scope (intellectual, geographical) of a notion being entertained. This may mean nothing significant on its own merit. But it may provide a scope, within which certain relations can be pointed out. For instance, the epithet ἀδιάδοχος ('without successor') applied to the New Testament, has a distinct meaning in Cassian and in Didymus only. How the rest of the scholars use this, may be instructive, but it is not essential, and it would be rash to translate mere verbal affinity to intellectual relevance. Nevertheless, we could hardly do away with this preliminary process in order to reach more substantial conclusions, even though exhumation of sources is only a preliminary stage and interpretation is the main task to follow. Certainly common linguistic tools do not always translate into influence, neither do they have to suggest influence, or affiliation, or even discord. True, sometimes aleatory references simply mean nothing. But once we come across weird instances, such as Simplicius entertaining character-

⁴⁵ See Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 1.10; 164.1.

istic Christian terms or indeed very rare ones, and we have no other parallel instances at all,⁴⁶ or Proclus employing a vocabulary exclusively characteristic of Christian theologians, then raising eyebrows yet turning to the next page may cost some historical information lying hidden therein.

Granted, sometimes, though not always, philology can establish the dependence of one author on another, but it takes more in order to complete the task of explanation. Availing himself of Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret, and Cyril alike, Cassian provides some answers as to why he made such selections from his predecessors: during the sixth century, they all made up the single Christian heritage. Nuances or quarrel of previous periods made little sense to intellectuals like Cassian, and to the Akoimetoï in general. At the same time, however, he was a theologian that had been nurtured in the Antiochene-ridden atmosphere of Palestine. A reasoned choice though this could have been, it could not have been easy in the first place to embrace the influence of the Antiochene doctors and not to incur the debt of an overall attitude. He went a step beyond, however. Surrounded by the spiritual atmosphere of the Akoimetoï and their strong Antiochene affiliations and allegiances, he came to be not only sympathetic to Nestorius, but also pervious to the Alexandrian allegorism. He was not even shy about practising his proclivity to explore divine numerology, although it has to be remarked that reflection on the theological significance of numbers, which transpires in Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, is not only indulgence to Didymus: it was a tendency cultivated with the monastery of the Akoimetoï,⁴⁷ and after all, Iamblichus (c. 245-c. 325), who had written the *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, was an Assyrian and his influence can be traced in Cassian's texts. In any event, one could have been all but dissuaded from practising divine numerology while living in the community of the Akoimetoï.

I have identified the author of *Erotapokriseis* (Pseudo-Caesarius) with Cassian.⁴⁸ The author of this work knew the person behind the pseudonym 'Dionysius Areopagite' personally and he is the sole author to advise us that 'Dionysius' was from Thrace. This reference to Thrace is pretty telling, since the larger Prefecture of the East included Thrace, Syria and Egypt. Although most of the population of the Diocese of the East lived in Syria, this also

⁴⁶ A case in point is the adjective ἀσυντρήχαστος (incompatible), which transpires in only four instances in Greek literature, notably, Origen, Didymus, Cassian, and Simplicius. I canvass this in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIX.

⁴⁷ See R. Riedinger, "Akoimeten", p. 148.

⁴⁸ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

included Isauria, Cilicia, Palestine, and Roman Mesopotamia. There was therefore a kind of political propinquity between Thrace and Syria.

Besides, I was astonished to come upon a nineteenth-century author who wrote, "John Cassian was a native of Lesser Syria, then comprised under Thrace".⁴⁹ However, there is no information adduced as to how this author came to be aware of this, and anyway he does not dispute the hackneyed myth about the rest of the Latin whereabouts of *his* Cassian, even though he does not mention Scythia at all. Nevertheless, in the sixth book of the treatise against Nestorius, Cassian (or, 'John Cassian') is represented to assault Nestorius by appealing to the creed of the Church of Antioch, where the latter was brought up, taught and baptised. Cassian makes reference to the creed that was usually recited in the Church of Antioch, not a creed composed by any council of Antioch.⁵⁰ At all events, it is impressive that the treatise against Nestorius appears to have been written by an Antiochene, who was familiar with, and makes pretty much of, the Antiochene theology, appealing confidently to its didactic authority.⁵¹

Since I sustain that Pseudo-Caesarius was the same person as Cassian himself, the information supplied by Caesarius that Dionysius Areopagite was a native of Thrace is of special value and should be given credence. As a matter of fact, my discussion shows that Cassian's liabilities to Pseudo-Dionysius are so heavy, that personal acquaintance between them is probable. Besides, staggering analogies occurring in both Cassian and Simplicius might have brought it about that the identification between Pseudo-Dionysius and Simplicius (which I am not ready to urge at present) might not after all be that much of a fanciful extrapolation.

Following exploration of the text and its correlation with the rest of Greek literature, I am at one with Rudolf Riedinger arguing that 'Dionysius' was a member of the Akoimetoï. It is however beyond my scope to either endorse, or not do so, his assertion that this person was Peter the Fuller, which is an overlooked resolution by scholars of old. One thing is for sure: the Akoimetoï cherished the Neoplatonic lore and certainly felt sympathy for the persecuted masters of the Academy after 529, at a time when (up to the present times) historians have stories to say only about persecutions, real or imagined, that Christians suffered under the Romans.

⁴⁹ Walter Farquhar Hook, *An Ecclesiastical Biography Containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines*, London, 1847; vol. III, pp. 516–521.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 519–520.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 519–520. See discussion on p. 222.

*A Sabaite Scholar Monk at the Monastery
of the Akoimetoi ('the Never-Sleeping' Monks)*

No institution during the fifth and sixth centuries demonstrates better the vicissitudes of the times in relation to imperial politics as the monastery of Akoimetoi. During that period it makes sense to speak of monastic politics, even politicised monasteries,⁵² which occasionally resisted bishops and archbishops incurring the consequences of their activity. It took only four years (424–428) for the initial monastery of Akoimetoi to evolve from a promising community, located in the capital centre, to almost ruin. The monastic community of Akoimetoi was founded c. 424 by Alexander the Akoimetos, who died c. 430. The initial gathering in the city comprised Alexander's pupils from the East, who soon became famous not only for their all-night vigil psalming, but also for their unyielding austerity and asceticism. Following controversial Messalian habits, they intermingled with local people, thus enhancing their social influence. This could have resulted in a powerful community (indeed one based in the city centre), had Alexander not begun to criticise the local authorities openly and to incur the wrath of other abbots, who were seeing their monks being lured away by the Akoimetoi. It was only because another abbot of Constantinople, Hypatios of Rousphianae, helped them find a new place at Gomon, the Asian side of Bosphorus, that they escaped total ruin. Nevertheless, the wheel of history never ceased to rotate and shifts were relatively rapid. It took only two decades for the Akoimetoi to regain power, since the Council of Chalcedon marked a triumph for them, too.

The most famous abbot was Marcellus, who provided the first Studite monks in 463. A tenth-century manuscript attributed to the monastery of Studios, which relates his life, tells us important things about this remarkable, as well as hardly tractable, community. It is possible that they opted for an intellectual tendency coupled with ascetic holiness rather than manual labour and strict fasting. More important is that at their doors a variety of fugitives found shelter, including refugee bishops and monks.⁵³ This is a distinctive characteristic, on account of which Cassian may have sought refuge in the monastery right after the death of Sabas, when his Antiochene and Origenistic sympathies would have raised eyebrows at the Great Laura in Palestine.

⁵² Peter Hatlie, *op. cit.* p. 70.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* p. 103.

In his fine study, Peter Hatlie reading the Life of Marcellus has identified three possible projects entertained by the community during the office of abbot Marcellus.⁵⁴

First, upon receiving inquiries from abbots as far away as Edessa and Pontus about the Akoimetoï's peculiar way of life, Marcellus responded by sending members of his own community to them, undoubtedly as instructors and perhaps with some form of rule. Therefore, when Cassian writes setting out to describe the ascetic ethos of Egypt and the East, he actually describes the ethos of older Palestinian monks, such as Euthymius, or Cyriacus, or, simple-minded ones such as Paul, who did not wish to stay as abbot and fled the monastery after six months in office.⁵⁵ At the same time, nonetheless, he describes the ethos of the Akoimetoï, who aspired to emulating the hallowed traditions of the desert fathers, while reflecting on the wide and enlightened experience of that ascetic life itself. By the same token, one should wonder why Castor, in the first place, and Leontius later, turned to Cassian in order to be advised about this solemn monastic tradition. To which the answer may well be that they did not simply seek encyclopaedic information: they sought information about the vigorous ethos preserved by the Akoimetoï themselves.

Second, so Hatlie has it, Marcellus was instrumental in founding a number of ἀσκητήρια in the city close to home. They were probably meant for a kind of catechumen-monks preparing themselves for full monastic life, or perhaps client monasteries under the supervision of the Akoimetoï. When, therefore, Cassian founded a monastery at Zouga, he practised a venture of which he was well aware following his stay with the Akoimetoï.

Third, following the Life of Marcellus, it seems that the abbot founded and governed affiliates or satellites of the Akoimetoï, using his own monks as the core of the new community. We know of the most famous of this venture, namely, the foundation of the Studios monastery in 463.⁵⁶

Given this brisk expansion, the suggestion that the Akoimetoï came to comprise a crowd of 1000 monks within the walls would barely come as an exaggeration. Besides, it was not only Studios in Constantinople that they had colonised: the surplus of monks may well have expanded this activity as far as the East. Which allows for the surmise that, if Cassian did not found the monastery of Zouga at Scythopolis while he was an abbot of Souka in the 540's, he may well have established this monastery in his native city

⁵⁴ Op. cit. p. 106.

⁵⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 124.

⁵⁶ Op. cit. p. 107.

during his stay with the Akoimetoi. Cyril of Scythopolis relates that Cassian founded this monastery in Scythopolis, yet he does not say that Cassian was ever its abbot. It was simply all too reasonable for the abbot of the Akoimetoi to do a favour to such an intellectual as Cassian who lived with the fraternity, and make it possible for him to found one monastery in Scythopolis during that period of bustling colonisation.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the Akoimetoi played a major role in the historical events surrounding the Christological controversy. The fact that they put themselves on the side of Chalcedon (as against the monastery of Eutyches which was anti-Chalcedonian) was the cause (or, one of the causes) why they not only received a generous funding from aristocratic wallets, but were also able to respond positively to public sensitivities.

More important still, the Akoimetoi seem to have been the first monastery to set up a serious *scriptorium* in Constantinople during the fifth century.⁵⁸ Abbot Marcellus was himself a skilled calligrapher, but the point was not calligraphy, it was polemics—and polemics had its casualties. The monastery of the Akoimetoi was probably the headquarters where forged documents were masterminded as part of polemical literature. A set of forged letters aiming at discrediting Peter the Fuller was one of their products. Peter himself had been a monk there before he became a zealous Monophysite and Patriarch of Antioch to return to the Akoimetoi after his deposition 'hiding therein'.⁵⁹ Rudolf Riedinger suggested that the text by Pseudo-Caesarius could have been written at the monastery of the Akoimetoi,⁶⁰ which I am now prepared to endorse, all the more so since I further urge that the work was written by Cassian himself. Later still, Riedinger went a step further: he urged that an entire industry of falsification and forgery was at work in the library of the Akoimetoi. According to him, not only the letters of Peter the Fuller, but also the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus, the letters by Isidore of Pelusium and the redaction of the Homilies of Pseudo-Macarius were the product of the activity by the Akoimetoi.⁶¹ In

⁵⁷ Op. cit. p. 109.

⁵⁸ Op. cit. p. 112.

⁵⁹ Theodore Anagnostes, *HE*, 2.384; 3.403. Alexander of Cyprus (monk, probably sixth cent.), *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, lines 587 f. Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, p. 121. Also, *Synodicon Vetus*, 98; *Synodicon Vetus (versio altera)*, 100. George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, pp. 611; 617. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 15.28; 16.2.

⁶⁰ Rudolf Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis*, Berlin, 1989, p. viii.

⁶¹ Rudolf Riedinger, "Akoimetoi", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Pt. 2 (1978), pp. 148–153. Also, "Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites, Pseudo-Kaisarios und die Akoimetoi", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Pt. 52 (1959), pp. 276–296.

Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, I myself have come upon so many instances of notable philological analogies between that text and Pseudo-Macarian ones, that I have come to suggest, though tentatively, that Cassian's pen must have been somehow related to those texts.⁶²

I have surmised that when Sabas visited Constantinople in 511–512, Cassian, who should have been about forty years old, joined him. Cassian was after all a beloved spiritual child of the revered man: 'he had made his renunciation at a tender age and had been educated by the godly Sabas'.⁶³

There was more than that, however. Severus of Antioch stayed for three years in Constantinople, between the years 508 and 510. He went there along with a delegation of 200 monks, in order to seek a compromise between various groups contesting the Council of Chalcedon. This turbulent stay had another side effect: a group of Chalcedonian monks from Antioch arrived soon for the purpose of counteracting the numbers and political influence of the Monophysite transplantation.⁶⁴ Cassian was an intellectual and it would have been all too natural for Sabas (a man loved by the majority of local monks) to reinforce the Chalcedonian party. Antiochene as he was, Cassian would have been happy to join the Antiochenes who had promptly arrived at the capital to counteract Severus' influence, indeed doing so under the blessing and very presence of Sabas himself. In any event, the Akoimetoι had live contact with the major cities of the empire, above all Antioch, which played a role in them being influenced from outside with respect to doctrinal / political coalitions.⁶⁵

The Akoimetoι monks practised continuous liturgical prayer in alternating groups and had a very influential library. Although their fifth century legacy was to defend Chalcedon, they actually had no real antipathy for the Three Chapters, which resulted in them losing their power in 534 amid accusations of Nestorianism. When Cassian chose to stay there, he knew that his Antiochene allegiances were most welcome. Certainly what was pro- or anti-Nestorian was not so clear, and anyway no clearer than the distinction made between Origenism and its opponents. Theodoret himself was almost condemned as a Nestorian, and Antiochean presence among the Akoimetoι smacked of heresy to some in the early 530s. What actually happened

⁶² See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction, *passim*, and Author-Index.

⁶³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀπαταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σάβα παιδευθέντα.

⁶⁴ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, pp. 151f. Peter Hatlie, *op. cit.* p. 120, and note 89.

⁶⁵ Cf. a letter by Theodoret to 'Marcellus, archimandrite of the Akoimetoι'. *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (Epistulae 96–147)*, 142.

is far from clear and I should once again draw on Peter Hatlie, who, however, tells the story without adducing any evidence. According to him, the episode of 428 that had threatened to eliminate the Akoimetoι somehow recurred during the 530s. ‘They challenged the Emperor and the Patriarch on theological grounds’, ‘they were promptly punished for it’ and yet ‘after much struggle they emerged from the age a weakened but by no means defeated community’.⁶⁶ I have traced echoes of Nestorian or Monophysite provenance in Cassian’s text, which will be discussed in due course, yet it is hardly possible to attribute such views to Cassian on account of such points alone. Rudolf Riedinger has it that Pseudo-Caesarius (which I maintain to be Cassian) is inclined to Monophysitism—which explains the pseudonymity of the work. Besides, there is evidence that the large crowd of the Akoimetoι was not unified as regards the doctrines they espoused. Abbot Marcellus had separated ‘the flock into three parts’ (εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν ποιμνὴν διανειμάμενος), but we are not told on what grounds. Nevertheless, there were two monks in the monastery, who composed liturgical hymns (τροπάρια). Of these, Anthimus was a pro-Chalcedonian, whereas Timocles was an anti-Chalcedonian, in other words, a Monophysite.⁶⁷ My own suggestion is that the reason why Justinian turned against the Akoimetoι was the fact that they were too tolerant towards Monophysitism and hosted too many representatives of this tendency in their monastery. It should be recalled that in the early 530s Monophysitism was an issue with which the emperor was preoccupied, and his favoured Leontius negotiated with the Monophysites in order to seek a compromise. Justinian’s ire against the Akoimetoι at that specific moment can be understood on this ground. This is probably the reason why the Akoimetoι took part in the Local Synod of 536. They subscribed to the resolution against the Monophysites, and obliged by endorsing the deposition of the Monophysite Patriarch Anthimus (who failed to appear in the synod of 536 in order to vindicate his orthodoxy) and his adherents by Justinian, thus escaping total ruin of their monastery.

Be that as it may, this was definitely a time of hardship for Cassian and his confidants in the monastery. This becomes clear in both Appendices I and II of the edition-volume,⁶⁸ which are two consecutive tractates written by this very same author. The Akoimetoι surely survived, yet we do not know either how they made it or how they fared afterwards. We do know,

⁶⁶ Op. cit. pp. 168–169.

⁶⁷ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 15,23.

⁶⁸ See *Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendices I, II.

however, that they were present in the Local Synod of 536, represented by two monks who signed what the emperor demanded them to sign. Cassian's period of stay in the capital had reached its end and a way out had to be found. In the Great Laura, where he officially belonged, abbot Gelasius would hardly provide the right environment for this open-minded intellectual, who was not shy about dealing with the writings of such dangerous writers as Origen, Didymus (whose commentary on the Apocalypse he by and large copied anonymously), Evagrius, Theodoret, Nestorius, even Severus of Antioch. The way out for him was eventually found, in all probability through the help of his friends Leontius Byzantius and Theodore Askidas. Instead of re-joining his home-monastery of Sabas, he went to Souka as abbot in 539, only to return to the Great Laura in 547, summoned as abbot, too.

Cassian was at home with all the atmosphere and setting of the Akoimetoι. Not only because he was an Antiochene living in a virtually Antiochene community, but also because he was a Sabaite. In the Great Laura psalmody was venerated as much as it was in Antioch (and hence at the Akoimetoι). Their *typicon* concerning ecclesiastical chanting would have been exemplary, since constitutions of other monasteries postulated that the Sabaite *typicon* concerning hymnology should be employed by them, too. There is an apostrophe by Theodore Studites, which indicates that the *typicon*, or 'canon' of mass at the monastery of Studios was the one that had been established by St Sabas.⁶⁹ Well into the second millennium an abbot who founded a monastery of his own on isle Patmos stipulated that the rules of psalmody to be followed should be those of the Great Laura of St Sabas.⁷⁰

At the monastery of the Akoimetoι the pioneering Antiochene habit of practicing psalmody and antiphony was instilled by the Antiochene monks who joined the place (indeed founded it in the first place) and was embraced by the monastery as a whole. Which is why Cassian's language has so much in common with collection of hymns now published under the colophon

⁶⁹ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Cateshesis 17, p. 122: ἕτεροι δ' αὖ πάλιν, οἱ προευσχόμενοι πάντοτε ἐν τῷ κανόνι κατὰ τὸν θεῖον Σάββα.

⁷⁰ Acta Monasterii Patmi, *Testamentum et Codicillus Sancti Christoduli (anno 1093)*, 2, lines 79–80: γενέσθω δὲ τὸ τυπικὸν περὶ τῆ ψαλμωδίας τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα καὶ κρατεῖτωσαν οἱ μοναχοὶ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τούτου. *Regula Sancti Christoduli*, 17: τοιγαροῦν ἐπιτρέπω καὶ διατάττομαι τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ὕμνωδιαν καὶ πάσαν ἀπλῶς τὴν ἐν ψαλμωδίαις καὶ προσευχαῖς ἀκολουθίαν ... κατὰ τὸ τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα καὶ μεγάλου τῆς ἐρήμου καθηγητοῦ. ... ἐπισκήπτω τοίνυν τυπικὸν ἐκτεθῆναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥτοι συναξαρίου κατὰ λεπτὸν δηλοῦν πάσαν τὴν δι' ἔτους ἐκτελουμένην Ἱεροσολυμίταις εἴτουν Ἁγιοσαββίταις ἐν ψαλμικαῖς καὶ εὐκτικαῖς ἀκολουθίαις ἀκρίβειαν.

Analecta Hymnica Graeca. Their intellectual priorities apart, to the outsiders the distinctive characteristics of the community were antiphonal psalmody and prayer around the clock. This what themselves also regarded as commendable virtues, in which they took pride. A careful reading of the hymns into the *Analecta* reveals their seal upon them. The collection is arranged in 365 Days, each of which has Canons and each Canon comprises several Odae. A hymn composed for the 29th of December, the feast day of Marcellus the founder of their monastery, is telling of the universal spirit of the Akoimetoi. "You gathered the flock from all over the earth, from every language and from every sea. Since you performed spiritual praises sleeplessly (ἀκοιμήτως) with them all, you gave this name to your flock, that is, Sleepless (Ἀκοίμητον)."⁷¹ Since different saints have the same feast day, the Akoimetoi composed hymns in honour of each one of them. One can see that the virtues of the saints that are praised are their resilience to endure all-night vigils (παννυχίς), indeed to do so either standing, not sitting during all of the office (πάννυχος στάσις, or πάννυχος παράστασις), or kneeling (τῆ τῶν γονάτων κλίσει). The epithet ἀκοίμητος ('never-sleeping') is accorded to praised saints every now and then, which in fact reflects their own priorities and values, indeed their own name as a community.⁷²

As already said, the present texts reveal that much of their treasure was rescued by the amiable environment of the monastery of Studios. Theodore Studites evidently had their library transferred to his own monastery and cherished their heritage, which he reproduced. His reverential reference to Cassian,⁷³ as well as the numerous instances of his vocabulary being

⁷¹ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Decembris*, (Day/Canon/Ode), 29.56.3. The *Synaxarium* of the same day relates the life of Marcellus.

⁷² *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Septembris*, 11.16.4: τῆ παννύχῳ στάσει σου σοφέ, καὶ ταῖς ὀλονύκτοις ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀγρυπνίαις σου. 11.16.9: τοῖς πάννυχον τελοῦσι τὴν ἱεράν σου μνήμην. 11.17.3: ἐν τῆ παννύχῳ στάσει τῆ τῶν γονάτων κλίσει καὶ ταῖς συντόνοις δεήσεσι. *Canones Januarii*, 24.29.5: μετάρσιον τὸν νοῦν ταῖς παννύχῳ σου στάσεσιν. *Canones Februarii*, 17.22.5: ταῖς ἀκοιμητοῖς προσευχαῖς πάντοτε ἐγκαρτερῶν. 21.26.1: στάσιν τὴν πάννυχον τὴν σὴν ἐθαύμασαν μὲν ἄνθρωποι ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον οὐσαν. 21.26.4: Μέτρον ἢ σὴ στάσις οὐκ ἔσχε παννύχιος. *Canones Martii*, 24. 29.6: ἐγκράτειαν ὡς ἄσαρκος ἄσκησας, στάσιν παννύχιον. 28.31.7: τὴν πάννυχον στάσιν καὶ εὐχῶν ἐπιμονήν. 30.34.6: ἀκοίμητον ὄργανον τῷ φθόγγῳ σου τοῦ ἁσματος, τῶν παννύχων σου, πάτερ, παραστάσεων. *Canones Aprilis*, 27.32.5: ἀγρυπνον ἔσχηκας λογισμὸν ... στάσει τῆ παννύχῳ ... διό σε νῦν πλουτοῦμεν πρέσβυν ἀκοίμητον ... παννύχῳ στάσεσι τὸν Θεὸν ἰλασκόμενος. *Canones Maii*, 25.27.6 & 25.28.6: ὑμνοῦσθαι παννύχῳ ἐκτελῶν. *Canones Junii*, 22.15.3: ἀγρυπνίας καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ στάσεσι παννύχῳ τελῶν. 22.15.6: ἐγρηγορῶν συστέλεις παννυχίως. *Canones Julii*, 1.4.4: ἀκοιμητοῖς παρακλήσεσι πρὸς τὸν πάντων κτίστην. 25.34.4: καὶ ἀγρυπνίας παννύχῳ. In all these hymns, as well as in others, the notion of one winning over sleep and drowsiness prevails. This victory is understood both literally and metaphorically, as a victory over the 'sleep of lassitude and passions'.

⁷³ Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 66, p. 186.

reminiscent of the Sabaite, bespeaks not only his close relation with the Laura of Sabas, but also his familiarity with the library of the Akoimetoι. This abbot held the Great Laura and its history in the highest regard and he was in warm contact with them. In an epistle to abbot Basil and the monks of the Great Laura, he praises the famous struggle of these monks over the centuries 'in service of truth' (ἐγνώσθη κἀν ταῖς ἀνωτέρω γενεαῖς οἶα οἱ μακάριοι Σαβαῖται διηγωνίσαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας) and praises his addressees for being of equal virtue (ὕμεις τῆς θείας ἐκείνης Σαβαϊκῆς ρίζης ὁμόζηλα βλαστήματα).⁷⁴ To Theodore himself, Sabas was an exemplary and hallowed figure, he mentioned him over and again in reverence,⁷⁵ and stipulated the eve of the feast day of the saint as one of overnight office, that is, vigil.⁷⁶

Cassian's texts reflect not only his Akoimetan connection, but also his Sabaite spiritual extraction. His text that attests to his interest in astronomical calculations⁷⁷ was a welcomed activity in the Sabaite milieu. For the library of that monastery was a hospitable place for classical lore to be cherished on its selves. Codex 576 (fourteenth cent. 124 folia) of the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem⁷⁸ has a section, which was recorded as 'the sphere of Proclus' (folia 107^r–117^v), although the text is without any header. A closer look at its beginning, however, reveals that this is part from a work by Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC), who had calculated that the 'exact lunar month' (μῆν ἀκριβῆς τῆς σελήνης) lasts a little more than 29 days.⁷⁹ The text begins thus: ἐλαχίστη δὲ ἡμέρα. μετὰ μέντοι τὴν χειμερινὴν τροπὴν οὐκ ἔτι. But this is a text by Geminus and its context is available to us.⁸⁰ The monks were interested in such calculations anyway, although their closest reporter of this must have been the mathematician Theon of Alexandria (335–405), the father of Hypatia. Theon had engaged in arranging Ptolemaeus' *Handy*

⁷⁴ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 555, lines 96–99. Likewise, 277, addressed 'to the Laura of St Sabas'.

⁷⁵ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Cateshesis 17, p. 122; Cateshesis 23, p. 165; Cateshesis 30, p. 217; Cateshesis 80, p. 560. *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 1, p. 3; Catechesis 107, p. 135; *Iambi de Variis Argumentis*, Epigram 79. *Epistulae*, 149, line 25.

⁷⁶ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Cateshesis 35, p. 255. *Sermones Catechesos Magnae*, Catechesis 107, p. 133.

⁷⁷ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix III. The text of Codex 573 (folia 209^{r-v}) is published for the first time.

⁷⁸ All Sabaite manuscripts were transferred to this library since 100 years ago, and are currently preserved therein.

⁷⁹ Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC), *Elementa Astronomiae*, 8.3; 8.37.

⁸⁰ Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, 5.7–8. Cf. Cleomedes, *De Motu Circulari Corporum Caelestium*, p. 48. Theon of Alexandria, *Commentaria in Ptolemaei Syntaxin Mathematicam i–iv*, p. 404, a work on which Cassian draws heavily, as discussed in *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix III.

Tables, on which Cassian drew.⁸¹ We have not any similar work by Proclus, although he had engaged in discussion about ‘spheres’: he had posited ‘all heaven’ as made up of eight spheres (ὀκτάσφαιρον), beyond which there was a ninth supreme sphere (ἐννεάσφαιρον).⁸² Whatever the case, this codex attests to the interest in astronomy by Palestinian monks and to the fact that for Cassian relevant books to read (as indeed he did) were at hand.

Another Sabaite codex, which has been unfortunately looted and only four folia of it are extant in the same library (Codex Noroff), preserves Simplicius’ Commentary on Aristotle’s first book of *Physics*.⁸³ Likewise, Codex 79 (folia 75–163) records part of Simplicius’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Categoriae*. Four folia of Codex 510 contain part of Simplicius’ commentary on Aristotle’s first book of *Physics*. Codex 540 (folia 75’–86’) has passages from Proclus’ commentary on Plato’s *Cratylus*. Codex 692 has comments on select passages of Proclus and John Philoponus. Codex 106, comments on John Philoponus (folia 10^r–12^r), on Porphyry’s *Isagoge* (folio 13^r), and Ammonius of Alexandria (folio 45^r). Codex 210 (folia 153–208) records a commentary on Porphyry by John Philoponus. Codex 121 (folia 1–9) records portions from John Philoponus *De Opificio Mundi*. Codex 150 (216 folia) is entirely dedicated to Aristotelian commentators (Olympiodorus of Alexandria on *Analytica Priora*, John Philoponus on *Analytica Secunda*, Michael of Ephesus on *Sophisticos Elenchos*). Codex 212 records Philoponus text ‘on the use of astrolabus’, *De Usu Astrolabi Eiusque Constructione*.

Cassian’s texts display also distinctive allegiances to those by Ephraem Syrus, both in his monastic texts and in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.⁸⁴ This is only natural and betokens his Sabaite identity. For the Laura of Sabas was a distinguished center of Ephraem being translated in Greek and there should be no doubt that those translations have been interlaced with a distinctly

⁸¹ Cassian’s technical terminology, which goes back to Meton, must have been communicated to him also through Theon of Alexandria. See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix III, p. 625, and Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexandria, fourth cent.), *Ἰπόμενημα Εἰς τοὺς Προχείρους Πτολεμαίου Κανόνας*, pp. 256–269.

⁸² Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentary*, v. 2, p. 46. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, pp. 234–235.

⁸³ A later hand wrote at the end of the codex, Σιμπλικίου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως, and the same also in Latin: Simplitii [sic] expositio im primo fisici [sic] auditum. In the spine of the book there is this: Σιμπλικίου ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ πρῶτον τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως Ἄριστοτέλους.

⁸⁴ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. Author Index, Ephraem Syrus is discussed in Scholia IV; VI; VII; IX; X; XI; XIX; XX; XXI; XXII; XXIII; XXVI; XXVII; XXIX; XXXV; XXXVI; XXXVII. Also, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, note 37 (pp. 307–308) to the Greek text, Cod. p. 98^r.

Sabaite vocabulary.⁸⁵ The most renowned translators were monks Abramius and Patricius. Although little is made in scholarship of the Laura having been the bridge for Ephraem to become known to the Byzantine world, there are some references to them. What is more though, there are codices that inform us about their activity in respect of Ephraem's writings.

Codex 393 (middle of fourteenth century, 353 paper folia) of the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, describes how Patriarch Ephraem, 'the true and legitimate heir to James the brother of the Lord', discovered translations of Ephraem's works at the Laura of Sabas and ordered Nicephorus Theotokes, the first editor of these works to disseminate them all.⁸⁶ The table of contents of the codex (folio 15) has it thus: Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἄββᾶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ ἀναχωρητοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς φιλοχρίστου πόλεως Νινευί, λόγοι ἀσκητικοὶ ἐρμηνευθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, [τοῦ] τοῦ ἄββᾶ Ἀβραμίου καὶ τοῦ ἄββᾶ Πατρικίου τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ἡσυχαστῶν ἐν τῇ λαύρᾳ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα. Λόγος πρῶτος περὶ ἀποταγῆς καὶ μοναχικῆς πολιτείας. Likewise, the Sabaite Codex 407 (end of twelfth century, parchment, 416 folia), has the same heading and contains ninety-two discourses of Isaac (folia 93–241). Beyond these Jerusalem MSS, a codex in the Patriarchal Library of Moscow (Cod. 295, sixteenth century, paper folia 328) has the same text of Ephraem (that is, starting with the discourse 'On renunciation and monastic life') and is slightly more generous to the translators: ἐρμηνευθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πανοσίων πατέρων ἄββᾶ πατρικίου καὶ ἄββᾶ ἀβραμίου. Furthermore, Codex 173 in Vienna (*Vindobon. gr. theol.* CXLXXIII, folia 1^v–177^v)⁸⁷ and Codex 104 (*Vindobon. gr. theol.* CIV, folia 128^r–170^v) provide the same information. The precise time when Patricius and his coadjutor Abramius lived cannot be determined, except that they were later to Isaac Syrus. This does not matter much, however. For what is important is that the works of Isaac Syrus were cherished at the Great Laura, no matter when his translators came upon them. Cassian the Sabaite was, therefore, also a spiritual offspring of those writings, which is clear from his vocabulary and ideas having been heavily influenced by the Greek works of Isaac.

⁸⁵ John the Evangelist styled θεολόγος is only one token of this vocabulary.

⁸⁶ These works were published in Leipzig, in 1770, under the title: τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ, ἐπισκ. Νινευί τοῦ Συροῦ, τὰ εὐρηθέντα ἀσκητικὰ ἐπιμελεῖα Νικηφόρου ἱερομονάχου, πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθέντα. The edition contains eighty-six Λόγοι (Orationes) and four Ἐπιστολαί (Epistolae), which, in the two MSS, were reckoned as λόγοι, making up ninety altogether.

⁸⁷ This codex has it εὐρεθέντες for ἐρμηνευθέντες, which is only a scribal error.

An Anonymous Addresser Addressing an Anonymous Addressee

Ecclesiastical establishment and administration has always been selective as to synodical resolutions: these normally appear to be important to men of the cloth in cases that they bear on safeguarding episcopal jurisdiction, eminence over other sees, or sheer mundane power. The rest is subject to adaptation, manipulation, even oblivion, if necessary. Ban on oath is one of the best-known explicit statements in scripture,⁸⁸ but who cares about it? Cassian's study teaches us what despotism, or *caesaropapism*, actually meant in the sixth century. By assessing the language which he either uses or eschews, we can infer how an enlightened intellectual felt, acted and reacted under the circumstances. The Local Synods of 536, of 543 (if one took place at all), as well as the Oecumenical one of 553, were actually seen and treated as part of imperial politics and diplomacy. Prelates were only asked to conform to the emperor's will and to sanction this as a synodical decree. In return, there was always the prospect of one being awarded the patriarchal throne, which could be evacuated to this purpose in the twinkle of an eye once the emperor willed so.

Even so, however, synodical decisions have been observed *à la carte*. In the Local Synod of Constantinople, where Cassian himself was present, the term God-man (θεάνθρωπος) accorded Christ was expressly anathematised and it was decreed that any cleric who might use this 'should be deposed'.⁸⁹ Quite evidently, the term smacked of Monophysitism, or so it appeared to the emperor and to bishops essaying to be obliging. Although the term θεάνθρωπος was rebuked by such staunch censors of theological aberration as John Grammaticus (sixth century), and even more so by John of Damascus, the same term is today a hackneyed one in the vocabulary of the episcopal orthodoxy. The list of such discrepant chains of events could be long, but just one of them deserves to be mentioned, since it bears to current practice in both East and West.

The twentieth rule of the Oecumenical Council of Nicaea decreed that no one should kneel during the fifty days following the Easter, especially on the day of Pentecost itself. Testimony advises that this had been a rule holding 'since the apostolic years'. This testimony comes from Irenaeus'

⁸⁸ Matt. 5:34: ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλωσ.

⁸⁹ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 17: καὶ εἴ τις θεανθρωπίαν λέγει καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον μάλλον λέγει, ἀναθεματίζεσθω. p. 229: καὶ εἴ τις θεανθρωπίαν καὶ οὐχὶ μάλλον θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον λέγει, καθαιρεῖσθω. I canvass the issue in the edition volume, pp. 421–425.

discourse *De Pascha*. Since this is lost, we are so advised by a work that has been attributed to either Pseudo-Justin or Theodoret by different editors, but in all probability this is Cassian's, as it turns out at numerous points of this book.⁹⁰ Origen espoused the precept on precisely the same grounds as Irenaeus had done: since the Pentecost is a prefiguration of the eschatological universal resurrection, one should be standing, not bending the knee, on this day.⁹¹ For all his anti-Origenism, Bishop Peter of Alexandria (c. 300) did embrace the doctrine, arguing that banning kneeling during the Pentecostal period is an ecclesiastical doctrine handed over by the fathers of old.⁹² Then the Council of Nicaea made this 'the twentieth rule': not only on the Whitsunday, but on none of the fifty days following Easter is one allowed to get down on one's knees.⁹³ Subsequently, the precept had it that either no one should do so on *any* Sunday of the year, or during the fifty days of the Pentecost-period. All extant testimonies regard this precept as having been sanctioned by both the tradition of the early apostolic church and by the 'twentieth rule of the Council of Nicaea'. Therefore, it came about that one should not genuflect on any Sunday. Doing so 'during the six days of the week is a symbol of our fall into sin, whereas not to kneel on Sunday is a symbol of our resurrection through the grace of Christ'.⁹⁴

The decree was observed by a series of theologians, who invariably warned against anyone kneeling either on any Sunday during the year or

⁹⁰ Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 118 & Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, p. 468D: τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναστάσεως, δι' ἧς τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν τε ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τεταγμένου θανάτου ἐλυτρώθημεν. Ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνων ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηναῖος ὁ μάρτυς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδούνων ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται καὶ περὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ἐν ἧ οὐ κλινόμεν γόνυ, ἐπειδὴ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κυριακῆς, κατὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτῆς αἰτίαν. Irenaeus, *Fragmenta Deperditorum Operum*, Fr. 7.

⁹¹ Pseudo-Hippolytus, *frPs*, Fr. 9 ('From Origen's *On the 150 Psalms*'): τῆς πολυβρυλλήτου πεντηκοστῆς, λύσιν πόνων καὶ εὐφροσύνην σημαίνουσης. Διόπερ οὐδὲ νηστεύειν ἐν ταύταις κέκριται οὐδὲ κλίνειν γόνατα. Σύμβολα γὰρ ταῦτα μεγάλης πανηγύρεως ἀποκειμένης ἐν τοῖς μέλλουσιν.

⁹² Peter of Alexandria, *De Paschate ad Tricentium*, p. 58: Τὴν γὰρ κυριακὴν χαρμοσύνης ἡμέραν ἄγομεν διὰ τὸν ἀναστάντα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ἧ οὐδὲ γόνατα κλίνειν παρελήφαμεν.

⁹³ John III Scholasticus (sixth cent.), *Synagoga L Titulorum*, 3, p. 151: Τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου κανὼν κ'. Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐν κυριακῇ γόνυ κλινόντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικία ὁμοίως παραφυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ θεῷ.

⁹⁴ Pseudo-Theodoret, *QetR*, p. 117 & Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, p. 468C: ἡ ἐν ἕξ ἡμέραις ἡμῶν γονυκλισία σύμβολον ἐστὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις πτώσεως ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ μὴ κλίνειν γόνυ σύμβολόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναστάσεως, δι' ἧς τῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν τε ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τεθανατωμένου θανάτου ἠλυθευρώθημεν. Ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν δὲ χρόνων ἡ τοιαύτη συνήθεια ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ μακάριος Εἰρηναῖος.

during the fifty Pentecost-days.⁹⁵ Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth century) records this ‘twentieth rule’ of the Council of Nicaea, too.⁹⁶ So does the constitution of a monastery, which is a copy of Cassian’s texts for a very large part, as shown in Appendix I. Not only does this quote the rule of Nicaea, but also records Athanasius allegedly having warned accordingly: “Take heed, lest anyone delude you so as to fast on Sundays, or to kneel during the period of the Pentecost, which is not sanctioned by the church”.⁹⁷ The unique testimony to which we owe this constitution is that it quotes a similar, yet more extensive decree, supposedly recording a similar decision by the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (680–681), being ‘the goth rule’ of it.⁹⁸

Since I have identified Pseudo-Justin with Cassian, banning kneeling is in fact a token of the spirit of the Akoimetoι, where Cassian spent a crucial and presumably fruitful period of his life. It is then all too natural for this precept to have been embraced by the Akoimetoι’s daughter-cloister monastery of Studios, which recorded this in its own constitution.⁹⁹

Likewise, the polymath Michael Glycas (twelfth century) adds to the record. Not only does he mention the twentieth rule of Nicaea, as well as the saying by Athanasius banning both fast and kneeling during the Pentecost, but he also adds one more, this time by Basil of Caesarea.¹⁰⁰ Finally,

⁹⁵ Hypatius of Ephesus (Archbishop, sixth cent.), *Fragmenta in Lucam (e Nicetae catena)*, p. 151: οὔτε δὲ ἐν κυριακῇ οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάσχα ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τὸ γόνυ κλίνομεν, ἐπειδὴ ἢ ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα εἰκῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, καὶ πάλιν ἢ πεντηκοστὴ ὀγδόη οὐσα κυριακὴ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει. Dorotheus of Gaza (monk, sixth cent.), *Doctrinae Diversae i-xviii*, Didaskalia 15.160: Πεντηκοστὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀνάστασις ψυχῆς, ὡς λέγει· τούτου γὰρ καὶ σύμβολόν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ κλίνειν ἡμᾶς γόνυ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πᾶσαν τὴν ἁγίαν Πεντηκοστὴν. Germanus I of Constantinople (Patriarch, seventh–eight cent.), *Historia Mystica Ecclesiae Catholicae*, 13: Τὸ μὴ κλίνειν τὸ γόνυ ἐν τῇ ἀναστασίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ ... τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς μὴ κλίνειν τὸ γόνυ.

⁹⁶ Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth century), *HE*, 2.32.20: Περὶ τῶν ἐν κυριακῇ γόνυ κλινόντων. ἐπειδὴ εἰσὶ τινες ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνυ κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ὁμοίως ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοφρόνως φυλάττεσθαι ἐστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ κυρίῳ.

⁹⁷ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 10, p. 21: φησὶν γὰρ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος οὕτως· Μὴ τις σε πλανήσῃ ἐν Κυριακῇ νηστεύειν ὅλως τὸ παράπαν, μήτε γονυπετεῖν ἐν Κυριακῇ, μήτε ἐν τῇ Πεντηκοστῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ θεσμός τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Then the constitution records the 20th decree of Nicaea, which is the same as the rendition by Gelasius of Cyzicus. The same document expands application of banning kneeling to the twelve days of Christmas, too.

⁹⁸ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, loc. cit. ὁ δὲ ἐνενηκοστὸς κανὼν τῆς ἔκτης συνόδου οὕτως διαλαμβάνει· Ταῖς Κυριακαῖς μὴ γόνυ κλίνειν ἐκ τῶν θεοφόρων ἡμῶν πατέρων κανονικῶς παρελάβομεν, τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμῶντων ἀνάστασιν. A detailed description follows that point.

⁹⁹ *Acta Monasterii Studii, Descriptio Constitutionis*, p. 299: Ἰστέον, ὅτι ἕως τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς ἄρας οὐ ψάλλομεν, οὐδὲ γόνυ κλίνομεν.

¹⁰⁰ Michael Glycas (twelfth cent.), *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam (Cap. 41–98)*, 81, p. 331:

as late as during the fourteenth century, the Thessalonian monk Matthaëus Blastares quotes the foregoing fifteenth rule by Peter of Alexandria banning genuflection.¹⁰¹

For all this tradition of an apostolic ethos and the synodical decree handed down unflinching, the church has made Whitsunday the sole day of the year on which the faithful have to kneel. Actually they have to do so three times: during each of them they have to get down on their knees and remain so for as long as the (also kneeling) priest recites an extensive prayer. Otherwise, in theory the decree of the synod of Nicaea, as well as that of the Sixth Oecumenical Council, still hold.

Certainly there is nothing dramatic about this, and actually no one really cares about the decree of Nicaea either banning kneeling on the occasion, or not doing so. Besides, prelates have no inkling of this rule whatsoever. This was not the situation in the sixth century though. There were censors and inquisitor eager to take action following what one said or wrote. This was the sixth-century, the dismal period of imperial power dictating the official orthodoxy by Emperor Justinian who, ironically, ended up a heretic having espoused Aphthartodocetism. By the way, it was he who introduced the practice of posthumous anathemas of defunct theologians despite 'the churches of the East' having taken exception to this novelty,¹⁰² yet he was never anathematised himself even though he died a heretic. It was he who demanded absolute conformity to the imperial faith, only to alienate the Monophysite region of the empire and virtually prepare this to fall easy prey to the Arabs in the ensuing century, since the anti-Chalcedonians saw Arabs as liberators from the Byzantine oppression.

I wish then to make a reference to a telling text of Cassian.

He was a crypto-Originist, like many others were during the sixth century, as canvassed in chapter six. In his personal companion, namely our *Metamorphosis Codex 573*, he set out to preserve a version of the text of Revelation, along with a series of Scholia aiming to show that this is a divinely inspired text. His source was for the most part the commentary on the Apocalypse by Didymus, which is no longer extant. Comparative textual exploration shows that at points he quoted from this to the letter. That

ὁ δὲ μέγας Βασίλειος καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν προσέθετο δι' ἣν ἐν ταῖς ρηθείαις ἡμέραις γόνυ κλίνειν οὐ συγχωρούμεθα.

¹⁰¹ Matthaëus Blastares, *Collectio Alphabetica*, alphabetic letter Kappa, 37: Τὴν μέντοι κυριακὴν χαρμοσύνης ἡμέραν ἡγοούμεθα, ἐν ἧ οὐδὲ γόνατα παρειλήφαμεν κλίνειν.

¹⁰² Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 70; 71; 73; 77; 78; *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, pp. 160; 162; 166; 168.

this was part of his method we can infer from Scholion V, which is a verbatim quotation from Clement of Alexandria, and from Scholion XXX which quotes from Theodoret extensively. Besides, the author drew on the great Antiochene doctors, Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, along with Origen, as well as on heretics, such as Julian the Arian. To these Christian loans, some of the best instances of the Greek Classical lore should be added.¹⁰³ It was therefore impossible for him to name his sources, which is why he wrote his comments eschewing any reference to names at all. However, at the middle of his exposition, the Scholia pause for a while, and an abrupt personal extolling address occurs. Neither the name of the author, nor that of the addressee is there, yet exploration has now shown that this is Cassian addressing Didymus, the covert mastermind of his set of Scholia.¹⁰⁴

Oh! It is definitely possible to be instructed by you teaching in a scientific manner (ἐπιστημονικά λέγ(ο)ν(τος)), since surely it is only yourself who are familiar with the scientific method (κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην). It is therefore definitely possible for anyone to be instructed by your spirit, since surely it is only you who have the spiritual ear added to yourself by God, according to the saying, *He attached an ear to me, to hear [as the learned]*.¹⁰⁵ For even irrational animals have the organ of the sense of hearing, whereas it is only the wise in spirit that have the ear of *understanding*,¹⁰⁶ of which the Saviour said addressing the multitude, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*.¹⁰⁷

Cassian wrote this cryptic text with a feeling of nostalgia for an environment where it was possible for one to think in a *scientific* manner. This environment was not allowed by political order, it was captured by an intellectual only as a psychological experience during meditation and composition of literary production. This is what Didymus had done in Alexandria nearly two centuries before and this is also what Philoponus used to do in the same city during Cassian's own lifetime. Both paid a price for having made room for themselves to enjoy what today is considered to be a self-evident intellectual immunity. Didymus was an exceptional case of Alexandrian, not only for his immense erudition, but because more than any other philosopher he cherished Aristotle.¹⁰⁸ The Aristotelism permeating the Scholia is

¹⁰³ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, 'The author-Index'.

¹⁰⁴ See text and translation in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Post-Scholion XXIV Aduotatio.

¹⁰⁵ Isaiah 50:4.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Mark 12:33; Col. 2:2; Ex. 31:3; 35:31&35; Deut. 34:9; Job 15:2; 20:3; Ecclesiasticus 1:19; 3:23; 15:3; 17:7; 22:17; 39:6; 47:14; Isaiah 10:13; 11:2; Daniel 1 (Susanna 44/45; 63; Gr. tr.).

¹⁰⁷ Luke 8:8; 14:35. Cf. Matt. 11:15; 13:9; 13:43.

¹⁰⁸ He was an erudite Aristotelist, according to Theodoret, *HE*, p. 269.

extensively canvassed and I have urged that, in many ways, it was Antioch that had embraced and advanced Aristotelian studies. Cassian, therefore, addresses Didymus not only because the latter had supplied him with a specific exegesis on the Apocalypse, but also because Didymus was to him the exemplar of unfettered scientific mind and unencumbered meditation. The open file that had been kept against Didymus was to be transformed to condemnation in less than three years after Cassian's death. It was, however, all too evident that Didymus was already a person distasteful to the great inquisitors of the time. What could Cassian possibly do other than draw on Didymus, indeed copy from him, while treasuring his profound spiritual relation with the Alexandrian in secret?

This is a very rare case of both an addresser and his addressee being deliberately sheltered by a safeguarding shadow, so that the author should share freely the luminosity of science and wisdom in serenity, amidst a Cimmerian age.

Conclusion

Perhaps everything is label, but everybody is not. Cassian the Sabaite is not simply about monks and daemons—no more than Shakespeare is about kings and plots.

His work is pregnant with the tension that is characteristic of the sixth century: Christian intellectuals brought the disfavoured Hellenism to the fore, indeed they did so regarding this as a rational force asserting its own share in the formation of Christian doctrine. New sorts of theological dispute, unknown to fourth-century theologians who died convinced that they had secured a definitive expression of the doctrine, had arisen, namely, the Christological dispute a good hundred and fifty years after the ancient Arian controversy. This new conflict resulted in casualties, both contemporary (such as John Philoponus) and retrospective (such as Origen, Didymus and, tacitly, Clement of Alexandria, who was never made a saint). Even though Christians of note in the East took exception to posthumous condemnation, Justinian went ahead unabashed. He encouraged a blind and utterly uninformed anti-Hellenic spirit, with the obloquy of 'Hellenism' (along with 'Manichaeism') hurled against any idea that appeared a menace to the imperial orthodoxy. Cassian's texts (including *De Trinitate* and *Erotapokriseis*) are a contumacious assent to the Greek *paideia* amidst a hostile environment. Which is why his *Scholia in Apocalypsin* are anonyma, as already said.

History of ideas is inextricably interwoven with history of conflicts. Normally, conflicts are remembered, ideas are forgotten. It has somehow been thought that 'anachronism' is obloquy to be applied to theoretical concerns rather than to the tribulation caused by real events. Unlike perception of ideas, it seems stories never grow old. No one grasped this truth better than the historian Thucydides, who saw permanent and recurring essential characteristics not only in human nature itself, but also in the gist of recurring conflicts. This is what makes old stories fascinating, although the repercussions of events themselves are long past, indeed although the ideas involved are no longer taken to heart, or even remembered.

However, history of conflict alone is only a body without blood. Cassian's texts help us grasp some of the aspects of Justinian's conflict with an enlightened intelligentsia of his age, which he was all too quick to brand with the stain of heresy. The Akoimetoï cherished an abundant library of the Greek classical legacy, which is present in Cassian's writings. At the same time, they did not treat Christological variations of doctrine as crudely as imperial inquisitors did, the sole exception being Arianism, which was rejected out of hand. All of the tradition coming from the region of Antioch (including Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius) was embraced in sympathy, and so was the concomitant Aristotelism that had been treasured in Edessa and Nisibis. We know hardly anything about the fate of the Akoimetoï after their persecution by the emperor in the 530s, though we know of the oppression itself. The details of this conflict are obscure, yet Cassian's texts now allow for some light to be cast upon them.

During the sixth century, Hellenism was not simply a stock of theories to draw on, or to commemorate, or even to harvest for all sorts of both sublime and mean interests. It was a robust intellectual force, all but dead or even moribund. For were that not the case, what was possibly the point in Justinian to decree a Draconian legislation against Greek philosophers and teachers? Nevertheless, absolute and uninhibited though imperial power was, Justinian was a practical man after all: he normally sought to exercise the unpleasant aspects of his power only once real situations appeared to call for it. Cassian helps us see what the real situation was about the Akoimetoï, who appeared in the form of fervent monks and yet they were vessels of the Greek *paideia* amidst an anti-Hellenic milieu and mindset.

Cassian's work constitutes a bold defiance of the spirit of his day. Although it has been rightly suggested that 'in many ways the local monastic community' of the wider region of the capital 'ended up marching in step

with the shifts in imperial policy',¹⁰⁹ there have been the remarkable exceptions of the monasteries of Akoimetoi and of Eutyches. Both ended up in ruin, yet it is precisely this striking dissent that allows for the identification of Cassian's writings with the spirit of this community. The community of the Akoimetoi was a *sui generis* hybrid of tolerance to Monophysite and Origenist tendencies, coupled with an Antiochene and Nestorianizing tenor in their Chalcedonian beliefs, which placed them out of step with the imperial outlook, notwithstanding empress Theodora's Monophysite sympathies. Congruence between confession and community was not the *sine qua non* in the milieu of that monastery, where a confluence of ideas should have had by all means to run into a single stream. What in Palestine could have appeared as a riotous miscegenation, in the monastery of the Akoimetoi was a matter of course, though we have no evidence of any osmosis having taken place therein. The monastery's activities were brought under close monitoring from about 520, until, as Peter Hatlie concluded, in 534 official sanctions from both Constantinople and Rome were levied against them, leaving the monastery much weakened and placing it on a course of its final decline.¹¹⁰ My discussion has brought much of these tendencies to light by means of evidence flowing from Codex 573.¹¹¹ It is all but accidental that Theodore Studites admired Cassian. The influential abbot mentioned Cassian by name in reverence and admiration, and Cassian's vocabulary became an ordinary currency of Theodore Studites' own language, sometimes in a manner that allows for important conclusions to be reached. Nor is it incidental that peculiar linguistic constructions and philosophical expressions of Cassian, to which hardly any parallel instances can be found, almost invariably transpire in the writings of Theodore Studites. For the monastery of Studios was in a sense the spiritual progeny and continuation of that of the Akoimetoi, whose library was available to Theodore to be both studied and reproduced for posterity.

The main purpose of this study is to establish not only the authorship by Cassian the Sabaite, or the light that his writings and thought cast on the mindset of the sixth century, but also his very existence, which has been eclipsed by forgery. The contention that this Greek text is a translation from an alleged Latin original will be shown to be absurd. The treasure

¹⁰⁹ Peter Hatlie, *op. cit.* p. 141.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.* with valuable references, p. 142, note 22.

¹¹¹ Cassian's text demonstrates remarkable affinities with Nestorius' thought and phraseology which are hard to discount. See clear Nestorian echoes in Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, 59^v, endnote 23 (p. 223); *SerenPrim*, p. 84^v, endnote 17 (p. 299); *De Panareto*, p. 116^f, endnote 39 (pp. 366–370).

of Greek and Christian lore preserved therein is far too rich and telling in terms of technical parlance (having a long *Greek* history of its own) to be per-vious to such a distortion based on egregious errors of fact. We shall come upon numerous instances of Greek technical nomenclature being used by Cassian, which goes back to the great stars of Greek literature (philosophers, poets, historians, sophists, biographers, medical doctors), and to those Christians who formulated Christian doctrine, all of them rendered by means of a profound knowledge of Proclus, and of the sixth-century Neoplatonists and Aristotelian commentators. Some of the Greek technical expressions are present in the corresponding Latin text, allegedly attributed to a certain 'John Cassian'. In Latin, however, they mean absolutely nothing and have no intellectual history whatsoever. The Greek text comes as a sequel of a very long and rich tradition, being the natural fruit of the Greek philosophers and poets, and the Greek Fathers alike. By contrast, the same expressions in Latin stand in uneasy and disconcerted solitude: they seem and sound alien to the Latin lore, and for the most part they seem bizarre to the Latin reader.

The analysis of Cassian's text proves him to be an inescapably *Greek* author and hopefully will bring about new information about the history of Greek letters, ideas and intellectuals during the sixth century and before.

The purpose of this study is to argue that Cassian the author of the *Meteora*-texts is not the fictitious figure currently known as 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, but another Cassian: he was a Sabaite monk, the fourth successor of St. Sabas as an abbot of the Laura of Sabas. Of Antiochene extraction, Cassian the Sabaite was born in Scythopolis in c. 475, he spent a considerable part of his life at the monastery of Akoimatoi in Constantinople, and died an abbot at this Laura in Palestine, on the 20th July, in 548AD. Codex 573, which was discovered in the *Meteora* monastery of Metamorphosis (the Great Meteoron, Μεγάλον Μετέωρον), is in fact a manuscript produced in Palestine, indeed at the *scriptorium* of the Laura of Sabas, where Cassian was the abbot for ten months until his death.

Current scholarship takes it for granted that a certain 'John Cassian' is the author of the texts, which are presumed to be abridged Greek translations from the extensive texts ascribed to this 'John Cassian' and appear both in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, as well as in the Vienna corpus of Latin authors.¹¹² There have been wise voices that pointed out either the heavy

¹¹² *Joannis Cassiani Opera*, ed. Michael Petschenig, (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XIII, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), Vienna: Tempsky, 1886–1888.

interpolation and tampering with these Latin texts (Owen Chadwick), or the improbability of 'John Cassian' ever having had anything to do with Marseilles (R. Goodrich). These questions will be discussed in due course. None of them however has ever questioned the Latin identity of 'John Cassian', as well as the period of his lifetime, which is placed in the fifth century, that is a century earlier to the real Cassian's own lifetime. Subsequently, Cassian's addressees such as these mentioned by himself (Bishop Castor, Leontius) have been fancifully identified with figures of the region of Gaul, despite flagrant incongruities inherent in the texts themselves (even the Latin forgeries) that make such identifications not only unlikely, but in fact impossible.

My contention is that the texts in the book of Cassian are in fact original *Greek* ones, and they are the genuine product of the real Cassian's pen. They are so abundantly pregnant with some of the glorious streams of Greek tradition, and bespeak Greek erudition so tellingly, that no room can be left for this Greek identity to be disputed. Subsequently, no room can be left for the fanciful 'Greek epitome' of 'the Latin original', allegedly having been composed by Bishop Eucherius of Lyons: such an 'epitome' has never existed at all, and certainly no manuscript of this has ever been found, despite exertions by interested parties. The alleged reference by Gennadius of Marseilles is only a later interpolation.

I should therefore figure out, as far as possible, who Cassian's addressees were, as well as what the texts themselves have to tell us and how they reveal an interesting intellectual context and atmosphere of the sixth-century Byzantine Empire. First, however, we shall have to deal with the biographer Gennadius of Marseilles, who is represented to have been the source of the fictitious 'John Cassian'. Then we should proceed with Cassian's addressees, namely Bishop Castor and Leontius. We shall move on with perusal of the texts themselves, which reveal a Greek tradition cherished and transmitted by a highly erudite Greek intellectual, namely Cassian the Sabaite.

Although this study should perhaps have been published along with the texts themselves, I finally opted for having this published as a separate monograph. The reader is referred to these texts, since their critical apparatus reveals the wealth of information inherent therein.

This humble and yet so beautiful *Meteora* codex has harboured far more history than I could have imagined when I took this in my hands for the first time some years ago. Cassian confidently asserted his defiant message that the Christian Church should not only claim the inheritance of the Hebrew scriptures, but also declare itself to be the legatee of Greece and Rome. Subsequently, his work did not escape the ravages of time. Nevertheless,

if the old philosophy, since Aristotle, took pride in supplying not only a conservatory for revealing reality by means of *ad hoc* constructed notions, but also a paradigm for the correlation of theology with life, then Cassian's writings are philosophy par excellence. This is probably the inner and secret reason why conventional philosophy is abundantly present in these writings.

Whereas the emperor sought unity, Cassian sought truth. This is why exploring these texts and rendering their implications in 'next year's words' has been the task of this book.

CHAPTER ONE

TESTIMONIES, ADDRESSEES, AND CASSIAN'S REAL MILIEU

Gennadius of Marseilles

The person of Cassian is surrounded by vagueness since two Cassians have been wrapped in one: *Cassian* has been identified with only the fifth-century Scythian, allegedly deacon and abbot John Cassian, who is supposed to have ended up in Marseilles. There is another Cassian however, who has enjoyed ample respect among theologians subsequent to his era, which is the sixth-century. This study will endeavour to establish the existence and thought of this heretofore unknown person.

The main source of information about John Cassian is Gennadius of Marseilles, or so is he currently supposed to be. In the appendix to Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, which he composed, Gennadius allegedly included a biographical note about John Cassian, which goes thus:

Cassian, born a Scythian (natione Scytha), ordained deacon by Bishop John the Great, at Constantinople, and a presbyter at Marseilles (apud Massiliam presbyter), founded two monasteries, that is to say one for men and one for women, which are still standing. He wrote from experience and in forcible language, or to speak more clearly, with meaning behind his words, and action behind his talk. He covered the whole field of practical directions, for monks of all sorts, in the following works: On dress; also, On the Canon of prayers, and the Usage in the saying of Psalms, (for these are said day and night in the Egyptian monasteries), three books. One of Institutes, eight books; On the origin, nature and remedies for the eight principal sins, a book on each sin. He also compiled Conferences with the Egyptian fathers, as follows: On the aim of a monk and his creed, On discretion, On three vocations to the service of God, On the warfare of the flesh against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, On the nature of all sins, On the slaughter of the saints, On fickleness of mind, On principalities, On the nature of prayer, On the duration of prayer, On perfection, On chastity, On the protection of God, On the knowledge of spiritual things, On the Divine graces, On friendship, On whether to define or not to define, On three ancient kinds of monks and a fourth recently arisen, On the object of coenobites and hermits, On true satisfaction in repentance, On the remission of the Quinquagesima fast, On nocturnal illusions, On the saying of the apostles, "For the good which I would do, I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do," On mortification, and finally at the request of Leo the archdeacon, afterwards Bishop of Rome,

he wrote seven books against Nestorius, On the incarnation of the Lord. And on writing this, he made an end, both of writing and living, at Marseilles (et in his scribendi apud Massiliam et vivendi finem fecit), in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinianus.¹

It seems, however, that this is an obfuscating text and I should make my contention clear right from the start. The manuscript of Gennadius was tampered with at a later stage, attributing to the Scythian John Cassian works written by another Cassian, who was not a Scythian and had nothing to do with Marseilles, namely Cassian the Sabaite. By the time Gennadius died, Cassian the Sabaite of Scythopolis (c. 475–548) had not yet composed his memoirs from the desert ascetics and the rules governing monasteries, which Gennadius allegedly ascribed to John Cassian. As I will argue presently, the manuscript of Gennadius was tampered with retrospectively, with one more biography being smuggled into this collection: this is the foregoing passage allegedly recounting the life of Cassian of Marseilles. As a result, the works of Cassian the Sabaite became a wholesale attribution to John Cassian, along with other titles. In what follows, my reference to what Gennadius ‘wrote’ is only conventional. What I suggest is that Gennadius actually wrote nothing about Cassian, and the text was later smuggled into this collection of short biographies.

Gennadius of Marseilles is clear that Cassian was ‘born a Scythian’. The suggestion that *natione Scythia* may suggest the Scetis in Egypt is far too fanciful (and probably biased) an extrapolation. It has been suggested that in Scythia Minor, which is modern Dobrudja, inscriptions show ‘Cassian’ to be a name of the region.²

The truth is different, however. For one thing, *Κασσιανός* (with two sigmas) appears in seventeen instances of papyri discovered in Egypt, from Alexandria to Thebae and Oxyrhynchus. It is striking that the name was found in a mid-third century papyrus³ in *Koile Syria*, the homeland of Cassian the Sabaite. There is abundant evidence that the name had been current also in Egypt since the first century AD. Against 117 papyri having the

¹ Gennadius of Marseilles, *De Viris Illustribus*, an Appendix to St. Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*, LXII. Latin text in PL.49.46D–47A.

² H.I. Marrou, “La Patrie de Jean Cassien”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XIII, 1947, pp. 588–596.

³ SB XXVII 16660. P. Eurates 17. These papyri are now available in the website papyri.info, of the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS) of the Columbia University, which is a source of valuable information to scholarship. I thank Roger Bagnall for having drawn my attention to this remarkable deposit of knowledge.

name Κασσιανός (with one sigma), there are only 17 ones where Κασσιανός (with two sigmas) transpires. It is remarkable that the name Κασσιανός (with two sigmas) was discovered in *Koile Syria*, the homeland of Cassian, whereas all of the papyri having the name Κασσιανός (with one sigma) were discovered in Egyptian locations. Therefore, we have Κασσιανός (with two sigmas) in a Syrian milieu and it should be remarked that this is how the name is written Κασσιανός in Codex 573. Though unusual and rare the version Κασσιανός is, this is how it was used and pronounced in a Syriac milieu.

The name 'Cassian' was pretty ancient and well known in the East. In a letter ascribed to the apologist Ignatius of Antioch, the author is represented to send his regards to his friend Cassian and his wife.⁴ Clement of Alexandria mentions, along with apologist Tatian, a certain Cassian and his treatise entitled *Exegetica*,⁵ which Eusebius cared to reproduce twice: he quotes a lengthy section from Clement's book *Stromateis* (the first book actually);⁶ another point, he makes the same reference praising Clement for the proficient manner in which he confronted heresies.⁷ In this portion, Eusebius attests to this Cassian (evidently an Apologist) having written a kind of history or chronicle. This testimony was reproduced by the last Greek ecclesiastical historian and Patriarch of Constantinople Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (fl. c. 1320).⁸ It is possible that this Cassian is the same person as the seventeenth Patriarch of Jerusalem, mentioned by Epiphanius of Salamis in his list of Patriarchs, as well as by Eusebius.⁹ A (probably sixth-century) monk called Alexander notes that Patriarch Cassian was in office during the reign of Hadrian (117–138). He mentions eleven names of Patriarchs having held office during that reign and since Cassian's name is second in the list,¹⁰ it appears that he was Patriarch of Jerusalem during the

⁴ Pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistulae Interpolatae et Epistulae Suppositiciae*, 1.5.2; 9.13.1; 10.9.1.

⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.21.101.2.

⁶ Eusebius, *PE*, 10.12.1.

⁷ Eusebius, *HE*, 6.13.7: μνημονεύει τε τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονολογίαν πεποιημένου.

⁸ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *HE*, 4.33: μέμνηται δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ, ὡς χρόνων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστασίας καταλέγοντος.

⁹ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 46. Eusebius, *HE*, 5.12.2.

¹⁰ Alexander (a Cypriot monk, prob. sixth cent.), *Inventio Crucis*, PG.87(3).4048.13–17: Μάρκος, Κασσιανός, Πούπλιος, Μάξιμος, *et. al.*

120s. Furthermore, since George Syncellus (who died after 810) has it that Cassian's predecessor Mark remained in office for seven years and Cassian himself for five,¹¹ it follows that Cassian would have been Patriarch from 124 to 129, or a little before this period. Cassian is anyway one of those in the list of Patriarchs who were venerated in both the diptychs and hymns of the church of Jerusalem.¹² In other words, the name 'Cassian' in Christian Palestine is as old as the Church of Jerusalem itself.

Clement of Alexandria also mentions a Docetist called Julius Cassian,¹³ who was probably the same person anathematised by the sixth Council of Constantinople (680–681).¹⁴ The sophist Philostratus of Athens (c. 170–250) makes reference to an Ionian sophist by the same name.¹⁵ The sixth-century grammarian Stephanus Byzantius, who wrote a geographical dictionary, notes that Veroia is the name of a city not only in Macedonia, but also in Syria; this was the birthplace of 'Cassian, the excellent rhetor' (Κασσιανὸς ἄριστος ῥήτωρ).¹⁶ Furthermore, we learn from the historian, geographer and philosopher Strabo (64 BC–24 AD) that a certain fortress in Apamea of Syria was called Κασσιανοὶ (ἐν Κασσιανοῖς, φρουρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀπαμείων γῆς).¹⁷

All plausible and implausible hypotheses have been advanced in order to establish the connection between Cassian (styled 'John Cassian') and Gaul. Gennadius' text has been taken to imply an ordination to priesthood at Marseilles.¹⁸ Of Gennadius' life we know nothing, except for information drawn

¹¹ George Syncellus (eighth–ninth cent.) *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 429. See the same catalogue listing Patriarchs and years in office in Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Chronographia Brevis*, p. 124. However, since this author registers not only names, but also years in office, it appears as though Cassian was Patriarch during 129–134. This list does not square with the foregoing one by Alexander of Cyprus mentioning eleven names during the reign of Hadrian, since his catalogue extends well beyond that period. Two more chroniclers supply a list of Patriarchs, but no years in office. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 4.19. John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum (lib. 1–12)*, v. 3, p. 92.

¹² In *Codex Sabaiticus*, 153, folia 77–103. Patriarch Cassian is mentioned solemnly at three points and is styled 'a candlestick of faith' (λύχνον τῆς πίστεως).

¹³ Clement of Alexandria, op. cit. 3.13.91.1; 3.13.92.2; 3.14.95.2; 3.17.102.3.

¹⁴ ACO, *Councilum Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium (680–681)*, Document 11, p. 476. This text is one of the most odious and repugnant a human hand has ever written, while at the same time professionally propagating the theory of 'Christian love'.

¹⁵ Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, 2, p. 627.

¹⁶ Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, p. 165. I discuss this later.

¹⁷ Strabo, *Geographica*, 16.2.10.

¹⁸ Gennadius, op. cit. LXII: "Constantinopoli ... diaconus ordinatus apud Massiliam presbyter condidit duo monasteria". It has been urged that Cassian was ordained priest either by Pope Innocent I at Rome or at Marseilles by the local Bishop Proculus. Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 33.

from his collection of biographies, actually the last one of his biographies, which refers to his own self (xcvii). Internal evidence suggests that he was a Semi-Pelagian, which is to be expected from the name of his city, Marseilles. He praises warmly (real or imagined) Semi-Pelagians, such as Fastidiosus (lvi), Cassian (lxi), and Faustus (lxxxvi). He certainly styles Pelagians as heretics, such as Pelagius himself (xlii), and Julian of Eclanum (xlv). He disdains Catholics (Augustine, xxxviii; Prosper of Aquitaine, lxxxiv) and attributes the stricture of 'heretic' even to popes (Julius I, i, p. 61).

Of Gennadius' work, no extant manuscript dates earlier than sixth century. The edited catalogue of these manuscripts goes back to the seventh century.¹⁹ There were plenty of opportunities for making the catalogue conform to the list of the works of both Cassians, so as to ascribe them all to Cassian the Scythian monk, allegedly deacon at Constantinople and presbyter at Marseilles. Greek manuscripts know of no other than 'abba Cassian' and only some later Greek-Byzantine instances style him 'monk Cassian the Roman'.²⁰ One of them is the present manuscript.²¹ I should have thought that of the list of Gennadius only the seven books on Incarnation against Nestorius are a work by Cassian of Marseilles. I, however, have strong reservations even about this, since in this work there are points that reveal an author who is both an Antiochene and Greek-speaking, as I argue later on.

Owen Chadwick²² made some perceptive remarks on the prefaces attached to the books ascribed to Cassian.²³ All of *Institutes*, *Conferences* and

¹⁹ Edited by E.C. Richardson, in Gebhardt and Harnack, TU, XIV, Leipsig, 1896.

²⁰ I canvass this on pp. 227 ff.

²¹ See last section "Why was Cassian styled 'Roman' in later Byzantine literature?", pp. 227 ff.

²² Op. cit. p. 38.

²³ My dissent from O. Chadwick occurs on two points. The major one is that he arrives at no conclusion out of his fine analyses about the texts having been tampered with and interpolated: he identifies 'Cassian the Roman' with 'Cassian of Marseilles' (p. 159). The minor points relate to details. For instance, he notes that 'the name Syncletius is not otherwise known' (p. 45). It does transpire, however: the names of two Roman officials were 'Syncletius and Gaudentius' (Συγκλήτιος καὶ Γαυδέντιος), according to Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 39.1; 40.43; 59.6. This information was reproduced by the fifth-century historian Gelasius of Cyzicus, *HE*, 3.19.43. John Chrysostom mentions the female version of this name (τῆς κυρίας μου τῆς κοσμιωτάτης Συγκλητίου): *Epistulae ad Olympiadem*, 17.1. Palladius refers to a 'Bishop of Trajanopolis' having this name: *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 87. Nevertheless, Greek MSS recounting the instance report the office (συγκλητικός), not the name Συγκλήτιος, which Chadwick read in Latin. Cf. *AP (collectio systematica)*, 6.14.

De Incarnatione have prefaces, but the twenty-four *Conferences* are divided into three groups (ten, seven, seven) each of which has its own preface. Thus we have three books with a total of six prefaces.²⁴ Beyond ‘Bishop Castor’, mention is made to Leontius. Although the treatise was addressed to ‘Leontius the abbot’ (πρὸς Λεόντιον ἡγούμενον),²⁵ Latin translations made him a bishop, and many readers of them were all too prompt to identify him as ‘the Bishop of Fréjus’. Beyond Castor and Leontius, there are names of ‘holy brothers’: ‘fratres’ Jovinian, Minervius, Leontius, Theodore, to whom *Conferences* XVIII to XXIV were allegedly dedicated. A certain Helladius was styled ‘frater’ in the Preface to Conference XVIII, where he is represented as having been raised to the episcopate. But all these names are only names otherwise unknown. That Leontius the Bishop of Fréjus (to whom *Conferences* I–X are presumed to have been dedicated) was succeeded by a certain Theodore could hardly escape the attention of the Cassian-mongering. But any identification of these names with real historical persons simply on the ground of synonymity is desperately wanting. At all events, these prefaces (real or imagined)²⁶ were at the mercy of any scribe wishing to make them compatible with names, dates, and circumstances. The same goes for the name of Honoratus, Bishop of Arles, and with the embattled contribution to the controversy with Augustine: it transpires not only in *De Incarnatione* (which is natural, it is alleged, for a treatise written next-door to that of John Chrysostom), but also in the thirteenth *Conference*, which is recognised as an interpolation.

²⁴ Owen Chadwick (op. cit. p. 157, n. 2) made a remark which is strange: ‘K.J. Dyovouniotis found a Greek text of Coll. I, II, VII, VIII, and published it in 1913’. He refers the reader to PL.XXVIII.849ff., but the point is in fact irrelevant, since this *locus* has to do with Jerome and his exegesis on Jeremiah. It took me a long time to discover a leaflet which was printed in 1913 in Alexandria, which is supposed to render the relevant text of Codex 573. This, however, is not an edition by any standard: the text is misrendered at numerous points and distorted at others. There are no editorial comments. In footnotes, there are only some codex-typos pointed out, some of which do not actually exist in the manuscript, whereas others are mistakes by the ‘editor’ himself. It is remarkable that, in a short preface, he named the author ‘John Cassian’, although ‘John’ occurs nowhere in the codex. He added that ‘there can be no doubt that this is a translation from Latin’, without any further discussion, or argument. No wonder then that this leaflet remained of no use to any scholar ever since.

²⁵ So Photius read it, and this is how this is written Codex 573.

²⁶ Cf. O. Chadwick, p. 41: “With two exceptions, no manuscript earlier than the ninth century contains a preface. ... There is no evidence before the ninth century for prefaces to *Institutes* I–IV, *Institutes* V–XII, *Conferences* I–X, or *Conferences* XVIII–XXIV. The exception is the second group of *Conferences*. Both early manuscripts contain the preface”.

I am satisfied, and going to contend, that there is another Cassian, who is currently mentioned by no one. He was the real writer of at least three short treatises mentioned by Photius: on the Rules of *coenobia* in Egypt and the East, *On the Eight Dispositions to Evil* and *On Discretion*. This Cassian is currently non-existent to scholarship. I should then call upon the reader to join me in exploring this sixth-century pious figure, 'who was adorned with the charisma of *logos*', according to Cyril of Scythopolis.²⁷

Gennadius of Marseilles' text seems to have made Cassian the Scythian the writer not only of his own works (if any at all), but also of these written by monk Cassian the Sabaite. However, Cyril of Scythopolis recounts of another Cassian, who had nothing to do with Marseilles, the once-Greek colony in France, nor indeed did his interest ever reach so distant a place. Needless to say that, like all Greek writers, Cyril of Scythopolis never attached the name *John* to Cassian at all.

I now wish to make some reference to a recent study on Cassian.²⁸ An intuitive discussion has been carried out by Richard Goodrich with respect to Cassian having been attributed to Marseilles, an attribution which he styles 'uncritical',²⁹ since it only rests on the Gennadius' entry, which there is good reason to consider spurious. Richard Goodrich in his conclusion makes some perceptive remarks on 'Cassian's style' as this appears in the Latin text. With reference to the *Institutiones*, he points out 'his deft use of rhetoric throughout this study' and dismisses any possibility of them having ever exercised any real influence upon western monastic institutions: "while Cassian would have a readership among western ascetics, we will search in vain for any instances of monasteries organised around *De Institutis* in the west. Despite Eucherius of Lyons' claim that Lérins had inherited the mantle of Egyptian asceticism, there is very little evidence that Cassian made such an impact there." Lérins was a training centre for high-class candidates aspiring to become bishops, who were barely sympathetic to Cassian's main priorities, namely 'the absolute renunciation of what lay beyond the walls of the monastery', which is one of the reasons why Cassian 'failed to make an impact on western ascetics'.

The author embarks on a detailed analysis of the puzzlement flowing from the alleged entry about John Cassian in Gennadius' *De Viris Illustribus*. However, his considerations are more sound than his conclusion. Whereas

²⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231.

²⁸ Richard J. Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian: Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in fifth-Century Gaul*. My remark points to Appendix I of this book, pp. 211–234.

²⁹ Richard J. Goodrich, op. cit. p. 227.

Gennadius' lemma emphasises Cassian's Massilian connection (*apud Massiliam*), the author points out that 'nowhere else does Gennadius repeat information about a subject's provenance. What is the point of emphasising the fact that Cassian was a monk/priest *apud Massiliam*?'.³⁰ Goodrich points out how odd Gennadius' entry to Cassian is, since, 'nowhere else does Gennadius repeat information about a subject's provenance', which makes the statement that Cassian 'made an end of writing and living in (*apud*) Marseilles' a 'puzzle'. Subsequently, he considers seriously the possibility of Gennadius' entry having been a forgery. "His *natione Scytha* is so odd that it is impenetrable; his use of *apud* is very ambiguous; the claim that he had founded two monasteries in Marseilles is the sort of thing we might expect from a forger who was trying to create an illustrious past for a Massilian monastery".³¹ He is also alert to the fact that 'Gennadius' statement *natione Scytha* has created well-known difficulties to scholars, who have been 'unable to reach agreement on what Gennadius meant by this obscure phrase'. What is the real meaning of the phrase *apud Massiliam*? Goodrich wonders. Hardly anything could be made out of this, certainly not that Cassian was 'ordained in the Massilian church', which renders the traditional allegation that 'one of the monasteries Cassian founded was the monastery dedicated to St Victor' a 'fable'. Unmoved by the fact that 'innumerable secondary sources repeat the claim', Goodrich is at one with Simon Loseby who 'has demonstrated in a very rigorous and convincing argument that this is unlikely'.³² This is a reference to an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Simon Loseby which 'questions attribution of Cassian to Marseilles'.³³

³⁰ Op. cit. p. 228.

³¹ Loc. cit.

³² He cites (op. cit. p. 229) Simon Loseby, "Marseille in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages", Unpublished D.Phil. dissertation Oxford, University of Oxford, 1992.

³³ Simon Loseby, *Marseille in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, D.Phil. Dissertation. Oxford, University of Oxford, 1992, pp. 139–142. To the best of my understanding, the author's aim is to discredit 'the hypothesised link between Cassian and Marseilles' along with 'the fable that one of the monasteries Cassian founded was the monastery dedicated to St Victor' (Goodrich, op. cit. pp. 227–228). My reference to this study is entirely dependent on Richard Goodrich's book, as indeed is the following remark by Conrand Leyser: "Scholars have presumed that the unnamed parties at Marseilles referred to in the late 420s by the Augustinian Prosper of Aquitaine as dissenting from his master's predestinarian views are none other than John Cassian and the Lerinians." Conrand Leyser, "This Sainted Isle: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism", in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus*, p. 192, *apud* Richard J. Goodrich, op. cit. p. 211, n. 1.

Nevertheless, no matter how much wider and more perceptive their scope, these scholars do not dispute Cassian's identity as transmitted by Medieval go-betweens.³⁴

It is this point at which Goodrich surprised me. His initial reaction was to see the forgery, since all evidence conspired to make this point: "when I first looked at the problem of Gennadius' entry, I thought there might be grounds for discounting it as a forgery".³⁵ What then was it that prevented him from endorsing this plausible conclusion? "Unfortunately for the conspiracy theory, the entry for Cassian is secure in the earliest manuscripts of his work". Unfortunately, I could add myself, Goodrich engages in no discussion about these manuscripts. Had he done so, he would have seen that it is hardly possible to discover a manuscript of Gennadius' work dating less than a hundred years later to the time when Benedict set out to organise Western monasticism taking the Greek writings by Cassian the Sabaite, not 'John Cassian', as a model duly modified.

As already said, of Gennadius' extant manuscripts not one dates earlier than the seventh century. By that time, it would have been all too easy and convenient to relegate and misattribute the writings of the real Cassian the Sabaite. He was after all a suspect of both Origenism and Nestorianism. Nevertheless, his ascetic writings had been employed by Benedict and were admired by famous Greek Fathers, who had no inkling of the obscure figure of 'John Cassian', whom wishful thinking was quick to identify with the deacon Cassian mentioned by Palladius.³⁶

Richard Goodrich makes some perceptive remarks in order to reach a non-important conclusion. While he points out discrepancies between the Latin writings ascribed to Cassian and some sheer facts, he only does so in order to resolve that Cassian began his Gallic career in the north. If he eventually moved south, this must have been after he had completed his ascetic treatises, he concludes.³⁷ I do not know how important this issue is to all those who consider John Cassian in the current and hackneyed manner. This is anyway quite far from, and completely irrelevant to, my analysis. I shall therefore focus on some of Goodrich's considerations rather than on

³⁴ According to Goodrich, Cassian 'quite possibly was a native of the Roman province of Scythia Minor', with the alternative sustained by other scholars mentioned therein: "a conflicting opinion locates him in the Roman Gaul." op. cit. p. 2.

³⁵ Richard J. Goodrich, op. cit. p. 228.

³⁶ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 19.

³⁷ Op. cit. p. 234.

his conclusion, since the questions he raises are challenging. If Cassian was part of a Massilian ascetic endeavour, why does he fail to mention any of the bishops, priests, or monks of that city in any of his works? Why does Cassian dedicate his ascetic treatises ‘to the obscure Castor’, and not to Proculus, the bishop of his own city, which was a downright offence to a man that exercised a great deal of influence in south-eastern Gaul? Scholars are prone to identify the names mentioned by Cassian with bishops and ascetics of the nearby province Narbonensis Secunda. The bishops of this region, along with other neighbouring ones and the Bishop of Arles, ‘had banded together in an uneasy alliance to resist Proculus’ attempt to exercise the rights of a metropolitan bishop over this region. If Cassian was a priest of Marseilles, writing as a client of Proculus, why are all of his works dedicated to men who are (to a greater or lesser extent) Proculus’ adversaries?’.³⁸ Whereas Goodrich’s aim is simply to argue that ‘when John Cassian wrote his two treatises on ascetic life, he was living somewhere in Narbonensis Secunda (possibly apta Julia)’, it is more important to emphasise that the dedicatees of John Cassian’s works were ‘obscure local bishops and ascetics’,³⁹ about whom too ‘little’, and sometimes nothing, ‘is known.’⁴⁰

Despite my dissent from Goodrich’s main premisses, which are more or less those of current scholarship, I have to endorse this remark of his: “A disproportionate weight has been assigned to Gennadius’ entry for Cassian in *De Viris Illustribus*. For far too long, Gennadius’ assertions have been accepted uncritically. When coupled with the St Victor’s foundation myth, a tidy biography can be written, the story of Cassian as the leader of a Massilian monastic project that has been widely disseminated in scholarly literature. Nevertheless, as discussed above, there are good reasons to question the conventional view.” Goodrich did not dispute *who* Cassian was: he only questioned the view about his settlement and activity in Marseilles. He went some way, but he did not go far enough. It was impossible to do so, unless a Greek text by Cassian had been available to him, which might have revealed the clear allegiances and liabilities of the real Cassian. However, he went as far as he could under the circumstances. His Appendix II is a token of insightful reflection, since he saw the wisdom of Owen Chadwick’s analyses. He refers to Chadwick having suggested interpolation in Cassian’s work and

³⁸ Op. cit. p. 212.

³⁹ Op. cit. p. 226.

⁴⁰ Op. cit. p. 219.

remarks that this 'found little support (and enjoyed even less discussion)'.⁴¹ Goodrich is probably the first to endorse Chadwick's account in relation to a question which is of interest to liturgical historians, and deems it a 'solution' which 'is both sound and quite likely correct'.⁴²

The critical test of Goodrich's argument could have been a detailed study of the existing manuscripts, which sadly is a point on which he did not touch at all. That Gennadius appears to have 'held the monastic author in very high esteem' could perfectly well be a token of a Massilian hand having tampered with the text of *De Viris Illustribus*. Therefore, this is by no means evidence to Cassian being 'integral to [Gennadius'] text, rather than a later addition'. Nevertheless, the author made some further felicitous remarks. Gennadius appears to mention Cassian by name in two other entries. One, in entry lxxiv for Eucherius, where he styles Cassian a saint (*sancti Cassiani*), which is an appellation 'attached only to a handful of men (James, Paulinus of Nola, Martin of Tours, Cypriot, Stephen the first martyr, Ephraem, Venerius, and Eustathius)', whereas eminent personalities such as Augustine and Jerome were not sanctioned with this accolade. The second entry (lxxxv) is that for Prosper of Aquitaine, in order to refute that a work of his against Cassian (those who believe the story could guess this to be the *Contra Collatorem*) did not do any harm to Cassian himself, since the church approved the latter's works as beneficial.

I am not concerned with scholars having attributed to Gennadius anti-Augustinian views on grace and free will (the so-called Semi-Pelagianism). To the extent that a small part of the 'Latin Cassian' is a direct translation from the Greek original (which indeed it is, as the footnoted Greek text of the edition volume makes clear), I know that statements ostensibly pointing to a presumed 'Semi-Pelagianism' are mere echoes of Origen's attitude pointing out human free will and personal responsibility. The real Cassian had nothing to do with either Pelagius or Augustine whatsoever.

Finally, Gennadius is represented to have made an indirect mention to Cassian in his entry for Leporius (lx), allegedly by having borrowed from John Cassian's *De Incarnatione*.

There are two more entries by Gennadius that mention Cassian by name.⁴³ What could possibly be made out of these references? As a matter

⁴¹ Op. cit. p. 235.

⁴² Op. cit. p. 236.

⁴³ Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*, LXXIV: an entry for Eucherius, stating that he had condensed certain works of St Cassian (*sancti Cassiani*). Gennadius used the accolade 'saint' sparingly and had not done so for such figures as Augustine and Jerome. The second entry mentioning Cassian is the one for Prosper of Aquitaine (Gennadius, op. cit. LXXXV).

of fact, nothing, and it is Richard Goodrich himself who remarks that ‘a systematic forger could have gone through *De Viris Illustribus*, adding these subtle signs of approbation’. And yet, despite all imposing evidence, the same author opts for granting that ‘it is less problematic to accept them and the entry for Cassian as Gennadius’ own work’.⁴⁴ The good scholar is unimpressed by the fact that ‘the second longest entry in *De Viris Illustribus* is the entry for John Cassian. Even Augustine, a man with a demonstrably larger impact on the church, both in terms of literary output and fame, tails Cassian’. He is likewise unwary of the fact that ‘Gennadius seems at great pains to emphasise’ that John Cassian ‘was associated with the church of Marseilles. This point is so important for Gennadius, that he makes it twice’.⁴⁵ Hence, Goodrich took it that ‘the entry for Cassian is secure in the earliest manuscripts of his [sc. Gennadius’] work’.⁴⁶ What he did not explain, however, is how he understood the notion of ‘early manuscripts’ of Gennadius’ work: as a matter of fact, he did not care to engage in any discussion about these manuscripts and their dates at all.

For all his courageous remarks, Richard Goodrich made too little of his perceptive analysis. All he sought to arrive at is the tentative surmise that ‘while Cassian did not begin his career in Marseilles, he might have ended it there’. But the evidence is too commanding to allow for that *much ado about nothing*. His statement, ‘I have yet to find any scholar who questions the attribution of Cassian to Marseilles’,⁴⁷ expressed at the opening of his Appendix, predisposed the reader to more substantial conclusions, which have yet to come. I shall return to this question of forgery later, in connection with an insightful article by Franz Diekamp published in 1900.

Photius

The 197th reading of Photius introduces us to Cassian and three important works of his. Writing at the turn of the ninth to tenth century, Photius styles his author ‘a monk, whose fatherland was Rome’ (Κασσιανου μοναχοδ, Ῥώμην λαχόντος πατρίδα).⁴⁸ His testimony is outwardly similar to (but not identical with) the information supplied by Codex 573 through its title itself (Κασσιανουδ μοναχοδ Ῥωμαίου). There is only one point to be made, since

⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 229.

⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 229.

⁴⁶ Op. cit. p. 228.

⁴⁷ Op. cit. p. 211, note 1.

⁴⁸ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 160b.

the question invited is whether the designation 'Ρωμαίου points to Cassian's birth-city, or not. My suggestion is that this does not suggest the city of Rome, as Photius took it: it only bespeaks Cassian having been born in the territory of the Roman Empire. The designation 'Ρωμαίος cannot (and does not) have a universal meaning. It depends on the period one refers to. 'Roman' suggests a definite legal and social status during the first century BC, whereas in the first century AD some things had changed, though legal and social consequences of the designation still held. After the Edict of Caracalla (who issued the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212AD) things were somewhat different. During the reign of Justinian things were more different still, whereas during and after the ninth century (which is of interest to us) 'Roman' was pretty much identified with the citizen of the empire that spoke Greek.⁴⁹ My suggestion is that the designation 'Roman' which was appended to Cassian's name only by later sources (not earlier than ninth-century ones) actually bespeaks the fact that he was a native of the empire who spoke Greek and wrote in Greek. In other words, it points to his nativity, though in a wider sense. Such a designation is in fact a later one, since, during earlier times, just having been born within the territory of the empire did not make one necessarily a 'Roman'.

This additional designation appeared as all too necessary, since there had been another Cassian a century earlier, namely *John* Cassian, who was a Scythian. The sixth-century Cassian was a Scythopolitan, which means a Palestinian (Palestina Secunda), in other words, a native of the Roman Empire. Cassian must have been proud of his birth-city, which John Moschus (545–619) declares to be 'a metropolis of Palestina Secunda' (Σκυθόπολις δευτέρα ὑπῆρχε Παλαιστίνης μητρόπολις).⁵⁰ This information has now been confirmed, since Scythopolis (Beth Sean), metropolis of Palestine II, was the object of large-scale excavations during the 1990s. The city had expanded between the second and sixth centuries and its fortification was constructed in the early sixth century, including an area of 134 hectares.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See chapter 6, "Why was Cassian styled 'Roman' in later Byzantine literature?"

⁵⁰ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 50, p. 2905 (δευτέρα in this text should be δευτέρα. Moschus refers to Palestina II). Likewise, Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 55: ἐπιποθήσας τὴν ἔρημον οἰκήσαι, μέλλον δὲ ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς Σκυθοπολιτῶν μητροπόλεως.

⁵¹ Kenneth G. Holm, "The Classical City in the Sixth Century", p. 97. Y. Tsafir and G. Forester, "Urbanism at Scythopolis-Beth Sean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 51, 1997, pp. 85–146. Archaeologists who worked on site reached the conclusion that Scythopolis was a flourishing city during the age of Justinian, yet they saw signs of stagnation after mid-sixth-century, which they associated partially with outbreaks of the bubonic plague that began in 542.

Scythopolis hosted the larger western bath, which was constructed around the year 400 and underwent continuous rebuilding and expansion throughout the first half of the sixth century.⁵²

Furthermore, the designation Κασσιανός Ῥωμαῖος ('Cassianus Romanus') is absent from the Latin text attributed to John Cassian in the *Patrologia Latina*, as far as I have been able to see. The fifth-century namesake is always stated as 'Joannes Cassianus'. Cassian of Scythopolis never used such a designation, nor did any Greek author ever style him so: he was always Κασσιανός μοναχός, to be accorded the designation Ῥωμαῖος only by later scribes, including the one of Codex 573.

One question has to be considered. Was the book of Cassian the one Photius had read and reviewed? Photius' recount of the 'little book' (βιβλιδάριον) by Cassian can leave no doubt as to his having read the texts of Codex 573, yet not all of them. The final section, entitled 'Contribution by abba Serenus on the Panaretus' (Codex 573, folia 101^r–118^v), was not part of the 'small book' which Photius had read. The ornate rubric 'book of Cassian' does not suggest that this codex is the same book with the one that Photius reviewed.

The similarities between Photius' account and the codex are nevertheless remarkable. Most striking of all is the title of the treatise on the dispositions to evil: both Photius and the codex have it *περι τῶν ὀκτώ λογισμῶν* ('On the Eight Dispositions [to evil]'), where 'to evil' is clearly suggested, yet missing. Otherwise, his exposition is the same as it would have been by anyone who had read the codex. There is more to tell, however. Photius quite evidently knows nothing of the hermits whose sayings Cassian is supposed to record. But he seems not too concerned about this; on the contrary, his vocabulary intimates that he is not sure as to whether these anchorites did ever actually exist. Cassian is said 'to introduce a certain Moses teaching' (Μωσέα τινὰ εισάγει διδάσκοντα). Following this, Photius refers to Serenus, who is said to be 'by no means inferior' to Moses and 'teaches the same lessons' (οὐ δεύτερον τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενον διδασκαλίᾳ).

Attention should be paid to Photius' phraseology: Cassian εἶτα Σεργῆνον παριστάνει ('next, he stages Serenus'). The verb παριστάνει is telling: Photius somehow suggests that Serenus is a person of Cassian's own making, yet this does not matter at all; what does matter is the teaching, of which Photius is not sparing of laudatory comments. Although the old form of the verb (namely, παρίστημι) in Classical Greece also meant 'to present', other senses

⁵² Kenneth G. Holum, *op. cit.* p. 104.

of it are telling: it also may mean 'cause to stand', 'dispose', 'furnish'. In later Greek it meant 'produce', and in Modern Greek *παριστάνω* has come to be a synonym of a behaviour which is deceitful, hypocritical, cunning, or, at any rate, arty-crafty. *Παράστασις* is a theatrical play performed on stage.

Once such texts were availed of, an ancient reader knew that what was important was the ideas expounded thereby, not the literary genre used. The case of Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian) is an interesting one in this respect. The author of the Pseudo-Clementine text (presumably a member of the Akoimatoi community) culled a considerable portion from the text of Pseudo-Caesarius, and presented this under the name of an old authority, namely, Clement of Rome, according to the Akoimetan practice. This is actually part of the text of Caesarius' Question and Reply 109, and partly that of 110. However, moving from 109 to 110, the Clementine author makes Question 110 part of a continuous text, thus abandoning the question/reply-form altogether.⁵³ Thus the Pseudo-Clementine text is a continuous prose and no one could have suspected that this is a passage from a different literary genre, nor indeed could this have mattered at all, and the excerptor is perfectly aware of this.

Therefore, Photius knew that what Cassian has to tell us, he does by means of an introduced *personage*. What matters is the teaching and Photius had read all but the last part (Codex 573, folia 101^r–118^v) of his 'small book' by Cassian.

Furthermore, there is one more question that has to be considered: was the book, which Photius read, a translation from the Latin? Although I will deal with the question later,⁵⁴ a few introductory remarks should be made as of now.

Considerations on Cassian are sometimes so anxious to represent him as a western figure that egregious distortions of fact occur. In the *Prolegomena* by Edgar Gibson,⁵⁵ it is urged that what Photius reviewed was a *translation*, indeed it is claimed that it was Photius himself who said so. This, of course, Photius did not, since he had read the *original* Greek text.⁵⁶ This

⁵³ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 108–109 = Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recognitiones* (*e Pseudo-Caesario*), 9.19.

⁵⁴ See *infra*, pp. 99 ff. considering the works by Franz Diekamp and Karl Wotke.

⁵⁵ Edgar Gibson, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, second series, v. 11. "Yet another epitome of three of the Conferences (I, II, VII) was made at some time before the tenth century. It was translated in Greek, and known to Photius, who speaks of three works of Cassian as translated [in Greek], viz., (1) an Epitome of the Institutes, Books I–IV; (2) Epitome of the Institutes, Books V–XII; and (3) one of the Conferences I, II, VII."].

⁵⁶ See Appendix III.

notwithstanding, I would not dispute Gibson's opinion that 'in the very early days the fashion was set of expurgating and emending the writings of Cassian'. I hope the present monograph will make clear the reasons for this 'fashion' to have been instilled.

The book that Photius read comprised two treatises, plus a discourse. One, the rules according to which the *coenobia* in Egypt were run. Two, the treatise entitled *On the Eight Dispositions [of Evil]* (περι τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν), the temptations impelling monks to sin, which Photius mentions one by one. This second monograph on 'the eight dispositions' is in fact what Evagrius had also done, thus making himself an exemplar to Cassian. This discourse is also 'addressed to the same person' (τῷ αὐτῷ προσπεφωνημένος ἐστί), namely Bishop Castor. Photius praises these rules, which he considers to be very valuable in the conduct of monastic life 'even down to our day' (καὶ μέχρι νῦν), thus suggesting the ancientness of these rules. His overall impression of the book could hardly be more favourable and he is not economical of laudatory comments about the wisdom of the writer.

It can hardly be a coincidence that the reviews by Photius appear to follow a *chronological* order at this point. After having reviewed 'the book of Cassian', he moves on with the *New Paradise* by John Moschus and then with Marcus Eremita and Diadochus of Photike. Then he goes on with Nilus of Ancyra and John of Carpathus. Photius writes that he had read three treatises in the abbreviated version of *Λειμωνάριον*,⁵⁷ which was the title of the collection of virtuous lives of ascetics by John Moschus, starting with St. Anthony. He also read the *New Paradise*, which was a natural sequel of the former, and recounted ascetics until the age of the emperor Heraclius. In this *Λειμωνάριον*, Photius read the discourses entitled 'On Discretion' (περι διακρίσεως) (ninth discourse), 'On Obedience' (περι ὑπακοῆς) (thirteenth discourse) and 'On Humility' (περι ταπεινοφροσύνης) (fourteenth discourse).⁵⁸ We know of course that 'On Discretion' is a treatise famously attributed to Cassian. What is more, the rest of them (at least as monastic virtues pervious to theoretical analysis) originate in Cassian, too. I was privileged to discover part of this Greek text in another *Meteora-Codex* (Codex 583) preserved in the monastery of Metamorphosis, where the title felicitously bears the name of the author, which is 'abba Cassian' and goes thus: ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ περι ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ὑποταγῆς.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ A diminutive of Λειμών (= meadow). Cf. John Moschus, *Λειμωνάριον*, in PG.87.2852 f.

⁵⁸ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 198, p. 162a.

⁵⁹ See *infra*, p. 134 note 88.

Moreover, Photius has some remarks to make about the quality of Cassian's Greek: Cassian is praised for the clarity of his language and the fact that he uses words which are accurate in regard to the meaning they purport to convey. As a result, Cassian is said to be persuasive and to cause the reader to sympathise with his views.⁶⁰ Cassian is 'so wise and competent in expounding and organising everything' (πάντα σοφῶς τε καὶ δεξιῶς κέκραται καὶ διαμεμόρφωται) that he can induce everyone to readiness and fear of God, despite the 'tropology' which is entertained in the second discourse. Although Photius implies that he is not completely at one with Cassian representing evil 'dispositions' as manifestations of evil 'spirits' and 'daemons', he acknowledges the edifying character of the exposition, which (as he has it) is largely due to his skilful use of Greek.

It is not the case, therefore, of Photius having read any translation. Besides, this can be seen from the text itself where such an extraordinary high level of Greek could never have been produced by any translation. A Greek rendering could produce an ostentatious or a pompous text, which would not actually be difficult to do. But it could hardly bring about a text that makes such a skilful use of key-theological terms, which had a long tradition in the hands and minds of the most eminent Christian thinkers. For instance, a translation could not make the distinction between ὁ σκοπὸς and τὸ τέλος for those pursuing the monastic life.⁶¹ This is in fact a token of Aristotelian learnedness of the highest level, since only a few intellectuals came up with such a subtle distinction. Photius must have been highly impressed at reading this differentiation and it is all but fortuitous that he makes a special mention of this.⁶² Finally, as it often happens, a reviewer can

⁶⁰ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161a: "Ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ οικεῖα τοῖς διανοήμασι καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, τὸ τε σαφὲς ἀποστίλβοντα, καὶ τὸ ῥαδίως ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐγχαράσσεσθαι τὴν χάριν κληρωσάμενα, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ συμπεῖθαι καὶ ἔλκειν αὐτὰς πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον. See full text with English translation in Appendix III.

⁶¹ Cf. *ScetPatr*, p. 57^r: ποῖος ἐστὶν ὁ ὑμέτερος σκοπὸς καὶ εἰς ποῖον τέλος ἀφορῶντες τοῦτο πεποιήκατε; Photius: καὶ τίς ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀσκητικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐξεταζομένων. Likewise, *ScetPatr*, 63^v: μείζων τῶν ἀρετῶν [... 64^v: ...] τὸ τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως χάρισμα. Photius: διδάσκει δὲ τί τέ ἐστι διακρῖσις, καὶ ὅτι μείζων αὐτῆ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν. Also, *SerenPrim*, p. 83^v: Διάνοιαν μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀδύνατον. ... Οὐ μέντοι ἀναγκάζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ βία συν(ω)θεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ φαῦλα εἶποι τις ἂν τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. Photius: τὸ μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ἀδύνατον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ συνωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάζεσθαι καταπίπτει πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα οὐκέτι. By the same token, *SerenPrim*, 84^v–85^r: Καὶ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ θεότητι, ἥτις καὶ μόνῃ ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλῆ τῇ φύσει ἐστίν, τοῦτο δυνατὸν ὑπάρχει. ... Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει, δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα. Photius: μόνῃς γὰρ εἶναι τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος τὸ διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων χωρεῖν.

⁶² Photius, loc. cit. καὶ τίς ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀσκητικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐξεταζομένων. Italics are mine. There is not way for this text to be a translation from Latin. First, in Latin

hardly afford not to use the vocabulary of the author reviewed. This is the case with Photius, too, who entertains the vocabulary he read in Cassian, so as no doubt should remain that he read a Greek text.⁶³

Leontius

In the 'little book' (βιβλιδάριον) by Cassian,⁶⁴ Photius read a third 'short discourse' (λογίδιον), which contains the monograph *On Discretion* (Περὶ Διακρίσεως) canvassing the gift of being able to discern divine motivation from disguised evil impulses. In this discourse, mention is made of anchorites that Cassian admired, such as abba Moses and abba Serenus, while he was in the Scetis of the desert. Finally, Photius reports that the writer furnishes a classification of different species of daemons.

Photius refers to 'monk Cassian, the Roman' having written two of the three discourses at the request of Bishop Castor (Κάστορι ἐπισκόπῳ). Leontius assumed responsibility of the convent after Castor's death, yet Leontius himself is not styled bishop (μετὰ τελευτήν Κάστορος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς μονῆς): he is only mentioned as the person in charge and Castor's successor. The cloister of which Leontius assumed responsibility was the same one as that of which Castor was abbot, and it was for the needs of this specific monastery that Cassian had set out to write the report concerning the *Rules* that regulated Egyptian monastic life in the first place (τῆς μονῆς, δι' ἣν καὶ οἱ κανόνες ἐστάλησαν). This is the discourse spuriously ascribed to Athanasius in Migne's Greek Patrology.⁶⁵ Codex 573 of Meteora also mentions 'rules applying to *coenobia* in the East and in Egypt' (Κανόνων κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κοινοβίων).

All the texts mentioned by Photius were included in the Venice-edition of 1782 by Nicodemus of Athos, in the collection known as *Philocalia*. This compilation, however, identifies two persons making them one: Cassian the

both terms are synonymous and no such distinction between σκοπός and τέλος existed therein. Secondly, even if a Latin author meant to make such a distinction, he should have had to use long paraphrases in order to render the import of the sentence. I canvass this in the edition volume, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cod. p. 56^v, endnote 7 (pp. 216–217). One folio containing this Greek portion is missing from Codex 573, yet the text can be restored from *Codex Vindobonensis gr. theol.* 121, folia 219^v–220^r. The same text is available in Codex 473 of the National Library of Greece, Athens.

⁶³ See Photius' Greek review along with an alleged Latin rendering of this in Appendix III.

⁶⁴ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161a.

⁶⁵ PG.28.849–905.

Roman (styled ὅσιος, feast day 29 February) and John Cassian (the fifth-century Scythian, who was ordained a deacon by Chrysostom and allegedly ended up in Marseilles) are presented as the one and the selfsame person at the expense of the real Cassian's existence.

Nevertheless, this *Philocalia* was in fact foreshadowed by the *New Paradise*⁶⁶ (or, *Λειμών*), which is mentioned by some authors,⁶⁷ and was written by John Moschus assisted by his pupil Sophronius. This collection of biographies of anchorites, monks, hesychasts, contains a narration by 'abba Leontius' which can leave no doubt as to who this Leontius really was: he recounts a vision that Leontius saw after he was expelled from the New Laura. From this we learn that, at the time of this narrative, Leontius was a member of the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch.⁶⁸ Leontius therefore was offered shelter by Theodosius after his banishment from the Laura of Sabas. At the time of this narrative, he was 'abba Leontius of the *coenobium* of Theodosius' (ἄββᾶς Λεόντιος τοῦ κοινοβίου τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου). Therefore, it is plain that, after Leontius was expelled from the New Laura, he settled at the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch (μετὰ τὸ διωχθῆναι τοὺς νέους λαυρήτας ἐκ τῆς νέας λαύρας, ἀπελθὼν ἐκάθισεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν λαύραν).⁶⁹ By the same token, and for all the hostility Cyril of Scythopolis⁷⁰ expresses against Nonnus (the allegedly Origenist companion of Leontius), we find a report about Nonnus described as a saintly person. A certain abba Theodosius, later Bishop of Capitolias, recounted to John Moschus that he himself had had an experience of how saintly Nonnus

⁶⁶ The word *Paradise* was the term describing the monastic community, initially in Egypt.

⁶⁷ Cosmas Vestitor of Constantinople (eighth–ninth cent.), *Orationes de Translatione Corporis Mortui Joannis Chrysostomi*, Oration 2. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 199, p. 162a. John Oxites of Antioch (eleventh–twelfth cent.) places this work on a par with those by ὅσιος Κασσιανός, Palladius, Macarius, John Climacus and others. John IV (or, V; or, John Damsacus Junior, or John Oxites), *Oratio de Monasteriis*, 5. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 8.41.

⁶⁸ In 494 Patriarch of Jerusalem Sallustius appointed Theodosius (423–529) an archimandrite in charge of the monks living in communities (or, *coenobia*, hence his surname Coenobiarch), whereas at the same time Sabas was appointed leader of all isolated monks living in Palestine (Palestina Prima). Sabas was formerly a monk in Theodosius' monastery. They were friends and Cappadocian compatriots.

⁶⁹ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 5, p. 2856. Since Leontius died before 543, the chronology of Moschus' visit to the Palestine monasteries may need some reconsideration, which though is out of my scope. It is probable that the specific point is a second-hand narration by a person close to Leontius, at a later time when Leontius was already dead. Moschus puts these words on the mouth of Leontius himself in order to make his narration more vivid and credible.

⁷⁰ Cyril of Scythopolis wrote a biography of Theodosius the Coenobiarch.

was: one night he saw ‘the old man’ (τὸν γέροντα) on his knees, praying in ‘a serene and quiet voice’ (πραεῖα καὶ ἡσυχίῳ φωνῇ) within the church of the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch. A ‘shining star just over his head’ (ἀστέρα φωτειδῆ ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ) was the illuminating experience revealing to this abba Theodosius who Nonnus actually was (καταυγάζοντά μοι τὸ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ γέρον).⁷¹ In any event, Moschus’ information with respect to our topic is important for particular reasons: John Moschus was initiated into the monastic life at the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch. Subsequently, he spent some time in the desert of Jordan, where he met hermits and ‘recorded their virtues’, to return and settle in the monastery of St. Sabas. He was therefore a *confrère* of the renowned ascetic and certainly a member of the same spiritual family, of which Cassian, Leontius and, later, John of Damascus, had been members.⁷²

In the *Doctrina Patrum*, Leontius Byzantius⁷³ is not treated as a heretic: he is styled ‘Leontius monk’ (Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ), whereas Evagrius, who follows in the list immediately after Leontius, is called the ‘cursed Evagrius’ (τὸ ἐπικαταράτου Εὐαγρίου).⁷⁴ The same collection includes a defence of the synod of Chalcedon by Leontius, in which his sympathy for Theodoret of Cyrhus is all too evident.⁷⁵

To John of Damascus, Leontius is an authority deserving to be appealed to by name, indeed on such delicate notions as ‘nature’ and ‘hypostasis’.⁷⁶ John of Damascus lived in the same monastery as Cyril of Scythopolis and Cassian himself, namely in the Laura of Sabas. However, all references to Leontius by Cyril of Scythopolis are hostile to Leontius, even though his admiration for (and fear of) Leontius’ erudition is evident at the same time.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, as I will discuss in a moment, Leontius was one of the leading figures that took part in the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, along with Cassian, who represented the Laura of Sabas as a monk and presbyter of this monastery.

⁷¹ John Moschus, op. cit. 104, p. 2961.

⁷² This information is part of the prologue attached to John Moschus’ *Pratum Spirituale* by someone of his pupils.

⁷³ Both *Doctrina Patrum* and Cyril of Scythopolis refer to Leontius Byzantius (Λεόντιος Βυζάντιος), which also John of Damascus did later. Furthermore, *Doctrina Patrum* (p. 198) styles him also ‘a monk’ (μοναχοῦ). Not to take these references as pointing to the same person would be absurd. The obscurity and controversy surrounding this identity seems to me persistent scholasticism.

⁷⁴ *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 249.

⁷⁵ Op. cit. pp. 177–179.

⁷⁶ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 55.

⁷⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 176; 179; 189; 190; 191; 192; 229; 230.

I am not going to deal much with the hair-splitting debate disputing identification of Leontius 'monk and *apocrisiarius* of the fathers of Jerusalem', who was present at the discussions on union with the Severian Monophysites in 532, with Leontius who was present in the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536. This undue pedantry has produced a fanciful 'Leontius of Jerusalem' out of the former instance. Suffice then to say this: It is a characteristic of Leontius that he lays stress on the permanence and distinction of the two natures in Christ. In order to express himself, he accordingly uses the expression ἔνωσις κατ' οὐσίαν ('union by essence'), not the normal ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν ('union in hypostasis'). The context of his analysis, however, makes it clear that he does not at all overlook that the element of unity is the hypostasis of the Logos.⁷⁸ That said, one should wonder why did the acts of the synod of 536 entertain this expression, which is almost exclusive to Leontius? Could this possibly be mere coincidence, or rather is it the case that this energetic intellectual proposed the expression, which was taken up by the council and was not considered to be one compromising the official orthodoxy?⁷⁹

As a matter of fact, this Leontian formula appears in no synod before 536, only to come into view a century later, in the Council of Lateran.⁸⁰ The formula has always remained a scarce one, since this was employed by a couple of minor theologians only,⁸¹ whereas there is a testimony according to which Theodore of Mopsuestia objected to it on the grounds that there cannot be

⁷⁸ Leontius Byzantius, *Contra Monophysitas*, PG.86(2).1844.10: τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν Χριστοῦ. *Libri Tres Contra Nestorianos et Eytuchianos*, PG.86(1).1300.27–29: οἱ τὴν ἔνωσιν οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνέργειαν, ἢ εὐδοκίαν δογματίσαντες. *op. cit.* PG.86(1).1305.27: θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνωθεῖσαι. See an analysis of 'these [natures] which unite to each other in essence' (τῶν κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνουμένων), *op. cit.* PG.86(1).1301–1304. Nevertheless, Leontius refers to 'hypostatic union in essence' (ἐν τῇ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑποστατικῇ ἔνωσει), *op. cit.* PG.86(1).1308.37–39.

⁷⁹ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 228: πῶς δὲ καὶ λέγεις ἐκ δύο φύσεων πρὸ τῆς ἐνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκός, εἰ οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ἐκ Μαρίας κατ' οὐσίαν ἔνωσις;

⁸⁰ ACO, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, Act 5, p. 348: καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, πῶς οὐκ καὶ πάντα λοιπὸν ἐκείνοι τὰ φυσικὰ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀναιρήσωσιν ἰδιώματα καὶ τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ἔνωσιν;

⁸¹ Cf. Pamphilus (theologian, sixth–seventh cent.), *Diversorum Caputum seu Difficultatum Solutio*, Question 6, title: πῶς δύο φύσεις μετὰ τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ἔνωσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ σωτήρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; then, line 60: διὰ τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ἔνωσιν. *op. cit.* Question 9, lines 93–95: τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσεως ἀντιδιδούσης τὰ τῆ θατέρᾳ φύσει προσόντα τῇ θατέρᾳ. In other words, it is on account of this 'union by essence' in Christ that the *communicatio idiomatum* makes sense. Eustathius of Constantinople (sixth-century monk), *Ad Timotheum Scholasticum de Duabus Naturis Adversus Severum*, lines 395–397: τῷ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐνώσῳταί ἐαυτῷ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἣν καὶ σάρκα ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ λογικῇ φάμεν.

‘union by essence’ between two entities, unless they are co-substantial.⁸² Leontius is, therefore, the sole theologian ever to have made much of the formula *ἔνωσις κατ’ οὐσίαν*, which he eventually managed to instil in the locution of the synod of 536. Therefore, to search for the phantom of another Leontius who took part in that synod is only extravagant finicality.

Furthermore, once the shadowy presence of Leontius in the synod of 536 is identified, one more instance could be added to this.

Cyril of Scythopolis relates that the Origenists of the New Laura branded the monks of the monastery of Firminus ‘the first created’ (‘Protoctists’, *πρωτόκτιστοι*), or ‘those who venerate a quaternity’ (*τετραδίται*). On the other hand, the monks of Firminus’ styled their opponents of the New Laura ‘those equal to Christ’ (‘Isochrists’, *ισόχριστοι*). Cyril of Scythopolis regards both parties equally Origenist, and has it that ‘each [band] was allotted a name from the particular doctrines of their impiety’.⁸³ It is evident that the former owed their name to a certain understanding of Origen’s doctrine of creation, whereas the latter were so styled according to a version of Origen’s eschatology. This ‘eschatological equality’ of the saints with Christ was epitomised during the Fifth Oecumenical Council of 553 by Theodore Askidas. The excerpt from the lost acts of that synod has been preserved by Evagrius Scholasticus.⁸⁴

Leontius evidently stood by the monks of the New Laura, which means that he was against the Firminians or *τετραδίται*, who must have been charged with some kind of Adoptionism or ‘inhabitation’. When Pseudo-Caesarius (= Cassian) attacks those who consider the unity of Christ with the Father in terms of an ‘inhabitation’ of Godhead in the human nature of Christ, it can be immediately surmised that he assails a thesis that smacks of Nestorianism. However, he actually would have attacked the opposite faction of Palestinian Origenists, who introduced a *tertium quid*⁸⁵ in Christology, which is why they were styled *τετραδίται*. Here is then an interesting fact: it could hardly be an accident that the *τετραδίται* were condemned

⁸² *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 305, recording passages from an epistle by Theodore of Mopsuestia to Domnus: *Καὶ τί δεῖ πολλά λέγειν; ὁ τῆς κατ’ οὐσίαν ἐνώσεως ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν ὁμοουσιῶν ἠλήθευται λόγος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἑτερουσιῶν διέψευσται, συγχύσεως εἶναι καθαρὸς οὐ δυνάμενος.*

⁸³ *Vita Sabae*, p. 197.

⁸⁴ Evagrius Scholasticus *HE*, p. 189: “Theodore Askidas the Cappadocian said: ‘If now the apostles and martyrs work miracles and are so great in honour, then, if in the Restoration they will not become equal to Christ (εἰ μὴ ἴσοι γένοιτο τῷ Χριστῷ), what kind of Restoration will it be for them?’”

⁸⁵ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 445: ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐθις φῆς “λατρευτὴ καὶ ἡ Χριστοῦ εἰκών”, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τετραδίτης εὐρεθῆση, λατρεύων μετὰ τῆς Τριάδος καὶ τῆ εἰκόνι Χριστοῦ.

by name through recurring references during the synod of 536, which only betokens the influence of Leontius upon this synod. Although synods were always prone to recapitulating condemnation of all sorts of heresies by name, this is the sole one where τετραδίται are mentioned, indeed they are accused of failing to venerate the Trinity (τετραδίται και οὐ τριαδόδοξοι).⁸⁶

The characterisation τετραδίται has a specific meaning which did not go far and wide beyond Palestine and beyond the times of this Origenistic controversy. It was not until later that the term came to suggest a different meaning: τετραδίται were those who used to fast on the 'fourth day' of the week (τετράδι), that is, on Wednesday. The heresy was laid at the door of a certain James.⁸⁷ Michael Glycas reports that it was 'the seventh canon of the Second Oecumenical Council', which styled them τεσσαρεκαιδεκατίτας και τετραδίτας, but there is no evidence to this. The name τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίται ('those espousing the fourteenth day')⁸⁸ means that they used to celebrate the Easter not on Sunday (as decreed by Nicaea), but on the fourteenth day following the full moon, which is the day on which they used to carry out fasts and vigils.⁸⁹ Both customs ('fourteenth day' and fast) were regarded as Judaic ones.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 8; the same on p. 226 (from a letter by Faustus Bishop of Apollonias addressed to Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch): οὔτοι θεοπασχίται και οὐχί Χριστιανοί εἰσι· Μανιχαῖοι και οὐκ ὀρθόδομοι· τετραδίται και οὐ τριαδόδοξοι· Εὐτυχιανισταὶ και οὐκ ὀρθόδοξοι· Νεστοριανοὶ και οὐ φιλόχριστοι. op. cit. p. 9; the same on p. 226: βλέπε, ἀγαπητέ, μὴ εἰς πέρασ ἀξίης τὸ διαφημιζόμενον περὶ σοῦ, μὴ γέλωσ γένη ὡς θεοπασχίτης ἢ τετραδίτης.

⁸⁷ *Constitutio Monasterri Prodrumi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 19, pp. 34; 37. Nicon of Montenegro, *Canonarium vel Typicon*, 1, p. 46: ἀνατρέπει δὲ οὗτος ὁ κανὼν τοῦ Ἰακώβου τὸ δόγμα και τὴν τῶν τετραδιτῶν αἵρεσιν. Likewise, ch. 1, p. 66.

⁸⁸ Cf. τεσσαρεκαιδεκατίται (though not τετραδίται) mentioned by Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, 13.5; *Panarion*, v. 1, pp. 158; 160; v. 2, p. 144; 248. Socrates Scholasticus (*HE*, 5.22) reports that those in the East claimed that the custom had been handed down to them by John the apostle, and those in the West claimed that they had received it from Paul and Peter. Cf. 6.19; 7.29. Also, Theodoret, *Hereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83: 400; 405; 409. Sozomenus, *HE*, 7.18.10–11. Photius, *Homiliae*, Homily 17, p. 166.

⁸⁹ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, p. 465.

⁹⁰ Before Pope Victor I (c. 189–c. 200) was elevated to the Roman episcopacy, a difference in dating the celebration of the Christian Passover/Easter between Rome and the bishops of Asia Minor had been tolerated by both the Roman and Eastern churches. The churches in Asia Minor celebrated it on the 14th of the Jewish month of Nisan, the day before Jewish Passover, regardless of what day of the week it fell on, as the Crucifixion had occurred on the Friday before Passover. The Latins called them *Quartodecimans*. Rome and the West celebrated Easter on the Sunday following the 14th of Nisan. Victor is remembered for his concern for order in the church by severing ties with bishops such as Polycrates of Ephesus who opposed his views on Easter. According to Theodoret (*Haeticarum Fabularum*

The alternative τετραδίται was given to those fasting on Easter day, which is what the orthodox did on the 'fourth day' (τετράδι, Wednesday).⁹¹ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus reports that the name τετραδίται was applied as an alternative to the 'Angelists', a specific Monophysite sect with Sabellian tendencies, based in Angelium, a region of Alexandria.⁹² This is the sense in which both names as alternatives (Τεσσαρακαιδεκατίτας ἡγουν Τετραδίτας) appear for the first time with Gennadius I of Constantinople.⁹³ The acts of the Council of Ephesus mention the heresy of τεσσαρακαιδεκατίται at several points (they received back some repented members of the sect), but knows of no τετραδίται.

Whereas in that council of 536 the New Laura was represented by four monks (including such powerful figures as Askidas, Domitian and Leontius), the monastery Firminus appears to have been represented only by one monk named Nestavus,⁹⁴ and only at two points⁹⁵ a certain 'monk Theodore' of the same monastery appears to have signed the acts on behalf of the monastery. Firminum was evidently not only outnumbered, but also outpowered by the presence of Leontius, which must have been prominent and influential. It should be recalled that Askidas and Domitian became powerful figures (and bishops) *after* 536, and after Leontius had introduced them to *papas* Eusebius (a powerful priest and administrator of the Great Church). Which means that the theological influence of Leontius' impressed on the synod of 536 was the result of his own power in the circles of the capital.

In order to sum up, we can follow Cyril of Scythopolis. Leontius and his companions were expelled by abbot Agapetus from the New Laura in 514. The expelled monks went to the lowlands (πεδιάς), the region of Eleutheropolis and Ascalon, which at the end of the fourth century had been a specifically anti-Origenist stronghold. The area had come to be a Monophysite one, in which the influence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem was weak.

Compendium, PG.83.392), he broke also with Theodotus of Byzantium over his theories about Christ.

⁹¹ Cf. Matthaeus Blastares (monk, theologian, Thessaloniki, fourteenth cent.), *Collectio Alphabetica*, alphabetic letter alpha, 2, lines 123–131. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE*, 18.49. Cf. 4.39; 12.32–34; 14.31.

⁹² Loc. cit.

⁹³ Gennadius I of Constantinople (Patriarch, fifth cent.), *Epistula ad Eis Qui ad Ecclesiam Accendunt*, line 9. So Theodore of Nicaea (bishop, tenth cent.), *Epistulae*, 5. Likewise, *Appendix Eclogae*, (eighth–twelfth cent.), title 3. Matthaeus Blastares, op. cit. line 72.

⁹⁴ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 36; 50; 130; 145; 158; 165; 174.

⁹⁵ Op. cit. pp. 37; 51.

This means that Leontius had built some connections with the Monophysites during the period of his stay there (514–519), which is why he was appointed by the royal court to negotiate with the Monophysites in 531/2, at the time when Justinian was seeking a compromise with the Severian party. Leontius and his companions were re-admitted to the New Laura in 519/520, following the death of abbot Agapetus. Leontius was overtly a Chalcedon-defender, clandestinely an Origenist, according to Cyril of Scythopolis. In 531 we find him a member of the company of Sabas visiting the capital, from which Leontius (along with adherents of Theodore of Mopsuestia) was expelled. He was left behind in Constantinople when Sabas set sail back to Palestine in September 531. In 532, when talks were held on union with the Severians, Leontius was on the spot as 'monk and apocrisary of the fathers of Jerusalem'.⁹⁶ This designation is not different from that which accompanies the name of Leontius signing the acts of 536, as will be discussed in a moment. At that time, Leontius was an influential man in the capital and took part as 'hegoumen Leontius, representative of the desert monks' in the local anti-Monophysite synod of 536. In 537, Leontius ('who had returned from Constantinople') was in Palestine, raging against both Gelasius (Sabas' successor) and the fathers of the Great Laura. Two years later, in 539, when *papas* Eusebius was on his way home from a synod held in Gaza, Leontius presents to him the forty Origenist monks that had been expelled from the Great Laura. *Papas* Eusebius was asked to take some action, which he actually did. Sometime in 542 Leontius died, whereas the edict against Origen by Justinian (prepared by Gelasius and his band for Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem) was published in Jerusalem in February 543.

A last indication about Leontius' native region would perhaps not be superfluous, since it is indeed Leontius Byzantius himself who advises which his country was. In his treatise against the Monophysites, he relates a story purporting to show some reasons why miracles take place. The details of the story are of no importance. What is telling is that he determines the story as having taken place 'during our times, in our region' (ἐν τοῖς γούν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱστορήται χρόνοις καὶ τόποις), and that story had to do with the 'Saracenes', on the 'frontier' with the 'barbarian' region (ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸ Βαρβαρικὸν λεγόμενον λιμνὸν ἐρήμοις, καὶ ὑπὸ Σαρακηνῶν ληϊσθεῖς).⁹⁷ It is

⁹⁶ Innocentius of Maronia, *Epistula ad Thomam*, ACO, Tome 4, 2,170.5–6: cum Leontio uiro uenerabili monacho et apocrisario patrum in sancta ciuitate constitutorum.

⁹⁷ Leontius Byzantius, *Contra Monophysitas*, PG.86(2).1900.8–13. See further references to the 'Saracenes' (Σαρακηνοί), described as Jacobite Monophysite. The sixth-century Byzantines called 'Saracenes' a tribe of the north-eastern Arabia. Later still, the designation came to suggest all Muslim Arabs.

therefore plain that this Leontius suggests that ‘his region’ was a place not too far from the region where the Saracenes lived, and this place is certainly not Constantinople, but Palestine.

Following the writings of Cassian, as well as the acts of 536, we could say this. Once Sabas rejected Leontius in 531, the latter returned to Palestine sometime later and joined an unknown monastery. This had been founded⁹⁸ and supervised by a certain (presumably Origenist) ‘Bishop Castor’, whom Cassian had advised about the regulations governing monasteries in both Palestine and Egypt. To Castor this was ‘his new monastery’ (folio 1^r: ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ), which reflects the mobility of monks following vicissitudes because of the Origenistic controversy.

Leontius himself later succeeded this Castor as superior of the monastery.⁹⁹ Cassian’s essay about ‘the fathers at Scetis’ is addressed to this Leontius, who is said to have ‘inherited’ Castor’s ‘virtue’ and ‘succeeded him in the care of the monastery’ (folio 56^v). This is the ‘monastery of his [Leontius] own’ mentioned in the acts of 536, where Leontius is styled an abbot of that institution.¹⁰⁰

The following reconstruction is therefore plausible to make. Cassian (a beloved spiritual son of Sabas) was part of this company and returned to Palestine with his spiritual father in September 531, having stayed in the capital since April of that year. He went back to Palestine with Sabas at that time, yet he returned to the capital sometime in 533, after December the fifth, 532, the date of Sabas’ death. He was sheltered at the monastery of the Akoimetoι (‘the never-sleeping’ monks), as an intellectual monk, while he officially remained a monk and presbyter of the Great Laura. No doubt, he used to take intermittent and temporary trips to Palestine, until he returned there to stay, as abbot of the monastery of Souka in 539. This makes a total of six years for his stay in Constantinople, which is the period attested for Caesarius’ (= Cassian’s) stay in the capital.¹⁰¹

Of this Leontius, Cyril of Scythopolis has certain things to tell us. Leontius Byzantius (c. 485–c. 543) was a monk who had been admitted to the monastery of New Laura, ‘after the death of abbot Agapetus’. He is attested as one who ‘espoused the doctrines of Origen’ (τῶν Ὀριγένους δογμάτων

⁹⁸ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 1^r: ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ.

⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr.*, p. 56^v: ἀγιώτατε Λεόντιε, ... σοί, τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου σὺν Θεῷ φροντίδα.

¹⁰⁰ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 50: Λεόντιος ἡγούμενος καὶ μοναχὸς ἰδίου μοναστηρίου.

¹⁰¹ See discussion in *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

ἀντιλαμβανόμενος), which had passed unnoticed in the first place, since Leontius appeared a staunch defender of Chalcedon (τῆς γὰρ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προΐστασθαι προσποιοῦμενος). Leontius, therefore, enters the fray only when Nonnus and his company of disciples were re-admitted to the community after the death of the hegoumen.¹⁰²

Once Sabas was advised about this, he disowned Leontius, along with all those who espoused the doctrines of Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹⁰³ Nonnus and Leontius (along with another two monks, Domitian and Askidas, four persons in all) were expelled by the abbot Agapetus of New Laura (a daughter-cloister of Sabas' Great Laura) from the cloister in 514 for professing the doctrines of Origen, Evagrius and Didymus.¹⁰⁴ They were re-admitted five years later, as just noted, after the death of hegoumen Agapetus, while Justinian was now the powerful *dauphin* of the imperial throne and the Monophysite Patriarch Severus had just been deposed from the throne of Antioch and banished. In any event, the role of Leontius in the anti-Monophysite campaign, as well as his able defence of the Council of Chalcedon, made him a powerful person, enjoying support even from court circles. Hence, although disowned by Sabas (who died in 532, while the synod was held in 536), Leontius was erudite enough as to be respected by Cassian. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Cassian was a presbyter of the Great Laura, not the New Laura.

For all his manifest hostility to Leontius, Cyril of Scythopolis is a witness to Leontius' erudition. He is attested to have managed to convert 'the most erudite' monks of the New Laura 'to his heresy', 'after the death of Sabas'.¹⁰⁵ He also influenced monks from neighbouring monasteries: they had managed to convince 'all of the most erudite monks of the New Laura' (πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ λογιωτέρους), as well as monks of the Great

¹⁰² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 176.

¹⁰³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *op. cit.* pp. 176; 179; 189.

¹⁰⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *op. cit.* p. 190 f.; *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 124; 229–230. The 'Origenists' who dwelled in New Laura were expelled from there after the council of 553 by the 'orthodox' who assumed charge. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 83. Those monks had returned to New Laura after the death of Agapetus. (*Vita Sabae*, p. 125); one of them was Leontius (*op. cit.* p. 176). However, in February 543, Justinian's edict against Origen arrived in Jerusalem, and this group of monks left New Laura in indignation 'and dwelled in the valley' (*Vita Sabae*, p. 192).

¹⁰⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 230 (quoted *supra*, note 82): For all current dispute about the identity of Leontius Byzantius, Cyril of Scythopolis leaves no doubt as to who he actually was.

Laura, where Cassian himself was formally a presbyter, alongside monks of other monasteries, such as the ones of Martyrius¹⁰⁶ and Firminus.¹⁰⁷

Leontius may have been one of the abbots in the monastery of Theodosius, since Photius reports that Leontius (to whom the discourse *On Discretion* was addressed) succeeded 'Bishop Castor in the responsibility of the monastery' (μετὰ τελευτὴν Κάστορος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς μονῆς), which is what Cassian himself says addressing Leontius.¹⁰⁸ Definitely, this Leontius could not have been the abbot of the monastery of St. Euthymius, mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis.¹⁰⁹ Monasteries which Cyril of Scythopolis reports to have been influenced by Leontius, such as those of Martyrius and Firminus, would also have been the case. Besides, there was another monastery which should be considered, called 'the convent of the Byzantii' (μονὴ τῶν Βυζαντίων).¹¹⁰ This monastery was made famous after the name of Gregory of Sinai: he became Patriarch of Antioch (Gregory I, 570–593) at Emperor Justin's II order. In order for this Gregory I to become Patriarch, the Emperor had Patriarch Anastasius of Sinai deposed.

For all this turmoil, the monastery of New Laura was present in the Local Synod of Constantinople in AD 536. This is where we come across Leontius Byzantius, Theodore Askidas, Domitian (superior of the monastery of Martyrius) and Cassian standing and signing side by side. The monks from the New Laura that took part in that synod were Terentius, Theodore [Askidas],¹¹¹ Cyricus, and Martyrius. Leontius signs as a person not belonging to a particular monastery, and yet representing a wider region and number of monks, 'the monks of the desert'. On the other hand, two monks only represented the Laura of Sabas: Cassian and Sabbatius.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ The monastery of Martyrius is attested by Cyril of Scythopolis: *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 65; 115; *Vita Theodosii*, p. 239. Martyrius was a Patriarch of Jerusalem (478–486). Formerly a monk in the Laura of St. Euthymius, he founded a cloister under his own name ('convent of Martyrius') in 473. He was a staunch defender of the Chalcedon doctrine.

¹⁰⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 188; *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 231: καὶ οὐκ ἤρκεσθη τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα μοναστήρια τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μεταδοῦναι λύμης ἐσπούδασεν.

¹⁰⁸ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161a.

¹⁰⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 70. He was the abbot of the monastery and the man who introduced Cyril in this. We know that this occurred in the year 555, whereas Cassian had died in 548.

¹¹⁰ Evagrius Scholasticus (sixth cent.), *HE*, p. 202. Theophanes Confessor (eighth–ninth cent.), *Chronographia*, pp. 243. John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 40, p. 2892. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 17.36, who in fact reproduces Evagrius' narrative.

¹¹¹ See discussion *infra*.

¹¹² Sabbatius, a younger friend of abba Gerasimus, was a monk from Cilicia. Gerasimus was reputed to have attended the Council of Chalcedon and died in 475. Sabbatius (old by 536) is mentioned in a biography attributed to Cyril of Scythopolis, as well as by John

In the beginning, Leontius signs as 'a monk representing the holy fathers of the desert' (Λεόντιος ἐλέει θεοῦ μοναχὸς ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἀγίων πατέρων).¹¹³ Then he signs as 'monk and abbot of his own monastery, as well as on behalf of the holy fathers in the desert and Jordan'.¹¹⁴ The antagonism is more than evident. Leontius designated himself as a representative of the 'fathers living in [river] Jordan', since, just a minute ago a certain Trajan had signed as representative 'of all the monks living in [river] Jordan'.¹¹⁵ Besides, however, at that point his name figures both before and after monks belonging to the New Laura. We come across monks both from the monastery of St Sabas (monk Sabbatius) and New Laura (monk Cyricus, and 'presbyter and monk' Theodore [Askidas]), with each of them designating himself as 'representative of all the monks living in the desert'.¹¹⁶ The Laura of Sabas appears to have been represented only by monk Sabbatius and 'monk and presbyter' Cassian. They sign as representatives of the monks not 'of the entire desert', but only of 'the desert that is supervised by the holy city', or of 'Jerusalem',¹¹⁷ save one point where Sabbatius appropriates 'all the monks of the desert'.¹¹⁸ At the final stages of the synod, although Sabbatius is absent, Cassian signs simply as a 'presbyter of the Laura of the blessed Sabas'.¹¹⁹ Then again, Leontius signs as 'monk and abbot and supervisor of all the desert' (Λεόντιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τῆς ἐρήμου πάσης).¹²⁰ This happened only three years after the death of Sabas, and Leontius lived apart from the monastery of the deceased hesychast.

Moschus. Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, p. 183. John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 107, pp. 2968–2969; 166, p. 3032.

¹¹³ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 37.

¹¹⁴ Op. cit. Tome 3, p. 50: Λεόντιος ἡγούμενος καὶ μοναχὸς ἰδίου μοναστηρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ Ἰορδάνῃ ἀγίων πατέρων.

¹¹⁵ Op. cit. Tome 3, p. 50.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Theodore of the New Laura and Sabbatius 'of the Laura of the blessed Sabas' doing so. Op. cit. Tome 3, pp. 50–51.

¹¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 36: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος λαύρας [μονῆς] τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμου. p. 37: Σαββάτιος ἐλέει θεοῦ μοναχὸς τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἱεροσολύμων μοναχῶν. p. 50: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχὸς λαύρας τῶν Σάββα ποιούμενος τοῦς λόγους καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμῳ μοναχῶν. p. 145: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως μοναχῶν.

¹¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 51: Σαββάτιος μοναχὸς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μοναχῶν.

¹¹⁹ Op. cit. pp. 158: Κασσιανὸς πρεσβυτέρου τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα. So on p. 174. So had he done earlier, p. 130.

¹²⁰ Op. cit. Tome 3, p. 130. Having made up his mind, Leontius used the same designation thereafter: pp. 145; 158; 165; 174.

Cyril of Scythopolis

Lets us then turn to the chronicler, whose testimony is sometimes unexpectedly accurate, namely, Cyril of Scythopolis (525–558). This monk wrote a fairly detailed account of the death of Sabas, in 532, at the age of ninety-four.¹²¹ Cyril assures that he was himself an eyewitness to the following event: upon Cassian's death, in 548, the monks opened the crypt where the body of Sabas was resting in order to place the body of the deceased 'blessed Cassian' (τοῦ μακαρίου Κασσιανοῦ). To their utter admiration, the body of Sabas was found entirely undamaged, a good sixteen years after the death of the great leader of Palestinian monasticism.¹²²

There is an additional reason why this testimony is important. Cassian was not the immediate successor of Sabas, he was actually the fifth abbot of the Great Laura. During the period of the fifteen years following the death of Sabas, there had been other abbots whom Cassian succeeded, whereas he himself remained in the post for only ten months.¹²³ If a specific spot for

¹²¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 183. According to Cyril's counting, Sabas died at the age of 94, on December the fifth of the year 6024 since the creation of the world, which he says is the year 524 after Jesus Christ was born, 'according to the counting of years by Hippolytus, Epiphanius of Cyprus, and Heron, the philosopher and confessor'. This was 'after the second consulship of Lampadius and Orestes' 'during the sixth year of the present God-guarded reign'. loc. cit. This counting of years suggests 524AD as the date of Sabas' death. This is inaccurate by eight years. To prove it, there is no need to engage on the philology of Byzantine dating of Christian era. The edict against Origen by Justinian arrived in Jerusalem 'eleven years after the death of Sabas' as Cyril says. Had his death occurred in 524, this should have been in 535 and at that time, so Cyril says again, 'Leontius was dead'. But we know that Leontius was present at the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536 and signed its acts. Therefore, the arrival of the edict of Justinian's in Jerusalem should have taken place at a time when Leontius was dead, which leaves no doubt that this was after the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536. Anyhow, Sabas died in 532 and we know that the edict arrived in Jerusalem in 543.

¹²² Op. cit. p. 184. op. cit. p. 184. The successor of Sabas was abba Melitas, born in Beirut. He was chosen by Sabas himself who had a premonition about his own death a few days before this actually occurred. op. cit. pp. 182; 187–189. The new abbot remained in office for five years until he died. He was succeeded by Gelasius in 537, who immediately took anti-Origenist action. If, after 536, Cassian returned to the Laura at all, he left this in 539, shortly after Gelasius assumed office: he moved to the monastery of Souka, where he remained for eight years as abbot, until he was summoned to assume office as superior of the Laura of Sabas, in October 547. It is probable however, that Cassian left the Akoimetoï in 539, to go directly from Constantinople to Souka, given the anti-Origenist sentiment of Gelasius and riots at the Great Laura.

¹²³ First abbot was St. Sabas (483–532). Then, Melitas (Dec. 532–Sept. 537), Gelasius of Isauria (September 537–October 546), George the Origenist (547, seven months), Cassian the Sabaite (October 547–20th July 548, ten months), Conon of Lycia (548–post 568).

interring the bodies of abbots were determined, this should have happened with the body of at least some of Cassian's predecessors. This should be Melitas, the successor of Sabas, who remained in the post of abbot for five years until his death.¹²⁴ Therefore, the finds about the undecayed body of Sabas could have come to the open from 537, the year when Melitas died, five years after Sabas' death. Still, it seems that special treatment was reserved for Cassian, on account of his personality, not simply of his office as abbot.

Cassian the Sabaite, therefore, died in Palestine, not in Marseilles. He was a native of Scythopolis, and in October of the year 547 he was appointed abbot of the Great Laura, fifteen years after the death of Sabas. He was already a presbyter of the Great Laura, he had been suckled by the holy Sabas himself, and served as abbot of the cloister of Souka (Σουκά) for eight years. This means that Cassian had become the abbot of Souka in 539/540, three years after he had participated in the Local Synod of Constantinople, in 536. This 'abba Cassian' ruled over the 'holy flock' of the deceased Sabas for ten months only,¹²⁵ until he died on July the 20th, of the year 548. It was during this ten-month period (547/8) that Cyril of Scythopolis wrote the biography of Cyriacus, where he speaks of Cassian as 'currently being the abbot of the convent of Sabas'. By that time, Cyril praised not only Cassian's orthodoxy, but also his erudition (τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν Σκυθοπολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον).¹²⁶ This squares with Cassian being a proficient theologian, who took part in the council of 536, as a delegate of the Laura of Sabas.¹²⁷

The expression 'adorned both in his conduct of life and reason' (βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον)¹²⁸ is all but a casual one. Although it may point to one's prudence, it had been used at Chalcedon¹²⁹ pointing to accomplished theologians. The remark about Cassian was κεκοσμημένος τῷ λόγῳ.¹³⁰ This

¹²⁴ Gelasius died in Amorium, on his way back to Palestine from the capital. George the Origenist was expelled 'on charges of profligacy and foul conduct'.

¹²⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196.

¹²⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231.

¹²⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis wrote the Life of Sabas after 553, since he mentions the Fifth Oecumenical Council. *Vita Sabae*, p. 179.

¹²⁸ As the ensuing quotations evince, λόγῳ means not simply 'teaching', but also literally 'reason', in the sense of one's way of receiving and considering reality in general.

¹²⁹ ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,1, p. 68: ἐτέρους δὲ δέκα ὁσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους λόγῳ τε καὶ βίῳ κεκοσμημένους, ὀρθότητι καὶ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς καὶ ἀληθινῆς πίστεως εἰδήσει τε καὶ διδασκαλίαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐκλάμποντα. This is a portion from an epistle by Emperor Theodosius to Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria.

¹³⁰ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231.

expression might also well be taken in a literal sense, suggesting not only Cassian's moral and intellectual abilities, but also his eloquence, in tacit *a contrario* reference to Paul styling himself ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ ('rude in speech') in 2 Cor. 11:6. Palladius used the scheme in order to describe the character of John Chrysostom.¹³¹ In like manner, Photius used the same scheme, if indeed the epistle is actually one of his own pen, and not one written by a Sabaite hand.¹³² As a philological scheme, 'to be adorned in respect of reason'¹³³ originates in Origen,¹³⁴ who was inspired by similar instances in Philo and Plutarch.¹³⁵ Anyway, only a few Christian authors entertained this. It is quite telling that Cyril of Scythopolis reserved¹³⁶ this designation only at one more instance, in order to describe such personalities as Theodosius

¹³¹ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 147: ἱερὸν ἄνδρα, βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον. Cf. op. cit. p. 91 (not ref. to John): βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένοι. *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, Vita 36.6 (ref. to Jerome): Ἱερώνυμος τις πρεσβύτερος ὤκει εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκεῖνους, ἀρετῇ λόγων ῥωμαϊκῶν κεκοσμημένος καὶ εὐφραΐα. Cf. *Typicon Monasterii Deipare Cecharitomenes seu Gratiae-Plenae*, section 11, line 492 (stipulating selection of new abbess): ἐπιλέγεσθαι τρεῖς τὰς βίῳ κεκοσμημένας καὶ λόγῳ. *Vita S. Lucae Stylitae* (sixth century), section 18 (ref. to the empress): τῆς εὐσεβοῦς βασιλίδος βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένης. During the same (sixth) century, Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentary in Apocalypsin*, Logos 4, ch. 10.4, 4: πρὸς τοὺς ταῖς πράξεις καὶ τῷ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένους.

¹³² Photius(?), *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 2, line 284: ἄνδρα εὐσεβεία καὶ ἱερωσύνη καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ κεκοσμημένους. During this study, I urge that attributions of some of these epistles to Photius should be reconsidered, since they look far too like Cassian. Suda, *Lexicon*, entry 219 (ref. to a certain Bishop Mark): λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ κεκοσμημένος. *Vita Theophanis Confessoris* (tenth century), p. 3: ὁ βίῳ καὶ πράξει καὶ λόγῳ νηπιόθεν κεκοσμημένος.

¹³³ Nevertheless, λόγῳ may well suggest not 'reason', but any discourse, written or oral. This is how Hermogenes had used the scheme in his work *Περὶ Ἰδεῶν Λόγου*, 1.12: ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ῥυθμοὶ τινὲς εἰσιν οὐ βεβηκότες ἀλλ' ἀπηρητημένοι, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ χρήσιμοι γε οὗτοι τῷ κεκοσμημένῳ λόγῳ. Syrianus, the Neoplatonist commentator of Aristotle, made fairly much of this point of Hermogenes. Cf. Syrianus, *Commentarium in Hermogenis Librum Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, p. 68.

¹³⁴ Origen, *Cels*, VII.23: τὸν κεκοσμημένον χαρίσματι φαμεν λόγῳ "σοφίας" καλουμένῳ. op. cit. VIII.10: ὁ κεκοσμημένος τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. *selPs*, PG.12.1509.23–24: ὑπὸ τῶν κεκοσμημένων λόγῳ γνώσεως. Didymus, *In Genesim*, Cod. p. 46: λόγῳ θεῖῳ κεκοσμημένοι. Procopius of Gaza (quoting Nilus of Ancyra), *Catena in Canticum Canticorum*, p. 1633: ὡς δὲ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένοι ἀργύριον λέγονται. Theodoret, *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75.1448.4: καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον. The Migne-editor translates: et rationis usu exornata.

¹³⁵ Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, 2.140. Plutarch, *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, 943D: ἐπεικῶς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐν τῷ βίῳ. Cf. Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae (versio 1 in volumine 1)*, p. 87: τοῦ ἔνουν καὶ ἔμφρονος καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένου.

¹³⁶ He reserves this only to holy men who were 'adorned' with practical virtues. *Vita Euthymii*, p. 8: ἀρετῇ κεκοσμημένων. op. cit. p. 13: τῷ τῆς εὐσπλαχνίας καὶ συμπαθείας κατακεκοσμημένην ἐλαίῳ. *Vita Sabae*, p. 128: φρονήσει θεῖα κεκοσμημένον. *Vita Abramii*, p. 245: συνέσει θεῖα κεκοσμημένους.

the Coenobiarch and Sabas himself.¹³⁷ As it happened with the body of Cassian, which was treated in an exceptional manner and interred beside that of the deceased Sabas in the same crypt, at this point, too, Cyril of Scythopolis' narrative places Cassian on a par as that of Sabas, along with Theodosius the Coenobiarch.

We also learn that Cassian was experienced in running a convent, since not only had he been the abbot of the Laura of Souka¹³⁸ for eight years, but he had also founded the monastery of Zouga, in Scythopolis. Cyril of Scythopolis recounts that Cassian's successor was a certain Conon, of Lycian origin, whom he describes as a benign monk, not an intellectual. Conon is praised for having received a monastery with the number of monks diminished, in fact a community in decay, yet he made it a flourishing centre by re-gathering dispersed monks back to this.¹³⁹ This Conon, acting as abbot, is part of a narrative by a monk called Auxanon (Αὐξάνων) of St. Sabas monastery to John Moschus upon his visit to the Laura.¹⁴⁰ In fact, however, Conon was not as innocuous as described by his subordinate monk Cyril of Scythopolis. An account by the sixth-century historian Evagrius the Scholastic relates his presence at the council of 553, along with three monks, named Eulogius, Cyriacus and Pangratius. Conon is represented as a fanatic, who was furious not only against what he thought to be 'Origen', but also against Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹⁴¹

When Cassian was appointed abbot of the monastery of Sabas, he was 'at that time the abbot of the monastery of Souka'. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, Cassian 'had forsaken the world since childhood' (ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνόχων), he was trained by Sabas himself and had become a presbyter in

¹³⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 115: προεβλήθησαν κατὰ κοινήν ψήφον Θεοδόσιος καὶ Σάβας ἀρχιμανδρίται καὶ ἔξαρχοὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν μοναστηρίων ὡς ἐρημίται καὶ ἀκατήμονες βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένοι καὶ τοῖς θείοις κομῶντες χαρίσμασιν.

¹³⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis mentions the Laura of Souka at several points. Abba Cyriacus, whose life Cyril recounted, was a monk of that monastery. Cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 29; *Vita Sabae*, pp. 123; 196; *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 222; 226; 228; 229; 231; 232; 234; 235.

¹³⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: ὅστις ἀββᾶς Κόνων τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα ποιμνὴν ἐλαττωθεῖσαν καὶ ὀλιγωθεῖσαν παραλαβὼν ἐπλήθυνέν τε αὐτὴν καὶ περιφανεστέραν εἰργάσατο καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὰς χώρας διασπαρέντας πατέρας πάντοθεν ἐπισυνήγαγεν.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 42, p. 2896: ὁ ἀββᾶς Κόνων ὁ ἡγούμενος τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα. Cf. op. cit. 128, pp. 2992–2996: Moschus relates his visit to the Laura of Sabas, which was actually more than a visit, since he made this his home for a very long time.

¹⁴¹ Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, pp. 188–189. This account was copied verbatim (with minor alterations of non-important words, which are only philological options) by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 17.27. I return to this point later.

his monastery. He had also been ‘the abbot of the monastery of Souka for a period of eight years’. It was also he who had founded the monastery of Zouga in Scythopolis of Palestine (hence his special knowledge of, and interest in, the rules governing a monastery).¹⁴²

The monastery of Souka was arguably founded by Chariton in the mid-fourth century. As a matter of fact, Cyril of Scythopolis himself leaves no doubt about this identification.¹⁴³ A fine study by Yizhar Hirschfeld¹⁴⁴ informs us that the monastery of Chariton was one of the largest and most important ones in the Judaeian desert. It was founded as a Laura in the mid-fourth century AD.¹⁴⁵ It is related that Chariton wandered southwards from the monastery of Douka (Deir el-Quruntul, west of Jericho) to a place located 14 *stadia* (some 2.6 km) from the village of Tekoa, which is located 6 kilometres south of Bethlehem.¹⁴⁶ After a group of monks had gathered around him, Chariton founded the Laura. This was known as *Souka* after the name of the place in Syriac, which may well be an explanation for Cassian referring to Syria as his own homeland,¹⁴⁷ as well as for the Syriac colour that the text of Revelation used in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.¹⁴⁸ The monastery

¹⁴² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Μεγίστῃ λαύρᾳ περιλειφθέντες πατέρες κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔλαβον ἡγούμενον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν τὸν Σκυθοπολίτην τὴν τοῦ Σουκά συνοδίαν τὸ τηνικαῦτα καλῶς καὶ ὀρθοδόξως κυβερνῶντα, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀποταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Σάβα παιδευθέντα καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας γεγονότα καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ χρόνους τὴν τοῦ Σουκά λαύραν κυβερνήσαντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζουγᾶ λεγομένην μονὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει συστησάμενον.

¹⁴³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 229: οἱ τῆς λαύρας τοῦ Σουκά πατέρες τὸν ἐπικείμενον φόβον δεδιότες κατήλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν μετὰ λιθῆς καὶ πολλῆ τῇ παρακλήσει χρησάμενοι ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Σουσακαίμ εἰς τὴν λαύραν ὅστις ἀββᾶς Κυριακὸς εἰς τὴν λαύραν ἐλθὼν ἔμεινεν εἰς τὸ ἀναχωρητικὸν τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Χαρίτωνος ἐπὶ πέντε χρόνους καταγωνιζόμενος τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν.

¹⁴⁴ Yizhar Hirschfeld, “The Monastery of Chariton survey and excavations”, *Liber Annuus* 50 (2000), pp. 315–362.

¹⁴⁵ It has been suggested that the monastery was founded in 345 AD. S. Vailhé, “Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine”, *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 4, 1900, pp. 512–542, pp. 524–525, and 5, 1900, pp. 19–48 & 272–292.

¹⁴⁶ *Life of Chariton*, 23. G. Garitte, “La vie prémonastique de S. Chariton”, *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 21 (1941), p. 33. Translation in English, by L. Di Segni, “The Life of Chariton”, in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis 1990, pp. 396–420.

¹⁴⁷ Cassian was aware of Syriac things and his narration at some points relates more or less actual events relating to the region. *ScetPatr*, p. 74^r; *SerenPrim*, p. 96^r.

¹⁴⁸ A certain etymology has it that the name Souka derives from *suq* (Arabic: market), which is translated as *Laura* in Greek. D.J. Chitty, *The Desert A City*, Oxford 1966, p. 15. In the opinion of F.M. Abel, the name derives from *tsuq* (Hebrew: cliff), because of the steep cliffs of Nahal Tekoa in which the monastery is situated. F.M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, Paris 1933, p. 471. About the identification of Souka with the monastery of Chariton, see Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani Iudaea Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 236.

was later given the name of the 'Old Laura', probably to distinguish it from the Great Laura of Sabas in Nahal Kidron and the New Laura south of Tekoa. A third name, the monastery of Chariton, was given to the monastery later still, apparently after the transfer of Chariton's remains from the monastery of Pharan after the Muslim conquest. The *Life of Chariton*, whose anonymous author was apparently a monk in the monastery that bore his name, gives only a few details of the Laura. It recounts how Chariton settled at the place called Souka and founded the Laura after a number of monks had gathered around him. Souka was also the monastery to which St. Cyriacus (whose life Cyril of Scythopolis wrote, too) withdrew when a split occurred between the monasteries of the monk Euthymius and the monk Theoktistos. I return to Cyriacus anon.

Castor

Castor was the bishop supervising the monastery of which Leontius¹⁴⁹ assumed responsibility after the bishop's death. A 'Bishop Castor, the martyr' is commemorated in the East, but almost nothing is known of him.¹⁵⁰ Tradition records him to have died by fire at the time of Emperor Diocletian.

Cyril of Scythopolis records a conversation of St. Sabas with Emperor Justinian. The holy man advised the emperor that the Samaritans had invaded the region of Palestina Prima and Palestina Secunda. They had caused a tremendous catastrophe in churches and other religious premises. Sabas asked the emperor to fund their reconstruction, along with completion of a church that had been founded 'long ago' (πρὸ χρόνου) by Elias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (494–516).¹⁵¹ Justinian pledged help and Cyril recounts that he kept all his promises to Sabas. John Malalas reports that Justinian offered his own *toga* decorated with precious stones to the city of Antioch, which was placed 'in the so-called church of Cassian' (τῇ ἐκακλησίᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ Κασσιανῶ).¹⁵² The same church is mentioned by John of Damascus, attesting

¹⁴⁹ Since I dismiss the identification of the two Cassians, who are more than a century far from each other, I do not engage in considerations of allegations in Latin texts that Leontius was the Bishop of Fréjus and Castor's brother. I abide by my distrust to these Latin texts, not to mention that Leontius the addressee of Cassian was not a bishop at all. Clearing up these texts from interpolation is beyond my scope.

¹⁵⁰ Another Meteora-codex mentions 'Castor' who died a martyr. Feast day, 18 December. Codex Roussanos 12, Meteora, folio 154^r.

¹⁵¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 176–177.

¹⁵² John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 450.

to Severus of Antioch having delivered a sermon there.¹⁵³ I should have thought that the church was so named retrospectively after the name of the monk assigned by Sabas with the duty of supervising its restoration. But I refrain from doing so, in the light of a certain testimony, even though this is a hagiographical rather than historical one. A simple monk called Anthony wrote an account of the life of Symeon the Stylite the Elder; he recounted miracles and sayings by the old anchorite and visions that he saw. He subsequently places the death of Symeon at the time of Bishop Martyrius being Patriarch of Antioch (459–468/70) and Leo I being the Emperor (457–474). He describes how the body of the deceased was initially placed in the ‘church of Cassian’ for a period of thirty days, until it was settled in its final place of rest, upon which a new church was built.¹⁵⁴ This historical information conforms with the account of the circumstances surrounding the death of Symeon related by John Malalas.¹⁵⁵ Anyway, this church was there and it was a conspicuous one during the times when Cassian was only young: John of Damascus relates that Severus of Antioch delivered a number of sermons upon his consecration as Patriarch of Antioch. Some of these sermons, which treated the issue of fast during the forty-day period of Lent (Τεσσαρακοστή), were delivered in the ‘church of Cassian’ (ἐν τῇ Κασσιανοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ).¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, whether Castor died a martyr during the assault by the Samaritans there is no way to determine. I certainly cannot advance this identification of Castor, since the context seems to point to earlier times. Nevertheless, this surmise is no more sustainable than the allegation that Castor, Cassian’s addressee, was the Bishop of Apt. The suspicion of deliberate misidentification becomes stronger once we take into account that it was later felt necessary to concoct a spurious letter¹⁵⁷ allegedly addressed to ‘John Cassian’ by this Castor requesting information about the institution of monasteries and rules of monks in Egypt and the East. This is only one token of the retrospective forgery, about which much is to be said in this study.

The region, supposed to have been supervised by Castor, was located not far from Gaza, where Procopius spent all his life and the school of rhetoric

¹⁵³ John of Damascus, *De Sacris Jejuniiis*, PG.95.76.33.

¹⁵⁴ Antonius Hagiographus, *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris*, 32. He describes himself as παραμονάριος. This was the office (also called προσμονάριος) of a man living in a monastery permanently and taking care of security during the night.

¹⁵⁵ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 450. Cf. p. 369.

¹⁵⁶ John of Damascus, *De Sacris Jejuniiis*, PG.95.76.29–33.

¹⁵⁷ Owen Chadwick, op. cit. p. 37.

flourished. Procopius of Gaza addressed one of his epistles 'to Castor', who might well have been the bishop mentioned by Cassian. As already noted, the name Castor was profusely current in the East, indeed in various cities of Egypt (including Alexandria) and in Gaza, according to testimony as old as first century AD. In the papyri-archive of Columbia University, the name 'Castor' transpires in 766 instances, some of which were discovered in Gaza.

It is then not at all strange that Procopius is the author of a brief letter addressed 'to Castor'. The Christian sophist of Gaza recommends the 'bearer' of the letter as a relative of his wife (γένος συνάπτων ἐμοί, γάμος τὴν οἰκειότητα βεβαιῶν). He further suggests that this person needs 'a favourable attitude' by Castor (τῷ φέροντι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πολλὰ παρὰ σοῦ τὴν εὖνοιαν ἀπαιτεῖ) in order that he should receive a fair hearing, since he had been 'slandered' and therefore was in need of an eloquent tongue to prove the charge false (δεῖται δὲ γλώττης δικαίας καὶ λόγων εὐροίας σβέσαι δυναμένης συκοφαντίαν). It is obvious that Procopius addressed this letter to a powerful person, with whom he had been maintaining a certain relation and whose actual deeds in the past 'always surpassed his promises' that he had given Procopius in other similar instances (οἶδα τοίνυν ὡς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐλπίδος κρείττων γενήσῃ· φιλοτιμεί γὰρ ἀεὶ μείζον εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν ὧν ἂν τις ἐλπίσῃ παρὰ σοῦ).¹⁵⁸ The style of Procopius' letter makes it plain that the person he addresses is more than a mere advocate, as it has been suggested.¹⁵⁹ Procopius himself was a rhetor after all, and in case he was in need of an advocate for a case to be heard, it could not be that difficult for him to find one among his friends. Yet, he was seeking a favourable judgement for his relative, not simply the services of an advocate.

The personality that inspired Procopius was Theodoret. The latter's commentary on the Kings and Chronicles is actually the text that critically imbues Procopius' commentary on the same topics. As a matter of fact, the region neighbouring his cloister was the best market for him to find cate-nae and patristic texts in order to compile his own favoured readings. In any event, this Castor had just instituted 'a new monastery'. Nevertheless, Cassian's address to the bishop clearly suggests that to Castor this was a 'new monastery'. Which may imply either of two things: one, Castor had founded another monastery in the past; two, Castor had moved to a new

¹⁵⁸ Procopius of Gaza, *Epistulae* 1–166, Epistula 73.

¹⁵⁹ J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, pp. 270–271.

monastery, which he founded himself. The last alternative appears to be a more likely one: had Castor founded a monastery in the past, he would have not needed Cassian to advise him about how a coenobium is governed. A likely hypothesis is that Castor had set out to found a new monastery, having been expelled from his old one on account of Monophysite tendencies.

In any event, for all its entire prologue, the content of Cassian's work is addressed to the monks, rather than to Castor himself. This is a kind of support in order for 'virtue' to be pursued by the monks who had been gathered in 'the new monastery', so that they should learn how to behave themselves.¹⁶⁰ This means that Castor had just instituted a 'new monastery', which had to be run. He was probably not only its official abbot,¹⁶¹ but also the supervising bishop, who had the administration entrusted to subordinate clerics, or to a surrogate. This is why a constitution was necessary for those who had to administer the institution on his behalf and at his behest. The adverb *πάλα* ('a long time ago')¹⁶² bespeaks that when Cassian was writing to Leontius, a long time had elapsed since Cassian had written to Castor.

Antiochus of Palestine

Hardly ever did history care for hermits and monks. Rather kings and military generals were its primary concern, which has made people accustomed to history made of great conquerors and all sorts of men of violence. Those who had a different take on the world were normally relegated to the margin, save some rare exceptions like the Oriental mystics and founders of religions. However, the latter are always seen as exotic figures, rather than makers of history, even though they are actually makers of history par excellence.

There is a forgotten and disregarded author who can come along and support me on this unpopular contention which I am advancing. This is Antiochus, the native of Ancyra, the seventh-century monk and later abbot at the Laura of St. Sabas, who has some interesting things to say.

¹⁶⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r: ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἐφ(ό)διον πρὸς ἀρετὴν οἱ συνειλεγμένοι σὺν Θεῷ ἐν τῷ νέῳ σου μοναστηρίῳ.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: σ(οι), τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου σὺν Θεῷ φροντίδα.

¹⁶² *Loc. cit.*

Antiochus of Palestine was born near Ancyra,¹⁶³ which is why he is sometimes styled Antiochus of Ancyra, whereas he is currently also known as Antiochus *Pandectes*. He lived first as a solitary, then became a monk of the Laura of Sabas near Jerusalem. He witnessed the Persian invasion of Palestine in 614, and the massacre of forty-four of his companions by the Bedouins. The Persians destroyed his hometown Ancyra in 619, which compelled the monks of the neighbouring monastery of Attaline to flee their home and move from place to place. As they were unable to carry many books with them, abbot Eustathius who had introduced Antiochus to monastic life, asked him to compile an abridgement of Holy Scripture for their use, along with a brief account of the martyrdom of the forty-four monks of St. Sabas. In response to this request, Antiochus wrote a work known as *Pandectes* of Holy Scripture. This comprises 130 chapters, which are discourses (διαλέξεις)¹⁶⁴ of mainly ethical character. Only a few passages deal with theological doctrine. The collection sums up the points at which Scripture sustains the ethical question of each of his chapters. He does not actually draw on earlier writers by name: he refers only to Gregory Thaumaturgus (Homily 20), Irenaeus (Homily 122), and Ignatius of Antioch (Homily 124). What he does not say, however, is that he draws heavily (to say the least) on Cassian the Sabaite, who had also been a monk and abbot in the same Laura of St. Sabas only seventy years before Antiochus. Vast sections of his compilation are verbatim quotations from the work by Cassian the Sabaite monk of Scythopolis in Palestine.¹⁶⁵

The following dramatic question is then invited: why did Antiochus eschew reference to Cassian? Was the successor of St Sabas a *persona non grata* at the time (early seventh century) when Antiochus was composing his work? He probably was, which is coupled with the fact that Cassian's name is missing from Photius' review of Cassian's 'little book' in Codex 197, and by the same token Caesarius' name is also missing from Codex 210, which contains Photius' review of the *Erotapokriseis* by Caesarius (= Cassian). In Codex 197, Photius refers to the author as 'a monk who happened to

¹⁶³ Some sources mention 'the saintly martyr Plato' as having been the brother of Antiochus and accord them the same feast day, which is 13 July. Codex Roussanos 3, Meteora, folio 147^r. Another Codex of the same monastery accords 18 November as a feast day only to 'martyr Plato, the brother of martyr Antiochus: they both came from Ancyra of Galatia'. Codex Roussanos 12, Meteora, folio 115^r.

¹⁶⁴ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 66.

¹⁶⁵ See the passages by Antiochus along with their parallel ones by Cassian, in Appendix I. It is impressive that Antiochus never mentioned his source and predecessor.

come from Rome'. It is only because Photius describes the content of that 'small book' that the editor of Codex 197 was able to introduce the name of Cassian as an emendation in Photius' text.

Antiochus also wrote an *Exomologesis* written in the form of entreaty, in which he relates the miseries that Jerusalem had suffered since the Persian invasion, and begs the divine mercy to heal the Holy City's many ills.¹⁶⁶ These works seem to have been written in the period between the conquest of Palestine by Chosroes and its re-conquest by Emperor Heraclius in 628. Antiochus evidently admired Cassian's erudition, and no less so his style.¹⁶⁷ He is also a witness to who Cassian actually was, since he drew heavily on his predecessor's work. All but one of his passages that were borrowed from Cassian *ipsissimis verbis* are from the latter's treatise on the *Eight Dispositions to Evil*.¹⁶⁸ One however is not. This belongs to the treatise addressed by Cassian to Leontius and relates persons and teachings by old hermits, that Cassian was supposed to have heard first-hand at the Scetis in Egypt.

One of Cassian's conferences makes the 'old man' (γέρω)¹⁶⁹ abba Moses its central person.¹⁷⁰ The monk is supposed to have preached the famed discourse *On Discretion*, which was praised by Photius.¹⁷¹ At one point, Moses set out to teach what terrible results one may incur out of lack of discretion. He then relates the story of a certain 'Mesopotamian' hermit, who spent many years in seclusion and virtuous life. This is how Cassian embarks on recounting the story of a devout hermit,¹⁷² who was misled by a dream imposed on him by the devil. The vision demonstrated all Christian 'apostles and martyrs' standing in disgrace and darkness opposite

¹⁶⁶ PG.89.1849–1856.

¹⁶⁷ Antiochus is eager to follow some aspects of Cassian's style, such as recurring usage of the vocabulary of Prov. 4:23 (πάση φυλακῇ τήρει σὴν καρδίαν). Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 25^v: χρῆ πάση φυλακῇ τ(η)ρεῖν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ ρυπαρῶν λογισμῶν. *OctoVit*, p. 46^v: Πάση φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης. op. cit. p. 55^t (& Antiochus, Hom. 44): καὶ πάση φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θανατ(η)φόρου πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας. Antiochus, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Hom. 19: χρῆ δὲ τὸ τὴν καρδίαν πάση φυλακῇ τηρεῖν ἀπὸ ρυπαρῶν λογισμῶν. Hom. 21: χρῆ πάση φυλακῇ τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καρδίαν. Hom. 33: χρῆ πάση φυλακῇ τηρεῖν τὴν καρδίαν. Hom. 50: πάση φυλακῇ τηρήσωμεν ἑαυτοὺς ἀδελφοί. Hom. 61, quoting Prov. 4:23: πάση φυλακῇ τήρει σὴν καρδίαν. Hom. 64: ἀναγκάσιον οὖν ἐστιν πάση φυλακῇ ἐγκρατεῦσθαι.

¹⁶⁸ See parallel texts in Appendix I.

¹⁶⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, pp. 57^v; 62^r.

¹⁷⁰ *Patrologia Latina* has this point as *Conference* II.8.

¹⁷¹ Full text in Appendix III.

¹⁷² Cassian, *ScetPatr*, cod. pp. 69^v–70^r. See the parallel texts by Cassian and Antiochus of Palestine in Appendix I.

the 'folk of the Jews', who were glorious and luminous, living in joy. He was subsequently persuaded by this devilish concoction that salvation is reserved to the Jews only, which caused him to abandon monastic life, to cross the desert and join a Jewish community, and finally get himself circumcised.

Cassian's writings were within reach at the Laura of Sabas not only to Antiochus, but also to all Sabaite monks. Yet, whereas Cassian's narration is short, Antiochus (using the very same words as Cassian) provides many details in his extensive account, but it is evident that he quotes from Cassian's text word for word. Antiochus tells us that this monk lived an unusually long life. Despite his old age and white hair, he indulged in playing with women, eating Jewish meat, pronouncing words of abuse against Christ and the Holy Baptism, for which the Jews called him 'the second Abraham'. Although Antiochus uses the text of Cassian verbatim,¹⁷³ he adds some interesting details. Cassian's Mesopotamian monk is in Antiochus a monk of mount Sinai. The dream sent to him by the devil (according to Cassian) was not only one dream, but many, which he saw in sleep 'many times' (πολλάκις). Once the monk decided to undergo circumcision, he abandoned his monastery in Sinai, 'he came to Palestine' (ἔρχεται εἰς Παλαιστίνην)¹⁷⁴ and then went to the regions of 'Noara and Libyas' (Νοάραν καὶ Λιβυάδα), which were 'the strongholds of the Jews' (τὰ ὀρμητήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, both are locations on the banks of river Jordan, near Jericho). Furthermore, the monk got married, preached against Christianity, and died a painful death: he finally became invalid, he then collapsed, with worms devouring his body.

Antiochus (writing in the 620s) assures that he himself along with his fellow monks saw this lapsed and deluded monk with their own eyes. He assures further that 'hardly three years had passed' at the time when he was writing this story of the monk's painful death. "I myself along with other monks, saw this monk. For indeed no more than three years have passed since he died a terrible death" (τοῦτον κἀγὼ ἐθεασάμην, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μοναχῶν καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει τρία ἔτη κακῶ θανάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξας).¹⁷⁵ Antiochus claims that he was an eyewitness while using the selfsame words Cassian had written seventy years ago. If we take into account that Cassian put this narrative into the mouth of the 'old man' abba Moses, it follows that

¹⁷³ Appendix I.

¹⁷⁴ 'He came to Palestine' suggests that the person writing about this story lives in Palestine, which is the case with both Cassian and Antiochus. Evidently, Antiochus copied the gist of the story from Cassian.

¹⁷⁵ Antiochus, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 84; PG.1689,76–1692,29.

the ‘pathetic’ monk (ὁ ἄθλιος) of the story should have lived more than 150 years before Antiochus. And yet he reassures us that not only he, but also his companions, ‘saw this man’.

It was then natural for a modern scholar to assume that this story took place ‘around 600’, which fits with Antiochus’ lifetime and activity.¹⁷⁶ The point is, however, that this scholar did not suspect that Antiochus copied a story, which had been related long before by Cassian, and even when Cassian was writing about this incident, it was supposed to have been a long past one. I quote both accounts, by Cassian and Antiochus,¹⁷⁷ in Appendix I. It was all too natural for Hagith Sivan to take Antiochus’ word assuring that he was himself an eyewitness to this episode. The truth is, however, that writers of that period were interested in conveying their message while caring little about historical accuracy. The notion of plagiarism and forgery, if it existed at all, had a far too different import in those days and writers were by no means shy about conditioning the reader so as to make him believe that their story was in fact history,¹⁷⁸ though it was not so at all. As a matter of fact, the specific anecdote seems to have come from the very old, which Sivan remarks, even though he took Antiochus’ story to be history. In the Babylonian Talmud *Pesahim* (50a), Rabbi Joseph the son of Rabbi Josua ben Levi fell sick and apparently gave up the spirit. When he recovered, his father asked him: ‘what did you see’? He said: ‘I saw an inverted world: the exalted were low, and the low were exalted’. Likewise, the Palestinian *midrash* of *Ruth Rabba* 3.1: Rabbi Meyasha the grandson of Rabbi Josua ben Levi was made unconscious by his illness for three days. When he regained consciousness his father asked him: ‘Where were you?’. He replied: ‘In a confused world ... where I saw many people who were held in honour here, and now are in disgrace there’.¹⁷⁹ Likewise, in the Protevangelium of James, Mary being about to give birth to Jesus, sees a vision of two peoples,

¹⁷⁶ Hagith Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2008, p. 51.

¹⁷⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVita*, Codex pp. 52^{r-v}. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 43 (*Περί Κενοδοξίας, De Inani Gloria*), PG.89.1565–1568.

¹⁷⁸ Elisabeth A.R. Brown wrote a study expressing herself in strong terms about medieval authors misleading modern historians by means of defiant forgery. Elisabeth A.R. Brown, “*Falcitas pia sive reprehensibilis: Medieval Forgers and Their Intentions*”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften* 33.1 (1988), pp. 101–119. Most of secondary authorities dealing with medieval forgery are cited by Giles Constable, *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel und Wappenkunde*, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 1–41. For a review of the background, see Peter Herde, “Römisches und kanonisches Recht bei der Verfolgung des Fälschungsdelikts im Mittelalter”, *Traditio* 21 (1965), pp. 291–296.

¹⁷⁹ S. Lieberman, ‘The Martyrs of Caesarea’, *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939–1944), pp. 437–438, cited by Hagith Sivan, op. cit. p. 52, n. 2.

one weeping and lamenting, the other rejoicing and exulting: the former represented the Jews, the latter the Gentiles.¹⁸⁰

It seems therefore that Cassian reproduced a theme circulating in the wider region of Palestine and Antiochus made up his own version, peppering it with details that could add to excitement. Whereas Cassian tells us that he had heard the story from abba Moses, and claims no immediate personal experience of it (without excluding this, however, since the story is not clear on this), Antiochus, almost a century later, avows himself having been an eyewitness to the incident.

Antiochus had hardly been born when Cassian died in 548. He was of course writing having in front of him the work of his predecessor, the 'book of Cassian', indeed Cassian's discourse sent to Leontius, in which the treatise *On Discretion* is included. Antiochus' aim was not to deceive anyone: it was only to edify. This imagery by Antiochus was designed to express the utter decay and disgrace which the former ascetic incurred because he lacked the virtue of discretion and did not understand that the dream urging him to commit circumcision was a devilish deceit. His assertion that he 'saw' the lapsed monk is no less an invention than Cassian's one assuring that he had heard this story from abba Moses. Such stories were simply circulating in monasteries, and certainly this was a common story known to every one at the Laura of Sabas, when the lesson about the importance of divine discretion had to be taught. The truth of both narratives lies in their message, which is the value of discretion: hermits should take heed against misleading visions originating in the adversary power. This is what mattered, not whether the authors were immediate witnesses to the events of their narrative. The story was simply part of the lesson, actually the garment of it. Antiochus had 'seen' what he related no more than Cassian had 'heard' this from an old and pious man. These are two different ways of making the story an imposing one: the maxim about the importance of discretion had to flow from eyewitness, or at least ear-witness. The authority flew either from abbot Antiochus' very eyes, or from Cassian's ears having heard a saintly hermit assure the truth of the story. What actually mattered,

¹⁸⁰ Hagith Sivan, loc. cit. but the correct citation of the apocryphon is chapter 36, not 17. Cf. *Protevangeliium Jacobi*, 37. The story goes thus: At the time when 'all went to be taxed, everyone in his own city' (Luke 2:3), Joseph and Mary were on the 'third mile' of their own journey, when Joseph saw Mary at one moment laughing and rejoicing while the next moment falling into sadness. When he asked her about the reason of that shifting disposition, she replied: "Because, Joseph, I am seeing two peoples: one of them weeps and laments, the other rejoices and celebrates".

however, was not the literal ‘truth of the story’, but the truth about the crucial significance of the virtue of discretion.

Besides, the parlance of Cassian is reproduced immediately by Antiochus of Palestine, and then by three figures who flourished in Constantinople: Maximus Confessor, Theodore Studites, and in a collection of epistles attributed to Photius, the *Amphilochia*, an attribution that I myself doubt for a considerable part of it, at least.

The question is nevertheless this: If the text of Cassian in codex 573 were claimed to be a translation from ‘John Cassian’s Latin text’, why should Antiochus *copy* a Greek translation of a Latin text? Should he have done so in order to learn more about the regulations governing monasteries in Palestine and Egypt? But Antiochus lived there himself, and visits from and to Egypt were all too common. Monks and laymen of Palestine used to go to Egypt in order to call on renowned hermits. Monks and laymen of Egypt used to go to Palestine for pilgrimage at the holy city. Should Antiochus pursue a translation from Latin in order to learn about the eight dispositions to evil? But the theme was an ancient one in Greek Christian literature, since the times of Evagrius of Pontus, Nilus of Ancyra, and probably earlier. Was it that Antiochus wished to study a learned theologian? But ‘John Cassian’ was never regarded as a theologian of note. Opposed though he was to Augustine on the question of Pelagianism (if this tale is actually history), he was on no account Augustine’s peer. He is simply represented as a Semi-Pelagian, which was regarded as a blemish. Had Antiochus wished to read something countering Augustine, he could have done so by studying John Chrysostom, whom some scholars in the East consider to be a counter-point to the Bishop of Hippo.

Therefore, the simple truth is that Antiochus just read the works by Cassian preserved in his own monastery of St. Sabas and drew on them in terms of both vocabulary and theology, copying long passages for his own purposes.

John Cassian, the Scythian of Marseilles

John Cassian is said to have sought admission to a monastery near the Cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem,¹⁸¹ sometime before the year 392. We do not know why or how he became a monk, neither do we know what his age was

¹⁸¹ Bethlehem monastery, *Inst.* III.4.1; IV.31; *Coll.* XI.1 & 5; XIX.1.3. Germanus, *Coll.* I.1. Germanus appears to be younger in XIV.9; they are assumed to be compatriots in *Coll.* XXIV,

when this took place. One could reasonably wonder with O. Chadwick¹⁸² why should the Scythian Cassian enter a monastery so far from his native land—to which no answer is afforded in the Latin narrative.

There is a manifest anxious endeavour by later Latin scribes to secure the stature of John Cassian and indeed his very existence as the author of everything Cassian the Sabaite wrote. To this aim, they have never been shy about interpolating whatever was deemed necessary. O. Chadwick¹⁸³ tells us that the Migne text of Prosper's *Chronicle of the World*, written years after his attack of *Contra Collatorem* upon the *Conferences* and their author (who is not mentioned by name), records the existence of Cassian opposite AD 433, about the time of publication of the *Contra Collatorem*. "The monk John, surnamed Cassian, lived at Marseilles, an outstanding and eloquent writer".¹⁸⁴ However, Chadwick advises, 'it is not Prosper speaking. The words were interpolated in the fifteenth century',¹⁸⁵ which is in fact an endorsement to an opinion expressed by Theodor Mommsen¹⁸⁶ as early as 1892.

One might wonder in the first place about the reason of this anxiety to secure the standing of this author. Beyond this, the interpolators provide a salient piece of information: Cassian appears as a *surname* attached to the name of the author who was actually called *John*. Outside Cassian's own writings, it is only Palladius that mentions the name 'Cassian' along with the name 'Germanus', notably, he names 'deacon Cassian' along with 'presbyter Germanus'.¹⁸⁷ No mention is made to either 'monk Cassian' or 'abba Cassian', as he was known in the East during the ensuing centuries. Pope Innocent, in his reply to the letter which Germanus and Cassian had

but they were not relatives (Coll. XVI.1: 'non carnali sed spiritali fraternitate devincti'); *apud* O. Chadwick, p. 10.

¹⁸² O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 10.

¹⁸³ O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* pp. 134–135.

¹⁸⁴ Joannes Monachus cognomento Cassianus Massiliae insignis et facundus scriptor habetur. S. Properi Aquitani, *Chronicum Integrum*, PL.51.596A. Cf. the same text in the Introduction to the works of John Cassian, PL.49.45C: S. Prosper Aquitanicus in *Chronico*, an. 436. There is some discrepancy on the year. Cf. the same text under year 437 in Properi Aquitanici, *Chronicon*, PL.27.719A.

¹⁸⁵ Similar remarks by O. Chadwick, following thorough analyses and arguing for specific instances of interpolation abound: *op. cit.*, pp. 11; 12; 17; 42; 44; 46; 47; 48; 49; 50; 57; 74–76; 119; 120; 134–135; 154.

¹⁸⁶ Theodor Mommsen, *Chronica Minora seac. IV.V.VI.VII*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, auctores antiquissimi, 9, Berlin, 1892, p. 499.

¹⁸⁷ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 19. The instance (letter by Pope Innocent) is reproduced by Sozomenus, *HE*, 8.26.8 and Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE*, 13.32.

handed over to him from Constantinople, also makes a reference to both Germanus and Cassian. This is all literature has made of the two names appearing in apposition to each other.¹⁸⁸

Homage must be paid to the wisdom of Owen Chadwick mentioning 'the darkness which surrounds the first extant manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries'.¹⁸⁹ For indeed the writings in Greek under the name of 'Cassian' (never called 'John Cassian') display a command of Greek of the highest quality. This is evident also in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, the language of which evinces remarkable similarities with Cassian's writings themselves. Given that the source for Cassian to write these Scholia was not only Didymus, but also Theodoret, it would be an extravagant claim to assert that 'John Cassian' could have ever written having in front of him the works of his younger contemporary Theodoret. Furthermore, his inaccurate language on the subject of the Incarnation, and use of terms and phrases which the mature judgement of the Church had rejected, indicate that he cannot be the same person as the writer of the Greek works. Of the impression produced by this specific book we have no record and Cassian the Scythian could hardly have been known to posterity were he attributed only this work. It is then hardly surprising that only a few scribes or quarters set out to reproduce *On the Incarnation Against Nestorius*,¹⁹⁰ whereas Photius, although always prone to praise anti-heretic tracts, ignores it altogether. The earliest manuscript used by editor M. Petschenig is a Paris manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century.

It seems to me that the reason for *De Incarnatione* to have been placed sub par, or indeed to have been discounted, is that this was probably the work of *another* Cassian,¹⁹¹ entirely unknown to Photius and to the East at large. That 'no codex of comparative date (*viz.* eleventh century) contains the *De Incarnatione* in succession to the monastic books' does not have to suggest that 'few people wanted to read Cassian on Nestorius'.¹⁹² It may well have been the case that few people wanted to read *another* Cassian, even though the two writers had been presumed to be one. According to Owen Chadwick,¹⁹³ 'none of the earlier codices is long enough to contain

¹⁸⁸ Sozomenus, *HE*, 8.26.8: διὰ Γερμανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ διακόνου.

¹⁸⁹ O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 39.

¹⁹⁰ Joannis Cassiani Massiliensis Presbyteri, *De Incarnatione Christi Contra Nestorium Haereticum Libri Septem*, PL.50.9–272.

¹⁹¹ Or indeed of another author. I argue later that this Latin work invites reasonable doubt as to whether it was originally written in Latin. See pp. 222–226.

¹⁹² *Op. cit.* p. 40.

¹⁹³ *Loc. cit.*

both *Institutes* and *Conferences*'. Hence, 'it is possible the editors of the ninth century started to bring together books which hitherto had circulated separately'. In the context of this practice, to make one Cassian out of two could not be that easy at all. Chadwick's conclusion should be read carefully: "we should not rule out the possibility that there has been tampering before our extant texts became a received text".¹⁹⁴ He sustains his case with sound logic: John Cassian, who 'elsewhere displays so coherent a mind',¹⁹⁵ is here and there represented as nearly erratic, or the Latin text is shown to have remarkable shifts of style.¹⁹⁶

O. Chadwick¹⁹⁷ notes that in the early sixth century Cassiodorus greatly admired Cassian's Latin style. Even though as an adult he came to be bilingual, Greek was not his mother tongue, which hardly squares with the high-quality Greek of the manuscripts authored by 'monk Cassian, the Roman'. One should therefore wonder *who* is actually the Cassian who is reported to have been able to write in Greek¹⁹⁸ and feels it necessary to explain himself by quoting Greek words?¹⁹⁹

It seems that a fatal fusion of two Cassians has been inculcated into literature, out of which all writings by Cassian the Sabaite were ascribed to the Scythian one (c. 360–c. 435) who died in Marseilles, thus relegating Cassian the Sabaite (c. 470–548) to the backstage darkness of history. And yet we know that the latter died an abbot of the Laura of Sabas, that he was buried next to the great anchorite, and he remained in the memory of all subsequent writers as an ascetic monk and a gifted intellectual. This is how he considered himself, as the rubric of Codex 573 evinces. The works written by Cassian the Sabaite monk and presbyter of Scythopolis, who lived and died in the Laura of Sabas, were ascribed to John Cassian the Scythian presbyter who died in Marseilles.

¹⁹⁴ Op. cit. p. 41. Cf. loc. cit. "The last paragraphs of the tenth book of the *Institutes*, and the third group of *Conferences*, give rise to a suspicion that something has been added. The latter part of the fifth book of the *Institutes* becomes strangely different from the earlier". Likewise, p. 43: "I now believe that the fifth book of the *Institutes* suffered tampering and interpolation at a very early date." Furthermore: "Once the theory of interpolation has been allowed, no one will think this [*scil.* the foregoing] sentence to be any difficulty whatever. It is the sort of sentence which copyists and makers of medieval indexes often added".

¹⁹⁵ Op. cit. pp. 49–50.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the same argument developed on p. 75.

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit. p. 10.

¹⁹⁸ Has voce Cassianus Graece scripsit, et latius explicavit. *apud* Ioannis Cassiani Abbatis Massiliensis, *Collationum XXIV Collectio in Tres Partes Divisa*, I.1, *De habitatione Scythi et propositio abbatis Moysis*, PL.49.482C–D (expanded note: a comment by Alardus Gazaeus, quoting an annotation by Ciaconius).

¹⁹⁹ See chapter 2, note 23.

Had John Cassian received any Greek education, someone, somehow (if not Cassiodorus himself) should have said something about the authors of Greek literature that had made an impression on him, along with those of Latin literature. In the Rome of the 430s, Greek was not as widespread as one might surmise. In the turbulent year 430, documents were circulating between Constantinople and Rome in order to determine what Nestorius actually preached. A westerner, namely Marius Mercator, seems to have been the person to keep Rome informed of what was afoot in Constantinople. He made extracts of Nestorius' sermons and translated them into Latin. Rome was anxiously asking for Latin translations of these sermons; but when a Greek record of them was received, there was a considerable difficulty in order to produce a Latin translation in Rome. The preface of John Cassian's *De Incarnatione* advises that he had received a letter from archdeacon Leo (later the Pope) asking him to stand forth against the new heresy. Had Cassian actually been a bilingual, he could also have been the person to supply Rome with the necessary Latin renderings of Nestorius' sermons. But he was not the person that was asked to do this. He was only requested to make a case against Nestorius *in Latin*, after he had formed a general idea about the heretical sermons, of which he used only some extracts, which he presumably had translated by others into Latin for him. Beyond these extracts, John Cassian used the letter of Nestorius to Pope Celestine, which was evidently made available to him in Latin, since this had already been translated for the Pope. John Cassian was a westerner who perhaps understood *some* Greek. This, however, cannot make him the author of Cassian the Sabaites' impeccable and highly sophisticated Greek writings. Leo allegedly wrote to John Cassian asking him to champion the attack against Nestorius; yet Leo did so not addressing a Greek-speaking friend, but simply a Latin-speaking person who was sympathetic to Rome. Leo's letter to John Cassian could be helpful in order to determine some facts, but this letter is no longer extant, and it is to be questioned whether such a letter was ever written at all.

Owen Chadwick remarks with good reason: "We should be helped if we had any letter that Leo sent to Cassian. For then we should know whether the slant which Cassian imparted to the Nestorian controversy was given to him by Leo, or whether he inferred it for himself from the documents which Leo sent."²⁰⁰

There could be no doubt that the letter of Nestorius to Pope Celestine was included among these documents. Whether John Cassian's treatise *De*

²⁰⁰ Op. cit., p. 142.

Incarnatione made any noticeable contribution to theology is a question to be considered. What is beyond question is that this essay would have advanced his connections with Rome. Were this granted, one who thinks that Cassian is a name representing *one* person would be amazed at the style of this polemical pamphlet. John Cassian was utterly vituperative in his invective against Nestorius and hardly sparing of derogative names. Gone is the benign and broad-minded author, who had not hesitated to qualify strict Egyptian monastic habits of old in order to apply them peaceably to the real human nature of monks of his era. Gone is the ideal of quietness, serenity, restraint, and love, which he taught. All this was 'gone' simply because Cassian the Sabaite is a completely different person from John surnamed Cassian, the Scythian who allegedly wrote *De Incarnatione* on the basis of material that Rome had supplied him with. When Gennadius' text is made to refer to Cassian as being a 'Scythian', this was probably so because later scribes found it convenient to obscure Cassian the Sabaite of Scythopolis behind Cassian of Scythia. But Scythopolis was not Scythia. Cassian of the *Institutions* of monasteries, and of the other Greek works, writes in a language and style totally free from all trace of barbarism, which would be impossible for a Scythian to achieve, writing in Latin between 420 and 430.

On the other hand, it could be urged with good reason that the Greek of Cassian the Scythian was not so good as to study the extensive works of John Chrysostom. O. Chadwick aptly points out that there is nothing showing Chrysostom quoted in John Cassian's works. Cassian (as his *De Incarnatione* might be made to suggest) may have been aware of the bishop's doctrine, but this was probably retailed to him in Latin at Constantinople and there is nothing to allow the hypothesis that he had any first-hand knowledge of these texts. As for the hypothesised encounter between Leo and Cassian, let Chadwick's remark about 'legend-makers' suffice.²⁰¹ If John Cassian spoke any Greek, this should be the Greek of a foreigner. He was Latin-speaking and research has identified his classical background associated with Virgil, Horace, Sallust, and perhaps Ovid.²⁰² In his work *On the Incarnation against Nestorius*, he also manifests an acquaintance with the works of Cicero and Persius.²⁰³ This author seems to have received a liberal education. In the Latin *Conferences* he is represented to lament the exertions of his tutor. His own attention to incessant study had so weakened him that his mind

²⁰¹ Op. cit. p. 32, n. 4.

²⁰² Op. cit. p. 32, n. 4.

²⁰³ *De Incarnatione*, VI.9&10.

was filled with songs of the poets, of which he was thinking even at the hour of prayer. It was all too hard for him to escape from the trifling fables and stories of battles, which had been stored within his mind from earliest infancy. ‘And’, he adds, ‘when singing Psalms or asking forgiveness of sins, some wanton recollection of the poems intrudes itself, or the image of heroes fighting presents itself before the eyes; and an imagination of such phantoms is always haunting me.’²⁰⁴

Cassiodorus was a younger contemporary of monk Cassian the Sabaite, and outlived the latter by nearly thirty years. He mentions ‘Cassianum presbyterum’.²⁰⁵ Although it was rumoured that Eucherius of Lyons quoted from Cassian and made a revision of his works, there is no evidence about this whatsoever, and O. Chadwick notes: “Eucherius of Lyons is said to have made a revision of Cassian’s works and compressed them in a single volume.”²⁰⁶ For a time this was thought to be extant in an epitome of Cassian printed by Migne. But the epitome was shown to be a Latin translation, made in 1693, of a Greek epitome of Cassian”.²⁰⁷

This point deserves some discussion on its own merits. That Franz Diekamp was a great scholar is well known. Less known is perhaps a specific article of his,²⁰⁸ which disputes some aspects of the fabrication called ‘John Cassian’. Diekamp was eventually unable to go as far as to dispute either the very existence of an alleged ‘epitome’ of Cassian’s work written by Eucherius of Lyons, or to acknowledge that the Greek text is an original one, not a translation. Nevertheless, the title of Diekamp’s article immediately denotes

²⁰⁴ *Conferences*, XIV.12.

²⁰⁵ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones Divinarum et Saecularium Literarum*, Praefatio (PL.70.1108C): ‘eloquentissimum Cassianum’. He nevertheless warns against theological fault in relation to free will and grace: I.29.2 (PL.70.1144A): Cassianum presbyterum, qui scripsit de Institutione fidelium monachorum, sedulo legite, frequenter audite; qui inter ipsa sancti propositi initia, octo principalia vitia dicit esse fugienda. Hic noxios motus animorum ita competenter insinuat, ut excessus suos hominem prius videre faciat, et vitare compellat, quos antea confusione caliginis ignorabat: qui tamen de libero arbitrio a B. Prospero jure culpatus est. Unde moneamus ut in rebus talibus excedentem sub cautela legere debeatis. *Expositio in Psalmum LXIX*, PL.70.492D: Hunc locum facundissimus Cassianus in decima Collatione, plurima de ejus utilitate disserens, tanto honore concelebrat, ut quidquid monachi assumpserint, sine hujus versiculi trina iteratione non inchoarent.

²⁰⁶ Eucherius, PL.50.867–894: Sancti Eucherii Lugdunensis Episcopi Epitomes Operum Cassiani Ad Castorem Aptensem Libri Duo: Liber Primus. *De Canonicis Coenobiorum Institutis*. Liber Secundus. *De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*.

²⁰⁷ Op. cit. p. 148.

²⁰⁸ Franz Diekamp, “S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Episcopi epitome operum Cassiani—eine moderne Titelfälschung”, *Roemische Quartalschrift fuer christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 14, 1900, pp. 341–355.

that something is wrong with this alleged 'epitome' by Eucherius of Lyons. He actually styles this text 'a worthless one' and a 'forgery' right at the outset of his article. He consequently argues that the Migne-text known as *Epitome operum Cassiani*,²⁰⁹ allegedly attributed to Bishop Eucherius of Lyons (died between 450 and 455), is 'slightly older than two hundred years old' and its current reputation is owed only to the forgery of its title, in 1846.

In this specific article, Diekamp's aim was to consider an attribution allegedly made by Gennadius of Marseilles to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, according to which the bishop had 'revised and compressed certain works of St. Cassian into one volume'.²¹⁰ The German scholar was alert to the question of possible forgery, as his reference to an eighteenth-century fake attributed to Irenaeus shows, which at one time had enjoyed a great deal of discussion.²¹¹ His suspicion, however, eventually did not go as far as to dispute the very existence of a certain Epitome having once been composed by Eucherius, even though no manuscript of this has ever been found.

The credibility of testimony concerning this epitome, the information of which is allegedly ascribed to Gennadius of Marseilles, was disputed by an Eucherius-scholar of Vienna, namely, Karl Wotke. He argued that Gennadius' overall reference to Eucherius is 'utterly wanting and inaccurate', since Gennadius appears to be unaware of two major works by Eucherius, notably, the *Instructiones* and the *Formulae Spiritualis Intellegentiae*.²¹² For all this, however, Diekamp opts for not disputing this testimony of Gennadius. No suspicion that this may have been an interpolation in the first place ever crossed Diekamp's mind at all. Besides, since Gennadius' references to Eucherius by and large appear to involve no major inconsistencies or gaps, Wotke, too, refrained from a forthright declaration that this was a forgery. It was inevitable though, Diekamp continues, that the time should come when Patristic research could inquire as to the very existence of this phantom-epitome by Eucherius, which 'no library appeared to be in possession of', much to the frustration of eminent scholars, a fact graphically described by Diekamp.

²⁰⁹ PL.50.867–894.

²¹⁰ Gennadius of Marseilles, *De Viris Illustribus*, LXIV (biography of 'Eucherius, Bishop of the church at Lyons'): "Sed et sancti Cassiani quaedam opuscula lato tensa eloquio angusto verbi revolvens tramite in uno coëgit volumine".

²¹¹ Diekamp, op. cit. p. 341, ref. to A. Harnack's, "Die Pfaff'schen Irenaeusfragmente als Fälschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen" (Texte und Untersuchungen. N. F. V, 3), Leipzig 1900.

²¹² K. Wotke, *Die griechische Version der Epitome operum Cassiani des Pseudo-Eucherius im Vindob. graec. Nr. CXXI*. Erster Teil, Wien 1898. I was happy to discover this work at a bookshop in Vienna, which made my research of this text more convenient.

Valuable though this was considered to be for the study of Cassian's work, the epitome was never discovered. All subsequent efforts to discover it had been to no avail, until, in 1846, a Latin text, allegedly one of Cassian, appeared in Migne's Latin Patrology under the title *Sancti Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi Epitome operum Cassiani*.²¹³ The text supposedly comprised two books with fragments from the *Institutiones* (I and IV in the first book, V–XII in the second one). Migne came up with no information whatsoever as to how or where he had discovered the alleged epitome by Eucherius. Since however 'he had never given cause for blame that he had tempered with texts, or that he had made use of forgeries, historians did not put much weight on the dark origin of these excerpts: they accepted this as a genuine work by Eucherius'.²¹⁴

Furthermore, M. Petschenig, who was all too quick to endorse anything contributing to the Latin identity of 'John Cassian', added to the distraction. He suggested that there are some Greek manuscripts under Cassian's name, such as the one which was known to Patriarch Photius, and they run parallel to the Latin 'Epitome' included in Migne's Patrology. Not surprisingly, what Petschenig saw in Migne was a genuine work composed by Eucherius, whereas he presumed that the corresponding (and unpublished) Greek manuscripts were simply Greek translations of this 'original' Latin epitome.

I am myself utterly uninterested in that Austrian edition of 'John Cassian', however 'more scholarly' than the Migne-one it may appear on the face of it. I simply believe that this has contributed to the confusion and M. Petschenig's *a priori* axiom that he edited a Latin author is simply biased, or at best wishful thinking. In the edition of Cassian in the Vienna Corpus, M. Petschenig suggested that there are Greek manuscripts ascribed to Cassian. Patriarch Photius during the ninth-century knew of these manuscripts, which correspond exactly to the Latin version appearing in Migne. Therefore, Petschenig took it that the Epitome is a genuine work, whereas he claimed that these Greek texts are a translation of this epitome.²¹⁵ In other words, Petschenig would tell us today that the text of *Meteora-Codex 573* is only a Greek translation of Eucherius' phantom-epitome. One could only wish that Petschenig could have been able to study the heavy load of literature, history and wisdom interwoven in the Greek language of this Greek manuscript. It would be interesting to see whether it could have been pos-

²¹³ PL.50.867–894A.

²¹⁴ F. Diekamp, *op. cit.* p. 344.

²¹⁵ M. Petschenig, *Joannis Cassian Opera*. Pars I (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XVII) 1888. S. XCVI–CIII.

sible to argue that any Latin author could have composed such a Latin text in the first place, of which Codex 573 could only have been a mere Greek translation.

All this fabrication had to wait for Karl Wotke, writing in the 1890s, to expose its mendacity. Which means that this allegation by Petschenig did not have to wait for me in order to be discredited. It was Karl Wotke who did the job more than a hundred years ago. I learned about this work by Karl Wotke from Franz Diekamp, on whom I gratefully draw, in like a manner he did so expressing his debt to a certain 'professor Dr. Krumbacher', who drew his attention to the wise work by the Eucherius-scholar Karl Wotke.²¹⁶

Wotke's arguments against the wishful assumptions by Petschenig are devastating indeed. He reasons that whereas the alleged Epitome comprises two volumes, Gennadius had mentioned '*uno volumine*'. He accordingly emphasises that in Gennadius the term *volumen* always means *one* volume. Furthermore, Wotke argued, it has been impossible to establish the authenticity of Eucherius' alleged epitome by means of a surviving manuscript. Therefore, he urges, we should refer to that affair under the heading 'pseudo-Eucherius'. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Wotke had taken for granted that a certain Epitome was 'the Latin original and the Greek text was a translation'. And yet, 'quite the opposite is true' Diekamp reasons.

"The Greek excerpts of Cassian were printed in 1698 in the second volume of Athanasius' edition by Montfaucon, and repeatedly by Migne in the *Patrologia Graeca*.²¹⁷ The source for Montfaucon was a Greek manuscript from the library of cardinal Altems, which was wrongly attributed to Athanasius. However, what Migne presented as *Epitome Operum Cassiani* by Eucherius of Lyons is actually nothing more than a [Latin] translation of that text from Greek, which was produced for the edition by Montfaucon: this Latin rendering is the text that appeared in a column running parallel to the Greek text".²¹⁸

It was no secret that this text, which was attributed to Athanasius, was actually Cassian's.²¹⁹ Many scholars found these Greek texts of Cassian in

²¹⁶ F. Diekamp, op. cit. p. 342, note 1. For Karl Wotke discrediting Petschenig, op. cit. p. 344 and notes.

²¹⁷ PG.28.849-905.

²¹⁸ Op. cit. pp. 345-345.

²¹⁹ Cf. Galland's remark in the Greek Migne-edition, which I discuss later. PG.28.848.25-29: "Comparei ... en tibi Instituta Cassiani Graece versa, in compendium redacta, Athanasique nomine conscripta Quod opus esse videtur Graeculi cujusdem Latine periti, qui cum in Instituta Cassiani incidisset, opera pretium duxit Gaece illa interpretari, quanquam fortasse potuerit ex antiquo Cassiani Graeco textu, seu Graeca versione, hoc ipsum opusculum contexere. Nam extant in antiquis Graecis codicibus multa ex Cassiani institutionibus."

various libraries, notwithstanding their illusion that they were translations from a phantom-epitome by Eucherius, even though no one ever managed to come upon this Latin epitome anywhere.²²⁰ Diekamp mentions that Photius believed that Cassian had written in Greek, adding that Trithemius had definitely argued for Cassian having written in Greek, only to be disputed by later scholars.²²¹

Franz Diekamp's fine analysis proves that the title ('epitome by Eucherius') appearing in Migne was a forgery, yet he has it that abbot Migne is not to blame, since he was too busy with too many things.

The detailed juxtaposition of texts by Diekamp considers three alternatives: the Latin 'pseudo-Epitome' allegedly by Eucherius, the Greek edition by Montfaucon (Migne), and the Greek text of V1. Diekamp believed that considering the Greek texts by Bernard de Montfaucon (Migne) and V1, it is the latter that renders the epitome by Eucherius. Although no manuscript of this alleged epitome was ever found, Diekamp does not dispute its existence: at best, he considers V1 as a faithful Greek rendering of it. At all events, Montfaucon had no inkling of the fact that Photius had read the Greek text of Cassian.

Diekamp is right to some extent, yet the *Meteora Codex 573* casts some new light, which is worth considering. Once the texts which Diekamp considers are juxtaposed, it turns out that V1's Greek text is indeed close to that

²²⁰ Cf. the introduction by G. Schoenemann, pointing out that Greek versions of the Epitome of Eucherius exist in various libraries. PL.49.11B-C: "Credutum a quibusdam fuit, Cassianum opera sua non Latino, sed Graeco idiomate scripsisse, eaque postea esse translata; sed hi dudum erroris convicti sunt. Exstant quidem Graeca quaedam Cassiani apud Photium in Bibliotheca cod. 197, sed ex Latino conversa, nec vero ex ipsis Cassiani libris, sed quos in compendium redegerat Eucherius Lugdunensis. Legimus enim apud Gennadium c. 63, Eucherium composuisse Epitomen Latinam ex prioribus IV libris Institutionum et VII prioribus Collationum. Atque nunc etiam Graeca ejusmodi ms. supersunt in variis Bibliothecis, veluti in Caesarea, teste Lambecio, tomo IV pag. 167 (ed. Kollar. pag. 373sq.), et tomo V, p. 276 (ed. Kollar. pag. 582sq.); item Regia et Jesuitarum Paris., ut Fabricius in Bibl. M. et Inf. Lat. ex Simonii Censura ad Dupinii bibliothecam refert. Similia typis tradita sunt, quae sub Athanasii nomine ferebantur a Montefalcone ad Athanasii Opera, tomo II, parte I, pag. 366-386". Likewise, J.A. Fabricius advised his readers that he regards the Greek text available to Montfaucon as a translation from Eucherius' Latin one. PL.50.688C: "Epistola ad Philonem presbyterum falso nomen Eucherii praeferens reperta fuit a Baluzio et ad calcem Operum Agobardi Parisiis, a. 1665, ab eo prolata est. Denique Epitomes Cassiani Graece conversae specimen dedit Montefalco in editione Operum Athanasii, de quo nos in Cassiano dicere memini".

²²¹ Op. cit. p. 346, note 1. op. cit. p. 346, note 1. Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516, so called after his native Trittenheim on the Mosel, Germany), actually named Johann Heidenberg, was a Benedictine abbot, lexicographer, historian, cryptographer, and polymath. He had an impact on later occultism.

of the *Meteora Codex*, yet not all the way through. As a matter of fact, the *Codex* has a standing of its own, which becomes plain from the following juxtaposition of certain points supplementing Diekamp's one.

1. *Meteora Cod.* p. 2': *πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, οἷ, and so V1. But Montfaucon: πονηρῶν πνευμάτων, οἷ [sic!]. 'Pseudo-Epitome' (with Montfaucon): malignis spiritibus qui.*
2. *Meteora Cod.* p. 2': *ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ λόγῳ κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ φάσκοντι. Montfaucon: ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ λογισμῷ κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ φάσκοντι. V1: ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ λογίῳ κατακολουθοῦντες τῷ φάσκοντι. 'Pseudo-Epitome' (with Montfaucon): ea scilicet cogitatione ei obsequentes qui ait.*
3. *Meteora Cod.* pp. 3^v-4^r: *μὴ δύνασθαι διαμένειν πολυχρόνιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑποταγῇ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ, μηδὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως καὶ ὑποταγῆς κατορθῶσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, μηδὲ τῇ τοῦ κοινοβίου πτωχεῖαν εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Montfaucon: μὴ δύνασθαι διαμένειν πολυχρόνιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑποταγῇ καὶ κακουχίᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν. V1: μὴ δύνασθαι διαμένειν πολυχρόνιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ὑποταγῇ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ, μηδὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως καὶ ὑποταγῆς κατορθῶσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, μηδὲ τῇ τοῦ κοινοβίου πτωχεῖα καὶ κακουχίᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐγκαρτερεῖν. 'Pseudo-Epitome': non posse diu in monasterii obedientia permanere neque ad finem usque persevere prae animi languore ac taedio.*
4. *Meteora Cod.* p. 4': *Διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. So Montfaucon. But V1: Διὰ τοι τοῦτο οὕτως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. 'Pseudo-Epitome': quare quivis illorum.*
5. *Meteora Cod.* p. 5': *ὅτε τοῖνυν ὁ ὑποδεχθεὶς ταύτη, ἦπερ εἰρήκαμεν, ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῆ, καὶ ἄμεμπτος εὐρεθῆ, οὐ ... So Montfaucon. But V1: ὅτι τοῖνυν ὑποδεχθεὶς ταύτη, ἦ προειρήκαμεν, ἀκριβεῖα δοκιμασθῆ, οὐ ... 'Pseudo-Epitome': cum igitur is qui susceptus est ea qua diximus accurate probatus inculpatusque deprehensus est, non ...*
6. *Meteora Cod.* p. 7': *Ἐκεῖνο δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν περιττόν ἐστι καὶ εἰπεῖν. ... βιβλίον ἐμόν, πινακίδιον ἐμόν, γραφίον ἐμόν, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐμόν. So V1. But Montfaucon: Ἐκεῖνο δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων περιττόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν ... βιβλίον ἐμόν, γραφίον ἐμόν, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐμόν. 'Pseudo-Epitome': illud autem superfluum est memorare ... leber meus, penicillus meus aut quidpiam meum.*
7. *Meteora Cod.* p. 10': *Ἐξέξειν γὰρ λόγον ἐτοιμάζονται οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι οἰκονόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ. So V1. Montfaucon: Ἐξέξειν γὰρ λόγον ἐτοιμάζονται οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῷ οἰκονόμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τῷ Θεῷ, 'Pseudo-Epitome': nam esse praeparant ad rationed reddendam non solum praesenti tempore, sed etiam Deo in futuro.*

It is then quite plain that Wotke's text (V₁) stands pretty close to the Meteora-one. However, he took it for granted that there has been an authentic Epitome originally written in Latin.²²² Diekamp, therefore, was right in urging that 'quite the opposite is true' (Und doch ist das Verhältnis genau das umgekehrte): these Greek excerpts were extant in Greek in Cardinal Altems' library, although as pseudo-Athanasian ones, as already noted. In 1698, Montfaucon published two out of three parts from these excerpts, presenting them as Pseudo-Athanasian *Epistulae Ad Castorem*, along with the sole Latin translation that was available to him. This Latin text has absolutely nothing to do with Eucherius of Lyons, and yet Migne's Patrology added to this an erroneous and fanciful title in 1846, notably, *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi Epitome Operum Cassiani*.²²³

Therefore, what Wotke published and *presumed* as Greek rendering from Latin stands very close to a real and already *existing* Greek manuscript, of which he was not aware: this is the present Meteora-Codex. What Migne presumed as the so-called epitome by Eucherius was simply a Latin translation from the Greek original text. The dependence of the Latin text (the 'epitome') on Montfaucon's Greek is 'beyond doubt' (so das diese ohne Zweifel ist), Diekamp remarks.²²⁴

Besides, the second book of Migne's 'epitome of Eucherius' has a lacuna, on which the following remark is made: "Hic deest unum folium, scilicet quod superest adversus tristitiae spiritum et initium eorum quae dicuntur de torporis spiritu".²²⁵ The selfsame lacuna, along with the same remark, occurs in the Greek text of Montfaucon and the editorial remark is simply the same one in Greek: "Λείπει φύλλον ἓν, τουτέστι τὸ λείπον κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ κατὰ τῆς ἀκηδίας πνεύματος."²²⁶

If the Greek text were posited as a translation from a Latin original, this could call for the inference that the Greek translator had in the first place come upon a lacuna in the Latin original. However, quite the opposite is the case: the missing text *does* exist in Greek. For one thing, the missing

²²² F. Diekamp, op. cit. p. 344: Wotke bringt sodann von den griechischen Texte der genannten Handschrift so viel zum Abdruck, als der ersten Hälfte des ersten Buches des 'Pseudo-eucherius' entspricht. Auch er setzt voraus, dass diese Texte noch nicht ediert sind, und es ist ihm ebenso wenig wie Petschenig zweifelhaft, dass die lateinische Epitome das original, die griechische die Uebersetzung ist.

²²³ Op. cit. p. 355.

²²⁴ Op. cit. p. 348.

²²⁵ PL.50.890B.

²²⁶ PG.28.897.51-53.

text transpires in John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela*,²²⁷ and can be found in Appendix IV. This Diekamp points out.²²⁸ There is more, however. Although in the *Sacra Parallela* there are some points where the text needs some restoration,²²⁹ Diekamp was not aware of two more facts. One, the Greek text had also been quoted by Antiochus of Palestine.²³⁰ Two, the missing text is present in the Meteora Codex,²³¹ where there is no lacuna at all, and this text is the fullest and of the highest quality compared with that quoted by either John of Damascus or Antiochus of Palestine. The reason is quite simple: The 'Book of Cassian' (in other words, Codex 573) was a faithful reproduction of Cassian's own companion, the real author's companion to his own texts.

This means that the Greek portion of Cassian's text which is missing from Montfaucon's edition *did* exist in the first place.²³² What was missing was not the Greek text: it was the *Latin* one. "From which most clearly follows that the so-called Epitome of Eucherius has not been the original for the Greek passages of Cassian to be rendered. What is more, it was this [epitome] that was actually translated [into Latin] from the deficient Greek text of Codex R. V. 49 of the Bibliotheca Altaempiana for Montfaucon's edition of 1698."²³³

Franz Diekamp was a fine scholar, as indeed Owen Chadwick was. Neither of them, however, dared go far enough, not because they lacked courage or knowledgeability, but only because they were not aware of the Meteora Greek manuscript. Chadwick insightfully pointed out numerous points lurking behind the scholarly *emballage*. For instance, he was sceptical as to 'how early the city and diocese of Marseilles remembered Cassian as a saint'. Then he relates another story, which goes thus: "In the year 597 Pope Gregory the Great wrote a letter to the abbess of a covent at Marseilles, a covent named in the text in honour of 'St Cassian'. No other early evidence exists; and to have a covent 'in honour of' is odd. It is not impossible that

²²⁷ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1212.24–1313.43. The Latin portion is entitled *Cassiani abbat(is) de cogitation(ibus)*. Diekamp writes that there is also the Greek title *τοῦ ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἡ' λογισμῶν*, yet no such title actually exists in Migne's edition. Probably this was a header in the second volume of Athanasius' edition by Montfaucon, in 1698, the Greek manuscript from the library of cardinal Altems, which he used as his source.

²²⁸ Op. cit. p. 349.

²²⁹ See parallel texts in Appendix I.

²³⁰ Appendix I. Notice the missing text in Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 26 (*Περὶ Ἀκηδίας, De Acedia*), PG.89.1543–1546.

²³¹ Folia 48^r–51^r. See notes to the Greek text.

²³² Franz Diekamp thanks 'Herr Professor Dr. Ehrhart' (p. 349), who advised him that the missing Greek text was also found in Codex Vindob. græc. theol. 104 saec. 14 fol. 235^v–236. Nevertheless, Codex 573 of Meteora is earlier to that one by nearly five centuries.

²³³ Diekamp, op. cit. p. 349.

the name crept later into the text, but if so it crept there early, for we have manuscripts of the letter from the ninth and tenth centuries. If there were an early cult, one would expect some acts or cult-biography. There are no acts and no record of miraculous events at his tomb'.²³⁴ So far so good: we have one more instance where the author sees John Cassian's alleged text smacking of interpolation. But what did he actually make of his insightful remarks? As a matter of fact, he did nothing. For he failed to ask the crucial question which is, 'why and to what purpose should specific people or circles tamper so heavily with writings ascribed to Cassian? Why should one care to attribute certain writings to Cassian, which he never really wrote? And why should certain quarters be anxious to interpolate Cassian's name in documents like the foregoing one, plainly aiming at vesting this phantasm with the *auctoritas vetustatis*?' None of such and like questions were ever considered by Owen Chadwick, who thus left his perceptive considerations to just hover around inconclusively.

Likewise, this is as far as Diekamp went. He made some remarks, which he was unable to bolster. He took for granted that, once John Climacus mentions Cassian by name, there must have been a Greek version of the *Collationes* available to him.²³⁵ For all the indications and signs of fraud, and although never has a single manuscript of the Epitome been found, Diekamp concluded that 'the existence of this Epitome is beyond doubt'. He wondered whether we are allowed to consider the existing Greek text of Cassian as a translation from a lost Latin epitome by Eucherius and his answer is confidently negative. However, he took it for granted that the Greek text of Cassian is a translation from Latin: he only disputed that the *specific* lost epitome by Eucherius was the actual Latin original, from which the existing Greek text was translated. Otherwise, he grants that 'already during the fifth century a Greek translation of Cassian's Institutiones had been composed' (Wir haben also Grund zu der Vermutung, das schon im 5. Jahrhundert eine griechische Uebersetzung der Institutiones Cassiani angefertigt worden ist).²³⁶ Yet, he goes on, fragments of this, which definitely existed during the eighth century, must have eclipsed this Greek rendering.²³⁷ This, however, could mean that what Photius read

²³⁴ Owen Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 158.

²³⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 354: darum wird wohl auch eine griechische Version der Collationen, worauf übrigens auch der erwähnte Ausdruck des Johannes Klimax hindeutet, vorausgesetzt werden dürfen.

²³⁶ Diekamp, *op. cit.* p. 354.

²³⁷ *Loc. cit.* Bereits im 5. Jahrhundert scheinen Cassians Institutionen und Collationen ins Griechische übertragen worden zu sein. diese Version ist aber vermutlich durch Auszüge

and reviewed from Cassian's work was a Greek *translation*, even though Diekamp acknowledged that Photius believed that Cassian had wrote in Greek, as already noted.²³⁸ In short, Diekamp never allowed that Cassian wrote in Greek.

What Diekamp did not suspect was that the Latin text, which he was tantalised with, was simply a large-scale forgery. He went as far as to confirm that the pseudo-Epitome is only a translation from a Greek text. But he never imagined this Greek text to have been an original. The biographies of Gennadius had been tampered with all the way through, so as to establish a fabrication called 'John Cassian'. To this purpose, forgers had to revisit all pertinent points of Gennadius' collection. One of them was Eucherius' life and a phantom called 'Epitome' was attributed to him, even though the real Cassian wrote his works nearly seventy years after the death of Eucherius. The interpolation was flawed in the first place, as Karl Wotke wisely showed, and this was so only because those who masterminded the fake were not informed enough about the extent of Gennadius' knowledge of Eucherius, which Wotke pointed out. This Epitome was only a spook. Little wonder then that no manuscript of this was ever found, since it never actually existed at all. Had the *Meteora Codex* not been discovered, why this fake was devised would be difficult to guess.

Wotke's argument about the 'Epitome' of Eucherius allegedly comprising 'two volumes', as opposed to Gennadius of Marseilles being represented to have written 'uno volumine', is not really important. For the indication 'Liber Primus' was in fact interpolated by Migne. Besides, Montfaucon had by the same token interpolated the designation 'Epistola Prima' and 'Epistola Secunda'. The fact is however that manuscripts (including the present *Meteora Codex*) have neither of these designations in the title: they are simply entitled *Πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον* and *Πρὸς Λεόντιον ἡγούμενον*.

The supplementary designation is *λόγος*, which simply means 'discourse' or 'teaching'. This is the sense in which Photius, in his review of Cassian's work, speaks of *λόγοι β'*, or *δεύτερος λόγος*, or *ὁ τρίτος λόγος*, or *τὸ τρίτον λόγιον*, and *τρίτον λογίδιον*. He simply means teaching on a specific topic.²³⁹ It is therefore a mistake to take Cassian's reference to *λόγος* as denoting a

aus ihr, die in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts sicher vorhanden waren und die auf uns gekommen sind, verdrängt worden.

²³⁸ Op. cit. p. 346, note 1.

²³⁹ Cf. in the same review: *ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐτυμότητος λόγος* ('the etymological explanation'), and *τὰ λόγια ταῦτα* ('these words of teaching').

'book'. In those times, treatment of a specific topic did not necessarily mean a book. Reproductions were normally large books containing more than one topic and usually more than one writer. The Meteora Codex 573 itself is only partially occupied by Cassian's work. When therefore John Climacus speaks of Cassian's λόγος περὶ διακρίσεως ('discourse on discretion'), he does not mean any separate 'book': he simply means a specific 'teaching' on a specific issue. This is how Cassian himself styles his own work, when he makes mention of his 'discourse on obedience and humility' (ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ ὑποταγῆς καὶ ταπεινώσεως εἴρηται).²⁴⁰ This is how he styles his own work addressing Bishop Castor.²⁴¹ Associating the Late Antiquity term λόγος with the modern notion and conception of 'volume' is simply an anachronism, owing to our modern Gutenbergian concept of what a 'book' is to us.

Cassian never actually meant any voluminous work: he regards this volume as a *narrative* (διήγημα),²⁴² a term that, in this specific sense of theological discourse, appeared with Origen and was especially entertained by Gregory of Nyssa. Under no circumstances does a διήγημα bespeak a multi-volume work.

The real Cassian had in fact written *one volume*, which did not have to be too large in order to contain these relatively short treatises. It is actually he himself who makes plain what he regards as an 'extensive' account. It took only a few codex-pages for him to expound how 'the canonical way of conducting prayers and psalms' in church and this exposition is deemed 'sufficient' (ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἴρηται).²⁴³ Besides, it is he himself who declares that

²⁴⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 11^r.

²⁴¹ Op. cit. p. 1^r: τοῦτον ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸν λόγον ὑμῖν ἀπέστειλα. Cf. p. 15^r: διηγησάμενος πληρώσω τὸν λόγον. *OctoVit*, p. 22^r: Πρῶν τὸν περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίων συντάξαντες λόγον. op. cit. 29^r: καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον. *ScetPatr*, p. 62^r: Ἐπειδὴ εἰς μῆκος τοσοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐξέτεινεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πόθος. *SerenPrim*, p. 99^v: εἰς μῆκος ἄπειρον ἡμῖν ἐκταθήσεται ὁ λόγος.

²⁴² Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^v: Ἀναγκαῖον τοίνυν πρὸ πάντων περὶ προσευχῆς τῆς πάντων αἰτίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν διηγῆσασθαι. op. cit. p. 3^r: Ὀφειλομεν δὲ λοιπὸν περὶ τῶν ἀποτασσομένων τῷ κόσμῳ διηγῆσασθαι. op. cit. p. 10^v: Καὶ πρὸς πίστων τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅπερ αὐταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐθεασάμεθα προσθήσω τῷ διηγήματι. op. cit. p. 11^r: ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς κοινοβίοις διαλαμφάντων πατέρων κατορθώματα παραδείγματος χάριν παραθέσθαι τῷ διηγήματι. op. cit. p. 15^r: διηγησάμενος πληρώσω τὸν λόγον. *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: Τὸ χρέος ὅπερ ἐπηγγειλάμην τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπῳ Κάστορι περὶ τῆς διηγῆσεως τοῦ τε βίου τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ τῆς τούτων διδασκαλίας. loc. cit. 56^v: ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην σοι ... τὰ λείποντα τῷ διηγήματι ἀποπληρώσας ἀποστείλαι. op. cit. 69^v: Μακρὸν ἂν εἴη τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνου τοῦ Μεσοποταμικοῦ διηγησασθαι. op. cit. 71^v: τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνος ἔργον ὅπερ ἐκείνος συνεχῶς τοῖς παραβάλλουσι φυλακῆς χάριν προέφερεν, διηγῆσθαι. *SerenPrim*, p. 80^v: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰρήσθω· λοιπὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦτου διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὸν διάλογον τὸ διήγημα τρέψωμεν.

²⁴³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 3^r: Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κανονικοῦ τρόπου τῶν τε εὐχῶν καὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν, ὃς ὀφείλει ἐν ταῖς καθημεριναῖς συνόδοις φυλάττεσθαι, ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἴρηται.

his treatise was a short one (τοῦτον ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ τὸν λόγον ὑμῖν ἀπέστειλα), in his introduction addressing Bishop Castor.²⁴⁴

Likewise, his celebrated discourse 'On Discretion' (Περὶ διακρίσεως), which John Climacus extolled as a 'sublime philosophical exposition'²⁴⁵ occupies a space of eleven folia,²⁴⁶ and yet this was deemed one of 'sufficient' extent, too (ἱκανῶς ἀπεδείχθη).²⁴⁷ By the same token, it took only two pages to expound the argument that daemons are unable to tempt anyone beyond one's personal power. Again, this extent of exposition is deemed 'sufficient' (ἱκανῶς εἴρηται).²⁴⁸

Furthermore, there is a telling testimony by an eminent figure of Constantinople, namely, John Oxites Patriarch of Antioch (or, John IV, or, V, 1089–1100).²⁴⁹ At the turn of the eleventh to twelfth century, this Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch appears perfectly aware of the ascetic writings by Cassian. John provides an interesting catalogue of monk-authors and their works. This list includes 'Palladius addressing Lausus, the pious John [Moschus] addressing his pupil Sophronius, that is, the *New Paradise*, [books] by pious (ὁσιος) Callistus, pious Dorotheus [of Gaza],²⁵⁰ pious Macarius, pious Cassian, pious Isaac, pious Isaiah [Syrus], pious Ephraem, pious John of the Ladder [John Climacus], pious Marcus [Eremita], pious Diadochus [of Photike], pious John of Carpathus, pious Thalassius, pious Nilus, pious Maximus, pious Antiochus [of Palestine],²⁵¹ that is, the author of

²⁴⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r.

²⁴⁵ John Climacus (sixth–seventh cent.), *Scala Paradisi*, 4.717: ἐκ ταπεινώσεως διάκρισις, ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστα τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

²⁴⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 61^v–70^v.

²⁴⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 70^v: Καὶ νέοις παραδείγμασιν καὶ ὄροις τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων ἱκανῶς ἀπεδείχθη τὴν διάκρισιν πηγὴν καὶ ρίζαν καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ σύνδεσμον εἶναι πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν.

²⁴⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, pp. 95^{r-v}: Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ συγχωρεῖσθαι τοὺς δαίμονας ὑπὲρ δύναμιν πειράζειν ἡμᾶς ἱκανῶς εἴρηται.

²⁴⁹ John Oxites, (John IV or V; or, John Damascenus Junior), Patriarch of Antioch (1089–1100) was probably a member of the clergy of Constantinople. At the time when he was elected Patriarch of Antioch, the city was under occupation by the Seltzuk Turks. He settled in Antioch two years after his election, yet he returned to Constantinople in 1098, following the occupation of his city this time by the Crusaders. He retired in a monastery where he composed his works, which are still unpublished for their most part.

²⁵⁰ I discuss about Dorotheus in chapter 2, pp. 117–118.

²⁵¹ Or, Antiochus of Ancyra, or Antiochus Strategius. How Antiochus came to be called Antiochus *Strategius* in modern literature, I do not know, since I can find no ancient source so naming him. Likewise, he is believed to have been also an abbot of the Laura, which is not possible to trace in sources, either. One 'Strategius' I know of (yet not 'Antiochus Strategius') is a monk who became the abbot of Theodosius the Coenobiarch monastery,

Pandectes, pious Theodore of Stoudios'.²⁵² John Oxites was perfectly aware of *who* Cassian actually was and suggests this plainly. Being himself an Easterner, he mentioned Easterners of which he was evidently proud: these are the names just mentioned, the authors who wrote 'books which are divinely-inspired and by no means few' (βιβλους θεοπνεύστους οὐκ ὀλίγας).²⁵³ John Oxites names Cassian as one of the very important and erudite Christian writers. The critical point, however, is this: each of the important 'monks and saints' (μοναχοὶ καὶ ἄγιοι) whom he names in connection with ascetic writings is listed alongside his work. For some of them John used Plural, referring to their *books* (Ephraem Syrus, Theodore Studites), whereas for others he used Singular, speaking of *book*. This does not of course mean that each of these authors wrote only one book: Oxites is concerned with ascetic writings only, which of course leaves other works by these authors out of this specific account. He states then that 'these monks and saints wrote books, which are the following' (συνεγράψαντο καὶ οὗτοι βιβλους οὐκ ὀλίγας αἵ εἰσιν οὕτως). In this list, John refers to 'the *book* by the pious Cassian' (ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Κασσιανοῦ βιβλος]). This he does along with *the book* by authors who became known for *one* specific book, such as Palladius (*Historia Lausiaca*), Antiochus of Palestine (*Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*), John Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale*), John Climacus (*Scala Paradisi*), and others. John Oxites, like Photius before him, tells us that Cassian had written *one* volume—yet he says so in a more explicit manner than Photius had done. In the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, where the Sabaite collection was transferred a hundred years ago, an important manuscript is very telling in this context. Codex 157 (tenth century) records works from thirty six different authors, plus a thirty-seventh one, with maxims by saintly elders, and a final thirty-eight one with one more collection of the same kind. All of the authors are

as John Moschus testifies: *Pratum Spirituale*, 103, p. 2961. We have only one monk mentioned by the name Strategius: he was also a deacon and no doubt known to Cassian, since they both took part in the Local Synod of 536 in Constantinople and both signed the minutes of the synod. Strategius first signs 'on behalf of all monks of Palestina Secunda' (ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 51). Further in the same acts, he styles himself 'deacon and monk of the monastery of the blessed John' and signs 'on behalf of the monks of Scythopolis' (op. cit. pp. 130; 146; 159; 166; 174). There is no doubt that this is the same person: the names of clerics both preceding and following his name in the list are the same. It should be recalled that Scythopolis was the birthplace of Cassian.

²⁵² John Oxites of Antioch, *Oratio de Monasteriis*, 5.5. See this text in Appendix II: 'Greek references to Cassian'.

²⁵³ Loc. cit. John also says that, among the names of 'monks and saints' (μοναχοὶ καὶ ἄγιοι) which he mentions, many were 'mathematicians and philosophers of the world' (μαθηματικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων τοῦ κόσμου). They renounced the world to become monks, which is why they became able to write divinely-inspired books (loc. cit.).

partially recorded, from this or that work of them, except for three. One, John Climacus (second author in the collection), where his work *Scala Paradisi* is scribed in full: 'all of the Climax' (ἡ Κλίμαξ ὅλη). Dorotheus of Gaza (thirty-third author), 'all of his discourses' (λόγοι ὅλοι). Cassian (twenty-fifth author in the series) is scribed 'in full' (τοῦ Κασσιανοῦ ὅλον).²⁵⁴ In order to record all of Cassian's monastic texts there was no need for the voluminous space of the Latin Patrology: part of this codex sufficed to record this author's 'one volume'.

This volume was subsequently available to such theologians as Antiochus of Palestine, John Climacus, John of Damascus, Anastasius of Sinai, Photius, the writer of the *Apophthegmata*, Nikon of Montenegro, and others.²⁵⁵ However suppressed (along with the real Cassian himself)²⁵⁶ and probably destroyed this *Greek original single volume* may have been, there was always the 'danger' of a copy of this being discovered. Once such a copy (like the Meteora one) had escaped suppression or destruction, it had to be discredited in advance, by being represented as a *translation* of a phantasmal 'Latin original' styled 'Epitome by Eucherius of Lyons'. In turn, this Epitome also had to be *one* book (hence the designation 'epitome'), as indeed the Greek original composed by the real Cassian was. Franz Diekamp chose to see the (Latin) glass of water half-empty rather than half-full. He found it difficult to explain why the Greek texts of Cassian make no mention of Gaul and functions in monasteries of the region. The simple answer is that Cassian had nothing to do with Gaul. Diekamp however saw it as an omission by the 'Bishop of Lyons' (Eucherius) to omit such points from his epitome, which 'calls for attention, all the more so since they transpire in passages where the rest of the content is there to the word'. He did not think of the possibility that things may have occurred the other way around: in was not any 'Eucherius' who omitted anything; the case was simply that of a Greek text having been heavily interpolated with references to Gaul and the rest. Yet Diekamp persisted: if the Greek text were composed on the basis of a Latin original text by a Greek translator, then all failure to mention Gaul could be owing to the selectivity of this translator.

Far from disputing that it ever existed at all, Diekamp concluded that the epitome of Eucherius has definitely been lost and, therefore, all Greek

²⁵⁴ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, v. 2, 1894, repr. Culture et Civilisation, Bruxelles, 1963, p. 259.

²⁵⁵ See parallel texts in Appendix I.

²⁵⁶ It should be noticed that Cassian's texts were copied and quoted abundantly. And yet, as it becomes evident from Appendix I, his name was almost never mentioned.

texts are translations from unknown Latin sources allegedly containing 'John Cassian's' text. Diekamp made insightful remarks only to abandon them, since he felt he could not get anywhere otherwise. For the alternative assumption, where his own syllogisms actually could take him, was to reach the sole reasonable conclusion his analysis allowed for: The fable about this 'epitome' ever having existed was the smoke-screen aiming at discrediting the fact that *one Greek volume* by the real Cassian is the sole authentic version on these issues ever having been produced by this eclipsed author.

Once Cassian was styled a Latin author named 'John' and surnamed 'Cassian', almost every Western monastery thought it incumbent upon them to preserve and reproduce relevant manuscripts. The Latin manuscripts are so numerous, that it was deemed impossible to collate them all for the edition of Cassian's works by Petschenig for the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The editor, therefore, confined his attention to a limited number, of which the existing manuscripts are following.

The *Institutes* are preserved in codices, which are not older than the seventh century.²⁵⁷ Conferences I–X appear in codices not older than the eighth century.²⁵⁸ Of Conferences XI–XVII, the two oldest manuscripts go back to the seventh century.²⁵⁹ Conferences XVIII–XXIV exist in slightly more recent codices.²⁶⁰ It has generally been stated that the earliest edition of the *Institutes* was the one printed at Venice in 1481. Of this, only a single

²⁵⁷ From the seventh century, we have: Codex Majoris Seminarii Oeduensis (Autun), 24 (portions of Books V–XII). From eighth century: Caroliruhensis, 87 (all twelve books). From ninth century, the following codices: I. Sangallensis, 183. II. Laudunensis (Laon), 328 bis. III. Caroliruhensis, 164. ninth cent. From tenth century, Codex Parisinus, 12292. Beyond them, there is Codex Casinensis Rescriptus, 295, which is a palimpsest with epistles ascribed to Jerome, allegedly written over Cassian's work. This MS is dated back to seventh or eighth century; it contains portions of the *Institutes* only, but there is nothing remaining of Books I–IV, and of VIII and IX.

²⁵⁸ Codices: I. Vaticanus, 5766 (eighth cent.). II. Parisinus, Bibl. Nat., 13384 (ninth cent.). III. Vercellensis (Chapter Library), 187, 44 (eighth–tenth cent.). IV. Parisinus. Bibl. Nat. nouv. fonds, 2170 (ninth cent.). This contains all the Conferences (save a few lacunae), and is the only one of Petschenig's manuscripts of which this can be said. V. Vaticanus, Bibl. Palat., 560 (tenth cent.). VI. Sangallensis, 574 (ninth–tenth cent.). Of them, the Vaticanus, Bibl. Palat., 560 and the Sangallensis, 574 are the codices followed in the editions of Cassian published at Basle, 1485–1495. Either by chance, or not by chance, these are the codices which contain not only errors, but also heavy interpolations.

²⁵⁹ Codices: I. Sessorianus (Rome), 55. (seventh–eighth cent.). II. Petropolitanus, Bibl. Imp. O. 1, 4 (seventh or eighth cent.). III. Sangallensis, 576 (ninth cent.). IV. Parisinus. Bibl. Nat. nouv. fonds, 2170 (ninth cent.). V. Vindobonensis, 397 (tenth cent.) This Vienna codex contains Prosper's work *Contra Collatorem*. The passages of Cassian are written in the margin.

²⁶⁰ Codices: I. Monacensis, 4549 (eighth–ninth). II. Monacensis, 6343 (ninth cent.). III. Parisinus, Bibl. Nat. nouv. fonds., 2170 (ninth cent.). IV. Vaticanus, Bibl. Reginae Sueciae, 140 (ninth–tenth cent.). V. Caroliruhensis, 92 (ninth cent.). VI. Sangallensis, 575 (ninth cent.).

copy is known to exist in the Laurentian Library at Florence. Also, the first edition, which included the *Conferences*, was published by Amerbach at Basel in 1485. This account however has been disputed by Edgar Gibson, who, in his 'Prolegomena' to Cassian,²⁶¹ argues for a slightly earlier edition to be the first one.

²⁶¹ Edgar Gibson, 'Prolegomena' in *The Works of John Cassian, Translated With Prolegomena and Notes*, In *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, second series, v. 11.

CHAPTER TWO

CASSIAN THE SABAITE

The 'Monk and Presbyter Cassian' in AD 536

Upon opening Codex 573, we find out that the sole designation attached to Cassian is 'monk' (Κασσιανου μοναχοῦ). The same goes for the final page of the Codex. We also come across a certain 'monk' called Cassian participating in the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536 and signing it acts. He signs as 'a presbyter of the Laura of the blessed Sabas' (πρεσβύτερος λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα), and occasionally also as a representative of the monks who were 'in the desert that is supervised by the holy city' (ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμου).¹ In one of the resolutions of the synod he signs as a 'presbyter and monk' of the same Laura and on behalf of its monks (πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχός).²

In all these instances, his signature is followed by the one of Leontius, who signs as 'abbot and monk of a cloister of his own' (ἡγούμενος καὶ μοναχός ἰδίου μοναστηρίου), still he also signs on behalf of 'all the holy fathers who live in the desert' (ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἁγίων πατέρων).³ Furthermore, Leontius signs as 'monk, and head and representative of the entire desert'.⁴ Cassian signs only on behalf of the monks of his cloister, whereas Leontius (although abbot of one specific cloister) signs on behalf of all the monks who lived in an entire region, which is styled either 'the desert' or 'the desert and river Jordan'.⁵

Cassian the monk of the Laura of Sabas (attested by Cyril of Scythopolis, to be canvassed presently) is therefore conveniently identified with the one who signed the acts of the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536. He was the 'presbyter and monk of the Laura of Sabas', whereas at the same

¹ ACO, op. cit. p. 36; so on pp. 130; 145; 158; 165; 174.

² Op. cit. p. 50.

³ Op. cit. p. 37.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 130: Λεόντιος μοναχός καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ τοποτηρητῆς τῆς ἐρήμου πάσης. So on pp. 145; 158; 165; 174.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 50: Λεόντιος ἡγούμενος καὶ μοναχός ἰδίου μοναστηρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ Ἰορδάνῃ ἁγίων πατέρων.

time (that is, four years after the death of Sabas) a Leontius was the abbot of 'a monastery of his own'.

Therefore, we have Cassian and 'abbot Leontius', who signs as 'the abbot of a cloister', which is the same designation of Leontius attested by Photius. This suggests that Cassian was a sixth-century figure (a point to which I will return later), a 'monk and presbyter' belonging to the Laura of Sabas, participating in the synod of 536 at Constantinople. At that time, Leontius Byzantius was an abbot and signed as 'supervisor of all the desert'.

Cassian attended the synod even though he was not an abbot, since he was the delegate of the abbot of the Laura of Sabas. That Leontius attended, too, hardly comes as a surprise. For he was a regular visitor to the capital, where his powerful protectors Theodore Askidas and Domitian normally lived, despite the remoteness of their sees.⁶

The Texts of the Codex

In the dialogues of Codex 573 it is only Germanus that is represented to parley with the monks and his companion Cassian is only the silent reporter. Quite the opposite transpires in the *Apophthegmata* quoting from these texts: attributions are made to 'abba Cassian', whereas the name 'Germanus' appears only once in the 'alphabetic' collection, to be extinguished in the 'systematic' one. In the very beginning of the Cassian-lemma, the narrative starts with the declaration 'I and saint Germanus crossed over from Palestine to Egypt, to meet a certain old man' (παρεβάλομεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γερμανὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πρὸς τινα γέροντα).⁷ The phrase is modified in another version: 'Travelling from Palestine to Egypt, we paid a visit to one of the fathers' (παρεβάλομεν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης εἰς Αἴγυπτον τινὶ τῶν πατέρων).⁸ No suggestion that Cassian made the trip of a lifetime in order to make a tour of, and acquaintance with, the monastic life in Egypt whatsoever. No implication of 'fleeing' Palestine. The simple purpose of the trip was to meet a *certain* hermit. No 'Germanus' in the systematic collection.

The most ancient reference to the *Apophthegmata* that we have is one by John Moschus, at the turn of the sixth to seventh century.⁹ The next

⁶ Askidas was awarded with the see of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Domitian was appointed Bishop of Galatia (Ancyra). Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 189.

⁷ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 244.

⁸ *AP (collectio systematica)* (cap. 10–16), 13.2.

⁹ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 212, pp. 3104–3105. A reference ascribed to Athanasius is spurious: *Syntagma ad Quendam Politicum*, PG.28.1396.19.

citation appears no sooner than two centuries later, by Theodore Studites.¹⁰ The similitude of Studites' parlance with that of Cassian's in regard to important instances of terminology is evident throughout my discussion. One would perhaps be apt to surmise that Studites (759–826) either took up the terms from a Greek translation of Cassian's work, or indeed such translations were in fact the product of his era. However, parallels show us that long before Studites wrote, Cassian's specific Greek text was already circulating and testified by writers such as John of Damascus (676–749), and Antiochus of Palestine (writing in the same milieu, indeed the same premises of the Great Laura, nearly 70 years after Cassian himself), not to mention the *Apophthegmata*. Besides, Theodore Studites held Cassian in the highest regard and there is nothing to suggest that this esteem was held for a *Latin* writer. It is certainly not chance that two of Theodore's 'beloved spiritual children' were named 'Cassian and Nilus', after the names of the great ascetic writers.¹¹ What is more, in one of his major writings, Studites explicitly and by name mentions Cassian and his ideas.¹²

A reference in the *Synaxarium* of a monastery, which makes reference to 'reciting the apophthegms by the pious Poimen' (ἀνάγνωσις εἰς τὸ πατερικὸν τὰ ἀποφθέγματα τοῦ ὁσίου Ποιμένου) on the 27th day of August, mislead towards ascribing the collection to a certain 'Poimen'.¹³ But this refers to reading the saying by this Poimen only. By the same token, the canon of readings of the ensuing day refers to 'reading the apophthegms by the pious Moses' (ἀνάγνωσις εἰς τὸ πατερικὸν τὰ ἀποφθέγματα τοῦ ὁσίου Μωυσέως).¹⁴ Similar references came later still.¹⁵

It is beyond my scope to engage in a detailed dating of the *Apophthegmata*. I will only give an example which is indicative of the collection being a late-sixth century one.

Dorotheus of Gaza (or, abba Dorotheus, c. 510–died c. 565 or 620) was a Christian monk and abbot, younger than Cassian by one generation. He joined the monastery Abba Serid (or, Abba Seridos) near Gaza through the

¹⁰ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 383. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 198, p. 162a; *Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, 187.

¹¹ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 178.

¹² Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 66, p. 186: οὐκ ὀρᾷτε ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Κασσιανῷ γέγραπται;

¹³ Acta Monasterii Theotoci Euergetae, *Synaxarium* (Mar.–Aug.), Month 8, day 27.

¹⁴ Op. cit. Month 8, day 28.

¹⁵ Cf. Nicetas Stethatus (monk, Constantinople, eleventh cent.), *Orationes*, Oration 1.76. Eustathius of Thessaloniki (twelfth cent.), *De Emendanda Vita Monachica*, 143. Theoleptus of Philadelphia (bishop, thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Orationes Monasticae*, Oration 1, line 329.

influence of the elders Barsanuphius and John. In c. 540, he founded his own monastery nearby and became himself the abbot there. He wrote instructions for monks of which a considerable number have survived and have been compiled as instructions on spiritual training, in the form of *Letters* and *Sentences*. He has been canonised a saint by both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Church (St. Dorotheus the Hermit of Kemet). A characteristic shibboleth which he used is λόγος κατασκευτικός ('an imposing expression or discourse, which causes compunction').¹⁶ Although there is one casual attribution to John Chrysostom,¹⁷ this came to be a distinct token of later Byzantine literature, and it is a portion transpiring in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*,¹⁸ which makes it impossible for the anthology to have been composed before the late sixth century.¹⁹ It is likely that Dorotheus himself is the compiler of part of the *Apophthegmata*, aiming at an edifying synthesis of the Antiochene, Cappadocian, and Palestinian spirit. This example is all the more telling, since not many monastic figures of the narrative can be dated, nor can they be identified by means of other sources.²⁰

The anthology enjoyed currency among monks, yet references to this are as scarce as just cited. I would not be surprised if this compilation had its roots in the late sixth-century environment of Palestine, where monastic life flourished, yet leading monks were inspired by the authority and prestige of Egyptian hermits. This was in all probability an edifying collection mainly for those aspiring to pursue a monastic life in Palestine. References in Cassian's text show that he regarded the state of monastic affairs in his time as a grievous degeneration of the monastic ideal. Considering all the disputes and quarrels that took place in the region during his lifetime, such an opinion is reasonably justified.

¹⁶ Dorotheus of Gaza, *Epistulae i-xvi*, 7.192: ἀνάγνωσις τῶν θείων γραφῶν συμβάλλεται μετὰ κατασκευτικῶν λογίων.

¹⁷ John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1-55)*, PG.60.225-57-60.

¹⁸ *AP (collectio systematica) (cap. 10-16)*, 15.136.

¹⁹ This expression κατασκευτικός λόγος has remained a token of mid-Byzantine and later style. It appears in the anonymous ninth-century biography, *Vita Antonii Junioris*, p. 203 (λόγοις κατασκευτικοίς), Nicolaus Catascepnus (twelfth cent.), *Vita Sancti Cyrilli Phileotae*, 42.10 (τῶν κατασκευτικῶν λογίων). Damascenus Studites (sixteenth cent.), *Thesaurus*, Oration 7 (κατασκευτικῶν λόγων).

²⁰ Dorotheus' name ('pious Dorotheus') appears in a catalogue by John Oxites Patriarch of Antioch (1089-1100) listing distinguished authors of monastic texts. See *supra*. Besides, Dorotheus used the peculiar spelling κουκούλλια ('hoods'), which transpires in Cassian (Cod. p. 9^r) and authors relevant to him. See chapter 3, p. 193

According to O. Chadwick, 'there can be no question of the substantial authenticity of the *Conferences*'.²¹ But he does not for a moment consider the possibility of two Cassians, even if certain points might call for such an assumption. For instance, when he comes upon Cassian's reference to 'ancient fathers', he feels he cannot take the designation literally: assuming Cassian to be a fifth-century figure, he has it that this 'hermit life' was too old 'not much more than a century ago'.²² But monk Cassian the Sabaite wrote this because he was considering the hermit life from a sixth-century point of view. Hence, 'ancient fathers' is not simply 'a term of high praise', it also had real historical import, at least insofar as this pointed to the lone men of the desert, the pioneers of hermit life, such as Anthony, who is mentioned at some points. For Cassian actually wrote at least one century and a half after Anthony, and certainly he knew of his *Life*, which is currently (but not certainly) ascribed to Athanasius.

Cassian's 'rules' are in fact admonition, not dictated practice. He did not deal with *sins* (which was a western preoccupation, as the 'seven deadly sins' bespeak), but with *dispositions* giving rise to sin. This is why he levelled his ammunition against the source of sundry temptations. In the second epistle to Castor, Cassian stresses that the purpose of the 'gospel-teaching' is 'to cut asunder the roots of sins rather than their fruits'.²³ This is probably the reason why of all fathers he mentions only Basil of Caesarea, even though Basil was not at home with the Egyptian atmosphere. Cassian bans seclusion of hermits.²⁴ To live apart from all human beings is an abnormal and perverse desire, which not only obstructs accomplishment of virtue, but also conceals all weaknesses that lurk within a monk, cancelling any possibility for passions to be put to the test. Consequently, once temptation arises, boiling passions rush forth 'like fierce horses'.

It should be recalled that the *Institutions* refer to rules in Egypt and the East, namely Palestine; the latter is frequently forgotten and Cassian is represented as having been fascinated by Egypt alone. The fact is, however, that he conversed with the spirit of Egypt while not discounting the presence of the monastic ideal in Palestine, too. This is the lesson from the biographies of eminent monks, that was composed by Cyril of Scythopolis.

²¹ Op. cit. p. 50.

²² Op. cit. p. 51.

²³ Cassian, Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 43^v: Τὰς ρίζας γὰρ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκκόπτειν παραγγέλλει ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία, ἥπερ τοὺς καρπούς. Further, op. cit. p. 44^v: Ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ρίζαν καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποκόπτειν πᾶσι τρόποις ἡμᾶς βούλεται.

²⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, op. cit. pp. 42^v-43^r; 46^v-47^r.

It was knowledge of the rules governing monasteries that enabled him to set up a monastery in his homeland.²⁵

Reading Codex 573 we come upon an interesting instance.²⁶ Germanus is represented²⁷ to ask Serenus for advice as to the extent to which one could confess his sins to an elder, since there had been instances where elders severely reprimanded those who had made a confession. Germanus says that he knows of such incidents having taken place ‘in his own country’ (ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ).²⁸ Which is the *country* that Germanus declares to be ‘his own country’?

To answer this question, we should study the preceding pages.²⁹ Germanus clearly suggests that his (and Cassian’s) experience of relevant events comes ‘from the region of Syria’. Cassian (through ‘Germanus’) relates ‘an incident’ which happened ‘in the region of Syria’ which he himself had witnessed (ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τοῦτο ἔγνωμεν τὸ συμβᾶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι Συρίας). He actually refers to an incident that took place *within* a monastery: a ‘certain brother’ (ἀδελφός τις) made a confession to ‘one of the elders’ of this monastery (τινὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε γερόντων). After the confession was complete, this ‘brother’ was faced with an indignant censor rather than a sympathetic spiritual and admonishing father. So ‘Germanus’ asks Serenus for advice, with regard to how open one should be during confession. Likewise, Germanus speaks taking for granted that ‘in his country’ there are monasteries where sinners are proscribed and excluded from the Holy Communion. It should be emphasised that a few lines earlier, the account by Serenus (in fact, Cassian himself) is about the ‘situation in the desert and in monasteries’ (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τοῖς μοναστηρίοις),³⁰ where he depicts a state of decay of monastic ethos (εἰς τοσαύτην χλιαρότητα θεωροῦμεν καταπεπτωκότας τινάς).³¹ Therefore, Germanus refers to the region of Antioch.

It seems that, at the time of Cassian, bishops and priests abused their authority to exclude from communion all those whom they deemed sinners. To deal with this misuse of power, Justinian decreed that once ‘bishops and presbyters’ do so without good reason (which has to be demonstrated

²⁵ This is why I cannot endorse Chadwick’s assertion that ‘Cassian was a man of Egypt’ (p. 63).

²⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 96^f.

²⁷ Cassian, like Plato in his dialogues, never appears as an active (speaking) person in the manuscript. It is Germanus who asks the questions.

²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 96^f.

²⁹ See Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74^f.

³⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 95^f.

³¹ Loc. cit.

explicitly by the ‘ecclesiastical canons’), they should be themselves excluded from communion by their ecclesiastical superiors.³² The very expression τῆς δεσποτικῆς κοινωνίας (the Lord’s Communion),³³ reveals that this is the region of Antioch. This suggests that Cassian was well-acquainted with the region of Antioch, or in the region of Syria in general. His native city Scythopolis was Syria after all, as already mentioned. Besides, the expression δεσποτικὴ κοινωνία that is put on the lips of Germanus, is couched in Theodoret’s own words.³⁴ No author other than Theodoret (who championed the term δεσπότης for Christ) used this expression. The only parallel is Leontius, the presbyter of Constantinople, who did so once, but he was reproducing an instance from Theodoret.³⁵

The spiritual framework of both the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* shares common ground with parallels in Evagrius. I have an explanation of this relation, along with the fact that we have close doctrinal parallels despite scarcity (yet not absence) of literary dependence. Cassian learned of Evagrius in the monastery of Sabas from Leontius and the other (so-called

³² Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 603: Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπαγορευόμεν ἀφορίζειν τινὰ τῆς ἀγίας κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ αἰτία δειχθῆ δι’ ἣν οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύουσιν. εἰ δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἀγίας κοινωνίας τινὰ χωρίσει, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὅς ἀδίκως ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐχωρίσθη λυόμενος τοῦ χωρισμοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ μείζονος ἱερέως τῆς ἀγίας ἀξιούσθω κοινωνίας, ὁ δὲ ἀδίκως τινὰ τῆς ἀγίας κοινωνίας χωρίσαι τολμήσας πᾶσι τρόποις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως ὑφ’ ὃν τέτακται χωρισθῆσεται τῆς κοινωνίας ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνος συνίδοι, ἕνα ὅπερ ἀδίκως ἐποίησε δικαίως ὑπομείνῃ.

³³ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 96’.

³⁴ Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, Vita 2.11: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤκουσεν ὡς τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀποραγήσεται κοινωνίας εἰ μὴ τοῦτο συγχωρήσειεν. *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (Epistulae 1–95)*, 83: ἄτε δὴ τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἀξιούμενος κοινωνίας. This epistle was included in the ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,2, p. 48. Cf. Theodoret, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.512.23: κοινωνία τῶν Δεσποτικῶν παθημάτων, καὶ μετουσία τῆς Δεσποτικῆς ἀναστάσεως. Cf. a parallel idea (though not actually in terms of δεσποτικὴ κοινωνία) in Gregory of Nyssa, *De Perfectione Christiana ad Olympium Monachum*, v. 8.1, p. 207: εἶτα ἐν μέσῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ στεφάνῳ διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας. Also, in *DT (lib. 2.8–27)* (a work of Cassian spuriously ascribed to Didymus, as I argue in *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II), PG.39.716.25: νῦν δὲ τὴν ἀθάνατον κοινωνίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ. John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (homiliae 1–9)*, PG.49.322.47: Ὁ δὲ τὸν Κύριον οὐκ ἂν ἀξίος ἰδεῖν, οὐδὲ τῆς κοινωνίας ἀξιός ἐστι τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ.

³⁵ Leontius of Constantinople (presbyter, fifth–sixth cent. AD), *In Penteconten (Homilia 11)*, line 318: Ποῖος δὲ ἀνθραξ ἀμαρτίας ἀφίρσιν, εἰ μὴ ἡ δεσποτικὴ κοινωνία; This is merely an echo from Theodoret, *commIs*, 3: οὐ γυμνῆ τῆ χειρὶ τῆ δὲ λαβίδι τὸν ἀνθρακα ἔλαβε καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιθέν τῷ τοῦ προφήτου στόματι ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὴν τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπαλλαγὴν. Προδιαγράφεται δὲ καὶ προδιατυπῶνται διὰ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγραθῶν μετουσία, ἢ διὰ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλαγῆ. Pseudo-Theodoret (or Pseudo-Justin) *QetR*, p. 60: ὃν γὰρ ἐθεάσατο ὁ προφήτης ἀνθρακα τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις αὐτοῦ χεῖλεσι προσαγόμενον εἰς κάθαρσιν ἀνομιῶν καὶ ἀμαρτιῶν, μῆνυμα εἶχε τῆς δεσποτικῆς σαρκός, καθαριζούσης τὸ συνειδὸς τῶν ἐσθιόντων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀμαρτίας.

‘Origenist’) monks. Since he had the gift of *logos*, as Cyril of Scythopolis tells us, he probably engaged in reading, while at the same time being taught by the erudite (presumed ‘Origenist’) monks, of whom Cyril of Scythopolis himself was so much afraid, lest he were himself persuaded and converted by their learnedness. It has been argued that Evagrius stands at the point of Christian history where eastern and western spirituality bifurcate.³⁶ Henri Bremond accorded Cassian the title of ‘father of our literature of spirituality’. When Cassian wrote his book more than a hundred and forty years had elapsed since Evagrius had departed from this life. Meanwhile the milieu had changed. Once again O. Chadwick (although taking Cassian to be only twenty-five years after Evagrius and granting a personal acquaintance between Cassian and Evagrius) is right in his general considerations. The key ideas recur: the division in active life and contemplative life; the struggle against passions; the pursuit of ἀπάθεια; the charity of a man who is free of passion; the gateway to *gnosis*; the stripping of the mind from mundane concerns during prayer. Most of the terminology occurs at the same points, with the same general significance. Yet the atmosphere feels different.³⁷ Had the learned English scholar arrived at the view sustained in the present analysis, he could probably have made his formulations stronger, and certainly he would not have placed the emphasis on the Latin text ascribed to Cassian, but to the Greek. Cassian wrote the *Institutes* for those conducting an active life, and the *Conferences* for those pursuing contemplative speculation of the divine. For all that, the latter are also engaged in the ‘virtuous life’.³⁸ In reality Cassian did not distinguish one kind of life from another: he saw them both as correlative and dependent upon each other, in the spirit Origen had once taught.³⁹

³⁶ O. Chadwick, op. cit. p. 92, citing S. Marsili, *Giovanni Cassiano ed Evagrio Pontico*, Studia Anselmiana, Rome 1936; pp. 87–103.

³⁷ Op. cit. pp. 92–93.

³⁸ Op. cit. p. 93.

³⁹ In the thirteenth conference (XIII.12.7) there is an idea of Origen (*Princ.* III.2.4) approving of the *Pastor* by Hermas advancing the idea of two angels, one good one bad, who accompany each man and watch over him. Nevertheless, when Prosper launched his attack on the *Conferences* and their author (*Contra Collatorem*, PL.51.215–276), he never addressed their author by name (‘the conferencer’, as the title itself has it), who was apostrophised simply as the ‘Catholic doctor’ (II.5). Besides, Prosper appears unaware of Conference XIII. O. Chadwick (p. 129) made a strong case about Prosper not actually referring to this conference, which was published later. The fact is that certain willfully thinking scholars have taken Prosper’s use of the word *Collatio* as a reference to John Cassian’s *Collationes Patrum*. This is an extrapolation by no means supported by the text of Prosper, which relates to the Masilian anti-Augustinian controversy. The texts that have been fancifully presumed to contain references to ‘Cassian and the monks of Saint Victor’ are the following: *Epistola ad Rufinum*

The student of Cassian's text will immediately realise that he was all but the sort of a fanatic imposing unrealistic Neoplatonic hardship on monks. He denounced absolute hermitism and narrow-minded superstitious self-confidence, which lacks discretion and tends to make divine providence a sort of sorcery serving a monk's unrealistic (and sometimes ridiculous) aspirations ostensibly represented as sound faith to God. These texts written by an enlightened Aristotelist, which impel a modest monasticism far from excessive asceticism, were not received in the West.

"This is not to say that Cassian's ideas were completely ignored in the west. The theoretical aspects of his thought would continue to colour western ascetic practice, transmitted in mitigated form through the works of his successors, legislators such as Eucherius and Benedict. As a result, Cassian's lasting contribution was not institutional reform or a new world order, but rather the injection of Evagrian teaching into the mainstream of western monastic thought. It was this aspect of his work, not his institutional reform, that earned Cassian his place among the great legislators of the western world".⁴⁰

However, it was not the case that 'Cassian portrayed his Egyptian ascetics as unrepentant Origenists'.⁴¹ It was the *real* Cassian himself who was an Origenist, probably following his association with the *real* Leontius. And if I were to indulge in some cynicism as a supplement to R. Goodrich's conclusion, all the West needed by means of the Cassian-mongering was the *auctoritas vetustatis* of the Eastern Patristic and monastic tradition, not Cassian's ideas themselves.

Abba Cassian and Posterity

Cassian the Roman was a monk and presbyter at Laura of St. Sabas, the present day Mar-Saba. By contrast, we are told that John Cassian was a deacon ordained by John Chrysostom (and later a presbyter at Marseilles), a deacon who was honoured with conveying a letter to Pope Innocent,⁴²

(PL.51.77–90); *Epistula ad Augustinum* (preserved among the letters of Augustine as *Epistula* 225). In addition, a letter by Hilary of Marseilles, *Epistola ad Augustinum* (letters of Augustine, *Epistula* 226). Cf. Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, Oxford, 1998, p. 20. However, like Prosper, all Hilary suggested was that a number of people opposed Augustine's views: he never identified either Cassian or any other leading ascetic figure with his rival faction.

⁴⁰ R. Goodrich, *op. cit.* p. 210.

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁴² Pope Innocent I, 402–417. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, 398–404.

along with 'presbyter Germanus', according to Palladius.⁴³ Given his alleged ordination by Chrysostom, it would have been natural for this Cassian to append the name *John* (of the bishop who ordained him as a spiritual father) to his native name, which is a custom still alive in the East. In theory, therefore, a certain Cassian might have been called *John Cassian*. This should be the person that Chrysostom ordained a deacon who assumed the name of the Patriarch. The problem is that our sole source, namely Palladius, does not call Chrysostom's messenger so, as indeed no Greek source ever annexed the suffix *John* to Cassian. On the other hand, no Latin source styles Chrysostom's deacon Cassian *Romanus*. In the biography of Gennadius of Marseilles there is no *John* appended to Cassian, either.

The *Institutiones* that were composed at the request of Castor have no title in Latin manuscripts, whereas in the Greek Codex 573 it does have one. On the other hand, what is supposed to be Gennadius' of Marseilles text simply lists the books that make it up. Others, including editor M. Petschenig, use a title taken from a phrase in the work,⁴⁴ which sums up its structure: *De Institutis Coenobiorum et de Octo Principalium Vitiolorum Remedis Libri XII*. The first part of the Latin, which comprises four sections, is dedicated to the function of monastic life in its essential moments: *De Habitu Monachorum* (I), *de canonico ... orationum et psalmorum modo* (II–III), *De Institutis Renuntiantium* (IV). Afterwards, he added a list of eight cardinal sins: gluttony (greed, γαστριμαργία), fornication and carnal lust (πορνεία καὶ σαρκική ἐπιθυμία), covetousness (avarice, φιλαργυρία), ira (anger, ὀργή), tristitia (dejection, melancholy, λύπη), accidie (depressing boredom with the life of prayer and growing fatigue from the contemplation of God and observance of commandments, ἀκηδία), vainglory (vanity, κενοδοξία), superbia (pride ὑπερηφάνια). The tract on the eight sinful dispositions is in fact a separate treatise and this is how it appears in the sixth-century Montecassino and Autum manuscripts. As a matter of fact, the *Institutes* were often regarded as made up of two separate treatises: (1) the Institutes of the Coenobia, containing Books I–IV; (2) On the Dispositions to Evil, comprising Books V–XII.

However, Codex 573 has a plain title: this is the 'Book of Rules of the *coenobia* in the East and in Egypt' (*Περὶ Διατυπώσεως καὶ Καν(ό)νων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολήν καὶ Αἴγυπτον κοιν(ο)βίων*), to be followed by the tract 'On the Eight

⁴³ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 19. Sozomenus, *HE*, 8.26.8. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 13.32. 'Cassian the deacon' was the recipient of a letter by the fifth-century monk Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistulae*, 1523 (also, 'to Cassian'), op. cit. 1488, *apud* Pierre Éviéux, *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres (1414–1700)*.

⁴⁴ The actual title is in fact cited by Photius. Appendix III.

Considerations [of evil]' (*Περὶ τῶν ἡ λογισμῶν*) and then by three conferences. Cassian is styled 'monk' and 'Roman' (*Κασσιανὸς Ῥωμαῖος*), never *John* Cassian.

Many scholars tend to associate the notion of 'thoughts that are seductive to evil' with Cassian, as if the topic were his own invention. However, the notion of the 'eight dispositions to evil' is not a discovery of Cassian. All he did was to furnish his own considerations on an ancient question perpetually besieging monks. The origin seems to have been Evagrius of Pontus along with Ephraem Syrus, with Socrates the historian following.⁴⁵ Cassian simply produced his own considerations on an old issue.

An excellent witness to Evagrius is Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), a hesychast monk who became Patriarch of Constantinople for one year (1397) as Callistus II. Setting out to write a short biography of Evagrius, he mentions the latter's book *Practicus*, which is also entitled *Μοναχὸς ἢ περὶ Πρακτικῆς*. Furthermore, we are informed that Evagrius wrote a book advising against 'the tempting daemons' (*πρὸς τοὺς πειράζοντας δαίμονας*), which 'is divided into eight sections, in proportion to the eight dispositions' to evil (*ὁκτῶ δὲ διαιρεῖται τμήμασι, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὁκτῶ λογισμῶν*).⁴⁶ It should be noticed that the expression *τῶν ὁκτῶ λογισμῶν* is precisely the same as the one in the title of Cassian's work in the present Codex.

By the same token, John Climacus argued that it was Gregory of Nazianzus who had introduced the idea of classification of evil dispositions. According to Gregory, these thoughts are actually seven, not eight: *cenodoxia* (*κενοδοξία*) and *superbia* (*ὑπερηφανία*) should not be counted as separate ones, since they entail each other; once one conquers *cenodoxia* (*κενοδοξία*), one can no longer be subject to *superbia* (*ὑπερηφανία*). John Climacus declares that he opts for this view of Gregory.⁴⁷ Later still, John of Damascus (c. 676–749), whose home was the monastery of St. Sabas, took the 'eight dispositions to evil' for granted.⁴⁸ Likewise, a work was attributed to him

⁴⁵ Evagrius of Pontus, *Practicus*, 6.14 & 15.33 (*Περὶ τῶν Ὀκτῶ Λογισμῶν*). Ephraem Syrus, *De Octo Cogitationibus*, p. 295 (*Περὶ τῶν Ὀκτῶ Λογισμῶν*); likewise, p. 401. Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.23 ('there are eight tempting daemons, each one corresponding to each of the eight dispositions to evil').

⁴⁶ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *HE*, 11.42.

⁴⁷ John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 948. Therefore, when Pope Gregory the Great reduced this number to seven, he did nothing actually new; to him the 'seven deadly sins' became pride, envy, anger, melancholy/accidie, avarice, greed, lust.

⁴⁸ John of Damascus, *De Sacris Jejunis*, PG.95.77.10–11: ἐπὶ καθαίρεισι τῶν ἐπανισταμένων κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁκτῶ λογισμῶν. The editor notes in his preliminary *admonitio* that this is written in the spirit and argument of Cassian, Nilus, and other eminent ascetics.

(presumably by another Sabaite monk), which expounded an account of the issue, which is not different from the tradition preceding him. The author just spoke of ‘eight spirits of evil’ (Περὶ τῶν Ὀκτὼ τῆς Πονηρίας Πνευμάτων), instead of ‘eight dispositions’ (λογισμῶν).⁴⁹ Definitely John of Damascus copied Cassian’s texts verbatim in his *Sacra Parallela*.⁵⁰

Were one to investigate earlier times, one would come upon a strange text, of those styled ‘pseudepigrapha’ of the Old Testament. The text is hard to date: it might well have been written any time between the second century BC and third century AD. Number ‘eight’ in relation to sin is there. However, the discourse is not about ‘dispositions’ to evil, but ‘spirits of deception’ (περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης) generated ‘against man’ (κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) by daemon Beliar. These in turn generate the ‘actions of the new way of life’ (τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ), which the author evidently loathes and regards as nothing short of decay. It is interesting that this text has an implicit Aristotelian sentiment considering virtue as the mean between two extremes and sin as indulgence in either of these extremes: all wicked action flowing from the ‘spirits of deception’ is in fact an immoderate exercise of functions that are otherwise natural to a human being. The author accordingly provides two lists of ‘spirits’. One is a catalogue of physical functions: 1. The ‘spirit of life’ itself; 2. the ‘spirit of sight’; 3. the ‘spirit of hearing’; 4. ‘the spirit of smell’; 5. the ‘spirit of speaking’; 6. the ‘spirit of taste’; 7. the ‘spirit of natural reproduction and intercourse’, which involves lust and sin. Above them all, there is an ‘eighth spirit’, ‘the spirit of sleep’, which is in fact a certain ‘departure from one’s own nature’ and an ‘icon of death’ (ἔκστασις φύσεως καὶ εἰκὼν θανάτου). An ensuing catalogue is in effect the list of sins, which stem from ‘the spirit of deception getting involved (τούτοις συμμίγνυται) with the foregoing spirits’. The list also involves ‘eight spirits’, which are not too different from Cassian’s evil dispositions: 1. lust (πορνεία); 2. greed (ἀπληστία); 3. conflict (μάχη); 4. complacency and sorcery (ἀρέσκεια καὶ μαγανεία); 5. pride (ὑπερηφάνια); 6. lie (ψεῦδος); 7. iniquity (ἀδικία); 8. sleep (ὕπνος), which is associated with ‘deception and false impression’ (πλάνη καὶ φαντασία).⁵¹ Of these, lust and pride are treated by Cassian, too; ‘conflict’ is not too different from Cassian’s ‘anger’, whereas ‘complacency’ (ἀρέσκεια) is redolent of Cassian’s ‘vainglory’ (κενοδοξία). That said, what is important

⁴⁹ Pseudo-John of Damascus, *De Octo Spiritibus Nequitiae*, PG.95.80f.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Sacra Parallela*. PG.96.25.34–28.6, quoting from Cassian’s *On Dejection* Codex p. 45^v. See *infra*, and Appendix I.

⁵¹ *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, 1.1–2.

is not particular sins, but the idea itself of pointing out and cataloguing the principal ones, as well as the coincidence of the catalogues comprising eight clauses.

Therefore, to attribute this notion to Cassian in the first place is an exaggeration. The case is simply that after the Council of 553 and the condemnation of the alleged Origenism, works by Evagrius were ascribed to other writers, with some predilection to attribute many of them to Nilus of Ancyra. One then should be cautious of reading the notion of ‘eight dispositions’ attached to Nilus, as for instance the *Doctrina Patrum* do (seventh–eighth cent.).⁵² In this collection, the treatise ‘on eight dispositions’ is ascribed to Nilus, and Cassian’s ‘three discourses’ (mentioned by Photius) are cited, too. What we also learn from this reference is that these three discourses by Cassian comprised 3300 verses.⁵³

A contemporary of Cassian, namely, Stephanus Byzantius (sixth century), refers to a certain Cassian coming from Syria, who was ‘a rhetor of the highest quality’ (ἄριστος ῥήτωρ).⁵⁴ Cassian’s texts make it plain that he came from Syria, which is not incompatible with the testimony by Cyril of Scythopolis that Cassian came from Scythopolis, since in fact the city was part of the *Koile Syria*.⁵⁵ Hence it was perfectly congruous to say that a native of Scythopolis was Palestinian as well as Syrian. Even the Hebrew language is styled ‘Syrian’ by some authors.⁵⁶ With respect to Veroia, however, I refrain from making a guess and prefer to leave the question moot. For Cyril of Scythopolis writes that Cassian joined the monastery ‘at a very early age’ (ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων), which could have hardly left time for Cassian to study and become a rhetor. But I stop only just before making this assertion, since Cyril’s remark that Cassian was κεκοσμημένος τῷ λόγῳ,⁵⁷ might also well be taken in a literal sense, suggesting not only his moral and intellectual abilities, but also his eloquence, in tacit *a contrario* reference to Paul styling

⁵² Cf. PG.79.1435–1472: Nilus, *De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus* (Περὶ τῶν Ὀκτῶ τῆς Κακίας Λογισμῶν). This is a summary of the text in PG.28.845–906, where Cassian’s works were spuriously attributed to Athanasius: Epistle I to Castor (*De Canonicis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus*), Epistula II to Castor (*De Octo Malitate Cogitationibus*).

⁵³ *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 242.

⁵⁴ Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, p. 161. During the sixth century, the term ῥήτωρ suggested a highly educated person, not just a rhetorician.

⁵⁵ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 13.355: ἐν Σκυθοπόλει τῆς κοίλης Συρίας. Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, pp. 578–579. Lemma Σκυθόπολις. Παλαιστίνης πόλις, ἢ Νύσσης κοίλης Συρίας Σκυθῶν πόλις, πρότερον Βαίσιων λεγομένη ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὁ πολίτης Σκυθοπολίτης. On the name of Scythopolis, see *infra*, p. 236.

⁵⁶ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II.

⁵⁷ *Supra* chapter 1, pp. 79–80.

himself ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ ('rude in speech') in 2 Cor. 11:6, as noted in the previous chapter. In any case, I cannot exclude the possibility of Cassian being one of the authors of whom John Oxites says were 'mathematicians and philosophers of the world' before they joined the monastic life.⁵⁸ Since he says so, some of the names he cites must have been ones falling under the designations of 'mathematician' or 'philosopher'.

In the *Sacra Parallela* by John of Damascus, the Greek text dealing with ἀκηδία is unattributed, like all passages in this compendium. Parallel Latin translations, however, make things easy for the reader by ascribing the portions to their authors. Damascenus included two long passages from Cassian's *On the Eight Dispositions to Evil* and it is illuminating to notice that the Latin translation makes the attribution *Cassiani abbat(is), De Cogitation(e)* to a passage from Cassian's account of accidie (the combined state of exhaustion, weariness of prayer and loss of hope, ἀκηδία), treated in the sixth section of his tract.⁵⁹ Certainly, *De Cogitation(e)* is not an accurate rendering as far as Cassian is concerned,⁶⁰ but the important point is the name of the author: Cassian is an 'abba'; he is not *John* Cassian; neither is he a 'deacon'. Likewise, John of Damascus quotes the fifth section of Cassian's work, which deals with 'dejection' (λύπη).⁶¹ The indication by the Latin translator is *Cassiani lib. ix. vid. t. II, operum S. Athanasii*. In fact however this is not the 'ninth book', but the 'fifth' one of Cassian, which the Greek text also indicates (πέμπτος ἡμῖν ἀγών). Again, the important point is that the author is identified as simply 'Cassian', not 'John Cassian'. Quite evidently, not only John of Damascus, but also his (later) translator in Latin was aware of who Cassian actually was.⁶² He was 'monk Cassian', which is how he identified himself, both in the Council of Constantinople in 536 and in the header of Codex 573. Cassian was after all the abbot of the monastery of St. Sabas, where John of Damascus himself lived less than two centuries later (he died 200 years after Cassian, viz. in 749) and the rich library was at hand, particularly containing books by a former abbot of the same monastery.

Greek literature knows of no 'John Cassian'. It knows only of 'abba Cassian'. Instances of this literature transpire in the work of Cyril of Scythopolis, in the compilation *Apophthegmata Patrum*, as well as in a series of sub-

⁵⁸ *Supra*, notes 45, 46.

⁵⁹ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1211–1212.

⁶⁰ Antiochus of Palestine used Cassian's passages in his *De Cogitationibus* (Περὶ Λογισμῶν). See Appendix I.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.* PG.96.25–26. See Appendix I.

⁶² Cf. an attribution to 'abba Isaias': *abbatis Isaias* (*op. cit.* PG.96.371), *Isaias abbas* (*op. cit.* PG.96.420).

sequent authors. The texts attributed to ‘abba Cassian’ are elucidated by Codex 573 as to their identity: this is Cassian the Roman,⁶³ not ‘John Cassian’. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* simple stories told by Cassian stand alongside portions from his writings⁶⁴ found in Codex 573. So far, the (implicit or explicit) claim is that the compilers (monks) of the *Apophthegmata* cared to produce Greek translations from Latin texts of a mediocre theologian from Marseilles, rather than quote freely from the familiar figure of Cassian of Scythopolis, the Greek monk of sixth-century Palestine.

Had ‘John Cassian’ actually written all the works allegedly cited by Genadius of Marseilles, he should have been a renowned author. Still, Photius refers to ‘a certain Cassian’, of whom he actually knows nothing beyond the treatises he had in front of him. These treatises and discourses aside, Cassian’s writings against Nestorius (supposedly at the request of archdeacon Leo, later the Pope) could have made it impossible for Photius not to be aware of this eminent author. ‘Eminent’ means that Nestorianism was not an affair of the past. As late as during the time of Photius, the empire was still paying the price of the political consequences that Monophysitism entailed in the East and Egypt. Therefore, Photius should have known that *John Cassian* was a person different from the author he was studying at the time. Even so, however, it is rather strange that Photius was not aware of Cassian the Roman, evidently because circumstances surrounding Photius’ ordination suggest that he was scarcely familiar with monks and monasticism.

Other writers, however, mention Cassian in unusually laudatory terms and to some subsequent scholars Cassian was a personality to be admired. John Climacus (born before 579, died c. 649) refers to him as ‘the great Cassian’ (τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ), who wrote the tract *On Discretion*.⁶⁵ Cassian is mentioned as ‘the great Cassian’ (τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν) and ‘the divine Cassian’ (τὸν θεῖον Κασσιανόν)⁶⁶ in the constitution of a monastery which was rebuilt in c. 1113. This twelfth-century manuscript (St. Petersburg Public Library), for the most part, contains extensive sections from Cassian’s work, as those preserved in Codex 573. The two texts⁶⁷ are in effect identical, but the fact that the composer of this monastery-constitution (a certain

⁶³ See *infra*, section ‘Why was Cassian styled ‘Roman’ in later Byzantine literature?’, pp. 227 ff.

⁶⁴ Cf. portions from *On Discretion* in *AP (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9)*, 4.26; 5.4. From the *Eight Dispositions to Evil* in *AP (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9)*, 6.14.

⁶⁵ John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 717 (PG.888.717): Καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Διακρίσεως πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

⁶⁶ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβερῶν*, 6, p. 16.

⁶⁷ See them side by side in Appendix I, pp. 417–427.

monk called John) drew extensively on Cassian has not been noticed.⁶⁸ The precise location of this monastery cannot be determined with certainty. It has been surmised that it was near the Asiatic shore of Bosphorus, close to the entrance of the Black Sea.⁶⁹ This monastic document mentions Cassian with the respect befitting an ancient father, which it also does for John Climacus.⁷⁰ One should notice that the author of the constitution puts headers of his own in Cassian's text which he quotes, in order to make it easy to follow. At a certain point, where Cassian describes the 'steps' that a monk should take, so that he would attain to perfection gradually, the author of the constitution uses the term κλίμαξ πνευματικής ἀναβάσεως ('ladder for spiritual ascent'). If we take into account that John Climacus held Cassian in the highest regard and mentions him by name, it is plausible to assume that when John entitled his own work *Climax* it was Cassian who was the source of his inspiration.⁷¹

Nicon of Montenegro (or, of Raithus, eleventh-twelfth century) styles Cassian a 'saint' (ὁ ἅγιος Κασσιανός) and considers Cassian's Institutes to be as authoritative as those of Basil of Caesarea (ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἐν τοῖς Ἀσκητικοῖς αὐτοῦ).⁷² Cassian is to Nicon a major authority to draw on over and again.⁷³ It should be emphasised that Cassian was known to Nicon, who mentions him respectfully, as shown in Appendix II. No Greek author did ever have any inkling of *John* Cassian, which is a composite name unknown to the East. Cyril of Scythopolis and the *Apophthegmata* alike know only of 'abba Cassian'. Besides, Cassian is styled 'great', 'saint', 'divine', ὕσιος, not for any vast bulk of works supposed to have been recounted by Gennadius of Marseilles, but only for his work on the Eight Dispositions to Evil, for

⁶⁸ In a relatively recent edition of this text in English, a mere brief point where Cassian is mentioned by name (from the *Apophthegmata*, quoted *infra*) was noticed, only because Cassian is therein mentioned by name. Although reference is made to Cassian, the editors infelicitously made it [John] Cassian. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 892.

⁶⁹ Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975, pp. 7–8.

⁷⁰ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 9, p. 21: καθὰ που περὶ τούτου φησὶν ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος ὑποφήτης. 14, p. 26: φησὶ γὰρ ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος.

⁷¹ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 8, p. 19 (title): Ἐτέρα κλίμαξ πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως. See full text in Appendix I.

⁷² Nicon of Montenegro, (or, Nicon of Raithus, or, Nicon of Sinai), *Canonarium vel Typicon*, p. 50; also, on p. 55.

⁷³ Op. cit. pp. 53: ὁ ἅγιος Κασσιανός. Cassian is one 'of the ancient Fathers' (τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων, καθὼς τοῦ ἀγίου Κασσιανοῦ τοῖς συγγράμμασι), p. 54. See Nicon's portions mentioning Cassian in Appendix II.

his Rules for ordering monasteries, and for his discourse *On Discretion*.⁷⁴ Since he was also the founder of at least one monastery, he would also have been expected to be interested in the rules which govern life in a monastic community.

Cassian spent almost all of his life as a monk in Palestine. I should have thought then that concerns about daemons and considerations of daemonological temptations are for those who made the desert their home, not for occasional visitors, nor for messengers of patriarchal letters from one imperial capital to another. The contents of Codex 573 suggest that they all relate to daemonological concerns, a typical characteristic of monks living in the wilderness and perpetually feeling the temptations occasioned by daemons acting beside and against them.

The Anchorites

In the collection *Apophthegmata Patrum*,⁷⁵ 'abba Cassian' reports his travels to Egypt with 'saint Germanus'. Although Germanus and Cassian are argued to have visited Egypt, what is clearly said is that they disembarked at Thennesus near the eastern mouth of Nile, in Panephrisis. Their movements thereafter are surrounded by obscurity. The presumed itinerary of John Cassian in Egypt is simply a product of imagination in the absence of any evidence. The facts about this stay in Egypt are scanty and the narrative appears certain only about visit to Panephrisis and Scetis with Cellia, acquaintance with Paphnutius, a name pointing to many different monks and to a famous 'ancient bishop'. But this monk-bishop, whose right eye had been extracted by Maximian, had died in 310. How could either of the two Cassians have possibly interviewed him? Paphnutius was also the name of a monk from Athens, who had settled in Rome, before he went to the East.⁷⁶

There is no information of how long Cassian stayed in Egypt. The 'seven years' of his first visit to Egypt (followed by a supposed second one) is a symbol rather than historical information. Palladius refers to 'deacon Cassian' along with 'presbyter Germanus',⁷⁷ but no mention is made of 'monk Cassian' as he has always been known in the East. Likewise, Pope Innocent in

⁷⁴ My research has resulted in the conclusion that Cassian is the author of other works, too, which posterity spuriously attributed to renown Christian authors of old.

⁷⁵ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 244.

⁷⁶ *Vita Lazari in Monte Galesio*, pp. 520–528.

⁷⁷ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 19.

his letter replying to the letter by Chrysostom, which Germanus and Cassian had handed over to him from Constantinople, mentions ‘deacon Cassian’, not ‘monk’.⁷⁸ There is no Greek reference to ‘John Cassian’ whatsoever. His identification with Cassian the Scythian, who is asserted to have written in Latin between 420 and 430 is simply an untenable myth.

Probably the name of Germanus is a point that has created confusion between the two Cassians, the fifth-century Scythian and the sixth-century monk of Scythopolis in Palestine, which resulted in one being eclipsed by the other. A closer look at this text, however, reveals that the story about ‘abba Cassian’ actually refers to the sixth-century Cassian the Roman.⁷⁹ As it stands, the reference to Germanus is only a source of confusion, which, however, can be cleared through further study.

Cassian recounts his experience of a certain abba John, who was ‘the hegoumen of a great *coenobium*’ (ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης ἀνθρωπος κοινοβίου μεγάλου ἡγούμενος).⁸⁰ The text goes on with recounting the last moments of the dying abba John. There is a portrayal of the old man surrounded by his brethren, who beg for a few words from him, ‘as a kind of legacy’ (ἀξιούντες λόγον τινα σύντομον και σωτήριον ἐν κλήρου τάξει καταλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς), so as to become ‘perfect in Christ’ (ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τελειότητος). This John actually did.⁸¹

The succinct narrative is of course only a quick glimpse at the last moments of John. But we have the same picture recounted by Cyril of Scythopolis. He describes a man, the ‘anchorite John’ (τὸν ἀναχωρητὴν Ἰωάννην), who was Greek and a genuinely divine character. He was one of the ‘anchorites and shepherds’ who used to visit Sabas in the very early years, when he was living on his own, in the monastery he had founded in the wilderness. This man is already ‘saint John’ to Cyril.⁸² He ‘was endowed with the gift of prophecy’ (προφητικὸν δὲ χάρισμα κεκτημένον) and was appointed hegoumen of the New Laura by Sabas himself. Cyril then comes to relating the last moments of John before dying: the picture is quite the same as the foregoing one in the *AP*. His brethren were sitting around John, who

⁷⁸ Sozomenus, *HE*, 8.26.8: διὰ Γερμανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ διακόνου. O. Chadwick’s reference (op. cit. p. 9, n. 1) that Sozomenus represents Cassian by the name John is incorrect.

⁷⁹ See also, Chapter 3: ‘A sixth-century writer’.

⁸⁰ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 244; *AP (collectio systematica)*, 1.15.

⁸¹ Loc. cit.

⁸² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 99: πλείστοι τοίνυν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ἀναχωρητῶν καὶ τῶν βοσκῶν ἐλθόντες συνέμενον αὐτῷ, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὅ τε ἐν ἀγίοις Ἰωάννης ὁ τῆς Νέας λαύρας ὕστερον ἡγιστάμενος.

prophesied all the events that were to follow in the Laura after his death. Cyril speaks of him in utter admiration and respect, as a man through whom God was giving 'signs' to his people (καὶ σημειοφόρος ἀναδειχθείς).⁸³ This divine John was the abbot of the New Laura for seven years and this event transpired in the year 514. At that time Cassian must have been nearly 40 years old.⁸⁴ This squares with the testimony by Cyril that all those who surrounded John shortly before he died were the senior members of the monastery (τῶν ἀρχηγῶν τῆς συνουσίας πρὸς αὐτὸν καθεζομένων), one of whom was Cassian, according to his own narrative.⁸⁵ Therefore, the foregoing story of the *AP*, which is attributed to 'abba Cassian' referring to 'abba John, who was a hegoumen of a great coenobium', points to John the abbot of the New Laura.

Following the death of John, at the advice of Sabas, 'the fathers' of the New Laura appointed a certain Paul to be abbot. He was 'a simple-minded man of Roman extraction, with no property of his own, who was illustrious in respect of his virtues'. This Paul remained in the post against his will, for six months only. Upon that time and since he could not stand the responsibilities of office, he fled the monastery and went to another one in Arabia, where he eventually died.⁸⁶ This was shortly before 514, the year when his successor Agapetus was appointed to office and expelled the four Origenists, namely, Nonnus, Leontius, Domitian, and Theodore Askidas.

Cassian makes pretty much of such stories of monks fleeing their monastery out of humility. He relates the story of abba Pinufius, who was abbot of a monastery near the town of Panepho in Egypt. He left his coenobium in secret to reach Thebais, where he joined the coenobium of Tebenessus, after he had spent some time entreating the abbot's consent to his admission. Since he was an old man, he was appointed assistant to the gardener and managed to remain there for three years without his identity being revealed, until he was fortuitously discovered by one of his spiritual children who had happened to call at that coenobium. Everybody tried hard to persuade him to return to his monastery, which he did reluctantly, only to flee it once again, this time not to Thebais, but even farther, to a foreign country, namely Palestine, near the Cave of the Nativity, 'where I myself,

⁸³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 124.

⁸⁴ According to the testimony by Cyril, Cassian died in 548 ('sixteen years after the death of Sabas'). The context of his death and burial suggests that he died pretty old. If we assume that he lived for 75 years, by the time of John's death he would have been around 45. This makes him nearly 60-year old man at the time when he participated in the synod of 536.

⁸⁵ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 244; *AP (collectio systematica)*, 1.15.

⁸⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 124.

Cassian says, 'happen to live currently'.⁸⁷ He was discovered by his pupils once again, who almost forced him back to his monastery in Egypt.

Such stories certainly do not lack real historicity. Cassian, however, draws on them only to adumbrate an emblematic monastic ethos. His *Institutions* are concluded by a long discourse, which this holy man Pinufius is supposed to have delivered to a novice in Egypt,⁸⁸ in the presence of Cassian himself, who supposedly happened to be there in order to visit this pious father. The situation of monasteries that Cassian describes through the mouth of Pinufius is sheer nightmare for any novice wishing to denunciate the world. The staged address by the abbot to the novice, who was just admitted to the monastery, is telling. The abbot warns the newcomer of his human environment within the monastery itself: the new brother should observe the example 'not of the many of his cohabiting monks, but only of a few of them'. The novice is virtually warned that he has entered a hell rather than a place of holiness. The 'exemplary' to the new member should be 'only a few of the brothers who lived there, not the majority of them, who lived in recklessness and indolence' (ὑποδείγματά σοι πρὸς μίμησιν ἔστωσαν ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμεν(ό)ντων ἀδελφοί, μὴ οἱ πλείους).⁸⁹ For the majority of them conduct themselves in a 'careless and indolent manner' (ἀμελέστερόν τε καὶ ῥαθυμότερον ζῶντες). Furthermore, he warns the new monk that he is going to see abominable things happening within this monastery, yet the novice is urged to persist in magnanimity, which should be taken into counsel against avarice, pride, and impertinence. The way to maintain composure amidst squalor and dignity amidst ignominy, is to make himself 'blind' and 'deaf' to this state of decay ("Ὅσα τοῖνυν βλέπεις ἀλλότρια οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ὠφελείας, ὡς τυφλὸς γενοῦ).⁹⁰ He should make himself like David, who had said amidst his enemies, 'But I, as a deaf man, heard not, and I was a dumb man that openeth not his mouth. Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth there is no reproof. 'It is necessary for you to observe these words of David while you are with the congregation of the brethren', the abbot warns

⁸⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, pp. 14^r–14^v.

⁸⁸ Op. cit. p. 20^r. This section of this work must have been inspiring, as well as shocking, to those pursuing monastic life. I found this portion also in Codex 583, at the monastery of Metamorphosis, Meteora, under the heading 'By abba Cassian on Humility and Obedience' ('Ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ὑποταγῆς) (Codex 583, folia 129^v–132^v).

⁸⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, op. cit. p. 20^r: ὑποδείγματά σοι πρὸς μ(ι)μησιν ἔστωσαν ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμεν(ό)ντων ἀδελφοί, μὴ (οἱ) πλείους καὶ ἀμελέστερόν τε καὶ ῥαθυμότερον ζῶντες.

⁹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 20^r.

the novice.⁹¹ Furthermore, 'Do not imitate those who are unfaithful, disobedient, presumptuous, abusive, scum; but overlook them all, as if you were a deaf man. If one offers you censure, or shame, or abuse, be immovable as if you were muzzled and mute'.⁹² In this way, Cassian's narrative becomes not only vigorous, but also sublime and imposing.

If historical truth should be investigated in these narratives by Cassian, the model is surely there and it is not difficult to identify real persons. As a matter of fact, his model was monk Cyriacus (447–557), a legendary pious man and much older contemporary of Cassian, who though outlived Cassian himself by nine years. At the monastery of Souka, where Cyriacus had settled, they used to admit monks entering as beginners. Saint Cyriacus was so received, humbly toiling in regular monastic obedience. After several years, monk Cyriacus was ordained priest and was made canonarch (service canon arranger) and served in obedience for 18 years. He spent thirty years at the monastery of monk Chariton. Upon the eightieth year of his life, Cyriacus fled to the hidden Sousakim, where two dried rivers passed by. Seven years after his fleeing, his brethren of the Souka monastery came asking him for spiritual help, which they indeed received for practical improvement out of their plight. They begged the old man to return to the monastery, which Cyriacus did and settled in the cave where Chariton had once lived. At the age of ninety-nine, Cyriacus went off again to Sousakim along with his pupil John. This period is full of legendary stories about the anchorite saving people from lions, or causing rain to fall. This was in 546–547, at the time when Cyril was writing his stories about 'the pious fathers at the Scetis' and Cassian was the abbot of Souka. Cyriacus lived 109 years and Cassian did not live to see him return to the cave of Chariton, where he spent the last two years of his life. Before his death, Cyriacus summoned his brethren and blessed them all, which is an image which writers such as Cyril of Scythopolis loved to recount, and so did later narratives such as the *AP*, as we saw a moment ago.

This model of a monk of high spirituality, who wishes always to make a new start and become a novice in another monastery among monks that do not know who he actually is, plays an important role in Cassian's text. Whether real or imagined, all leading monks in Cassian's dialogues are

⁹¹ Psalm 37:14–15. *op. cit.* p. 20^v: ταῦτα ἂ εἶπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἀναγκαῖά σοι πρὸς παραφυλακὴν ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἕστωσαν.

⁹² *Op. cit.* 20^v: Καὶ μὴ μιμήσ(η) τούτους, ὅσοι ἄπιστοι, καὶ ἀνήκοοι, καὶ προπετεῖς, καὶ ὕβρισται, καὶ συρφετοὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς κ(ω)φὸς καὶ μὴ ἀκούων ταῦτα παραπέμπου.

probably only the *personage* of a specific character, namely Cyriacus. Cassian has him in mind as an anchorite who, amidst a state of monastic decay and quarrel, was the true heir to an ancient ethos, which carried through the sixth century, despite all setbacks in the morality of the monasteries of the time. There are nevertheless other models, too. In 513 the elders of the New Laura, on advice by Sabas, appointed as hegoumen a certain Paul, of Roman descent as already mentioned. He served in this post against his will for six months, and then fled to Arabia, to end up in another coenobium.⁹³ Against the surrounding reality, Cassian favours the model of a senior figure fleeing his monastery to go to another one as an unknown novice. The anecdote that Cassian himself relates (this time staging ‘abba Pinufius’ while having in mind monk Paul) is in effect the same story.⁹⁴

Cassian describes this reality at another point, too, dealing with the ‘situation in the desert and in monasteries’ (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ τοῖς μοναστηρίοις).⁹⁵

“We see that some of them have fallen into a sluggish condition (εἰς τοσαύτην χλιαρότητα θεωροῦμεν καταπεπτωκότας τινάς)”. Instead of exhorting them to great feats, the elders have to coax them by excessively gentle admonition not to forsake the monastery, out of fear that they should be seduced to grosser and more destructive vices, if they wander and gad about. Actually, the elders deemed it to be a great accomplishment if these monks were persuaded to endure staying in the desert and the monasteries, despite their indolence and inertia.⁹⁶

For all the different names of his heroes, there is one ethos emerging out of the narrative; and for all the posited ancientness of these coenobites, Cassian had seen this ethos alive, active, inspiring, in such monks as Cyriacus, his venerated companion. The sixth-century monk was the surviving synecdoche of the old morality, which reassured that the ancient ethos was still alive, hence hope was alive, too, despite all predicaments surrounding a disheartening reality in the sixth-century monasteries of Palestine. Cassian’s style is somehow reminiscent of Thucydides representing Pericles reciting the *Epitaphius* oration. Amidst destruction, plague, and extensive death during the first year of the Peloponnesian War, the politician chose to exalt the virtues of Athenian democracy; indeed he chose to portray a state of affairs which was sheer inspiration despite surrounding ruins. Cassian’s sole difference from such an attitude is that at some points he does

⁹³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 124.

⁹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, pp. 12^r–15^v.

⁹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 95^r.

⁹⁶ Loc. cit.

not try to mask his feelings at the decay of everyday monastic life, which he himself experienced during his life. Therefore, he describes a situation in the monasteries of the environment he would have lived in, yet he abandoned it in order to join the Akoimatoi at Constantinople. Accordingly, he describes a state of decay of the monastic ethos. The monks 'of our monasteries', he says, 'exhibit neither obedience nor humility'. Even those who had joined and spent only the first few months in monastic life were less obedient and less humble than the very old and white-haired monks, who had spent an entire life pursuing the monastic ideal within the same institution.⁹⁷ Cassian in fact outlines a sixth-century state of decay at the Laura of Sabas and the surrounding region, where anarchy, controversy, and turbulence was the rule rather than the exception. It is certainly not a coincidence that he chose to be away from the region during the years 533–539, and away from the Laura of Sabas during 539–547, which he spent as abbot of the monastery of Souka, until he returned to the Laura as abbot in October 547.

A person that Cassian much admired was abba Serenus. In Codex 573, there are two texts entitled 'Contribution by abba Serenus' (Συνεισφορά ἀββᾶ Σερήνου).⁹⁸ This monk is attested not only by Cassian, but also by the *AP*. This text informs us that a friend and companion (συμφωνητής) of abba Serenus was abba Job.⁹⁹ We can determine the time of this ascetic through a later author: John of Damascus records an epistle written by 'the blessed monk and presbyter John, to the archimandrite Jordan on the *trisagion* hymn'.¹⁰⁰ We know that the dispute about this hymn was raging at the climax of the Monophysite quarrel. In this epistle, certain names are mentioned as contemporary with presbyter John, among which abba Job is included (so are abba Sergius and abba Anastasius, the abbot of the St. Euthymius monastery). Since John, the author of the letter to Jordan, styles this abba Anastasius 'our most holy father Anastasius' (ὁ ἱερώτατος ἡμῶν πατήρ ὁ κύριος ἀββᾶς Ἀναστάσιος), it turns out that John was a monk of the monastery of St. Euthymius, where Anastasius was the abbot. What is certain is that abba Job was a person living at that period of the sixth century, although a much older contemporary. For we come across this archimandrite Jordan (not otherwise attested) being present in the Local

⁹⁷ Cassian the Roman, *Const*, p. 3^v: Τοσαύτη γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ τε ὑπακοή καὶ ταπείνωσις ἄχρ(ι) γήρωσ, ὅση οὐκ ἂν εὐρεθείη οὐδὲ κατὰ (τὸν) πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς ἀποτασσομένοις ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς μοναστηρίοις.

⁹⁸ Codex 573, pp. 80^r–100^v: Συνεισφορά τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σερήνου πρώτη. 101^r–118^v: Συνεισφορά τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σερήνου περὶ τῆς παναρέτου.

⁹⁹ *AP* (*collectio alphabetica*), p. 417: ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰώβ, ὁ συμφωνητής αὐτοῦ καὶ μέγας ἀσκητής.

¹⁰⁰ John of Damascus, *Epistula de Hymno Trisagio*, 1f.

Council of Constantinople, in 536, where Cassian was present, too. Jordan signs as ‘presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery of St. Mary, near St. Luke’.¹⁰¹ It turns out, therefore, that abba Serenus, abba Job, and presbyter-archimandrite Jordan were all contemporaries and lived during the first half of the sixth century, which means that they all were coeval with Cassian. This explains his references to abba Serenus.

Unknown to Photius though he was, Serenus was a ‘saint’ known to the Coptic and Monophysite community of both Egypt and Syria in the sixth century. There are some papyri which record invocations by Christians overwhelmed by superstition, anxiety, and fear. The collection has clear indications placing these people in the region of Monophysite Egypt.¹⁰² In one of them, a certain worshipper prays for a girl (called Ioannia) to be released from fever: prayers are addressed to Theotokos Mary, to ‘the glorious archangels’, to saint John the Evangelist who is styled θεολόγος, and then to ‘St. Serenus, St. Philoxenus, St. Victor, and St. Justus’.¹⁰³ St. Philoxenus of Mabbug, who died in 523, was the companion of Severus of Antioch in the Monophysite conflict, and his name also shows in invocations which appear under the Monophysite acronym ΧΜΓ.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, ‘St. Serenus’ is appealed to immediately after the name of Jesus Christ. It is in the name of Christ and St. Serenus that the worshipper ‘Siluanus, the son of Sarapion’ makes his invocation, which is concluded with Siluanus entreating ‘St. Serenus’ to mediate for his prayer to be responded.¹⁰⁵ These invocations are evidently no earlier than the mid-sixth century and the association of the names of Philoxenus and Serenus could provide some ground, though not actually proof, to surmise that they were contemporaries.

Who was abba Sergius that is also mentioned therein? According to Cyril of Scythopolis, he was the head of the Cave (Σπήλαιον) of St. Sabas.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ ACO, op. cit. Tome 3, p. 71.

¹⁰² Cf. the repeated acronym ΧΜΓ, which I discuss elsewhere. *Magica, Papyri Magicae (fragmenta Christiana)*, 3; 8a, or the name for the month March, which is Φαμενώθ (op. cit. 1). In op. cit. 4, the person who makes the invocation makes the particular reference that ‘according to the gospel of Matthew’, the various instances of healing by Jesus had been renown ‘all over Syria’. In op. cit. 5c, the saint who is invoked is St. Mercurius, who is a Coptic saint.

¹⁰³ Op. cit. 5b.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit. 8a: † ΧΜΓ † ΧΜΓ † ΧΜΓ †; 8b: ‘The God of Saint Philoxenus, who is our patron [saint]’ (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ προστάτου ἡμῶν ἁγίου Φιλοξένου). Further, op. cit. 24, the prayer is addressed only to ‘God pantocrator’ and to ‘you, saint Philoxenus, who are my guardian’ (Δέσποτά μου, Θεέ παντοκράτορ, καὶ ἅγιε Φιλόξενε, προστάτα μου).

¹⁰⁵ Op. cit. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Joannis Hesychnastae*, p. 218.

Besides, a testimony by the same chronicler reveals that John the Eunuch, at that time a monk of the convent of Martyrius, was made by Theodore Askidas abbot of the New Church, upon the return of the monks under Nonnus and Leontius to the New Laura.¹⁰⁷

John Moschus recounts that abba Appolos was an older contemporary of abba John the Eunuch, who had visited Appolos' coenobium at Thebais in Egypt.¹⁰⁸ This means that abba Appolos was a mid-sixth century figure, too. John Moschus has some vivid stories to relate about the brutality of the tribe called Μάζικες, who had killed many monks and taken others to captivity.¹⁰⁹ It is important to note that Moschus relates stories out of discussions with monks during the late sixth century. These monks recount their experience from youth, which dates these stories back to the early sixth century. By placing a certain conversation, in which stories about the killings by the Mazikes in 'the beginnings of Tiberius' reign'¹¹⁰ are recounted, Moschus actually dates his story to c. 575, since Tiberius II Constantine was emperor during 578–582.

Moschus also relates other stories involving monks who spoke to him about their personal sojourn at the Scetis during the early sixth century.¹¹¹ One of them was abba Irenaeus.¹¹² His account is important, since he was present at the Scetis when 'barbarians' (as both Irenaeus himself and Moschus at other points¹¹³ style the Mazikes) assaulted the place. Irenaeus says that he left Scetis immediately after the assault by 'the barbarians', which was naturally an extremely shocking experience for all the monastic community in Egypt and beyond.¹¹⁴ This means that the assault against the Scetis took place in the early sixth century. Since this incident is the one for which the Mazikes are known as a fierce and brutal tribe, it is plausible that Cassian's description of them as 'the most wild among the wild

¹⁰⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 193.

¹⁰⁸ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 184, p. 3057. He also recounts that he had visited John the Eunuch in his monastery in Alexandria. op. cit. 184, p. 3057.

¹⁰⁹ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 112, p. 2976.

¹¹⁰ Op. cit. 112, p. 2976: ἐν ἀρχαῖς Τιβερίου καὶ πιστοτάτου Καίσαρος ἀνήλθομεν εἰς τὴν Ὀρασιν, ἐν ᾗ γενόμενοι ἐθεασάμεθα τὸν μέγαν κατὰ Θεὸν μοναχόν.

¹¹¹ Cf. op. cit. p. 2977: abba John of Petra relates his years of youth at the Scetis: "Ὅτε ἤμην ἐν τῇ Σικήτει ἐν τῇ νεότητί μου. Which means that John of Petra was there during the early sixth century.

¹¹² Op. cit. 55, p. 2909.

¹¹³ Op. cit. 112, pp. 2976–2977 f.

¹¹⁴ Irenaeus says this (op. cit. 55, p. 2909): "Ὅτε ἦλθον βάρβαροι εἰς τὴν σικήτιν ἀνεχώρησα καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γάζης καὶ ἔλαβόν μοι κελλίον εἰς λαύραν.

tribes',¹¹⁵ is drawn from this experience of the monks, that is, from a sixth-century experience.

The narrative of *AP*, although intending to communicate ascetic messages rather than dates, can in fact afford some historical information once combined with reports by other chroniclers such as Cyril of Scythopolis. For instance, the reference to John the Eunuch by Cyril makes it easy to ascertain who this 'abba John' was, of whom we read that 'he was an abbot of a monastery of monks'.¹¹⁶ Likewise, when 'abba Moses' recounts instances of discussions with abba Serapion,¹¹⁷ this can place abba Isidore in the last quarter of the fifth century.¹¹⁸ He was one of the 'ancient fathers', about whom I will discuss in a moment. In like manner, sayings by John the Eunuch followed by narration by Cassian about conversations with abba Moses fit neatly with the same context, adding abba Apollon to this.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, there is nothing to allow that this Moses is the same person as the one called 'Moses the Ethiopian', whose life Palladius includes in his history.¹²⁰ Mere coincidence of name (indeed a glorious one) certainly does not entail identification of persons. Besides, Palladius also refers to another Moses, 'the Libyan'.¹²¹

I am barely concerned with the Latin texts ascribed to Cassian, since I do share Owen Chadwick's grave reservations of them having been heavily interpolated. Clearance of these texts is far beyond my scope, although I have taken them extensively into account in the edition of Cassian's texts. I only note that there are many names of monks allegedly mentioned by Cassian (ostensibly by 'John Cassian') in the Latin text, beyond the ones mentioned in the Greek one, with whom I have been dealing (Moses and Serenus at Scetis, Serapion at the Nile Delta, Paphnutius in Palestine, purportedly during the time of Cassian). These were supposedly monks at

¹¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, Cod. p. 58^r: οἱ Μάξιμους ἐθεάσαντο, ὅπερ ἔθνος πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν ἀπηγριωμένων ἐθνῶν ἀγριώτερον καὶ ὠμότερον καθέστηκεν.

¹¹⁶ *AP (collectio systematica)* (cap. 1–9), 4.26: Διηγήσατο ἄββᾶ Κασσιανὸς περὶ τίνος ἄββᾶ Ἰωάννου γενομένου ἡγουμένου μοναχῶν ὅτι παρέβαλε τῷ ἄββᾶ Ἀρσενίῳ. Cf. *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 232 f: Περί τοῦ ἄββᾶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐνούχου. α'. Ὁ ἄββᾶς Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐνούχος, νεώτερος ὢν ἡρώτησε γέροντα, λέγων. John was a eunuch since birth. op. cit. p. 189: τῷ ἄββᾶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἀπὸ γεννήσεως εὐνούχῳ. The same in *AP (collectio systematica)* (cap. 10–16), 10.33: τὸν ἄββᾶ Ἰωάννην τὸν εὐνούχον ἀπὸ γεννήσεως.

¹¹⁷ *AP (collectio systematica)* (cap. 1–9), 4.27: Εἶπε πάλιν ὅτι διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ἄββᾶ Μωϋσῆς περὶ τοῦ ἄββᾶ Σεραπίωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι.

¹¹⁸ Cf. op. cit. 4.3.

¹¹⁹ Op. cit. 5.4.

¹²⁰ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, Vita 19.

¹²¹ Op. cit. Vita 39.4.

the Nile Delta¹²² (Chaeremon, Nesteros, Joseph, Piamun, John, Theonas, Abraham), or at Scetis (Paphnutius, Daniel, Isaac).¹²³ For most of them Cassian, or 'John Cassian', seems to be the sole source of reference, so these names may well be only names.

All this correlation shows that the narrative by Cassian squares perfectly with his actual epoch and identity, namely that of a sixth century monk. It is not quite the case that 'Cassian's hermits are obscure men and almost nothing is known of them'.¹²⁴ They are by and large sixth-century figures, while some of them are ancient and long dead before either of the two Cassians was born, since there is evidence that Cassian the Sabaite adapted old stories found in the *Apophthegmata*. This is probably why a manuscript calls the elders, whose wisdom Cassian reported *antiquissimorum patrum*.¹²⁵ But this was the sixth-century Cassian of Scythopolis, not the fifth-century Scythian.

By all this I do not mean to argue that all these sixth-century names correspond to monks who lived in the Egyptian milieu. Nor do I suggest that Cassian actually parleyed with any one of them. This dating is only a surmise, in order to suggest that Cassian's figures could well be sixth century ones voicing the ethos of the fourth and fifth centuries, or at least that they represent the voice of real fifth-century monastic figures which was somehow reported to Cassian. The truth is that biographical documentation for the monks that Cassian allegedly visited is simply uncertain, or indeed non-existent. Moreover, it has been rightly argued that 'the evidence from Cassian's writings is of scarcely any use for fixing the locations of the monastic settlements in Lower Egypt. The few indications he makes correspond ill with those given by other contemporary writings, and they cannot be confirmed by present topography'.¹²⁶

My contention is that the dialogues of Cassian were composed in the style of the Platonic ones. Quite evidently, Cassian is utterly unconcerned with providing his readers with any historical information, even about the pious men who play an important part in his dialogues. Besides, in the Greek Codex 573, Cassian never acts as an interlocutor with either Moses

¹²² Pinufius was as a monk at that region. His name mentioned by Cassian, *Const*, p. 12^v.

¹²³ Abba Moses and abba Serenus are represented as monks that had lived at this region.

¹²⁴ O. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 20.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 17.

¹²⁶ J.C. Guy, "Jean Cassien, historien du monasticisme égyptien?" *Studia Patristica*, 8, Berlin, 1966, pp. 363–372.

or Serenus: it is always Germanus that asks questions. Cassian is the silent reporter who simply records a conference. And yet, even though he appears under the guise of a close-mouthed observer, he is actually the silent protagonist who composed the dialogues by putting pregnant questions and befitting replies into the mouths of his heroes. His remarks exalting the admirable ethos of his models are short. What is extensive is his instruction about human co-operation with the grace of God, the value of discernment illuminated by the Holy Spirit, the fight against never-ceasing temptation. In short, the 'spiritual science' that will transform Scripture (which simply records events)¹²⁷ into real everyday *praxis*, and indeed *life*. Like Plato, Cassian excludes himself from being an active member in the dialogues. The monks, therefore, are named simply after names of pious figures known to Cassian, either as contemporaries or as ancient ones who were long dead. The *Conferences* differ from the accounts of other visitors to Egypt, such as Palladius, or the author of the *Historia Monachorum*, or Sulpicius Severus. Cassian aimed at preaching the ethical ideals of Egyptian monks rather than reproducing real conferences with them. These conferences then are a literary convention aiming at communicating ancient ideals of the anchorites rather than reproducing real conversations, all the more so since there is no interest in describing the historical context of such assumed encounters. Was Germanus a real person and a friend of Cassian the Scythopolitan's? There is no reason to doubt this, no more than there is ground to confirm it. But Germanus' *words* in the dialogues are as real as those uttered by Simmias, Keves, Symmachus, and all the other figures that Plato staged and supposedly simply recorded in his dialogues. No surprise, therefore, that Cassian did not care to supply us with biographical details of his heroes, in like manner that Plato cared little to spell out the whereabouts of the interlocutors in his dialogues, of which Plato represents himself as being a mere reporter.

What we have, therefore, is tracts written in the form of a specific literary genre, namely, in the form of questions and responses, which was fashionable during the sixth century.¹²⁸ This is the same style as the one Photius saw in the text of Pseudo-Caesarius. For indeed clearly Photius did not believe for a moment that Caesarius' text was a reproduction of any actual

¹²⁷ Cf. *PHE*, p. 403.

¹²⁸ Such questions and responses is the text ascribed to both Pseudo-Justin and Pseudo-Theodoret, but I believe that this is actually Cassian's. Likewise, questions and responses by Barsanuphius and John, as well as a good number of spuria attributed to old Christian authorities.

conference. All he saw was an author opting for representing his views in this specific literary fashion (εἰς ἐρωτήσεις δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις μεθ' ὑποβολῆς προσώπων τὸ τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα πεποιήται).¹²⁹ The setting is therefore fictitious; but the content purports to expound some of the highest peaks of truth. This is about the monastic ideal at Cassian's time, not recounting the actual historical setting of anchorites in Egypt. Little wonder then that Cassian's account purporting to render the spirit of Egyptian monasticism has been disputed with regard to the historical credence it should be given. I should have agreed with L. Regnault sustaining that intellectuals like Evagrius, Cassian, and Palladius, though interesting they may be, they do not actually render the real tradition of this milieu.¹³⁰

John Climacus (525–606) refers to Cassian's treatise *On Discretion* in a telling manner. Whereas Cassian represents this text as originating in the mind and mouth of one of his heroes, namely, abba Moses, John Climacus has it differently: "this point has been excellently and loftily treated philosophically by the great Cassian in his discourse *On Discretion*" (ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα). John Climacus refers to a specific remark made by Cassian,¹³¹ following him faithfully on this point.¹³² This Greek reference by John Climacus was reproduced later by the Cypriot ascetic Neophytus Inclusus.¹³³ Although John Climacus himself acknowledged his liabilities to Cassian and cited him by name, Neophytus ascribes this reference to John Climacus alone.¹³⁴ This is indicative of how Cassian was obscured during the centuries that followed his death. On the other hand, Migne's *Patrologia Latina* took this as a reference to 'John Cassian' by John Climacus, yet John knew who the real Cassian actually was:¹³⁵ he knew that it was *Cassian* himself who had

¹²⁹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 210, p. 168b. See text in Appendix III.

¹³⁰ Evagrius, Cassian, and Palladius were authors 'qui certes sont intéressants, mais qui ne représentent pas la tradition pure du territoire égyptien'. L. Regnault, *Les sentences des Pères du désert*, v. III: *Troisième recueil & tables*, par Dom Lucien Regnault, moine de Solesmes, Abbaye de Solesmes, 1976, p. 8.

¹³¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 22: ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή· ἐκ ταύτης τίκτεται ἡ ἀποταγὴ καὶ ἡ καταφρόνησις πάντων τῶν τῶν κόσμου πραγμάτων· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἡ ταπεινώσις.

¹³² John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4, col. 680: ὑπακοὴ ἐστὶ μνήμαν θελήσεως καὶ ἔγερσις ταπεινώσεως. Col. 709: ἐξ ὑπακοῆς ταπεινώσις. Col. 717: ἐξ ὑπακοῆς ταπεινώσις, ὡς καὶ ἤδη φθάσαντες εἵπομεν· ἐκ ταπεινώσεως διάκρισις ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

¹³³ Neophytus Inclusus (died in 1219), *Decem Homiliae*, 4.6.

¹³⁴ Neophytus Inclusus, loc. cit. τοῦ τρισσοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλου ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τοῦ μακαρίου λέγω τῆς Κλίμακος Ἰωάννου.

¹³⁵ Cf. Introduction to 'John Cassian's' writings, taking this as a testimony to 'John Cassian' by John Climacus, even though the latter knows of no *John* Cassian at all. PL.49.47C: *Joannes*

written this tract *On Discretion*, which is represented as a sermon (λόγῳ) rather than a treatise.¹³⁶ So does the author of the *Doctrina Patrum*, who refers to ‘three sermons by Cassian’ (Κασσιανου λόγοι γ’).¹³⁷ So did Photius, who stated that the ‘small book’ by Cassian comprised ‘two sermons’ (λόγοι β’), not three, as we have seen, since the last part styled ‘the second contribution by Serenus’ was not included therein. Likewise, Patriarch John IV (or, V) of Antioch, the so-called Oxites, refers to ‘divinely-inspired books’ (βιβλους θεοπνεύστους) written by ‘monks and saints’, such as Palladius, John Moschus and his pupil Sophronius, Antiochus of Palestine, John Climacus, and others. It is characteristic that in his list mention is made of the book (not *books*) written by ‘the blessed Cassian’ (ἡ τοῦ ὁσίου Κασσιανου βιβλος]). This presumably bespeaks that the specific monastic writings by Cassian comprised one codex, such as the present Codex 573, or the incomplete version read by Photius, or the one mentioned in the *Doctrina Patrum*, which happens to be exactly as extensive as the text of the Meteora-codex, namely 3300 verses (Κασσιανου λόγοι γ’, στιχοι ,γτ’).¹³⁸ Later still, one more admirer of Cassian, namely, Nikon of Montenegro, made mention of ‘Saint Cassian’s writings’ (τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανου τοῖς συγγράμμασι).¹³⁹

Therefore, as far as the spiritual testimony and moral instruction of the *Conferences* are concerned, they are not devised legends;¹⁴⁰ yet what is authentic about them is the moral and ascetic ideal practised in Egypt, not the author ever having actually met the preaching anchorites. When we come to famous coenobites assumed to be contemporary with the preaching monks, such as Evagrius, Cassian does not say that he ever met him. Why is that? Evagrius did not need any ‘conference’: his books were already famous all over the region, which made his name unsuitable as a staged interlocutor. Likewise, when we come to contemporary historical events, such as those involving Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria and the famous Origenist monk Ammonius during the years 399/401, Cassian says nothing of the relevant stories, which are otherwise reported (though obscurely) by Sozomenus, Socrates, Palladius, and the letters of Jerome. Cassian, although supposed to be in Egypt, seems entirely detached by the Origenist upheaval

Climacus gradu 4 suae Scalae: Ex obedientia humilitas nascitur; ex humilitate discretio, ut a magno quoque Cassiano in eo sermone quem de discretionem conscripsit, venustissime, atque altissime disputatum est.

¹³⁶ John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4.717. See Greek text, Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 22^r.

¹³⁷ *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 242.

¹³⁸ *Loc. cit.*

¹³⁹ Nikon of Montenegro, *Canonarium vel Typicon*, 1, p. 54.

¹⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 22.

in Nitria and Alexandria, or the anathematising council held by Theophilus against Origen. Likewise, when he refers to the condemnation of the anthropomorphism the impression he gives is that the surrounding events are completely not of his concern.

It seems that this is due to his sixth-century relation with 'hegoumen Leontius', rather than to any alleged presence of his in Alexandria in c. 400. This is not to say that Cassian of Scythopolis never visited Egypt. On the contrary, it is quite plain that he did so many times, as indeed he must have also visited the Scetis and met with monks there. Comings and goings between Egypt and the Holy Land was a common practice, especially during such feast periods as Easter. However, for all the lessons Cassian probably had received from such characters, his aim was not to reproduce or report any actual dialogues. Rather, it was to communicate messages by means of this literary (Platonic) style. Hence the highly sophisticated language of these Greek conferences, which involve a distinctive Aristotelian and Stoic locution, as well as a meaningful tenor which characteristically points to specific writings by specific authors, eminent among whom is Gregory of Nyssa, and then, Evagrius, Didymus, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret. Besides, the style of the text does not change when a different protagonist enters the stage. In Plato the protagonist was always the same, namely, Socrates. In Cassian's conferences the leading instructors are different from one conference to another. Still, whether this is abba Moses or abba Serenus, the style of expression is unvarying, quite simply because this is actually Cassian's own style.

Finally, one thing should be taken for granted. Cassian's monks are not *hermits*, meaning monks who had retreated in absolute seclusion and persistently avoided any contact even with monks. This kind of recluse Cassian rebukes in the strongest and most learned terms. In his view, perfection cannot be attained, nor indeed could this make sense in the absence of a neighbour, in other words, in the absence of challenge which should be overcome. As long as we lay the blame for our weakness on others, it is impossible for us to attain the virtue of forbearance. Therefore, the feat of our own correction and peace is accomplished as a result not of the longanimity granted to us by the others, but of our own forbearance to our neighbour. For once we seek the desert and seclusion, thus evading the struggle for forbearance, all of our unhealed passions, which we shall carry thither together with ourselves, will continue to lurk at that place. To those who have not got rid of passions, not only does seclusion and retreat maintain their defects, but it also conspires to conceal them. What is more, total withdrawal does not allow monks to realize which passion they are defeated by. As long as

there is no one around, who could possibly arouse or put passions to the test? Aloofness deludes them by imposing the fancy that they are righteous and have accomplished forbearance and humility. However, once someone moving or disciplining them appears, then at once the passions which were previously lying hidden, just like unbridled horses diligently fed up during too long a time of quietness and idleness, dash forth more vehemently and fiercely, to the destruction of their rider. For the passions inherent in us get fiercer once they are not tried out through the practice of living among men. Even that mere shadow of patience and forbearance which, when mixing with our brethren, a monk thinks he possesses, he loses altogether through the carelessness out of want of training and seclusion. This is like all kinds of poisonous beasts: while they remain in solitude, they are quiet, but they display the ferocity of their nature once they notice someone drawing near. Likewise, passionate men who remain quiet not by reason of their virtue, but because of this being imposed upon them by solitude itself, hurl the poison of their soul once they lay hold of anyone who comes closer and excites them.¹⁴¹

Cassian's antipathy is manifest when he makes reference to a certain recluse who relied so much on his own mentation, that he pursued fasting and isolation from all men, including monks. So much so, that he used to refrain from going to church even on the feast day of Easter, so as not to mingle with the fathers and brothers, which could compel him to partake of some pulse, or of any other kind food that was normally offered on the table, since he thought that this would cause him to fall from his personal virtuous life.¹⁴² Quite simply, 'the neighbour' is the challenge to 'the roots of sin' within us. The teaching of the Gospel enjoins us to destroy the roots of sins rather than their fruits, Cassian says. For once these roots are cut off from one's heart, no ill will can develop to action.

The author's injunction to monks is not simply to flee the blandishments of the world in order to attain the everlasting truths beyond the senses, which are reserved for the righteous. It is a token of his practical spirit that he offers the means to this direction, which after all is a pursuit as old as Christian literature. Although Christian theologians following the Stoics made much of the need to get rid of all passions, Cassian focused on the stage preceding passion, which is the *thought*, or consideration, of it. This was not his own invention, as already canvassed. The Stoic ideal of ἀπάθεια, it is well known, was never actually realised, which caused a great

¹⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 42^r–43^r.

¹⁴² Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, pp. 67^r–v.

deal of frustration. This monastic approach was an attempt to accomplish this sovereignty over passion, which was vital for monks living in real life.

Monasticism has been under attack from various points of view over the centuries. But it is hard to find a more argued denunciation of absolute seclusion than the one Cassian made. His ardent teaching is that the intention and will of the Lord is that we should by all means cut off any spark of sin, before it comes about as an actual external offence.¹⁴³ Cassian bans absolute seclusion not simply on psychological grounds, but on ontological ones, after the Biblical teaching that 'it is no good for man to live on his own'. This concept of 'good' had ontological consequences indeed. After all, there must always be 'the other', whose 'feet' one will be prepared to 'wash'. Therefore, not only is not the 'other' man's hell, as J.P. Sartre might have it, but the 'other' himself, as well as 'living together with the other', is the indispensable way for man to overcome the consequences of the Fall and to effect renewal of life and salvation. This is the lesson Cassian's text teaches.

¹⁴³ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 43^v-44^r.

CHAPTER THREE

A GREEK WRITER

Manuscript Editions

If one thing is for sure in André Galland's introductory note in the Migne edition, this is that Galland is not positive in sustaining that this Greek text is a translation from Latin. He knows that this is not an Athanasian text, but one written by Cassian. His expressions, however, addressed to a certain 'Lector' evince ambivalence about the original language in which the *Institutions* were written. There are three questions considered in that note. 1. Whether the *Institutions* were initially written in Greek. 2. Whether this text is an abbreviated version of an extensive original one. 3. The question of Athanasius represented as their author.¹

Galland's spontaneous tendency is to consider the text as a Greek translation produced by some 'Graeculus' who came across an assumed original Latin text. Nevertheless, the possibility of this text having been an ancient original Greek manuscript is not ruled out ('quanquam fortasse potuerit ex antiquo Cassianis Graeco textu, seu Graeca versione'). The editor's resolution is that the two epistles to Castor are an abbreviated form of the 'twelve Institutions' ('ex duodecimillis institutorum libris'). The following, however, is a rather eccentric claim: since John Climacus refers to Cassian (not *John* Cassian) and quotes from him, the editor presumes that the Greek text is simply a later translation, which was quoted by John Climacus quoting from Cassian ('quarum [sc. Institutorum] haud semel loca afferuntur Graeca a quibusdam scriptoribus, v.g. a Climaco'). The possibility (which I sustain) of John Climacus having read an original Greek text of Cassian is not considered, despite the foregoing surmise by the editor regarding 'antiquo Cassiani Graeco textu'.

Galland is generally prone to regard the text as originally written in Latin. He cannot however really cope with the abundance of Greek manuscripts which are indeed 'ancient' ones ('Nam extant in antiquis Graecis codicibus

¹ PG.28.849: "comparei ... en tibi Instituta Cassiani Graece versa, in compendium redacta, Athanasique nomine conscripta".

multa ex Cassiani Institutionibus'). Besides, there is nothing to suggest that John Climacus² knew of Cassian's *On Discretion* from an alleged Greek translation of a Latin text, and not from a Greek original.

I wish to dwell for a moment on the designation *Graeculus* used by Galland, which is indicative of how a westerner read the Greek used by Cassian. The term *Graeculus* is a diminutive of the name *Graecus* applied to the *Hellenes* by the Romans. This Latin diminutive occurs at some fifty points in Latin authors, starting with the times of Cicero up until the fourth century AD. Classical Greek and Byzantine literature knows of no such epithet. There is only one usage by Cassius Dio upbraiding Cicero and also using against him the epithet *Cicerculus*, since Cicero seems to have been the father of the pejorative *Graeculus*³ and uses the appellation at no less than sixteen points in his work. One should notice that the term *Graeculus* along with *Poenulus* (a derogatory name for the native of Carthage) are diminutives that Latin language used in order to point to a *national* provenance. It is probably not a coincidence that both deprecatory names indicate the two most formidable foes of Rome, who both were subdued after too much blood was shed. It seems though that the epithet was one that used to feed the Roman sense of superiority, which is why later on they accorded this to other subjects that had caused difficulties to them, such as the case of the Romans loftily referring to the *Brittunculli* ('those nasty wretched little Britons').

Although beyond my scope, I should point out that mere reading of Cicero using this cognomen suffices to show its derisive sentiment. According to Cicero, the *Graeculi* are 'fable-tellers' of stories of their own invention.⁴ They are silly.⁵ Their character is a combination of idleness, talkativeness, and they are disposed to show-off of learnedness.⁶ They are unfit to be appointed judges in courts.⁷ Their tendency is to flatter the powerful of the

² Cf. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, PG.88.717.

³ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 46.18.1: ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὃ Κικέρων ἢ Κικέρκουλε ἢ Κικεράκιε ἢ Κικέριθε ἢ Γραικούλε, ἢ ὅ τι ποτέ καὶ χαίρεις ὀνομαζόμενος. Plutarch tells us that Cicero himself was nicknamed by the 'most rude' (βαναυσστάτοις) of Romans as Γραικὸς καὶ σχολαστικὸς (*Cicero*, 5, evidently because of Cicero's command of Greek. A short while later, the same epithet was used against Emperor Hadrian). The label *Graeculus*, therefore, turned out a bumerang against its own contriver.

⁴ Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 3.4.

⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.221.

⁶ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.162.

⁷ Cicero, in his letter to concul Lucius Marcius Philippus: 5, *Philippus*, 12.

day⁸ and the quality of their conventions is unacceptable.⁹ Two men who became Roman citizens thanks to Cicero's help were only 'worthless *Graeculi*'.¹⁰ Thus, in Rome after Cicero, *Graeculus*¹¹ became an established term loaded negatively and connoting the Roman inferiority/superiority complex towards Hellenism and the Greeks.

Cicero of course had in mind his contemporary 'nasty wretched little Greeks'. His sentiment was analogous to a modern western attitude, which on the one hand has utter admiration for Classical Greece and, on the other, disregard for modern Greeks coupled with befuddled resentment at their intermittent accomplishments.

According to editor Galland, the two epistles to Castor 'seem to be the work of a *Graeculus*, who was experienced in Latin, and decided to translate them into Greek once he came upon them'. He adds though that this *Graeculus* did so 'although he could perhaps have been able to compose this small piece of work from Cassian's old Greek text, or from Greek translations of this text'.¹² In conclusion, the editor is not happy with the Greek language of the text, which is why he ascribes this to a *Graeculus*, in other words, to a person representing in his writing the degeneration of the Greek *paideia*.

Against this, once one is able to see the elegance and sophistication of the Greek language of these texts, the entire 'advice' (*admonitio*) of the editor to his addressee should be reconsidered in the light of his last phrase: 'Has porro nobis Roma transmisere fratres nostri', which means that the editor employs information that was transmitted to him from Rome.

The present section is intended to demonstrate that this information is unreliable, at best, or fabricated, at worst. Some quarters have been at pains to show that there has been a person called 'John Cassian', who represents a kind of link between the Eastern and Western branches of Christian

⁸ Cicero, *Pro Milone*, 55.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 126.

¹⁰ Cicero, *Philippus*, 33.

¹¹ A century after Cicero, writers used analogous expressions, in which *Graeculus* was loaded with a negative sentiment. Cf. Suetonius in his lives of the caesars, *Claudius*, 15.4. Juvenalis, *Satires*, III, verses 58f. Pliny the Younger, *Panygericus*, 13.5. Nevertheless, at the same time usage of *Graeculus* with no negative connotation appeared, which referred to things rather than persons. Petronius, *Satyricon*, 38.4. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, 14.25; 15.20.

¹² PG.28.848.25–27: Quod opus esse videtur Graeculi cujusdem Latine periti, qui cum in Instituta Cassiani incidisset, opera pretium duxit Gaece illa interpretari, quanquam fortasse potuerit ex antiquo Cassiani Graeco textu, seu Graeca versione, hoc ipsum opusculum contexere.

monasticism, at a time when East and West were preparing to part ways. John Cassian has been made the bridge which confers the authority of Egyptian monasticism to Western monasticism. All this has probably to do with religious allegiances and pursuits, to which I myself as a scholar remain utterly indifferent. Since, however, the author of Cassian's Greek was so styled, let us see for a while whether such an authorship could have possibly originated in a *Graeculus*.

Writings by a Graeculus?

Cassian knew Egypt first-hand,¹³ since it was natural for a native of Scythopolis to visit the country periodically. There are unique details provided about the therapeutic plant called *μυξάριον* and the dried fig (*ισχάδιον*), which were offered to him by abba Serenus.¹⁴ Since *μυξάριον* was almost entirely unknown outside Egypt, this is hardly attested by authors. It would then be absurd to take these designations as a translated terminology. The question, therefore, is not whether Cassian had ever visited the monks in Egypt. He had indeed done so. More important are his references to *his* country, which is neither Scythia, nor Marseilles: it is Syria,¹⁵ which (along with Egypt) was the most natural place for any erudite Christian coming from Scythopolis to visit, yet not at all natural for the specific 'John Cassian', a native of present-day Romania, to do so. In the case of Cassian, Syria was not a place to visit: Scythopolis *was* Syria, as already canvassed.

Consequently, I wish to make some remarks concerning the Latin text. I argue that this text cannot possibly be an original one. Rather, this is an augmented interpolated product originating in a far shorter Greek original by Cassian the Sabaite. My design is to show that the Greek writings of Cassian were the fruit of an erudite Greek of Palestine, a person of Antiochene origin and theological education, not of any *Graeculus*, as Migne's editor disingenuously or unlearnedly asserted.

Any reader of the Latin text reasonably wonders why Cassian should quote Greek scriptural portions, since he was supposed to be a Scythian Latin-speaking person allegedly addressing far Western men of the cloth.

¹³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r: καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὧν αὐτόπτης γέγονα.

¹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 101^r.

¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74^r: ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἔγνωμεν συμβῆν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν Συρίας.

Furthermore, one might wonder why he should use sporadic Greek terms at points where no need for juxtaposing a Greek parallel appears whatsoever. It would have been reasonable to gloss precarious technical terms, such as *ὑπόστασις* or *οὐσία* by writing the Greek term alongside the Latin text. But this text quotes such barely important Greek terms as *ἀναχώρησις*,¹⁶ or, it does so in order to offer differentiating gloss on such irrelevant notions as 'love' (*ἀγάπη*) and 'disposition' (*διάθεσις*).¹⁷ Furthermore, one wonders why the term for 'ambidextrous' should be quoted in Greek;¹⁸ or, why a Latin reader should be advised on what the Greeks meant by *ἀναβολαί*.¹⁹ Or, why a Latin reader should be supplied with the Greek term for one who is as self-controlled as to practice continence (which is *ἐγκρατής*), as well as in what respect this is different from one who is 'pure' (*ἄγνός*).²⁰

Furthermore, why should the term 'mensura' ('the expected or required standard') be followed by a supposed Greek rendering in parenthesis,²¹ unless this Latin text is a translation from Greek? After all, to quote specific Greek terms should be a practice by those who translated from Greek in Latin, not vice versa. Rufinus as a translator is a good example of this point,²² as indeed any modern translator wishing to support his rendering by quoting the original is.

More strange still, the Latin quotes from the Greek of the Septuaginta in order to render portions at points where there is no obvious reason

¹⁶ *Institutiones*, XXIV.8, PL.49.1296B: Non enim quia bona est ἀναχώρησις, universis eam congruam comprobamus.

¹⁷ *Institutiones*, XVI.14, PL.49.1028A: Illam igitur charitatem quae dicitur ἀγάπη possibile est omnibus exhibere ... Διάθεσις autem, id est, affection. What is *agape*, in *Institutiones*, XXIV.12.

¹⁸ *Institutiones*, VI.10, PL.49.0657A: Isti sunt ergo qui figuratiter in Scripturis sanctis ἀμφοτεροδέξιοι, id est, ambidextri nuncupantur, ut ille Aoth in libro Iudicum fuisse describitur.

¹⁹ *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, VI, PL.49.0071A: Gestant etiam resticulae duplices, laneo plexas subtegmine, quas Graeci ἀναβολάς, nos vero succinctoria, seu redimicula, *vel* proprie rebrachiatoria possumus appellare.

²⁰ *De Octo Principalium Vitorum*, VIII.4, PL.49.0270A–271A: Aliud enim est, continentem esse, id est, ἐγκρατή; aliud castum, et, ut ita dicam, in affectum integritatis *vel* incorruptionis transire, quod dicitur ἄγνός: quae virtus illis solis tribuitur maxime, qui virgines, *vel* mente, *vel* carne perdurant, ut uterque Joannes in novo Testamento; in veteri quoque Elias, Jeremias, Daniel fuisse noscuntur.

²¹ *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, Praefatio, Ad Castorem Pontificem, PL.49.60A: quia si rationabilis possibilium mensura (γνῶμη), sic) servetur, eadem observantiae perfectio est etiam in impari facultate.

²² Cf. Origen, *Princ*, II.3.6 (Latin translation by Rufinus): "That which in Latin we speak of as *mundus*, in Greek is called *kosmos*; and *kosmos* signifies not only the world, but also an ornament". These are words of Rufinus, not of Origen.

or need for doing so,²³ and so it does by quoting in Greek from the New Testament.²⁴

In addition, when the text explains that God is not subject to the passion of ‘anger’, and it is argued that the ‘wrath of God’ is only an anthropomorphic analogy to human condition, it is to be wondered what the need for the Latin author to avail himself of the Greek adverb ἀνθρωποπαθῶς would have been, unless this text is actually a translation from Greek?²⁵

The same goes for the point where the author feels it necessary to render the ‘three kinds of anger’,²⁶ by means of a Greek terminology partially reproducing the Stoic view of Chrysippus²⁷ transmitted by doxographers, as distant from each other as Arius Didymus was from Stobaeus.²⁸ This classi-

²³ *Institutiones*, IV.15, PL.49.577C–578A: sed *Dominus illuminat caecos*, quod Graece dicitur, Κύριος σοφοί τυφλοῦς, id est, *Dominus illuminat caecos*. [Psalm 145:8; citation mine]. *Institutiones*, IX.12 (*De Oratione*), PL.49.783A–784A: Orationes sunt quibus aliquid offerimus seu vovemus Deo, quod Graece dicitur εὐχή, id est votum. Nam ubi dicitur in Graeco τὰς εὐχὰς μου τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀποδώσω, in Latino legitur: *Vota mea Domino reddam* (Psalm CXV), quod secundum proprietatem verbi ita exprimi potest: orationes meas Domino reddam. Illud quod legimus in Ecclesiaste, *Si voveris votum Deo, ne moram feceris reddere illud* (Eccles. V), in Graeco simpliciter scribitur ἐὰν εὐξῆ εὐχὴν τῷ Κυρίῳ, id est, *Si oraveris orationem Domino*. By the same token, Cf. PL.49.590A: Sed magis peto ne me usquequaque deseras, quod Graece dicitur μέχρι πρὸς ἀγαντεῖον, *usque ad nimietatem*. 626C: Irae genera sunt tria: unum, quod exardescit intrinsecus, quod Graece θυμὸς dicitur. ibid. 1215B: num scio apertissime illum etiam sine expositione cuiusquam omnibus reserari, qui *πρακτικὴν*, id est, actualem perfecte tenuerit disciplinam. PL.50.146A: Symbolum quippe, ut scis, ex collatione nomen accepit. Quod enim Graece σύμβολον dicitur, Latine collatio nominatur.

²⁴ *Institutiones*, XIV.16, PL.49.0983C–984A: Hi ergo, quos dixisti, non istam quam imundi habere non possunt, sed τῆς ψευδωνύμου, hoc est, falsi nominis scientiam possident, de qua beatus Apostolus: *O, inquit, Timothee, depositum custodi, devitans profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae* (ITim. VI), quod in Graeco dicitur: ἐκτρεπόμενος τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας καὶ ἀντιβάσεις (sic) τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. The word ἀντιβάσεις is used instead of the correct ἀντιθέσεις. Likewise, *Institutiones*, I.5, PL.49.0487A: de qua destinatione alibi docens nos idem beatus Apostolus, ipsum nomen, id est, scopon salienter expressit, ita dicens: *Quae posteriora sunt obliviscens, ad ea vero quae priora sunt extendens me, ad destinatum persequor bravium supernae vocationis Domini* (Philip. III). Quod evidenti in Graeco ponitur, κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκω, id est, secundum destinationem persequor.

²⁵ *De Octo Principalium Vitiolorum*, VIII.4, PL.49.0328B–0329A: Ita igitur et de ira Dei *vel furore*, cum legimus, non ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, id est, secundum humilitatem humanae perturbationis, sed digne Deo, qui ab omni perturbatione alienus est, sentire debemus.

²⁶ *Institutiones*, V.11, PL.49.0626C–627A: Irae genera sunt tria: unum, quod exardescit intrinsecus, quod Graece θυμὸς dicitur; aliud, quod in verbum et opus effectumque prorumpit, quod ὀργὴ nuncupatur, de quibus et Apostolus, *Nunc autem deponite*, inquit, *et vos omnem iram et indignationem*; tertiam, quod non ut illa ferventer ad horam digeritur, sed per dies et tempora reservatur, quod ἄλως (*al. μήνις*) dicitur.

²⁷ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia*, Frs. 394; 395; 396; 416.

²⁸ Arius Didymus, *Liber De Philosophorum Sectis* (*epitome ap. Stobaeum*), p. 75. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 2.7.10b & 10c.

fication appears in the early Christian work by Hermas,²⁹ and in a couple of other authors.³⁰ The relevant point in the text of Hermas was reproduced verbatim by the Sabaite monk Antiochus of Palestine.³¹ The same goes for a work spuriously ascribed to Athanasius, which might well be Cassian's.³² Finally, another Sabaite monk, namely, John of Damascus, entertained the same classification of 'anger',³³ which was also abundantly quoted by the most important ancient dictionaries.³⁴ Nevertheless, the translator must have misread his original Greek text, since the term ἄλλυς appears as an alternative to μῆνις, which is not correct, since it points to a 'deluded mind', not an 'angry' one.³⁵

One should wonder why an allegedly Latin author ('John Cassian') should express himself by means of Greek terms providing more or less attenuated Latin renderings of them in parentheses. Of the eight evil thoughts, four are expressed in Greek. Latin paraphrases at the respective points essay a more or less accurate gloss on them.³⁶ It is noteworthy that the translator, who employs the Greek name transliterated in Latin for the four out of eight evil thoughts, reserves for 'accidie' a special treatment: he feels it necessary to write the term in Greek,³⁷ which makes this vice the sole one out of the eight to be sanctioned with such an honour.

²⁹ Hermas, *Pastor*, 34.4.

³⁰ Nemesius of Emesa, *De Natura Hominis*, 19. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 64.1.3.

³¹ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 110, lines 55–57.

³² Pseudo-Athanasius (Cassian?), *Doctrina ad Antiochum Duceum*, 2.5.

³³ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 30.

³⁴ Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 2341. *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry theta, pp. 266; 341; 391. *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 458. *Etymologicum Parvum*, Letter theta, entry 1.

³⁵ *Etymologicum Magnum*, pp. 70 & 71: ἄλλυς ἢ πλάνη τῆς διανοίας. Likewise, *Etymologicum Genuinum*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 549. Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter alpha, entry 3301: ἄλλυς ἀπορία. πλάνος. βλάβη.

³⁶ Cf. *Institutiones*, V: De Spiritu Gastrimargiae (γαστριμαργία): primum gastrimargiae, quae interpretatur gulae concupiscentia. VII: De Spiritu Philargyriae (φιλαργυρία): Tertius nobis conflictus est adversus philargyriam, quam nos amorem pecuniarum possumus appellare. (Prologue: philargyriae, quod intelligitur avaritia). X: De Spiritu Acediae: Sextum nobis certamen est, quod Graeci ἀκηδῖαν (sic) vocant, quam nos taedium sive anxietate cordis possumus nuncupare (Prologue: sextum accediae, quod est anxietas, sive taedium cordis). XI: De Spiritu Cenodixiae: Septimum nobis certamen est contra spiritum cenodixiae (quam nos vanam sive inanem gloriam possumus appellare). (Prologue: septimum cenodixiae, quod sonat vana seu inanis gloria). But, VI.1: De Spiritu Fornicationis. VIII: De Spiritu Irae. IX: De Spiritu Tristitiae. XII: De Spiritu Superbiae.

³⁷ *De Octo Principalium Vitiarum*, X.1, PL.49.359C–363A: Sextum nobis certamen est, quod Graeci ἀκηδῖαν vocant, quam nos taedium sive anxietatem cordis possumus nuncupare.

In my comments to the Greek text, I point out the importance and signification of Cassian styling the mind (νοῦς) ‘ever moving’ (ἀεικίνητος).³⁸ This has some further consequences and here is the place for it to be canvassed for a while. The Latin translator feels it incumbent upon him to indulge in the Greek language once again. As a matter of fact, once we explore the Latin text which roughly corresponds (or, should correspond) to the *First Contribution by Abba Serenus*, we come upon a portion which does not exist in Greek. The Latin translator makes reference to the ‘mind’ (νοῦς) which is ‘ever moving’ (ἀεικίνητος) and feels it necessary to write this term in Greek, too. However, his misreading of the original is evident: Cassian’s ἀεικίνητος was rendered as ἀει κινήτος, καὶ πολὺ κινήτος. Of these, πολὺ κινήτος has no history or parallels in authors either earlier or later to Cassian. On the other hand, his term ἀεικίνητος has a history of its own, since this usage is a plain influence by Gregory of Nyssa.³⁹ The expression ἀει κινήτος is Cassian’s own expression at the specific point of Codex 573, which is interpolated with the useless and inaccurate gloss πολὺ κινήτος.⁴⁰

The Latin at this point is simply an attempt to reproduce Cassian’s terminology from the original Greek, which we come upon at other points of his work, too.⁴¹ This Latin portion is simply one more interpolation.⁴² For had the translator had the original Greek corresponding to the Latin one (the Greek has in fact never existed, since this Latin portion is interpolated) he could have never written this misrendering; he could have simply written the Greek text itself. Which he did, as far as it went, but he wished to elaborate further (which is how the enormously lengthy Latin text was produced), hence clumsy expressions such as the ‘mind’ being πολὺ κινήτος.⁴³ Likewise, his Greek rendering of a portion from the Wisdom of Solomon is also desperately paraphrased. Hence we have a portion reading thus:⁴⁴ “νοῦς

³⁸ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62^r: οὕτως ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος οὖσα. *SerenPrim*, 82^r: ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ... ὅτι μὲν ἀεικίνητος τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τοῦ ἐνθυμείσθαι. op. cit. p. 83^r: ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα τὸ δέξυτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον.

³⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.157-6.

⁴⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 82^r: ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς ... Ἄλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἀει κινήτος τῇ φύσει ἐστὶν καὶ οὐδέποτε παύεται τοῦ ἐνθυμείσθαι καὶ ἡμεῖς συντιθέμεθα. In regard of the ‘mind’ styled πολὺ κινήτος, see my discussion in endnote 9 (p. 293) to the Greek text, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cod. p. 82^r.

⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62^r: οὕτως ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος. *SerenPrim*, p. 83^r: Δύναται οὖν ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα τὸ δέξυτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον.

⁴² Cf. the Latin portion and the context of the Greek Codex 573, p. 82^r.

⁴³ *Institutiones*, VII.4, PL.49.672A.

⁴⁴ *Institutiones*, VII.4, PL.49.672A. The Latin translator displays a similar tendency at another point, too. Cf. *Institutiones*, VIII.9 (from *Liber Octavus. De Spiritu Irae*), PL.49.339B:

itaque, id est, mens, ἀεὶ κινήτος, καὶ πολὺ κινήτος, id est, semper mobilis, et multum mobilis definitur. Quod etiam in sapientia, quae dicitur Salomonis, scriptum est, Γήϊνον οἴκημα βαρύνει νοῦν πολὺ φροντίζοντα,⁴⁵ id est, *Terrenum habitaculum aggravat mentem multa cogitantem.*"

A very telling point is the one where Cassian argues for the necessity of allegory whenever scripture calls for it.⁴⁶ There are, he has it, points where a plain literal reading suffices, such as, *Hear, O Israel: The Lord your God is one Lord;*⁴⁷ or, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.*⁴⁸ Other points stand out like stumbling-blocks (which he calls 'towers'), and therefore they need a certain 'levelling' (ὀμαλισμός) of the phrase, such as the portion, *Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;*⁴⁹ or, *He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one,*⁵⁰ and *He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, he is not worthy of me.*⁵¹ Other passages are susceptible to either interpretation, namely, both historical and allegorical, such as the passage, *But whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,*⁵² or, *But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another,*⁵³ and, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me.*⁵⁴ In the edition volume, I have made an extensive footnote⁵⁵ in order to point out the significance of the term 'levelling' (ὀμαλισμός) used in this context. Although the idea comes from Origen and was taken up by some authors, the term which has actually been used has not always been ὀμαλισμός, but ἐξομαλισμός. The meaning is the same of course, but there is a telling detail to be pointed out. No author other than Cassian and Isidore of Pelusium did ever use this term in this context. This only means that Cassian actually echoed Isidore, which was natural to do given Isidore's authority among monastic communities. However, in doing so, Cassian comes close to the

Vel certe secundum tropicum sensum mens, id est, νοῦς sive ratio, quae pro eo quod omnes cordis cogitationes discretionesque perlustret.

⁴⁵ A paraphrase from the Wisdom of Solomon 9:15: φθαρτὸν γὰρ σῶμα βαρύνει ψυχὴν, καὶ βριθῆαι τὸ γεῶδες σαῆνος νοῦν πολυφρόντιδα.

⁴⁶ *De Panareto*, pp. 102^{r-v}.

⁴⁷ Deut. 6:4.

⁴⁸ Deut. 6:5. Cf. 11:1. Matt. 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27.

⁴⁹ Luke 12:35.

⁵⁰ Luke 22:36.

⁵¹ Matt. 10:38.

⁵² Cf. Matt. 5:39.

⁵³ Matt. 10:23.

⁵⁴ Matt. 19:21. Cf. Mark 10:21; Luke 18:22.

⁵⁵ See p. 102^r.

great Greek tradition of learned usage of language. The literal sense aside (which is rare, too, yet it occurs in the LXX), the noun ὀμαλισμός (levelling) is not simply rare: it has only one sense, which is treated by Dionysius Thrax in his *Art of Grammar*, the companion of both Greeks and Romans during a period of more than a thousand years. Dionysius uses the term to explain the changing of the ‘tone’ of voice according to the ‘grave accent’ (βαρεῖα) and its difference from either the acute accent (ὀξεῖα) or the circumflex (περισπωμένη).⁵⁶ His distinction became famous and was reproduced by a number of subsequent grammarians, all the more so since this was the sole known deviation from the literal sense of ὀμαλιζειν, which simply means to level a certain part of the ground, or a wider area. What is unique in Isidore’s and Cassian’s usage is this ‘change of tone’ used to depict different methods of interpretation of scripture, notably, the shift from a historical understanding to a spiritual one. This metaphorical usage of ‘levelling’ has remained unique and characteristic of only Isidore and Cassian.

Now one should wonder what the Latin text made of this, to which the answer is nothing. The general tenor of this part can indeed be found in Latin, augmented by interpolation, as usual. But the specific phraseology of Cassian, which carries over both the tradition of monasticism expressed by Isidore of Pelusium and the patrimony of Greek grammarians, is entirely lost. Quite simply, the Latin translator was unable to grasp the meaning of Cassian speaking of ‘towers’ and ‘levelling’.⁵⁷

Furthermore, not only is the Latin *translator* poorly educated in Greek: he is plain wrong at certain points. For instance, he takes the ‘daily bread’ of the Lord’s Prayer to mean ‘supersubstantial bread’, which he does only because he confused the scriptural term ἐπιούσιον with the non-scriptural ὑπερούσιος.⁵⁸ This is a point which reveals the Latin identity of the author who interpolated Cassian’s translation into the *Patrologia Latina*. Whereas no Greek author ever spoke of ὑπερούσιος ἄρτος (‘supersubstantial bread’), this was how Jerome had translated the Lord’s prayer in Matthew 6:11: Panem

⁵⁶ Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica*, Part 1, v. 1, p. 7: κατὰ ὀμαλισμόν ἐν τῇ βαρεῖα.

⁵⁷ *Institutiones*, PL.49.725A–726A: Quaedam autem si allegorica explanatione extenuata non fuerint, et spiritalis ignis examinatione mollita, nullo modo ad salutarem interioris hominis cibum sine corruptionis clade pervenient, magisque ex eorum perceptione laesio quam utilitas aliqua subsequetur, ut est illud: *Sint lumbi vestri praeincti, et lucernae ardentes*. Et, *Qui non habet gladium, vendat tunicam suam et emat sibi gladium*. Et, *Qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur me, non est me dignus*.

⁵⁸ *Institutiones*, IX.21, PL.49.794A: *De pane supersubstantiali, sive quotidiano*. Deinde *panem nostrum ἐπιούσιον*, id est, *supersubstantialem da nobis hodie* (Matt. 6:11), which is Jerome’s translation (PL.29. 548A).

nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie.⁵⁹ Since Jerome's project was to translate, not interpret Matthew, this is simply a mistake, which is why the critical apparatus explains, 'supersubstantialem: *quotidianum*'.⁶⁰ Origen had taught that this bread which comes down from the heaven is the wisdom of God and ultimately his logos ('divine teaching') as well as his Logos (the Son, understood as the Wisdom of God).⁶¹ But Origen never used the term ὑπερούσιος at all, either in this or any other context. Beyond Origen, what Greek authors by and large understood in Matthew 6:11 (and Luke 11:3) was both an allegorical and a literal sense, which was epitomized by lexicographers:⁶² 'the bread which befits human essence', that is, 'the inner man', as well as the 'everyday bread'. In short, whoever the person who interpolated the Latin text was, he was definitely one who wrote following a point made by Jerome.

At another point, his Greek just makes no sense.⁶³ There are also points where the Latin translator is plain wrong. He takes it that the Greek language of Colossians 3:5 makes references to covetousness (avarice, φιλαργυρία), which is why he notes: Unde beatus Apostolus hujus morbi noxia venena prospiciens, non solum eam radicem esse omnium malorum, verum etiam idolorum servitutem pronuntiavit, dicens: *Et avaritia* (quod in Graeco dicitur φιλαργυρία) *quae est simulacrorum servitus*.⁶⁴ But the scriptural text of Col. 3:5 makes reference not to φιλαργυρία, but to πλεονεξία. Although the English text of the Bible renders πλεονεξία as 'covetousness', φιλαργυρία ('love of money') is not a synonym of πλεονεξία. In any event, since the Latin makes reference to φιλαργυρία intending to explain the term, the simple fact is that the term φιλαργυρία is absent from the portion of Colossians 3:5, which Cassian did quote.⁶⁵ One might be apt to say that all the Latin does is is a conflation of Col. 3:5 (πλεονεξία is idolatry) and 1 Tim. 6:10

⁵⁹ PL.29.548A.

⁶⁰ PL.29.1041C.

⁶¹ Origen, *de Or.*, XXVII.

⁶² Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 2501 & *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 362 & Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis*, Alphabetic entry epsilon, p. 231: Ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος: ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀρμόζων. Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, p. 794: ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος: ὁ ἐπὶ τῆ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀρμόζων, ἢ ὁ καθημερινός.

⁶³ *Institutiones*, IV.6, PL.49.590A: Sed magis peto ne me usquequaque deseras, quod Graece dicitur μέχρι (sic) πρὸς ἀγαντεῖον (sic), id est, *usque ad nimietatem*. The Greek word makes no sense.

⁶⁴ *OctoVit*, VII.7, PL.49.298A. The Migne-text cites: (Coloss. 3).

⁶⁵ Cassian, *OctoVit*, pp. 30^r; 37^r.

(φιλαργυρία is the root of all evil). However, the case is not that simple. Cassian himself says at another point that “the blessed apostle styled this [viz. φιλαργυρία] not only *the root of all kinds of evil*, but also *idolatry*.”⁶⁶ This is not actually any conflation of two scriptural instances at all. Instead, another story has to be said. It seems that certain authors knew of manuscripts of Paul’s epistles where the apostle had styled φιλαργυρία ‘a second idolatry’ (δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν). The most ancient instance is the mysterious text of Physiologus.⁶⁷ If this text was produced by the Akoimetoι, as it has been surmised,⁶⁸ it comes as no surprise that the heir to their library, Theodore Studites, reproduces this and advises that it was apostle Paul who had written the phrase.⁶⁹ On the other hand, there are instances where it is πλεονεξία, not φιλαργυρία, that is styled ‘a second idolatry’,⁷⁰ whereas a couple of later authors uses both terms as synonyms.⁷¹ Therefore, when Cassian styles φιλαργυρία ‘a second idolatry’ in the foregoing passage, he does not actually make any scriptural conflation: he reproduces a certain version of one

⁶⁶ Cassian, *OctoVit*, Cod. p. 32^r: “Ὁθεν ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος τοῦτο γινώσκων, οὐ μόνον ρίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν (1 Tim. 6:10) ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδ(ω)λολατρείαν (Cf. Col. 3:5) ταύτην ἐκάλεσεν.

⁶⁷ *Physiologus (redactio tertia quae vocatur pseudo-Basiliana)*, 13: φιλαργυρίαν, τὴν δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν.

⁶⁸ Rudolf Riedinger surmised that this text goes back to the lost *Hypotyposes* by Clement of Alexandria and sought to associate its authorship with the monastery of the Akoimetoι. Rudolf Riedinger, “Physiologus”, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 26, 596–600. Also, “Der Physiologus und Klemens von Alexandria”, (1973) *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 66, pp. 273–307. Also, “Akoimeten”, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Pt. 2 (1978), pp. 148–153.

⁶⁹ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 477, lines 216–217: καὶ Παῦλος ὁ ἱερός ἀπόστολος τὴν φιλαργυρίαν δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν ἀπεκάλεσεν αἰτιολογικῶς. Likewise, *Acta Monasterii Theotoci Eleusae* (eleventh-twelfth cent.), *Typicon*, p. 80: φιλαργυρίαν τὴν δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν. So the records *Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani (1350–1363)*, Document 183, line 92: τῆς κακίστης φιλαργυρίας, ἣν ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν προσφυῶς ὀνομάζει. Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (tenth cent.), *Oratio de Translatione Chrysostomi*, p. 309: τῆς δευτέρας ειδωλολατρείας ἐκσπάση, εἴτουν φιλαργυρίας. However, in the same work, p. 318, it is also πλεονεξία that is styled ‘second idolatry’ (πλεονεξία, ἥτις ἐστὶ δευτέρα ειδωλολατρεία).

⁷⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Sancta Lumina (orat. 39)*, PG.36.357.24–26: Καὶ τίς μοι νόμος ἢ Ναυάτου μισανθρωπία, ὃς πλεονεξίαν μὲν οὐκ ἐκόλασε, τὴν δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Elogae i–xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.900.35: πλεονεξίαν τὴν δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 76: πλεονεξίας τὴν δευτέρας ειδωλολατρείας. Nicetas Choniates (twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Orationes*, v. 1, oration 14, p. 254: τὴν πλεονεξίαν ὡς δευτέραν ειδωλολατρείαν βδελύττεσθαι.

⁷¹ Nicetas of Paphlagonia, *Homiliae Septem*, Homily 5, p. 289: Ποῖον φιλαργυρίας, εἴτ’ οὖν πλεονεξίας, ὃ ἐστὶν ειδωλολατρεία πάθος. Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth cent.) uses both πλεονεξία and φιλαργυρία as synonyms and styles them both ‘second idolatry’. *De Differentia inter Peccata Excusabilia et Perniciosa*, p. 283: ἡ φιλαργυρία, εἴτουν πλεονεξία, ἥτις καὶ δευτέρα ειδωλολατρεία ἐστίν.

of Paul's epistles which says so. In regard to this, there is an additional reason to believe that one more of the epistles that has been attributed to Basil is in fact Cassian's, since this is a stunning parallel to Cassian's text just mentioned.⁷²

The adjective εὐκατάμικτον ('willing to keep company with') occurs in both Antiochus of Palestine and John of Damascus alike quoting from Cassian. Besides, it transpires only once in the text of Cassian's word-stock regular follower, namely, Theodore Studites.⁷³ In other words, the epithet appears exclusively in the locution of monks of the Laura of St. Sabas and was transferred to the Akoimetoι by Cassian, only to be inherited by Theodore Studites along with the entire library of the Akoimetoι, which was by and large reproduced in the *scriptorium* of the Studios monastery.

The expression καὶ ὡς ἔτι νήπιοι εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος ('so long as the sons of Babylon are still babies') is a figure of evil thoughts: they must be eradicated at the early stage when 'the sons of Babylon are still babies', that is, at the time when an evil thought is only an incipient one. This expression shows Cassian to be strongly influenced by Origen, who is the sole author to have made the selfsame point in the same terms.⁷⁴ It can hardly be a coincidence that the theologian who used the same portion was a Sabaite monk once again, namely, Antiochus of Palestine.⁷⁵

Expressions such as the one portraying the soul craving the Logos (διεγειρόμεθα πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτοῦ)⁷⁶ have only a unique and telling parallel in the so-called Pseudo-Macarius' writings. Coming across Pseudo-Macarius at various points, both here and in Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, one is tempted to wonder whether some (if not all) of them were authored by Cassian himself. This indication becomes all the more strong once one considers 1Cor. 13:3 rendered in a peculiar manner (κἄν διαδῶ τὸ σῶμα μου ἵνα καυθήσομαι) which transpires only in Pseudo-Macarius, Ephraem Syrus, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexandria. There is no question of any translator deviating from the New Testament-vocabulary and applying the form διαδῶ, which is extremely rare to come upon in first person.

⁷² Basil of Caesarea (?), *Epistulae*, 53.2: Ἡ δὲ φιλαργυρία καὶ ρίζα πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀνομάζεται εἰδωλολατρεία. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, Cod. p. 32: Ὁθεν ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος τοῦτο γινώσκων, οὐ μόνον ρίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδ(ω)λολατρείαν ταύτην ἐκάλεσεν.

⁷³ Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 68, p. 191.

⁷⁴ Origen, *Cels*, VII.22; *fjJer*, 26; *selPs*, PG.12.1660.1–5.

⁷⁵ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 81.

⁷⁶ Cod. 573, pp. 56b–80a.

Beyond Clement, it was only 'Pseudo-Macarius' who did so, namely, the set of writings which in all probability was produced by the community of the Akoimetoι. Why should Cassian himself not be inferred to have been involved with them? Besides, if we take into account that Pseudo-Macarius' vocabulary recurs in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* of 'the Book of Cassian', it could be plausible to allow this tentative identification. There are other instances, too, which point to Cassian. The expression τῆ παχείᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ ὕλικῇ σαρκί⁷⁷ is relevant to the formulations of Pseudo-Macarius.⁷⁸ So is the expression ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ εὐθηνία,⁷⁹ with Pseudo-Macarius being present once again.⁸⁰

The expression ἀποταγή πραγμάτων⁸¹ stands parallel to the Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus' works, many of which were produced in the Great Laura of Sabas. Presumably, the expression was common and circulated in the monastery. Besides, the expression of 'abba Moses' ὑπὲρ τοίνυν τούτου τοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς πάντα διαπραττόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τούτου πάντων καταφρονοῦμεν καὶ πατριδα καὶ γένους καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου⁸² has a stunning parallel in the Greek Ephraem Syrus.⁸³ Cassian may well have employed this expression from the translated writings produced by intellectuals of his own monastery. Moreover, the rhetorical expression ἀγροίκους καὶ ιδιώτας is in no case a casual sentence by a simple monk: this is a pattern which has its own history. Through this, we come across characteristic writers, namely, Origen, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Didymus, John Chrysostom. It is by no means a coincidence that the closest parallel to Cassian's point occurs in Ephraem Syrus, which points to this translation being a product of the Laura of Sabas. Likewise, parallels in Plutarch and Lucian of Samosata remind us that these authors contributed significantly to the parlance of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

⁷⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86^r.

⁷⁸ Cf. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones* 64 (*collectio B*), Homily 54.3.4: καὶ καθαριζέτωσαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης ὕλικῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου παχύτητος καὶ σαρκῶν καὶ αἱμάτων, τουτέστι φροντίδων καὶ δεσμῶν γηίνων. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Liber de Definitionibus*, PG.28.548.44: τὸ δὲ σῶμα τὸ παχὺ καὶ ὕλικόν, ὅπερ λέγεται σὰρξ.

⁷⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 97^r.

⁸⁰ Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae* 7 (*collectio HA*), Homily 54.9 & Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (*recensio G*), Vita 47.16: μήποτε μετὰ τῶν θουμάτων ἡ ἀνεσις καὶ εὐθηνία.

⁸¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 58^r & 58^v.

⁸² Cassian the Sabaite, *op. cit.* p. 58^r.

⁸³ Ephraem Syrus, *Sermones Paraeneticī ad Monachos Aegypti*, Oration 8: ἀποταγή κόσμου, ἀποταγή γηίνων πραγμάτων, ἀποταγή πατριδος καὶ φίλων καὶ τῶν κατὰ σάρκα γονέων διὰ τὴν εἰς Κύριον ἐλπίδα, καὶ αἴριον χῶρα καὶ πατριδα καὶ κληρονομίαν ἐπιζητήσωμεν, τοῦ βυθίζειν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κακὰ πολλά.

As a rule, special attention should be paid to the phenomenon of the vocabulary of the Greek translators of Ephraem Syrus corresponding to that of Cassian. Such expressions may well be either a liability to the Greek Ephraem, or the other way around: the phraseology of the monks at either the Laura of Sabas or the Akoimetoi was implanted into the Greek translations of the Syriac texts. One more example is the expression ὀμιλίας ἀργαίς καὶ ματαίαις.⁸⁴ The notion of 'idle chatting' is an invention introduced for the term ἀργολογία. Once again, we come upon spurious texts ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa and to Basil of Caesarea, which evince remarkable parallels to Cassian's vocabulary.⁸⁵ These works add to the pile of the sixth-century spuria, the authorship of which should be reconsidered, with Cassian being a serious candidate for attribution of some of them.

By the way, the word τὸ χρῶς⁸⁶ for 'cold' transpires in authors relevant to the Scholia-vocabulary, such as Plutarch, Lucian of Samosata and Galen, as well as in authors evidently important to Cassian's readings, such as Clement of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Gregory of Nyssa. So is the expression εἰ λήθην ποιησώμεθα⁸⁷ ('once we become oblivious of our goal'), which is the distinctive mark of Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa, along with the obscured (since he was regarded as a heretic) Julian the Arian. Such authors are in fact those who transmitted major Greek notions to Cassian, as, for example, the Stoic διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια ('administration and providence' of the world by God).⁸⁸ This expression, which is used also in Scholion XXVII, originates in Chrysippus and was retailed to Christianity by the authors who played an important part in Cassian's readings: Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Didymus, Julian the Arian.

The rare expression εὐαγγελικὴ τελειότης⁸⁹ ('evangelical perfection') was used by Origen⁹⁰ and is one of those evincing his influence upon

⁸⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62f.

⁸⁵ Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Creatione Hominis Sermo Primus*, p. 28. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Epitimia in Canonicas (epitimia 25)*, PG.31: 1312.32–33; 1316.1–3; *Poenae in Monachos Delinquentes (epitimia 24)*, PG.31.1305.43–44; *Regulae Morales*, PG.31.693.42–43; Basil of Caesarea (?), *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31: 1041.1; 1044.1; 1053.56; 1097.46. *Epistulae*, Epistle 22.1.

⁸⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, edition vol. p. 168 and endnote 9 (p. 218).

⁸⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 58f.

⁸⁸ Cf. διοικήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας, Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60f, and endnote 28 (p. 225) to the Greek text.

⁸⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 34v: διὰ τὸ βαλεῖν ἀρχὴν χαύνην καὶ διεφθαρμένην ἀνατρέπειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς τελει(ό)τητος. *De Panareto*, p. 115v: μήτε μὴν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τελει(ό)τητα δύνασθαι παραδεχθῆναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νόμου παραφυλακῆς.

⁹⁰ Origen, *homJer*, Homily 12.13: ὡς Χριστοῦ μὴ ἐπιδημηκότος, τοῦ τελειούντος ἡμᾶς καὶ διαβιβάζοντος ἀπὸ τῶν νομικῶν στοιχείων ἐπὶ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τελειότητα.

Theodoret,⁹¹ and Antioch in general. For indeed the texts available to us show the same expression to have been used by Severus of Antioch,⁹² as well as by Cassian the Sabaite. During the first Christian millennium, it were only Theodoret and Cassian that entertained this elegant expression more than once, which enjoyed no currency: it was only taken up much later by the philosopher and Eustratius, Bishop of Nicaea (1092–1120),⁹³ the pupil of John Italus. It is remarkable that the Latin text which corresponds to Cassian's Greek one uses the expression as it stands: *evangelicam perfectionem*.⁹⁴ It is plain though that history is firmly on the side of the Greek, since this is an expression distinctively pointing to an Antiochene author standing in line with other Antiochenes, such as Theodoret and Severus. Likewise, the expression ἐπιμόνου μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν ('persistent memory of good things') is a clear Stoic echo.⁹⁵

Therefore, there are extremely rare expressions and a dilemma seems to face us: we have either to allow that Cassian was engaged in truffle hunting from Classical literature, or he picked up rare words from Christian authors and he used them thereafter. To cite an instance, Cassian's expression εἰς βαθύτατον πτώμα⁹⁶ transpires only in Aeschylus.⁹⁷ The sole and closest parallel occurs in Clement of Alexandria,⁹⁸ yet this is only an attenuated one. The same goes for the word τοῖς βιοθανάτοις,⁹⁹ which is an all too rare one, mainly used by astrologers. It was commonly thought among the *simplificiores* that 'those who committed suicide' (βιοθάνατοι) become demons. John Chrysostom (the sole Christian that used the word besides Cassian,

⁹¹ Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, pp. 155–156: καὶ τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ τελειότητι τὴν τοιαύτην νομοθεσίαν οὐ περιττὴν. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1272.8–9: καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ νόμῳ πολιτευόμενος, καὶ τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τελειότητα. 1864.16–17: Τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τοῖνον ὁ Προφήτης μετέρχεται τελειότητα. The last passage was spuriously ascribed to John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum 118 (homiliae 1–3)*, PG.55.701.33–34: Τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν τοῖνον ὁ προφήτης μετέρχεται τελειότητα.

⁹² Severus of Antioch, *apud* Catenae (Novem testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (e Oxon. coll. nov. 58), p. 349: τῆς ἐν Πνεύματι λατρείας καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς τελειότητος.

⁹³ Eustratius of Nicaea, *Orationes*, Oration 4, p. 100: ἰδιάζων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς λειπόμενος τελειότητος. *op. cit.* p. 105: οὕτω κἀνταῦθα τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς τελειότητος ἐπιγενομένης.

⁹⁴ *Institutiones*, VII.14, PL.49.303a; VII.14, PL.49.310B; Cf. PL.49: 766A; 1067A; 1104A; 1179A&C; VIII.24, PL.49.766A.

⁹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 82^r and note 8 (pp. 292–293) to the Greek text.

⁹⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 67^r.

⁹⁷ Aeschylus, *Supplices*, line 796: βαθὺ πτώμα μαρτυροῦσα μοι.

⁹⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 4.56.5: καὶ τὰ γενητὰ ταῦτα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου μετιόντες θεοῦ βαθυτέρω περιπεπτώκατε ζόφω.

⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 67^r.

along with a spurious text ascribed to John of Damascus) argued that this is not true.¹⁰⁰ It remains therefore as the more probable resolution that Cassian indeed had a predilection for picking up rare words from Classical authors and to apply them deliberately in his own writings. This practice reaches its utmost exaggeration in both the text ascribed to Caesarius and Pseudo-Didymus' *De Trinitate*, for which both I argue to be works authored by Cassian.¹⁰¹ The specific point of the Greek text has a parallel in Latin, where the term βιοθανάτοι is used as a transliterated one from Greek.¹⁰² Since this Greek word has a history of its own, why should an allegedly Latin text not have the Latin word for it? Why was a mere transliteration from Greek necessary?

Cassian uses certain words that are extremely rare, indeed some of them are close to non-existence. One of them is μωξάριον,¹⁰³ a therapeutic plant, which was a kind of onion flourishing in Egypt only. It is only from scanty references, such as that by the medical doctor Paul of Nicaea, that we learn that μωξάριον were consumed along with ἰσχάδιον,¹⁰⁴ which is what Cassian tells us at the same point of his narrative. To argue that such points are the production of a Latin translation could just be nonsense. For indeed there are Greek words in this text that are exclusive to Cassian and no translator could have ever concocted any of them, whereas other terms are the product of a very long and illustrious Classical and pre-Classical tradition. A case in point is the Homeric verb ἀρτύω (or ἀρτύνω),¹⁰⁵ meaning 'prepare', 'arrange', 'make ready' a thing which requires skill (or cunning); ἀρτυτὸς means 'seasoned so as to be made sweet, or tasty in general'. Therefore, αὐτάρτυτα¹⁰⁶ applied to expressions of a written text means those scriptural portions which do not require any tropology or allegory for their meaning to be grasped: they are explicit expressions, which are arranged so as to be comprehended in their immediate literal sense. Photius used the term in the sense of something being already 'prepared'. As just noted, the word is exclusive to Cassian, being one more token of his command of Greek and excludes any possibility of this text being a translation.

¹⁰⁰ John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro (homiliae 1–7)*, PG.48.981–983.

¹⁰¹ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendices I & II.

¹⁰² *De Institutis Coenobiorum*, PL.49.304A: [Judas] vitam biothanati morte conclusit. *Id. Institutiones*, PL.II.5: 49.530B: ut non inter biothanatos reputatus.

¹⁰³ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 101^r.

¹⁰⁴ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁵ Homer, *Odyssea*, I.277; IV.771; XXIV.153; *et passim. Ilias*, II.55; X.302; XI.216; XII.43&86, *et passim.*

¹⁰⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 102^r.

Likewise, a translator from Latin could never have used expressions such as ὁ ἐνδότερος ἡμῶν οἶκος¹⁰⁷ ('our inward house'), which is peculiar to the unexplored Marcus Eremita, the anti-Nestorian monk who lived in the region of Palestine, and possibly in Egypt, too. Cassian, a Palestinian native, must have read the works composed by that monk, but there is no way to sustain that such a terminology had been availed of by a presumed translator to render a germane Latin expression. As a matter of fact, there are also other points where we come upon a possible influence by the characteristic parlance of this hardly known monk. Such points are Cassian's expression καὶ συντόνῳ ἐγκρατεία¹⁰⁸ and πένθος καταλιπῶν,¹⁰⁹ as well as the Neoplatonic liability νοῦς ἐμπαθής.¹¹⁰

The Greek expressions, which are heavily loaded with history and meaning bequeathed by eminent authors who had used them in the past, are far too many for any translator to be able to introduce into a presumed Latin original.

Cassian's expression τοῖς κακίας βόθροις ('pits of wickedness')¹¹¹ is a loan from Athanasius, taken up by Maximus Confessor only. In addition, the phrase τῆς διανοίας λεπτυνομένης¹¹² shows once again Cassian's liability clearly, since it was only Evagrius who had used this.¹¹³

An additional characteristic expression is the one for 'numerous years', πολυαριθμῶν ἐτῶν.¹¹⁴ Cassian uses the rare adjective πολυαριθμητος at two points,¹¹⁵ which is notable. For this adjective occurs in no more than five or six instances during the first Christian millennium, amounting to some ten instances in all. This is a word that vanished following some scarce use during the late Byzantine period. I should have thought that this is a word made up by Cassian himself, or taken up by an unidentifiable source. Apart

¹⁰⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 66^r.

¹⁰⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 66^v. Cf. Marcus Eremita, *Ad Nicolaum Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, 1: δι' ἀκριβοῦς πολιτείας καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ πάσης κακοπαθείας, ἀγρυπνίας τε πολλῆς καὶ συντόνου προσευχῆς.

¹⁰⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 67^v–68^r. Cf. Marcus Eremita, *Disputatio cum Quodam Causidico*, 9: τὸ πένθος καὶ τὴν ταπεινῶσιν καταλιπόντες.

¹¹⁰ νοῦς ἐμπαθής. p. 82^r. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 39^v: τοὺς ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ φιληδόνους λογισμούς. op. cit. p. 40^v: τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς διαθέσεως. p. 43^r: οἱ ἐμπαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι. Marcus Eremita, *Ad Nicolaum Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, 10: τὸν ἐμπαθῆ ἔτι καὶ ἄθλιον μαινοῦσι νοῦν. The Neoplatonic notion was conveyed through Evagrius.

¹¹¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 63^r.

¹¹² Op. cit. p. 63^v.

¹¹³ Evagrius of Pontus, *Sententiae ad Monachos*, Sententia 48: Ὑπνος πολὺς παχύνει διάνοιαν, ἀγρυπνία δὲ ἀγαθὴ λεπτύνει αὐτήν.

¹¹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 68^r.

¹¹⁵ Also, Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r: ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ πολυαριθμῶν πλῆθει.

from his work, it appears only in some authority-mongering texts under the name of Chrysostom.¹¹⁶ Since the epithet occurs in no other Christian author, it lays an investigation open, for possible relation of these texts with Cassian's pen.

The expression τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς¹¹⁷ ('the tumultuous impulses of the soul') is all but a casual one and cannot be a translation from the Latin, where this expression does not exist anyway.¹¹⁸ When we come across Antiochus of Palestine, the monk of the Laura of St. Sabas, using the same expression, this simply suggests that the writings of the erstwhile abbot Cassian were available to him at the library of the monastery.¹¹⁹ That this also occurs in the *Constitutiones Asceticae* makes this spurious text (ascribed to Basil of Caesarea), or at least part of it, subject to exploration for relevance with Cassian himself.¹²⁰ Since there is a persisting coincidence of Cassian's vocabulary with one of Didymus' *frPs* (*e commentario altero*), and only once in a while one with any of the rest of Didymus' works, I have come to believe that this compilation of fragments is actually the understanding and phraseology of a compiler.¹²¹

Likewise, Cassian's expression βεβαίως διαμένειν ('to stand firm' in employing a certain conduct) is a rare one and transpires in Athanasius.¹²² Once again, this appears as an ascription to Didymus, yet only in the *FrPs* (*e commentario altero*).¹²³

¹¹⁶ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Turture Seu de Ecclesia Sermo*, PG.55.599.40; *In Genesim (sermo 3)*, PG.56.530.3; *Quod Mari Similis Sit Haec Vita*, PG.64.22.52.

¹¹⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 25^v.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.268A–269A: Nec enim sufficit solum corporale jejuniū ad conquirendam vel possidendam perfectae castimoniae puritatem, nisi praecesserit contritio spiritus et oratio contra hunc immundissimum spiritum perseverans, dein continuata meditatio Scripturarum, huicque fuerit scientia spiritalis adjuncta, labor etiam opusque manuum instabiles cordis pervagationes coercens ac revocans, et ante omnia fundata fuerit humilitas vera, sine qua nullius penitus vitii poterit unquam triumphus acquiri.

¹¹⁹ Antiochus of Palestine (seventh cent.), *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 19: ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀστάτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς συστέλλειν.

¹²⁰ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1365.34–35: κατιδεῖν τε τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς καὶ κινήσεις. The notion occurs in a casual reference by John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.669.1–2: Δέον γὰρ διορθῶσαι μόνον τὴν ἀτακτον τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμήν.

¹²¹ My suggestion is that this anthology was composed by either Anastasius of Sinai or Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria. P. Tzamalikos, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

¹²² Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, 41: ἵνα τῆ τοῦ Λόγου ἡγεμονία καὶ προνοία καὶ διακοσμήσει φωτιζομένη ἢ κτίσις βεβαίως διαμένειν δυνηθῆ.

¹²³ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 894: ἀνωρθωμένον καὶ βεβαίως ἰδρυμένον τὸν θρόνον ἔχων μακροήμερον καὶ αἰώνιον διαμένοντα. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Zachariach, 6.9.15: ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς καθέδρας διαμενεῖ βεβαίως.

Another rare expression, τῶν πολυπλόκων σχοινίων τῆς κοσμικῆς μερίμνης ('the tangled threads of the worldly concerns'),¹²⁴ is inspired by Job 40:17 and points to the 'destruction' of virtuous action. Its occasional occurrence in Julian the Arian and Didymus¹²⁵ could hardly justify this expression as a rendering from Latin, from which this is absent anyway.¹²⁶ Once again, the parlance of the *frPs* (*e commentario altero*) points to a compiler rather than Didymus himself. In addition, the metaphor transpires in two spurious texts ascribed to Chrysostom,¹²⁷ which invites the question of whether Cassian was their actual writer, given the scarcity of the expression in literature.

The same goes for Cassian's expression τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν καμάτους ('exertions performed according to the will of God').¹²⁸ His sources are traceable, since the idiom is extremely uncommon. But while the parallel in Didymus fits perfectly, we should notice that from all of Didymus' work the phrase is used only once, in the composition *frPs* (*e commentario altero*).¹²⁹

The recurrence of such parallels in Didymus while exploring Cassian's language is probably an indication of extracts from Didymus having been collected at the Great Laura, which was subsequently used by either Anastasius of Sinai or Olympiodorus of Alexandria, the possible authors of the collection of Didymus' fragments in the form we now have it. This becomes all the more evident once mistaken usage is considered. An example is the participle τὸν δῶσαντα¹³⁰ used instead of the correct form τὸν δόντα. It is with the Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus that this participle-form of the verb δίδωμι appears for the first time. Unknown up to that time as this form was, and indeed scarcely used thereafter,¹³¹ this is no doubt the product of the translators of the Laura of Sabas.

¹²⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 63^v.

¹²⁵ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1221. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 283.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Institutiones*, II.2, PL.49.525C: alii in nuditate et contemptu universarum rerum quibus mens si penitus exueretur, tamquam nullis deinceps retinentibus laqueis ad Deum expeditior perveniret.

¹²⁷ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Quod Mari Similis Sit Haec Vita*, PG.64.20.66; *De Spe*, PG.60.772.61.

¹²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 67^v.

¹²⁹ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 1173: Καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν εἴποις τρέφειν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτοὺς τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν καμάτους τροφίμους καὶ εὐφραντικούς ψυχῆς.

¹³⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 117a.

¹³¹ Cf. Ephraem Syrus, *Beautitudines Aliae; Capita Viginti*, 20, lines 131 & 145 (δῶσαντι); *Sermo de Paenitentia et Iudicio et Separatione Animae et Corporis*, p. 242 (δῶσαντα); *Homilia in Meretricem*, pp. 96 (δῶσαντα); 97 (δῶσαντα); 99 (δῶσαντα); *Sermo in Pulcherrimum Ioseph*, p. 267 (δῶσαντα); 268 (δῶσαντα).

Cassian's exemplary fathers of the desert are styled 'most enduring' ones (δοκιμώτατος),¹³² which is an extremely infrequent use. In fact we come upon only two instances of this, and they both relate to endurance of hardships of monastic life.¹³³

Other expressions, such as the following, impell us to consider more attentively the possibility of Cassian being closely related to (or, to some extent identified with) Pseudo-Macarian works, which were composed at the monastery of the Akoimetoι. The expression ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος ('inconsolable mourning')¹³⁴ is characteristic of Pseudo-Macarius, as well as of Ephraem Syrus. Furthermore, it appears in spurious texts ascribed to John Chrysostom, which calls for identification with Cassian being their possible author.¹³⁵

By making the term συνεισφορά ('contribution')¹³⁶ a title of his works, Cassian signified himself as a pupil of Gregory of Nyssa writing during the age of Justinian.¹³⁷ This is only one of the numerous points evincing the Cappadocian's influence upon Cassian. There are characteristic expressions, which cannot possibly be the product of a translator rendering a Latin text in Greek. The rare expression ἡ συζυγία τούτων τῶν πνευμάτων ('conjunction of these [evil] spirits'),¹³⁸ which is characteristic of Gregory, could have only been used by a student of his writings. Likewise, the metaphor τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς

¹³² Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 11^r; *ScetPatr.*, pp. 75^r; 77^r; *SerenPrim.*, p. 95^r.

¹³³ Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 607: οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ ἐσμὲν ἀληθῶς ἀρτίφρονες, καὶ ἐν νῶ τῷ καθεστηκότι, ζηλοῦν ὅτι μάλιστα τοὺς τῶν πατέρων δοκιμώτατους. The anonymous work, *Historia Monachorum In Aegypto*, Vita 1: καὶ παρὰ τῶν παραγενομένων αὐτῷ πατέρων ἀκηκόαμεν, ὧν ὁ βίος δόκιμος παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ πάσι πεφήμισται. Alexander of Cyprus (monk, prob. sixth cent.), *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, line 8: ὦ πατέρων ἄριστε καὶ ἀσκητῶν δοκιμώτατε πάτερ.

¹³⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr.*, p. 67^r.

¹³⁵ Cf. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, 4.27.4: πόνον ἔχει ἄπαστον καὶ πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. 5.2.3: ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔχων πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. 8.1.4 (*Opusculum 1*, PG.34.829.39–40): μᾶλλον ἐπεγείρουσιν αὐτῇ τὸ πένθος καὶ ἀπαραμύθητός ἐστιν. *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, Homily 16: πόνος ἄπαστος καὶ πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. Ephraem Syrus, *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi (capita xii)*, 4: ἐκέλην τὴν πικρὰν καὶ ἀπαραμύθητον φωνήν, τὴν πλήρη πένθους καὶ πικρῶν δακρῶν. *Sermo de Cain, et De Abel Caedo*, p. 210: Πῶς δὲ καὶ ἡ καρδία σου λογίσεται τὸ ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος; Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.683.20: Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἀποτυχία ἀπαραμύθητον ἔχει πένθος. *De Salute Animae*, PG.60.735.54: ὅπου τὸ ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος. John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1–55)*, PG.60.227.34–35: Πένθος γὰρ ἦν, ὄντως πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον. *Ad Theodorum Lapsum (lib. 2)* (= *Epistula ad Theodorum Monachum*), 5: πένθος ἀπαραμύθητον.

¹³⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim.*, p. 80^r; *De Panareto*, pp. 101^r; 118^r; 118^v.

¹³⁷ In the sense used by Cassian, see Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 287; *De Vita Mosis*, 1.16; 1.77; *Dialogus De Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46: 57.1; 89.5; *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.893.28.

¹³⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim.*, p. 84^r.

καταγωγίου ('the abode of the soul')¹³⁹ representing the 'soul' as dwelling in a 'lodging' (that is, the body) is a breakthrough by Gregory, reproduced nearly a century later by Basil of Seleucia and then by Cassian, yet it never became a common phrase. The same goes for the participle περιαιυαζόμενον ('shining with dazzling light'),¹⁴⁰ which was introduced by Philo and it was Gregory of Nyssa who made the most of it, to be followed by the contemporary authors Cassian and Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite.¹⁴¹ Likewise, the expression τὸ ἀμέτρητον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως ('the immeasurable power of God')¹⁴² points to Gregory, along with authors familiar to Cassian, such as Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria. However, they all used the expression casually. This was not the kind of a hackneyed expression at hand for any presumed Latin translator to employ. When Cassian uses the expression ἀρετῶν ἀκρόπολις τις καὶ βασιλὶς ('a certain citadel and queen of virtues')¹⁴³ we are faced with a clear and commanding influence by Gregory of Nyssa once again.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, once one comes upon such apparently common expressions as ἤρξατο ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκινεῖσθαι,¹⁴⁵ it will turn out that this is exclusive to Gregory of Nyssa. Finally, the notion of 'one having God within oneself' (Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν),¹⁴⁶ thus being 'divine', is of Stoic origin. Only few authors took this up, and they all happen to be the most familiar to Cassian: Origen, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus, Ephraem Syrus, Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹⁴⁷

Gregory of Nyssa's flair was a source of inspiration for Cassian, an inspiration that was not only theological, but also linguistic and terminological. At the same time, there is a combined influence by both pagan and Christian tradition, which occurs repeatedly. A case in point is the locution κίνησιν τε καὶ διάθεσιν ('movement and mood'),¹⁴⁸ which comes from Aristotle, yet it was Gregory of Nyssa who (almost exclusively) made the most of it in Christian literature, as I will argue later.

One more point evincing Cassian as a follower of all three, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodoret, is the simile of the soul represented as

¹³⁹ Op. cit. p. 86^f.

¹⁴⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 70^f.

¹⁴¹ See note 75 (p. 241) to the Greek text (p. 70^f) in edition volume.

¹⁴² Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^f.

¹⁴³ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62^v.

¹⁴⁴ See note 43 (pp. 228–229) to the Greek text in edition volume.

¹⁴⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74^f.

¹⁴⁶ Op. cit. p. 59^v.

¹⁴⁷ See Greek text and note 21 (p. 223).

¹⁴⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 85^f, and note to the Greek text.

an 'acropolis', that is, a citadel built on a high place of a city.¹⁴⁹ The notion of mind being an acropolis, or citadel, is actually a metaphor introduced by Plato.¹⁵⁰ Theodoret entertained the depiction soul-citadel in a fine way,¹⁵¹ and his sole follower was Cassian himself,¹⁵² even though at points he wishes to represent the phraseology as originating in Scripture,¹⁵³ namely, either in Matt. 5:14, or in the Proverbs.

A similar metaphor is 'the brain' represented as the commander and citadel of the body. This seems to be an idea of Hippocrates, according to a testimony by Diocles of Carystus.¹⁵⁴ He was probably a contemporary of Aristotle (384–322 BC), though others make him either earlier, indeed an older contemporary (F. Kudlien) or slightly later (340–260 BC) to Aristotle (W. Jaeger). Diocles was the first doctor to abandon Ionian language in order to write in Attic. He is mentioned by later doctors such as Soranus (first–second cent. AD)¹⁵⁵ and Galen (second cent. AD),¹⁵⁶ also, by the mathematician Nicomachus (c. 60–c. 120 AD)¹⁵⁷ and the sophist Athenaeus (second–third cent. AD), who mentions Nicomachus every now and then.¹⁵⁸ During

¹⁴⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 54^v.

¹⁵⁰ Plato, *Respublica*, 560b (ref. to 'mean desires', τῶν ἐκπεσουσῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν: τελευτώσαι δὴ οἶμαι κατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ νέου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρόπολιν ('and in the end, they seize the citadel of the young man's soul')). *Timaeus*, 70a: τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ... ὀπότ' ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῷ τ' ἐπιτάγματι καὶ λόγῳ μηδαμῇ πείθεσθαι ἐκὸν ἐθέλοι ('the desires, whenever they should utterly refuse to yield willingly obedience to the word of command from the citadel of reason').

¹⁵¹ Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, Prologue, 5: "Ὡσπερ γὰρ πόλιν ἐφ' ὕψους ὠκοδομημένην καὶ περιβόλους ὄχυροὺς περιτετειχισμένην καὶ φάραγγι βραθείαις πάντοθεν κυκλουμένην, οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοι πολέμιος, μὴ τινοσ τῶν ἔνδον προϊεμένου καὶ πυλίδας τινὰς ὑπανοίγοντο.

¹⁵² Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 54^v: ἡ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας κακία, ὅταν κυριεύσῃ τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς, ὡσπερ τις χαλεπώτατος τύραννος μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ ὑψηλὴν παραλαβῶν, ὄλην αὐτὴν καταστρέφει, καὶ ἕως θεμελιῶν κατασκάπτει.

¹⁵³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 14^v: Κακείσε δὲ παραγενόμενος, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διαλαθεῖν, κατὰ τὴν δεσποτικὴν φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν· οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπὶ ἀνάμω δρους κειμένη (Matt. 5:14). *ScetPatr*, p. 66^v: κατὰ τὸ φάσκον λόγιον, μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότει· (Prov. 31:4) καὶ πάλιν φησὶν· ὡσπερ πόλις κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ἀτείχιστος, οὕτως ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ὅς οὐ μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα πράττει (Prov. 25:28).

¹⁵⁴ Diocles of Carystus (fourth cent. BC), *Fragmenta*, Fr. 72: ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκράτης τὸν μὲν νοῦν φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ τετάχθαι καθάπερ τι ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀκροπόλει τοῦ σώματος. The selfsame text transpires in an anonymous medical doctor: *De Morbis Acutis et Chroniis*, Disease 1, section 1. The idea was reproduced by Galen (second cent. AD), *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, 2.4.17: καθάπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει δίκην μεγάλου βασιλείως ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἵδρται.

¹⁵⁵ Soranus of Ephesus (medical doctor, first–second cent. AD), *Gynaeciorum Libri iv*, 4.1.2.

¹⁵⁶ Galen, *De Uteri Dissectione*, v. 2, p. 905; *In Hippocratis Librum De Articulis et Galeni In Eum Commentariū iv*, v. 18a, p. 519.

¹⁵⁷ Nicomachus of Gerasa (second cent. AD), *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁸ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 2.22; 2.49; 2.57; 2.78; 3.5; 3.32; 3.65; 3.74; 3.85. Likewise, *Deipnosophistae (epitome)*, v. 2,1, pp. 3; 10; 21; 23; 26.

the first Christian millennium only three Christian authors entertained this Hippocratic idiom (Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret) and Cassian was fully aware of the writings of them all.¹⁵⁹ At the turn of the thirteenth to fourteenth century, Gregory Palamas was the last author to appear informed of this metaphor, yet to discuss about this author is far too beyond my scope.¹⁶⁰

This portion of Cassian's text is preserved in Latin pretty faithfully.¹⁶¹ Could one possibly imagine that a certain Latin author named 'John Cassian' was aware of the Platonic terminology which had been entertained by only a few authors, and applied this to a supposedly original Latin text?

There are points at which to make the allowance of the text being a translation from Latin could be tantamount to conceding the most unlikely coincidence. For instance, the expression *ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως* ('confession and telling out')¹⁶² used by Cassian is impossible to find in any author other than Diodore of Tarsus.¹⁶³ Cassian demonstrates his Antiochene identity once again. He had certainly read Diodore of Tarsus, who also happened to be held in the highest regard (along with Theodore of Mopsuestia) by one of his heroes, namely Theodoret, who supplied him with considerable material for the Scholia on the Apocalypse. Theodore Studites, the regular reproducer of Cassian's parlance,¹⁶⁴ is once again present by entertaining the peculiar expression.¹⁶⁵ This actually originates in a casual reference by Philo, which is strikingly similar to the instance in Cassian's text.¹⁶⁶ The rest of

¹⁵⁹ Eusebius, *PE*, 14.26.5: κεφαλῆς ἡγεμονία καὶ περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὡς περ ἄρχοντα ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ δορυφορία. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.156.45–47: Οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἀφιεροῦντες τῷ λογισμῷ, ὡς περ ἀκρόπολιν τινα τοῦ παντός σώματος τὴν κεφαλὴν δεδομηθῆναι παρὰ τῆς φύσεως. Theodoret, *De Providentia*, PG.83.601.25–27: Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐγκέφαλος, οἷόν τις πλοῦτος, ὡς ἔφην, ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει φυλάττεται.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Gregory Palamas (metropolitan of Thessaloniki, thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Pro Hesychastis*, 1.2.3; *Homiliae I–XX*, Homily 12.4.

¹⁶¹ *Institutiones*, XII.3, PL.49.426A: haec vero cum infelicem possederit mentem, ut quidam saevissimus tyrannus, sublimissima capta arce virtutum, universam funditus civitatem diruit atque subvertit.

¹⁶² Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 71^v.

¹⁶³ Diodore of Tarsus, *commPs I–L*, Psalm 6:1: ὁμολογίαν ἔχοντες τοῦ πλημμελήματος καὶ ἐξαγόρευσιν.

¹⁶⁴ Theodore Studites attests to himself having read Cassian. *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 66, p. 186: Οὐκ ὁρᾶτε ἔτι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Κασσιανῷ γέγραπται;

¹⁶⁵ Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 5, p. 15 (the same text in *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 49, p. 357): τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ κατορθῶσαι ἐκ τῆς ἀγαθῆς πεποιθήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀκλινοῦς ὁμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως. *Epistulae*, 9: ποῦ ποτέ σου ἢ ἀκράδαντος ὁμολογία, ἢ φωτοποιός ἐξαγόρευσις;

¹⁶⁶ Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis + De Exsecrationibus*, 163: ἐξαγορεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες ὅσα ἡμαρτον καθ' αὐτοὺς διανοίᾳ κεκαθαρμένῃ.

instances appear in spurious texts ascribed to Athanasius and John Chrysostom, which only suggest Cassian as possible author of these works.¹⁶⁷

The peculiar expression bespeaking one's 'eye' being 'upset' by passion has been altogether extinguished from the Latin, since the Latin *translator* had no inkling of the long tradition preceding Cassian's Greek expression τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας ταῖς σκοτειναῖς ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῦντος (speaking of ire remaining 'in our heart and blinding the eye of the mind with its dark disturbances').¹⁶⁸ Caesarius (= Cassian) entertains the Aristotelian notion of νοῦς being the 'eye'¹⁶⁹ of the soul,¹⁷⁰ which is the notion occurring at this point, too. Christian usage seems to originate in the Psalms.¹⁷¹ However, used in a physiological sense and expression, this was quite old in Greek literature.¹⁷² Cassian writes following his favourite masters, Gregory of Nyssa¹⁷³ and Didymus once again.¹⁷⁴ That the same notion appears in

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Syntagma ad Quendam Politicum*, PG.28.1408: τὸ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ἐξαγορεύειν τὰ οἰκεία ἁμαρτήματα. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Paenitentia (sermo 3)*, PG.60.706.13–16: Ὁμολογησόν σου τὰ πλημμελήματα, ἄνθρωπε, ἐξαγορεύσον σου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἵνα λάβῃς σου τὴν ἄφεσιν τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Ἐξαγορεύων, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν πλημμελημάτων δέχη τὴν δωρεάν. *Oratio Secunda*, PG.63.923.32–33: ἐξαγορεύων σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πάσας τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου.

¹⁶⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 38'. Cf. the Latin *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, VIII.1, PL.49.321C: Hac enim in cordibus nostris insidente, et oculum mentis noxiis tenebris obcaecante ('For as long as this remains in our hearts, and blinds with its hurtful darkness the eye of the mind').

¹⁶⁹ Aristotle, *Topica*, 108a11. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 580; *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, pp. 59; 118. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 3.3.3; 4.27.20. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 53; 66; *De Ebrietate*, 158; *De Sobrietate*, 5; *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, 143. Origen, *frLuc*, Fr. 195; *expProv*, PG.17.200.9. Eusebius, *PE*, 11.24.9; *commPs*, PG.23.268.39–40. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 78.4. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27: 77.24; 157.21–22. Didymus, *commZacch*, 3.204; *commPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 142. Ephraem Syrus, *De Uirtutibus et Passionibus*, p. 395. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1–90)*, PG.57.290.57–78; *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1–90)*, PG.57.291.8. Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, PG.68.785.33–35.

¹⁷⁰ Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 176; 178. See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Psalm 6:8 and 30:10: 'my eye is consumed because of grief (ἐταράχθη ἐν θυμῷ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου). Cf. Psalm 37:11.

¹⁷² Theophrastus (in a physical sense, expounding Democritus), *De Sensu et Sensibilibus*, 81: τὴν ταραχὴν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ.

¹⁷³ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Virginitate*, 3.6: ὁ μὲν ὀφθαλμὸς περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον πέπηγε γέμων ταραχῆς καὶ πτοήσεως.

¹⁷⁴ Didymus, *commPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 142: οὐ μόνος, φησὶν, ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου, τουτέστιν ὁ νοῦς, ἐταράχθη ὑπὸ θυμοῦ. ... καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μου δὲ ἐταράχθη, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ ταραχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ. op. cit. p. 143: ὁ λεγόμενος οὖν ὀφθαλμὸς οὗτος νοητικὴ δύναμις τις οὐσα κυβερνᾷ τὴν ἄλλην ψυχὴν. ἐὰν οὖν οὗτος ταραχθῆ, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ συνταράσσεται. *commPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 266: "καὶ τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου οὐκ ἐστὶν μετ' ἐμοῦ". ὅταν ἡ καρδία ταραχθῆ, καὶ ἡ κατάλληλος τῇ καρδίᾳ ἰσχὺς ἐγκαταλείπει. ... ὅταν τοίνυν ταραχθῆ ἡ καρδία, καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς ἡ ἐνδυναμοῦσα τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον πόρρω γίνεταί, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φῶς τὸ φωτίζον τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον ἐγκαταλείπει τοῦτον ἐαυτὸν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ παραδεδωκότα.

Origen's catenae-fragments on the Psalms is one more indication of them having been compiled by Sabaite monks.¹⁷⁵ It is quite characteristic that Antiochus of Palestine wrote his account of the passion of *anger* copying from Cassian, whose works he no doubt found in the library of the Laura of Sabas.¹⁷⁶

Instances of meaningful expressions not occurring in the Latin text are of especial importance. One of them is reference to 'aerial bodies' of daemons.

The idea of 'aerial bodies' (ἀέρια σώματα),¹⁷⁷ although generally held to be Pythagorean, is actually older and comes from the Chaldaeans. Certainly the Pythagoreans held the air between heaven and earth to be full of beings of different ranks of life (an idea appearing in Paul, as well as in Origen). Epicurus rejected this tenet, and his dissent from the Pythagoreans was in fact known to the sixth-century polymath John Laurentius Lydus.¹⁷⁸ The same author tells us about the doctrine of three kinds of bodies, notably, material, aerial, and firey ones, which (he adds) was a tenet 'handed down by the Chaldaean'.¹⁷⁹ This designation does not have to point to one person, although this might be the case. 'The Chaldaean' is in fact a reference to the author of the Chaldaean Oracles, on which Porphyry wrote a commentary. This might be a collective epithet pointing to different authors who composed the corpus of maxims which the Greek knew of as the Λόγια, or it could be the specific person called Julian, a Chaldaean mentioned in the Suda *Lexicon*. Both Julian and his father (called Julian also) enjoy a lemma of their own. Julian the son was a Chaldaean miracle-worker and wrote books on issues of theurgy.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1176.40–42: Διὰ ταύτην τὴν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ταραχὴν οὐ καθαρῶς, ἀλλὰ συγκεχυμένως ὁρᾷ καὶ ὁ βλέπειν τὰ νοητὰ δοκῶν.

¹⁷⁶ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 23 (*Περὶ Ὁργῆς, De Ira*), PG.89.1504–1505: Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τῆς ὀργῆς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καρδίᾳ καθήμενον, τὸν μὲν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας σκοτειναῖς ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῖ. (See text in Appendix I).

¹⁷⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 89: ἀέριοις σώμασι.

¹⁷⁸ John Laurentius Lydus, *De Ostentis*, 21: Χαλδαῖοι γε μὴν δυνάμεων ἀέριων εἶναι φωνάς μὲν τὰς βροντάς φασι, δρόμους δὲ τὰς ἀστραπάς. τῷ δὲ Ἐπικούρῳ ἀπὸ ξηρᾶς ὀγκώσεως ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶτα ἐγγλειομένης τοῖς ὄρεσι, δίκην τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὄγκων, οὐπω διεξόδου τυχόντων, στρόφους καὶ τροχῶσεις ἐμποιοῦσι τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν λεγομένῳ κενῷ· οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνάμεων εἶναι πλήρη τὸν ἀνάμεσον οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς δίδωσι χώρον κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορείους.

¹⁷⁹ John Laurentius Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 2.8: τρεῖς δὲ σωματῶν διαφοραί· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὑλικά, τὰ δὲ ἀέρια, τὰ δὲ ἐμπύρια, ὡς ὁ Χαλδαῖος παραδίδωσι.

¹⁸⁰ Porphyry, *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* (*Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν Λογίων Φιλοσοφίας*). John Laurentius had studied this work and made mention of this. *De Mensibus*, 4.53: ὁ μὲντοι Πορφύριος ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι τῶν Λογίων τὸν δις ἐπέκεινα τουτέστι τὸν τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸν τὸν παρὰ Ἰουδαίων τιμώμενον εἶναι ἀξιότι, ὃν ὁ Χαλδαῖος δεῦτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαξ ἐπέκεινα, τουτέστι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ,

Aristotle had made mention of bodies of animals that are composite, which he contrasted to bodies which are 'simple', such as those made of either air or fire. However, never did Aristotle make the notion of 'aerial body' a main theme, far less a metaphysical one.¹⁸¹ Plotinus mentions such a kind of body, just taking the notion for granted,¹⁸² which an anonymous author in his commentary on Hesiod did, too.¹⁸³

Christian references identifying 'aerial bodies' with evil powers (which is somehow a tacit liability to Paul, Eph. 2:2) transpires in Eusebius only.¹⁸⁴ When Cyril of Alexandria mentions an 'aerial body', he suggests the theory so regarding the resurrected body of Jesus, yet he does so only to refute such an assumption.¹⁸⁵ Aeneas of Gaza advances the same thesis in a tract composed in the literary genre dialogue: 'how is it possible for the soul to suffer, if it is clothed in an aerial body? For it is impossible for it to suffer without a body.'¹⁸⁶ In the same vein, we have similar references in the text of the dialogue between Barsanuphius and John, which argues about the issue of bodies of the resurrected saints, not that of Jesus. Barsanuphius is asked to teach whether saints are raised in a physical body ('with bones and nerves'),

θεολογεί. So Suda also tells us. *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter pi, entry 2098 (Porphyry wrote four books on Julian's *Φιλοσόφος Ιστορία*). Julian the father (so Suda reports) wrote 'four books on daemons'. *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter iota, entry 433.

¹⁸¹ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 435a12: "Ὅτι δ' οὐχ οἶόν τε ἀπλοῦν εἶναι τὸ τοῦ ζώου σῶμα, φανερόν, λέγω δ' οἶον πύρινον ἢ ἀέρινον.

¹⁸² Plotinus, *Enneades*, 3,5.6: Καὶ γὰρ εἰ σῶματα προσλαμβάνουσι ἀέρινα ἢ πύρινα, ἀλλὰ δεῖ γε πρότερον διάφορον αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ μετὰσχωσι σώματος. 4.3.9: ἡ μὲν γὰρ γίνεται ψυχῆ ἐν σώματι οὕση τῆ τε μετενωματωμένη καὶ τῆ ἐκ σώματος ἀέρινον ἢ πυρίνου εἰς γήινον γινομένη.

¹⁸³ Scholia In Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies*, (scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni), Prolegomenon-scholion sch, page-verse 253 (the same in Scholia In Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies* [scholia vetera], Prolegomenon-scholion, verse 255): ἡέρα ἐσσαμενοι. Τὸ μὲν ἡέρα ἐνδεδῦσθαι δηλοῖ, τὸ ἡμῖν ἀφανεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀοράτους, ὡς ὁ ἀήρ ἢ καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀέρια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν σύστασιν, ὡσπερ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐμπύρια, καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα χθόνια, Τὸ δὲ πάντη φοιτᾶν, τὸ τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν ὀξεῖας εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἐφοράσεις αὐτῶν δι' ὄλων διήκειν, ὧν πράττομεν, ὧν φανταζόμεθα, ὧν διανοοῦμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἀέριοις χρώνται σχήμασιν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν ὀξέως αὐτοὺς ἐπιπορεύεσθαι πανταχοῦ ὅπου περ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν.

¹⁸⁴ Eusebius, *PE* (ref. to bodies of daemons), 5.2.1: χαίροντες οἱ τε τούτων ἄρχοντες ἀέριοί τινες ὑπάρχοντες ἢ καὶ καταχθόνιοι δυνάμεις.

¹⁸⁵ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 3, pp. 150–151: οὐκοῦν ἵνα μὴ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν οἶωνται τινες ἐγγιγέρθαι τὸν Κύριον, μήτε μὴν ἀνέπαφον σῶμα, σκιοειδές τε καὶ ἀέριον, ὅπερ ἔθος τισὶν ὀνομάζειν πνευματικόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἐσπαρμένον ἐν φθορᾷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου φωνήν.

¹⁸⁶ Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus sive De Animarum Immortalitate et Corporum Resurrectione Dialogus*, p. 54: Πῶς οὖν ἀλγήσει ἢ ψυχῆ τιμωρομένη, εἰ τὸ ἀέριον ἀνέλοιμεν σῶμα; Οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ σώματος ἀλγήσει.

or is their resurrected body ‘an aerial and round one’.¹⁸⁷ A reference by Gregory of Nyssa only means ‘the air’, not any sort of ‘aerial body’.¹⁸⁸ An unattributed text, which might be a sixth-century one, mentions the Stoics holding everything to be bodies, even god is a body, though an ‘aerial one’.¹⁸⁹

Therefore, the notion of ‘aerial body’ (ἀέριον σῶμα) makes an additional contribution to identifying Cassian. For indeed no Christian author after Eusebius other than Cassian ever entertained the specific idea and expression in relation to demons having ‘aerial bodies’. Besides, this is one more strong indication for the text of a commentary on Isaiah being the product of Cassian’s pen.¹⁹⁰

Furthermore, what this expression tells us is that Cassian is a sixth-century writer. For despite the casual reference by Aristotle, it was actually the sixth century that made much of the notion of aerial bodies. As a matter of fact, it is the Aristotelian commentator John Philoponus who seems to be persistently tantalised with rendering the notion clear.¹⁹¹ Besides, another

¹⁸⁷ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas*, 607: Περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἁγίων, εἰπέ μοι εἰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι ἐγείρονται ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν ἄρτι ἔχοντι ὄστρακα καὶ νεύρα, ἀλλ’ εἰ ἀέριον καὶ στρογγύλον;

¹⁸⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.249: ἡ τοιαύτη φωνὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκούοντων σύνεσιν ἐν τῷ ἀερίῳ σώματι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διετυπώθη κατὰ τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν τότε τῶν φθεγγομένων συνήθειαν γενομένη.

¹⁸⁹ Pseudo-David et Pseudo-Elias, *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium* (sixth–eighth cent.), Praxis 29, p. 67: [οἱ Στωικοί] καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ θεῖον σῶμα ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ λεπτομερὲς φύσει καὶ ἀέριον.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam* (spuriously ascribed to Basil of Caesarea), 10.237: οὕτω καὶ τὰ λίχνα δαιμόνια, θηρώμενα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰμάτων καὶ τῆς κνίσσης τῶν θυσιῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς εἰλείται, καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, τὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένα. Τάχα γὰρ που καὶ τρέφεται τὰ ἀέρια σώματα αὐτῶν, ἦτοι καὶ πύρινα, ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων μικτά. Δείκνυσι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία τῶν Βασιλείων, ὅτι προσεδρεύει ἡ δαιμονικὴ δύναμις τοῖς ἐπιφημισθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλμασιν. This text plays an important part in the phraseology of Cassian’s *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. The specific portion is in essence Scholion XXXV arguing that demons dwell in pagan statues.

¹⁹¹ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, v. 14.1, p. 30 (arguing that heavenly bodies are not ‘aerial’): τοῦτο οὖν ἅπαν τὸ κυκλοφοροῦμενον σῶμα οὔτε πύριον εἶναι φαμεν οὔτε ἀέριον, ἀλλ’ ἐτέρας παρὰ ταῦτα κυκλοφορικῆς σώματος οὐσίας. op. cit. v. 14.1, pp. 31–32 (setting out to distinguish an ‘aerial body’ from those which are either fiery or dry ones): καὶ αὕτη τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία προσεχῆς οὕσα τοῖς ἄνω σώμασι. μετ’ αὐτὴν ἄρα τὸ ἀέριον ἔσται σῶμα, μετρίως μὲν θερμὸν ὡς πλησιάζον τῷ πυρὶ, οὐκέτι δὲ καὶ ξηρὸν ὡς προσεχῆς κάτωθεν ὑπάρχον τῷ ὕδατι. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 17, p. 677: ἐὰν ἄρα τὸ κενὸν τοῦτο, δι’ οὗ τὰ ἀνισόρροπα ἰσταχῶς κινούνται, πληρώσωμεν ἀερίου σώματος. op. cit. v. 17, p. 829: εἰ δὲ πύριον ἢ ἀέριον ἢ τὸ τοῦ ζώου σῶμα. *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 415: ἔστιν οὖν τῶν πεποιωμένων σωμάτων ἕκαστον ἐξ ὑποκειμένου μὲν τοῦ τριχῆ διαστατοῦ, τουτέστιν τοῦ ἀποίοιο σώματος, εἶδους δὲ τοῦ πυρίου τυχόν ἢ ἀερίου ἢ τινος ἄλλου. *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 20: ἐν τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ ψυχῇ τὸν ἀσώματον καὶ ἀόρατον προσκνητέον θεόν—καὶ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀερίον ἔστιν ἀόρατον, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν—καὶ οὐχ ὡς σώματι τόπον ἀφοριστέον τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἐδόκει τῇ Σαμαρειτίδι πρὸς ἡν ὁ λόγος. op. cit. p. 207: τῶν φυτῶν τὴν ζωὴν αἰσθήσεων γὰρ καὶ τῆς

Aristotelian commentator, namely Olympiodorus of Alexandria, did so, even though his account is not relevant to Cassian's one. Olympiodorus tells us that 'according to Plato, the sphere of the air' (ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος σφαίρα) is 'the most befitting abode for the most perfect of souls who come to be born' in this world, which (so the author has it) is a tenet not sustained by Aristotle.¹⁹²

Cassian makes a plain reference to the πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας¹⁹³ of Eph. 6:12, adding that 'the air'¹⁹⁴ (alluding to Eph. 2:2) is heavily populated with their presence. His phraseology is imbued by this notion.¹⁹⁵

In this context it is worth exploring the germane expression ἀέριον πνεῦμα ('aerial spirit'), which denotes demonic power in authors whom we come upon over and over again while studying Cassian.¹⁹⁶ One can see that the

κατὰ τόπον μετέχει κινήσεως, ἀμυδροτέρας δὲ ταύτας πολλῶ τῶν ἀερίων ἔχει, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ διαφανές τε καὶ διηχές τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τὸ διοσμὸν ἐλάττω πολὺ τοῦ ἐν ἀέρι διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μὲν τοῦ ἀερίου λεπτομέρειαν, παχυμέρειαν δὲ πολλῶ τοῦ ὕδατος.

¹⁹² Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, p. 301: οὐ γὰρ πάσα ψυχὴ εἰς γένεσιν ἐρχομένη πάντως κάτεισιν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν τελειότεραι μέχρι τῆς τοῦ πυρός σφαίρας, κάκειθεν δὲ ἀναλαμβάνουσι πύρειον σῶμα δύσφθαρτον, ἄλλαι δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἀέριον σῶμα. καὶ ὅρος ἐστὶ ταῖς εἰς γένεσιν ἐρχομέναις τελειότεραις ψυχαῖς ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος σφαίρα. Μήποτε οὖν οὐ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει.

¹⁹³ The English translation of Eph. 6:12 ('spiritual wickedness') obscures the fact that Paul makes reference to evil *persons*, that is daemons, not to abstract *wickedness*.

¹⁹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 106^v: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν αὐτῶν πνευμάτων μανθάνομεν ὅτι οὕτως συσφίγγεται ὁ ἀήρ τῇ πυκνότητι αὐτῶν, ὥστε μεταξὺ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ἐκχύνεσθαι ἕως τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς.

¹⁹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 2^v: συνεπιτιθεμένων καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων. *OctoVit*, p. 45^v: τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα. op. cit. p. 46^v: τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας. op. cit. p. 46^v: νικήσαι σὺν Θεῷ τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας. op. cit. p. 47^v: τοὺς καρπούς ἐπιγινώσκουμεν τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος. op. cit. p. 52^v: πρόφασιν παρέχει πολέμου τῷ πονηρῷ τούτῳ δαίμονι. *SerenPrim*, p. 87^v: τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα γινώσκειν. op. cit. p. 91^v: τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας. op. cit. p. 93^v: τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ. op. cit. p. 96^v: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν. op. cit. p. 100^v: πνεύματα πονηρίας. op. cit. p. 100^v: τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας. *De Panareto*, p. 103^v: τοιαῦται πονηραὶ ἐξουσίαι. op. cit. p. 105^v: πολλοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ διαφόρους πεπτωκέναι σημαίνει, οἵτινες καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πονηρίᾳ. op. cit. p. 107^v: καὶ ἀλλήλοις πολεμοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πονηρίας ἕνεκα. op. cit. p. 108^v: μεταξὺ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀρχῶν. op. cit. p. 108^v: κατὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ. op. cit. p. 109^v: τῶν πονηροτάτων ἐξουσιῶν. op. cit. p. 109^v: δαίμονας, ... τοὺς ἐν πονηρίᾳ εὐδοκίμησαντας, op. cit. p. 109^v: δαίμων πονηροτάτος. op. cit. p. 117^v: ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τῆς πονηρίας θησαυροῦ. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion VI: υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων στρατευομένων ... τῷ πονηρῷ καὶ τῷ ἁμαρτίᾳ. Scholion XXXIII: οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ δαίμονες.

¹⁹⁶ Eusebius, *PE*, 5.3.1; *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.7. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Mortuis Non Esse Dolendum*, v. 9, p. 35. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 46.2; *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.352.12. Macarius of Magnesia, *Apocriticus seu Μονογενής*, Book 3, p. 145. Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 14.15.1. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 338. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 188. Severianus of Gabala, *Fragmenta in Epistolam ad Ephesios*, p. 308. Asterius of Amasea (fourth–fifth cent.), *Homiliae 1–14*, 12.10.3. Theodore of Mospuestia, *commProphXII*, Prophet Hosea, 4.19; op. cit. Prophet Amos,

Christian authors who make something of the expression ‘aerial spirit’ denoting daemons are only a few, and they all relate to Cassian’s background: Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Severianus of Gabala, Theodore of Mospuestia, Maximus Confessor. As regards the instances in both *De Trinitate* and Caesarius, I believe they are actually one more piece of evidence identifying Cassian as the author of these works.

The contracted form ἐσθότε for ἔστιν ὅτε (‘sometimes’)¹⁹⁷ is extremely scarce in Greek literature, which makes it a source of valuable reasoning. This term appears for the first time in Origen’s commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,¹⁹⁸ as well as in the catenae-fragments commenting on the Psalms. It is quite plausible that these fragments were composed at the Laura of Sabas along with those of Didymus, and constitute a precious source of Origenism rendered faithfully and authentically. The fragment on Psalm 90:5–6 ascribed to Origen is in fact one written by a monk such as Cassian, if not Cassian himself. Its content is almost the selfsame as the one in the present portion: this is about a monk who, at the time of midday, is attacked by the spirit of accidie, which makes him prone to lust.¹⁹⁹

The same term appears in Didymus, namely in his commentaries on Genesis and Job.²⁰⁰ They also appear in Didymus’ *frPs* (*e commentario altero*), but the context does not fit with the rest of Didymus’ work: since mention is made of ‘invisible crooks’ (ἀπατεώνων ἀοράτων), which is characteristic of Cassian’s *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, it should be remarked that nowhere does Didymus himself make reference to this notion. Quite simply, it is Cassian himself who by and large, but not verbatim, draws on Didymus.²⁰¹ The

4.12–13. Also, in *DT* (*lib. 3*), PG.39.953.1–11 and Caesarius, *QR*, 14.19; 102.2; 112.32. However, in Basil also the contrary (viz. positive) sense occurs: *De Spiritu Sancto*, 16.38 (heavenly angels); *Adversus Eunomium* (*libri 5*), PG.29.728.45 (the Holy Spirit). A positive sense of ἀέριον πνεῦμα transpires in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Coelesti Hierarchia*, p. 55. In John Philoponus the term is entertained in both senses: a negative sense (*De Opificio Mundi*, p. 19) and a positive one (op. cit. p. 20). Despite ambivalent usage, the negative connotation made its way into the Suda, *Lexicon*. Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 1099: Ἐναέριον: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον.

¹⁹⁷ *SerenPrim*, p. 88^v.

¹⁹⁸ Origen, *Commentarii in Romanos* (*III.5–V.7*) (P. Cair. 88748 + cod. Vat. gr. 762), pp. 132 & 148.

¹⁹⁹ Origen, *frPs*, Psalm 90:5–6: Δαίμονα δὲ μεσήμβριον ὀνομάζει τὴν ἀκαθίαν, ἦτοι τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν· συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦτο τισιν· ἐσθότε σύμπωμα τοίνυν πάσχοις τινές, ὅταν ὁ νοῦς ἐκλάσῃ πρὸς φιληθονίαν, ὅταν ἀτονήσῃ καρδία, κατενέχθῃ πρὸς φιλοσαρκίαν, ὅταν ἀκηδιάσῃ πρὸς τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα.

²⁰⁰ Didymus, *In Genesim*, Codex pp. 40; 165; 238; *commJob* (1–4), Codex pp. 21; 23; *commJob* (7.20c–11), Cod. p. 253; *commJob* (12.1–16.8a) (*partim in catenis*), Frs. 327; 353.

²⁰¹ Cf. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 788a: Σύνεσις γὰρ ἀγαθῆ πάσιν τοῖς ποιούσιν αὐτήν. οἱ ἀσύνετοι ὑπὸ παθῶν τε καὶ κακίας ταραττονται, ἐσθότε καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπατεώνων αἰσθητῶν καὶ ἀοράτων. Cassian

tract *De Trinitate* entertaining the same locution is a case of its own, since I believe that this is a work of Cassian.²⁰² The term also transpires in Cyril of Alexandria,²⁰³ which is natural, since Codex 573, the personal companion to Cassian, contains not only his own works, but also ones by Cyril of Alexandria.²⁰⁴

The last Christian author to entertain the term ἐσθότε is Cassian's contemporary Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, who uses it only in his commentary on Job, which probably suggests Olympiodorus having read the same commentary by Didymus, where the same term occurs.²⁰⁵ Only one grammarian honoured this term with use, and this was the dignitary Theognostus of Constantinople.²⁰⁶ Otherwise, the term ἐσθότε appears only in later legal Byzantine documents,²⁰⁷ never to show again in literature.

A certain expression describing the human condition as one 'bound up with flesh and blood' (σαρκί συνδεδεμένος), or simply 'bound up with flesh', recurs in Cassian.²⁰⁸ Could this possibly be a rendering by a translation from Latin? My contention is that it could not, since this is too pregnant with history to be used by a Latin author. The same theologians whom we have already noticed, in this case, Basil of Caesarea²⁰⁹ and Evagrius,²¹⁰ influenced Cassian. In turn Cassian handed his parlance over to Theodore Studites.²¹¹

the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIII: οὐκ ἀπ(ο)γνωστέον και περι ἀσάρκων τινῶν ψευδομάντ(ε)ων ταῦτα εἰρησθαι. The specific Scholion was written by Cassian himself. See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

²⁰² *DT* (lib. 2.1–7), 3.30.

²⁰³ Cyril of Alexandria, *expPs*, PG.69: 1144.43; 1208.48; 1256.14; 1265.10.

²⁰⁴ Codex 573, Folia 201^r–204^v, under the header, Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὸν Μελχισεδέκ ἐξήγησις ('Exegesis on Melchisedec by Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria').

²⁰⁵ Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *commJob*, pp. 136; 228; 263; 282; 307; 330.

²⁰⁶ Theognostus of Constantinople (Theognostus Protospatharius, grammarian, ninth cent.), *Canones sive De Orthographia*, 958.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *Scholia in Basilicorum Libros I–XI*, 15.4.3.5; 18.5.15.2. Also, *Prochiron vel Πρόχειρος Νόμος*, 34.1; *Prochiron Auctum*, 32.4, which is the same text also appearing in *Epanagoge*, 37.2.

²⁰⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 27a: οἱ σαρκί (συνδεδεμένοι) ἄνθρωποι τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐξομοιοῦνται. op. cit. p. 55b: ὅμως σαρκί και αἷματι συνδεδεμένος. *ScetPatr*, p. 59b: τῇ σαρκί ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος. *SerenPrim*, p. 81b: σαρκί συνδεδεμένον. op. cit. pp. 81b–82a: μηδένα δύνασθαι σαρκί συνδεδεμένον τοῖς ὕδασι ἐπιφέρεσθαι.

²⁰⁹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 8.7: οὐ τῶν συνδεδεμένων σαρκί και αἷματι τῆς τοιαύτης βασιλείας ἡ γνώσις.

²¹⁰ Evagrius of Pontus, *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 110: τοιαῦτα λέγων ὅποια μὴ δύνανται γινώσκειν οἱ ἐνδεδεμένοι αἷματι και σαρκί. So in *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholion 287B. *Scholia in Ecclesiasten (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholion 8: πᾶσαν δὲ λέγω γνώσιν, τὴν πεφυκυῖαν ἐπισμβάινειν ψυχῇ συνδεδεμένη αἷματι και σαρκί.

²¹¹ Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, 58.162: σαρκί και αἷματι συνδεδεμένοι, ἀσάρκως και ἀνάιμωζ ἀναγκαζόμεθα πολιτεῦσθαι.

The instance transpiring in the collection of letters ascribed to Photius,²¹² should be read with caution, since my thesis is that many of these letters have probably been penned by Cassian himself.

The phraseology of 2 Tim. 4:8 is not too rare in Christian literature, all the more so since it originates in the Old Testament.²¹³ Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius, Didymus, Basil of Caesarea, Chrysostom, and Theodoret made fairly much of it. However, expressing oneself by means of an 'athlete' having his head 'bound up' (ἀναδήσασθαι) with a 'wreath', is a illustration which comes from Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Philo.²¹⁴ Although present in some of the foregoing Christian authors, the expression of the 'wreath of righteousness' with which an athlete has his head 'bound' is a telling one. The instance of Cassian using this in relation to the 'thought of vainglory'²¹⁵ has a stunning parallel in Evagrius of Pontus, who also treats the evil thought of vainglory.²¹⁶ Cassian source therefore is plain, namely, Evagrius.

Beyond this, some Christian authors made some use of it, though in an attenuated sense. They are all relevant to Cassian: Eusebius, Basil of Caesarea, John of Damascus, Theodore Studites.²¹⁷ It is hard to allow this meaningful and heavily loaded phraseology to be simply the occasional product of someone translating from Latin. This is simply a Greek original instance. Besides, the Latin has no parallel to the Greek at this point.²¹⁸

²¹² Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 228, line 10: ἔτι σαρκί συνδεδεμένοις καὶ αἵματι. So in 80, line 499.

²¹³ Cf. Prov. 16:31. Also, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* (second cent. BC–third cent. AD), 3.8.2: ἀναστὰς ἔνδυσαι τὴν στολὴν τῆς ἱερατείας καὶ τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

²¹⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, 10.36.5. Philo, *De Agricultura*, 112.

²¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 53b: Ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος τελεί(ω)ς ἀθλήσαι καὶ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανον ἀναδήσασθαι.

²¹⁶ Evagrius of Pontus, *De Malignis Cogitationibus* (sub nomine Nili Ancyran), PG. 79.1228.2–6: Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κενοδοξίας λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων λογισμῶν ὁμοίως φανερωθήσεται. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ νοῦν πνιγόμενον ὑπὸ τοιούτων παραστήται Θεῶ, καὶ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀναδήσασθαι στέφανον.

²¹⁷ Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.9: γὰρ νικηταὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀγῶνος ἀποφανθέντες στεφάνῳ εὐφροσύνης ἀναδήσονται, ὃν καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν “λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος”. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 165.1: Ὅντως πρέποντα ἀθλητῆ Χριστοῦ τὰ δῶρα: μάρτυς τῆς ἀληθείας ἄρτι τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀναδησάμενος στέφανον. *Homilia in Psalmum 115*, PG.30.112.6–10 (ref. to the soul): ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγῶνων δεδοξαμένη, καὶ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀναδησαμένη στέφανον. John of Damascus, *Laudatio Sanctae Barbarae*, PG.96.812.51–53: Τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σοι ἀπόκειται στέφανος, ὃνπερ ἀξίως ἀναδησαμένη, ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανοῖς κατέσπευαι. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, p. 516: σωφροσύνη γὰρ καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἤδη προκατάρθωτο αὐτῶ, ὡς τὸν στέφανον τῆς σωφροσύνης ἀναδησαμένῳ. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catesheseos Magnae*, Catecheses 19, p. 136 & 27, p. 22.

²¹⁸ Cf. op. cit. XL15–16.

With reference to the soul, the Greek text considers ‘hypostasis’ and ‘substance’ as alternatives (τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἤτοι οὐσίαν).²¹⁹ The Latin has only *substantia*.²²⁰ It could be subsequently urged that a Greek translator rendered this bifurcated resolution, which applies equally to *substantia*, even though Greek thought had long before worked out refined accounts of both terms. In other words, it would be urged that the allegedly Greek translation has rendered both terms (ὑπόστασιν and οὐσίαν) in Greek as a kind of gloss to the Latin *substantia*. To this argument however, one could reply by pointing out that the Greek text returns to ὑπόστασις and οὐσία a little further,²²¹ whereas the Latin does not.²²² Therefore, the case is not one of a Greek translator striving to render a supposed *substantia* in Greek; rather, Cassian entertained both terms, as I canvass in an endnote to the Greek text.²²³ Furthermore, when the Greek has it τὰς νοερὰς οὐσίας, the corresponding Latin goes *substantia*. No gloss exists in either version.²²⁴ Nevertheless, other points evince Cassian having a clear grasp of ὑπόστασις.²²⁵ Besides, the distinctive expression referring to God’s ‘blessed and incomprehensible substance’ (τῆ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρία καὶ ἀκατάληπτω οὐσίᾳ)²²⁶ is a downright liability to Athanasius.²²⁷ Why does Cassian then use ὑπόστασις and οὐσία in apposition? Does he take them to be synonyms, indeed exchangeable? The answer is no. The instance of Cassian using ὑπόστασις along with οὐσία²²⁸ can only be explained by reading an erudite Monophysite such as John

²¹⁹ I canvass this in endnote 21 (pp. 300–302) to the Greek text, Cod. p. 85^v.

²²⁰ *Institutiones*, VII.12: PL.49.682A: animae substantiam.

²²¹ Cod. p. 86^v: τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας.

²²² Cod. p. 86^v: μόνη ἐστὶν τῆ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι’ ἄλλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα. Cf. *Institutiones*, VII.12: PL.49.683A–684A: Quod soli est possibile Trinitati, quae sic universae intellectualis naturae efficitur penetratrix, ut non solum circumplecti eam atque ambire, sed etiam illabi ei, et velut incorporea corpori possit infundi.

²²³ See endnote 21 (pp. 300–302) to the Greek text in the edition volume.

²²⁴ Cf. *Institutiones*, VII.12: PL.49.685A: Quibus manifeste colligitur nihil esse incorporeum, nisi solum Deum, et idcirco ipsi tantummodo posse penetrabiles omnes spirituales atque intellectuales esse substantias, eo quod solus totus et ubique et in omnibus sit.

²²⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Parate*, p. 103^v: Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογήσωμέν ποτε δημιουργήσαντά τι καθ’ ὑπόστασιν κακόν.

²²⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^r. Cf. Latin, *Institutiones*, I.15, PL.49.505A: incomprehensibilis substantiae suae.

²²⁷ Athanasius, *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, 35.2: ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπλήν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ ἀκατάληπτον τοῦ ὄντος οὐσίαν νοοῦμεν. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *Eclogeae i-xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.699.14–16: Ἀκούετωσαν οἱ τὴν μακαρίαν τῆς θεότητος οὐσίαν περιεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀκατάληπτον ἐκείνην φύσιν καταληπτὴν εἶναι λέγοντες.

²²⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 83^v.

Philoponus: for he did so, yet he had a clear grasp of the import of both of them. ‘Essence’ is the general substratum, ‘hypostasis’ is the individual being,²²⁹ which is the premise (already known to Basil of Caesarea) for him to use both terms in apposition.²³⁰ This is the case with Cassian’s text: τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἧτοι οὐσίαν only means ‘an individual soul, or the essence of the soul in general’. It is well known since the eve of the Council of Nicaea that such a differentiation was incomprehensible to any Latin. Things are therefore plain: were this text originally written in Latin, both terms should have been rendered as *substantia*, and no need for alternatives such as ὑπόστασις or οὐσία should be needed in the alleged Greek translation. When therefore Cassian makes reference to τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἧτοι οὐσίαν,²³¹ he treats the two terms bearing in mind the clear distinction that had been drawn between them since the times of Basil of Caesarea, which was conveniently entertained by John Philoponus.

At the end of the Greek text of *Institutiones*, the abbot sums up the steps which he had advised the newly consecrated novice to follow in the pursuit of virtue and perfection. However, there is a considerable difference in this exposition. In the Latin recapitulation by the abbot addressing the novice, the Greek ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή (‘kind obedience’) has been replaced by the notion of *conpunctio salutaris*, which I should have thought to be an adaptation to the Augustinian spirit.²³² Had the Greek been a translation from the Latin, one should wonder as to the reason why some differences should have taken place. All an assumed Greek translator could have wished

²²⁹ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 17, p. 780: ἐνταῦθα οὖν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς οὐσίας φησὶ τῆς ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα ὄλης ὑφ’ ἑσθηκείας.

²³⁰ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 99: ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ, τῇ μέντοι ὑποστάσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ μόνον τὸ σῶμα μεριστόν ἐστιν. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 55: αἱ δὲ ὁμῶνυμοι φωναὶ οὐσίας ἢ ὄλης ὑποστάσεως τινος κοινῆς οὐκ οὐσα δηλωτικαὶ, πῶς ἂν λέγοντο ἢ γίνεσθαι ἢ μὴ γίνεσθαι;

²³¹ Cod. p. 85^v; also, Cod. p. 86^v: τῇ Τριάδι ... πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει δι’ ὄλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία.

²³² Cf. both texts. Latin, *Institutiones*, IV.43, PL.49.201B–202B. 1. Timor Domini (fear of the Lord). 2. Conpunctio salutaris (salutary compunction). 3. Abrenuntiatio, id est, nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum (renunciation, i.e. nakedness and contempt of all possessions). 4. Humilitas (humility). 5. Mortificatio voluntatum (mortification of personal will). 6. Extirpantur atque marcescunt universa vitia (all faults are extirpated and decay). 7. Virtutes fructificant atque succrescunt (virtues shoot up and increase). 8. Puritas cordis (purity of heart). 9. Apostolicae charitatis perfectio (perfection of apostolic love). Greek text, Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, pp. 22^f: 1. Fear of God. 2. Kind obedience. 3. Submission and contempt for all things of the world. 4. Humility. 5. Mortification of one’s selfish desires. 6. The roots of pleasures are withered. 7 All the defects of the soul are cast out. 8. Virtues produce fruits and grow. 9. Cleanness of heart is attained. 10. Apostolic perfection.

would have been mere rendering of the Latin text. But if the Latin is actually a translation from the Greek (which I urge to be the case), then there were good reasons for the Greek original to have been adapted to the Western spirit of monasticism.

Styling 'night-office' (normally called 'vigil', ἀγρυπνία) a 'momentous weapon' is not a common designation, yet²³³ Antiochus of Palestine, writing seventy years later at the Laura of Sabas,²³⁴ followed Cassian. The same goes for Cassian's admirer John Climacus,²³⁵ as well as for Greek translation of Ephraem Syrus.²³⁶

The expression τελειοτάτη ἀρετή ('most perfect virtue')²³⁷ comes from Chrysippus and only a handful of authors used it.²³⁸ Of Christian authors besides Cassian, it was only Theodoret that entertained both the notion and the expression,²³⁹ which does not transpire in the parallel Latin.²⁴⁰

Considering the term μιμητὴν ἀγγέλων ('imitator of the angels'),²⁴¹ a casual reference by Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Theodoret,

²³³ Cf. Latin text, *Institutiones*, II.2, PL.49.292A–B: Ante omnia vero pervigil necessaria est sollicitudo nocturna. Nam sicut puritas et custodia diei nocturnam praeparant castitatem, ita nocturnae vigiliae cordi pariter et observationi diurnae statum solidissimum roburque praemittunt.

²³⁴ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 104, line 2: ἀγρυπνία μέγα ὄπλον καὶ καλὸν ἡμῖν παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδωρηται.

²³⁵ John Climacus *Scala Paradisi*, 20, col. 940: ἀγρυπνία πυρώσεως θραύσις. This chapter starts with the simile of 'night-office' being a 'weapon'.

²³⁶ Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo Asceticus*, p. 141: Εἰς πόλεμον κληθεῖς, χωρὶς ὄπλων τοῖς ἐχθροῖς θέλεις παρατάξασθαι. Ἄντι ἀγρυπνίας, ὕπνω καταφερόμενος; *Sermo Paraeneticus De Secundo Aduentu Domini; et De Paenitentia*, p. 207: Εἰς πόλεμον, καὶ σὺ χωρὶς ὄπλων βούλει εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν; Εἰς ἀγρυπνίαν, καὶ σὺ ὕπνω καταφέρῃ; Cf. an attenuated parallel in Nilus of Ancyra, *Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum*, 72: ἀλλὰ καὶ παρασκευῆ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ γυμνασίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀγρυπνίᾳ φυλακτικῇ.

²³⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 5^v.

²³⁸ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 459: ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, 9: κρατίστην ἀπασῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ τελειοτάτην. Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 116–117: αὐρὰ τινὶ τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐπιπνευσθέντα. *De Specialibus Legibus (lib. i–iv)*, 2.68: τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐπιδοῦναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τελειοτάτην. *De Aeternitate Mundi*, 75 (quoting Chrysippus): ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, p. 114: καὶ τὴν τελειοτάτην ἀρετὴν γινώσκειν δικαιοσύνην, ἧς συμπληρωτικαὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ καὶ ἧς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὄφελος. John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 13,1, pp. 145–146: ὃ γὰρ φρόνησις πάρεστι, πάντα γνώριμα τὰ πρακτέα τελειοτάτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀρετή.

²³⁹ Theodoret, *Quaestiones In Octateuchum*, p. 207: καὶ μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῇ τελειοτάτῃ ἀρετῇ τοῦ νομοθέτου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡ παροιμία. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.117.42–44: Ὁ δὲ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς τὴν τελειοτάτην δεικνύς ἀρετὴν, ἔφη.

²⁴⁰ Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.7, PL.49.161B: alii traditur seniori, qui decem junioribus praeest, quos sibi creditos ab abbate instituit pariter, et gubernat: secundum illud scilicet quod ordinatum in Exodo legimus per Moysen.

²⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 26^v.

probably supplied Cassian with his language.²⁴² Once again, Cassian's notion of a monk becoming imitator of the angels occurs in translations of Ephraem Syrus,²⁴³ where we come upon a point which is the selfsame as the one Cassian does here.²⁴⁴ Whether John Chrysostom himself ever used this expression is to be doubted, since this shows only in spuria under his name.²⁴⁵ The Latin is faithful to the original Greek.²⁴⁶ Should we accept that a Latin author picked up the rare construction from these Christian authors and rendered it through the Latin language? Or rather do we have to allow for the plausible possibility that the Latin expression is a mere translation of the Greek one?

Likewise, the expression πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυποῦσθαι ('to be trained towards virtue')²⁴⁷ is singularly characteristic of Gregory of Nazianzus. No author other than Cassian did ever take this up.²⁴⁸ This is why the expression probably appeared bizarre to a Latin-speaking translator: the parallel Latin text has no inkling of this distinctive influence upon Cassian.²⁴⁹

On the whole, there is abundance of expressions that are loaded with a long and meaningful history, yet they appeared as rather eccentric or

²⁴² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, 11: πρὸς μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων διαγωγῆς ἐρρυθμίζετο. In Epiphanius of Salamis there is a single instance, too. *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 402: Ἐλισσαῖος καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ πάντες οἱ τὸν μέγαν τουτοὶ χαρακτήρα τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων μιμήσεως (ἐνδείξαντες) καλῶς. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1929.31–32: Μιμησόμεθα, φησί, τῶν ἀγγέλων τοὺς δῆμους.

²⁴³ Ephraem Syrus, *Paraenesis ad Ascetas (ordine alphabetico)*, p. 341: Ζωὴ μοναχοῦ κατὰ μίμησιν ἀγγέλων γινέσθω.

²⁴⁴ Ephraem Syrus, op. cit. p. 346: Μίμημα ἀγγέλων μοναχὸς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγαθῆς, ὃς οὐκ ἐτρώθη τοξέματι ἡδονῆς.

²⁴⁵ Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Mediam Hebdomadam Jejuniorum*, PG.59.702.56. *De Jejunio*, PG.62: 734.41; 736.57.

²⁴⁶ Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.6, PL.49.275A: Nulla enim virtute tam proprie carnales homines spiritalibus angelis imitatione conversationis aequantur, quam merito et gratia castitatis, per quam adhuc in terra degentes habent.

²⁴⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 6^r. Cf. *ScetPatr*, p. 78^r.

²⁴⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae*, 157.3: Βούλομαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἦθος τυποῦσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν τῇ σῆ τελειότητι συνεχῶς ἐντυγχάνοντα. *Funeris Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia Episcopi (orat. 43)*, 20.4: ἐπειδὴ κἀντεῦθεν ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυποῦσθαι τοὺς νέους ἢ πρὸς κακίαν. Pseudo-Zonaras quoted from Gregory in order to explain the meaning of the verb τυποῦσθαι (= to form the character of a person, especially young). *Lexicon*, Alphabetical letter tau, p. 1757: Τυποῦνται. πλάττονται. τοῦ Θεολόγου· ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυποῦσθαι τοὺς νέους, ἢ πρὸς κακίαν.

²⁴⁹ Cf. *Institutiones*, IV.9, PL.49.161B–162A: Ita fit ut in nullo circumvenire juvenem callidus inimicus velut inexpertum ignarumque praevalcat, nec ulla fraude decipere, quem praevidet non sua, sed senioris discretionem muniri, et suggestiones suas velut ignita jacula, quaecumque in cor ejus iniecerit, ut seniore celet, non posse suaderi. Aliter quippe subtilissimus diabolus illudere vel decipere juniorem non poterit, nisi cum eum, seu per arrogantiam, sive per verecundiam, ad cogitationum suarum velamen illexerit. Generale namque et evidens indicium diabolicae cogitationis esse pronuntiant si eam seniori confundamur aperire.

grotesque to a Latin-speaking person, who appears to opt for eschewing them rather than rendering a verbatim translation. To cite an instance, the expression ἔξιν ἀστειότεραν σώματος ('a strong physical constitution of a body'),²⁵⁰ which meant a lot to Cassian, was not dignified with a translation of its own in the Latin text. At the relevant point, the Latin retains the meaning faithfully, but the Greek tradition which Cassian's expression is loaded with could not be transferred in a foreign language.²⁵¹ The same goes for the notion of 'governance of life' (ζωῆς κυβέρνησις):²⁵² when the Latin translator came upon it for the first time, he opted for eschewing it.²⁵³ But when he saw this used once again along with a scriptural reference, which makes its allegorical operation plain, he translated it to the Greek text faithfully.²⁵⁴

The expression διαβολικῆς κακουργίας ('devilish villainy')²⁵⁵ is an extremely rare one appearing only casually in two theologians, at two points in each one of them.²⁵⁶ Cassian was certainly aware of Cyril's commentary on the gospel of John, and so must he have been of the acts of Chalcedon, where the expression is present, too.²⁵⁷ Handy and telling though the phrase is, it did not enjoy any further currency at all. Besides, the expression ὁ τῶν κακῶν

²⁵⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 23^r.

²⁵¹ Cf. *Institutiones*, V.5, PL.49. 209B–210A: Itaque super jejuniorum modo haud potest facile uniformis regula custodiri, quia nec robur unum cunctis corporibus inest, nec, sicut caeterae virtutes, animi solius rigore parantur. Et idcirco quia non in sola fortitudine mentis consistunt, cum corporis enim possibilitate participant, talem super his definitionem traditam nobis accepimus, diversum esse refectionis quidem tempus ac modum et qualitatem, pro impari scilicet corporum statu, *vel* aetate ac sexu: unam tamen esse omnibus pro mentis continentia et animi virtute castigationis regulam.

²⁵² Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 24^v: τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς ζωῆς κυβέρνησιν. *ScetPatr*, 65^v: αὕτη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς λέγεται κυβέρνησις. See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, endnote 4 (pp. 153–154) to the Greek text.

²⁵³ Cf. *Institutiones*, V.6, PL.49.224A: Non ergo curam ejus omnimodis interdixit, sed ut in desiderii fieret, denegavit.

²⁵⁴ Cassian himself explains the notion in *ScetPatr*, p. 65^v, arguing that this is the meaning of Prov. 11:14: Αὕτη καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ζωῆς λέγεται κυβέρνησις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, οἷς μὴ ὑπάρχει κυβέρνησις πίπτουσι ὡς φύλλα. Hence, *Collationes*, II.4, PL.49.528A: *Haec vitae nostrae gubernatio dicitur secundum illum, Quibus non est gubernatio, cadunt ut folia.*

²⁵⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 28^r.

²⁵⁶ John Chrysostom, *De Lazaro* (*homiliae* 1–7), PG.48.978.23–24: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο διαβολικῆς κακουργίας ἐστίν. In *Matthaeum* (*homiliae* 1–90), PG.57.340.31: Συνειδότες τοῖνυν τὴν κακουργίαν τὴν διαβολικὴν. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, p. 372: τῶν ἐκ διαβολικῆς κακουργίας ἐσκευασμένων. *Commentarii in Lucam* (*in catenis*), PG.72.668.9–10: Μηδεμία οὖν διαβολικῆ κακουργία ὑμᾶς ἀποσπάση.

²⁵⁷ ACO, *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,1, p. 14 (*apud* the Tome of Leo): ὁ τῆ κακουργία τῆς διαβολικῆς κακίας πρὸς ἀμαρτίαν συνελθεῖς p. 26 (a text ascribed to Cyril): ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ διαβολικὴ κακουργία λεπτομερῶς ἀπατώσα τοὺς ἀφελεστερόους.

ἀπατεῶν ('the deceiver [who is a perpetrator] of evil'), which transpires a few words further, remained a phrase characteristic of Cassian himself for ever, and was employed by no other author. On account of the rarity of such expressions, the Latin translator opted for a paraphrase of his own.²⁵⁸ So he did with the expression τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακῆν ('watchfulness of thoughts'),²⁵⁹ which Maximus Confessor took up precisely as Cassian had formed it,²⁶⁰ not to be followed by any other author. Likewise, when the Latin renders καρδίας συντριμμός ('contrition of heart')²⁶¹ as *contritio spiritus*, he may be not far from a literal rendering,²⁶² yet he is plainly unaware of the history of the expression, which otherwise he could have rendered verbatim. The same goes for the expression ὑπνῷ βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας ('after having sunk him into deep sleep'),²⁶³ and the list of similar instances could go on far too long to exhaust. The reader is, therefore, referred to the endnotes to the Greek edited text, where several similar points are made.

A Sixth-Century Writer

In the previous chapter, we saw Cassian writing in a spirit of antipathy for the monastic ethos of his time, which had degenerated into carelessness and indolence.²⁶⁴ He was ostensibly describing Egyptian monasteries, yet in fact he was expressing his own frustration from his own experience. He never mentions any dates, of course. This, however, another witness somehow did with respect to the monastic life of the sixth century: he was John Moschus,

²⁵⁸ Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.3, PL.49.283A–284A: Haec erit igitur purgationis hujus prima custodia, ut cum menti nostrae memoria sexus feminei per subtilem suggestionem diabolicae calliditatis obrepserit, primum recordatione praemissa matris, sororum, parentum, seu certe feminarum sanctarum, quantocius eam de nostris recessibus [sensibus] extrudere festinemus; ne si fuerimus in ea diutius immorati, occasione sexus semel indepti illex malorum ad eas personas exinde subtiliter devolvat ac praecipitet mentem, per quas noxias cogitationes possit inserere.

²⁵⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 26^v. Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.269B: ne escarum abundantia referta caro, praeceptis animae salutaribus adversata, rectorem suum spiritum deiciat insolescens.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones et Dubia*, 46: τὴν δὲ συγκατάθεσιν διὰ τῆς προσοχῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακῆς.

²⁶¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 25^v. See endnote 5 (pp. 154–155) to the Greek text.

²⁶² Cf. *Institutiones*, VI.1, PL.49.268A: Nec enim sufficit solum corporale jejunium ad conquirendam *vel* possidendam perfectae castimoniae puritatem, nisi praecesserit contritio spiritus.

²⁶³ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 48^v. Cf. *Institutiones*, X.2, PL.49.367B: seu somni solius solatio posse aestimet inveniri. See endnote 35 (p. 164) to the Greek text.

²⁶⁴ See *supra*, "Cassian and other anchorites", pp. 120; 126; 136.

who (along with his companion and pupil Sophronius) visited the region in c. 590 and spent almost fifteen years living there. He mentions an elderly hesychast named abba Elias, who lived in the monastery of the Cave and complained to him about the moral decline during his time. “In the days of our fathers, three virtues were cherished: poverty, mildness, and temperance (ἡ ἀκτημοσύνη, ἡ πραότης, καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια); but nowadays, avarice, gluttony, and insolence (ἡ πλεονεξία, καὶ ἡ γαστριμαργία, καὶ ἡ θρασύτης) rule over the monks”. He speaks in the same terms and in exactly the same spirit of nostalgia for a lost sense of morality and reverence, which Cassian himself mourns, too, thus somehow identifying the time when he wrote his *Institutions*.²⁶⁵ It is therefore worthwhile to explore the implicit terms, which determine Cassian himself as a sixth-century writer.

After the first Origenistic controversy of the fifth century, there is a shift of emphasis from abstract knowledge (γνώσις) to concrete action (πράξις). It has been suggested that in the monastic generation of the early fifth century (following the first Origenistic crisis) 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’.²⁶⁶ In texts such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, one can notice a reluctance to make much of the contemplative factor and probably the redaction of this collection was influenced by this tendency. I myself believe that this was a reaction to what was taken to be Origenism. Rejecting too much of theory, and abiding by real praxis as an ultimate goal, was in all probability seen as the safe way not to fall into abstract and adventurous formulations, which eventually would prove heretic. Perhaps this was seen as a return to the initial simple message of Christianity justifying modern scholars (mostly not friendly to Christianity), who argued that the catholic orthodoxy which emerged from the struggles during Late Antiquity only demonstrate that this late antique religion had little to do with Jesus and betrayed the essence of the religion it claimed to represent. In other words, the Nicene Christianity has been viewed as sheer deviation from the more sympathetic primitive Christianity. Intellectualism was of course branded the culprit, at the door of which all blame was laid. Following the rage of the first Origenistic controversy, it was deemed safe to set forth a different ideal: to capture a less tendentious and more ‘authentic’ Christianity. The means to accomplish this was emphasis on *praxis* at the expense of *theory*.

²⁶⁵ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, 52, p. 2908.

²⁶⁶ J. Driscoll, *The ‘Ad Monachos’ of Evagrius Ponticus*, Its Structure and a Select commentary, Roma, 1991, p. 356.

During the sixth century, however, the need for theorising appeared once again as a real one. It was felt, it seems, that one cannot confront heresies by mere praxis alone—and heresy (or, what was seen as such) was raging all around. Both Nestorius and Eutyches had set forth Christological propositions which were simply impossible to tangle by mere monastic hesychasm. This was in fact a seed for the dispute among the monks in Palestine. The need for a return to theory gave rise to the intellectual need to read Origen once again, which caused the second Origenistic controversy. How little Origen's real theology had to do with what was styled 'Origenism' is hardly necessary to emphasise.

The text which best demonstrates this tension is the biographies by Cyril of Scythopolis, the monk who disliked (actually dreaded) all theoretical discussion, simply because he was unable to follow theological debate. Therefore, any person who tended to engage in theoretical discussion of this kind of issues was promptly branded an 'Origenist'. At the same time, any detractor or censor felt that he did not need to have any direct or learned knowledge of Origen's texts in order to hurl the obloquy. According to Cyril, the supreme goal of asceticism is not *θεωρία*, but *πράξις*.²⁶⁷ The goal is to become a 'citizen of the heavens' and the chronicler reserves the term *οὐρανοπολίτης* only to his heroes, such as Euthymius, Sabas, and Theodosius.²⁶⁸ In order to attain to this ideal, there is only one way, which is love, 'the source and goal of every good work'.²⁶⁹ All one needs, therefore, is to emulate the paradigmatic lives of the anchorites, which Cyril himself chose to record for posterity. Those pious figures attained to *παρρησία vis-à-vis* God, which means that they accomplished all knowledge through the path of righteousness. The lesson was that there is no need to engage in theoretical discussions during this life: knowledge is anyway reserved for all those who practise love in this world, and this knowledge will be profusely available in the afterlife. A characteristic and succinct instance of this lesson is the text of Barsanuphius and John. All theory or reading was virtually despised, which was illustrated by the example of abba Pambo, who spent

²⁶⁷ Unless quoting Paul, 2 Cor. 10, Cyril of Scythopolis avoids the term *γνώσις*. *Vita Euthymii*, p. 14; *Vita Joannis Hesychoastae*, p. 203. Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, p. 177. Quoting Rom. 11:33 in *Vita Joannis Hesychoastae*, p. 221. That the term *γνωστικός* never appears in Cyril comes as no surprise.

²⁶⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 8: 'Ο οὐρανοπολίτης Εὐθύμιος. *op. cit.* p. 84: τοῦ οὐρανοπολίτου Σάβα. *Vita Sabae*, p. 86: ὁ τῆς ἐπουρανοῦ μητροπόλεως γερονῶς πολίτης Σάβας. *Vita Theodosii*, p. 235: Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος καὶ οὐρανοπολίτης.

²⁶⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 58: ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος πάσης ἀγαθοεργίας τὴν εἰλικρινῆ ἀγάπην διὰ παντὸς κτήσασθε σύνδεσμον οὖσαν τῆς τελειότητος.

nineteen years just to learn only half a Psalm verse. When he came across Psalm 38:1, 'I shall watch over my ways, so that I shall not sin with my tongue', he refused to receive any further teaching and spent nineteen years in order to learn how to put this verse into practice, which, so he said, he barely achieved.²⁷⁰

This, however, was only one aspect of theological reflection in the sixth century. The flip side of the coin was heavy theorisation entertained by some eminent intellectuals, such as John Philoponus. As a philosopher, he engaged in Aristotelian commentary, while as a Christian, he sustained the philosophical premisses of the Monophysite doctrine.

Hardly could Cassian instruct monks to pause reading of Scripture until they were able to accomplish what they had read. At one point he quotes the portion of Psalm 38:1 (which abba Pambo refused to learn the whole of, but only half of it) and his enjoinder to monks is that they should 'keep on studying', not simply pause and try to put the passage in practice.²⁷¹ The task of a monk is the threefold activity comprising manual work, study and prayer.²⁷² Study (μελέτη) is a principal priority and duty in everyday life. This is over and again emphasised as being indispensable for accomplishing the monastic ideal.²⁷³ Study is not acclaimed as a state of perfection in itself. This is only a 'tool' for attaining to perfection, yet it is necessary along with vigils, fasting, renunciation of wealth, and the like.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 4.23.

²⁷¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 20^v.

²⁷² *Op. cit.* p. 6^v: Καθήμενοι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κελλίοις, καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ μετὰ σπουδῆς προσέχοντες.

²⁷³ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 3^r: ἀλλ' ἕνα ἕκαστον προσέχοντα τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τῇ μελέτῃ. *OctoVit*, p. 25^v: Οὕτε γὰρ ἰκανὴ ὑπάρχει μόνῃ ἢ σωματικῇ νηστείᾳ πρὸς κτήσιν τῆς τελείας σωφροσύνης, καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀγνείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ καρδίας γένηται συντριμμὸς καὶ πυκνὴ τῶν γραφῶν μελέτη καὶ εὐχή πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτενής, καὶ κοινὴ τῶν θείων Γραφῶν μελέτη, καὶ κάματος καὶ ἔργον χειρῶν, ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς συστέλλειν, p. 26^r: Χρὴ τοίνυν μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ σωματικῇ νηστείᾳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ προσοχῇ τῶν λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ πνευματικῇ μελέτῃ. p. 48^r: Αὕτη δὲ θεραπεύεται διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εὐλαβῶν συνδιαγωγῆς. *ScetPatr*, p. 61^v: ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς μελετῶμεν τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς ψαλμοὺς καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀδολεσχῶμεν, νηστείας τε καὶ ἀγρυπνίας προσασχολώμεθα. p. 62^r: ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ ἔστιν δοῦναι αὐτῇ ἢ πνευματικῇ μελέτῃ ἢ σαρκικῇ ἐργασίᾳ. *SerenPrim*, p. 82^r: ἐγγυμνάζειν αὐτὸν πνευματικαῖς μελέταις καὶ ἀγαθαῖς ἐνθυμήσεσιν. 82^{r-v}: Ὅταν δὲ τῇ πολυχρονίῳ ἀσκήσει καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐν ἕξει γένηται τῶν καλῶν.

²⁷⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 59^{r-v}: Καὶ γὰρ νηστεία καὶ αἱ ἀγρυπνία καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἡ γύμνωσις τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ ἡ ἀποταγὴ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ ἔστιν τελειότης, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ τελειότητος ἐργαλεῖα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐν τούτοις εὐρίσκεται ἡ τελειότης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων προσγίνεται.

Therefore, exhortation to *study* (μελέτη) recurs in Cassian's texts. This, however, is not arid intellectualism: it is part of Cassian's methodology. Only once man is conscious of his own passions, is he able to confront them. The struggle is to get rid of all passions—man has to learn how not to be ἐμπαθής.²⁷⁵ The terrain for this conflict to be won is the inward man, not simply practical activity. Evagrius (346–399) had made πρακτική an *ad hoc* technical term for the preliminary stage of ascetic practice, when the novice only had to obey his elder and share all of his secret thoughts with him. This activity however is subordinate to the complementary, and superior, stage of γνωστική. Cassian, by the same token, takes 'practical' habits as an intermediate state, certainly superior to a 'babyish' one, yet inferior to a 'gnostic' conduct.²⁷⁶ This is why he stresses that the way to eradicate sin is to extirpate the 'roots' of it,²⁷⁷ which he sees as the essence of the moral teaching of the Gospel.²⁷⁸ The 'roots' of sin lie in the 'thoughts' (or, considerations, λογισμοί) of a man, pending exercise of his own free will. A monk is incessantly at the crossroads and conflicting thoughts demand resolution by the inward man all the time. For the war is waged within and it is actually the inner man that either wins or loses a battle. Following this, it is only all too natural for Cassian to stress the importance of what happens in the contemplative rather than in the practical ground, since the former is the root and cause of the latter.²⁷⁹

One therefore would plausibly wonder as to what other than *intellectualism* prevailing over concrete action would this be styled. For indeed it appears that the Evagriian spirit of intellectualism had returned after more than one century. However, during this period, the anti-intellectual monastic spirit had been holding the fray. No place other than the Laura of Sabas and the New Laura could possibly portray this conflict better, and Cassian

²⁷⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 39^v; 40^v; 43^r; *ScetPatr*, p. 82^r; *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XVI.

²⁷⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 102^v: Διὰ τῶν θεωριῶν οὖν τούτων τρέφει ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἕξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν νηπιώδη λέγω καὶ τὴν πρακτικὴν καὶ τὴν γνωστικὴν.

²⁷⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 22^r; *OctoVit*, pp. 30^r; 32^r; 37^r.

²⁷⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 43^v: Τὰς ρίζας γὰρ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐκκόπτειν παραγγέλλει ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία, ἥπερ τοὺς καρπούς. 44^v: Ὁ γὰρ σκοπὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ρίζαν, καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποκόπτειν πᾶσι τρόποις ἡμᾶς βούλεται.

²⁷⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 19^r: εἰ μὴ μόνον τῶν οικείων πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων μὴδὲν τὸν ἴδιον κρύπτει πατέρα. *OctoVit*, p. 44^r: οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ λογισμῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἢ στεφάνους ἢ τιμωρίας ἀποδίδωσιν. *ScetPatr*, p. 65^r: διότι πάσας τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ διάκρισις διερευνῶσα, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXIII: Αὐταὶ αἱ λευκαὶ στολαὶ δύνανται δηλοῦν τὰς ἀχράντους προθέσεις καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν.

himself experienced this antagonism. I myself, after having studied Origen and Origenism for more than three decades, have come to believe that this conflict of completely different attitudes was the reason that eventually caused the condemnation by the Fifth Oecumenical Council of 553, and only after Justinian was persuaded that the conflict constituted a political danger to his empire.

If, therefore, we allow for the phenomenon of a shift of emphasis from γνώσις to πράξις during the fifth century, then Cassian's text tells us that this priority was for him long past. He is prompt to take up and express himself by means of such notions as οὐσία²⁸⁰ or ὑπόστασις.²⁸¹ Sometimes he speaks as a scientist entertaining impeccable methodology, as for instance, when he warns that it is 'dangerous to rush into hasty definitions of any nature' (Ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ προπετὲς τὸ περὶ οἰασθήποτε φύσεως ταχέως ὀρίζειν),²⁸² whereas he treats conveniently either the divine nature, or the nature of man, or that of angels or daemons. The foregoing phrase deserves especial attention. For in reality it bespeaks the reservation of Cassian, and of those educated among the Akoimetoι in general, in regard to the dispute between Chalcedonians and Monophysites during the first half of the sixth century. Since a definitive and comprehensive definition of *nature* proper is an extremely abstruse and intricate question, how can people be so fanatic in respect of the question of whether Christ was either one or two natures?

Nevertheless, since all these terms are put into the mouths of Cassian's heroes, one should wonder whether their self-designation as 'idiots' and 'uncultured' (ἀγροίκους καὶ ἰδιώτας)²⁸³ is only a monastic banality, aiming at an ostensible contempt for *gnosis* by allegedly Egyptian monks, while at the same time they use the most refined Aristotelian and Stoic terminology.²⁸⁴ For although the fifth century despised theory and adored *experience*, Cassian explicitly has it that knowledge comes from both 'experience and scientific knowledge': ἐκ πείρας καὶ ἐπιστήμης ('based on both experience

²⁸⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60a; p. 84^v; 85^v; 86^v; 87a. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholia XX; XXII; XXV.

²⁸¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v.

²⁸² Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 81^v.

²⁸³ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 57^r.

²⁸⁴ Cf. L. Regnault arguing that intellectuals like Evagrius of Pontus, Cassian, and Palladius, through interesting they may be, they do not actually render the real tradition of this milieu. L. Regnault, *Les sentences des Pères du désert*, v. III: *Troisième recueil & tables*, par Dom Lucien Regnault, moine de Solesmes, Abbaye de Solesmes, 1976, p. 8. However, joining the discussion on whether these anchorites were illiterate peasants, or they included educated people among them, is far beyond my scope.

and education').²⁸⁵ This concern actually reappears during the sixth century: it is only in philosophers such as the Neoplatonist David of Alexandria that the distinction appears as a conscious one that calls for reflection, and this was somehow echoed by Photius. What is important, therefore, is that Cassian is not shy to deploy his thought in a highly intellectual style, which is pregnant with complex philosophical and theological notions, but also with the lore of a thousand years of Greek tradition.

The following discussion will make clear, I hope, that the text of Codex 573 was written no earlier than the sixth century. This text was largely quoted by Antiochus of Palestine at the beginning of the seventh century and was also available to John Climacus, who thought very highly of Cassian and also quoted from him. The constitution of the 'monastery of Prodro-mus the Dreadful' (Μοναστήριον Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ) is in large part of it a copy of Cassian's text and the same goes for the text by Nikon of Montenegro. Besides quotations by John of Damascus, the phraseology of this text was drawn upon abundantly by Theodore Studites and the collection *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, currently attributed to Photius, which I doubt.

In addition to all accounts suggesting that Cassian is the writer of this original Greek text, there are several points that evince him to be a sixth-century writer. His language is frequently redolent of instances characteristic of the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536. The participle εἶξας is Past tense of the verb εἶκω, meaning 'concede', 'comply with', 'defer', 'yield'. Beyond some use in Ephesus and Chalcedon, the participle was abundantly entertained at Constantinople in 536, where Cassian himself was present. Furthermore, the expression εἶξας ἐγὼ τῇ ὑμετέρῃ κελεύσει ('I myself, act in compliance to your command')²⁸⁶ is a distinctive token of Cassian's language employed by other Sabaite monks, such as Cyril of Scythopolis and Antiochus of Palestine,²⁸⁷ to be followed by Theodore Studites, whereas no other author ever used this, except for the collection of hymns known as *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*.²⁸⁸ We shall come upon this collection over and again during this study. The abundance of unique parallels to Cassian's language will betoken that this collection is mainly an aspect of the Sabaite / Akoimetoï / Antiochene production of hymns, which is a valuable bequest of Antioch to Christian civilisation.

²⁸⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 81^v.

²⁸⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^r.

²⁸⁷ Antiochus of Palestine *Epistula ad Eustathium*, lines 13–13: εἶξα προθύμως τῇ ὑμετέρῃ κελεύσει.

²⁸⁸ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Novembris*, F.15.6. Cf. Theodore Studites, *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 48, p. 234.

Furthermore, the expression *βεβαίω λογισμῶ* ('sound knowledge') is one Cassian took up from the same Local Synod of Constantinople. It appeared only once, never to show in any council ever again.²⁸⁹ Likewise, the term *συνδιαγωγῆ* ('social intercourse' with other people), entertained by Gregory of Nyssa, was employed not only by Cassian, but also by other dwellers of the Laura of Sabas. This term was also part of the phraseology of the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536 and of Justinian himself.²⁹⁰

It should be noticed that the spelling *κουκούλλια* ('hoods') occurs in authors relevant to Cassian. Evagrius of Pontus was his exemplary of an intellectual monk and Cyril of Scythopolis was his spiritual brother at the Laura of Sabas, whereas parallels come to pass in Maximus Confessor and Theodore Studites.²⁹¹ The term transpires also in Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus²⁹² (many of which were produced in the Laura of St. Sabas), as well as in the acts of several monasteries. This specific spelling was a common coinage in the environment of St. Sabas monastery.²⁹³ This is characteristic of the sixth century,²⁹⁴ and transpires also in the text by Barsanuphius and John, at a point where questions of Origenism are discussed.²⁹⁵

The intellectuals of the Laura of Sabas made pretty much of Gregory of Nyssa, and Cassian made most of it. A case in point is the verb *προσασχολεῖν* (Active) and *προσασχολεῖσθαι* (Middle voice), which has always been a very rare one and means 'to spend time in order to carry out a duty'.²⁹⁶ No one before Gregory of Nyssa ever used this, which makes it a distinctive neologism introduced by the Cappadocian. No wonder that this also became also characteristic of writers of the Laura of Sabas, including Cyril of Scythopolis and Antiochus of Palestine, and was later reproduced by monastery-constitutions. No wonder that the verb makes a mark also in translations

²⁸⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 63^r. See note 44 (p. 229) to the Greek text.

²⁹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 46^v; 48^r. See *infra*, p. 373.

²⁹¹ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 1,68, line 29. Germanus I of Constantinople, *Historia Mystica Ecclesiae Catholicae*, 19, line 22. Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 6, p. 37; Catechesis 59, pp. 420; 421; Catechesis 106, pp. 777; 778; Catechesis 110, p. 811.

²⁹² Ephraem Syrus, *Ad Imitationem Proverbiorum*, p. 236; *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi (capita xii)*, 2, line 30. So in Sozomenus, *HE*, 3.14.7.

²⁹³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 73; 74. Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, p. 178. Pseudo-John of Damascus, *Epistula ad Theophilum Imperatorem de Sanctis et Venerandis Imaginibus*, PG.95.380.48.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Dorotheus of Gaza (monk, sixth cent.), *Doctrinae Diversae i–xvii*, Didaskalia 1.15, line 2; section 18, lines 1; 3; 4; 11; 12; 15; 19.

²⁹⁵ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, 210, line 3; 326, line 15.

²⁹⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 61^v. I canvass the verb *infra*, pp. 374–375.

of Ephraem Syrus, as if this were a mark of these translations having been produced in the same monastery.

The same goes for the (almost technical) expression πνευματικὴ τέχνη ('spiritual art').²⁹⁷ This appears only in a Greek text by Ephraem Syrus writing about the virtues of monastic life, which is not a coincidence.²⁹⁸ Ephraem says that monks are 'prophets' and masters of 'the spiritual art'. The translation of Ephraem was composed at a time when the alleged 'John-Cassian' was dead, which means that the designation 'spiritual art' was either taken up by the real Cassian, or maybe it was applied to the Greek Ephraem by the translators of the Great Laura.

Likewise, the expression ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐπιστήμῃ²⁹⁹ denotes a sixth-century author. The 'science of monasticism' is both characteristic of and exclusive to Justinian.³⁰⁰

The expression οὐ μετρία ζήτησις³⁰¹ is a Byzantine one, which does not show before the sixth century. It means 'an important problem, or question, which is not easy to solve'. This is probably why this specific meaning of the adjective μέτριος was overlooked by both Liddell & Scott and Lampe in their lexica, even though the expression οὐ μετρίως comes from very old times, indeed from Demosthenes, Posidonius, Diodore of Sicily, Philo, and others.³⁰² Beyond its hackneyed etymological meaning of 'moderate', 'proportionate' and the like, in this context μέτριος means 'not important'. Before this era, this meaning occurs in the acts of Ephesus.³⁰³ Hence οὐ μετρία ζήτησις means 'a very important investigation' which is not easy to solve. The sixth-century historian John Laurentius Lydus speaks of 'not important' disputes about money.³⁰⁴ The later Byzantine intellectual Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, who became Patriarch of Constantinople for one year (1397) as Callistus II and was an excellent witness to Evagrius of Pontus, uses this

²⁹⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 73^v. *SerenPrim*, p. 81^r.

²⁹⁸ Ephraem Syrus, *De Perfectione Monachi*, p. 379: ὅτι προφῆται τυγχάνουσιν, τέχνην ἔχουσι πνευματικὴν, ἣς ἄπειρος ἡ σὰρξ ἐστίν.

²⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 4^r.

³⁰⁰ Justinian, *Novellae*, p. 618: καὶ δυνάμενον τὴν τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπιστήμην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου κατάστασιν χρησίμως φυλάττει. Cassian also uses the similar expression τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοινοβίου (*Const*, p. 4^v), which was reproduced by the *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ* quoting Cassian: 8, p. 19 & 24, p. 42.

³⁰¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 112^r.

³⁰² Cf. *Const*, p. 12^r: καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσμασι σπουδαίοις οὐ μετρίως ἦν γεγυμνασμένος.

³⁰³ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,5, pp. 16; 59; 62; 1,1,6, p. 76; 111.

³⁰⁴ John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, p. 146: μετρίων σφόδρα τῶν χρηματικῶν ζητήσεων οὐσῶν.

critical expression in the same way as Cassian does.³⁰⁵ The Latin text at this point has a precise rendering: *Duas questiones non mediocres pariter proposuistis*.³⁰⁶

Besides, the expression *ὡς ξένον καὶ ἐξωτικὸν* ('as a stranger and alien' one)³⁰⁷ is an illuminating one. As I argue in my endnote to the Greek text, no author other than the collection of legal documents known as *Basilica* ever used the two terms in apposition, indeed as alternatives to each other. The Latin text retains the notion of an 'extraneous' person (*Et tamquam peregrinum extraneumque se gerens ... seque despici velut extraneum putat*).³⁰⁸

The distinction *κατ' ἐνέργειαν* ('in deed') from *κατὰ διάνοιαν* ('in mind') made by Cassian³⁰⁹ points to a sixth-century author writing in Greek. My exploration has shown that this phraseology is an influence³¹⁰ by Origen and Evagrius; Cassian himself followed and so did Maximus Confessor.

Phrases such as *ἀρετὴν συνίστασθαι*³¹¹ (a 'virtue being given to rise') used by Plutarch and Didymus could on no account be the result of a translated Latin text. On the contrary, texts such as the *Vita Antonii* (ascribed to Athanasius), where the expression occurs, call for some reconsideration of their authorship, all the more so since verbs such as the Aristotelian *ἐξατονεῖν* ('to faint')³¹² is used in that biography, too.³¹³ Never did Athanasius himself use the Aristotelian verb *ἐξατονεῖν*, which however Cassian does.³¹⁴ Eusebius did so, too, in four instances, whereas we come upon only casual single instances in Cyril of Alexandria and Ephraem Syrus. But sixth-century writers who appear to play a role in our exploration, such as Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria and John Climacus, use this more than once.

Furthermore, use of the idiom *καὶ γύμνωσις πάντων τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων* ('stripping oneself of all earthly things') and *τῆ γυμνώσει καὶ τῆ ἀποταγῆ τῶν πραγμάτων* ('stripping oneself of and renouncing all [earthly] goods')³¹⁵ is instructive. The parallels in Greek Ephraem Syrus are so characteristic,

³⁰⁵ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 10.15: ἡ περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως ζήτησις οὐ μετρία. 14.35: περὶ ἐπιλογῆς ἐπισκόπου οὐ μετρία ζήτησις.

³⁰⁶ *Institutiones*, VIII.21, PL.50.755A.

³⁰⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 32^v. See endnote 21 (pp. 159–160) to the Greek text.

³⁰⁸ *Institutiones*, VII.9, PL.49.299A.

³⁰⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, 40^v; 43^v.

³¹⁰ See discussion in endnote 25 (pp. 161–162) to the Greek text, p. 40^v.

³¹¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 66^r.

³¹² *Op. cit.* p. 68^v: ἐξατονούντας.

³¹³ See Greek text, p. 68^v and the endnote-discussion therein (endnote 67, pp. 237–238).

³¹⁴ *Cf.* p. 68b: ἐξατονούντας.

³¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, pp. 57^r & 58^v.

that they allow no room for any possibility of this text of Cassian being a translation. Besides, a couple of analogous instances evince that this text was written in the sixth century. Anyway, it was impossible for this to have been written (even in Greek) during the lifetime of Cassian the Scythian.³¹⁶

The phraseology τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ('the monastic garment')³¹⁷ is further evidence of this text being a sixth-century one. This had been casually used in a literal sense in the translation of Ephraem's work.³¹⁸ It was not until later that the clause came to be a synecdoche suggesting not so much the gown, but the pious *status* of a monk. This metaphorical usage is a sixth-century one. Whereas the locution μοναχικὸν σχῆμα was used at the Council of Ephesus in its literal sense, it was in the Local Synod of 536 at Constantinople that Cassian heard this expression being used in the present metaphorical meaning. Justinian used it in his legislation, but it was his *Constitutio Contra Anthimum, Severum, Petrum et Zoram*, which not only became an imperial edict, but was also a document included in the acts of the Local Synod of Constantinople of 536. The term 'gown' (σχῆμα) clearly denotes the *status* of not only monks, but also of clergymen and the Patriarch himself. Cyril of Scythopolis made abundant use of it.³¹⁹

The expression ἔνωσις καὶ συνάφεια ('union and conjunction')³²⁰ is informative. The notion of 'union' (ἔνωσις) along with that of 'conjunction' (συνάφεια) appears in both Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius, yet it became a landmark of Christological dispute only during and after the late fifth century. Cassian uses this in the same context as Gregory of Nyssa does.³²¹ The same notions occurring in the *Constitutiones Asceticae* (ascribed to Basil of Caesarea) suggest Cassian rather than Basil as the author of it.³²²

Moreover, the verb ἐκκουσεύειν³²³ evinces that this text is a sixth-century one. It means 'to apologise' or 'to excuse'. It appeared for the first time in John Malalas and, in a slightly modified form, in Justinian. After Malalas and Cassian, the term was never used again—in philology it remained a token of the sixth-century locution.

³¹⁶ See endnote 11 (pp. 219–220) to the Greek text, p. 57^f.

³¹⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74^v.

³¹⁸ Ephraem Syrus, *De Monachis*, line 20: Οὐδὲ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἔτι δύνανται φορεῖν οἱ ἐν τῷ βιωτικῷ πλούτῳ ἀναστρεφόμενοι.

³¹⁹ See endnote 84 (pp. 244–245) to the Greek text, p. 74^v.

³²⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 84^v.

³²¹ See endnote 17 (pp. 298–299) to the Greek text, p. 84^v.

³²² Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31:1381.46–49. Cf. PG.31:1385.25–30; 1421.27–32.

³²³ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 115a.

The idiomatic expression ἐπ'ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ('it is necessary')³²⁴ became fashionable only after the Council of Chalcedon,³²⁵ but by that time 'John Cassian' was long dead. On the other hand, the actual author of this work, namely Cassian the Sabaite, was not yet born (which was in c. 475). Before Chalcedon, no author appears to have used this more than once. The expression ἐπ'ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν goes back to Aristotle,³²⁶ and casual use of it transpires in Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa.³²⁷ It was therefore all too natural for Cassian to take this up, all the more so since his contemporaries John Philoponus and the historian Procopius did so, too.³²⁸

Likewise, the notion of διατύπωσης, which appears as apposite either to 'regulations' or to 'tutoring',³²⁹ invites the question of real authorship of texts related to monastic life. Subsequently, the strong possibility of Cassian's pen being involved in such texts is open to investigation.³³⁰ For indeed the term is actually a later one and could have hardly been used by either Basil or Chrysostom. We have a unique definition of what the term διατυπώσεις³³¹ means, which we owe to Alexander of Numenius (or, Alexander Numenius), the Greek rhetorician of the first half of the second century AD. This is about not only regulating 'words' and discussions, but also 'actions and passions', which means that it bespeaks an all-inclusive set of precepts regulating all the aspects of everyday life.³³² The term in this specific meaning became part of Christian formulations in the fifth century with Gelasius of Cyzicus,³³³

³²⁴ Cassian, cod. pp. 16a, 58a, 63a (abba Moses); 82a, 90a, 90b, 91b (abba Serenus).

³²⁵ See endnote 10 (p. 295) to the Greek text, p. 82^f.

³²⁶ Aristotle, *Politica*, 1301b23.

³²⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 11.113.1. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.440. Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, p. 3.

³²⁸ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 569. Procopius of Caesarea (historian, sixth cent.), *De Bellis*, 8.20.47; *De Aedificiis (lib. 1-6)*, 4.2.22; 5.2.7.

³²⁹ Cf. *Const*, 1^f: Περὶ διατυπώσεως καὶ κανόνων & τὰς κανονικὰς διατυπώσεις. p. 5^v: ταῖς διατυπώσεις καὶ διδασκαλίαις. *Const*, pp. 1^f & 22^v & *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: περὶ διατυπώσεως κοινοβίου. *Const*, p. 5^v: ταύταις ταῖς διατυπώσεις καὶ διδασκαλίαις. op. cit. p. 9^f: τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κλίμασι παραδεδομένων διατυπώσεων. *ScetPatr*, p. 73^f: διδασχὴ καὶ διατυπώσει. op. cit. 78^f: τῆ τοῦτου διδασχῆ τυποῦται καὶ κανονίζεται ... τῆ διατυπώσει καὶ διδασχῆ τοῦ γέροντος.

³³⁰ The term is used in a work ascribed to Basil, which is far too like Cassian. *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1140.30-31: ἕτοιμον ὑποδέξασθαι τῆ καρδίᾳ τὰς ἐκ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἐγγινομένας διατυπώσεις. The same phrase, indeed the same context, appears in a spurious work ascribed to Chrysostom. *Epistula ad Monachos*, lines 263-265.

³³¹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 1^f.

³³² Alexander, son of Numenius, *De Figuris (Περὶ τῶν τῆς Διανοίας καὶ τῆς Λέξεως Σχημάτων)*, 24: Διατύπωσης δ' ἄρ' ἐστίν, ὅταν ἅμα προσώπων καὶ ποιημάτων παρασυναγωγὴν ποιησάμενοι, μὴ τοὺς λόγους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐνεργήματα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ εἶδη διατυπώμεθα.

³³³ Gelasius of Cyzicus, *HE*, Book 2, table of contents (Περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διατυπώσεων λόγος διδασκαλικός); so in 2.31 (title); 2.7.34 (ταύτης τῆς διατυπώσεως τὸν λογισμὸν); 2.29.9 (περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διατυπώσεων). Likewise, 2.31.10; 2.37.29; 3.10.19; 3.15.8.

who wrote in c. 475. Cassian found this term in his era established as a legal term by Justinian.³³⁴

The expression *συντόμως εἰπεῖν* ('to put it briefly')³³⁵ is an interesting idiom. Although abundantly present in Classical writers, it does not transpire in Gregory of Nyssa, but it does in a couple of instances in Gregory of Nazianzus. This is characteristic of Theodore of Mopsuestia (no less than twenty-eight instances in existing writings), Diodore of Tarsus and Theodoret. Equally ample is its presence in Proclus, whereas Damascius and Simplicius used it only casually. We come upon this in John Philoponus and Maximus Confessor at no less than eleven points. Justinian used the idiom, too.³³⁶ Cassian, therefore, must have taken this up from John Philoponus³³⁷ along with the acts of previous councils, including that of 536, in which he himself participated.³³⁸

The term *τριβουνάλιον* ('tribunal chair')³³⁹ is a sixth-century one and shows also in the synod of Constantinople in 536. It appears in Byzantine historians and chroniclers, such as John Lydus, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and others.³⁴⁰ Usage of this term, therefore, fits perfectly with Cassian being its writer, because he was both a sixth-century theologian and present at the synod of 536.

³³⁴ Justinian, *Novellae*, pp. 235; 592.

³³⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 113^v.

³³⁶ Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, 5; *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, pp. 140; 162; *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 72. Some instances of Justinian's usage may be later to the text of Cassian.

³³⁷ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Analytica Priora Commentaria*, v. 13,2, p. 200; *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, v. 13,3, p. 201; *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, v. 14,1, p. 4; *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14,2, p. 2; *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 532; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, pp. 92; 181; 195; 362; *De Aeternitate Mundi*, p. 410.

³³⁸ Cf. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,2, pp. 43; 1,7, p. 93; *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense anno 451*, 2,1,3, p. 67; *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 191.

³³⁹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 107^v.

³⁴⁰ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 17 (*τριβουνάλιω*); op. cit. p. 229 (*τριβουνάλιω*). John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, p. 78 (*προτριβουνάλιοις*). *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 539 (*τριβουνάλιον*); p. 562 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 568 (*τριβουνάλιω*). Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Breviarium Historicum de Rebus Gestis Post Imperium Mauricii*, p. 57 (*τριβουνάλιω*). Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, p. 44 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 252; (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 291 (*τριβουνάλιου*); p. 401 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 409 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 443 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 444 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 449 (*τριβουνάλιον*); p. 502 (*τριβουνάλιον*). George Monachus (monk, Alexandria, ninth cent.), *Chronicon (lib. 1-4)*, p. 663 (*τριβουνάλιου*); p. 776 (*τριβουνάλιω*). *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1-6) (lib. 1-6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110: p. 817 (*τριβουνάλιου*); p. 821 (*τριβουνάλιου*); p. 928 (*τριβουνάλιω*); p. 980 (*τριβουνάλιου*); p. 1152 (*τριβουνάλιω*).

The Codex-form of the infinitive ἐκβάλλαι³⁴¹ is technically incorrect and should be emended to ἐκβαλεῖν. However, the Past tense infinitive form ἐκβάλλαι (of the verb ἐκβάλλειν = 'to drive away') did actually appear at the turn of the fifth to sixth century, that is, during Cassian's lifetime. Certain authors, including Antiochus of Palestine who excerpted heavily from Cassian's work, used this.³⁴² Antiochus definitely received this verb-form from Cassian, since it appears at the point where the former quotes from the latter treating the question of accidie (ἀκηδία), describing monks who try to seduce others towards abandoning their monastery. We come upon the same form ἐκβάλλαι in John Malalas,³⁴³ Theodore Anagnostes,³⁴⁴ and Theophanes Confessor.³⁴⁵

Let me now consider the telling term ἀφαντασίαστος, which is pregnant with valuable information. The designation, which is a Stoic one, comes from φαντασία, and means a mental impression which arises in the mind (or, in the soul) following the function of the five senses. There are several imports that this epithet and its cognates (mainly the adverb ἀφαντασίαστως) have been attributed to. At all events, this is a late antique coinage. The author of a hermetic tract used it in the sense of 'being beyond the ability of mental comprehension, not manifested',³⁴⁶ but he was not followed on this by anyone else. The sixth-century Neoplatonists saw the term as suggesting a perception 'not owing to any empirical impression', which is all that pagan thought made of this neologism.³⁴⁷ Christian intellectuals, who saw value in night sleep 'not being disturbed by obscene dreams', made

³⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 33^v; 43^v.

³⁴² Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 26, line 36 (ὅταν δὲ μὴ δυναθῇ ἐκβάλλαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κέλλης).

³⁴³ John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 60; 475.

³⁴⁴ Theodore Anagnostes, *HE*, 4.502.

³⁴⁵ Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, pp. 157; 326. Also, in Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Matthaeum (catena integra)* (e cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 23), p. 169. op. cit. *Supplementum et Varietas Lectionis in Epistulam ad Galatas (catena Pseudo-Oecumenii)* (e cod. Bodl. Auct. T.17 [= Misc. 185]), p. 401, as well as in the acts of the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (681), and the writings of Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus.

³⁴⁶ Corpus Hermeticum, *Πρὸς Τὰτ Υἱὸν Ὅτι Ἀφανῆς Θεὸς Φανερώτατός Ἔστιν*, 1–2: ἡ γὰρ φαντασία μόνων τῶν γεννητῶν ἐστίν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐστίν ἢ φαντασία ἢ γένεσις. ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀγέννητος δηλονότι καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος καὶ ἀφανῆς, τὰ δὲ πάντα φαντασιῶν διὰ πάντων φαίνεται.

³⁴⁷ Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 8: ἀφαντασίαστος γὰρ ὁ ἐνθουσιασμός, διὸ καὶ φαντασίᾳ λύεται ὡς ἐναντία οὐσῆ. *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, 6.2: οὐκ ἔστι νόησις ἀφαντασίαστος; op. cit. 6.12: οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῷ πτόρνουσθαι ἀφαντασίαστως ἐνεργούμεν. Asclepius of Tralleis, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, p. 151: ὥστε πᾶν ἡμῖν συμβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ ἐθίζεσθαι ἀφαντασίαστως ἐνεργεῖν.

ἀφαντασίαστος a complimentary description for pious sleeping.³⁴⁸ During the fourth century and later, the Stoic φαντασία was no longer a technical term only: it might well suggest full reality against mere fantasy, or to connote objection to whatever was fanciful or unreal. The term proved particularly handy for usage describing instances of the sacred texts of the new religion: to those instances full reality was ascribed, such as the full reality of the ascension of the body of the risen Jesus,³⁴⁹ or the full reality of salvation involved in the evangelical message.³⁵⁰ At any rate, instances of this kind are not many, yet those appearing in Cyril of Scythopolis should not pass unnoticed, since they betoken the terminology that circulated in the Sabaite milieu.³⁵¹

It is against this background that use of the epithet ἀφαντασίαστος in Christology has important things to tell us. For indeed, we come upon the epithet being applied at three instances only. They all fall into the sixth

³⁴⁸ Asterius of Amasea, *Homiliae 1–14*, Homily 14.2.5: Ὑπνοι ἄλλυποι καὶ ἀφαντασίαστοι. *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8.37: εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον. Ephraem Syrus, *Paraenesis ad Ascetas (ordine alphabetico)*, p. 352: τοῦ δὲ νηστεύοντος ἄσπιλος ἡ κοίτη καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος ὁ ὕπνος αὐτοῦ. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)*, PG.61.373.9–10: Παρὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ κλῆνη κείσθω τὸ κιβώτιον, καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος ἔσται ἡ νύξ.

³⁴⁹ Amphilochius of Iconium (referring to the ascension of the risen Jesus having been real), *In illud: Pater si Possibile Est (orat. 6)*, line 314: Δειλῶ γάρ, ἴνα δεῖξω ἀφαντασίαστον τῆς σαρκὸς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. On the same subject, see Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 128, line 17: τὸ βέβαιόν τε καὶ ἀληθὲς καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον παριστῶν.

³⁵⁰ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 43: αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ νυμφίος, ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος ἐρμηνευόμενος τουτέστιν Σιλῶαμ, ὕδωρ ἔχει πορευόμενον ἡσυχῇ τουτέστιν διδασκαλίαν ἀδοῦπον καὶ ἀψοφοποιὸν καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον καὶ ἀκόμπαστον. Maximus Confessor, *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, 3: αὐτὸς δὶχα τροπῆς τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶ πραγματικῶς ἡ φύσις γενόμενος, ἀφαντασίαστος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πεπλήρωκεν. This is stated as a quotation from Maximus' own exegesis on an epistle by Dionysius Areopagite to Gaius (ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν πρὸς Γάϊον ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου ἐξηγήσεως). The same text transpires in Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, 5. Maximus used ἀφαντασίαστος also in the sense of 'lacking mental power' in an argument referring to the soul. *Epistola*, 6.5: εἰ δὲ ἄψυχον αὐτὴν εἴπωμεν σῶμα, ἀναίσθητον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον, ἄλογόν τε καὶ ἀδιάνοητον ἔσται. Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *Homilia Christologica in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham*, 3: Διὰ τοι τοῦτο καὶ συνδειπνοῦντα τῷ Κυρίῳ δεῖκνυσι, καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον τὸ θαῦμα δημοσιεύει τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. op. cit. 8: πρὸς πίστωσιν ἀληθινῆν τῆς ἀφαντασίαστου ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σεσωσμένου. Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 13.9 (reference to the death of Jesus having been real, not mere fantasy): καὶ σώματος θνητοῦ ἀφανίαν καὶ ἀβλεψίαν καὶ ἀκίνησιαν ἀφαντασίαστον. *Questiones et Responiones*, Question 21.4: πλὴν ὅτι ἐνυπόστατος καὶ ἀφαντασίαστος ἦν ἡ ἐμὴ τῆς ψυχῆς ὕπαρξις. Ignatius Diaconus (or, Ignatius Melodus, hymnographer, deacon in Hagia Sophia, metropolitan of Nicaea, eighth–ninth century), *Vita Tarasii Patriarchae*, 5: τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ κατακολουθεῖν ἀφαντασίαστῳ παιδεύματι. Theodotus of Ancyra (died before 446), *Homilia IV in Sanctam Deiparam et Simeonem*, PG.77.1393: ἔταν δὲ πάλιν ἀναχθῶμεν τῆς θεότητος, καθέλκει με αὐθις τὸ μέτρον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον τῆς σαρκός.

³⁵¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 153: τὴν ἀληθὴ καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον ὁμολογίαν καὶ πίστιν ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἁγίων ἀποστόλων παραλαβόντες.

century. First, it transpires in *De Trinitate*, in order to argue that the Incarnation was a fully real occurrence, evidently against any Docetist presumption.³⁵² Second, it shows in Oecumenius commenting on the Apocalypse.³⁵³ I believe that Oecumenius, who was a contemporary of Cassian, knew of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, or vice versa, or both knew of each other's work on the scriptural book.³⁵⁴ In both instances the authors emphasise the full reality of the Incarnation, with *De Trinitate* caring to do so particularly for the human function of God who became man. This was a work by an Antiochene author after all, namely, Cassian the Sabaite, who was probably so inspired by Amphilocheus of Iconium, who had used the term earlier. Later still, at the turn of the sixth to seventh century, another theologian, obscurely known as Pamphilus the presbyter, cared to reiterate the same doctrine by means of the selfsame locution.³⁵⁵ No author other than that of the *Doctrina Patrum* (that is, a century later) pointed out the full reality of the two natures of Christ by means of the epithet ἀφαντασίαστος.³⁵⁶

It is quite striking that the author of *De Trinitate* (that is, Cassian the Sabaite) and Oecumenius were the only ones to use the selfsame phraseology during the first half of the sixth century. Both spoke of the Incarnation as having taken place not only as a real event (ἀφαντασίαστος), but also as having involved no alteration (ἀτρέπτως) of either of the two natures of Christ. Only at the end of that century (or the beginning of the seventh one) did the third intellectual of the party, namely presbyter Pamphilus, entertain both the adjectives ἄτρεπτος and ἀφαντασίαστος together, in order to make the same point, not to be followed by any one else ever since.

³⁵² *DT* (*lib. 1*), 26.46: ἐπειδὴ μὴ δυνατὸν ἦν ὀφθῆναι, συγκατέβη ἀτρέπτως ἀφαντασίαστος ἕως οἰκέτου μορφῆς. By contrast, Didymus used ἀφάνταστος, but he never did so in any context of Christological implication.

³⁵³ Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 32: ἴν' ἐκ δύο φύσεων νοεῖται συνημμένος ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ, θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ... οὔτε συγχυθέντων τῶν εἰς ἐνότητα συνδεδραμηκότων, οὔτε μὴν διαιρουμένων μετὰ τὴν ἀφραστον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον ἔνωσιν. *op. cit.* p. 255: ὡς εἶναι οὖν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐκ θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος τελειῶς ἔχουσῶν ἐκάστη τῶν φύσεων κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον, ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀναλλοιώτως, ἀφαντασίαστος.

³⁵⁴ This is the topic of a work of mine, which I hope to follow soon.

³⁵⁵ Pamphilus (presbyter, sixth–seventh cent.), *Diversorum Caputum seu Difficultatum Solutio*, Question 13, line 91: τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς τριάδος θεοῦ λόγου ἀληθινῆν, ἀτρεπτον τε καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον οἰκονομίαν.

³⁵⁶ *Doctrina Patrum* (seventh–eighth century, quoting from the Letter of Leo to Chalcedon and using the term as a gloss to that), p. 285: τούτου δύο καὶ τὰ θελήματα καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο “μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας” ἐκδιδάσκει, δι' ὧν αἱ φύσεις ἀφαντασίαστος κατοπεύονται.

We have therefore two contemporary sixth-century authors, Cassian the Sabaite and Oecumenius, who both wrote of the Incarnation introducing the epithets ἄτρεπτος and ἀφαντασίαστος in apposition, and both composed commentaries on the Revelation at the very same time, notably the decade of the 540s.

We also come upon Cassian using the term δυσαπόβλητος ('hard to get rid of').³⁵⁷ Once again, he uses a word virtually unknown to Christian authors, actually one which is exclusive to Aristotelian commentators. A spurious work ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias³⁵⁸ is probably a sixth-century product and its author felt he had to make use of a term that had been honoured by the Aristotelian commentators of his century, such as John Philoponus,³⁵⁹ Olympiodorus,³⁶⁰ and Elias of Alexandria.³⁶¹ There are two cases of the epithet supposedly being used by Christian authors.³⁶² With regard to Basil, we have over and over again come across terminology that appears only in epistles ascribed to him. I have already indicated that such epistles call for redaction and I strongly doubt the authorship of a number of them, which appear distinctly like Cassian, while being alien to Basil's style or locution. The term δυσαπόβλητος is also ascribed to Cyril, but this only bespeaks an erudite Aristotelian catenist, which was presumably an Antiochene.

One more point is pretty telling. In Appendix III of the edition volume which is in press simultaneously with the present one, an unpublished text of Cassian is now presented for the first time. In this text, he records astronomical mathematical rules, according to which a calendar should be formed, including the cases of leap years and determination of intercalary days. It is my suggestion there that Cassian was accorded the 29th of February as his feast day on account of his astronomical knowledge, which must have been serviceable to his environment on practical grounds. It is remarkable that the term used for 'leap year' is βίσεκστος, although the two consonants kappa (κ) and sigma (σ) never go together in Greek, since they always make up the double consonant ksi (ξ). This is an extremely rare form which

³⁵⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 30^r.

³⁵⁸ Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Febribus*, 19.3. Ammonius of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius*, pp. 82 (six instances); 86.

³⁵⁹ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 131, p. 134 (three instances); 135 (bis); 136; 138 (three instances); 140; 148.

³⁶⁰ Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, pp. 116 (bis); 121; *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, 51 (bis); 98.

³⁶¹ Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, p. 222.

³⁶² Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 8.1. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Lucam*, p. 88; *Commentarii in Lucam*, PG.72.660.37.

appears in Greek manuscripts during and after the sixth century,³⁶³ being an alternative for *δίσεκτον* (leap year). Exploration of this rendering, which is no doubt associated with a certain Byzantine pronunciation immediately redolent of a Latin origin (*bis + sextus*, coinciding with the Greek *δῖς + ἕκτος*). This makes it clear that the idiom is no earlier than the sixth century, and Cassian applied this along with such writers of his era as John Malalas and John Laurentius Lydus.

Let me also make the following remark. Over and over again the reader will come upon citations of rare linguistic instances transpiring in Simplicius and Damascius. I have come to believe that after 529, the Athenian philosophers were in the region of Antioch. Where exactly they settled after their departure from the Persian King Chosroes' court, I cannot say with confidence. Although Harran has been suggested as a possible place,³⁶⁴ I believe that they were actually based in the region of Antioch, where the Aristotelian tradition had been preserved through the famous school of Edessa, and then Nisibis. Accustomed to a great city such as Athens as they were, it could be unlikely for them to rest content with any city less than that. My point is that the reader should pay especial attention to extremely rare terms employed by these Neoplatonists, all the more so since such terminology had been exclusive to Christian usage. In respect of this, I wish to canvass two examples only.

³⁶³ About the rare form *βίσεκτον*, see the edition volume, *A Newly Discovered Greek Author*, Appendix III, Introduction. It shows in the following authors. *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 414: μετὰ τὸ βίσεκτον. George Monachus, *Chronicon (lib. 1-4)*, p. 293: ὁ καὶ νόμος Ῥωμαίων ἔδωκε καὶ τὰ ἰνδίκτου καὶ τὸ βίσεκτον ἐφεύρε. The form *βίσεξτον* is a characteristic sixth-century one, and was used by the following authors. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 215. John Laurentius Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 3.7: "Ὅτι βίσεξτον λέγεται διὰ τὸ δῖς πρὸ ἕξ Καλενδῶν Μαρτίων ἀριθμεῖν παρὰ τετραετίαν Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν ζωγονικὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιτηροῦντας. Also, in *op. cit.* 3.10. Aelius Herodianus, *Partitiones*, p. 6. Stephanus of Alexandria (medical doctor, sixth-seventh cent.), *Scholia in Hippocratis Prognosticon*, 3.1. *Chronicon Paschale*, pp. 20; 23; 710. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 21. George Monachus, *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1-6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110.349.13. George Syncellus (eighth-ninth cent.), *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 377. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 116, p. 91b. Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter beta, p. 389: Βίσεξτον. ἐπιπέμης τετραετίας. George Cedrenus (monk, Constantinople, eleventh-twelfth cent.), *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 303: Τούτου τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει αἱ Ἰνδίκτοι ἐπενοήθησαν καὶ τὸ βίσεξτον, καὶ νόμους ἐξέθετο πολιτικούς. *Etymologicum Gudianum* (eleventh cent.), *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum (ἀάλιον-ζειαί)*, Alphabetic entry beta, p. 271: Βίσεξτον· βίς σέξτον, δῖς ἕξ· ἢ κατὰ δ' ἑπινομένη χρόνου.

³⁶⁴ Cf. Edward Watts, "Where to Live the Philosophical Life in the Sixth Century? Damascius, Simplicius, and the Return from Persia", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005), pp. 285-315.

One, the expression τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς φύσεως βρασμὸν ('the fiery turmoil of [human] nature,' meaning passions)³⁶⁵ occurs in no author other than Cassian and Damascius, which allows for the possibility that Cassian was aware of Damascius' expression in relation to bodily pleasure, which is hereby bedeviled.³⁶⁶ I should have thought that Damascius influenced Cassian orally rather than through his commentary on *Phaedo*. After the year 529, Damascius was somewhere in the region of Syria, which Cassian was familiar with and visited intermittently.³⁶⁷ A personal contact between the two intellectuals cannot be excluded. At least a possibility of Cassian having attended some of Damascius' lessons would be allowed, even out of the Christian's curiosity to learn about the strict sexual ethics of the Neoplatonists, which was bound to be a tenet agreeable to a Christian monk. Alternatively, the case would have been that Damascius had engaged in discussions with a gifted Christian intellectual such as Cassian, whose views also included what the sixth-century mindset had styled 'Origenism'. Otherwise, one would have to make the eccentric concession that Damascius cared to read a Greek translation from a Latin monk called 'John Cassian', from which he picked up this expression, or (more eccentric still) that a translator of 'John Cassian' had read Damascius and reproduced his parlance into this Greek text.

There are portions where the Latin and Greek fit perfectly well with each other. A case in point is Cassian describing God 'alone being wholly present everywhere and in everything'.³⁶⁸ This idea and phraseology, although ascribed to Hippolytus,³⁶⁹ is imbued with a Neoplatonic sentiment, which is why the germane phraseology was used by Neoplatonists. Especial attention should be paid to the footnoted text by Iamblichus, which is in fact a Neoplatonic rendition of what Clement of Alexandria had expressed in Christian

³⁶⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, pp. 76^v–77^r. Latin text, Cf. *Institutiones*, II.13, PL.49.547A: Nullus enim posset insidias inimici sufferre, seu carnales aestus naturali quodammodo igne flagrantes *vel* exstinguere, *vel* reprimere, nisi gratia Dei *vel* juvaret fragilitatem nostram, *vel* protegeret ac muniret.

³⁶⁶ Damascius, *In Philebum*, 200: οἷον βρασμῶ τινι τῆς φύσεως εἰοίκασιν αἱ τοιαῦται ἡδοναί.

³⁶⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74a: καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἔγνωμεν συμβᾶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν Συρίας.

³⁶⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 87^r: μόνος καὶ ὅλως καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐν πάσιν ἐστίν. The Latin stands pretty close. *Institutiones*, VII.12, PL.49.685A: eo quod solus totus et ubique et in omnibus sit.

³⁶⁹ Hippolytus, *Demonstratio Temporum Paschatis (in catenis)*, Fr. 7, *apud* ACO, *Concilium Lateranense Celebratum a. 649*, Act 5, p. 282: Ὅλος ἦν ἐν πάσι καὶ πανταχοῦ. The same passage transpires in a spurious work ascribed to John Chrysostom: *In Sanctum Pascha (sermo 6)*, 51.10.

terms. This is impressive, since Clement's portion is Scholion V itself of Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. It is telling that now Cassian expresses himself through the same phraseology,³⁷⁰ which transpires also in Proclus.³⁷¹ Likewise, these happen to be the terms in which Damascius spoke of Plotinus' theology.³⁷² Besides though, only another Sabaite monk, namely, John of Damascus, followed Cassian's Neoplatonic statement.³⁷³

Second example, Cassian's codex has the term ἀπαρλλαγή,³⁷⁴ but this is a non-existent word and I have emended it to ἀπαρλα(είπτω). There is a unique parallel to the notion of ἀπαράλειπτος γνώσις ('flawless knowledge', or 'unfailing' one) which probably belongs to Simplicius.³⁷⁵

Whether such striking analogies imply a more profound liability to Greek philosophy is a topic that should be explored in a wider context, namely, Cassian assessed as a learned intellectual with respect to the Greek *paideia*, which is what I am going to do in chapter five.

³⁷⁰ Cf. Scholion V (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 4.25.156.2). Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, 1.9: Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ οὖν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος μεριστὸς ὢν περὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ ἀμέριστον τῶν θεῶν φῶς διαίρεται. Τὸ δ' ἔστιν ἐν καὶ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ ὅλως, ἀμερίστως τε πάρεστι πᾶσι τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτοῦ μετέχει, παντελεῖ τε δυνάμει πεπλήρωκε πάντα, καὶ ἀπείρω δὴ τινι τῇ κατὰ αἰτίαν ὑπεροχῇ συμπεραίνει τὰ ὅλα ἐν αὐτῷ, συνήνωται τε πανταχοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸ καὶ τὰ τέλη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς συνάπτει.

³⁷¹ Proclus, *Institutio Theologica*, 98: καὶ οὐ μέρει μὲν πανταχοῦ, μέρει δὲ οὐδαμοῦ· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ διεσπασμένον εἶη καὶ χωρὶς, εἴπερ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι, τὸ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ καὶ πρὸ τῶν πάντων· ἀλλ' ὅλον πανταχοῦ. In *Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 875: καὶ ὅλων μετέχει τὰ τῆδε τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ μερῶν· ὅλων μὲν, καθόσον ἀμέριστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἢ ποιήσις, διὸ καὶ ὅλη πανταχοῦ πᾶσιν ἢ αὐτῇ πάρεστιν ἑαυτῆς οὐσα πρότερον, ἔπειθ' οὕτω καὶ τὴν τῶν μετεχόντων οὐσίαν ἀποπληροῦσα τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως.

³⁷² Damascius, *Princ* (ref. to Plotinus), v. 1, p. 69: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ δὲ ὅ Πλωτίνιος ἀξιοῖ νοεῖν, τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ ὅλον παρὸν κοινῇ τε πᾶσι καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολλῶν.

³⁷³ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 13: Ἰστέον δέ, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀμερές ἐστίν, ὅλον ὀλικῶς πανταχοῦ ὄν καὶ οὐ μέρος ἐν μέρει σωματικῶς διαιρούμενον, ἀλλ' ὅλον ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ὅλον ὑπὲρ τὸ πᾶν.

³⁷⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 115f.

³⁷⁵ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria* (some scholars doubt the attribution), v. 11, p. 7: ἀκριβεστέρα δὲ γνώσις ἢ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ ἀπαράλειπτος καὶ ἡ οἰκία τῷ γνωστῷ. Cf. Simplicius definitely using the term ἀπαράλειπτος. In *Aristotelis Categoris Commentarium*, v. 8, pp. 50; 68; v. 9, p. 213; v. 10, p. 813; In *Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 610; v. 10, p. 920; v. 11, p. 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ECLIPSED AUTHOR

Scribing in the Middle Ages

Following this discussion, I tend to believe that when Gennadius is made to refer to Cassian as being a ‘Scythian’, this was probably so because later quarters set out to identify Cassian of Scythopolis, the Sabaite, with another namesake, supposedly a Scythian one. Cassian of the *Institutions* of monasteries, and of the other Greek works, writes in a language and style totally free from all trace of barbarism, which would be almost impossible for a native Scythian to have achieved. The specific texts by Cassian were translated into Latin, since there was a real need for the leaders and pioneers of western monasticism to be informed on the issue. Later still, Latin texts ascribed to ‘John Cassian’ were manufactured, at a time when both ‘John Cassian’ and abba Cassian were long dead.

Versions of the texts in the Meteora Codex 573, the *Institutiones Coenobiorum* and the *De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus* have been published by Migne,¹ whereas the rest of Cassian’s work in this Codex is unpublished.² Of this latter part, there is a larger corpus of Latin texts, in which these texts in Latin appear as follows: Conference with abba Moses (Codex pp. 56^v–80^r) is styled *Collationes I* and *II*. Conferences with abba Serenus are *Collationes VII* (Codex pp. 80^r–101^r) and *VII* (101^r–118^v).

Concerning the Latin edition by J.P. Migne, one should be alert to the fact that in the fifth century it was almost impossible to write such lengthy works as those currently in Latin, allegedly ascribed to ‘John Cassian’. The same was hard to do in the sixth century, too, when the real Cassian lived. Unless the topic was one of paramount importance, such as a Trinitarian or a Christological account rebutting specific heresies, or unless the author was a celebrity provided with the means by lavish sponsors (such as Ambrose was to Origen), or unless the Church itself was anxious to hear the view of such authorities as Athanasius or Augustine, the technical means of the era

¹ PG.28.849–906.

² See note 27 in chapter 1. In *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, the Greek text of Appendix III is an *editio princeps*.

simply did not allow for such tremendously long treatises as those presented today in the *Patrologia Latina* as allegedly works by 'John Cassian', adapted by Petschenig for the *Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.

A felicitous chain of events brought it about for me to come across a fine study by Roger Bagnall canvassing the economics of book production.³ Codex 573 is an exquisite piece of art: the 'Book of Cassian' is made of fine leafs of parchment; the binding is wood-plates covered with leather, whereas the clip keeping the book closed is also a fine bronze-buckle.⁴ Bagnall notes that 'binding would double the cost' of such a codex.⁵ Acquiring a complete Bible (765.379 words) would cost half a year's income to a 'reader' (ἀναγνώστης), which was tantamount to 'building a small house'. 'Even the best-paid academics do not buy books at such prices', according to Bagnall, whose estimations 'are derived from sixth century or later' data.⁶ The case of Codex 573 certainly implies monastic labour, which means that the cost should be lower, since monasteries were themselves centres of book production. No doubt monks copied manuscripts not only on commission from external individuals or institutions, but also for their own libraries on their abbot's orders. Even this, however, means that some monks were engaged in a work which otherwise could have procured income to the monastery. 'It is entirely possible that' in such a case 'scribal labor was in a sense free for monasteries. But all labor nonetheless represented a kind of opportunity cost for the monastery, a missed chance to earn revenue to support the monks and the monastery'.⁷ Books were at the time an expensive commodity anyway. As Bagnall advises, 'things were expensive compared with incomes in antiquity', due to both the skilled labour required and to the raw materials, which were expensive, too. 'It was not until centuries later that the introduction of paper dramatically lowered the cost of writing material'.⁸

Besides, Peter Hatlie notes that even during the eighth century 'the scarcity of books was felt everywhere, even in the capital. No single library near Constantinople had a large collection of patristic texts, apparently not even the Patriarchal one. Nor were complete and authenticated versions of any single author's work easily available, patristic *florilegia* circulated

³ Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, Chapter III: 'The Economics of Book Production', pp. 50 f.

⁴ See description of Codex 573 in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

⁵ Roger Bagnall, *Op. cit.* p. 51.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 62.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 60.

⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 64.

within learned circles instead.⁹ It was only after middle eighth century that (in preparation for the Iconoclast council of 815) books were sought everywhere by high-profile scholars and the discovered books were subsequently copied in imperial and patriarchal *scriptoria*. The monastery of Studios became such a centre, once Theodore Studites decided to establish a monastic *scriptorium*, and by the middle of ninth century the monastery had produced hundreds of books. Already in around 810, Theodore Studites boasted that his monastery possessed a superabundance of books.¹⁰ But in order to establish that *scriptorium*, first he had to pool all his resources. Even so, however, Studites had imperial resources made available to him thanks to a very practical reason: his monastery was heavily involved in church politics. As a consequence, they had to produce a large number of texts generated by these battles, with aims which evidently were polemical, promotional, even propagandistic. As Peter Hatlie notes, what the monk Plato of Sakkoudion 'had begun over half a century before, as a modest but innovative project for reprinting inexpensive copies of patristic literature, grew under Theodore, to become a proper publishing empire'.¹¹ This publishing empire of Theodore managed to produce books only because specific political, theological and social circumstances concurred. Nothing of the kind transpired in the age of 'John Cassian' five centuries earlier; which means that the monstrously extensive Latin texts, as we know them today, could never have been written (let alone scribed) at that age, for the sake of that all but high-profile author.

Cassian's Codex 573 contains about 73,000 words. Of them, 34,700 occupy text which was allegedly translated and abridged from Latin. In volume XLIX of the *Patrologia Latina* this Latin text extends to approximately 202,500 words.¹² This represents more than twenty five per cent of the famous book owned by abba Gelasius and mentioned in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. This book contained both Old and New Testament and the abba had placed it in the church for anyone to be able to read it. Its cost was 'eighteen coins',¹³ which Bagnall translates to '18 gold solidi or 72 Roman grams of gold, the solidus having been 4 grams from the time of

⁹ Peter Hatlie, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople*, ca. 350–850, pp. 413 f.

¹⁰ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 43, p. 308: καὶ γὰρ χάριτι Χριστοῦ πολλὴ ἡμῖν πάρεστι βιβλίων περιουσία.

¹¹ Op. cit. p. 417.

¹² If the work *Against Nestorius* were taken into account (volume L of the *PL*), another 42,300 words should be added.

¹³ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, PG.65.145.27–32: Ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Γελασίου, ὅτι εἶχε βιβλίον ἐν δέρμασιν, ἄξιον δεκαοκτῶ νομισμάτων.

Constantine onward'.¹⁴ This would have been twice as much as a year's salary for a reader, or indeed a year's salary for a priest, and the so-called 'John Cassian' was allegedly himself a priest. What I am simply suggesting is that if Palestinian monasteries were prepared to spend such amounts of money and monk-labour in order to produce a copy of the entire Bible, it would be just absurd to presume that they would have done so in order to produce any codex in Greek allegedly translated from Latin, in order to learn from a westerner what the rules of their own monasteries were.

It is, therefore, all but mere coincidence that none of the oldest Latin manuscripts contains what some would like to call 'the complete work' of 'John' Cassian. The thesis I am advancing is that the original Greek by Cassian the Sabaite was translated into Latin which was gradually, yet heavily, interpolated so as to reach the extent as we know it today.

The Institutes were often regarded as made up of two separate treatises: One, the Institutes of the Coenobia, containing Books I–IV. Two, On the Eight Thoughts of Evil, comprising Books V–XII. The same goes for the Conferences, and their three divisions, which are often found separately in different manuscripts.

The real Cassian was aware of the rules governing the monasteries not only in Egypt and Palestine, but also in Cappadocia.¹⁵ Consequently, he advises Castor that the habit of one monk reading while all the others eat originates in Cappadocia, not Egypt. The reason for this rule to be employed was the need to impose silence on all those sitting around the table. Accordingly, he is aware of a general rule holding 'throughout Mesopotamia, Palestine, Cappadocia and all over the East', about monks not being allowed into the church once they happened to arrive after the reading of the first psalm was complete.¹⁶ Likewise, Cassian knows of monks, who were periodically assigned with the duty of cooking, for a period of one week each time, which holds 'for the entire East',¹⁷ but not for Egypt, where a specific monk is permanently assigned with the duty of cooking, 'once he is found qualified' to carry out this task. One should wonder how the fictitious 'John Cassian' could have possibly been informed about what was happening in Cappadocia, indeed so informed as to advise an Eastern bishop about it. This could not be a question as far as the real Cassian is concerned. Although St. Sabas and his friend Theodosius the Coenobiarch spent their life in Palestine, they

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 51.

¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 8^v.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 9^{r-v}.

¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 11^r.

were both Cappadocian. Therefore, they would have advised their pupil Cassian about what held as appropriate conduct in monasteries of their homeland.

Cassian was a learned scholar. His reference to ‘accurate copies’¹⁸ of Scripture suggests that he was familiar with existing manuscripts and was able to explore their authenticity with authority. His contention that the adverb *εἰκῆ* (‘without a cause’)¹⁹ was added to manuscripts of Scripture by ‘those who did not wish to banish wrath altogether’, is a confident statement that only an experienced scholar would have made. Likewise, he refers confidently to a rendering of Gen. 3:1 by ‘the Jew’ translator (ὅπερ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι).²⁰ This means that he was familiar with different renderings of the Old Testament, in other words, he was a trained scholar. One could hardly imagine a Latin-speaking ‘John Cassian’ to be a man of such abilities, since he was scarcely able to supply his anxious friend archdeacon Leo in Rome with some Latin rendering of Nestorius’ sermons in Constantinople.

Owen Chadwick discerns interpolations even in the *De Incarnatione*, allegedly by ‘John Cassian’, where portions from Jerome’s Vulgate translation are traced: he sees most of them ‘as though imported by copyists’.²¹ This is plausible, since Cassian is represented to have admired Jerome (c. 347–420) overwhelmingly, both for his character and thought. But this is simply impossible with reference to the real Cassian, once there is testimony by Palladius to Jerome’s offensive character,²² not to mention arguable

¹⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 44^v.

¹⁹ I canvass this *infra*.

²⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 106^r.

²¹ Op. cit. p. 11. See *supra*, pp. 158–159, Jerome’s eccentric rendering, *panem supersubstantialem* instilled in Cassian’s Latin text.

²² Palladius recorded testimonies attesting to Jerome’s character being malicious and slanderous, which overruled all the mental capacities of his (ἀρετῆ λόγων ῥωμαϊκῶν κεκοσμημένος καὶ εὐφύια· τοσαύτην δὲ εἶχε βασκανίαν ὡς ὑπὸ ταύτης καλύπτεσθαι τῶν λόγων τὴν ἀρετὴν). Paula, ‘a free woman’ of exceptional spiritual quality from Rome (Eustochion was her daughter), who was looking after him, suffered a great deal because of his nasty character and only death could release her of this suffering (Ἡ μὲν ἐλευθέρα Παῦλα, ἡ φροντίζουσα αὐτοῦ, προτελευτήσῃ, ἀπαλλαγείσα αὐτοῦ τῆς βασκανίας. Indeed, Paula died in 404). Jerome was the cause for her to oppress all her outstanding spiritual aptitude, so that she should remain his servant (ἦς ἐμπόδιον γέγονεν Ἱερώνυμος τις ἀπὸ Δαλματίας· δυναμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπερπηθῆναι πασῶν, εὐφροσυνῶν οὖσαν, προσεπεπόδισε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βασκανίᾳ ἐλκύσας αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σκοπὸν). Moreover, ‘no holy man could dwell in these places because of this man, who could hate even his own brother’ (Χάριν δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μὴ οἰκήσῃ ἅγιος ἀνὴρ εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους, ἀλλὰ φθάσει αὐτοῦ ὁ φθόνος καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ). Jerome was also the cause for many ‘wonderful men’ to leave Bethlehem. Palladius lists the names of those ‘wonderful men’ (καὶ Ὁξυπερέντιον τὸν μακάριον ἤλασε τὸν Ἰταλόν, καὶ Πέτρον ἄλλον τινὰ Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ Συμεῶνα, θαυμασίους ἀνδρας). *Historia Lausiaca*, Vita 35 (‘Posidonius’); Vita 41 (‘On the Holy Women’). Palladius was not sparing of caustic scornful terms in order to depict Jerome’s character.

conclusions flowing from his volatile attitude towards the writings of Origen. It has been generally sustained that the reason for John Cassian's writings having been tampered with is only 'expurgation' from 'the stain of Semi-Pelagianism'. However, the reason for this extensive interpolation would have been no other than simply to hold up Cassian's alleged *Latin* identity. Interpolations of such an enormous extent result only in doubt as to whether 'John Cassian' (whoever he was) ever went to Bethlehem at all, where he would have known about Jerome's character. John Cassian is represented as a man of the world, whereas Cassian the Sabaite was a monk. The *Apophthegmata* represent a hesychast speaking,²³ not an exuberant clergyman moving hectically around, from one imperial capital to another, in the service of ecclesiastical diplomacy. The spirit of monasticism was not as favourable towards bishops as one might imagine anachronistically. The monk of the *Apophthegmata* was the character of a hesychast who had been instructed to avoid episcopal office as much as he should avoid women. Even today, the monastery of St. Sabas, east of Bethlehem, can be seen in the desert as a place where only a staunch and committed anchorite would have chosen to spend his entire life. An extant picture of how this place was in the nineteenth century is magnificent, yet wilder still: one can see around only bare harsh rocks and mountains, with not a single tree nor any tint of green leaf at all.

I therefore believe that a concerted forging resulted in the name Cassian suggesting one writer instead of two—if indeed 'John Cassian' ever wrote anything at all. In reality, it was not a question of expurgating any assumed 'Semi-Pelagianism'. Not only do the texts in Codex 573 not allow for the slightest hint of 'Semi-Pelagianism', but one can clearly see that the role of divine grace is rather overstated again and again. Cassian staunchly teaches that anyone should rely entirely on divine grace in order to be saved. There is no way for man to be saved on his own merits or power. Any feat accomplished is owing to divine grace.²⁴ Any ability occurring in pious men

²³ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, lemma 'Cassian', p. 244. *AP (collectio systematica)* (*cap. 1–9*), 1.15; 4.26; 5.4; 6.14; 8.12; *op. cit.* (*cap. 10–16*), 11.48; 13.2; 16.29.

²⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 26^v–27^r: ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπων ἴν' οὕτως εἶπω, τοῖς ἰδίοις πτεροῖς, πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλὸν τοῦτο καὶ οὐράνιον βραβεῖον τῆς ἀγιωσύνης ἀναπτῆναι, καὶ μιμητὴν ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι εἰ μὴ χάρις Θεοῦ τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ βορβόρου ἀναγάγοι. *op. cit.* p. 56^r: "Ὅτι δὲ χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐλέει ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν προσγίνεται, μάρτυς ἀληθῆς ὁ ληστής ἐκεῖνος, ὃς οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐκομίσατο, ἀλλὰ χάριτι καὶ ἐλέει Θεοῦ. *loc. cit.* ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη κατορθοῦται χάριτι Θεοῦ. *ScetPatr*, pp. 76^v–77^r: Οὐδεὶς γὰρ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἠδύνατο ἀν φέρειν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς φύσεως βρασμὸν σβέσαι, εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐφροῦρει τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν. *op. cit.* p. 84^v: ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἀνευ χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ διακρίνειν;

is only a gift of the Holy Spirit.²⁵ Cassian goes as far as to sustain that man can be saved even against both his will and knowledge. “For God is not only He who provides good things, but He is also the one who cooperates and organizes them, so as to draw us in goodness according to a certain dispensation, even though we almost do not wish it, or do not know it.”²⁶

When, therefore, Cassiodorus sees ‘Semi-Pelagianism’ in Cassian, quite evidently he refers to *another* one, not to Cassian the Sabaite who wrote the works in Codex 573. For indeed laying the responsibility for propagating this doctrinal aberration at the door of Cassian has been a normal verdict by both scholars and religious censors. We have been told that, in the days following John Cassian’s death, the fashion was set for expurgating and emending the writings of Cassian. Leuwis de Ryckel, better known as Dionysius Carthusianus (1402–1471), might have quoted several precedents for his method of dealing with the text. This renowned divine (the *doctor exstaticus* of the fifteenth century) was said to have come upon the Semi-Pelagianism of the Conferences. However, sensible of their real value as he was, in spite of sundry blemishes, he set out to correct them, and produced a free paraphrase both of the Institutes and of the Conferences, in a style which is more simple and more easy to understand than the original. The conspicuous alterations are discernible in the thirteenth Conference: in his endeavour to make Cassian orthodox, Dionysius omitted all that smacked of Semi-Pelagianism, whereas there are also extensive omissions and various suggestive alterations in the text. But the real question is whether this editor was actually working simply on a Latin text cooked far too many years after the death of any of the two Cassians.

The reader can see for himself that Cassian’s Greek text contains nothing even remotely allowing for Semi-Pelagianism to be laid at his door. The following question is invited, therefore: why was this specific text spuriously ascribed to Athanasius? I believe that the answer to this question has

²⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 63^r: οὐ γήϊνον οὐδὲ μικρὸν εἶναι τῆς διακρίσεως τὸ δῶρον, ἀλλὰ τῆς θείας χάριτος μέγιστον ἔπαθλον. *op. cit.* p. 64^r: τὸ τῆς διακρίσεως χάρισμα. *op. cit.* pp. 66^r & 71^v & 73^r & 79^r: τοῦ χαρίσματος τῆς διακρίσεως. *SerenPrim*, p. 80^r: ἀρετάς, αἴτινες ... καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῆς ὕψεως τῷ χαρακτήρι διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτος ἔλαμπον. *op. cit.* p. 80^v: ὥστε χαρισθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης δῶρον. *op. cit.* p. 80^v: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἐκ Θεοῦ δοθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰρήσθω. *op. cit.* p. 94^v: τῆς χάριτος τοῦ σταυροῦ πανταχοῦ λαμπούσης. *De Panareto*, p. 101^v: τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι πληροφορησώμεν τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν. *op. cit.* p. 103^v: Αἱ δ’ αὐταὶ ἄγλαι δυνάμεις θεωροῦσαι ἑαυτάς χάριν δεξαμένας παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *op. cit.* p. 112^v: τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι ἀποκρινούμαι τῆ ὑμετέρα ἀγάπῃ.

²⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 84^r: Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον χορηγὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργὸς καὶ συγκροτητὴς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς σχεδὸν καὶ ἀγνοοῦντας κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἔλκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν.

nothing to do with Semi-Pelagianism. Rather, the reason was the stain of heresy that had been attributed to Cassian. This is why many writings of his are currently ascribed to eminent Christian authors, even though they treat issues which immediately make anachronism evident. It will turn out, however, that Cassian is the author of not only the texts in Codex 573. He is also the author of treatises of major importance currently ascribed to authors older than him. They are texts that no one would suspect that their author awaits for his intellectual resurrection, so that justice should be done. Three of these texts are identified in the Appendices to the edition volume.

The present Meteora-Codex comes up with casting a different light on things. This is not only an early document, but also an original Greek text. Heavily loaded with the erudition and passages of eminent Christian theologians who had preceded Cassian, this ancient manuscript allows no room for being considered a text that has been tampered with in order to exonerate Cassian. For, if by chance that were the case, then its immensely erudite author could have more easily composed similar tractates of his own rather than reproduce fake versions of Cassian.

Owen Chadwick made a strong case against any stain of Semi-Pelagianism existing in these writings, particularly in the thirteenth Conference. This text, as just noted, suffered considerably because of such copyists and zealots as Dionysius Carthusianus. It is to be doubted however that this transpired simply in the interests of orthodoxy. Fusion of two Cassians seems to be a more cogent and urgent reason for doing so, rather than simply aiming at bringing 'John Cassian' closer to the Augustinian orthodoxy. The sixth-century incipient spirit of monasticism in the West saw in monk Cassian the Sabaite a pious person who had been the abbot of two monasteries and had founded another one in his homecity Scythopolis. He had been an abbot only sixteen years after St. Sabas himself. His body had been interred in a crypt next to that of St. Sabas, the sanctified founder of the monastery. It seems however that, since synonymity of two Cassians was there, a Western person should be sanctioned as the 'founder of Western monasticism', a person who would be second to St. Benedict alone. Hence, the works Cassian the Sabaite came to be ascribed to John Cassian the Scythian.

The real Cassian was a contemporary of St. Benedict (c. 480–c. 547), so there is no reason not to assume that the latter's references actually pointed to the real Cassian. In the Rule of Benedict (xlii) it is ordered that after supper the brethren should assemble together, and one of them should read the *Conferences*, or *Lives of the Fathers*, or any other book calculated to edify. Again, in the closing chapter of the same rule, their study is recommended

to those who are desirous of perfection. For ‘what are the Conferences of the Fathers, the Institutes, and their lives; what, too, the Rule of our holy father, St. Basil, but examples of virtuous and obedient monks, and help in the attainment of virtue?’ These references have been propagated to be references to ‘John Cassian’ made by St. Benedict.²⁷ Whether these texts that are attributed to Benedict were written by himself is not for me to resolve.

In the world of clergy it would have been unthinkable for any spiritual offspring to rebut his own father, all the more so if the child were the deacon John Cassian and the father John Chrysostom himself. And yet this is what the real Cassian does, as if he wished to advise us that he is not the spiritual child of Chrysostom, but a different author, namely, Cassian of St. Sabas monastery.

Cassian is represented as rejecting²⁸ a certain rendering of Matt. 5:22 (warning against anyone getting ‘angry with his brother’), in which the word εἰκῆ appears (at that point meaning ‘without a cause’). His contention is that this adverb εἰκῆ is a later addition to the scriptural text, ‘by those who did not wish to ban wrath altogether’ (παρὰ τῶν μὴ βουλομένων τελείως ἐκκόπτειν τὴν ὀργήν). This gloss does not appear in the Migne text, but it is there in Codex 573 (Folio 44^r), which provides a text of this treatise that is more complete and in far better Greek than that of Migne’s, as I argue throughout the notes to the Greek text.

This assertion by Cassian, however,²⁹ was tantamount to rejecting John Chrysostom. For Chrysostom is one of the few authors accepting and entertaining the adverb εἰκῆ in this scriptural portion, indeed he is the one who

²⁷ Cf. PL.49.45D: *S. Benedictus in Regula cap. 24*: Monachi omni tempore, sive jejunii, sive prandii fuerit, mox ut surrexerint a coena, sedeant omnes in unum, et legat unus Collationes, vel vitas Patrum, aut certe aliquid quod aedificet audientes. (*Et infra*): Si autem jejunii dies fuerit, dicta Vespera, parvo intervallo mox accedant ad lectionem Collationum, ut diximus, et lectis quatuor aut quinque foliis, vel quantum hora permittit, omnibus in unum accurrentibus, per hanc moram lectionis, etc. Also, PL.49.46C: *Et cap. 73*: Ad perfectionem conversationis qui festinant, sunt doctrinae sanctorum Patrum: quarum observatio perducit hominem ad celsitudinem perfectionis: quae enim pagina, aut quis sermo divinae auctoritatis, veteris ac novi Testamenti, non est rectissima norma vitae humanae? aut quis liber sanctorum catholicorum Patrum hoc non resonat, ut recto cursu perveniamus ad Creatorem nostrum? nec non et Collationes Patrum, et instituta et vitae illorum, et Regula sancti Patris nostri Basilii quid aliud sunt, nisi bene viventium, et obedientium monachorum exempla et instrumenta virtutum?

²⁸ Cassian, *Epistulae ad Castorem*. PG.28.896.20–26: Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, ὅτι δεῖ πάσαν ὀργὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι, φησιν ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις: “Ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει.” Οὕτω γὰρ τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὰ ἀκριβῆ περιέχει· τὸ γὰρ εἰκῆ ἐκ προσθήκης ἐτέθη· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου λήμματος τῆς Γραφῆς.

²⁹ Cf. a different rendering of Matt. 5:22 appearing in a considerable number of MSS: πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκῆ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει. Nestle-Aland (p. 10) dismiss εἰκῆ, too.

does so frequently and confidently.³⁰ It is also noteworthy that, although Cyril of Alexandria employed this formula, too,³¹ the adverb εἰς ἧν was omitted by a compiler in one of the *florilegia*, mostly published in the sixth century during the Monophysite controversy.³² Basil of Caesarea appears to use both alternatives.³³ Today the mainstream scriptural text dismisses εἰς ἧν, which nevertheless is the option of almost all Christian authors³⁴ quoting Matt. 5:22. The point is, therefore, that *John Cassian* would never have dismissed a rendering of Scripture which Chrysostom had made a salient theme of his analyses. Cassian the Sabaite, however, had no reason not to do so whatsoever.

Furthermore, to argue confidently that the expression ‘with no good reason’ (εἰς ἧν) is an interpolation that does not transpire in ‘manuscripts of Scripture which are accurate’ (τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων) points to a scholar who had a command of the scriptural manuscript tradition. To be sure, only Origen and Theodoret were scholars of such a class, with Eusebius following from some distance. Therefore, one should consider whether a *Latin* author called ‘John Cassian’, who hardly spoke Greek, could have dared to asseverate a statement such as this, or indeed it would be simply ludicrous to make such a surmise.

For all his perceptive analysis, Owen Chadwick had no suspicion or inkling of any question of Cassian, who ‘founded monasteries at Marseilles and Apt’, being a different person from the one who allegedly wrote the *Institutes* and (at least the initial version of) the *Conferences*.³⁵ Taking into

³⁰ John Chrysostom, *Ad Demetrium de Compunctione* (lib. 1), PG.47.395.63; *In Genesim* (homiliae 1–67), PG.53.260.27; *In Matthaëum* (homiliae 1–90), PG.57.245.48; 248.10; 249.26–27; 266.19; *In Joannem* (homiliae 1–88), PG.59.43.14; 145.27; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.50.56; *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos* (homiliae 1–34), PG.63.25.55; 190.19; *In Illud: Filius ex Se Nihil Facit*, PG.56.253.57.

³¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 468; *expPs*, PG.69.941.65.

³² Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.516.34.

³³ Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae Morales*, PG.31.761.43, the adverb εἰς ἧν is indeed used. There is a counterpoint, however, where Basil does not use it: *De Baptismo Libri Duo*, PG.31.1592.31.

³⁴ Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 9.64; *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.75.1156.5; *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.929.43. Apollinaris of Laodicea, *apud Catenae* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam Jacobi*, p. 12. Pseudo-Justin, *Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum*, p. 511D3. Ephraem Syrus, *Reprehensio Sul Ipsius et Confessio*, p. 327. Maximus Confessor, *Questiones et Dubia*, 63. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.268.1. Photius, *Commentarii in Matthaëum*, Fr. 16. Also, the anonymous *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2.53.

³⁵ This notwithstanding, I regard this study as the most insightful one ever to have appeared. Recent studies do not go beyond this. Cf. Richard J. Goodrich, *op. cit.* As already discussed, the author casts some doubt on the testimony by Gennadius and advances Chadwick’s view of *De Institutis*, 3, 4–6, 8, being an interpolation, still the hackneyed standards of Cassian’s identity are taken for granted. Nevertheless, he points out that Cassian never

account the Latin sense of discipline, one would hardly imagine a Scythian monk practising monastic life at Marseilles to write rules in a spirit of describing and advising instead of ordering and dictating. Cassian the Sabaite's edifying instructions are intended for the milieu of Palestine, where he founded one monastery and was the abbot of two of them. I should have thought that he would have adjusted his admonition and enjoinders to conform to this milieu. To cite an instance, Cassian states that the Egyptians had two offices of prayer, each with twelve psalms; they had no more hours of prayer, because they wanted to leave the monk to his silent contemplation. This is at variance with Palladius' *Lausiac History*, which describes four hours of prayer. There is no need to dispute the sources. Quite evidently Cassian intended a less strict rule for the monks of Palestine, where the air was simply different from the Egyptian one. In Cassian's rules, 'Egypt' stands for a spiritual atmosphere rather than a set of strict rules. What matters is the ideals pursued through the life of the anchorite, not the blind attachment to rigid rules, which may well differ from one region to another. His tractate on gluttony is telling of his broadmindedness and benign spirit: he did not set forth strict rules on kinds of food that should be either brooked or proscribed, on the account that each individual has a different physical structure, and consequently different needs.

The 'holy man' in Cassian is not the man who extremely pursues mortification of his body. Rather, he opts for the Aristotelian resolution of the mean: too much is as bad as too little. By the same token, St. Benedict, a contemporary of Cassian the Sabaite the writer of *Institutions* (not a century and a half later, as currently believed), ordered monks to make solemn profession in the monastery chapel: he avowed to 'stability, amendment of life, and obedience' (Rule of Benedict, lviii). Cassian mentions nothing of such solemnity aiming at imposing the institutional rigidity upon the monk's concept of the new reality, which of course does not exclude the possibility of solemn engagements made *ad hoc* by monks.

There is a 'St. Cassian' commemorated in the calendar of the Eastern Orthodox Church. He is not named *John* Cassian however, but simply Cassian. Official publications state him as ὁσιος καὶ ὁμολογητῆς, others 'Cassian the Roman'. The designation that prevails in various documents is ὁσιος ('pious'). The writings ascribed to him are only those in the *Philocalia* of

mentions the bishop, priests or monks of his alleged home. As for the monograph *Cassian the Monk*, by the Benedictine monk Columba Stewart (Oxford, 1999), it epitomizes its approach by reproducing the willful shibboleth postulating Cassian 'the only Latin writer included in the classic Greek collections of western monastic tradition'.

Nicodemus of Athos, that is, the ones which Photius read and posterity praised. No mention is made of either other books (against Nestorius, etc.), or of Cassian having been ordained a deacon by Chrysostom, or anything of Marseilles and the rest. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church no longer commemorates John Cassian's day in its universal calendar. Whether Cassian's removal from the list of saints betokens some lingering doubts in the minds of ecclesiastical administration, I cannot say. John Cassian is nevertheless commemorated by the archdiocese of Marseilles and some monastic orders. His relics are allegedly maintained in an underground chapel in the monastery of St. Victor in Marseilles. At the same time, the relics of Cassian the Roman rest in peace near those of Sabas in Palestine,³⁶ in the monastery of St. Sabas or Great Laura, located twelve kilometres south east of Jerusalem, built on the west bank of the *brook Cedron* east of Bethlehem.

All the evidence setting out to ascribe all writings to John Cassian dates from well after the death of Cassian the Sabaite. This fact cannot be dispensed with. The original manuscripts of works of a 'presbyter' who died in honour are not older than the seventh century and acclamation for his alleged achievements are all lost, which is extremely strange. Even the alleged anonymous condemnation of John Cassian, of which O. Chadwick tells us in an articulate recounting,³⁷ dates no earlier than in a manuscript of the eighth century. Furthermore, biographies which represent clerics of the fifth century to have been fascinated by the *Institutes* and *Conferences* of John Cassian (Fulgentius of Ruspe, Caesarius of Arles) are all desperately retrospective and far too later ones to count as historical evidence.

When a codified *Rule of Cassian* by an unknown author appeared is not quite certain,³⁸ but it definitely was circulating shortly after Cassian the Sabaite's death on 20th July of the year 548AD. This was before the appearance of the Benedictine Rule that made use of Cassian, whose writings were 'incorporated into the Benedictine Rule'. The Rule of the Master, *Regula Magistri*, was a text drafted and circulated in the sixth century: its earliest Latin manuscript, in Paris, goes back to about 600. Owen Chadwick notes: "I have shown reason to think that the text of Cassian suffered touching in its early centuries ... the text of Cassian suffered alteration at the hands of a copyist who knew the Master."³⁹

³⁶ Actually, no longer *beside* Sabas (born in 439 in Cappadocia, died in 532), whose body was snatched by crusaders and placed in Venice, to be returned to the monastery in 1965.

³⁷ Op. cit. pp. 150 f.

³⁸ H. Plenkers, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, 1906, I, pp. 70–84, *apud* O. Chadwick, p. 152, n. 4.

³⁹ O. Chadwick, op. cit. p. 154.

This is the heart of the matter, yet the sagacious scholar did well as far as he went, but he did not go far enough.⁴⁰ The Rule of the Master by the anonymous translator is the bridge between Cassian the Sabaite and the attribution of his works retrospectively to the mediocre fifth-century presbyter John Cassian. If 'use of Cassian' by the *Regula Magistri* is 'more faithful than the use of Cassian by Benedict', this is so because the anonymous Latin rendering of the Rule of the Master actually meant to render Cassian the Sabaite. This translation was the gate for the West to discover the monk of St. Sabas, and, retrospectively, for a series of copyists to make one 'Cassian' out of two.

In the year 1616, the works ascribed to 'John Cassian' were published and commented on by Alard Gazeus or Gazet, a Benedictine monk of St. Vaast's at Arras, first at Douay (and afterwards with more ample notes at Arras, in 1618). By that time, the writings of the true abba Cassian suffered interpolation and tampering and it could make little sense to explore the forgeries entirely. If John Cassian wrote anything at all,⁴¹ he wrote in Latin (such as his work on Nestorius) although he is believed to have had some knowledge of Greek, too. How this opinion about knowledge of Greek could be sustained, I do not see. This may well be one more myth surrounding this obscure allegedly Scythian figure, which seems to have been made up out of thin air.

Cassian himself tells us implicitly, yet clearly, that at the time when he was writing his treatises for the sake of Bishop Castor, he lived in a monastery pretty near the Cave of Nativity.⁴² The place which he intimates at that point should be the Laura of St. Sabas itself, which is located near Bethlehem.⁴³ We know that Cassian spent time in the Laura of Sabas, where he became a presbyter and was the abbot at Souka at the time when he was appointed abbot of the Sabas monastery. It is therefore probable that he

⁴⁰ In *op. cit.* 157, he takes it for granted that the Greek text of Conferences I, II, VII and VIII published in 1913 by K. Dyonouniotis is 'a translation' from an presumed Latin original. He also believes that, in the 1877-onwards Russian collection by Bishop Theophanes, 'St John Cassian' was 'the only Latin writer to be included'. Further (p. 161) Cassian is styled 'one of the most influential of the Latin fathers'.

⁴¹ As I argue in a moment, even for the work on the Incarnation against Nestorius, which is preserved in Latin, reservations about its authorship are inevitably and inexorably given rise to by hardly escapable evidence.

⁴² Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 14^v: εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τὸ πλησίον τοῦ σπηλαίου ἔνθα ὁ δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθη· ἐν ᾧ μοναστηρίῳ ἔτυχον τὸ τ(η)νικαῦτα διατρίβων.

⁴³ So was the monastery of Souka, the location of which has been brilliantly identified following the study by Yizhar Hirschfeld: this is located 2.6 kilometres north east of Tekoa, which determines its position some 3 kilometres south east of Bethlehem.

wrote to Castor while he was still a monk at St. Sabas, since when he wrote to Leontius (evidently before 536) he wrote that his treatises addressed to Castor had been written ‘a long time ago’ (ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἐμοὶ πάλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφ(εῖν)σιν).⁴⁴ His works addressed to Leontius were written while he was living at Mar-Saba, which is indeed near Bethlehem and should be dated between the years 514–519, namely the period during which Leontius had been banished from the Laura of Sabas. The work addressed to Castor dates earlier still.

Codex 573 is dated a ninth/tenth century one. I firmly believe though that this is a copy of a book originally written during the first half of the sixth century, which was a companion of Cassian himself. The appearance and decoration of the book suggests that this comes from an original which was written in the 540s, when Cassian was the abbot of the Souka monastery. The modern reader of the edited text can see for himself a characteristic of this manuscript: mistakes in orthography occur, yet a couple of lines further the same word is written correctly. This suggests that the scribe was aware of the correct spelling. However, as he was writing in an era when minuscule was incipient, misspellings only betoken the difficulties that this transition involved.

In the ‘book of Cassian’ we come across subtle notions which transpire only rarely before he wrote his work. For instance, the notion of ‘concepts of the Father’ (ἐννοίας τοῦ πατρός)⁴⁵ was taken up by Antiochus of Palestine,⁴⁶ never to be coupled again. The notion ‘concept of the Father’ can be presumed to be scriptural⁴⁷ as quoted by Didymus,⁴⁸ who actually appears to be the sole author to do so. Antiochus drew heavily on Cassian’s writings and had in mind this ‘book of Cassian’, namely the original, from which Codex 573 was later scribed. This book was available to him at the Laura of Sabas at the time when he set out to make the abridged theological exposition which his friend abbot Eustathius from Ancyra had requested him to do.

The testimony in the *Doctrina Patrum* is more stunning. The collection refers to ‘three sermons by Cassian’ which comprise ‘three thousand and three hundred verses’ (Κασσιανοῦ λόγοι γ’, στίχοι γτ’).⁴⁹ In our Codex, the

⁴⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v.

⁴⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXI, Codex p. 258^v.

⁴⁶ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sanctae*, Homily 82.

⁴⁷ Proverbs 4:1.

⁴⁸ Didymus, *commZacch*, 2.270.

⁴⁹ *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 242.

three first discourses (Institutions of monasteries, On the eight thoughts of evil, On the fathers at Scetis) comprise exactly this number of verses. The author of *Doctrina Patrum* placed this work among those which, in his list, were catalogued subsequently to the books of Holy Scripture: he evidently regarded them as vital for supplementary doctrinal edification.

The header 'Book of Cassian' actually denotes the owner of this book, which contained texts either favoured by, or useful to, him. It would be absurd to allow that a Latin author would have compiled such an utterly personal companion in Greek, indeed a Greek of the highest quality, which is impossible to be a translated text from Latin. This is a Greek text, which under no circumstances could have been attained by a *Graeculus*, as Galland put it, let alone a Latin author.

As already said, clearance of the remaining Latin texts attributed to 'John Cassian' is beyond my scope. I simply note that I do not believe that the real Cassian wrote anything beyond these Greek texts on the specific topics. I do believe, however, that he is the author of other works which are currently ascribed to other authors. At the moment, Cassian the Sabaite monk, is an author non-existent according to the current state of scholarship.

Besides, it has become clear that it is not my intention to dispute the authorship of the treatise against Nestorius, which is currently ascribed to John Cassian. Nevertheless, there is a point to be made, and I only wish to introduce some caveats concerning this issue, although I will eventually leave the question moot.

All scholarship aspiring to depict the person of John Cassian is at one making him a native of either present-day Romania, or at best Gaul.⁵⁰ In any event, John Cassian is argued to have been a Scythian by birth. The editor of the Latin text is so determined to sustain this Scythian identity, that he takes the name 'Scetis' (Σκήτις) occurring in Greek (and in the present Codex 573, too) to be a misrendering for 'Scythia', which he opts for by means of emendation of the texts he used.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Nevertheless, I have come across one account attesting to an Antiochene origin, but the author does not explain how did he come to know this. See *supra*, p. 26 *infra*, p. 222.

⁵¹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 52^v: Μέμνημαι γάρ τινος γέροντος, ἡνίκα ἐν Σκήτι διέτριβον. *ScetPatr*, p. 56^v: Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σκήτιν ἁγίων πατέρων ... Ὅτε τοίνυν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Σκήτεως. The Latin invariably renders Σκήτις as 'the Scythian' (desert). Cf. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 49, 477 (Scythica eremo); so on 479A; Cf. 264A; 583C; 647A; 822A (eremo Scythi); 416A (eremo Scythiae); 847A (Scythica eremo). Even Nitria is made a Scythian place (647A: inter Nitriam ac Scythin situs); 995A (habitationem Scythioticae solitudinis); 1087B & 1170B (Scythioticae solitudinis); 116A (Scythioticae eremi); 1288B (eremus Scythi).

There is however one work which has different things to say: unexpected as it was, to my astonishment it makes 'John Cassian' a native of Syria, thus going along with my own conclusion. However, my pleasure at reading this did not last, since this biography takes all hackneyed information about 'John Cassian' for granted, although it does not mention Scythia at all. "John Cassian was a native of Lesser Syria, then comprised under Thrace".⁵² How this nineteenth-century author reached the conclusion that John Cassian was a native of Syria, he does not say. This seems to me to be only indicative of the confusion and tampering with the writings of the real Cassian. It would be just absurd to surmise that the so-called 'John Cassian' spent any modicum of his lifetime in Syria. On the other hand, Syria is plainly suggested to be Cassian's own country in the Greek text.⁵³ Quite simply, his native town Scythopolis belonged to the region of Syria. Besides, the version of the Revelation in his hands is a Syriac one, as the critical apparatus attached to the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* shows.⁵⁴

There is more to go, however. In the sixth book of his treatise against Nestorius, Cassian falls upon Nestorius with the creed of the Church of Antioch, where he was actually brought up, taught and baptised. Some have needlessly inquired what some council of Antioch made of that creed. Cassian writes about the creed which was usually recited *in* the Church of Antioch, not a creed composed *by* any council of Antioch. The fact of the matter is that the treatise against Nestorius makes pretty much of the Antiochene theology, in the sense that it appeals to its instructive authority.⁵⁵

Furthermore, once specific points of this Latin treatise are studied, one could hardly believe that this is a text originally written in Latin. Suffice it to consider one specific term only, since clearing up the authorship of this

⁵² Walter Farquhar Hook, *An Ecclesiastical Biography Containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines*, London, 1847; vol. III, pp. 516–521.

⁵³ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 74a: ὡσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἔγνωμεν συμβᾶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν Συρίας. Also, *SerenPrim*, p. 96a: ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ('in our country') though Syria is not mentioned by name at that point. However, the phenomenon of banning Holy Communion was one that occurred within the empire (not in John Cassian's non-Roman region), hence Justinian's edict (*supra*, p. 121, note 32) against the clerics who practised this against the faithful who confessed their sins.

⁵⁴ There is no question of Cassian accepting the Book of Revelation as a canonical one: he actually did, which is also why 'the Book of Cassian' (folia 210^r–245^r) included a version of the full text of Revelation, followed by his *Scholia* accompanied with portions from another version of the Revelation. Cf. Cassian quoting Rev. 12:4. *De Panareto*, pp. 105^r–105^v: "Ὅντινα οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς μακαρίας στάσεως πεπτωκέναι ἢ γραφῇ μνημονεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῶν ἄστρον τὸν δράκοντα ἐκείνον μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐλακύσαντα, which is the introductory theme of Scholion XVIII in his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 519–520.

treatise is beyond my scope. One of the Greek terms used is θεοδόχος (= one that has received God, or divinity) for the flesh of Christ. The Latin author has no way of rendering the notion other than (once again) transliterating the Greek, making this ‘theodochus’.⁵⁶ Uncomfortable as this usage was, it called for a comment by the editor,⁵⁷ since ‘John Cassian’ used this further on, actually in order to describe nothing more than its literal sense.⁵⁸ Both the Latin author (or a translator from Greek?) and his editor Alardus Gazaeus appear to have no inkling of the historical (not simply theological) significance of the term. For indeed, in this specific text it tells us plainly that we have an authoritative influence by Gregory of Nyssa at this point.

In the context of the present Latin understanding, the term θεοδόχος was a suspect one, indeed a heretical notion once applied to Christ. On account of the etymology of the term (Θεός + δέχομαι= ‘to receive God’), this can only mean deification by adoption, not by nature. Some notes by Alardus Gazaeus are pretty telling in this respect,⁵⁹ since he considers the

⁵⁶ *Joannis Cassiani Massiliensis Presbyteri De Incarnatione Christi Contra Nestorium Haereticum Libri Septem*, V.3, PL.50.102A–103A: Et iterum: *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis* (1 Cor. 3:16&6:19). Et per hoc omnes Theodochi sunt, ac sic hoc modo cunctos admodum Christo similes et Deo pares dicis.

⁵⁷ A note by editor Alardus Gazaeus is characteristic and would have well been one to a Greek rather than Latin text: Theodochi potius quam Theotoci hoc loco legendum admonet ipsa series contextus. 102D–103A: Explicat enim qui sunt θεοδόχοι. Theodochi, id est, susceptores Dei, nempe in quibus, secundum Apostolum, Spiritus Dei inhabitat, tamquam in templo suo; quomodo superius (Lib. III cap. 15) dixit Christum Theodochon a Nestorio appellatum, *quod Deum in se suscepit*; quo etiam modo omnes sanctos θεοδόχους, ac per hoc Christo similes, immo pares, impius ille astruebat. Theodochi sunt, ac sic hoc modo cunctos admodum Christo similes et Deo pares dicis.

⁵⁸ Cf. op. cit. IV.15, PL.50.70C–71A: Numquid discretionem aliquam hominis et Dei intulit? aut carnem illam Theodochon, ut tu ais, id est, susceptricem Deitatis nominavit?

⁵⁹ Op. cit. V.2, 98C–98D: Nescio an hic ferat lector, et rursus infra (Cap. seq.), vocabulum imaginem, cum satis constet ex dictis et ex ipso textu esse frustraneum, et ex ignorantia Graecae vocis θεοδόχον vel imperitia librariorum, in textum intrusum. Theodochon enim legendum, non Theotocon, superius ostendi: quae vox (Theodochos scilicet) nihil aliud significat quam susceptricem Dei, ut mox etiam ab Auctore exponitur, seu qui Deum excipit, aut suscipit; quemadmodum et superius *carnem Christi Theodochon, id est, Deitatis susceptricem* dixit. Et rursus infra: *Et per hoc, omnes Theodochi sunt*, nullo imaginis respectu, aut mentione, quia nihil ad rem facit: nisi sic interpreteris Christum theodochon imaginem, id est, imaginem Dei susceptricem a Nestorio appellatum: quod hactenus apud alium auctorem non legi, nec facile mihi persuasero, hanc phrasim ab illo usurpatam, cum de imagine nulla sit habita quaestio, sed de divinitate. Quia tamen tam editio Basileensis quam Plantiniana ita habent, nolui hoc loco, nec inferius expungere, sed satis habui lectorem de his monuisse, suum cuique liberum relinquens iudicium. Porro ne quis temere Theodochon pro Theotocon mutatum existimet, revocandum hic in memoriam discrimen superius indicatum, inter haec tria vocabula sibi multum affinia, Theotocos, Theotocos et Theodochos; de singulis nonnullae auctoritates preferendae. Est ergo notandum, composita, seu derivata a τίτω sive

term θεοδόχος⁶⁰ a heretical concoction by Nestorius, which (so he alleged) was condemned by the Council of Ephesus.⁶¹ But Ephesus knows of no such term as θεοδόχος, as indeed no oecumenical council does. Even if Ephesus

τόκος cum passive sumuntur, proparoxytona esse; sive notari in antepenultima: cum vero active, in penultima: et hoc sine controversia apud omnes grammaticos. op. cit. VI.3, 99C–100A: Christum θεοδόχον imaginem appellandum, id est, non Deum, sed susceptorem Dei; scilicet, ut eum non propter se, quia sit Deus, sed quia Deum in se suscipiat, honorandum putas. 102A: Ais ergo Christum θεοδόχον imaginem appellandum, id est, non propter se eum quia sit Deus, sed quia Deum in se susceperit honorandum. Hoc modo ergo nihil inter eum et omnes qui fuerunt sanctos homines esse asseris, quia omnes utique sancti homines Deum in se habuerunt. 103B–104C: Omnes ergo sive patriarchae, sive prophetae, sive apostoli, sive martyres, sive denique sancti omnes, habuerunt quidem in se Deum, et omnes filii Dei facti sunt, et [Note: *Theodochi*, an *Theotoci* hic legendum sit, ambigua mihi sententia est. Nam ut *Theodochi* suadere videtur quod eadem verba superius usurparit Auctor: *Omnes Theodochi sunt*, ubi Theodochi potius legi debere monuimus ... Theotocon proparoxytonum, id est, a Deo genitum, vel ex Deo natum ac Dei filium; et Theodochon, id est, Dei susceptorem, vel susceptricem. Neque refert quod superiori capite Theodochi, hic vero Theotoci dicantur viri sancti; utrumque enim admittebat Nestorius, nimirum Θεοδόχους et Θεοτόκους esse, quod et Dei susceptores essent, id est, Dei habitacula, et quod Dei filii, scilicet adoptivi. op. cit. VII.8, 215D–216C: quamvis alias eundem etiam θεοδόχον, id est, Dei susceptorem et hospitem appellaret: et utraque ratione theotoci formam cum Deo honorandam et adorandam praedicabat. Quare merito ambigi possit, theodoci, an theodochi potius legendum sit: nam et ille theodochi formam et imaginem Christo affingebat, id est, unam gerebat, ac prae se ferebat ipse Christus θεοδόχος Dei susceptor et hospes: cujus Deus inquilinus et inhabitator, ut ipse volebat.

⁶⁰ The term θεοδόχος which Alardus also states as an alternative to θεοδόχος is a nonexistent word and was never used by any author. Appeal is made to Nonnus and his paraphrase of the gospel according to John, yet the term does not actually appear therein.

⁶¹ Cf. op. cit. IV.5, 70D–71C: Ex similitudine vocum error hactenus in editione etiam Plantiniana irrepererat, ut pro Theodochon, vel Graece θεοδόχον legeretur Theotocon, quae vox, cum apud Graecos pro diversitate accentus bifariam accipiatur, neutro tamen modo ac sensu potest huic loco convenire. Nam Θεοτόκος cum accentu in penultima significat parentem Dei, sive Deiparam, ut superius dictum est, quomodo Nestorius nolebat Mariam dici Θεοτόκον, sed Χριστοτόκον, id est, Christi matrem, non Dei. Θεοτόκος vero cum accentu in antepenultima, id est, genitus a Deo. Neutrum autem de carne Christi dici posse, neque a Nestorio dictum fuisse, per se notum est. At vero Θεουδόχος, vel Θεοδόχος, id est, Deum capiens, a verbo δέχομαι, quod est capio, vel suscipio. Unde statim et propriissime exponitur: *carnem Theodochon*, id est, *susceptricem Deitatis*. Sic enim impius ille Nestorius carnem, id est, humanitatem Christi, vel Christum hominem non Θεοτόκον, id est, a Deo genitum, sed Θεοδόκον id est, Dei susceptorem et veluti hospitem, vel Θεοφόρον, id est, Deiferum appellabat, quasi alius esset Christus homo a Deo, quem susceperat, et intra se gerebat, non unione hypostatica, sed quadam dignitatis et amicitiae praerogativa eidem conjunctus. Contra quam haeresim, in synodo generali Ephesina editi sunt canones, et sub anathemate sanciti, e quibus tertius sic habet: *Si quis in uno Christo hypostases post unionem dividit sola eas connexionem, quae sit secundum dignitatem vel auctoritatem, et non potius, quae sit secundum unionem naturalem conjungens, anathema sit*. Et canon quintus: *Si quis Christum hominem Deiferum audet dicere, et non potius Deum secundum veritatem, anathema sit*. Hoc

had known of this, it would never have condemned it, on account of a momentous fact of which Alardus Gazaeus was unaware: the term along with its theology was fathered by Gregory of Nyssa. Cassian's reference to *carnem theodochon*⁶² is a plain liability to Gregory's θεοδόχος σάρξ, which appealed to Theodoret enough as to include it in his *Eranistes*.⁶³ Gregory conveniently entertained the notion of the 'body' or 'man' who had 'received divinity', so that the remarks which brand this idea a Nestorian heretical contrivance lose all their value. It is certainly no coincidence that it was only Theodoret to whom this notion appealed so as to include it in his collection.⁶⁴

The Council of Ephesus had expressed hostility to Nestorius styling Mary θεοδόχος and Χριστοτόκος rather than θεοτόκος.⁶⁵ A spurious text written in the spirit of Ephesus rejects the term θεοδόχος for Mary, allowing only θεοτόκος.⁶⁶ However, the epithet was later largely used as one applied to Mary.⁶⁷ Besides John of Damascus knew that this was favoured by

enim Θεοφόρου nomine, sicut et Θεοδόχου abutebatur Nestorius ad indicandum personarum ex quibus Christum compositum volebat, distinctionem.

⁶² Op. cit. IV.15, PL.50.71A.

⁶³ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita Mosis*, 2.216: Οὐ γὰρ γάμος αὐτῷ τὴν θεοδόχον ἐδημιούργησε σάρκα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς γίνεται λατόμος τῆς τῷ θεῷ δακτύλῳ καταγραφείσης. The same text is quoted by Theodoret, *Eranistes*, p. 105. Gregory of Nyssa entertained the notion also in his *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 37: ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἢ θεοδόχος ἐκείνη σὰρξ πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν ἑαυτῆς παρεδέξατο, ὃ δὲ φανερωθεὶς θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο κατέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν τῇ ἐπικλήρῳ φύσει, ἵνα τῇ τῆς θεότητος κοινωνίᾳ συναποθεωθῇ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

⁶⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Canticozum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 388: ὡς γὰρ οὐκ ἔγνω ἢ παρθένος ὅπως ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτῆς τὸ θεοδόχον συνέστη σῶμα. op. cit. v. 6, pp. 390–391: Χριστὸν δὲ νῦν λέγομεν οὐ πρὸς τὸ αἶδιον τῆς θεότητος ἀναπέμποντες τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοδόχον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ὀφθέντα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφέντα, τὸν τῆς παρθενίας βλαστόν, ἐν ᾧ Κατώκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς. *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 32 (also quoted in Theodoret's *Eranistes*, p. 241): ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος ὁ θεοδόχος ἄνθρωπος ἦν, ὁ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως συνεπαρθεὶς τῇ θεότητι, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς σώματος ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἐνέργεια πρὸς ἅπαν τὴν συναίσθησιν ἄγει τὸ ἡνωμένον τῷ μέρει.

⁶⁵ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1, pp. 111–112. Cf. Nestorius, *Sermones*, 10.

⁶⁶ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Sermo in Nativitatem Christi*, PG.28: 965.7–11; 968.1–3.

⁶⁷ Cf. Theodore Studites, *Homilia in Nativitatem Mariae*, PG.96.696.20. The collection *Doctrina Patrum* (p. 292) states Θεοδόχος as one of the fifty-three epithets accorded to Mary. The last one is Θεοτόκος. Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 141 (quoted by Michael Glycas, *Annales*, p. 432): ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ ζωαρχικοῦ καὶ θεοδόχου σώματος. Likewise, the anonymous *Dissertatio Contra Judaeos*, 3, line 86. Anastasius of Sinai, *Sermo III in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, 5. Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815*, 71, line 24. Nicetas David (bishop and scholar, Constantinople and Paphlagonia, ninth–tenth cent.), *Homiliae Septem*, Homily 4,

Sabaite literature.⁶⁸ Although the term was reserved for Mary and Symeon, there is one single usage in the hymnology of the Church of this being accorded to St. Sabas himself: the hymn was chanted on the saint's feast day.⁶⁹ Once again, the involvement of Mar-Saba in the hymnology of the church should not elude us. Where else would a hymn for the feast-day of Sabas have possibly been composed other than in his own monastery, which was after all the place where hymnography flourished?⁷⁰ Stephen the Sabaite of Gaza (725–796), the nephew of John of Damascus, was the monk who spent fifty years at the Laura of Sabas and is known as one of the best hymnographers of the Eastern Church.⁷¹

All this discussion means that whereas the text against Nestorius ascribed to John Cassian is aware of the resolutions of Ephesus, it uses the term θεοδόχος for Christ, drawing freely on Gregory of Nyssa and with some convenience following awareness of this fact. By the time this treatise was composed, the ferment over this term after Ephesus was long past. What is for sure is that no author other than Gregory of Nyssa and the text of 'John Cassian' ever styled Christ θεοδόχος, a fact which both modern and ancient editors of 'John Cassian's' work seem to be unaware of. It is not easy to allow for the possibility that a Latin author used such a controversial term with such confidence, quite evidently relying on his deep knowledge of Gregory of Nyssa, which is a characteristic of Cassian the Sabaite, not of John Cassian. Nevertheless, as already noted, I prefer to leave this question moot, since the treatise against Nestorius has internal indications bespeaking an Antiochene author, and I now see the danger of this 'John Cassian' being bereft of any writings altogether.

The Greek works by Cassian enjoyed a wide currency in the East. But no eastern author ever mentioned any person called *John* Cassian at all. They all know of another Cassian, 'abba Cassian' the monk. The Roman Cassian was from Palestine and was never either called or surnamed 'John'. John

p. 247. So the Sabaite monk John of Damascus, *Oratio Prima in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, sections 4; 10; *Oratio Secunda in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, sections 2; 17; 18; *Oratio Tertia in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, 4.

⁶⁸ Cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 144: ἵνα μὴ οἱ σεβάσμιμοι ἐκείνοι καὶ θεοδόχοι τόποι τοῖς Νεστορίου δόγμασιν καταμαίνωνται. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 274: τοῦ θεοδόχου μνήματος.

⁶⁹ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Decembris*, 5.4.8: σκεῦος θεοδόχον καὶ ἄγιον.

⁷⁰ Christian Hannick, "Hymnographie et hymnographes sabaïtes", in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters, Leuven, 2001, pp. 217–228. K.Ch. Mauridès, "Ἡ ἐπίδρασις τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα ἐπὶ τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ ὑμνολογίας", *Νέα Σιών* 42 (1947), pp. 13–24.

⁷¹ S. Eustratiadès, "Στέφανος ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ Σαβαΐτης", *Νέα Σιών* 28 (1933), pp. 594–602, 651–673, 722–737; 29 (1934), pp. 3–19; 113–130; 185–187.

Cassian was not Roman, but Scythian. In terms of time, they are far from each other by more than one century, and as far away as Palestine is from the present-day Romania, or Marseilles in terms of geography.

The biography of Cassian, which is ascribed to Gennadius is a forgery. This was subsequently coupled with the fraud of the real Cassian's work being ascribed to Athanasius, only because Cassian, in the eyes of some, had indulged in such heretical doctrines as Origenism and Nestorianism, and was tolerant, and perhaps a sympathizer, of the Monophysites. It is therefore too hard for me not to recall some remarks by such a brilliant mind as Edward Gibbon.

"The Catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning. ... The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts and passions of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honourable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to compose fictions which must be stigmatised with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity. ... Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the three who bear witness in heaven, is condemned by the universal silence of the orthodox fathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts. It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunneric summoned to the conference of Carthage. An allegorical rendition, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries. After the invention of printing, the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or those of the times; and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe."⁷²

Why Was Cassian Styled 'Roman' in Later Byzantine Literature?

Christian bishops are normally designated by their see, simple monks by their monastery. And yet Cassian is styled 'Cassian the Roman' by some later Greek sources. I can see no reason other than that Cassian was so styled in order to be distinguished from his Scythian namesake, who had lived more

⁷² Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited with Introduction, notes and appendices by J.B. Bury, (7 vols.), vol. 4, pp. 95–97.

than a century earlier. I have already suggested that the designation ‘Roman’ applied to Cassian in certain instances of Greek literature is a later one. This was probably accorded to him in order to point to the real Cassian against the fusing forgery that would have started during the seventh century. It is then worth exploring this point briefly.

Modern scholarship has made much of Cassian being styled ‘Roman’ by a few later Greek authors. The modern editors of the *Philocalia* have it that ‘St John Cassian’ is “often styled ‘Cassian the Roman’ in Greek sources”.⁷³ This, however, is not accurate. As a matter of fact, there are only a few instances of Cassian being so styled in Greek manuscripts. For one thing, it is the present Meteora Codex 573. Then we come upon it in Photius, who does not actually style him ‘Roman’, but, uninformed about Cassian as he was, advises that ‘he happened to have been born in Rome’ (‘Ρώμην λαχόντος πατρίδα). Similar instances are later ones. During the first decade of the twelfth century, Nicon of Montenegro made reference to ‘Cassian the Roman’, at two points.⁷⁴ Likewise, the codices of the National Library of Austria in Vienna, which I have considered in my critical apparatus of the Greek text,⁷⁵ style Cassian ‘the Roman’ (Κασσιανού του ‘Ρωμαίου).⁷⁶ Of the five codices preserved in the National Library of Greece in Athens (which are thirteenth and fourteenth century ones), two style Cassian ‘Roman’.⁷⁷ Of the codices at the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, only Codices 55 (927 AD) and 181 (end of thirteenth century) style him ‘Roman’, in the title of his treatise on the eight dispositions to evil, much like the Meteora-Codex 573. In the rest of them (which are discussed in the Conclusion), he is simply Cassian. Codex 633 (fourteenth cent.) has it ‘abba Cassian’ (ἄββᾶ Κασσιανού); in Codex 365 (thirteenth cent.) he is simply ‘Cassian’ (Κασσιανού), as is

⁷³ Gerald Eustace, Howell Palmer, Philip Sherrard, Kallistos Ware, (eds), *The Philocalia: The Complete Text*, vol. 1, p. 72: “St John Cassian, often styled ‘Cassian the Roman’ in Greek sources, was born around the year 360, probably in Roman Scythia.”

⁷⁴ Nicon of Montenegro, *Canonarium vel Typicon*, 1.32 (line 35) & 1.54 (line 35): του ἁγίου Κασσιανού του ‘Ρωμαίου. Nicon was an early twelfth-century monk of Antiochene extraction. His work is now available in an English translation by Robert Allison, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 425–439. That the translator takes the Migne-text as a ‘Greek translation’ of works by ‘John Cassian’ (p. 417, n. 24) is regrettable, yet hardly a surprise.

⁷⁵ *Vindobonensis theol. graec.* 104 & 121 (V104, V121). According to the catalogue of the National Library of Austria, the letter is a twelfth-century manuscript. It is characteristic that although the Codex indicates its author to be ‘Cassian the Roman’, the catalogue of the Library entered this as (Johannes) Cassianus.

⁷⁶ V104 (fourteenth cent.), p. 223^r. V121 (twelfth cent.), 206^r.

⁷⁷ National Library of Greece, Athens, Codex 525 (fourteenth cent.) (τὰ ἀσκητικά συγγράμματα του ἄββᾶ Κασσιανού του ‘Ρωμαίου). Codex 549 (thirteenth cent.) (Κασσιανού ‘Ρωμαίου). But Codex 334 (thirteenth cent.) (ἄββᾶ Κασσιανού διήγησις ...). Codex 423 (fourteenth cent.) (πρὸς Λεόντιον ἐπίσκοπον). Codex 510 (thirteenth cent.) (ὁσίου Κασσιανού Πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον ... του αὐτοῦ Περί τῶν ὀκτῶ τῆς κακίας λογισμῶν).

he in Codex 157 (parchment, tenth cent.); in Codex 57 (thirteenth or fourteenth century), he is 'saint Cassian' (τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ). Likewise, Codices 157, 171 and 181 state 'Cassian' with no further designation.

The Meteora Codex 573 has important things to tell us. Although the colophon of the Codex has it, 'The book of Cassian the monk' (Κασσιανοῦ μοναχοῦ βιβλίον) (not 'the Roman'), it is only in the ensuing line stating the title of the first treatise that Cassian is styled a Roman (Κασσιανοῦ μοναχοῦ Ῥωμαίου). Following the description of contents by Photius, it is clear (as already suggested) that the book Photius read contained the texts of Codex 573, save the last treatise of Codex 573 which was not included in Photius' copy. Nevertheless, the header suggesting the author was evidently the same, namely, 'Cassian monk, the Roman', which is why Photius mistook Cassian as a native of Rome. Needless to say that Photius' assumption was wrong: no one did ever take his statement seriously and no one did ever make either 'John Cassian' or Cassian himself a native of the city of Rome. The exception appears only in hagiographic fiction created by later monks in *Synaxaria*, where pious imagination has always been the actual author. I know of an unpublished Meteora-Codex, where Cassian the Roman is related to have been 'from Rome, a son of eminent and illustrious parents' (οὗτος ἦν ἐκ Ρώμης· περιφανῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν γονέων υἱός).⁷⁸ Furthermore, so the story goes, early in his life he studied literature, philosophy and astronomy, and then Scripture, until he left home and went to Scetis, where he became a monk in a community and then a solitary. Later, he visited the monasteries of Egypt, Asia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the entire East.⁷⁹

Cassian has been styled 'Roman' in sources which, not incidentally, are all late-Byzantine ones. Scholars who took the alleged testimony by Gennadius of Marseilles seriously strove to justify the 'Roman' identity by associating this with the *Roman Scythia* presumed to be his native region.⁸⁰ It has been alternatively suggested that 'John Cassian' was styled 'Roman' on account of his having been born within a Roman territory.⁸¹ A third option was

⁷⁸ Codex 14 (year 1364), Meteora, Monastery of The Holy Trinity, Folio 363^r.

⁷⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, (July, 5), p. 459.

⁸⁰ Richard J. Goodrich, op. cit. p.: "Cassian was probably born sometime in the mid 360s. His place of birth has been disputed and no scholarly consensus exists on this question. Quite possibly he was a native of the Roman province of Scythia Minor; a conflicting opinion locates him in Roman Gaul." Likewise, *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, vol. 1, London, 1983, p. 72. "St John Cassian, often styled 'Cassian the Roman' in Greek sources, was born around the year 360, probably in Roman Scythia."

⁸¹ Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, pp. 142–143, note 20: "Photius writes *Rhomen lachontos patrida*, belonging to a Roman family/lineage [according to] Marroù, "Jean Cassien a Marseille". Note W. Cuper's argument that 'Photius uses 'Roman' in the narrow sense of

surmised by Owen Chadwick. He came up with an explanation of why Greek-speaking readers and writers styled Cassian 'the Roman'. "To be 'the Roman' in the east after the crusades was not always a help to reputation".⁸² In other words, he had it that this was a derogatory designation for John Cassian, who was shadowed by the notoriety of crusades in eastern mindset. But this is too weak an argument. The *Meteora-Codex* is dated back to the ninth/tenth century, that is, at least a hundred years before the notion of 'crusade' made any sense.

Following some discussions with learned colleagues, my own experience has been that the designation 'Roman' and its connotations is a controversial and complex point, which has difficulty in enjoying unanimity. I would like, therefore, to address the issue focusing on Greek literature only. In other words, I propose what Greek authors meant or understood by the term 'Roman' throughout a long period of time.

It is well-known that, during the early days of Rome, 'Roman citizenship' betokened a greatly valued privilege, since the title was accorded to certain individuals and had substantial consequences with respect to law, property, social status, and governance. In other words, a wide range of privileges flowed from Roman citizenship. Any 'Roman citizen' was quite different an animal from either native peoples that lived in territories conquered by Rome, or citizens of Rome's client states, or Rome's allied cities. All of them were granted a second-class citizenship, even though some denizens of this sort might have been given a limited form of Roman citizenship, such as the so called 'Latin right', which was only one among many such 'rights'. Nevertheless, this highly valued and sparingly given status came to be possible to acquire either as a reward for outstanding services to Rome, or as a commodity bought at a very high price. The privilege could also be given to people who came from Latin states, or it was collectively granted to entire provinces, such as the citizenship given during the third century to all male inhabitants of the empire by the edict of Antoninus (or, Edict of Caracalla, who issued his *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 AD).

The question of what it meant to declare oneself a 'Roman' enjoyed some currency in Christian literature on account of a specific and well-known scriptural instance: in the Acts, Paul declared himself a 'Roman',⁸³ even

someone from the imperial capital, that is, Constantinople. Since Scythia Minor, a part of the ecclesiastical province of Thrace, was under the patriarchal jurisdiction of Constantinople, Cassian as a native of Scythia could by extension be described as 'Roman' (W. Cuper, *Acta Sanctorum*, 463A-464A)".

⁸² Op. cit. p. 161.

⁸³ Acts 16:37-38; 22:25-27; 22:29; 23:27.

though he was a Jew from Tarsus. Could this mean that he lied in order to save his life? This is in fact the obloquy Porphyry levelled against Paul, in a long passage preserved by Macarius of Magnesia.⁸⁴ To which the latter retorted that Paul was right in styling himself a Roman, once his activity was taking place within the Roman territory: anyone who dwells in a certain country, and acts within it, receives his name out of this country, not out of his native land.⁸⁵

By the same token, John Chrysostom was at pains to argue that 'Paul did not lie' when he styled himself a 'Roman' (οὐκ ἐψεύσατο ὁ Παῦλος, μὴ γένοιτο, Ἰουδαῖον ἑαυτὸν εἰπῶν· Ῥωμαῖος γὰρ ἦν).⁸⁶ 'It was a privilege to be called a Roman at that time', Chrysostom reasons, and 'it was only at the time of Hadrian that everyone was called a Roman, which was not the case during old times'.⁸⁷

As early as during the second century, Aelius Aristides praised Rome for having made the name 'Roman' one which betokens a certain civilization, in the same sense that the Greeks had distinguished themselves from the barbarians.⁸⁸ If Chrysostom is to be believed that Hadrian (117–138 AD) granted the designation (if not the citizenship itself) to all free subjects of the Roman Empire, it comes as no surprise that Aelius Aristides (117–181 AD) praises Rome on the same grounds. Which is what allowed John Laurentius Lydus writing during the sixth century, to style Numerianus a 'Roman', even though this philosopher was from Apamea in Syria.⁸⁹

Likewise, Ammonius, the presbyter of Alexandria (possibly fifth or sixth century) grants that Paul did not lie during the scriptural instance

⁸⁴ Porphyry, *Contra Christianos*, Fr. 28, *apud* Macarius of Magnesia (bishop, fourth–fifth cent.), *Apocriticus seu Μονογενής*, Book 3, p. 126.

⁸⁵ Macarius of Magnesia, *op. cit.* pp. 134–135: Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἐν ἡγεμονίας ἐξουσίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῆς τῆς σωτηρίας διακονοῦντα τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖον ὄντως εἶναι. ... οὕτω Παῦλος, καὶ εἴ τις Παῦλῳ παραπλήσιος, ἐν σκήπτρῳ καὶ χώρᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἀναπατῶν, Ῥωμαῖος ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, ἐστίν. ... Ὅταν γοῦν Ἰουδαῖον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζῃ νόμῳ σωματικῷ τιμᾶ τὸ ὀμόφυλον· ὅτε δὲ Ῥωμαῖον λόγῳ τῆς τάξεως βοᾷ τὴν εὐγένειαν.

⁸⁶ John Chrysostom, *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1–55)*, PG.60.333.39–41.

⁸⁷ John Chrysostom, *op. cit.* PG.60.333.46–49: Μεγάλῃν εἶχον ταύτην τότε προνομίαν οἱ ἀξιόμνημοι οὕτω καλεῖσθαι· καὶ οὐ πάντες τούτου ἐτύγχανον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἀδριανοῦ φασὶ πάντας Ῥωμαῖους ὀνομασθῆναι, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν οὐχ οὕτως ἦν. So in *op. cit.* PG.60.339.3–6.

⁸⁸ Aelius Aristides (second cent.), *Ῥώμης Ἐγκώμιον*, p. 214: καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι ἐποιήσατε οὐ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ γένους ὄνομα κοινοῦ τινος, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ἐνὸς τῶν πάντων, ἀλλ' ἀντιρρόπου πᾶσι τοῖς λοιποῖς. οὐ γὰρ εἰς Ἑλλάδας καὶ βαρβάρους διαίρεῖτε νῦν τὰ γένη, οὐδὲ γελοῖαν τὴν διαίρεσιν ἀπεφῆνατε αὐτοῖς πολυαυθροποτέραν τὴν πόλιν παρεχόμενοι ἢ κατὰ πᾶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν φῶλον, ἀλλ' εἰς Ῥωμαῖους τε καὶ οὐ Ῥωμαῖους ἀντιδιείλετε, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξηγάγετε τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα.

⁸⁹ John Laurentius Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4.80: Νομῆνιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν προχωρητικὸν λόγον εἶναι βούλεται.

since he was a subject of the Roman Empire⁹⁰ and had been born within this dominion.⁹¹

Maximus Confessor comes up with another inventive solution. Since to be styled 'Roman' was an important designation to take advantage of, whenever a census took place people cared to declare themselves Romans. This is what the parents of Paul had done: since they lived in Cilicia, they were registered as Romans and consequently the designation was passed on to their son.⁹²

The same point is made in the epistles ascribed to Photius: by saying that he was Roman, Paul did not lie. For his father had been recorded as a Roman, since either he 'had been granted this as an honour, or he had paid for this', which would have made him a Roman, too.⁹³ For indeed, so the same epistle urges, many individual persons, as well as people collectively, were styled 'Romans' following legal edicts, even though they had not been really born in Rome.⁹⁴ The entire epistle is an *ad hoc et ad hominem* argument aiming at showing that Paul did not lie during the scriptural instance of the Acts. The core of the argument is that anyone who was born in the territory of the Roman Empire used to take pride in styling himself a 'Roman'.⁹⁵

We have a similar testimony by another author called Sophronius (sixth–seventh century). Born in Damascus, he became Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–638). One of his works was a narration of seventy miracles performed

⁹⁰ Ammonius of Alexandria (presbyter, possibly fifth–sixth cent.) *apud* Catenae [Novum Testamentum], *Catena in Acta*, p. 364: ὡμολόγησεν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν Ῥωμαῖον, μὴ ἀποσειόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ δεσποτείαν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 365: Πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι τὸν Παῦλον, γεγεννημένης τῆς Κιλικίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖους, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαῖους Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι.

⁹² Maximus Confessor, *apud* Catenae [Novum Testamentum], *Catena in Acta*, p. 365: Τί δήποτε ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος Ῥωμαῖον ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλεῖ; ... ὡς δὴ τι μέγα τὸ Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖσθαι νομίζοντες, παρέχοντες δόσεις ἀπεγράφοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ ἔτρεχεν εἰς τὸ γένος τὸ ὄνομα: ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ ἀποστόλου ὄντες ἐν Ταρσῷ ἀπεγράφησαν εἰς τὸ καλεῖσθαι Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰκότως ὁ ἀπόστολος ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεννηθεὶς λέγει ὅτι ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι.

⁹³ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 103: τῷ δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα Ῥωμαϊκῆ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἢ καὶ χηρῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγγραφῆναι Ῥωμαῖος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκαλεῖτο τε καὶ ἐτύγχανεν.

⁹⁴ *Loc. cit.* εἰ βούλει δὲ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις τὴν Ῥωμαίων κλήσιν, οὐ ταύτην λαχόντες πατρίδα, πολλοὶ ψηφίσματα ἐκλήρωσαντο.

⁹⁵ *Loc. cit.* καὶ πόλεις ὁλόκληροι τὴν Ῥωμαίων κλήσιν ἀλλογενεῖς οὖσαι εἰς ἑαυτάς ἐφεικύνσαντο. καὶ ἵνα νῦν τὰ ἄλλα παρὰ, ἄκουσον Φιλιππησίους ὅπως ἑαυτῶν ἀποσεμνύνουσιν. ... ὁρᾶς ὅπως οἱ Φιλιππηῖοι Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἐχρημάτιζον καὶ Ῥωμαῖους ἑαυτοὺς ἐξονομάζοντες τὸ μὲν ἔχοντες ἐκ πατρίδος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ψηφισμάτων; τί οὖν ἐμποδῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς οὐ γεγένηται φανερόν καὶ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον Ἰουδαῖον ὄντα καὶ Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι; *So in op. cit.* 247: ὁρᾶς ὅπως οἱ Φιλιππηῖοι τῆ Ῥωμαίων ἑαυτοὺς ἀποσεμνύνουσι κλήσει; If some sections of the *Epistulae et Amphilochia* were indeed written by Cassian rather than Photius, these statements betoken how Cassian himself thought of the 'Roman' identity during the sixth century.

by the saints Cyrrhus and John, whose lives he relates in admiration. When he comes to speak about John, he has it that this John ‘was a Roman’, not on account of having been in a city that was under the rule of Rome, but because he had been born in Rome itself.⁹⁶ Which clearly suggests that shortly after Cassian’s death to style one ‘Roman’ meant having been born either in Rome itself, or in any city of the Roman Empire, which is why Sophronius feels it necessary to make the specific point.

There is a telling evolution, which has important connotations and deserves some discussion.

In forensic language, a well-known principle stipulates that no citizen is brooked not to be aware of the laws of his own city or country. How authors mention this principle is quite informative. When Gregory of Nazianzus mentions this, he has it that ‘no one is allowed to ignore the law of the Romans’.⁹⁷ A century later, another theologian, namely Eutherius of Tyana (the partisan of Nestorius that was deposed and exiled in 431), put the principle in the same terms: ‘it is dangerous for anyone to ignore the laws of the Romans’.⁹⁸ Later, however, the principle is couched in a slightly different manner, though the same phraseology is used: ‘No Roman is allowed not to be aware of the laws’ (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα νόμον ἀγνοεῖν).⁹⁹

All three authors said the same thing,¹⁰⁰ yet the difference is quite telling. Gregory and Eutherius mention this fundamental Roman law. They refer to any subject of the empire, suggesting at the same time that not all subjects

⁹⁶ Sophronius, *Narratio Miraculorum Sanctorum Cyri et Johannis*, Miracle 69: Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ἐτύγχανεν, οὐ πόλεως ὑποφόρου Ῥωμαίοις ὀρμώμενος, ἀλλὰ Ῥώμην αὐτὴν τὴν πρώτην αὐτῶν βασιλεύσασαν πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν κτησάμενος.

⁹⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Laudem Athanasii (orat. 21)*, PG.35.1109.24–26: Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, Ῥωμαίων μὲν νόμον μηδεὶ ἀγνοεῖν ἐξεῖναι;

⁹⁸ Eutherius (fifth cent.), *Confutationes Quarundam Propositionum*, Confutation 3: καὶ νόμους μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἀγνοεῖν ἀκίνδυνον οὐδεὶν.

⁹⁹ See the collection of imperial legal documents *Ecloga Basilicorum*, Book 9, title 4, section 2. Cf. the selfsame phrase in the twelfth century theologian Nicolaus Methonaeus, *Orationes*, Oration 4, p. 275. Likewise, John Apocaucus (monk, jurist, metropolitan, Naupactus, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Notitiae et Epistulae*, 4: καθότι μηδὲ ἐξεῖναι φησὶν ἡ διάταξις ἀνδρα Ῥωμαῖον ἀγνοεῖν νόμον. By the same token, Demetrius Chomatenus (Archbishop of Achris, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Πονήματα Διάφορα*, Ponema 64, lines 11–12: μήτε τοὺς νόμους ἀγνοεῖν ὡς ἀπότιμον (Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ ἔσμεν).

¹⁰⁰ This is a Roman precept that has survived in different versions of proverbial commonplace, such as the following. ‘Ignorantia legis neminem excusat’ (Ignorance of the law excuses no one). ‘Ignorantia praesumitur ubi scientia non probatur’ (Ignorance is presumed where knowledge is not proved). ‘Ignorantia excusator, non juris sed facti’ (Ignorance of fact may excuse, but not ignorance of law). ‘Ignorantia juris quod quisque tenetur scire, neminem excusat’ (Ignorance of law, which everyone is bound to know, excuses no one).

of the empire are *Roman*. Five hundred years later (probably more), things had changed: No *Roman* is allowed to be ignorant of the law: which quite evidently means that no one who is a citizen of the *Roman* Empire is allowed ... etc. In the case of Gregory of Nazianzus, on the one hand, there are *the Romans* and their laws (which no one can afford to ignore), while, on the other, there are *all* subjects (whether Roman citizens or not), who cannot afford not to be aware of the laws of the Romans. Five centuries later, *all* of them are referred to as *Roman*.

Initially, to be a 'Roman' betokened certain legal and social presuppositions, as well as consequences. Gradually, however, the designation came to apply to increasingly large numbers of individuals, indeed of populations, within the empire, which resulted in the late Byzantine Empire regarding all of its subjects as 'Romans'. This gradual evolution survives to the present day: The Greek-Orthodox who currently live in Constantinople and are the flock of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, style themselves *Ῥωμαῖοι*, not 'Greek', only because they regard themselves as citizens born and living within the territory of the (now nonexistent) Roman Empire. The Turks call them 'Rum', that is, 'Roman'. By the same token, those who currently live in Jerusalem and are the flock of the Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate, style themselves *Ῥωμαῖοι*, too. Greeks though they are, they feel that their main affiliation is with the Roman Empire, not with the narrow modern national-political entity called 'Greece'. Therefore, the tradition of one styling oneself *Ῥωμαῖος* on account of having been born within the territory of the Roman Empire survives in its own way even to the present day.

Coming to Cassian, it should be observed that until the ninth century, and later still, none of the authors that mentioned him by name styled him 'Roman'. These authors are John Climacus (τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ), the author(s) of the *Doctrina Patrum* (Κασσιανοῦ λόγοι γ'), the acts of the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536 (Κασσιανὸς πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχός, once, Κασσιανὸς πρεσβύτερος, six instances), the Constitution of the monastery of Prodromus the Dreadful (ὁ θεῖος Κασσιανός, once, τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν, once), Cyril of Scythopolis (τοῦ μακαρίου Κασσιανοῦ, once, ἀββᾶς Κασσιανός, thrice), Theodore Studites (τῷ ἁγίῳ Κασσιανῷ), the *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos* (ὁσίου Κασσιανοῦ), John IV (or, V) of Antioch, surnamed Oxites (*the book* of ὁσίου Κασσιανοῦ), the author(s) *Apophthegmata Patrum* (ἀββᾶς Κασσιανός, nine instances, some of them duplicated in different versions of the collection).¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Different authors (or scribes) write the name Cassian with either one or two sigmas. Codex 573 has it with two sigmas.

We should, therefore, wonder why the text of the present Codex, along with the similar one which Photius studied, do so. Both codices seem to be ninth century ones. It seems to me that another Cassian, who was a Scythian, came to the knowledge of those who adhered to Cassian's writings and reproduced them (mainly Sabaite monks and scribes). That the writings of Cassian were tampered with, so that Latin 'originals' attributed to 'John Cassian' could be produced, is also information that might have been available to these monks and scribes. Following a comparative study with Codex St. Sabas 76 (now in Jerusalem), it can be definitely determined that the present Codex 573 was produced at the Laura of Sabas and it was felt that the designation 'Roman' should be added to Cassian's original companion, which was to be copied.

There was, therefore, on the one hand Cassian of Scythopolis, the Sabaite monk, and on the other, a certain 'John Cassian' the Scythian. The latter is entirely unknown to any Greek source. Consequently, although certainly it is plain wrong to say that 'St John Cassian', is "often styled 'Cassian the Roman' in Greek sources",¹⁰² there are indeed instances during the late-Byzantine period, where Greek manuscripts style Cassian 'Roman'. Even so, Nikon of Montenegro styles him 'Roman' only in two out of eight instances where he mentions Cassian by name. Nevertheless, there should have been a certain reason why the designation 'Roman' was added after all.

With respect to this question, there can only be a tentative proposition, since there is room for speculation, still I believe that there is some good reason in my own suggestion. My argument relates to the fact that this Meteora-Codex was written at the Laura of Sabas by Sabaite monks, a fact about which there can be no doubt, as comparison of manuscripts evince. It seems to me that, at a later stage, the Sabaite monks felt that the two 'Cassians' should be somehow distinguished from one another. Since the name of another Cassian, a native of Scythia, had begun to circulate, a distinction had to be made: the work reproduced in their own *scriptorium* was the work of their own Cassian, the Sabaite, the late hegoumen of their own monastery, who was a Roman, not a Scythian.

The distinction between Romans and Scythians was a very old one anyway. If the ancient differentiation was between 'Greeks' and 'barbarians', in the Roman period it was fashionable to distinguish between 'Romans' and 'Scythians'. Romans used to take pride in not being Scythians, in the same sense that the Greeks flattered themselves with not being barbarians. The

¹⁰² *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, see *supra*.

historian and sophist Eunapius of Sardis tells us that the Scythians themselves disdained the name of the Hunns, as much as the Romans despised the name of the Scythians (περιεπιστήκει δὲ ἐς ἴσον λόγον καὶ Σκύθας Οὐννων μὴ φέρειν ὄνομα καὶ Ῥωμαίους Σκυθῶν).¹⁰³ Where Classical authors had it ‘either a Greek or a barbarian’, the Late Antiquity distinction was ‘either a Roman or a Scythian’. During the fourth century, the sentiment of the distinction made between Romans and Scythians by such different authors as Themistius¹⁰⁴ and Eusebius¹⁰⁵ was not different in essence from the ancient cultural segregation between Greeks and barbarians.

Besides, indigenous Scythopolitans could hardly be fond of Scythians. The old name of the town was Beth-Shean and authors who wrote in Greek, such as Josephus, render it Βηθησᾶν or Βεθσᾶνη.¹⁰⁶ According to the just quoted testimony by George Syncellus, the town had been stormed by the Scythians, which is why Beth-Shean became Scythopolis. This means that

¹⁰³ Eunapius of Sardis (fourth–fifth cent.), *Fragmenta Historica*, v. 1, p. 240, *apud* Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Legationibus*, p. 597.

¹⁰⁴ Themistius, *Ἐπὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης Οὐάλεντι*, p. 131c: εἶναι γάρ τι καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ βάρβαρον φύλον, λίαν αὐθαδὲς καὶ δυσπειθὲς, τὸν θυμὸν λέγω καὶ τὰς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, ἀντικαθήμενα γένη τῷ λογισμῷ, καθάπερ Ῥωμαίους Σκύθαι καὶ Γερμανοί. *op. cit.* pp. 132–133: ἐγὼ παρατάξεις μὲν οὐ θεθέαμαι Σκυθικὰς, ἐκκλησιᾶν δὲ φόβου καὶ συνέδριον καταπλήξεως καὶ στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτάττοντα Σκυθῶν βασιλεῦσι, καὶ ἀλαλαγμοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἀκήκοα βαρβαρικοῦ. *op. cit.* p. 135c: ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ ἔργου Σκύθαις ἢ Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοντος. *Δεκαετηρικός, ἢ Περί τῶν Πρεπόντων Λόγων τῷ Βασιλεῖ*, p. 146.a-b: καὶ τίμοι δι’ αὐτὸν καὶ αἰδοίοι οὐ Ῥωμαίοις μόνον καὶ Ἑλλήσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους. ὁ γοῦν Σκύθης ἢ Γέτης ἐκεῖνος δυνάστης, ὃν σὺ παρακινήσαντα κατεπλήξω καὶ καταπτήξαντα ἀνεκαλέσω. *Πενταετηρικός*, p. 115c: εἰ χαλεποὶ γενόμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις μὴ λίαν ἦσαν χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους. οὐδὲν γάρ τῷ πάσχειν κακῶς τὸ Σκύθην ἢ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τὸν ἀδικοῦντα. On Scythians in Themistius, see also his oration published for the first time by Eugenio Amato and Ilaria Ramelli, “L’inedito Πρὸς βασιλέα di Temistio, con due postille e due tavole,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006), pp. 1–67.

¹⁰⁵ Eusebius, *HE*, 8.14.3: καὶ ἐκτείνετο μυρία τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων πλήθη, ἐπὶ μέσῃ τῆς πόλεως, οὐ Σκυθῶν οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων δόρασι καὶ πανοπλίαις. Cf. the same text in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 1.35.1–2: καὶ ἐκτείνετο μυρία πλήθη τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ μέσου τοῦ ἄστεος οὐ Σκυθῶν οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων δόρασι καὶ πανοπλίαις. *op. cit.* 4.5.1–2: Τί δέ με χρὴ λόγου πάρεργον ποιῆσθαι, ὡς τὰ βάρβαρα φύλα τῇ Ῥωμαίων καθυπέταττον ἀρχῇ, ὡς τὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ Σαυροματῶν γένη μήπω πρότερον δουλεῦεν μεμαθηκότα πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἠγάγε, δεσπότης ἠγεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους καὶ μὴ θέλοντας ἐπαναγκάσας. Σκύθαις μὲν γὰρ καὶ δασμοῦς οἱ πρόσθεν ἐτέλεον ἄρχοντες, Ῥωμαῖοὶ τε βαρβάρους ἐδούλευον εἰσφοραῖς ἐτησιας.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Questiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.665.4–6, who identifies Scythopolis with the scriptural Βασάν of Deuteronomy 33:22. Pseudo-Chrysostom has it Βιθσᾶν (*Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.56.345.12–13). Chronicler George Syncellus (eighth–ninth cent.) calls the city Βασάν, too; *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 255: Σκύθαι τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέδραμον καὶ τὴν Βασάν κατέσχεον τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν κληθεῖσαν Σκυθόπολιν. So on pp. 161; 225; 359. Likewise, George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 138. John Zonaras (grammarians, historian, eleventh–twelfth cent.) renders Beth-Shean as Μεθσάμ. *Epitome Historiarum (lib. 1–12)*, v. 1, p. 100.

a native (who was at the same time Syrian, as well as Palestinian) could be styled Scythopolitan only by convention, but historical memory made the contrast between a Scythopolitan and a Scythian an all too stark one. It came about, therefore, that in the centuries that followed Cassian's departure from this life, his work was appropriated and tampered with, so as to be attributed to a Scythian. A differentiation was therefore called for.

It is then probable that Cassian's spiritual descendants, writing in the *scriptorium* of the same monastery where Cassian was once an abbot, accorded the epithet 'Roman' to *their* Cassian, in order to underscore his excellence over an obscure Scythian namesake, whose name circulated in western circles. This designation was loaded with all the cultural colouration that was well established in the Roman world, concerning the distinction between Romans and Scythians.

As a final piece of evidence, let me say a few things about the constitution of another monastery.

The constitution of the monastery of Theotokos Petritziotissa (named after the nearby fortification of Petrizos, south of Philippoupolis, present-day Plovdiv, Bulgaria) was written in December 1083, by the 'reverent Gregory Pakourianos' and is extant in a thirteenth-century manuscript.¹⁰⁷ The foundation, which still survives, is located in Bulgaria, near present-day Backovo. The text is valuable for our topic, since the epithet 'Roman' in this text clearly means 'Greek'. The author advises that this constitution was written 'in Greek, Iberian and Armenian in December 1083' (τὸ δὲ παρὸν τυπικὸν ἐγράφη ῥωμαϊκόν, ἰβηρικὸν τε καὶ ἀρμενικόν). Further, he justifies use of three languages by writing that 'this was written in Greek, Georgian and Armenian, because the monks of this monastery are Georgian and have no knowledge of the Greek language, therefore they have to carry out the stipulations of this constitution by means of a Georgian and Armenian rendering of it'. Nevertheless, 'we stipulate that the whole of this Greek [Roman] rendering is of equal validity [with the Georgian and Armenian ones]'.¹⁰⁸ The same author decrees, among others, that 'no Greek [Roman] should be appointed as priest or monk by the community, apart from one educated

¹⁰⁷ There are translations of this document in French, Russian, and modern Georgian. For an English translation by Robert Jordan and an informative introduction, see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 507–563.

¹⁰⁸ *Typicon Monasterii Theotoci Petritziotissae*, 33, lines 1845–1859: 'Ἐγράφη δὲ ῥωμαϊκόν, ἰβηρικὸν καὶ ἀρμενικὸν διὰ τὸ τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς Ἰβήρας τε τυγχάνειν καὶ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι ῥωμαϊκὰ γράμματα, ἀλλ' ὀφείλει μετέρχεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον τυπικὸν διὰ τε τῶν ἰβηρικῶν καὶ ἀρμενικῶν γραμμάτων. Τὸ κύριον δὲ τυποῦμεν ἔχειν τὴν ἐνταῦθα ῥωμαϊκὴν ἄπασαν γραφήν.

notarios, who should be assigned with the duty of carrying out the (Greek) correspondence with the political authorities (μη κατατάξει Ῥωμαῖον μοναχὸν ἢ πρεσβύτερον). If there is no need for such correspondence, this Greek-speaking person should be assigned with simple everyday duties in the monastery. Gregory is indeed quite blunt in justifying this stipulation of his: ‘Romans’ constitute a danger, since they could usurp the leadership of the monastery. Actually they might take hold of the entire institution, ‘which is what we have seen happen many times in the past’. For ‘these people are violent, greedy, and prone to dialectical talking’, ‘in contrast to our race, which is unsophisticated in mind and lenient’ (ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φυλῇ ἐξ ἀπλότητος καὶ γνώμης ἐπιεικοῦς).¹⁰⁹

Throughout this document, the epithet ‘Roman’ suggests Greek-speaking people, or objects of the Byzantine state. The author refers to a ‘Roman gospel’ (εὐαγγέλιον Ῥωμαϊκόν),¹¹⁰ identifying ‘Roman’ with ‘Greek’, too. This he also does at another point referring to gospels ‘which are written in the Greek language and writing’ (κατὰ τὴν ἐλλάδα φωνὴν τε καὶ γραφὴν).¹¹¹ This is the sole instance of the author using the word ‘Greek’ (ἐλλάδα), instead of the normal and recurrent ‘Roman’ (Ῥωμαϊκός) for ‘Greek’. In like manner, there is reference to the ‘Roman territory’ (Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπικρατείας),¹¹² and to the ‘race of the Romans’ (τῶ Ῥωμαίων γένει).¹¹³

Likewise, the Greek-speaking monks of the Laura of Sabas thought highly of themselves compared with the ‘Syrians’. Hence, the *Typicon* of the Great Laura forbids any Syrian becoming abbot, since during in past instances of abbots being consecrated there had been riots (διχονίας καὶ στάσεις) as to which language should be used during the ceremony (τῶν δύο γλωσσῶν μεταξὺ, Ῥωμαίων τε φημι καὶ Σύρων). Once again, ‘Roman’ language means Greek language.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit. Table of Contents, 24: Περὶ τοῦ μη κατατάξει Ῥωμαῖον μοναχὸν ἢ πρεσβύτερον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ δι ἦντινα αἰτίαν. Then in chapter 24, lines 1418f, the author expounds his stipulation.

¹¹⁰ Op. cit. 33, line 1699.

¹¹¹ Op. cit. 2, line 399.

¹¹² Op. cit. 1, line 200.

¹¹³ Op. cit. 1, line 200. The DumbartonOaks-translator Robert Jordan renders Greek invariably for Roman. Correct though it is, this may give rise to misunderstanding at points. More specifically, this is correct with reference to ‘Roman language’ or ‘Roman gospel’; but when it comes to ‘Roman’ population of the empire, it means the people of the Empire, in the same surviving sense mentioned earlier, namely, that of the Greeks in Constantinople and Jerusalem regarding themselves as Romans. Any racial ‘Greek’ connotation should be excluded.

¹¹⁴ *Typicon sive Regula Lavrae Sancti Sabbae Hierosolymitani*, lines 52–58.

To use such designations and identification five centuries earlier (say, during the reign of Justinian) would be simply unthinkable, as well as absurd. Justinian himself used to make reference to the language of 'our ancestors', meaning of course the Latin language, thus also flattering himself as being of Roman ancestry, although everyone knew that he was not.¹¹⁵

The designation *Roman*, therefore, has different imports, depending on the context of different periods of the empire. Had Cassian been styled Roman in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, this would have called for serious consideration. For indeed in this collection 'Roman' means one who has to do with Rome specifically. To cite an instance, the narration about a certain 'Roman abba' clearly means one who came from Rome.¹¹⁶ Likewise, a distinction is made between 'Roman' and 'Greek' 'education', where the meaning of 'Roman' is clear-cut.¹¹⁷ These *Apophthegmata* were not actually written as a systematic work; rather, they took shape gradually over some centuries. Many scholars do not dispute its ultimate Coptic origin, although the precise extent of it can hardly be determined with certainty. We know also that anecdotes and attributions make up a mixture of authentic stories and ascriptions to wrong persons, whereas fanciful inventions attached to otherwise real historic persons are also part of the narrative. Be that as it

¹¹⁵ Although Justinian had nothing to do with any Roman ancestry, he flattered himself with calling Latin 'the language of our fathers'. *Novellae*, p. 52: και οὐ τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ τὸν νόμον συνεγράψαμεν, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ κοινῇ τε καὶ ἐλλάδι. p. 99: Τὸ τῶν λαμπροτάτων τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ἀρχόντων ὄνομα, σεμνόν τε καὶ τοῖς πάλοι Ῥωμαίοις γνωριμώτατον ὄν, οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπως εἰς ἄλλοισιν μετέστη προσηγορίαν καὶ τάξιν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ πάτριος ἡμῶν φωνῇ praefectos vigilum αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσε. p. 109: τοιγαροῦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ δεφένσωρας αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν. p. 227: καλεῖσθω τε ὁ ταύτης ἡγούμενος τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ, proconsul Iustinianus Cappadociae. p. 349: καίτοιγε ἢ πάτριος φωνῇ τὴν ἐν δπλοῖς ἰσχὺν ἀρετὴν ὀνομάζει μόνην. p. 702: καὶ bona gratia τὴν οὕτω προΐουσαν λύσιν τῶν γάμων τῇ πατρίῳ καλοῦντας φωνῇ.

¹¹⁶ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 385: Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου. α'. Ἡλθέ ποτε μοναχός τις Ῥωμαῖος, καὶ ὤκησεν ἐν Σκήτει ἐγγύτερον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Further, p. 388, the Roman monk attests to himself coming from Rome: Ἐμὲ τὸν ταπεινὸν ὄν βλέπεις, ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως Ῥώμης εἰμί, καὶ μέγας γέγονα εἰς τὸ παλάτιον τοῦ βασιλέως. ... Κατέλιπον οὖν, φησιν, τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ταύτην. See the same narration in *AP (collectio systematica)* (*cap.* 10–16), 10.110.

¹¹⁷ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 89 & *AP (collectio systematica)* (*cap.* 10–16), 15.7: παιδευσιν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἐλληνικὴν ἐπιστάμενος. ... τὴν μὲν Ῥωμαϊκὴν καὶ ἐλληνικὴν παιδευσιν ἐπίσταμαι. Likewise, according to an appendix to a biography of Pachomius, a 'Roman' was simply one who came from Rome. *Vitae Pachomii, Paralipomena (seu Ascetica) de Sanctis Pachomio et Theodoro*, section 27, lines 1–6: [Title] Περὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ τοῦ χαρίσματος τῶν γλωσσῶν. [text] ... πρὸς Ῥωμαῖόν τινα, ἀπὸ μεγάλου τυγχάνοντος ἀξιώματος, εἰδὸτα δὲ τὴν ἐλληνικὴν γλώσσαν καλῶς. ... οὐδὲ ὁ μέγας ἤδει τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου λεγόμενα. Further, and throughout this text, 'Roman' means simply one whose city of origin was Rome and his mother-tongue was Latin.

may, during the span of time more stories were added to each other, thus accruing to such collections, which were arranged in either alphabetical or subject-matter order. In these stories, the notion of Roman is plain, and means one who comes from Rome. On the other hand, references to Cassian are numerous, as well as telling: nowhere is Cassian styled 'Roman', and certainly nowhere is he named 'John Cassian' at all. He is simply abba Cassian throughout. Whereas in this collection the designation 'Roman' is associated with the Latin language (and sometimes with the difficulty of a Roman to communicate with monks who spoke either Greek or Egyptian, as noted a moment ago), nowhere is there the slightest indication that Cassian had any problem of this kind in communication. Cassian is stated to have 'said' (εἶπεν) or 'narrated' (διηγῆσατο),¹¹⁸ quite simply because he was a Greek-speaking Sabaite monk in Palestine. During the long period that the *Apophthegmata* were composed, 'Roman' meant simply one who came from Rome, and consequently a Latin-speaking person. Which is why Cassian is never styled 'Roman' during the first nine centuries of the present era, that is, during more than three centuries after his death. The epithet was applied to him during the ninth century at two instances, in order to bespeak exactly the opposite of what this meant in the *Apophthegmata*. Cassian (never called 'John' by any Greek source) was the Greek-speaking native of the late Byzantine Empire, not a Scythian.

Conclusion: to style oneself 'Roman' is not sufficient to tell what the designation on its own right means or suggests. It depends on the period of the empire and the specific purpose of someone who either applies this to oneself, or accords it to someone else. Initially, this was an all too exclusive designation, with serious legal and social implications. By the times of late Byzantine Empire, all these implications had virtually vanished: any subject of the empire was styled 'Roman'. Whenever the epithet is specifically appended to a proper name, each case has to be perused *ad hoc* and, it has to be conceded, a context does not always allow for a conclusive resolution.

True, during that late period, as well as earlier ones, 'Roman' might suggest a Latin-speaking person. If, however, one wished to build on such a case

¹¹⁸ *AP (collectio alphabetica)*, p. 244: Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ. α'. Διηγῆσατο ὁ ἀββᾶς Κασσιανός. *op. cit. (collectio systematica) (cap. 1-9)*, 1.15: Διηγῆσατο ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός περὶ τίνος ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου κοινοβιάρχου ὅτι μέγας ἦν τῷ βίῳ. *op. cit.* 4.26: Διηγῆσατο ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός περὶ τίνος ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου γενομένου ἡγουμένου μοναχῶν. *op. cit.* 5.4: Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός ὅτι: Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ἀββᾶ Μωϋσῆς· Καλὸν ἐστὶ μὴ ἀποκρύπτειν τοὺς λογισμούς. *op. cit.* 6.14: Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός ὅτι συγκλητικὸς τὸς ἀποταξάμενος. *op. cit.* 8.12: Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός ὅτι παρέβαλεν ἀδελφὸς τῷ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνι. *op. cit. (collectio systematica) (cap. 10-16)*, 11.48: Διηγῆσατο ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός περὶ τίνος γέροντος. *op. cit.* 13.2: Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός ὅτι: Παρεβάλομεν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐνὶ τῶν πατέρων.

with respect to Cassian, one should also have to explain the following. Why is it that in 'John Cassian's' Latin texts there is an enormous abundance of terms and expressions, which are simply a verbatim translation of highly characteristic Greek technical expressions, heavily loaded in a Greek mind-set only? I mean expressions, which are pregnant with meaning and by that time they had a long history throughout the writings of the most eminent of Greek theologians, whereas they meant nothing special in the context of Latin literature, or lore. Furthermore, why is it that in the Latin text an abundance of Greek terms written in Greek transpires?

Besides, since the present Codex was scribed at the Laura of Sabas, anyone who would claim that this is a Greek translation from an allegedly Latin original, would also have to claim that the monks of Sabas cared to discover a lesser and hardly known Latin author, who had written *On the Rules and Regulations of the Coenobia in the East and Egypt*. Also, that these monks were quick to transcribe this book in order to learn *the Rules and Regulations* according to which they themselves spent all their lives *in their own* monastery. In other words, one has to urge that these monks were eager to read a minor Latin author, in order to learn how they should conduct their monastic lives, and, to this purpose, they sought Greek translations of his Latin texts.

The reality was quite different, however. At the time when this Codex was transcribed, the term *Roman* had come to mean a Greek-speaking citizen of the Byzantine state.

Therefore, the designation *Roman* can in no way be considered in general. Rather, each era attributes to it a specific (and pretty different) colour, with the context always being of critical importance. The epithet ascribed to Cassian is a ninth-century one and during that period it had a clearly Greek connotation, not of course in any ethnic sense, but as a designation of the late Byzantine character of both the state and the prevailing language among its people. By that time, the Greek spirit and lore had ceased to be the dreadful daemon; rather, it was increasingly availed of, openly and confidently. Justinian's witch-hunt of a horrendous 'extreme Hellenization', which is what was actually condemned by the synod of 553, was long past.

CHAPTER FIVE

HELLENISM IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Cassian and Greek Philosophy

It has been a common pursuit favoured by scholarship, as well as by putative orthodoxy, to discover Platonic and Neoplatonic influence on Christian authors. 'Platonism' has been an obloquy levelled against many of those branded as heretics, even though the arbiters of orthodoxy hardly ever cared to study what Plato actually sustained. There is certainly no doubt that Platonic ontology, as well as anthropology, suited the main purposes of theologians. Which is why Platonic terms, propositions, and ontological pattern, have made their way into Christian dogma.¹ What is more, Platonism is still alive in how both the world and human being are conceived by the ordinary man in the street. The main premise identifying man with one's soul prevails not only in common understanding, but also in liturgical ritual: praying for a deceased takes it for granted that all those who have passed away still exist as individual persons awaiting for the time of universal judgement to come. Some theologians deemed that it could be appropriate to use Aristotle as a counter-expedient. Since the Peripatetics stressed the unity of the human being as a body / soul entity, it follows that death destroys all of this unity through the extinction of the body. However, at this point theologians part ways with Aristotle, and persist in sustaining that although a dead man is no longer a 'man', he is a certain *individual* 'something', which somehow lives in a 'middle-state', awaiting for the final judgement to come. However, no one has ever been able to escape the Christian self-entrapment in this impasse, which presumes that Aristotle could be used selectively to one's liking. It was only Antiochene Nestorians who sought to avail themselves of Aristotle in a conscious, laborious, and

¹ Mark Edwards proposed seven kinds of 'relations, other than borrowing and dependence', which obtained 'between Christian literature and the philosophical schools of late antiquity'. 1. Formal. 2. Obsequious. 3. Metaphrastic. 4. Supplementary. 5. Strategic. 6. Catalytic. 7. Dialectical. Mark Edwards, "Origen's Platonism: Questions and Caveats", *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 12 (2008), pp. 20–38. It is perhaps not a coincidence that four out of these seven terms are Greek.

learned manner. They did so in order to eschew extreme idealisation of the event of the Incarnation of Christ. This notwithstanding, the discussion has always been about the extent to which either Platonism, or Aristotelism, or Stoicism, held some sway on Christian reflection.

My suggestion, which I canvass in chapter seven, is that influence was bidirectional. It is a putative dogma that Christian intellectuals encountered only the contempt of Greek philosophers. However, by the end of fifth century, intellectuals such as Celsus, Porphyry, or Emperor Julian, were long dead. Besides, there had been personalities such as Didymus the Blind, who had spent time and labour in order to study Aristotle, probably because he felt that perhaps something had gone wrong with the overwhelmingly Platonic atmosphere of his birth-city Alexandria. So did John Philoponus living in the same city a little more than a hundred years after Didymus' death. Christianity was therefore no longer the religion of 'barbarians', nor was it simply the imperial religion. Bizarre though this might have appeared to a Greek, it turns out that some conversation was possible once intellectuals such as Proclus took some interest in seeing (and perhaps comparing) the ontological scheme of Neoplatonism *vis-à-vis* the Christian one. Later still, the Greek Neoplatonist masters, who had decamped to Persia after 529, were frustrated by the state of affairs they found during their one-year sojourn there. It was therefore rather natural for them to head for a region where Aristotelian studies were already an established intellectual and academic tradition, namely, for the region of Antioch.

The texts of Cassian provide us with sound tokens of a dialogue between the Neoplatonist masters and Antiochene Christian intellectuals. For although we are accustomed to styling these persons 'Neoplatonist', they were also learned Aristotelian commentators. Aristotle (along with Alexander of Aphrodisias) was their patrimony not less than Plato and Plotinus were. Conversing with Antiochene Aristotelian Christians perhaps could not convert Simplicius to Christianity (although my analyses strongly suggest that he eventually was converted). Still what we now see, is that there are sound tokens of evidence that at least both Simplicius and Damascius listened to, conversed with, and probably read, Christian intellectuals of the region. The sixth-century historian Agathias did not care to tell us where the seven philosophers eventually went after they decided to abandon Persia.² Where exactly the masters of the Athenian Academy settled after their

² Agathias, *Historiae*, p. 80: Δαμάσκιος ὁ Σύρος καὶ Σιμπλίκιος ὁ Κίλιξ Εὐλάμιος τε ὁ Φρύξ καὶ Πρισκιανὸς ὁ Λυδὸς Ἑρμείας τε καὶ Διογένης οἱ ἐκ Φοινίκης καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Γαζαῖος.

departure from the Persian King Chosroes' court, cannot be asserted with confidence. Harran has been suggested as a possible place, but the analysis is extremely tentative and the reader can eventually find no solid ground sustaining the surmise with some good reason.³ But Agathias does tell us that they were happy to go back to the Roman territory (οἴκαδε), and that they remained happy until the end of their lives (ὄθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἐφεξῆς βίος ἐς τὸ θυμῆρές τε καὶ ἡδιστον ἀπετελεύτησεν).⁴ They did not espouse Christian doctrines, yet it is now clear that in the intellectual mindset of Antioch they came across a refined Greek language and, like all Greeks since antiquity, they selected and employed the nomenclature that served their own exposition best. Cassian is now the witness to a reversed influence of Christians upon Greek philosophers, such as Proclus and Simplicius, which the overwhelming light of Neoplatonic thought has obscured.

Parallel philological instances which transpire in Cassian, Simplicius and Damascius, are too characteristic to be occasional. The region of Antioch is a plausible solution of the Neoplatonists' eventual residence, since it was there that (following the Nestorian split in the church) the Aristotelian tradition had been preserved through such schools as that of Edessa and then Nisibis, where learned teaching of the Stagirite flourished. The Neoplatonist doctors were at home in a great city, the hub of letters, as it were. This is probably why they opted for Persia's royal court in the first place, which is what a real cosmopolitan would have done. It would be unlikely for them to be content with any city less equipped than that. Once their expectations were frustrated, and their safe return to the empire was secured by Chosroes himself, it would have been natural for them to settle in a place where the studies they were interested in thrived. To which my only tentative alternative as far as Simplicius is concerned, would be that this master also went to Constantinople, where he met with Cassian and probably other Akoimetoι monks. Whether he eventually became a Christian, or whether he is actually the person behind the obscure designation 'Dionysius Areopagite', is far too reaching a conclusion for me to urge at this stage, though my hunch is that to both questions the answer is positive.

Cassian's text supplies us with singular examples of affinity between his own work and that of Simplicius and Damascius. Taking this into account, the hypothesis of a personal acquaintance and mutual spiritual influence

³ Cf. Edward Watts, *op. cit.* pp. 285–315.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 81.

between them all is hard to ignore. In other words, Cassian's text casts some light on the whereabouts of these doctors, along with their phraseology that is especially used in their later (and probably last) writings, such as the commentary that Simplicius wrote on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*.

Hellenism and Christianity: The Ancient Question

All of us who happen to be the spiritual offspring of the Greek-Western mindset, are also prone, indeed eager, to understand reality by means of *definitions*. We always seek to know the meaning of things in advance (which we complacently style *essence*), so that we can consequently discuss notions, during our pursuit to understand and express a generally accepted identity between concepts and aspects of reality, or indeed reality as a whole. To this eye and ear (or at least to mine) some replies in the New Testament, actually non-replies by Jesus himself, always appear to be striking ones. When he was asked by Pilate 'what is truth?' (John 18:38) he furnished no reply, although the question was asked with good reason, since at that very instance it was Jesus that had proclaimed that he had come to the world to 'bear witness unto the truth', and it was also Jesus who had promised that 'you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free' (John 8:32). No doubt, a devout Christian has the reply: Jesus said 'I am the truth' (John 14:6). However, the question that still remains is this: why did Christians seek recourse to the Greek lore, which was bowled head over heels by such inclinations as craving 'definitions' and longing for 'the essence' of things, and indeed deemed that the way to overcome 'heresy' should be to seek recourse with so many Greek notions (including 'essence') and make them the paragon of exposition of the doctrine?

This is a contradiction inherent in Christian attitude, which I believe has never been overcome. The reason is pretty plain to me: Jesus had chosen to speak about *life*, about the experience of it, about action and reaction to the challenges that real life itself ceaselessly poses to human beings. What Jesus taught was that life is simply man's ability to respond to the challenges that life itself involves. 'To live' means 'to be able to react to challenges', whether biological or social ones. Inability to counter challenges entails death and extinction. Jesus' disciples and followers in effect chose to concern themselves with *abstract ideas*, not life. The latter was understood only as a subsequent arrangement, established in accordance with prevailing postulations (or, interests disguised in abstract ideas), which have always been the expression of priorities far too different from the message that Jesus

himself proclaimed. Therefore, the initial question, about Jesus refraining from affording definitions and replies of a philosophical nature, turns out to be an expression of a (Greek-Western) attitude, which is in essence quite twisted in relation to what Jesus actually taught and aspired to.

A premonition of this is present in the question of the disheartened disciples: 'who can be saved then?' (Mark 10:26; Luke 18:26). And how is it possible to square the fact that 'Greeks' (even Greeks of a peculiar kind that 'worshipped' a Jewish 'feast') asked to 'see Jesus', with the prediction 'the hour had come, that the Son of man should be glorified' (John 12:20–23)? For there is an inherent tension in the phenomenon that the Greek proclivity to *abstraction*, and the subsequent convenience that Greek nomenclature provided to articulations that eventually prevailed as 'orthodox', has caused more problems than solutions.

If the texts by Cassian the Sabaite have something to offer, it is the fact that they address this intrinsic tension between Hellenism and Christianity and propose a synthesized way forward.

The original Christian message is simple, as much as it is harsh and apparently impossible to accomplish. It takes no less than overcoming the barely surmountable conditions of human nature itself. Cassian had been nourished in the Stoic spirit, according to which anything 'according to nature' (*κατὰ φύσιν*) is 'good', as well as in the Aristotelian ethics, which knows of no notion of happiness or well-being outside human society, indeed society as a political structure and function. He had, therefore, to reconcile two professedly contradictory aspirations: first, the real human 'citizenship' is in the 'heavens' (Phil. 3:20); second, the kernel of Christian accomplishment is lost unless one has some *other* human being, whose 'feet' one is prepared to 'wash' (John 13:5–14). There must always be a concrete otherness for the renewed nature to materialize, which establishes the venue for love to make sense, as much as it installs the challenges that human nature is invited to overcome.

This means total seclusion and aloofness is not simply dismissed, it makes no sense either. Cassian expounds the means to wage a struggle to overcome the terms of human nature regarded as a state of fall. He focuses on the internal battle that a human being has to fight ceaselessly in order to overcome drives and impulses that appear congenital with the human character.

In strict philosophical terms, *I* makes no sense unless there is *You*. This is not simply a Structuralistic attitude positing existence proper as a *relation*. Rather, the fundamental approach to the very concept of the human being stems from the fundamental message, which epitomizes the essence of

Christianity, namely, love. If God *is* (not *has*) love, and man cannot be God by essence, then all man can do is feel and express love in deed. To this purpose, the *other* is indispensable in order to 'imitate', or to 'become like', God, whether this is understood as a Platonic axiom (*Theaetetus*, 176b), or as a Christian precept (1 Cor. 11:1; 1 Thess. 1:6).

There are only few Christians prepared to regard their reference to the center of their faith (that is, Jesus Christ) as merely *historical*. Most Christians experience their faith in Christ as a *present* reality. They may refer to 'God' or to 'human nature', or to the 'Church' and the 'world', but, to them, all these would make little sense if, in the first place, they did not direct their eye and attention to Jesus Christ. And yet, although this focus on Jesus Christ seems to be something simple, it was proved very complicated. This turn of events becomes obvious, if we face the fact that, in our day, thousands of separate churches, sects and denominations profess faith in Jesus Christ as the central figure of their doctrine.

Once one looks closely at this mosaic, one can see that this discord stems from tenets sustained about the *person* of Christ rather than about his *work*. Quite paradoxically then, the person of Jesus Christ has been both a unifying and a divisive factor of Christianity, since it gave rise to fervent debate about *ontological* rather than *historical* questions. It was felt that questions aiming at (or, presupposing) introduction of systematic and theoretical thinking were of the kind that Hellenism first devised and dealt with. Nevertheless, a purely Hebraic element remained intact, which is consideration of the world *in terms of history* rather than in terms of esoteric religious contemplation, or cosmology. This was the point of connection of the new belief (the belief focusing on the person of Jesus Christ) with Judaism rather than with Hellenism. For all the mythology arguing to the contrary, I believe I have shown that the champion who formed Christian faith according to the Biblical pattern was Origen.⁵

On the other hand, the Jewish religion had enormous possibilities of converting people, because of its monotheistic and moral teaching, as well as because of the prestige that Judaism had acquired after the successes of the Maccabaic war. The vast number of 'proselytes'⁶ at the time of Jesus (that is, of people who hesitated to make the final step to their incorporation into Judaism) testifies to the dilemma which arose within Judaism, and which was caused by Hellenism. This was in fact only an aspect of the predicament of the Judaism of the time. The historical opportunity for Christianity

⁵ *COT*, pp. 364–376. *PHE*, chapters 10 and 11, pp. 358–434.

⁶ Matt. 23:15.

appears because of this separation within the heart of Judaism: on the one hand, the oecumenical possibilities provided by the Biblical faith; on the other, the need for self-protection and defense. The potential for Christianity sprang out of this feebleness of Judaism. Christianity was misconceived as a threat to the Law and to the Jewish consciousness. Therefore, the new religion, with its prophetic spirit, directed itself firstly to the hated Samaritans and after them to the non-Jewish people in general. This was in effect the negative contribution of Hellenism: it caused a spiritual schism in Judaism, and put it to the horns of a dilemma, from which Judaism could hardly be released.

Nevertheless, there was also a positive contribution by Hellenism. This was the ability to think 'ontologically', to reflect on the question about Being, as a constant point of reference of the entire reality. Due to this element introduced by Hellenism, at least two presuppositions for the appearance of Christianity emerged: One, unity and universality of history; two, Christology.

The quest for salvation in the Greek world of the era of the emergence of Christianity was not based on expectation of a favourable consummation of History, as it happened with the Israelite people. Rather, it was based on redemption of man from the forces which kept him a slave, such as fate and death. Related to this quest was the character of philosophical investigation: since the dawn of philosophy, the human mind has been preoccupied with the search of *the first principles and constitution of being*.

If the Gospel were to mean something of importance to the Greeks, this should provide answers to this kind of questions. So the message of Christianity had to assume also a *cosmological* dimension. To the question of Jesus himself, 'Whom do men say that I am?',⁷ it was not sufficient to make a mere eschatological statement, such as 'Jesus is God, because he will judge history at the end' as 'the son of man'. There had to be reference to a *principle*, which should be related both to the beginning of the world and to the world being maintained in existence. So the *pre-existence of Christ* becomes an essential part of Christology. This is present as an integral part of Paul's theology. It is remarkable, however, that such a conception of Christ was already present in hymns, which existed independently and were used either by Paul, or by John the Evangelist, or by other writers. Such hymns transpire in the epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Gospel of John. Thus, Christ is God not because

⁷ Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27; Luke 9:18.

he is the 'son of man' and will judge History, but because he is 'image of the invisible God',⁸ 'brightness of his glory and the express image of his person',⁹ or 'the Son of God'.¹⁰

Beyond that, the relation of Christ with cosmology goes further: Christ is not only the beginning of the world, but also the power which maintains the world in unity: 'By him all things consist'¹¹ and he 'is upholding all things by the word of his power'.¹² Hardly anything would be more 'Hellenic' than the reference to a power that keeps up and maintains the world in harmony, something that makes the world a real *cosmos*, that is, an ornament. The Stoic view of the Logos was precisely an expression of this principle.

For that reason, this Christology does indeed satisfy the Hellenic passion for explanation of the cosmos: Christ himself assigns a meaning to the world; he is the principle not only of the creation of the world, but also of its unity, its order, and its maintenance to being. This is the concept, in the light of which Origen considers Paul's saying 'For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things'.¹³ His exegesis is that the expression 'of him' 'suggests the beginning of existence of the world'; the expression 'through him' points to the world being kept in existence by him; and the expression 'to him' suggests 'the end'.¹⁴ This means that the final destination of the world is no other than Christ himself.

In Greek thought, cosmology is certainly something *static*; which means that the 'beginning' of the world is not a question of temporal interest, or of temporal significance. It is not the case of an occurrence, which came to pass at some moment of the past. Rather, cosmology is a question of finding out the *essence*, something which constantly interprets the world and its functions. In Greek thought, the core of cosmology lies in the very existence of the world and the maintenance of its harmony, not in its temporal or historical beginning.

If one ponders upon the Christological hymns mentioned above, one can see that they introduce a *historical* dimension: Creation is stated as an *occurrence*. Quite characteristic is that, in Colossians, the reference is to 'creation' (1:15–16) and to Christ, who 'is before all things' (1:17). However, the

⁸ Col. 1:15.

⁹ Heb. 1:3.

¹⁰ Matt. 16:18.

¹¹ Col. 2:17.

¹² Heb. 1:3.

¹³ Rom. 11:36.

¹⁴ Origen, *Cels*, VI.65: ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος Παῦλος "Ἐξ αὐτοῦ" λέγει "καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα", παριστάς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς πάντων ὑποστάσεως ἐν τῷ "ἔξ αὐτοῦ" καὶ τὴν συνοχὴν ἐν τῷ "δι' αὐτοῦ" καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐν τῷ "εἰς αὐτόν". I have canvassed this in *PHE*, pp. 335–336; 415; 417.

notion of the Logos as the 'head of the world', as well as of the Logos-Christ as 'the head of the body', might well be understood in a Philonian or a Stoic context. Nevertheless, this context is fundamentally altered by two factors: First, the *eschatological* dimension. Secondly, the *ecclesiological* one. Both these notions are conjoined by means of the idea of *resurrection*.

In the first place, resurrection was understood as the basis for believing in the divinity of Jesus: he was the eschatological judge of history. In a purely Hellenistic environment, this resurrection is assigned with a *cosmological* and ontological import: resurrection is liberation from the Fall, from destruction, and from death. And yet, within this environment of Hellenism, the historical and eschatological dimensions are still present. The resurrected Christ is the 'beginning, the firstborn from the dead',¹⁵ and is related to the end of History: 'that in all things he might have preeminence'.¹⁶

Thus a Greek can find a meaning for the world by way of an entirely new conception of it: this meaning is to be found once one considers the end of the world and what has been promised to happen then, which has been all realised and exemplified in the person of the resurrected Jesus. Christ is *the Logos* (in the sense of both *beginning* and *principle*) of the world (ontological, cosmological Christology), because he shall also be present as Judge at the *conclusion* of the world (eschatological Christology). Meantime, Christ is the head of the community which experiences this world eschatologically, that is, of the Church, which is *both already and not yet* what it is going to be at the end.¹⁷

Thus a common ground for Hellenism and Christianity was found after all. Reflection and expression in terms of history and eschatology was combined with reflection in terms of cosmological and ontological systematised principles.

Was Christianity Hellenized in this way? No matter what the answer, it is for sure that this Christology was formed in a way that met Hellenic intellectual demands. Is it surely not a coincidence that most of the heresies had to do with the debate about the person of Jesus Christ.

Jesus, as already said, had himself asked the question 'Whom do men say that I am?'¹⁸ This was not really a Hellenic sort of question, neither was it a question within the scope or the spiritual atmosphere of Hellenism. For he did not ask 'what do men say that I am?', but 'whom'. On this *what* (which is

¹⁵ Col. 1:18, which introduces us to the Revelation using the same expression. Rev. 1:5.

¹⁶ Col. 1:18.

¹⁷ See *PHE*, pp. 256–257.

¹⁸ Matt. 16:13; Mark 8:27; Luke 9:18.

the question of the old Hellenic concern about everything) later Christology focused and struggled to find an answer. Its tragedy was that it arrived at a cluster of answers.

If Christology is an issue dividing Christians, this is largely due to the *Hellenization* of its problematique. If we compare the Homily on the Mountain¹⁹ with the Symbol of Faith, four centuries later, it is easy to see that the simplicity of the Homily was substituted by delicate analyses of the *being* of Christ and incorporated terms unknown and alien to the original Christian language. This was precisely a function according to Greek standards. By saying so, I do not suggest simply the technical terms used, nor do I primarily consider the *functional way* in which Hellenism influenced the constitutional performance and organization of Christianity (whose organization was, and still is, a Roman one, after all). I refer primarily to *tendencies*, which make up the identity of Hellenism. I refer to the tendency to formulate abstract notions; to systematize reflections and thinking; to strive to find out a certain order and regularity in nature, in history, and in human character and life. Seeking a reply to the question ‘*what is Christ?*’ they treated this in the same way as earlier intellectuals had treated the concept of *Being* and the speculation about it, which is the cardinal metaphysical theme ever to have been produced by the Hellenic thought. Thus, I actually emphasize the *spiritual atmosphere* and the kind of *problematique*, which in effect imbued the entire theological reflection. There were shortcomings, however. Bishops, of whom only a few knew what the Hellenic terms they used actually meant, now treated these questions. Besides, the imperial throne, always anxious to secure a homogenous faith throughout the empire according to Roman standards and demands, superintended the procedure.

It is often argued that Christian writers were seeking in philosophy not real substantial import, but only methods and ‘technical means’ for expressing their own metaphysical substance. However, the issue is not quite so simple. When the problematique is oriented towards notions such as *substance*, *person*, *hypostasis*, or *nature*, this does not simply imply the pursuit of mere ‘technical means’. Rather, it suggests sharing a specific mode of looking at the world and reflecting on cardinal questions. These terms actually indicate what the paramount questions are thought to be. Concepts are not mere ‘means’. They actually make up the atmosphere and existential milieu, within which theological reflection takes place. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus had received a Greek education. However hard they strove not to let this be too evident, they actually had no way of

¹⁹ Matt. 5–7.

reflecting on Christianity other than this Greek one. Consequently, it was inevitable for Hellenism to imbue and determine the way in which they comprehended and expounded Christianity.

It is not, therefore, a question of certain philosophical terms being present or absent in Christian theological assessment. Rather, it is the way of *organizing* reflection and determining its priorities, which became and remained Hellenic ones.

This development was rather to be expected, since there has been no other way left in history for perceiving and expounding the message of Christianity. After the Apostolic Council of 48/49AD it took only ten years for the Greeks to take over the leadership of the Church (Titus, Timothy, Luke, Mark, et al.). This development was accelerated by the fall of Jerusalem (70AD). Judaism lost its natural center. So even the synagogues of the Diaspora became more conservative, self-centered, and exclusive. There was no room for liberalism of Philo's kind. Consequently, it was no longer possible for the Gospel to be preached in the synagogues, as it happened during Paul's lifetime. On that account, the Church oriented itself exclusively to the Hellenic world in order to be expanded, although the motivation for doing so was not always clearly realised. For instance, Christian theologians along with Oecumenical Councils made the portion of 1Peter 3:15 a recurrent motif taken as impelling intellectual activity aimed at exposition of the doctrine: 'and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks you a reason of the hope that is in you'. However, this statement which was so often adduced as the *raison d'être* of Christian apologetics, contains par excellence the core of the Jewish eschatological orientation and expectation, by granting the central position to the notion of *hope*. Judaic Christianity, nevertheless, faded out: it became moribund, and finally made a peculiar mark through heresies, such as the Ebionites, Nazarenes, or various sects of Gnosticism. Finally, it vanished from the stage of history. It was then natural for the historic future of Christianity to be assigned on to the hands of the Greek world.

Hence the problem of Christianity being associated with Hellenism was a serious problem indeed. If a Greek was to understand the Christian message, he first had to pose the question: *What is Christ?* To a Jew who was to become a Christian, such a question was unthinkable: Christ represents a certain intervention and action of God in the world, a divine action; he is God incarnate himself.

It was not, therefore, a problem of interpretation. It was a far deeper problem, indeed one of *mentality*. A Greek had to learn how to think in terms of History, not simply in the patrimonial terms of Ontology.

At the same time though, by asking the 'Hellenic' question, 'what is Christ?', the Greeks impelled the preachers of Christianity to find the ways and means to express their faith in ontological notions, while they were striving to evade themselves being absorbed by the Hellenic mentality. This was the point of great difficulty, and yet a point of great possibilities. This is the point where the Hellenized Christianity was born. Once the Jewish conception of Christianity faded out, what has reached us is Christianity expressing itself in Hellenic terms. Therefore, whatever the extent of Hellenization of Christianity may have been, this Hellenization is for a very large part responsible for the division of Christianity in sects.

By the fifth and sixth centuries, however, Christianity was no longer a newborn religion. The great theological formulations of the fourth century were already there and had been sanctioned by Oecumenical Councils. And yet, the challenges that appeared after the death of the great figures of the fourth century had to be met anew. The tragedy was that hardly any great figure was around. In this setting, Alexandria and its theologians were dominated by the local bishop, whereas in Antioch the great figures of Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, had been raised, nourished and educated breathing the shining atmosphere of such schools as the School of Edessa and the School of Nisibis, where Aristotle was taught as the main part of the syllabus.

This was the spiritual environment in which Cassian the Sabaite was born and educated. At his time, however, namely in the sixth century, Greek erudition was not so common a commodity, and Greek masters were under persecution. When, two centuries earlier, Arius was confronted by theologians such as Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, or Gregory of Nyssa, the Greek terminology, which they used, could at least make sense, and some unanimity by all parties could be reached as to the meaning of the technical locution involved in the debate.

In the fifth century though, everyone ascribed the import of his own liking to terms such as *essence*, *nature*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon*. The champion of one-nature theology (the cradle of which was in fact Alexandria), Severus, was stationed in Antioch and composed his polemical accounts according to the meaning he liked such terms to have, which had very little to do with Greek erudition of either Origen or the Cappadocians. Amidst this chaotic polyphony, those who knew what the circulating terminology actually meant were the Antiochenes, who cherished some empathy for Nestorius. Within the state of persecuted Greek philosophy in the sixth century, only the Nestorians pursued a serious and systematic study of Aristotle and his commentators, mainly Alexander of Aphrodisias. It was at that time

that Cassian the Sabaite set out to write his own works, in which at last a consistent and congruous Peripatetic vocabulary allows the student of the twenty-first century to console himself at the thought that at least something of the Greek patrimony was still alive.

Hellenism and Sixth-Century Challenges

The intellectual beginnings of the incipient Christianity seemed too quaint in the light of the sixth-century challenges. The imperial distrust for Theodoret was desperately outdated; Nestorius was not after all the sort of crude heretic that he had been represented to be by Cyril; and the Monophysites deserved, and in the early 530s received by the emperor himself, a better hearing and understanding. This was in fact the Akoimetan sentiment, which made them all but the palladium of the catholic faith in the eyes of the royal court. For indeed none of these re-considerations was espoused by Justinian after 533, which meant that a tortuous struggle was facing Cassian: he had to overcome not only the rival teaching of old heresies (such as Arianism, Docetism, and Sabellianism), but also the imperial theological whims and germane political shifts at odds with the tolerant, broadminded, and reconciliatory Akoimetoï. We know that Justinian's policy resulted in the Monophysites and Nestorians building their own churches, bishoprics, and clerical hierarchy. A large part of the empire fell prey to the Arabs; and Justinian himself died an Aphthartodocetist, that is, a heretic, yet his innovation of posthumous anathematisation was not practised upon himself. The Akoimetoï's broad-mindedness was the alternative to the emperor's wavering attitudes, but they paid a price for it, since they only just escaped extinction after 534. Used to decampment as they were, the Akoimetoï became a sort of expatriate population within the heart of the capital, thus turning gradually to enclaves of not only Nestorianism and Monophysitism, but also Neoplatonism, which was cherished as an arcane occult hoard. It then hardly comes as a surprise that they incurred the maledictions of the rest of monastic institutions and the ebullitions of the state.

Cassian's texts currently known as Pseudo-Didymus' *De Trinitate* and Pseudo-Caesarius' *Erotapokriseis*²⁰ betoken the predicament of all those who had come under suspicion of non-compliance with the imperial wishes

²⁰ Cf. Cassian's *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, where both works appear in remarkable parallels of language. Pseudo-Caesarius: Scholia IV; XI; XV; XVI; XVIII; XX; XXI; XXV; XXVI; XXVIII; XXIX; XXXI; XXXV; XXXVIII. *De Trinitate*, Scholia I; III; IV; V; VII; VIII; XI; XIII; XIV; XV; XVI; XVII; XVIII; XIX; XX; XXIII; XXIV; XXV; XXVI; XXVII; XXIX; XXX; XXXI; XXXV; XXXVI; XXXIX.

and manoeuvres. The former bespeaks a writer who was accused of heresy and endeavours to prove (in fact, to exhibit) his orthodoxy. This must have been written after 534, the year when the Akoimetoι were condemned by Pope John II of Rome, at Justinian's behest. The author takes a stand in the safest manner possible, that is, by a plethora of quotations from Scripture supposed to bolster his orthodoxy.

The latter was written after Cassian's predicament was behind him. Exploration of the text clearly shows that its author is a Palestinian, who was an abbot at the time. This means that Cassian must have written this while he was the superior of the monastery of Souka, that is, after 539. The *Erotapokriseis* was written sometime after that year. This is retrospectively presented as a teaching by the author during his stay in Constantinople, and its genre is one that became fashionable during the sixth century, notably, the form of questions by staged interlocutors and answers by a certain master.

These works constitute a hallmark, not so much on account of their specific content, but due to their audacity and nerve. Whether above-board or stealthily, the rigour and prestige of Hellenism was the oxygen of any cerebral process. Even for an ardent Christian, it was hard to fail to imbibe it with his catechism, while often exorcising 'the Hellenes' at the same time. Therefore, and though not a parthenogenesis, these works mark the radical shift in respect of considering Hellenism: far from seeing this as a scapegoat and a iniquitous designation, there is *ipso facto* acknowledgement that Christianity, as we know it, formed its doctrine by making use of the Greek apparatus. Although the text of *De Trinitate* appears as a retort to a sycophantic libel of 'Hellenization', there is not the slightest tenor of palinode or recant. On the contrary, the author writes under the spell of fascination by the *qualitas occulta* of Hellenism.

During the sixth century, theologians found themselves struggling with novel ideas no less than the authors who were faced with similar challenges at the dawn of Christian theology. The fourth century recognised the need to handle Greek non-scriptural terminology (φύσις, οὐσία, ὑπόστασις). Besides, once the Cappadocians made reference to 'the universal' (τὸ κοινόν), they virtually adapted a Platonic doctrine, taking up a concept that went back to Plato himself. By contrast, in the sixth century, unawareness of the import of terminology that had been kidnapped from the Greek philosophers stood side by side with any real or imagined 'Hellenic' notion being exorcised as a daemon by the imperial court. In order to be a good citizen and a good monk, one should rob oneself of anything 'Greek', whether really Greek are just branded so. Awareness of the fine shades of meaning which are indigenous in the Greek language was an extremely rare commodity. One

can only take a taste of this logomachy by exploring how different parties defined 'nature' according to each one's liking, which at points reached some arbitrary as well as ludicrous resolutions, such as that by Severus of Antioch identifying *nature* with *hypostasis*. The exception was of course John Philoponus. He was the man who put Christianity on the offensive for the first time in the debate on whether the universe had a beginning, which provides a striking testimony of the singular acuteness of his mind. All the same, it is indicative of the ethos of the times that this intellectual was excommunicated.

Cassian's texts reflect an internal tension, which was actually his own spiritual and psychological tension: on the one hand, they bear on the Origenism inherent in the text by Didymus and Evagrius read by an Antiochene, who admired these eminent figures of Christian scholarship and conduct. On the other, he knew what the environment amid which he was writing was like. Origenism was obloquy, yet at the same time it was the Evagrius version of it that was the gospel of eminent minds of the Great Laura (and of all ones of the New Laura), as well as of such powerful courtiers as Theodore Askidas. Analysis of these texts casts light on the vicissitudes of an era, notably, the period between the years 530–553. During that period, Justinian's wavering attitude and shifts of policy that resulted in stubbornness eventually proved destructive to the territorial integrity of the empire. It also reveals that the theology of the imperial court was in fact the theology advanced by the anti-Origenist monks of the Great Laura and that of some other monasteries of the Judaeian desert. Cyril of Scythopolis included in his writings citations from many books.²¹ However, the fact that he draws on Justinian's works²² does not make the Jerusalem-theology that of the royal court, but the other way around: the emperor drew on the monks of Sabas and on those of other monasteries composing theological treatises which eventually appeared under Justinian's name. The fact that donations continued to flow from the capital to the monastery of Sabas well after Sabas' death is certainly not fortuitous.

We know that Cassian's vernacular was also used among Sabaite monks. In addition to the testimony by Cyril of Scythopolis, specific instances of

²¹ B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, p. 42. Although the author believes that he found 15 instances from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the other way around might well be the case: the compilation (which was created gradually over time) may have drawn on Cyril's work. Five citations from Pseudo-Basil of Seleucia, *De Vita Et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Libri II*, appear to be liabilities to Cassian, who probably authored this work.

²² Five different treatises according to B. Flusin. See also Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, the Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, p. 191.

colloquial language in Justinian's edicts against Origen, the Monophysites and the Three Chapters, make it plain that these decrees were composed at the Laura of Sabas by abbot Gelasius of Isauria and his band, who were hostile to both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia alike. Justinian signed both documents without altering even a single word in them, while he left even their colloquial language intact. The text of Cassian, therefore, is valuable in that it supplies us with the means to make a philological comparison with that of Justinian. This allows us to confirm Cyril's testimony of the Laura leaders under Gelasius being equally hostile to both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia. In turn, all literature about Askidas being responsible for Theodore's of Mopsuestia condemnation, as a counter-act to Origen's alleged aberration, is shown to be untenable, as I argue presently. Quite simply, Askidas had no reason to pursue such a condemnation, which could only place him on the same side as the anti-Origenist abbot Gelasius of the Laura of Sabas.

The document which was composed by abbot Gelasius and the leading monks of the Sabas Laura, to become Justinian's letter to Menas, and eventually an edict against Origen, was evidently uninformed as far as Origen himself is concerned. It seems, however, that it recorded doctrines claiming Origen as their father and was circulated at both the New Laura and the Great Laura, as well as in the wider region of the Judaeen desert during the sixth century. The mixture of spurious with genuine ideas of the Alexandrian was fatal, and impossible to sort out, or clear away. The case of Cassian is therefore informative, since he commingles both kinds of doctrines, which simply evinces that many of those who claimed to echo Origen had not actually read his books, or, at best, they had come across heavily interpolated versions of them.

CHAPTER SIX

DOCTRINAL DECORUM AND IMPERIAL POWER

The Sixth-Century Origenism

There is a glass between the real Origen and us: this is the sixth-century Origenism, which produces a shimmering, and frequently garbled figment instead of Origen's authentic teaching.

Cassian's texts guide us to important aspects of the complex sequence of events that eventuated in Origen's condemnation in 553. In the first place, Justinian had no idea of who Origen was, or what he had taught. His advisors, abbot Gelasius and his band, had only an oblique knowledge of Origen's doctrine, namely, a no longer extant fifth-century book by Antipatrus of Bostra, which was studied by the anti-Origenists of the Great Laura. All possible and impossible interpolations and extrapolations were laid at the door of Origen, probably based on hearsay by monks of the era, who styled themselves 'Origenists'.

At any rate, the problem of what Origenism meant in the sixth century is a real one. 'Origen' was simply a cloudy catchword used in order to either authorise or besmirch active people of the sixth-century dangerous and volatile world of imperial and ecclesiastical politics the world of all those plots, which made up the complex tangle of personal, political, and ecclesiastical relationships of the times. This is a dark period of palace intrigue, of concocting forgeries, of cooking up devious attributions to authors deemed compromising the imperial hegemony, of whisperings in corridors and shadowy deals. It is not accidental that during the Christological dispute of the time, which involved the fatal notion of 'nature', everyone furnished a definition of one's own. Besides, the names of great authorities of the past were placed on top of the titles of works that had actually been written by *personae non gratae*, simply because other works by these persons were deemed as dangerous. The names of Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Nilus of Ancyra, Gregory of Nyssa replaced those of the sixth-century actual authors. Cassian's name was one of them. Why this was so, is a question calling for further exploration. The present investigation advances the possibility of Cassian having been accused of Origenism and of sympathy for Nestorius, as well as great Antiochene doctors of old, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Cyril of Scythopolis represents the circle of the ‘Origenists’ as an environment where Theodore of Mopsuestia was held in high regard. It is not then surprising that the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* are included in the ‘book of Cassian’, namely Codex 573. During the sixth century, the renowned (and hardly real, or accurate) distinction between ‘Alexandria’ and ‘Antioch’ was long past. It was increasingly clear that it lacked substantial theological implications, and was by and large only a reverberation of personal challenge between Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret. Despite different emphasis placed on either the divinity of humanity of Christ, no party really disputed the other one’s doctrine in essence. Different degrees of emphasis is one thing, but dissent of doctrine is quite another.

Consequently, theologians such as Cassian felt that they could well retain their Antiochene identity and the concomitant admiration for the Antiochene doctors, while at the same time cherishing the works of Clement, Origen, Didymus, and Cyril of Alexandria. The style of Theodoret has put an evident seal upon Cassian’s own style in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,¹ but this did not preclude Cassian from drawing heavily on Didymus while writing this work.

Cyril of Scythopolis refers to Origen and ‘Origenism’ with a manifest ignorance of what Origen really held. The same goes for the names of Didymus, Evagrius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. To him, it sufficed that his ‘orthodox’ brothers whom he considered more erudite than himself (such as abba Gelasius) assured him that Sabas ‘repelled’ both Origen and Theodore.² Cyril’s references to Origen and ‘Origenism’ amount nearly to four dozens, still not a single one of them does evince even attenuated

¹ Cf. τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IV: The rhetorical pattern, ‘being aware of this ... he says’ is characteristic of Didymus, *commJob* (1–4), Cod. p. 35: ἄπερ ἐπιστάμενος ὁ μακάριος φησιν. op. cit. Cod. p. 105: τοῦτο αὐτὸ καὶ Ἰαμβακοῦ ἐπιστάμενός φησιν. *commJob* (5.1–6.29), Cod. p. 155: καὶ ὁ Ἐλιφάζ οὖν τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενος ἄτε ἐντρεχῆς καὶ συνेतὸς φησιν. *commEcc1* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 237: τοῦτο οὖν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος λέγει. *commPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 58: ταύτην ὁ ἅγιος ἐπιστάμενος τὴν μεγαλειότητα καὶ τὴν προκοπὴν ἔλεγεν. The construction transpires in Origen, too, yet it is Didymus’ usage that is strikingly similar to the structure of that Scholion. Origen, *Cels*, VII, 39; VIII, 5; *deOr*, XXVIII.9; *homJer*, 2.2: *commMatt*, 10.18: *commiCor*, 35. Cassian the Sabaite himself employed the formula. *OctoVit*, Codex pp. 49^r: Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος ... φησίν. 56^r: Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμενοι, πάντες μὴ γνώμη παραδεδώκασι. *ScetPatr*, p. 57^v: τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενός φησιν. 58^v: ὅπερ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγεν. 92^r: Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Δαβίδ ... ἔλεγεν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. See discussion in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion IV.

² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 194: δυσωπῶ τοῖνον ὑμᾶς ὥστε τινὰ τῶν Θεοδώρω τῷ Μοψουεστίας προσκειμένον μὴ ἔδσαι συμμεῖναι ὑμῖν, αἰρετικῶ αὐτῶ ὄντι, ἐπέπερ καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὶ ἡμῶν Σάβας τοῦτον μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωργένου ἐμυσάττετο. These are words of Gelasius.

knowledge of Origen's theology. There are only some hackneyed slogans about 'pre-existence' and 'apokatastasis',³ as an echo from Justinian's allegations which arrived in Jerusalem in February 543 and originated in the Great Laura itself. Cyril dignifies Theodore of Mopsuestia with only five vituperative references, and always thinks of him and Origen as a couple of heretics.⁴ Diodore of Tarsus escaped the chronicler's invective. In his list of heretics, he lumps together Origen, Origenists, Didymus, Evagrius, Arians, Nestorians, pagans, Jews, and Theodore of Mopsuestia—a wholesale affront on anything that in his mind was a horrendous foe. Recalling a short discussion with the 'Origenist' Leontius, Cyril describes how apprehensive monk Cyriacus was at the possibility of him being convinced by this 'erudite' person.⁵ He was terrified at those 'erudite' monks (τοὺς λογιωτέρους), with whom he was unable to converse, let alone debate.⁶ Quite simply, he was an unlearned fanatic, an admirer of pious monks living in the desert, but hardly an informed theologian, who used labels rather than theological propositions, let alone argument. Although (or indeed, because) he saw in 'heretic' intellectuals the most erudite of monks (λογιωτέρους), Cyril of Scythopolis expresses his apprehensive admiration for this intelligentsia at two different points, but in characteristically similar expressions.⁷ He is not sparing of epithets in his invective, however. At points where he attempted some reference to the ideas of the 'heretics', it is plain that he wrote from hearsay by monks whom he regarded as indisputably orthodox, and was always prompt to embrace their slogans, no matter what. He was eager to apply vituperative epithets to his opponents, rather than explaining their beliefs, which he did

³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, p. 39; *Vita Sabae*, p. 199; *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 229; 230. Didymus and Evagrius are simply appended to Origen's name at three points: *Vita Sabae*, pp. 124; 199; *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 230.

⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 176; 179; 194; 199; *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, p. 221.

⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 230.

⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 188; *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 230.

⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 188: οἱ γὰρ περὶ Νόννον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν κοιμήσεως δραξάμενοι, λέγω δὴ Σάβα, τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει τῶν σπλάγγων δημοσιεύσαντες κακοδοξίαν ἐπότιζον τὸν πλησίον ἀνατροπὴν θολερὰν καὶ οὐ μόνον πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ λογιωτέρους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν μιὰρὰν συγκατέσπασαν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῆς Μαρτυρίου μονῆς καὶ τοὺς τῆς Φιρμίνου λαύρας ἡδὴ τῶν αὐτῆς πατέρων κοιμηθέντων Φιρμίνου τε καὶ Σωζομενοῦ τῶν μακαρίων φοιτητῶν γεροντότων καὶ συναγωνιστῶν τοῦ θείου πρεσβύτου. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγίστην λαύραν καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐρήμου μοναστήρια ἴσχυσαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τὴν Ὀριγένους κατασπείρα κακοδοξίαν. *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 230–231: πάντων δὲ τῶν ζιζανίων ὁ σπορεὺς 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 συναγωνιστὴν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Νέᾳ λαύρᾳ 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.

only casually. To him, Nonnus, Leontius, and the rest of the 'Origenist' group were revolutionaries, who conspired to destroy the monastery of the Great Laura. In addition, they were fomenters of discord, who connived to kidnap the abbot of the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch. They attempted this by launching forays on both monasteries (that of Theodosius and the Great Laura) armed with farm implements.⁸ They were hypocrites and dissemblers,⁹ capable of violent aggression against their peace-loving orthodox brethren, whenever it suited them.¹⁰ Worst of all, they were full of pride at their own intellectual accomplishments, and interested in precarious speculation rather than in the traditional monastic virtues. Which explains why Cyril was so phobic even of just listening to Leontius and his companions.

In the *Life of Sabas*, Cyril gives a detailed account of the events before Cassian was appointed abbot at the monastery of Sabas. Theodore Askidas supported the so-called Origenists in seizing power in the monastery. Abbot Gelasius, an orthodox according to Cyril, went to Constantinople to complain and ask for help, but Askidas frustrated all his efforts to make contacts of note. Hence Gelasius set out to return home 'on foot', but he died at Amorium. Following his death, the Origenists resumed power in the Great Laura and Cyril of Scythopolis melancholically relates that 'the fathers' were all too eager to pay their respects to the Origenists, flattering them and always appearing as congenial out of fear. Naturally then, the next abbot was a certain 'George', an 'Origenist', who remained in the post for only seven months (547). It was subsequent to him that Cassian was appointed abbot, to remain in post for ten months only (547/8), to be succeeded by abba Conon.¹¹ In the *Life of Cyriacus*, Cyril says that the Origenists attempted to make Peter the Greek the new abbot, a monk of the Origenist party, yet they failed due to strong reaction by the orthodox monks.¹²

The case would have been that, by the time when Cassian assumed office, the monastery was in decline, beset, and disconcerted by controversy, since the so-called Origenists had gained influence there. Let us then listen to Cyril of Scythopolis:

"Nonnus and his party, taking advantage of the death of our father, I mean Sabas, made public the heresy which they cherished in the depths of their

⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 190.

⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 124.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 193.

¹¹ *Vita Sabae*, pp. 193 f.

¹² *Vita Cyriaci*, pp. 231 f. Peter Helladicus was only a dignitary (σύγγελος) of the monastery, who had been elevated to this post along with John Stroggylus by Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem at the request of Theodore Askidas from Constantinople. *Vita Sabae*, p. 193.

hearts and instilled in their neighbour a turbulent upheaval. They seduced into their own foul heresy not only the more educated in the New Laura, but also those of the monastery of Martyrius and of the Laura of Firminus”, at a time when ‘fathers Firminus and Sozomenus, the disciples and fellow-combatants of the godly old man had already died’ and ‘Domitian was superior of the monastery of Martyrius and Theodore surnamed Askidas, ruled over those of the New Laura, both of them partaking to satiety of the plague of Origen.’¹³ In the Old Laura, Cyriacus resisted Nonnus’ attempt to take control of it through the appointment of Peter of Alexandria, who was one of his group, as abbot of the monastery. The monks rejected him. A second attempt, in which Nonnus sought to appoint as abbot of the monastery another Origenist, namely Peter the Greek, failed, too. Instead, the monks elected Cassian of Scythopolis.¹⁴

This was in September / October 547. Cassian had some covert sympathy with these erudite intellectuals, which caused many monks to desert the monastery. Since the so-called Origenists were still influential in the fray, the two parties would well have appointed Cassian as a compromise solution, since he was an erudite theologian and author, who apparently took no active sides in the controversy. For all the respect for the person of Cassian, this must have caused many ‘orthodox’ monks to desert the place, probably in objection to Cassian not being duly active against the Origenists.

In the *Life of Sabas*, which was written after Cassian’s death (which means that Cassian was no longer Cyril’s superior), the chronicler writes about Conon (Cassian’s successor) the following, which is an oblique reference to Cassian having been too tolerant with the Origenists: “Taking over the flock of blessed Sabas diminished and reduced, abba Conon increased it, made it eminent, and brought back from all parts the fathers scattered through the countryside”.¹⁵

As a matter of fact, Cassian was a sympathiser of Origenists rather than Origen and he could hardly determine which of his views were actually fathered by Origen himself. The decisive factor was his admiration for such personalities as Leontius. The emperor’s edict against Origen would have shocked Cassian and he probably was apprehensive at realising that some of his references in the treatises prepared for Leontius pointed to what was at the time taken as ‘Origenistic views’. No matter what distances he took

¹³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 188.

¹⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 188. *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231. This is ‘what abba Cyriacus related to me’, Cyril says.

¹⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 197.

later, they by and large were deemed to be too little too late. There were already grievances against him, but this also was the factor on account of which he was appointed abbot at the Laura of Sabas: the so-called Origenists were influential, which made a compromise on the person of the next abbot necessary. It seems that when Patriarch Peter I of Jerusalem (524–552) advised the elders of the Great Laura that Cassian should be appointed, he took into consideration the precarious situation. Given the power of the Origenists, Cassian's respected personality (and moderate Origenism) was a solution of compromise conceded by both parties. It should be recalled that when abbot Gelasius died in 546, the monks of the Laura went to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and asked for a superior. Cyril tells us that 'they were expelled from the episcopal palace with violence and blows, on the orders of the chancellors'; they 'suffered many trials as a result' and 'finally returned to the Laura without success'. Why were the monks treated so badly, since all they asked for was a new abbot? Cyril does not explain this situation and remains silent. He says, nevertheless, that the next abbot was the Origenist George and mourns at the Origenists having managed to be so powerful at the time.¹⁶ Seven months later George was expelled 'by his own supporters' on charges of corruption. It was at that moment when, 'at the advice of the Patriarch' of Jerusalem, Cassian was appointed as abbot. All this can only mean that the Patriarch (who had expelled the evidently anti-Origenist Sabaite monks seven months ago) took into consideration how powerful the Origenists were at the Laura and suggested that Cassian should be appointed, since George had been a failure on moral grounds. What was now needed was an impeccable Origenist and this was Cassian.

Cassian, therefore, came to be a suspect as an Origenist. The mighty Origenist party had endorsed his appointment as abbot of the Laura after all. It is quite plain that in his writings there are statements, which in the sixth century were branded 'Origenist', even though Origen never espoused them.¹⁷ This is in all probability the reason why the usual practice of forgery by Christian scholarship was widely practised against Cassian's writings. His name was abolished from the manuscripts of his work and was replaced by such ones as the name of Athanasius and other orthodox theologians. Consequently, some of his works, currently under the label 'spurious', are still awaiting for identification of their real author.

¹⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 195.

¹⁷ Cf. the idea of God never being inactive, thus *having to* create eternally by nature. This was branded as Origenistic tenet, but Origen was by no means the father of it. *COT*, pp. 119–164.

By the time Cassian was appointed abbot, there is nothing in Cyril's narrative to suggest that the Origenists had lost power. The Origenist abbot, George was deposed not because the party lost power, but because his personal ethics and actions were reprehensible. Which means that when Cassian was elected, his person must have been acceptable by both parties, but the power was with the Origenists. Anyway, Cassian was elected 'at the Patriarch's suggestion' (κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατριάρχου).¹⁸ The anti-Origenists resumed power (and returned to the monastery after they had taken flight from there during George's term) only with Conon, Cassian's successor. Cassian remained in the post only for ten months, but Cyril has nothing to say about the monastery recovering from decay during this period, which he does speaking of Conon, who remained in the post for more than twenty years. All Cyril says about Cassian is that he was an orthodox and during his period in office the anti-Origenists were 'just able' to confront the Origenists. Nevertheless, it is somewhat strange that at two points Cyril feels it necessary to emphasise that Cassian was an 'orthodox'.¹⁹ This can be explained, however. Cyril of Scythopolis says so in the *Life of Cyriacus*,²⁰ at a time when Cassian was *his* abbot,²¹ indeed one who had been elected by Origenist monks, the powerful party at the time. Hardly did he have any choice other than bow to the decision of the powerful of the day, namely, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Origenist band. The rest of Cyril's three references to Cassian appear in the *Life of Sabas*,²² which was written after Cassian's death. It was too late for Cyril to say anything different, hence once again he styles him 'orthodox'.

Besides, those who sympathised with Origen used to take heed so as not to be exposed to the perils of the day. The case of Theodore of Scythopolis, a friend of Theodore Askidas, with whose support Theodore became abbot

¹⁸ *Vita Sabae*, p. 196.

¹⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 196: τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Μεγίστῃ λαύρᾳ περιλειφθέντες πατέρες κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔλαβον ἡγούμενον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν τὸν Σκυθοπολίτην τὴν τοῦ Σουκά συνοδίαν τὸ τηρικαῦτα καλῶς καὶ ὀρθοδόξως κυβερνῶντα, ἀνδρα ἐξ ἀπαλῶν δυνάμεων ἀποταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου Σάβα παιδευθέντα καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας γεγονότα καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ χρόνοις τὴν τοῦ Σουκά λαύραν κυβερνήσαντα. *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231: οἱ περὶ Νόννον ἀναιδῶς κινούμενοι ἄλλον Πέτρον Ἑλλαδικὸν τῆς Ὀριγένους λύμης ὄντα ὑπασπιστὴν ἡγούμενον ἡμῶν ἐγκατέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἡ συνοδία πάλιν ζήλω πνευματικῶ κινουμένη Πέτρον μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξέωσεν καὶ εἰς τὴν λαύραν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα ἀπελθοῦσα ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῇ τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν Σκυθοπολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον. καὶ τότε μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν τοὺς Ὀριγένους ὑπασπιστὰς ἀποκρούσασθαι.

²⁰ Abba Cyriacus (449–554) was a monk at Souka monastery from 485 to 525.

²¹ *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 231: τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανόν.

²² *Vita Sabae*, pp. 184; 196: ἔλαβον ἡγούμενον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν τὸν Σκυθοπολίτην τὴν τοῦ Σουκά συνοδίαν τὸ τηρικαῦτα καλῶς καὶ ὀρθοδόξως κυβερνῶντα.

of the New Laura and supported the Origenist party styled 'Isochrists', is a characteristic one. Once Justinian set out to condemn Origen, this Theodore recanted in 552 and anathematised Origen.²³ Likewise, Leontius himself appears to take distances from Origen, when the moment appeared to call for this. He reasons that it is futile to defend Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia on the basis of a letter that church fathers (such as Basil of Caesarea) had sent to them. Leontius' argument was that the encomium of Origen written by Gregory Thaumaturgus did not save the Alexandrian.²⁴

During this period, therefore, the phenomenon of 'crypto-Origenists' should be taken for granted. Which is why Caesarius/Cassian feels he can condemn Origen by name, while expounding Origenist doctrines in the same work of his.²⁵ Besides, one could confirm this from Justinian's own words. For indeed, with respect to Origen, he refers to 'those who acknowledge his downfall, yet they make use of his ideas' (εἰ γὰρ τινές εἰσι καὶ νῦν ὁμολογοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐκείνου πῶμα, ἀντιποιοῦμενοι δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ).²⁶ Justinian was a politician, not a priest to receive confession from inner heart. All he demanded was that people subscribe the *libelli* he presented them with, and profess what the emperor enjoined them to do. What they believed in their secret thoughts was not of his main concern.

Cyril's accounts are consistent with regard to the person of Leontius Byzantius, who was a regular visitor of Constantinople. This was the place where Leontius' protectors Askidas and Domitian normally lived, even though they had been made bishops of remote sees (Caesarea and Ancyra respectively), following their endorsement of the Local Synod of 536. Leontius was so powerful at the time that he, along with all Origenists of the New Laura, revolted against the decision of Patriarch Ephraemius of Antioch to anathematise Origen.²⁷ In fact he demanded that Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem have Ephraemius' name removed from the diptychs. The

²³ Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.231–236.

²⁴ Leontius Byzantius, *Libri Tres Contra Nestorianos et Euthychianos*, PG.86(1).1377. By the same token, Domitian subscribed to the condemnation of Origen, only to repent this later. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 192. Besides (if the testimony by Facundus, the African Bishop of Herminian is accurate), he wrote a *libellus* renegading his attitude to Pope Vigilius. See *infra*.

²⁵ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

²⁶ Justinian, *Liber Adversus Origenem* (Letter to Patriarch Menas), PG.86(1).973.46–47.

²⁷ According to Cyril of Scythopolis, (*Vita Sabae*, p. 191) Ephraemius διανίσταται γενναίως καὶ δημοσίῳ συνοδικῶ ἀναθέματι καθυποβάλλει τὰ Ὀριγένους δόγματα. καὶ τούτου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γνωσθέντος ἀγανακτήσαντες οἱ περὶ Νόννον συναπιστάς ἔχοντες Λεόντιόν τε τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀναπλεύσαντα καὶ Δομιτιανὸν τὸν Γαλατίας καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν Καππαδοκίας ἠνάγκασον τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Πέτρον τὴν Ἐφραιμίου προσηγορίαν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀφελέσθαι διπτύχων.

compromise imposed by Peter was that the anti-Origenists of the Great Laura (lead by Sophronius and Gelasius) were allowed to compose a libel against Origen, whereas the Origenists were not allowed to remove the name of Patriarch Ephraemius of Antioch²⁸ from the diptychs. The anti-Origenist monks of the Great Laura wrote the libel, which they handed over to Peter of Jerusalem, who in turn sent this to Emperor Justinian. According to Cyril, this libel was what Justinian made an imperial edict against Origen,²⁹ which can be confirmed by philological exploration, too, as already noted.

When Justinian ordered Patriarch Menas to sanction his imperial edict against Origen through a local synodical decision, about which all the clergy of the empire should be advised, the Patriarch convened all the clerics ('bishops and abbots of monasteries') who happened to sojourn in the capital (τοὺς ἐνδημούντας κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν).³⁰ In other words, this is the text of the *Edictum Contra Origenem*, or *Letter to Patriarch Menas*, by Justinian. Although leaders of the Origenist party in Palestine, both Askidas and Domitian subscribed to Justinian's nine anathemas against Origen. This is supposed to have happened at a Local Synod held in Constantinople in 543, following the Emperor's *Edictum Contra Origenem* demanding such a synod to be convened. However, nothing is actually known of this synod, if there was any at all. Cyril of Scythopolis says that the edict was signed by 'Patriarch Menas and the synod under his' chairmanship (ᾧτινι ἰδίκτω καθυπέγραψεν Μηνᾶς ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν συνόδου).³¹ Soon after that, once Domitian heard of some clerics who managed to escape signature, he fell into deep depression for his acquiescence in signing the document. He died not long after the event, having separated

²⁸ Ephraemius of Antioch is one of the very few authors to apply the rare colloquialism ἐφ' ἴσης (for ἐπίσης) (*Capita XII*, p. 262), which transpires in Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 33^v; 39^v; *ScetPatr*, p. 79^v; *SerenPrim*, p. 89^v.

²⁹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 191–192: πολλῆς δὲ στάσεως ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένης μεταπέμπεται ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐν μυστηρίῳ τοὺς περὶ Σωφρόνιον καὶ Γελάσιον καὶ ἐπιτρέπει αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι λίβελλον κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγενιστῶν 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 Ὀριγενιστῶν νεωτερισθέντα. ὄντινα λίβελλον ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεξάμενος βασιλεὺς ἴδικτον κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους πεποίηκε δογμάτων ᾧτινι ἰδίκτω καθυπέγραψεν Μηνᾶς ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν συνόδου. ἠναγκάσθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ Δομιτιανὸν καὶ Θεόδωρον ὑπογράψαι.

³⁰ Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, pp. 104–106: συναγαγεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνδημούντας κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν ὀσιωτάτους ἐπισκόπους καὶ τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους τῶν ἐνταῦθα εὐαγῶν μοναστηρίων ἡγουμένους. Likewise, Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 179; 192.

³¹ *Vita Sabae*, p. 192.

himself from the 'Catholic communion'. On the other hand, even though Askidas himself signed the act, he went on with 'persecuting the orthodox', which, according to Cyril, is a token of his 'hypocrisy' (τῆ δὲ Θεοδώρου ὑποκρίσει μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπογραφὴν ἐπενεχθέντες βαρύτατοι διωγμοί).³²

Whenever scholars come to make reference to Justinian's edict against Origen, a thesis is anemophilously reproduced: Justinian's ensuing attack on the Three Chapters was the result of a plot by the 'Origenist' party. Askidas is supposed to have been the one who, along with his band, conspired to get Theodore of Mopsuestia condemned, and Leontius is said to have launched a vitriolic attack on the person and work of the same Antiochene author. To this contention I myself have seen no substantial evidence so far, although many scholars have been at pains to advance this allegation.³³

It has been generally urged³⁴ that Askidas hated Theodore of Mopsuestia because the latter had dared to criticise Origen, or because Askidas was a crypto-Monophysite. This however is a questionable testimony by only one source, namely Facundus, the African Bishop of Herminian, in a letter of his addressed to Justinian. Facundus supposedly reproduced a *libellus* (a doctrinal statement) that Domitian had sent to Pope Vigilius, by which he professed his Origenistic allegiance. According to Domitian, 'when those who intended to defend the teaching' about pre-existence of souls and universal restoration, saw that they were unable to further their cause, 'they left this conflict and started to conspire against [the name of] Theodore, who had been the Bishop of Mopsuestia. They set out to anathematise him, because they thought that in this way they could annihilate the content of the attack against Origen'.³⁵ A testimony by Liberatus of Carthage written after 553 is not actually an independent one, since he virtually reproduced Facun-

³² Loc. cit.

³³ The literature is extremely extensive, striving to sustain an untenable thesis. See bibliography in Daniël Hombergen, *The Second Origenistic Controversy, A New Perspective on Cyril of Scythopolis' Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism*, p. 181, n. 224. About this assertion disputed by F. Carcione, see op. cit. p. 183, n. 233. The author himself is rightly sceptical about the allegation and refrains from either endorsing or disputing it. op. cit. p. 321, n. 318.

³⁴ Against historians being eager to employ the obloquy, E. Chrysos doubted Liberatus' testimony about Askidas' Monophysitism. E. Chrysos, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔριν περὶ τὰ Τρία Κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν Ε' οἰκουμένην σύνοδον*, pp. 26–30.

³⁵ Facundi, Hermianensis Episcopi, *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulum Concilii Chalcedonensis Libri XII Ad Justinianum Imperatorem*, IV.2 (PL.67.627A–B): Manifestos habent errores eorum qui verisimilibus argumentis, quasi constanter sua errata defendunt; et iste illis incognitus esse potest, auctorum suorum confessione damnatus? His omnibus accedit et confessio Domitiani Galatae, Ancyrensis olim episcopi, quem confessum diximus quod ejus complices Origeniani ad Ecclesiae conturbationem ista moliti sunt. Nam in libello

dus' testimony.³⁶ In all probability, the real source is a remark by Evagrius Scholasticus: Askidas introduced the question of Three Chapters in order to distract the fathers towards other questions (ἐτέρωθι τούτους ἀφέλκειν ἐθέλων ἐπεισάγει τὰ κατὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν Μοψουεστίας καὶ Θεοδώρητον καὶ Ἴβαν).³⁷ However, the real state of affairs was different: Askidas did not need any manoeuvres, since he defended Origen openly, whereas condemnation of the Antiochene doctors could be of no use to him whatsoever. It is certainly not incidental that later sources that reproduced the information about that synod paid no attention to that remark by Evagrius, which is self-defeating after all. For the same Evagrius recounts that the same monks had collected 'the blasphemies' not only of 'Didymus and Evagrius', as one might have expected, but also those by 'Theodore' of Mopsuestia and 'presented them to the synod', which imposed upon them the authority of an 'anathema'.³⁸

quem ad Vigilium scripsit, conquerens de his qui contradicebant dogmatibus Origenis, asserentis animas humanas ante corpora in quadam beata vita praeexistisse, et omnes quae fuerint aeterno supplicio destinatae, in pristinam beatitudinem cum diabolo et angelis ejus restitui; dicit etiam haec: "Prosiluerunt ad anathematizandos sanctissimos et gloriosissimos doctores, sub occasione eorum quae de praeexistencia et restitutione mota sunt, dogmatum, sub specie quidem Origenis, omnes autem qui ante eum et post eum fuerunt sanctos anathematizantes. Hi vero qui proposuerant hujusmodi dogma defendere, id implere nullo modo voluerunt: sed talem relinquentes conflictum, conversi sunt ut moverent adversus Theodorum qui fuit Mopsuestenus episcopus, et moliri coeperunt quatenus anathematizaretur et ille, ad abolitionem, ut putabant, eorum quae contra Origenem mota constituerant."

³⁶ Liberatus Carthaginensis Diaconus, *Breviarium, Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum, collectum a Liberato archidiacono Ecclesiae Carthaginensis regionis sextae*, PL.68.1046B–1049B: Igitur Pelagius aemulus existens Theodoro Caesareae Cappadociae episcopo, volens ei nocere eo quod esset Origenis defensor, una cum Menna archiepiscopo Constantinopolitano, flagitabat a principe ut iuberet fieri, quod illi monachi supplicabant, ut Origenes damnaretur, ipsaque capitula talia docentia. Annuit imperator facillime, gaudens se de talibus causis iudicium ferre: jubente eo dictata est in Origenem et illa capitula anathematis damnatio, quam scripserunt, una cum Menna archiepiscopo, episcopi apud Constantinopolim reperti. Deinde directa est Vigilio Romano episcopo, Zoilo Alexandrino, Euphrasio Antiocheno, et Petro Hierosolymitano, quibus eam accipientibus et subscribentibus, Origenes damnatus est mortuus, qui vivens olim fuerat ante damnatus. Et reserato aditu adversariis Ecclesiae, ut mortuus damnaretur, Theodorus Caesareae Cappadociae episcopus dilectus, et familiaris principum, secta Acephalus, Origenis autem defensor acerrimus, et Pelagio aemulus, cognoscens Origenem fuisse damnatum, dolore damnationis ejus, ad Ecclesiae conturbationem, damnationem molitus est in Theodorum Mopsuestenum; eo quod Theodorus multa opuscula edidisset contra Origenem, exosusque et accusabilis haberetur ab Origenistis; et maxime quod synodus Chalcedonensis, sicut probatur, laudes ejus susceperit in tribus epistolis: *hujus* damnationem memoratus Theodorus tali machinatione perfecit.

³⁷ Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, p. 187.

³⁸ Evagrius Scholasticus and Callistus, loc. cit. Οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μοναχοὶ καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Εὐαγρίου καὶ Θεοδώρου ἄλλας πολλὰς βλασφημίας σπουδαίως μάλα παρὰ τῶν κακῶς συγγραφέντων ἐκείνοις ἀπολεξάμενοι, τῇ συνόδῳ ἀνήνεγκαν· ἃ δὴ πάντα τῷ ἀναθέματι περιέβαλον. What followed was branding Origen a Manichean, Arian, Greek, Sabellian, Eunomian, and all sorts of heresies.

One more important point should be mentioned: The case of the Three Chapters was discussed during the first session of the council, according to Evagrius. During that session, not only the ‘twelve chapters’ which Theodoret had written against Cyril of Alexandria were anathematised, but also ‘anything that has been written by him [sc. Theodoret] in defence of Theodore [of Mopsuestia] and Nestorius’ (καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ συνηγορίας Θεοδώρου καὶ Νεστορίου αὐτῷ συγγέγραπται). This session concluded with a declaration of ‘fourteen chapters expounding the correct and immaculate faith’.³⁹ This notwithstanding, during the second session, the members of the synod were prepared to welcome further allegations against Theodore of Mopsuestia. These were the libels that had been composed at the Laura of Sabas and were presented by abbot Conon and his group. It is therefore absurd to claim that Askidas conspired to get Theodore of Mopsuestia condemned in reaction to the anathemas imposed on Origen, indeed that Askidas sought this in order to retaliate against the monks of the Great Laura. The latter were hostile to Theodore of Mopsuestia as much as they were inimical to Origenism. By contrast, Cassian, who had lived within the same monastery, was an admirer of Theodore of Mopsuestia, as well as of Didymus, whose Commentary on the Apocalypse he cherished and largely saved for posterity.

This is the basis on which modern scholarship saw the condemnation of the Three Chapters as a ‘revenge’ against the condemnation of Origen: the Origenists hated Theodore of Mopsuestia for having criticised Origen. Had this been felt by Askidas as a ‘revenge’, this could have been too a blind one. For Askidas was a realist, a man of action and plotting used to gaining concrete results out of his machinations. I have seen no scholar coming up with a convincing explanation as to why an additional anathema imposed on the defunct Theodore of Mopsuestia could possibly mitigate (let alone, cancel) the consequences that the anathema against Origen entailed for Askidas, Domitian and their company. Moreover, I have seen no reliable testimony proving that those who are reported to have been the source of Origen’s condemnation were different persons from those who detested the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia. For what we know is that in both cases the same persons (the leading monks of the Laura of Sabas) were the protagonists that supplied Justinian with a religious garment of his political considerations against both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Origen.

That most of these persons appeared after Origen’s death, or that some of these doctrines conflicted with each other, was of no concern to anyone. It was fashionable to style Origen conveniently as the source of all theological aberration.

³⁹ Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, p. 188.

Cyril of Scythopolis tells us that the action which Justinian took against the heretic Arians was the result of advice of St. Sabas.⁴⁰ What the chronicler adds is that the emperor stood up against the heresies of both Origen and Nestorius, which 'he overthrew and anathematised, by means of both his edicts and the Fifth Oecumenical Council which was recently convened in Constantinople'.⁴¹ Cyril refers to *edicts* (not edict: τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἰδίκτων) against the heretics, which suggests that it was not only the edict against Origen that had been levelled against them. Quite evidently, he refers to Justinian's treatise against the Three Chapters, which he takes as an edict parallel to the one issued against Origen, indeed written by the same authors.

The alleged policy by Theodore Askidas would make sense only if, by machinating condemnation upon Theodore of Mopsuestia, he somehow would deal a death blow on those who advanced Origen's condemnation, specifically, the leading band of the Laura of Sabas, Gelasius and his *confrères*. However, what we know is that these anti-Origenist monks were equally hostile to Theodore of Mopsuestia. To oppose both Theodore of Mopsuestia and 'Origenism' was after all a tradition established by Sabas himself. At the Laura of Sabas it was an honour to be an opponent of both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia, which is the praise accorded by Cyril of Scythopolis to hesychast John.⁴² Both of Justinian's edicts (against Origen and the Three Chapters) had been penned by the same persons. Askidas (a former superior of the New Laura) had no reason to support them whatsoever.

Unimportant though it might appear on the face of it, we should recall a telling point. Of all the texts of Justinian, only two contain the Sabaite

⁴⁰ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 179: Justinian θείαις ἐχρήσατο διατάξεσιν ὥστε τὰς πανταχοῦ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἐκκλησίας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου ἐπόμους ἐντολῇ ἢ γούν προφητείᾳ.

⁴¹ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 179: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Νεστορίου καὶ Ὀριγένους αἱρέσεις γενναίως διαναστὰς ἀνέτρεψέν τε καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισεν διὰ τε τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ἰδίκτων καὶ διὰ τῆς νῦν συναθροισθείσης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς πέμπτης συνόδου.

⁴² Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, p. 221: Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγα ἀναλεξάμενος γραφῇ παραδεδῶκα παραλείψας διηγήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνας, οὓς ἐνεδείξατο κατὰ τῶν Ὀριγένους καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μομφουεστίας δογμάτων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν. Likewise, *Vita Sabae*, p. 194 (Gelasius addressing his monks before setting sail for Constantinople): δυσωπῶ τοῖνυν ὑμᾶς ὥστε τινὰ τῶν Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Μομφουεστίας προσκειμένων μὴ ἔᾶσαι συμμεῖναι ὑμῖν, αἰρετικῶς αὐτῶ ὄντι, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρῶν ἡμῶν Σάβας τοῦτον μετὰ τοῦ Ὀριγένους ἐμυσάττετο.

colloquialism ἐπίσης for ἐπίσης ('also'), which we come upon in Cassian's text, too. These texts of Justinian are the *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*⁴³ and the *Edictum Rectae Fidei*.⁴⁴ Both also engage in a fierce invective against Theodore of Mopsuestia. Only in these two texts of Justinian do characteristic colloquialisms occur.⁴⁵ It then comes as no surprise that Cassian left the Laura shortly after the death of St. Sabas, in 532, to remain in Constantinople for six years⁴⁶ along with Origenists such as Theodore Askidas, formerly an abbot of the New Laura, and Domitian. Whereas these friends of his became bishops, Cassian himself remained an intellectual monk and presbyter, who studied as a resident with the Akoimetoι, and probably taught in the capital. He returned to Palestine in 539 to become the abbot of the Souka monastery, also known as the monastery of Chariton. He was a moderate Origenist, with sympathies to the great Antiochene doctors, which is a designation which includes not only Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret, but also Nestorius. Besides, his extraordinary erudition brought him close to John Philoponus, who presumably explained the cause of Monophysitism to him. Moderate as he was, he was respected by all conflicting parties, which made him a compromise-solution for the post of abbot of the Laura, in 547, at a time when the Origenists in the region were powerful. It was the same mid-stance, however, which by all appearances caused his intellectual death almost immediately after his physical death. The immediate source of this 'second death' must have been his own successor Conon, the relentless anti-Origenist, who remained in the post for two decades.

Cyril of Scythopolis relates that 'Domitian, superior of the monastery of Martyrius, and Theodore surnamed Askidas, who ruled over those of the New Laura, both of them partaking to satiety of the plague of Origen, sailed to Constantinople, where they pretended to be battling for the Council of Chalcedon'.⁴⁷ It should be reminded that the synod of 536 in the capital was a *local* one (ἐνδημοῦσα), therefore, those who participated were living there already, or happened to be visiting the city at the time. Which means that Cassian, along with Leontius, Askidas, and Domitian, were already there in 536. When Cyril of Scythopolis says that they 'sailed' to Constantinople, this

⁴³ Justinian, *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 63, line 16.

⁴⁴ Justinian, *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 150, line 21.

⁴⁵ Cf. Justinian, *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 144: συνπαραληφθεῖσαν (for συμπαραληφθεῖσαν). *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, 74: ἐμφιλονίκοις (for ἐμφιλονίκοις); p. 162: ἐμφιλονεῖκως (for ἐμφιλονίκως).

⁴⁶ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I: a certain manuscript attests to Caesarius (= Cassian) having remained in the capital for six years, not twenty.

⁴⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis. *Vita Sabae*, p. 188.

does not mean that they went there in 536 *ad hoc*: they had arrived before the event. This probably means that, as an act of support to Leontius, they arranged to take part in the synod in order to pay lip service to the imperial aims pursued through the Local Synod.

Cyril testifies to the contact between Leontius and Cassian. The former was ‘the assistant, champion and fellow-combatant’ of Nonnus, who, ‘taking advantage of the death’ of Sabas started to recruit monks from different monasteries. One of these monasteries was the Souka. “But he failed, since I myself, by the grace of Christ, warned and exhorted each one [of the monks] not to depart from the true faith”. The least that this statement could suggest is that in Souka (where Cassian became abbot in 539) there were monks prepared to give an ear to Leontius’ views. This makes it natural for Cassian to have opted for settling in that monastery, instead of the Great Laura, upon his return to Palestine.

In the acts of this Local Synod, the name and signature of Domitian transpires precisely before the one of Cassian. Cyril of Scythopolis is inaccurate: neither Domitian nor Theodore Askidas were ‘superiors’ or indeed abbots of their monasteries at the time.⁴⁸ In the acts of the Local Synod, Domitian designates himself not as abbot of Martyrius, but simply as ‘presbyter and archimandrite’.⁴⁹ Theodore Askidas signs as simply ‘deacon and monk of the New Laura’,⁵⁰ only to add that he also signs ‘on behalf of the monks of the holy city, who live in the desert’.⁵¹ In all of these instances, the name of Leontius Byzantius signing the acts is located very close to that of Cassian. This trip to the capital would have been important for them all. As Cyril goes on, ‘through the recommendation by the above-mentioned Leontius Byzantius, they attached themselves to father Eusebius⁵² and through him to our most pious emperor. Veiling their heresy with a great deal of

⁴⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 188–189: κατ’ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν χρόνον Δομιτιανὸς τε ὁ τῆς Μαρτυρίου μονῆς ἡγούμενος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐπίκλην Ἀσκιδᾶς τῶν τῆς Νέας λαύρας ἐξάρχων γεγονὸς ἀμφοτέρου τῆς Ὠριγένους λύμης μετασχόντες εἰς κόρον ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου προσποιούμενοι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Since Cyril wrote the *Life of Sabas* well after the synod of 553, it is not strange that he is inaccurate about details referring to the Local Synod of 536.

⁴⁹ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 36; 50; 130; 145: Δομιτιανὸς ἔλεει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης μονῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Μαρτυρίου ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμου δεηθεὶς ὑπέγραψα.

⁵⁰ Op. cit. pp. 130; 158; 165; 174: Θεόδωρος διάκονος καὶ μοναχὸς τῆς Νέας λαύρας.

⁵¹ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 37: Θεόδωρος ἔλεει θεοῦ διάκονος καὶ μοναχὸς τῆς Νέας λαύρας καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἱεροσολύμων μοναχῶν δεηθεὶς ὑπέγραψα: So on pp. 50; 146.

⁵² A priest at the Great Church of Constantinople and administrator. Cyril mentions him at several points of his narrative.

hypocrisy, and enjoying immediate access to the palace, Domitian received the first see of the province of Galatia,⁵³ while Theodore succeeded to the see of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Nonnus and his party, gaining great strength out of this, were zealous and tireless in sowing the seeds of Origenism throughout Palestine'.⁵⁴

As already noted, whereas the New Laura was present at the synod of 536 with four monks, the Laura of Sabas was represented by two monks only, namely Cassian and Sabbatius. In the minutes of the synod, one can see the name and signature of Cassian always side by side with that of Domitian and Leontius and never close to that of Sabbatius, even though the two of them made up one and the same delegation. Besides, there is no indication that participants proceeded to sign the acts according to any determined order. It is evident that they signed in the order that each one of them approached joining a queue. Were that the case, which it seems it was, the order of signatures evinces that Cassian was always sitting side by side with Domitian and Leontius, whereas he never did so with his cloister-mate Sabbatius, who anyway signs at two points only.

Furthermore, an account by the Antiochene historian Evagrius Scholasticus (sixth century), reproduced by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (thirteenth-fourteenth century) is instructive. We are advised that 'during the second session' of the council of 553, in the presence of Justinian himself, 'the monks from Jerusalem' (Eulogius, Conon, Cyriacus, Pangratius) presented 'libels' (not just one 'libel', but λιβέλλων) against 'Origen, also called Adamantius', which had also been sent to Pope Vigilius. Evagrius makes some quotations from this document, where the monks declare in a furious style that they expelled 'him' (*viz.* Origen) 'as a bandit' from their 'holy yards'.⁵⁵ Further, it is plainly stated that those libels contained chapters, which expounded doctrines attributed to Origen and were subsequently quoted as anathemas. A 'fifth chapter' was levelled against 'specific persons of the so-called New Laura' (ἀπὸ ἰδικῶν προσώπων τῆς καλουμένης Νέας Λαύρας), as well as against Theodore Askidas (by name) and his teaching. Evagrius refers to both men having travelled to the capital in order to take part in the Local Synod of 536, where leading Monophysites were anathematised.

⁵³ The see of Ancyra.

⁵⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 188–189.

⁵⁵ 'Ἐφύγομεν τοίνυν, ἐφύγομεν ταύτην. ... καὶ ὡς ληστήν τὸν τοιοῦτον τοῖς τοῦ ἀναθέματος βρόχοις ἀσφαλῶς περισφίζαντες, τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων ἕξω ἀπεβαλόμεθα. Evagrius Scholasticus, *HE*, pp. 188–189. Copied by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 17.27.

From that document we learn that specific 'heretic' teachings had been brought to light by the monks of Sabas and subsequently were condemned by the council. Among other allegations, there is an idea imputed to Origen allegedly having sustained that 'upon resurrection, human bodies are raised in the form of a sphere' (σφαιροειδῆ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγείρονται σώματα).⁵⁶ Justinian had included this allegation in his edict, branding this a 'Greek' doctrine.⁵⁷ The emperor of course had no idea of what was actually 'Greek' or not. He just signed a document as composed by the monks of the Laura of Sabas and presented to him by Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem. This opinion circulated in the New Laura and was attributed to the particular sect that were styled 'Origenists', and more specifically *ισόχριστοι* ('those' who will eventually become 'equal to Christ'). The 'orthodox' monks regarded this as originating in the philosophy of Pythagoras, Plato, Origen, Evagrius, and Didymus.⁵⁸ There is some room for speculation as to the origin of this tenet. A later commentary on Homer's *Ilias*⁵⁹ has it that Antisthenes sustained that 'the souls have the same shape as the bodies which contain them' (ὁμοσχῆμονάς φησι τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς περιέχουσι σώμασιν εἶναι). Against this, according to the same commentator, Chrysippus urged that 'after separation from the body, souls assume the form of a sphere'.⁶⁰ The same comment appears in

⁵⁶ Evagrius, loc. cit. This is the fifth anathema against Origen by Justinian's edict and the tenth anathema of the Fifth Council of 553. The former attributes to Origen the allegation of 'men' being raised in 'sphere-like bodies'. Justinian bid everyone to believe that men will be resurrected 'standing' (ὀρθίους). The anathema of the council goes further: it charges Origen with holding that 'the body of the Lord was ethereal and had the form of a sphere, and such will be the body of everyone upon the resurrection'. In his own anathema, Justinian made no reference to the 'body of the Lord'.

⁵⁷ Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 98: "Ἐν δὲ καὶ μόνον τῷ δυσσεβεῖ Ὀριγένει σπούδασμα γέγονε τὸ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πλάνην κρατῦναι καὶ ταῖς τῶν σαθροτέρων ψυχαῖς ζιζάνια ἐγκατασπεῖραι. δι' ὃ κάκεινο τὸ γέλωτος μὲν ἄξιον, παρ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅμως εἰρημένον περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως προσθεῖναι συνείδομεν. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει σφαιροειδῆ ἐγείρονται τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὧ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας τοῦ φρενοβλαβοῦς τούτου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δογματῶν ἐξηγητοῦ. ... εἰ δὲ καθὼς Ὀριγένης μαίνεται, σφαιροειδὲς ἦν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου. His anathema in op. cit. p. 116.

⁵⁸ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, p. 230: λέγουσιν ὅτι αἰθέρια καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ἐγείρονται ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου οὕτω φασὶν ἐγγιγῆθαι σώμα· λέγουσιν ὅτι γινόμεθα ἴσοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαταστάσει. ποῖος τοίνυν ἕδης ταῦτα ἐρεῦξατο; οὐ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτα μεμαθήκασιν, μὴ γένοιτο, τοῦ λαλήσαντος διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος, Ὀριγένους τε καὶ Εὐαγρίου καὶ Διδύμου παρελιήφασιν τὰ μυσάρια ταῦτα καὶ δυσσεβῆ δόγματα.

⁵⁹ Cf. Homer, *Ilias*, XXIII.65. The portion relates 'the spirit' of the deceased 'hapless Patroclus appearing to the slept Achilles'. This apparition describes Patroclus being 'in every wise like his very self, in stature and fair eyes and in voice, and in like raiment was he clad withal'.

⁶⁰ Scholia in Homerum, *Scholia in Iliadem* (scholia vetera), Book of *Ilias* 23, verses 66 & 67.

Eustathius of Thessaloniki,⁶¹ but there is no way to determine which of the two instances is earlier. Be that as it may, no other known author did ever say anything about sphere-like souls. Even these instances make reference to the shape of the *soul* after death, not to that of the posthumous *body* of the soul. This information appeared to von Arnim as a testimony to Chrysippus' views, but the reference is too precarious (and too late) to be taken seriously.⁶² Nevertheless, this seems to have been a question discussed anxiously in the coenobia, as the text of the dialogue between Barsanuphius and John makes it clear. Barsanuphius is asked to teach whether saints are raised in a physical body ('with bones and nerves'), or if their resurrected body is 'an aerial and spherical one'.⁶³ Likewise, sixth-century documents purporting to provide hostile accounts of 'Origenism' advance the same allegation.⁶⁴ The following is instructive, however. Justinian refers to this specific doctrine making no mention of any specific Greek school. He only says that 'Origen cared to bolster up the Greek fallacy' (τὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πλάνην κρατῦναι).⁶⁵ Besides, in his 'letter to the synod', which is only an abridged version of his edict against Origen (letter to Menas), he makes no mention to this doctrine at all. In the introduction, he only refers 'to certain monks in Jerusalem, who deceive themselves by espousing the doctrines of Pythagoras, Plato and Origen' and the 'Greek and Manichaeian fraud'.⁶⁶ That was all.

⁶¹ Eustathius of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, v. 4, p. 682: Σημείωσαι δὲ ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν Ἀντισθένης κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς ὀρμηθεὶς ὁμοιοσχήμενας ἐδόξασεν εἶναι τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχάς. Χρυσίππος δέ, φασίν, ἄλλως ἢ καθ' Ὁμηρον λέγων, διάφορός ἐστι δοξάζων σφαιροειδεῖς τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον γίνεσθαι.

⁶² Chrysippus, *Fragments Logica et Physica*, Fr. 815 (SVF, II.224).

⁶³ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas*, 607: Περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἁγίων, εἰπέ μοι εἰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι ἐγείρονται ἐν ᾧ ἐσμεν ἄρτι ἔχοντι ὀστέα καὶ νεῦρα, ἀλλ' εἰ ἀέριον καὶ στρογγύλον;

⁶⁴ George Hieromonk, *De Haeresibus ad Epiphanium* (not the Bishop of Salamis), in Marcel Richard, *Opera Minora*, v. III, (62), p. 258: ὡς αἰθέρια καὶ σφαιροειδῆ ἐγείρεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τὰ σώματα ψευδηγοροῦντες οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν λέγειν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου σφαιροειδὲς ἐγείρασθαι. Although the author assures that his report of sundry heresies draws on Epiphanius of Cyprus (not the one of Salamis, p. 250), his account of 'Origenism' is more or less copied from Justinian's *Liber Adversus Origenem*, PG.86(1).945–991. See *infra*, p. 317. In like manner, Theodore of Scythopolis, reproduces Justinian's vocabulary. *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.233 (Theodore's fifth anathema): εἰ τις λέγει ἢ ἔχει, ἢ φρονεῖ, ἢ διδάσκει ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει σφαιροειδῆ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγείρεσθαι σώματα, καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ ὀρθοῦς ἡμᾶς ἐγείρεσθαι. In the East, 'Hieromonk' means a monk who is also either a priest or a deacon.

⁶⁵ Justinian, *op. cit.* PG.86(1).973-9.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* PG. 86(1).993-8.

Furthermore, in order to bolster his asseverations, Justinian (rather, the Sabaites monks who wrote his text) quotes passages which are allegedly parts from Origen's *De Principiis*. These fragments have been unwisely taken to be real parts of this work, and editor P. Koetschau interpolated them in his edition, on which I have made comments elsewhere.⁶⁷ Quite strikingly, on the question of spherical bodies Justinian has no passage to quote. In spite of this, of the fifteen anathemas which are supposed to have been decreed at the synod of 553, the tenth one is imposed on those who espouse the idea of a body, 'the shape of which is ethereal and spherical' (σῶμα αἰθέριόν τε καὶ σφαιροειδὲς τῷ σχήματι).⁶⁸ The least the signatories of the condemnation of 553 could have asked the emperor would have been to adduce textual evidence supporting his allegations. What is for sure, Justinian would have never appealed to Methodius of Olympus, as modern scholars do, simply because, for all his hostility to Origen, Methodius never attributed such a doctrine to the Alexandrian, as explained in a moment.

This fanciful interplay between alleged facts, ideas, and assertions, is an opportunity for me to make a remark concerning the function of modern scholarship. We read all too often the claim that it was Methodius of Olympus who came up with the sycophantic charge against Origen, exposing him as the source of the doctrine that the bodies of those who shall rise in glory will be spherical. As it happens, the claim has been abundantly, yet anemophilously, reproduced. Some scholars content themselves with quoting each other's claims, while hardly caring to read the texts themselves. This may be a practice which makes publishers happy, since they see titles cited and subsequently books sold in large quantities, but this is a detriment to truth nonetheless. Extant texts by Methodius have been available for nearly a century now, following the work by the Russian-born German theologian Gottlieb Nathanael Bonwetsch (1848–1925), professor at the university of Göttingen.⁶⁹ A meticulous reconstruction of Methodius' tract *On Resurrection* was possible from references by Epiphanius of Salamis, John of Damascus' *Sacra Parallela*, the dialogue of Adamantius, Photius, along with some passages from three Syriac *florilegia*, which contribute only less than five per cent to the entire text. Having employed a sheer Platonic dialogue-form for his tract, and reserving the role of Socrates to himself,⁷⁰ Methodius

⁶⁷ See *COT*, pp. 111; 119; 137; *et passim*. *PHE*, pp. 9; 109; 239; *et passim*.

⁶⁸ *ACO*, *Canones xv*, 4,1, p. 249.

⁶⁹ Methodius of Olympus, *Methodius*, ed. G. Nathanael Bonwetsch, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 27, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917.

⁷⁰ Even in its title, which is *Aglaophon*, or, *On Resurrection* (Ἀγλαοφῶν ἢ Περὶ Ἀναστάσεως).

handed down to us a fairly detailed account of Origen's doctrine of resurrection, which he subsequently endeavoured to rebut. The fact of the matter is that nowhere is Origen represented as holding any tenet such as the one involving 'spheroid' bodies assumed by the resurrected. Whereas the term 'spheroid' is absent from this specific tract, Origen's doctrine is expounded with remarkable clarity: the resurrected bodies will be material, of a different kind of matter, but material still; their form will be the same as the form of a man while still in human life; 'whenever apparition of a deceased person was reported, he was said to have appeared in the same form as the one of the body which he had when he was alive'.⁷¹ By the same token, the resurrected body will be of the same form as the earthly one, in like manner the bodies of Jesus, Moses, and Elias were 'glorious ones' during the Transfiguration.⁷²

What will be the same in the resurrected condition will be the *form* of the body, not its transient characteristics, or its accidental matter. For this matter undergoes a constant flux of ceaseless sweeping change during one's lifetime, which is why the human body has been styled 'a river'.⁷³ The notion of a 'spherical' resurrected body has no place in Methodius' (hostile) account of Origen's doctrine of resurrection. And yet, it continues to be a popular claim throughout scholarship that Methodius charged Origen with holding this tenet. The reason of this quite simply is that Methodius text itself is not dignified with some unmediated reading.

Behind Cyril of Scythopolis' hostile account, it can clearly be seen that such weird doctrines were the concoction of people who styled themselves anti-Origenists, mainly Antipatrus of Bostra, in the fifth century.⁷⁴ With respect to this, the following instance is telling. At the time when Gelasius of Isauria took over as abbot of the Great Laura (September 537), he formed

⁷¹ Methodius of Olympus, *De Resurrectione*, pp. 242–254. Origen, *De Resurrectione Libri ii (fragmenta)*, PG.11.96.12–17: Καὶ τάχα τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ σχήμα ὁμοειδὲς ὄν τῷ παχεί καὶ γῆινῳ σώματι δύναται οὕτως λαμβάνεσθαι. Εἴ ποτε γοῦν ἰστόρηται τις τῶν κεκοιμημένων φαινόμενος, ὅμοιος ἐώραται τῷ ὅτε τὴν σάρκα εἶχε σχήματι.

⁷² Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1093.40–1096.3: Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐν τόποις σωματικοῖς ὑπάρχουσαν, κεκρῆσθαι σώμασι καταλλήλοις τοῖς τόποις. ... οὕτως μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν καὶ ἐν τόποις διαφέρουσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἀναγκαῖον χρῆσθαι σώμασι πνευματικοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῦ εἶδους τοῦ προτέρου ἀφανιζομένου, κὰν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐνδοξότερον γένηται αὐτοῦ ἢ τροπή· ὥσπερ ἦν τὸ Ἰησοῦ εἶδος, καὶ Μωϋσέως, καὶ Ἡλίου, οὐχ ἕτερον ἐν τῇ μεταμορφώσει, παρ' ὃ ἦν.

⁷³ Cf. *PHE*, pp. 56–57.

⁷⁴ Antipatrus of Bostra (fl. c. 455) wrote a treatise against Origen, which is no longer extant. It can be gathered from the acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Council that this composition was a refutation of the 'Apology for Origen' supposedly put together by Pamphilus and Eusebius of Caesarea.

a camp aiming at combating all those who styled themselves Origenists. He summoned all the monks and enjoined that a treatise by Antipatrus of Bostra against the teaching of Origen be read to them. As a result, uproar erupted in the church, with the rebel monks being headed by John of Antioch, a deacon of the Laura, on whom sanctions had been already imposed, allegedly because of his doctrinal aberration. This disarray resulted in the Origenists being expelled from the Laura: they went to the New Laura (September 537) joining Nonnus and Leontius, who happened to be there at the time, having been back from the capital for a while (καὶ Λεόντιον τὸν τηλικαῦτα ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως παραγεγονότα).⁷⁵ I have already stated the names of the four monks of the New Laura that participated in the Local Synod of Constantinople of 536: Terentius, Theodore [Askidas], Cyricus, and Martyrius. Leontius was there, yet not as a representative of the New Laura. This means that Leontius' presence instigating rebellion of the New Laura monks against the Great Laura in 537 does not suggest that he was there as a member of the New Laura, but only as an outside agitator.

The treatise by Antipatrus of Bostra was the 'black book' used by the anti-Origenist band. For all his hostility, Cyril's testimony allows for the assumption that the Origenist monks were outraged at the reading of that treatise, presumably because this was not only an inimical account, but also an inaccurate and distorting story instilling outrageous interpolations in Origen's theology. Nevertheless, the book was put to ample use, and in c. 540 it was read in the churches of the East as an antidote to the widespread Origenism. When some of the expelled anti-Origenist monks read some of Antipatrus' account of Origenism to Patriarch Ephraem of Antioch, he was so outraged that he forthwith convened a council against the Origenists (between 540 and 541) and imposed a 'synodical anathema' on their opinions.⁷⁶ It is plain that the doctrine of 'spheroid body' was included therein.

By that time, Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem was under the influence of the Origenists, which is why the just mentioned monks of the New Laura had turned to the Patriarch of Antioch. This is also why the anti-Origenist

⁷⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, pp. 189–190.

⁷⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 191: οἵτινες τὸν ἐκούσιον διωγμὸν ὑπομείναντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τῷ πατριάρχῃ Ἐφραιμῷ γνωρίσαντες τὰς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀντιπάτρου βίβλους αὐτῷ ἐνεφάνισαν. ὅστις πατριάρχης τὰς Ὀριγένους ἀκούσας βλασφημίας ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων βιβλίων, γνοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀριγενιαστῶν γεγονότα διανίσταται γενναίως καὶ δημοσίῳ συνοδικῷ ἀναθέματι καθυποβάλλει τὰ Ὀριγένους δόγματα.

monks, who went to the Patriarch asking for a new abbot upon Gelasius' death, were sent away with blows and insults and were forced to return to the Laura on the orders of the σύγκελλοι, the Origenist secretaries of the Patriarch. There is something more that Cyril tells us however: at that time, the Origenists were so powerful, that everybody sought to adulate them; and this fawning was expressed not only through words, but also by means of servile offer of manual labour.⁷⁷

It seems, therefore, that the source of the hearsay about this legendary 'Origenism'⁷⁸ was the distortion contrived by Antipatrus of Bostra in the fifth century. This was the guide and companion of the anti-Origenists of the Great Laura in their polemics. Justinian did not mention Antipatrus at all. He was advised by the *libellus* composed by Gelasius, the head of the Great Laura and Sophronius the Armenian, the head of the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch, at the request of Patriarch Peter, in 542. Whether Antipatrus of Bostra was the sole culprit and source of a caricature of Origenism prevailing during the sixth century is not easy to determine. It is anyway clear that, in the years that followed, this parody produced various fruits: it was all too easy for anyone to style anything 'teaching of Origen', drawing on obscure or hardly expected sources. One example is characteristic of this situation and deserves a report.

An anthology of the genre that became fashionable during the sixth century (that is, 'questions and answers') was attributed to Anastasius of Sinai. As the subtitle has it, this is supposed to be a compilation of resolutions to doctrinal issues 'not out of himself, but following drawing on the divine scriptures'.⁷⁹ There is a list of thirty authors (plus the Scripture) who are listed as contributors to this *florilegium*. The first thing to be noticed is that the author Anastasius draws on Cassian, yet he does away with this name altogether. A specific reply is ascribed to 'Serenus',⁸⁰ although this is in fact

⁷⁷ *Vita Sabae*, p. 195: οἱ τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας πατέρες ἀνήλθον ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει αἰτῆσαι ἡγούμενον καὶ μὴνύσαντες τῷ πατριάρχει τοῦ ἐπισκοπείου μεθ' ὕβρεων καὶ ὀθισμῶν ἐξεβλήθησαν κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τῶν συγκέλλων καὶ πολλῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιγενομένων ἀπρακτοὶ εἰς τὴν λαύραν ὑπέστρεψαν. τότε δὴ πάντες προσετίθεντο τοῖς Ὀριγενισταῖς, ἢ χρεῖα δουλεύοντες ἢ κολακείαις δελεαζόμενοι ἢ ἀγνοῖαι κλεπτόμενοι ἢ τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας κράτος φοβούμενοι.

⁷⁸ An anti-Origenist treatise ascribed to John Scholasticus of Scythopolis, entitled *Scholia in Corpus Areopagiticum*, supposedly between 538–543, played no role in Justinian's policy. See *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 6852. Cyril of Scythopolis mentions John Scholasticus with respect. *Vita Sabae*, p. 163. This treatise appeared as late as 1940, but discussion of this is beyond my scope.

⁷⁹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, PG.89.311.

⁸⁰ Op. cit. PG.89.404.

not the name of any Christian author, but only a persona 'staged' (παριστάνει) by Cassian, as Photius correctly saw it.⁸¹ The passage is of course Cassian's, still the fact that the compiler Anastasius blacked the Sabaite out bespeaks that at that period (seventh century) Cassian's name was undesirable as a contributor to an anthology purporting to be orthodox. This specific text has suffered considerably in terms of Greek language anyway.⁸² However, the possibility of the author Anastasius being uninformed should not be excluded. For his incognisance appears in a brave instance which is yet to come. A subsequent 'reply' ascribed to 'Origen' ('Οριγένους, Responsio Origenis),⁸³ is preceded by a question allegedly posed to Origen in his dialogue with a certain Megethius arguing for the Marcionite cause. The passage has been preserved as an ascription to 'Adamantius'.⁸⁴ The sequel of the passage is a brief portion by Anastasius of Sinai.⁸⁵ Then comes the ensuing bit, which is presented as a wholesale ascription to Origen.⁸⁶ What a surprise, however: this is a text by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, which was also quoted later, indeed by the Sixth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople, and was attributed to Areopagite by name.⁸⁷ The notion of 'mere sound' (ψιλός ἦχος) in Areopagite's text (τοὺς ἦχους ψιλοῦς εἰσδεχομένων) is not common in literature. We come across this in the *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam* (1.23), and was quoted also by Procopius of Gaza.⁸⁸ Subsequently, it transpires only in Theodore Studites⁸⁹ and Nicephorus I of Constantinople.⁹⁰ Likewise, the sole small portion within the entire passage which appears to come from Anastasius of Sinai himself seems to be a loan from a work

⁸¹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 161b: Εἶτα Σεργῆνον οὐ δεῦτερον τῆ πολιτεία καὶ τῆ ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενον διδασκαλίᾳ παριστάνει. See Appendix III.

⁸² Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, pp. 82^{r-v} & Anastasius of Sinai, op. cit. PG.89.404.44–52. See this text in Appendix I.

⁸³ Op. cit. PG.89.605.

⁸⁴ Anastasius of Sinai, op. cit. PG.89.605.16–40: Δανὴλ λέγει' ... ἐν τῇ δόξῃ. The same text in Adamantius, *De Recta in Deum Fide*, pp. 48–50. The expression in between (PG.89.605.15–16: 'Ἄλλ' ὡς ἔοικε, ψιλὰς εἶναι λέγεις τὰς γραφὰς, καὶ οὐχὶ νοητάς) is a paraphrase from the same work, Adamantius, *De Recta in Deum Fide*, p. 14.

⁸⁵ Op. cit. PG.89.605.44–52: Ὑμεῖς δὲ σφόδρα ἀπατάσθε ... ἐν πολλαῖς ἀτοπίασι περιπίπτει.

⁸⁶ Op. cit. PG.89.607.1–12: Ἔστι μὲν ἄλογον ... τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν διαβομβουμέναις.

⁸⁷ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 156. The same in ACO, *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium (680–681). Concilii Actiones I–XVIII*, Document 25, p. 904.

⁸⁸ Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, p. 1844: ψιλὸν τὸν ἦχον ἐντίθεσθαι τοῖς ὡσίν.

⁸⁹ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 55: οὐ ψιλῶ ἦχῳ προσέχοντες.

⁹⁰ Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis anni 815*, 175: ὡς ἦχοις ψιλοῖς μόνον καὶ λόγοις παραπεπλάσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων.

ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, yet I have surmised that this should be related with Cassian's pen, or at least with some member of the Akoimetoi.⁹¹

To sum up, we have a comprehensive attribution to Origen, but hardly anything is actually Origen's in that passage. The first half of it is a text by 'Adamantius', the ensuing small portion is Anastasius' own, and the last, fairly extensive one, is a quotation from Dionysius Areopagite.

This incident has some important consequences. The author of *Philocalia* assures that he has drawn on 'the seventh book of Eusebius of Palestine *Praeparatio Evangelica*', where a certain Christian writer named Maximus is quoted. The text of this Maximus, *Philocalia* goes on, 'has been put in verbatim use by Origen, in a dialogue of his against the Marcionites and other heretics'. In this dialogue, the Marcionite cause was supposedly advanced by a certain Megethius.⁹² However, this statement is a fake. Neither in *Praeparatio Evangelica*, nor anywhere else does Eusebius say anything about this.

It seems therefore, that the text that is ascribed to Origen is a fabrication made up by the author of the fictitious Admantius', where this dialogue with the Marcionite Megethius appears. The text of *Philocalia* in the form that is now available to us seems to be a rendition. The introductory note to this, which expresses reservations as to whether the Cappadocians could have made *this* version of the anthology, is justified. Both this *Philocalia* and 'Adamantius' are in all probability a product of the Akoimetoi, which probably involves Cassian himself. For as I have already pointed out,⁹³ a particular point quoted from the Revelation of John makes it clear that the specific rendering of that quotation is close to Cassian and actually alien to Origen's scriptural text. There is indeed some reason for surmising that the current text of *Philocalia* has something to do with Cassian's pen. For instance, the expression ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τοῦτοις ὅμοια, which recurs in Cassian, is a rhetorical construction coming from the Classical times and

⁹¹ Anastasius of Sinai, op. cit. PG.89.605.48–50: τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβῶς τὰς θείας γραφὰς νοεῖν βουλομένους ἀνακρίνειν προσήκει, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας, τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ λαλοῦντος. Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.1224.1–2: Ἡ πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τὸν ἴδιον σεμνοπερηθῆς χρήσις, ἐστοχασμένη καιροῦ, τόπου, προσώπου, χρείας. I have serious reservations about attribution of this work to Basil, but I postpone discussion of this until a later work of mine.

⁹² Origen, *Philocalia*, 24.8: Ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ' λόγου τῆς Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παλαιστίναιου εὐαγγελικῆς προπαρασκευῆς ἤντηται, ὄντα ὡς φησιν Μαξίμου οὐκ ἀσήμου ἐν τοῖς χριστιανοῖς συγγραφέως. αὐτολεξεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἠύρηται κείμενα ἐν τῷ Ὀριγένους πρὸς Μαρκιωνιστὰς καὶ ἄλλους αἰρετικῶς διαλόγῳ, Εὐτροπίου δικάζοντος, Μεγεθίου δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος.

⁹³ See *infra*, p. 365, discussion of the notion of ἀρχαὶ τριάς ('original, or supreme, trinity'). Also, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXVIIc.

taken up by Hellenistic and Late Antique writers. Whereas neither Origen nor any of the three Cappadocians ever used the expression, it appears in the *Philocalia*, 24.4, as well as in writers of Antiochene extraction (John Chrysostom, Theodoret), also in ones relevant to the Laura of Sabas (Antiochus of Palestine, Pseudo-John of Damascus, translations of Ephraem Syrus) and to the Akoimatoi (Pseudo-Clement, Pseudo-Justin, Pseudo-Athanasius, Pseudo-Chrysostom, Theodore Studites).⁹⁴

Therefore, there is good reason to sustain that several tenets ascribed to Origen had nothing to do with the Alexandrian's actual teaching. Whether consciously or not (as the case of Anastasius of Sinai shows), false attributions to Origen were the rule rather than the exception. Recalling the notion of 'spheroid body' that was attributed to Origen as a 'Pythagorean' liability, the truth is quite different: the Pythagorean tenet had it that the human soul, 'which is thrown on the earth', has a shape 'that is the same as that of the body'.⁹⁵ No matter who advanced the idea of 'spheroid body', to style this 'Pythagorean' is only a token of ignorance among fanatic monks living side by side with erudite ones.

Finally, a text purporting to make mere reference to how the soul had been considered by earlier authors, presents, among other alternatives, the soul as somehow wandering in the air. However, no mention is made of any shape,⁹⁶ either before or after death, nor are any authors that held relevant tenets mentioned. There is no evidence of Origen ever having sustained any view such as this, which subsequently invites a reasonable question: what was it that prompted ecclesiastical and lay guardians of orthodoxy during the sixth century to assault such a doctrine so vehemently?

In the first place, the actual origin of such ideas is in fact Democritus and Leucippus.⁹⁷ This however would hardly have been a source of

⁹⁴ See endnote xxv to the Greek text, *SerenPrim*, Cod. p. 93^f.

⁹⁵ Pythagoristae (D–K), *Testimonia et Fragmenta*, Fr. b1a: τρέφεσθαι τε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος· τοὺς δὲ λόγους ψυχῆς ἀνέμους εἶναι. ἀόρατον δ' εἶναι αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ αἰθὴρ ἀόρατος. δεσμὰ τε εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς φλέβας καὶ τὰς ἀρτηρίας καὶ τὰ νεῦρα. ὅταν δ' ἰσχύη καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν γενομένη ἡρεμῆ, δεσμὰ γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἐκφριθεῖσιν τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ γῆς πλάζεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ὁμοίαν τῷ σώματι.

⁹⁶ This work was initially considered as spuriously ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa. However, it has been recently attributed to Anastasius of Sinai. *Sermo I in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, 2. The selfsame work, Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Imaginem Dei et Ad Similitudinem*, PG.44.1333.3–4: καὶ οἱ μὲν ὁμοούσιον αὐτὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐφαντάσθησαν, οἱ δὲ κάτω, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ παντὶ ὡς θείαν τινὰ περιεῖναι οὐσίαν.

⁹⁷ Democritus, *Testimonia*, Fr. 74, *apud* Aetius, *De Placitis Reliquiae (Stobaei excerpta)*, p. 302: Δημόκριτος νοῦν τὸν θεὸν ἐν πυρὶ σφαιροειδεῖ. Democritus, *Testimonia*, Fr. 101, *apud* Aristotle, *De Anima*, 404a: ψυχὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ νοῦν. τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τῶν πρώτων καὶ

apprehension during those times. The real answer to this question is to be found in the School that had become a nightmare to imperial orthodoxy, that is, Neoplatonism, which was still flourishing despite persecution by the state. According to Proclus, whereas some ‘gods are incorporeal’, there are others who make use of ‘spherical’ bodies: these are the ‘daemons’, who happen to be the most benign and ‘divine’ ones, whereas those related to ‘matter’ make use of ‘straight’ bodies (εὐθύπορα).⁹⁸ This is the reason why when a soul attains to an elevated state (in other words, a *soul* coming close to becoming *mind*), its ‘vehicle’ becomes a ‘spherical’ one, too.⁹⁹ In this way, this soul ‘emulates’ the motion of beings of higher ontological level, namely ‘minds’.¹⁰⁰ For these are ‘pure’, they live a life which is ‘simple’, and their cyclical motion is akin to the motion of mind.¹⁰¹ They are bodies pretty much like that of the sun, the visible exemplar of purity and light.¹⁰² Following astronomical observation, Proclus had it that by cyclical rotation a sphere emulates that of mind (ἡ νοῦν μιμουμένη κίνησις).¹⁰³ This cyclical movement betokens par excellence the ‘essence’ of the divine ‘cause’ that made this world what it is, namely, an ornament.¹⁰⁴ Cyclical movement is a reminder of the divine life of the ‘father’ in *Timaeus*, who somehow was the ‘cause’ of this world as it stands (εἰς τὴν πατρικὴν ἡμᾶς αἰτία ἀναπέμπει). This life is self-sufficient and self-moving (αὐτοκίνητον) and

ἀδιαρέτων σωμάτων, κινητικὸν δὲ διὰ μικρομέρειαν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα· τῶν δὲ σχημάτων εὐκίνητοτατον τὸ σφαιροειδὲς λέγει· τοιοῦτον δ’ εἶναι τὸν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸ πῦρ. Leucippus, *Testimonia*, Fr. 28, *apud* Aristotle, *De Anima*, 404a: Δημόκριτος μὲν πῦρ τι καὶ θερμὸν φησιν αὐτὴν εἶναι [τὴν ψυχὴν]· ἀπειρῶν γὰρ ὄντων σχημάτων καὶ ἀτόμων [τὰ σφαιροειδῆ πῦρ καὶ ψυχὴν λέγει οἷον ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τὰ καλούμενα ξύσματα ἃ φαίνεται ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῶν θυρίδων ἀκτίσιν, ὧν] τὴν μὲν πανσπερμίαν στοιχεῖα λέγει τῆς ὅλης φύσεως ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Λεύκιππος τούτων δὲ τὰ σφαιροειδῆ ψυχὴν.

⁹⁸ Proclus, *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 73: “Ὅτι τῶν θεῶν οἱ μὲν ἀσώματοί εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ σώμασι χρώμενοι καὶ τούτοις σφαιρικοῖς· τὸ γὰρ σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα τῶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεστραμμένων ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετον. τῶν δὲ δαιμόνων οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ θεοὶ σφαιρικά ἔχουσι τὰ ὄχηματα, οἱ δ’ ὑλαῖοι καὶ εὐθύπορα.

⁹⁹ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 72: διὸ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ὄχημα σφαιρικὸν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ κινεῖται κυκλικῶς, ὅταν διαφερόντως ὁμοιωθῆ πρὸς τὸν νοῦν ἢ ψυχὴν.

¹⁰⁰ Loc. cit. μιμεῖται γὰρ τὴν νοεράν ἐνέργειαν ἢ τε τῆς ψυχῆς νόησις καὶ ἡ κυκλοφορία τῶν σωμάτων.

¹⁰¹ Proclus, op. cit. v. 3, pp. 306–307: καὶ ὅτι ἀνεισι καὶ μέχρι τῆς σφαίρας ἐκείνης τὰ κεκαθαράμενα καὶ ἀστροειδῆ καὶ εὐλύτα, ζῶν ἅπλην ἔχοντα καὶ κίνησιν τὴν περὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν, ἐπόμενα τῆ ταυτοῦ περιόδῳ.

¹⁰² Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 822: τὸ γὰρ εἶδος τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σώματος γεννᾷ καὶ τὰ τῶν δαιμονίων ψυχῶν ὄχηματα τὰ ἡλιακά καὶ τὰ τῶν μερικῶν· διὸ καὶ συντάττεται, καθάπερ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὸ ὄχημα πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν σφαῖραν.

¹⁰³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 93.

¹⁰⁴ Loc. cit. τὴν πατρικὴν ἡμᾶς αἰτία ἀναπέμπει παρ’ οὗ γὰρ ἡ οὐσία τῷ παντὶ, παρ’ ἐκείνου καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν κίνησις.

actually causes both the world and the soul to be self-moving and to imitate the life of the Mind (παρ' οὐ γὰρ ἡ οὐσία τῶ παντί, παρ' ἐκείνου καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν κίνησις).¹⁰⁵

During the sixth-century, an author writing under the name of John Philoponus (who might well have been Philoponus himself) made much of an operating 'mind' understood as performing a circular movement: to 'reflect' is tantamount to mind performing this circular activity.¹⁰⁶ In other words, 'sphere' and 'cycle' are associated with purity, knowledge, and holiness. Both Neoplatonists and Aristotelian commentators made much of it during the uneasy sixth century. The process towards true knowledge (ἐπιστήμη), Philoponus argued, is a cyclical trajectory. Once truth is discovered, one becomes serene and all anxiety is gone: at that state, circular motion is terminated and man stands firm and still in possession of truth. This is the true etymology of the term ἐπιστήμη ('science'), the author urges. It is not the verb ἐπίσταμαι ('know perfectly well') that produces the term ἐπιστήμη. Rather, the term ἐπιστήμη is derived from the human soul having ceased from this circular wandering of research and standing still (ἐπὶ στάσιν).¹⁰⁷

Of Christian authors, only two were aware of this problematique, yet they did not actually make anything of it. One was Didymus.¹⁰⁸ The other is the author of *De Trinitate*, whom I claim to be Cassian the Sabaite.¹⁰⁹

During the period when all these events were prepared, with the Sabaite abbot Gelasius and his pitiless fellow-heresy hunters championing the

¹⁰⁵ Loc. cit. ἔχει γὰρ τι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αὐτοκίνητον καὶ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα σφαιροειδὲς ὃν πρὸς τὴν κύκλω κίνησιν οἰκεῖον.

¹⁰⁶ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria* (some scholars doubt the authorship), v. 11, p. 46 (comm. on Aristotle's *De Anima*, 407a: ἡ τοῦ κύκλου περιφορὰ ἐστὶν ἡ νόησις ... λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κύκλου περιφορὰ νόησις). The author (as indeed probably Aristotle himself) could not help having Plato's *Timaeus*, 37b–c in mind on this point. Likewise, John Philoponus, op. cit. v. 15, p. 132: καὶ ἐναλλάξ ὃν λόγον ἔχει ἡ νόησις πρὸς τὴν περιφορὰν, τοῦτον καὶ ὁ νοῦς πρὸς τὸν κύκλον.

¹⁰⁷ Op. cit. v. 15, p. 136: ὁ γὰρ ἀπορῶν ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ κινήσει ἐστίν, ὁ μέντοι εὐρῶν, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν νενογκῶς ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ λοιπόν ἐστι καὶ γαλήνη, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιστήμη καλεῖται διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ στάσιν ἄγειν τὴν ψυχὴν.

¹⁰⁸ A reflecting mind functions like a rolling 'wheel', or a 'circle'. Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 225: ὁ νοῦς δὲ οὐ λοξῶς οὐδὲ εἰς εὐθείαν χωρεῖ, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυτὸν στρέφεται. αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ τινες τῶν ἔξω εἰρήκασιν, ὅτι αἱ νοήσεις ὡσπερ τροχοὶ εἰσιν καὶ κύκλοι στρεφόμενοι. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς περὶ τὰ ἔξω τείνη ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν θέλη φαντασίαν δέχεσθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ ἑαυτὸν, οὐ στρέφεται περὶ ἑαυτὸν. ὅταν δὲ νοῆ καὶ ἑαυτῶ ἐπιστάνη, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ νοοῦν καὶ τὸ νοούμενον. ὁ γὰρ κατ' ἐνέργειαν νοῦς αἰεὶ τὸ νοεῖν ἔχει, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε χεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω. I canvass this in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXXIq.

¹⁰⁹ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II. Cf. *DT (lib. 1)*, 15.52: ὅτι γὰρ παντὸς χρόνου, ὃν ἂν νοήσῃ τις πολλὰ κυκλεύσας τῇ διανοίᾳ.

imperial condemnation of Evagrius, Didymus, and Origen, along with Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cassian himself was only a monk, presbyter, and abbot of the monastery of Souka. After having taken part in the Local Synod of 536 in Constantinople, Cassian became abbot of the monastery Souka in 539, only to return to the Laura eight years later as abbot, too. In other words, Cassian did not live at the Laura during the period that Gelasius concocted the imperial edicts against Cassian's Alexandrian and Antiochene heroes. In view of my foregoing analysis, this is certainly all but a coincidence: Cassian was just keeping aloof.

Sabas addressing Justinian had made mention of what he regarded as the most dangerous of heresies, naming Arians, Nestorians and Origen.¹¹⁰ The emperor had good reason for taking the advice seriously. Arian Goths were a political menace to the empire and they had numerous strongholds in the West. Cyril of Scythopolis set out to explain why the monastic leader named these heresies: Theodore of Mopsuestia was, in Sabas' mind, a synonym with Nestorianism, and he mentioned the heresy because some of his monks sympathised with Theodore of Mopsuestia. By the same token, since 'one of the monks who accompanied him, namely Leontius' sympathised with Origen, Sabas mentioned this 'heresy', too, according to Cyril of Scythopolis. Subsequently, Sabas distanced himself from both the followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Origen, and left them behind in Constantinople, whereas he himself returned to Palestine.¹¹¹ Likewise, abbot Gelasius, the architect of Justinian's edict against Origen, before heading for Constantinople, ordered his brothers not to brook any follower of Theodore of Mopsuestia to dwell in his monastery.¹¹² It was therefore impossible for Cassian, a real Antiochene, to live in that environment.

The condemnation of both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia had always been the goal of the Laura of Sabas and of Sabas himself. When Cyril reports the condemnation of both Theodore of Mopsuestia and Origen by the fifth council of 553, he can hardly conceal his pleasure at an old doctrinal tradition of his monastery having been vested with synodical authority.¹¹³ I can then hardly see why those who credit (or, charge) Gelasius and his band with the condemnation of Origen lay the responsibility for the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia at the door of

¹¹⁰ *Vita Sabae*, p. 175 f.

¹¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹² *Op. cit.* p. 194.

¹¹³ *Op. cit.* p. 199. Likewise, in his *Vita Ioannis Hesychastae*, p. 221, Cyril appears content with reporting the hesychast's struggle 'against the doctrines and followers of Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia'.

the so-called Origenists, and not of the selfsame monks who caused Theodore's of Mopsuestia condemnation.

Justinian's edict against Origen arrived in Jerusalem in February 543, 'in the eleventh year after the death of our father Sabas'.¹¹⁴ By that time, Leontius was already dead, and Askidas (although he had signed the edict) was furious against Patriarch Peter of Jerusalem, threatening to depose him if he did not recant.¹¹⁵

I have pointed out that reference in the *Doctrina Patrum* allows for the inference that Leontius Byzantius sympathised with Theodoret,¹¹⁶ whereas Cyril of Scythopolis suggests that the reason why St. Sabas distanced Leontius from his own company was his sympathies with followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia.¹¹⁷ In general, Cyril of Scythopolis knows, and is afraid, of three heresies, listed in a remarkably anachronistic order: Arianism, Nestorianism, and Origenism.¹¹⁸ Besides, the most deeply cultivated intellectuals, such as Leontius, are to him the most abhorred ones. Was it possible for Leontius to be fond of Theodoret? It certainly was. If anything, in the person of Theodoret any sixth-century Origenist could see that Antioch (indeed Theodoret, not Didymus or Cyril of Alexandria) was the true heir to Origen's textual concerns, beside clear liabilities with respect to fascinating expressions which remained exclusive to an *élite* of scholars all the way through the centuries.¹¹⁹

It is then hardly a surprise that the decisive role, which intellectuals such as Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Didymus, Evagrius, play in the Book of Cassian remains a tacit one all the way through. The 'book of Cassian' (namely, Codex 573) contains the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* which is at points redolent of Origen, but it is mainly the thought of Didymus that is preserved therein. These Scholia are mostly extensive quotations from Didymus' lost Commentary on the Apocalypse, and in the second place, quotations from Theodoret and Clement of Alexandria. None of these persons was a darling to the imperial cliques of the mid-sixth century. To the orthodox, the authors on which the compiler (as well as author) Cassian

¹¹⁴ Following this, the Origenistic group of monks left the New Laura in indignation 'and dwelled in the valley'. *Vita Sabae*, p. 192.

¹¹⁵ Loc. cit.

¹¹⁶ *Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 177–179.

¹¹⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 179: ὁ δὲ θεῖος πρεσβύτης ἀποστήσας, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνοδίας Λεόντιόν τε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς τῷ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Μομφουεστίας προσκειμένους.

¹¹⁸ *Vita Sabae*, p. 176: τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἵρεσιν σὺν τῇ Νεστοριανῇ καὶ τῇ Ὠριγενέους.

¹¹⁹ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction.

draws are mostly either condemned or suspicious or distrustful. This is why Cassian left these Scholia without attribution, yet he was himself aware of their spiritual origin.

Any student of Origen could be struck by pointing out a characteristic trait of his texts. In treatises and commentaries, he is unwilling to cite Greek sources. The exception is *Contra Celsum*, owing to the specific purpose of this work: it is there that, time and again, Origen says that he is able to rebut Celsus on his own pagan grounds, of which he is also aware, but he simply does not want to develop his argument on this milieu. I have come to believe that Origen was not born to a devout Christian family, as Eusebius would like us to believe. Rather, Porphyry's testimony is correct: he was born a pagan and was raised and educated as a Greek, only later to convert to Christianity,¹²⁰ which is why, according to testimony by Photius,¹²¹ Methodius of Olympus styled Origen 'Centaurus'. It was probably Hippolytus that was responsible for this conversion, yet all this theory calls for argument, which is beyond my present scope. I only note that, by and large, Christian sources that are too prone to host false information in order to contribute to the foggy mythology surrounding certain Christian personalities. Greeks hardly had motive to falsify facts and I see no reason why Porphyry should not be given credit: he had no reason to lie, let alone that whenever Greek authors mention different people having the same name, they always care to make a distinction. No distinction between 'two Origenes' is made by Porphyry. By contrast, Eusebius had many reasons to represent Origen as a Christian by uprising: after all, this man wrote history (which is accurate at 'non-dangerous' points), but he also made up history.

Origen's reluctance to avail himself of the Greek lore by means of quotations (even though he casually did so in substance) ought to be somehow explained after all. The fact is that unlike Origen's parsimony as regards quotations from Greek or Oriental literature, the texts of both *De Trinitate* and the *Erotapokriseis* are by no means economical or diffident in employing wisdom of the outsiders. This notwithstanding, the author of these texts (which I claim to be Cassian) seems to be alert to points that he deemed it profitable to borrow, points that he felt incumbent on a Christian theologian to gainsay.

¹²⁰ Ilaria Ramelli has argued for this in "Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism: Re-Thinking the Christianisation of Hellenism," *Vigiliae Christianae* 63 (2009), pp. 217–263. Following my ongoing research, I hope I will come up with further argument advancing this thesis.

¹²¹ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 235, p. 302a.

However, when one comes upon the catenae-fragments from Origen's commentaries on the Psalms, heavy Aristotelian terminology recurs over and over. This stands in stark contrast to the rest of the Origenian corpus. Philological analysis of Cassian's texts makes it abundantly clear that his Aristotelian language transpires only in these Psalm-fragments as allegedly 'parallel' to Origen. Taking into account that the Laura of Sabas was the place where the Alexandrian (along with the Antiochene) patrimony was cherished and reproduced, it is plausible to infer that these fragments are only the rendition of an authentic Origenism through a Sabaite understanding, as well as language. As a matter of fact, we frequently come upon the following phenomenon: there are fragments (not from exegesis on the Psalms) attributed to Origen, which, though, are actually those of Didymus, as it can now be confirmed following the Toura discoveries of Didymus' treatises.

I postpone presentation of the case until a future work of mine. For the time being, I only wish to say that the catenists made virtually no distinction while rendering the thought of either Origen or Didymus. I trust that they were often (but not always) right in believing so, at points Didymus elaborated on Origen's fundamental tenets. In other words, Didymus is by and large a trustworthy witness to Origen and should be given credit in aspects of the latter's theology, with all due caution, of course. Therefore, when we come upon parallels attributed to Origen in catenae-fragments from either the Psalms or the Commentary on John, it is possible that they have been rendered through a Sabaite hand, which might well have been Cassian's, or any other Sabaite's by means of a language circulating in the Laura maintaining contact with the Akoimetoι in Constantinople, such as the notion of 'inhabitation'.¹²² Although Origen himself never made use of the notion in order to describe the nature of Christ, this appears in a fragment purporting to render his thought.¹²³ There are plenty of similar instances in Origen's catenae-fragments from his commentary on the Psalms, some of which are mentioned throughout this book.

By the same token, several parallels to Cassian's language appear in Didymus. However, in the compilation from his commentary on the Psalms

¹²² In the edition volume, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I, pp. 391–393, I discuss the notion of 'inhabitation' with reference to the Godhead inhabiting in Christ, which became a dangerous notion to use after Nestorius had done so. Responsibility for this was laid at the door of the Akoimetoι during Justinian's reign, even though eminent Christian theologians had already applied the idea abundantly.

¹²³ Origen, *Excerpta in Psalmos*, PG.17.145.4–8: ὅταν διαλαμβάνω περὶ Θεοῦ, περὶ Χριστοῦ, περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνοικήσεως, ἄρτον ἀγγέλων ἐσθίω, τὸ μάννα. So in *frPs*, Psalm 77:19–25.

(*fīrPs* [*e commentario altero*]), and although there is nothing to allow for doubting the authenticity of the gist of the Alexandrian's thought, we are faced with a scribe's hand rather than with Didymus' verbatim teaching.¹²⁴

Caesarius' (that is, Cassian's) text constitutes a telling mirror of what Origenism meant during the sixth century. The controversial question of 'skin tunics' (δερμάτινοι χιτώνες) of Gen. 3:21, which is treated by Caesarius in chapter 168, is a revealing proposition. The author is quick to charge Origen by name with having fathered the doctrine. Perhaps he had heard some hymns by his brethren composed either at the Great Laura in Palestine or the monastery of the Akoimetoi in Constantinople, where the soul is said to have a tunic.¹²⁵ I should have thought that the Akoimetoi is a more likely milieu, since the idea appears in the Pseudo-Macarian writings which were composed by that community, as Rudolf Riedinger urged.¹²⁶

Besides, Pseudo-Caesarius considers the anathematized doctrine of the term ψυχή ('soul') allegedly derived from ψύχος ('coolness'). His anxiety is all too evident¹²⁷ and he returns to the same topic in chapters 171 and 173. His point is that both the soul and body are coeval, and neither of them is prior to the other. The vocabulary in which he couches his point is characteristic, and its sole parallel in terms of phraseology appears in Pseudo-Justin.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ In *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Introduction, I have identified Anastasius of Sinai and Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria as two alternative compilers of this collection.

¹²⁵ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca, Canones Aprilis*, 1.5.8: Ἦ ψυχή μου ἀθλία, πῶς τὸν χιτῶνα σου δι' ἀπροσεξίας κατεσπλωσας; *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Epigrammata Sepulcralia*, Epigram 536: σῶμα χιτῶν ψυχῆς. The editorial ἐκατεσπλωσας is wrong.

¹²⁶ Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 5.3.3: οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖται ἡ ψυχή. τί γὰρ ἔπαθεν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ περικειμένου αὐτῇ χιτῶνος διαρραγέντος; *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 49.1.4 & *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, Homily 4, lines 36–38: τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἡ ψυχή φοροῦσα ὡσπερ χιτῶνα ἄλλον τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ σώματος. *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, Homily 4, line 65: καὶ οὕτως ἡ ψυχή ἐπαίνων οὐρανίων παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων τεύξεται, ὅτι τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς καλῶς διεφύλαξε. *op. cit.* Homily 4, line 75: καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὁ χιτῶν τοῦ σώματος παρακαίεται.

¹²⁷ A token of his anxiety is that he considers and quotes the portion of Isaiah 14:12 (*How art thy fallen from heaven, O Lucifer*, etc.), yet he ascribes this to Ezekiel by name at two different points. *QR*, 44.16–17: ὑπὸ Ἰεζεκιήλ τοῦ θεσπεσίου τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐξηγητοῦ. *QR*, 167, line 5 τοῦ θεωροῦ τῶν Χερουβὶμ Ἰεζεκιήλ αὐτὸν ἀποδυρομένου καὶ φάσκοντος. Cassian considers the notion of Fall by means of the same instance in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXXVIII and *De Panareto*, p. 105^f.

¹²⁸ Cf. Caesarius, *QR*, 170: οὐ διὰ τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖνον τὰ σώματα, οὐθ' ἕτερον γὰρ ἐτέρου προγενέστερον. *QR*, 139: οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ψυχή καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὔτε τὸ σῶμα ὑπάρχει ἄνθρωπος· ἐκατέρων γὰρ τὴν συνάφειαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀπρητήσθαι βροτὸν ὁ τῶν θείων συγγραφεὺς Μωσῆς ἀπεφάνηατο. Likewise, Pseudo-Justin, *Expositio Rectae Fidei*, p. 383B–C: Οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Κὰν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ὑπάρχη, οὐ ταυτὸν ἂν εἶη τοῖς ἐξ ὧν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον, ὡς εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς συναφείας ψυχῆς πρὸς σῶμα τρίτον ἀποτελούμενον ἄλλο.

Since I have urged that it was Origen who had posited the human being as one entity (τὸ συναμφοτέρον),¹²⁹ this charge against Origen (which was fashionable during the sixth century) deserves to be canvassed conclusively.

Gregory of Nyssa's imagery of the return to the Temple as an allegory of apokatastasis comes directly and *ad verbum* from Origen.¹³⁰ In fact, however, Origen never took the 'skin tunics' of Gen. 3:21 as standing for corporeality *tout court*. Not only in *Contra Celsum* (IV.40), but also in a more extensive analysis, he advances the thesis that although identification of tunics with bodies is an exegesis that one would be tempted to allow (εἰς συγκατάθεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι δυνάμενον), this should be dismissed along with all relevant Platonic resolutions.¹³¹ However, confusion, fanaticism and ill-will, which were the characteristics of disputes during the sixth and seventh centuries, had some consequences: in the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Doctrina Patrum*, there is a libel against Origen, who is allegedly represented as having urged the Platonic theory. The author simply quotes from such authors as Methodius of Olympus reproduced by Epiphanius and Theophilus of Alexandria.¹³² But I would like to spare anyone who would be interested in reading Methodius' report and seek Diekamp's edition of the *Doctrina Patrum*. Despite the ancient compiler's promise that he is going to quote from 'the second book of [Epiphanius'] *Panarion* against Origen', there is no report whatsoever.

Epiphanius of Salamis, who always relished excoriating what he saw as doctrinal aberration, ascribed the idea to Origen.¹³³ Gregory of Nyssa, who was perfectly aware of Origen's thought, never suggested the disputed notion. But Gregory of Nazianzus did not dismiss it; instead, he sustained that 'perhaps' this is the case: καὶ τοὺς δερματίνους ἀμφιέννυται χιτῶνας, ἴσως τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα, τὴν θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον.¹³⁴ This 'perhaps' is only a rhetorical apostrophe, since Gregory explicates his endorsement to the

¹²⁹ *COT*, p. 97.

¹³⁰ *PHE*, pp. 247; 258–259. Gregory of Nyssa, *In illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, p. 13.

¹³¹ Origen, *selGen*, PG.12.101 *apud* Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, PG.80.140.

¹³² *Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 179 & 335.

¹³³ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 62.1–2, & 8. In his *Panarion*, he lays the charge for the doctrine at the door of the Gnostics (op. cit. v. 1, p. 415; Cf. v. 2, pp. 314; 412; 433–435; 441; 449–452; 500; 505; 508).

¹³⁴ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophania* (orat. 38), PG.36.324.44–46. The same passage in *In Sanctum Pascha* (orat. 45), PG.36.633.9–11. This became an authoritative phrase to later Byzantine authors, who advanced the Platonic tenet while appealing to Gregory of Nazianzus. Marcus Eugenicus attributed this phrase not the Gregory, but to Basil of Caesarea. See *infra*, note 137.

Platonic doctrine in his 'songs', indeed not only the 'moral songs' but also the 'doctrinal' ones.¹³⁵ It seems that later theologians who held Gregory in the highest regard took no offence at Nazianzen explicating his view of the body being a 'tunic' of the soul. A certain Eustratius, who was presbyter at Constantinople in the turn of the sixth to the seventh century, quotes conveniently Gregory making himself clearly a proponent of the Valentinian doctrine:¹³⁶ he recalls that his master Euthychius used to quote Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzen teaching that one should take care of the soul, which is immortal, not of the body, which is temporary and transient. Of them, Gregory is quoted to have said, 'may I get rid of this heavy tunic, so that I may receive a lighter one' (εἶθε γὰρ καὶ τὸν βαρὺν χιτῶνα τοῦτον ἀπεθέμην, ἵνα λάβω κουφότερον).¹³⁷ Eustratius mentions simply Gregory, yet he does not identify him any further. But we can identify Nazianzen's words in his twenty-sixth homily,¹³⁸ even though Eustratius' master paraphrased him slightly. It is certainly no chance that no other author did ever quote this portion, which every orthodox would be all too quick to brand 'Origenistic' and 'Platonist'. This is 'Platonist' and 'Gregorian' however, indeed in line of the rest of Gregory's Platonism, which I intend to canvass in a forthcoming article of mine.

This should not come as a surprise. Gregory was prone to Hellenic structures anyway. One of the last scholars of Byzantium considers a portion, in which Gregory speaks of the way the three Trinitarian Persons exist. In reference to the Holy Spirit, he uses the term ἔκπεμψις, instead of the normal ἐκπόρευσις¹³⁹ which he uses at other points.¹⁴⁰ The reason for the Theologian

¹³⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina Dogmatica*, p. 455: Γεύσατο μὲν καρποῖο προώριος ἡδυβόροιο, δερματίνους δὲ χιτῶνας ἐφέσσατο σάρκα βαρεῖαν. *Carmina Moralia*, p. 531: 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρῶτιστος ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἐήσιν, βασκανίῃ τε δράκοντος ἀδευκέος ἐκ παραδείσου βληθεὶς ἀνδροφόνοιο φυτοῦ διὰ γεύσιν ἀλιτρῆν, δερματίνουσι χιτῶσιν ἐὴν ἔβρισ' ἐπὶ γαίαν.

¹³⁶ On the Gnostic roots of the tenet, see *infra*, note 165.

¹³⁷ Eustratius of Constantinople (presbyter, sixth–seventh century), *Vita Eutychiei*, lines 2446–2447.

¹³⁸ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Seipsum, Cum Rure Redisset, Post Ea Quae a Maximo Perpetrata Fuerant* (orat. 26), PG.35.1245.45–48: εἶθε γὰρ ἀποδυσαιμένη καὶ τὰ ῥάκια ταῦτα, ἵνα γυμνὸς διαδράμω τὰς ἀκάνθας τοῦ βίου· εἶθε καὶ τὸν βαρὺν χιτῶνα τοῦτον ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα λάβω κουφότερον.

¹³⁹ Gennadius Scholarius (c. 1400–c. 1473, Patriarch of Constantinople, 1454–1464), *Tractatus de Processu Spiritus Sancti II*, Part 2, p. 291. He quotes from Gregory of Nazianzus' *In Laudem Heronis Philosophi* (orat. 25), PG.35.1221.29–31: Ἴδιον δὲ Πατὴρ δὲ μὲν, ἢ ἀγεννησία· Υἱὸς δὲ, ἢ γέννησις· Πνεύματος δὲ, ἢ ἔκπεμψις.

¹⁴⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Spiritu Sancto* (orat. 31), 8; *Carmina Moralia*, p. 751 (ἐκπορεύσιμον).

to do this, Gennadius Scholarius has it, is that Gregory was very meticulous with use of Greek words (τοῦ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἑλληνισμοῦ), and preferred that term as ‘a more Greek’ one (ὡς ἑλληνικώτερα).¹⁴¹

That Gregory of Nazianzus espoused the tenet of skin tunics betokening human bodies cannot be questioned. The twelfth-century polymath Michael Glycas wonders as to whether there was a creation of ‘incorporeal powers’ (νοεραὶ δυνάμεις) preceding the creation ‘of heaven and earth’. Subsequently, he records the views expressed by past eminent theologians. Glycas reports that Theodoret and Gennadius [Patriarch of Constantinople, fifth cent.] sustained that the visible world was created before the ‘invisible natures’ (ἀοράτων φύσεων). Basil of Caesarea (‘in his Hexaemeron’) had reasoned that there was a state, ‘which was prior to this world’ and ‘befitting the powers which are superior to this world’ (ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων). ‘Gregory the Theologos’ likewise sustained a world prior to this one and befitting ‘the angelic heavenly powers’. Furthermore, ‘his [sc. Gregory’s] brother Caesarius ‘adhered to a similar theory’ saying this: “all of the incorporeal assemblies of angels were living in the light before this world was created”.¹⁴² Glycas goes on with arguing that Anastasius of Sinai, Severus of Antioch, Diodore of Tarsus (which is a rather strange attribution to an Antiochene, indeed a master of Theodoret), Amphilochius of Iconium, John of Damascus, all sustained a world having been created before this visible one. Glycas concludes with declaring himself taking sides with Gregory of Nazianzus, ‘since the incorporeal substance should have been created first’.¹⁴³

Likewise, Anastasius of Sinai mentioned Gregory of Nazianzus by name as the author who had advanced this idea. ‘Adam had a body which was incorruptible, immortal and made of a more refined matter (ἀυλοτέρου σώματος)’; this ‘was transformed by God into a body which was subject to passion and is a more gross one, as both Gregories the divine ones believed’ (ὡς καὶ Γρηγορίοις τοῖς θείοις δοκεῖ).¹⁴⁴ There is no evidence of Gregory of Nyssa ever having sustained such a view, and the Plural ‘Gregories’ is simply a usual magniloquence pointing to Nazianzen alone. Little wonder then

¹⁴¹ Gennadius Scholarius loc. cit. τοῦ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως ὀνόματος ταυτὶ τὰ ὀνόματα προτιμῶν ὡς ἑλληνικώτερα· τοῦ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἑλληνισμοῦ πεφρόντικεν ὁ θαυμαστός οὗτος πατήρ. The author says that Gregory also used πρῶσεις for ἐκπόμεναι, but there is no such instance in his writings. Gennadius makes similar remarks about Gregory caring for correct Greek while rendering the theology of the Holy Spirit in op. cit. Part 2, p. 372 and Part 3, p. 122.

¹⁴² Michael Glycas quotes from Pseudo-Caesarius, *QR*, 60.

¹⁴³ Michael Glycas, *Annales*, p. 152.

¹⁴⁴ Anastasius of Sinai, *Sermo II in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, 3.

that Anastasius himself appears apt to embrace the doctrine of skin-tunics betokening human bodies.¹⁴⁵

The confusion and rancour is epitomized in an epistle ascribed to Photius: On the one hand, he contends (though adducing no proof) that the false doctrine originates in Origen and his followers (ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀριγένης καὶ ὁ Ὀριγένειος ἐχέτω χορός). On the other, he strives to prove that Nazianzen never held such a doctrine: what Gregory meant by 'tunics' (so the epistle has it) was actually not 'bodies', but the 'mortality and grossness of the body' (τὴν τοῦ σώματος παχύτητα καὶ θνητότητα).¹⁴⁶ Considering Origen's rejection of the doctrine, Photius' allegation is of course absurd, but this is also instructive of how men of the cloth, who were heavily involved in politics and thirsty for mundane power, were all too quick to make use of any sophism and suppress truth in order to secure doctrinal mythology rather than attest to real doctrine. For the truth in this case, which Photius strove to suppress, is that the source of the (otherwise alleged as Origenistic) doctrine was Gregory of Nazianzus himself. His vocabulary allowing for skin-tunics to betoken assumption of material bodies became the standard locution for a series of subsequent Byzantine scholars, who unreservedly advanced the doctrine that was falsely laid at Origen's door, even though he had plainly rejected this.¹⁴⁷ I am myself not surprised at Gregory having

¹⁴⁵ Anastasius of Sinai, *Anastasioi Sinaitae in Hexaemeron Anagogicarum Contemplationum Libros Duocecim*, Book 12.3: Ἐξ αἵματος δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς συνέστη ἐκεῖνος ὁ δερμάτινος περιζῶν χιτῶν, ... Ὁ γὰρ τὸν δερμάτινον ἐνδύμενος χιτῶνα εὐδῆλον ὅτι κρυπτόν μὲν ἔνδον ἔχει τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον φύσιν, ὀρωμένην δὲ τὴν θνητὴν. This is a plain Platonic account rendered in Biblical language.

¹⁴⁶ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 70. For all this, the author has no problem with urging that 'the idea that Adam was clothed with this gross and mortal flesh *after* his transgression is not an impious doctrine to hold'. His vocabulary is the same as the foregoing one of Gregory: οὐδὲν ἦττον εὐσεβοῦντός ἐστι λέγειν ὡς μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ καθελομένην τῷ βάρει τοῦ παραπτώματος καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀντίτυπὸν τε καὶ ἀντίθετον ἡμφιάσατο. This is the same vocabulary used by Gregory of Nazianzus (*supra*, p. 291, note 134). See *infra*, p. 298, note 166.

¹⁴⁷ Michael Glycas himself employs Gregory's vocabulary, too, and advances the idea of skin-tunics betokening bodies. First, he says that he read the doctrine in an epistle by Macarius of Egypt. Michael Glycas, *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam*, 4, p. 49: μετὰ τοὺς δερματινοὺς ἐνδυθῆναι χιτῶνας, τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα δηλαδὴ καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον. Further, he confidently confirms this as a view of his own, *op. cit.* 37, p. 436: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀμαρτήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας ἐγύμνωσε τέλος ὁ Θεός, δερματινοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας ἐνέδυσσε, τὴν πολυπαθὴ ταύτην δηλαδὴ σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον. John Zonaras (eleven-twelfth cent.), *Epitome Historiarum* (*lib. 1–12*), v. 1, p. 17 quotes Gregory of Nazianzus' passage (*supra*, p. 291). John VI Cantacuzenus (fourteenth cent.), *Orationes Contra Judaeos*, Oration 3: τοὺς δερματινοὺς ἡμφιέσαντο χιτῶνας, τὴν παχυτέραν ταύτην σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον. Marcus Eugenicus (fourteenth-fifteenth cent.), *Oratio Altera de Igne Purgatorio*, p. 149, quotes to the word, claiming that this is a quotation from Basil of Caesarea's commentary on Isaiah: καὶ ὁ

urged this Platonic tenet. I have canvassed elsewhere that to Origen αἰών is defined as a 'natural system'. Yet, although Gregory of Nazianzus took up Origen's nomenclature with regard to the concept of time, he posited αἰών as a timeless reality, thus moving in a sheer Platonic vein.¹⁴⁸

What is worse about Photius' testimony is that the orthodox doctrine (skin tunics bespeak *mortality*), which the author strives to attribute to Nazianzen in order to exonerate him, was in fact *Origen's* doctrine. But Origen himself did not sustain this interpretation. In fact it was he who advanced the idea of those tunics betokening mortality, since his exegesis in his *Homilies on Leviticus* preserved in Latin reads thus:

I want to compare these miserable garments, with which the first man was clothed after he had sinned, with these holy and faithful garments. Indeed, it is said that God made them. 'For God made skin tunics and clothed Adam and his wife'.¹⁴⁹ Those were tunics of skins taken from animals, since it befitted the sinner to be clothed with [tunics] such as these. It says 'with skin tunics', *which are a symbol of the mortality* which he incurred because of his skin and of his frailty that arose from the corruption of the flesh.¹⁵⁰

This is the idea that Methodius of Olympus took up, only to confirm the church historian Socrates, who had argued that 'those who are mean and incapable of making any distinction of themselves, strive to make a mark by censuring those who are superior to them'.¹⁵¹

The context of Origen's foregoing Latin translation is such that no room was allowed for any alteration or 'correction' of an allegedly 'heretic' view of his contained therein. For this text simply confirms that Origen warned that this portion of Genesis should not be understood as denoting human bodies, even though this might be tempting to do (εἰς συγκατάθεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι δυνάμενον).¹⁵² This is not an abstract opinion, since he feels it necessary to

¹ Ἀδάμ μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν τοὺς δερματίνους χιτῶνας ἐνδεδύσθαι λέγεται, τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον. Nicetas Choniates (twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Orationes* (1–18), Oration 13, p. 123, put it in the same terms, to be copied verbatim by Theoctistus Studites (fourteenth cent.), *Vita Athanasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, p. 16: τὸ δερμάτινον τοῦτο γνάπτει χιτῶνιον, τὴν σάρκα φημι τὴν θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, ἣν ἠμφίασεν ἡμᾶς ἡ παράβασις.

¹⁴⁸ *COT*, pp. 264–266; *PHE*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁹ Gen. 3:21.

¹⁵⁰ Origen, *Homilies on Leviticus*, 6.2.7: Illae ergo tunicae de pellibus erant ex animalibus sumptae. Talibus enim oportebat indui peccatorem, pelliceis, inquit, tunicis, *quae essent mortalitatis*, quam pro peccato acceperat, et fragilitatis ejus, quae ex carnis corruptione veniebat, *indicum*. Italics are mine. See also *selGen*, PG.12.101 *apud* Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, PG.80.140.

¹⁵¹ Socrates, *HE*, 6.13.

¹⁵² *Supra*, p. 291, note 131.

develop his rationale: How could it be possible for Adam to have stated earlier ‘This is now bone from my bones and flesh from my flesh’ (Genesis 2:23), which was made before the tunics of skin had been prepared in Genesis 3:21? Therefore, how could the latter verse refer to God’s preparation of physical bodies for Adam and Eve, who already had bones and flesh?

It has to be said that Origen recognised the problems arising from this view of skin tunics denoting mortality (νέκρωσιν), which anyway he declares that he received from certain earlier exegetes (τινές), who wished to eschew the difficulty just mentioned (Genesis 2:23 compared to 3:21). Although he points out some problems surrounding this opinion, he clearly stands close to this, while dismissing all other relevant exegeses.¹⁵³

When Pseudo-Caesarius returns to the issue in Questions 171 and 172, and overtly rejects the exegesis that the leather garments (δερμάτινοι χιτῶνες) relate to the flesh, he actually *follows* an Origenist interpretation: it is not the case that he rejects the Alexandrian’s authentic teaching.

The author of a spurious text ascribed to Athanasius dismisses the idea. He considers three alternatives. First, the ‘tunics’ may suggest leaves from trees; second, ‘some have said’ that tunics betoken ‘our flesh’; third, ‘according to others, who happen to be more correct, the skin tunics actually are those of the ancestors’.¹⁵⁴ This is more or less the approach by Theodoret, who dismisses the Platonic exegesis ‘afforded by the allegorists’, as being ‘weird’ (περίεργον). He opts for an agnostic approach, noting however that, according to Genesis, creation of bodies preceded that of the soul, which excludes any Platonic understanding.¹⁵⁵ Pseudo-Caesarius himself opts for a similar agnostic resolution in chapter 171.

The author who appears to endorse the notion of tunics denoting human corporeality is Didymus.¹⁵⁶ The account was furnished as a gloss to Job

¹⁵³ Origen, *selGen*, PG.12.101 *apud* Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, PG.80.140–141. Ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀπορίας περιϊστάμενοι τινες, τοὺς χιτῶνας διὰ τὴν νέκρωσιν, ἣν ἀμφιέννυνται ὁ Ἄδὰμ καὶ ἡ Εὐᾶ, διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτιᾶν θανατωθέντες, ἀπεφήναντο τυγχάνειν. Nevertheless, he recognises that this exegesis is disputable, too: how would it be sustained that it is God, not sin itself, which brings about mortality (νέκρωσιν) to a transgressor?

¹⁵⁴ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.632.31–34.

¹⁵⁵ Theodoret, *Questiones in Octateuchum*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. pp. 277–278: δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσας, ὁστέοις δὲ καὶ νῆυροις με ἐνείρας. τούτω χρώνται οἱ βουλόμενοι δεῖξαι, ὅτι, οὖς ἐνέδυσεν ὁ θεὸς δερματίνους χιτῶνας, τὰ σώματά ἐστιν ταῦτα τὰ παχέα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Γενέσει εἴρηται: “καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἄδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ χιτῶνας δερματίνους καὶ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτούς.” ἀλλ’ ἐποίησεν τῷ Ἄδὰμ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα δεῖξῃ, ὅτι κατὰλληλον “ἄρρην καὶ θηλείαν” ἔνδυμα πεποίηκεν. σαφές, ὅτι “δέρμα καὶ κρέας” ἐνταῦθα τὸ σῶμά φησιν· συνάπτει γὰρ ἐξῆς τὰ διακρατητικὰ τούτου

10:11, which is exactly what Bishop Macarius of Magnesia did shortly after Didymus, in order to reach the same conclusion.¹⁵⁷

The testimony by Theodoret is valuable at this point. With respect to the ‘skin tunics’ of Gen. 3:21, he rejects the foregoing exegesis proposed by ‘the allegorists’ (οἱ ἀλληγορηταί).¹⁵⁸ Who actually are these ‘allegorists’? Does Theodoret imply Origen himself? Definitely not. For no one knew better than Theodoret that the specific token serving to condemning allegory could in no way point to Origen. As a prince of allegory as Origen was, he did not equate the ‘skin tunics’ of Gen. 3:21 with corporeality, as already shown. Theodoret was certainly aware of this, since it was himself who culled and preserved this specific passage of Origen’s in his own anthology.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps this is why he opted for preserving the specific view of Origen for posterity. What Theodoret probably had in mind reprehending this particular allegorical exegesis was either the foregoing one by Didymus, or the view that Gregory of Nazianzus had expressed both in prose and poetry. Even Didymus, however, had not claimed originality: he said that ‘some people, who wish to prove’ that the ‘skin-tunics’ bespeak ‘these gross bodies’ adduce Job 10:11, in order to make the point (τούτῳ χρώνται οἱ βουλόμενοι δεῖξαι). Once Origen is *ipso facto* excluded, the sole one of whom we know that had definitely urged this Platonic doctrine was Didymus’ contemporary Gregory of Nazianzus, although we have no text of Gregory’s making the specific point in relation to Job 10:11.¹⁶⁰

Therefore, only four authors definitely urged the doctrine of skin-tunics betokening corporeality. These were Didymus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Macarius of Magnesia, and Anastasius of Sinai. Nevertheless, all of the later Byzantine authors who took up the doctrine, also took up along with it

λέγων· “ὅστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἐνεῖρας.” ὅλην οὖν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἀρμονίαν τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ σώματος ἀπαγγέλλει διὰ τε τῶν πρὸ τούτων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐγκειμένων. σημειωτέον, ὅτι φαίνεται τῆς ψυχῆς ταῦτα ῥήματα· αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνδυσσασμένη τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ κρέας ὅστέοις τε καὶ νεύροις ἐνερθεῖσα· ὅπερ σημαίνει προτέραν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῶν ἐνδυμάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐνδεδύσθαι· ὑποκειμένη γὰρ ἐνδέδεται. *In Genesis*, Cod. p. 106: “Δέρμα καὶ κρέας με ἐνέδυσσας, ὅστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις με ἐνεῖρας.” Σαφές γὰρ καὶ ἀριδιλότατον δεῖγμα τοῦ τὸς δερματίνους χιτῶνας εἶναι τὸ σῶμα, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἐνέδυσσας μνημονεύει ὁ Ἰώβ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοπλάστων εἴρηται.

¹⁵⁷ Macarius of Magnesia (fourth–fifth century), *Apocriticus seu Μονογενῆς*, fragment from his seventeenth homily on Genesis, lines 6–24.

¹⁵⁸ Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, pp. 40–41: Τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς δερματίνους τί νοητέον; Οἱ μὲν ἀλληγορηταὶ τὴν θνητὴν σάρκα φασι τὰ δέρματα· ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἀπὸ φλοιῶν δένδρων τούτους κατεσκευάσθαι εἰρήκασι. ἐγὼ δὲ γε οὐδέτερον τούτων προσέμαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ περιεργον, τὸ δὲ ἄγαν μυθῶδες.

¹⁵⁹ Origen, *selGen*, PG.12.101 *apud* Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Genesis*, PG.80.140.

¹⁶⁰ Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–11), Cod. p. 277.

Gregory's selfsame vocabulary, as quoted a moment ago. Had the Cappadocian champion of orthodoxy known what he was talking about, he would never have dared associate 'skin tunics' with 'flesh'. He did, however. Hence, in effect he embraced a plain Gnostic doctrine that had been reported first by Irenaeus,¹⁶¹ also by Tertullian,¹⁶² and then by Clement of Alexandria, who had promised to show that this is not quite the case. The name of the Gnostic heretic who had expounded this Valentinian doctrine was Julius Cassian.¹⁶³ In addition to all evidence adduced so far, this makes it all too impossible for Origen not to have espoused this proposition. Even the hostile detractors of Origen never disputed that he was one of the most staunch and relentless assailers against Gnosticism. Origen had read not only Valentinus (whom he so often attacks by name), but also Clement of Alexandria. On this point he had a clear grasp of what the Christian doctrine was: this is evident from his own statements which rebut the notion of 'skin tunics' betokening corporeality, as canvassed above.

The allegation that Origen ever fathered such a Platonic theory is simply a myth.¹⁶⁴ Some authors thought that this could be traced to the writings of Methodius of Olympus,¹⁶⁵ whereas others just took it for granted as an Origenistic tenet.¹⁶⁶ In his rebuttal of Origen's doctrine of resurrection,

¹⁶¹ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses (libri 1–2)*, 1.1.10: Καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν γεγονότα: ... Ὑστερον δὲ περιτεθεῖσθαι λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν δερμάτινον χιτῶνα: τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν σαρκίον εἶναι λέγουσι. Irenaeus reports this as a Gnostic view, but he does not comment on it any further.

¹⁶² Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*, 24 (PL.2.578A): "Interim carnalem superficiem postea aiunt choico supertextam, et hanc esse pelliceam tunicam obnoxiam sensui." The editor of this text notes that Jerome had attacked John of Jerusalem for sustaining that skin tunics betoken human bodies. John (who succeeded Cyril of Jerusalem as Bishop of the city, in c. 387) was regarded as a sympathizer of Origen and had been attacked by Jerome on this ground. This is noteworthy, since it attests to Origenists not always following Origen, but paving their own road, which not infrequently contradicted Origen's own resolutions.

¹⁶³ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 3.14.95: "χιτῶνας δὲ δερματίνους" ἡγείται ὁ Κασσιανὸς τὰ σώματα περὶ ὧν ὕστερον καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ δογματίζοντας πεπλανημένους ἀποδείξομεν, ὅταν περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐπομένως τοῖς προλεχθῆναι δεομένοις μεταχειριζώμεθα. Likewise, it seems that this was also the teaching of Valentinus, expounded by Theodotus, an otherwise unknown Gnostic. Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 3, extract 55.1: Τοῖς τρισὶν ἀσωμάτοις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄδαμ τέταρτον ἐπεנדύεται ὁ χοϊκός, τοὺς "δερματίνους χιτῶνας".

¹⁶⁴ Although regarded as 'Platonist', Philo is silent about this doctrine: he styles human body 'a bulk of skin' (δερμάτινον ὄγκον), yet his reference is not to Gen. 3:21, but to Gen. 38:7. Philo, *Legum Allegoriarum libri i–iii*, 3.69. *De Posteritate Caini*, 137; 180. *De Confusione Linguarum*, 55.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Doctrina Patrum*, pp. 179; 335.

¹⁶⁶ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 70, probably having in mind the spurious Adamantius, *De Recta in Deum Fide*, p. 216; ὅτε παρέβη τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ψυχὴ ἀμαρτήσασα,

Methodius attacks the doctrine according to which the coats of skins, which God contrived for Adam and Eve, are Biblical symbols of the flesh which attires the fallen soul. To Methodius, as well as to imperial orthodoxy, the tunics betoken the mortality burdening our fallen nature,¹⁶⁷ which none the less did not prevent him from styling the body ‘fleshly tunic of the soul’ (τὸν χιτῶνα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν σάρκινον), as the Pseudo-Macarian writings do.¹⁶⁸

During the sixth century, the doctrine of skin tunics allegedly attested by Genesis was a point made by serious scholars. After Photius had read a book by a certain Stephen, surnamed Gobarus, he was rather disappointed at its content, but he could hardly conceal his admiration for the author’s skillfulness. One of the chapter he read was about human body both before and after the fall. The author engaged in rhetorical exercise of argument: he considered the arguments for human flesh being betokened by skin tunics, as well as arguments against this tenet. The entire book considered opposing arguments (διτταὶ δόξαι), hence Photius’ admiration. Since he styles this author ‘a tritheist’ (τινὸς τριθεΐτου), it is plain that Stephen was a follower of John Philoponus (who was so styled by the Chalcedonian episcopate) and the book should be placed in the late sixth century.

At all events, it was convenient to attack Origen. In the sixth-century setting hardly anyone was aware of his theology, whereas his name was a symbol used to either praise or stigmatize occasional enemies, rather than a well-perused corpus of writings. Attacking the name of Origen was an alternative for declaring oneself prepared to endorse whatever Justinian set forward as the legitimate Christian doctrine. In other words, an attack on Origen by name was tantamount to declaring one’s allegiance to the imperial orthodoxy.¹⁶⁹

As already noted, the question of what ‘Origenism’ actually meant during the sixth century is moot. However, it seems that there were some bold doctrinal resolutions secretly cherished in Palestinian monasteries. We can

τότε, φησὶν, ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς δερματίνους χιτῶνας καὶ ἐνέδυσεν αὐτούς, τουτέστιν τὸ σῶμα. But this is precisely a proof that this ‘Adamantius’ is not Origen.

¹⁶⁷ Methodius of Olympus, *De Resurrectione*, pp. 258; 260–261; 281–285.

¹⁶⁸ Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 2.7.

¹⁶⁹ Origen is mentioned by name in order to be affronted by Pseudo-Caesarius. *QR*, 166: Ὀριγένην τὸν ἀνοσιώτατον. 168: τὰ Ὀριγένους φρονεῖν δηλητήρια καὶ φθοροποιὰ δόγματα. 170: τοὺς Ὀριγένους φληνάφους. There are also points of implicit invective: 146 (line 147): οὐχ ὥς τινι τῶν μυθολόγων ἔδοξεν, ἀκοὰς μὲν θέλγοντι, ψυχὰς δὲ οὐ τρέφοντι. Further in the same chapter (line 153): κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς ἔπωνύμου. The epithet ἔπωνύμου means that, to Pseudo-Caesarius, the name ‘Origen’ (Ὀριγένης) and the noun ‘wrath’ (ὀργή) are cognate ones, which is of course absurd.

get some idea about them from a text by Bishop Theodore of Scythopolis. He was a friend of Theodore Askidas', by whose support he had become abbot of the New Laura. Askidas supported the Origenist party styled 'Isochrists'. Once Theodore of Scythopolis realised that Justinian was about to condemn Origen, he recanted forthwith, in c. 552. His text is brief, and concludes with twelve anathemas against ostensible 'Origenist' doctrines, which he declared he had espoused himself by that time. This text is a grotesque mixture of ideas, allegedly 'Origenist', yet the author, in introduction, rebukes 'Greek maniae', 'Manichaeian mythology', 'Arian blasphemies', and 'Jewish [blasphemies] devised by either Nestorius or the impious Theodore [of Mopsuestia]'. For all this, the title of his *libellus* is directed against Origen alone and so are the anathemas against 'the impious Origen'.¹⁷⁰ This catalogue of anathemas is somehow a list of how the Palestinian milieu and mindset (both professed defenders and detractors) understood 'Origenism' at the time. Nevertheless, the reader of this text, which contains all possible and impossible sorts of obloquy, will be unable to discover any doctrine such as that of the 'skin-tunics' either mentioned or imputed to Origen.

In order to evaluate better the testimonies by Photius, it is worth considering a text which attests not only to Gregory of Nyssa sustaining the doctrine of apokatastasis, but also represents Gregory of Nazianzus as espousing the theory of pre-existent souls.

There is a collection of five questions followed by replies with respect to doctrine and spiritual life by the two famous sixth-century monks Barsanuphius and John, concerning doctrines sustained by Origen, Didymus, and Evagrius.¹⁷¹ In the first question, 'a certain brother' says that he had come upon the writings of Origen, of Didymus, and the *Gnostica* by Evagrius. Reading about the doctrine of pre-existence of souls and apokatastasis, the monk was overwhelmed by ambivalence (διψυχία). His wavering originated not in the sixth-century orthodoxy surrounding him, but in Origen's and Evagrius' own words. There is a characteristic bafflement in his words. On the one hand, he says that he read about the doctrine of both pre-existence and restoration in the foregoing authors, but (save the reference to Evagrius' *Kephalaia Gnostica*) he does not determine exactly where had he read these views. On the other hand, he assures that what Origen wrote (and the monk read) in his *Exegesis on the Epistle to Titus*, is this: "the doctrine of

¹⁷⁰ Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.231–236.

¹⁷¹ Sancti Barsanuphii, *Doctrina Circa Opiniones Origenis, Evagrii et Didymi*, PG.86.891–902.

souls being prior to the body is authorised neither by the apostles nor by the tradition of the Church". Besides, the monk goes on, Origen 'styles anyone who sustains these [doctrines] a heretic' (ὡς αίρειτικὸν χαρακτηρίζων τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα). Furthermore, the same monk quotes specific points from Evagrius' *Kephalaia Gnostica*, where Ponticus urges that 'no one has ever taught anything about these questions' (περὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς ἐμήνυσεν). Likewise, 'there in no one who has ever taught anything about the primeval things' (περὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ὁ μὴνύων οὐδεὶς), and 'never did the Holy Spirit offer any account, either of the first division of rational creatures, or of the primary substance (τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν) of bodies'. Nevertheless, the monk declares himself bewildered at the doctrine of restoration not being sustained, since he has it that Matt. 25:46 and Mark 9:48, which quote Isaiah 66:24, attest to endless punishment.¹⁷²

Any reader of this text will be surprised at finding out that Barsanuphius did not engage in a wholesale condemnation of the 'heretical' doctrines themselves. Rather, he censured the *intellectual activity* itself by men who 'meddle' (πολυπραγμονοῦσιν) in 'doctrines of the Greeks' and pursue engagements befitting people who are puffed up and consider themselves 'to be something [important]' (οἰομένων τι εἶναι). According to Barsanuphius, such words are uttered by 'idle people' (ἀργῶν ἀνθρώπων) and are in fact a product of delusion. The Old Man dissuades the monk from reflection on such things and urges him to be devout in practical virtues such as humility, obedience, shedding tears of repentance, moral exercise, renunciation of all mundane wealth, and study of biographies of the hermits of old. Not a word of argument involving the questions themselves is pronounced. Which is probably why the disconcerted monk asked another anchorite, namely John, the same question, who is more succinct and more clear: this kind of wisdom comes from the devil, anyone who even just studies it falls into heresy (ὁ ἐνδελεχῶν αὐτῇ αίρειτικὸς γίνεταί); all a monk has to do is run away from these doctrines. 'What then?' the monk retorts; 'should we refrain from reading the works of Evagrius?' This was no doubt a difficult question to ask, given the high prestige of Evagrius among all monks, who considered him the father of monastic spirituality. Abba John replied only with a subterfuge: one should dismiss such doctrines, yet of Evagrius' writings one should read what is beneficial to the soul. In other words, one should not dismiss Evagrius altogether: one should just be selective. No tip about the criteria of such selectivity is given either.

¹⁷² Op. cit. PG.86.891–893.

This was not the common practice of the era anyway, since Christian dignitaries of the sixth century were more practical. Once an author fell under the suspicion of heresy, he was renounced forthright, even by a Local Synod, if necessary. Whereas the military kept an open eye on the external enemies, synods were the alternate army always prompt to extinguish any internal dissent. As for orthodox products by ‘heretics’, they were scribed (‘published’, in modern terms) with their authorship attributed to another authority, such as Athanasius, John Chrysostom, and Gregory of Nyssa. Clearing up this mess, which is a token of what Edward Gibbon saw as ‘barbarism’, is a task still waiting to be fulfilled.

However, the puzzled monk was persistent. Many of our fathers sustain the doctrines of Evagrius, Didymus, and Origen, and yet they are held in high regard, as ones ‘who take the utmost care of themselves’. To which the only reply was that these fathers put their trust in their own selves: they did not ask God to illuminate them, ‘but anyway, it is neither for me nor for you to deal with such questions; we should only interrogate our own passions and weep and mourn over them’.

The monk however reacts with a battery of arguments, the gist of which is this: we have great authorities, of whom we believe that they were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, such as Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa. And yet they both are represented as sustaining doctrines which Barsanuphius and John are quick to reprehend. Although the monk does not believe that the allegation about Gregory of Nazianzus holding the doctrine of pre-existent souls is correct, he does believe so about Gregory of Nyssa endorsing the idea of apokatastasis: it is clear that he sustains the doctrine of apokatastasis (περὶ δὲ ἀποκαταστάσεως σαφῶς λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης). “Why then would this man not be styled as speaking correctly, once [correctness] indeed befits a man who is holy and has been found worthy of speaking in Holy Spirit?” In addition, there is dissent among the Fathers as to whether Paradise is a corporeal or an incorporeal state: some of them urge that this is a ‘spiritual’ state, while others sustain that paradise is a corporeal one (καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου διαφωνοῦσι τινὲς τῶν Πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων, μὴ λέγοντες αὐτὸν αἰσθητὸν ἀλλὰ νοητὸν).¹⁷³

Barsanuphius’ reply runs in the same vein: one should care about one’s passions and lament over them; theoretical questions of this kind are only the product of idleness (μὴ ἀργοί ἐστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρχεσθε εἰς τοιαῦτα). “It

¹⁷³ Caesarius deals with the question in *QR*, 159; 161; 162.

is not solutions to such questions that God demands from us; what he bids us observe is sanctification, cleanness, silence, and humility". Nevertheless, Barsanuphius says that he has 'a reply, which actually occurred to' him 'only three days before he was asked this question'. His reply goes thus: "You should not think that once one has become a saint this means that one is really able to understand all the depths of God (μη νομίσητε δε οτι, καν αγιοι, ολα τα βαθη του Θεου γησιως ηδυνηθησαν καταλαβειν)". To support this, he quotes a chain of Scriptural portions: 1 Cor. 13:9; 12:8; 12:11; Rom. 11:33–34. This view by Barsanuphius is of high significance. Not only is this in essence and letter an Origenistic one, but also compromises the episcopal doctrine of the pulpit, according to which the saints living on the earth have already attained absolute divine knowledge to which nothing can be added.

Cassian (or Caesarius) was completely right in being not only shocked, but also bewildered. Among monks, it was a widespread impression that great doctors of the Church had espoused doctrines which the sixth-century orthodoxy was anxious to discount, even to condemn.

I am now coming to Caesarius denouncing the idea of pre-existent souls,¹⁷⁴ which bears upon the first anathema by Justinian. There is an invention involved here, which has it that the Greek words for 'soul' (ψυχή) and 'coldness' (ψυχος) are cognate ones. This notion had been advanced as a recorded part of the Presocratic etymology for ψυχή attested by Aristotle and his commentators. Caesarius is once again eager to denounce the doctrine of pre-existent souls,¹⁷⁵ which fall to materiality following sin. The author takes for granted that this is an Origenistic doctrine, which of course is not the case, as I have shown.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, he attacks Origen by name as a further token of loyalty to the imperial orthodoxy. In just the previous chapter 169, he also dismissed the theory of a current etymology for 'soul'. According to that, a soul was previously a 'mind' (which is ontologically higher according to the Plotinian ontological pattern) that incurred degradation to corporeality because of sin. What was the nature of that 'sin'? To this the reply is that the soul sinned because its initial warm love grew 'cold'. There is a well-known punning with the verb ψύχειν here: once a 'mind' (νοῦς) grew 'cold' (ἐψύχη), it became a 'soul' (ψυχή). Hence (allegedly on grounds of etymology) *psyche* (ψυχή) is a mind which grew cold (ἐψύχη). This is the reference Caesarius makes, this time without

¹⁷⁴ QR, 169: τοὺς προὔπαρξιν ληροῦντας ψυχῶν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὴν σὴν ψυχὴν ἀποψυχθέντα νοῦν φάναι τολμήσωσιν.

¹⁷⁵ Caesarius, QR, 170.

¹⁷⁶ COT, chapter 4.

mentioning Origen by name, but this was the opinion that had been instilled into the mind of the emperor at that time.

As a matter of fact, there is a story to be told at this point.

Aristotle's account of the soul follows his regular method of reference to the views of Presocratics. According to them all, save Anaxagoras, all first principles are constructed from contraries, such as hot and cold, and the like. This is by and large what they thought of the soul, and in doing so they allegedly appealed to etymology. Those who identified the soul with *heat* derived ζῆν ('to live') from ζεῖν ('to boil').¹⁷⁷ By contrast, those who identified the soul with *cold* maintained that the soul (ψυχή) is so called after the cooling process (κατάψυξις) associated with respiration (διὰ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν καὶ τὴν κατάψυξιν καλεῖσθαι ψυχὴν).¹⁷⁸

Aristotle did not elaborate. But we should be grateful to his commentators, who advise us about the details. Themistius afforded his own account of the issue, making mention of the dissenting views of Heraclitus and Hippon. The human heart is the source of hotness (τῇ καρδίᾳ πηγὴ οὖση τῆς θερμότητος); since lungs are adjacent to the heart, they are in need of some refrigeration,¹⁷⁹ 'and even more so does the heart itself (αὐτὸς τε οὖν δεῖται καταψύξεως καὶ πολλῶ μάλλον ἢ καρδία), 'which is why respiration is necessary' (διόπερ ἀναγκαία ἡ ἀναπνοή):¹⁸⁰ this is in fact the function that 'safeguards' life itself.¹⁸¹ Themistius records Aristotle's testimony about the opposing etymological accounts of ψυχή, but he adds to Aristotle's account the names of Heraclitus and Hippon supposedly espousing the opposing views. Themistius is clearly ironical at the fanciful inventions, by means of which both ancient philosophers struggled to explain the etymology of soul and life: he sees all that as elegant ostentatious expressions rather than argument (καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων κομψεύονται).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Hippon, *Testimonia*, Fr. 40, *apud* John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, p. 92.

¹⁷⁸ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 405b12–31. On the refrigerating process of animals through respiration, see *De Respiratione*, 479a. Michael of Ephesus (eleventh-twelfth century) draws on Alexander of Aphrodisias, who elaborated on Aristotle's understanding of this process. Michael of Ephesus, *In Parva Naturalia Commentaria*, p. 135.

¹⁷⁹ So Ammonius of Alexandria (fifth century AD), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, p. 10. Likewise, Michael of Ephesus, *In Parva Naturalia Commentaria*, pp. 135; 143; 148. *In Libros De Partibus Animalium Commentaria*, pp. 54; 56; 83.

¹⁸⁰ Themistius, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Paraphrasis*, v. 5,3, p. 67.

¹⁸¹ Themistius, *op. cit.* v. 5,3, p. 14: διὰ γὰρ τὴν κατάψυξιν, ἡ σώζει τὸ ζῶον ἐκ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.

¹⁸² Themistius, *op. cit.* v. 5,3, p. 14: ὅσοι γε ἐν τῶν στοιχείων τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθεντο τὴν ἐκείνου ποιότητα μόνην προσεθέασιν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, οἱ μὲν πυρὸς τὴν θερμότητα καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος, οἱ δὲ ὕδατος τὴν ὑγρότητα καθάπερ Ἴππων. οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων κομψεύονται, οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς

Aristotle reasoned that ‘to those who have it, the principle of life vanishes once heat, which participates in it, is not refrigerated’, for otherwise this could melt itself.¹⁸³ Since ‘death is total freezing’ (τὸν δὲ θάνατον εἶναι παντελῆ κατάψυξιν),¹⁸⁴ there should be a balance between heating and freezing.

John Philoponus also offers a testimony about the views associating the soul with water, opposing Heraclitus who had correlated this to his own fundamental principle, namely, fire. To Philoponus, when Aristotle refers to the soul being derived from ‘coldness’, he has in mind Hippon. The syllogism of this Presocratic is pretty simple: life originates in the soul (ἡ μὲν ζωὴ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει) and the soul originates in coldness, since this is made of water (ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκ ψυχροῦ, ἐξ ὕδατος γάρ).¹⁸⁵ The heart is the seat of the soul itself, which is why in all animals the heart is the first organ of an embryo to be shaped and grown in the womb. Since the region around the heart is warm, respiration provides the requisite balancing conditions by ‘cooling the inherent heat’.¹⁸⁶ On that account, ‘the power of the soul’ does not allow for coldness to prevail.¹⁸⁷ Besides, the view

ψυχῆς κέχρηται ἢ συνήθεια, οἱ μὲν τὸ θερμὸν λέγοντες ὅτι καὶ τὸ ζῆν παρὰ τὸ ζεῖν ὀνομάσθη, οἱ δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν ὅτι καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐντεῦθεν· διὰ γὰρ τὴν κατάψυξιν ἡ σώζει τὸ ζῶσον ἐκ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.

¹⁸³ Aristotle, *De Respiratione*, 479a7–9: ἡ δ’ ἀρχὴ τῆς ζωῆς ἐκλείπει τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὅταν μὴ καταψύχηται τὸ θερμὸν τὸ κοινωνοῦν αὐτῆς· καθάπερ γὰρ εἴρηται πολλάκις, συντήκεται αὐτὸ ὕφ’ αὐτοῦ.

¹⁸⁴ Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum*, 909f11.

¹⁸⁵ To this view of Hippon we have also a testimony by Aetius, *De Placitis Reliquiae (Stobaei excerpta)*, p. 388: Ἰππων ἐξ ὕδατος τὴν ψυχὴν.

¹⁸⁶ John Philoponus, *In Libros De Generatione Animalium Commentaria*, v. 14,3, p. 111: ἡ δὲ καρδία γίνεται παντὸς τοῦ ζώου πρῶτον, ὅτι ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ αἰσθητικὴ ψυχὴ. Διὰ τὸ δεῖν δὲ καταψύχεσθαι καὶ εἰς συμμετρίαν ἄγεσθαι τὴν θερμότητα αὐτῆς. So in op. cit. v. 15, p. 186: διότι ἡ ἀναπνοὴ καταψύχουσα τὸ ἔμφυτον θερμὸν εἰς συμμετρίαν ἄγει. Likewise, op. cit. v. 15, p. 381.

¹⁸⁷ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria*, v. 15, pp. 91–92: Τοιοῦτος ἦν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς· τὰ γὰρ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν τὴν ψυχὴν φησὶν εἶναι, ἐξ ἐναντίων ποιητῶν σύγκεινται, ἔτι δὲ τὸ νεῖκος καὶ ἡ φιλία. οἱ δὲ θάτερον τῶν ἐναντίων, οἷον θερμὸν ἢ ψυχρὸν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁμοίως ἐν τι τούτων τίθενται. θάτερον τῶν ἐναντίων τίθεται Ἰππων καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, ὁ μὲν τὸ θερμὸν· πῦρ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι· ὁ δὲ τὸ ψυχρὸν, ὕδωρ τιθέμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἐκάτερος οὖν τούτων, φησί, καὶ ἐτυμολογεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν δόξαν, ὁ μὲν λέγων διὰ τοῦτο ζῆν λέγεσθαι τὰ ἔμψυχα παρὰ τὸ ζεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ θερμοῦ, ὁ δὲ ψυχὴν κεκλήσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ὅθεν ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, παρὰ τὸ αἰτίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι τῆς διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς ψύξεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ μὲν ζωὴ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκ ψυχροῦ (ἐξ ὕδατος γάρ), διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς κολαζούσης τῆ ψύξει τὸ περικάρδιον θερμὸν καὶ οὐκ ἑώσης τῆς ψυχικῆς δυναμέως ἐπικρατέστερον γενέσθαι, λέγω δὴ τῆς ψυχράς. Part of this passage is a testimony to Hippon (or Hipponax), *Testimonia*, Fr. 10.

attributed to Aristotle was that sleep (which is common to both body and soul) is the result of the region around the heart having been cooled (τὸ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ περιψυχθὲν θερμόν).¹⁸⁸ This refrigeration, therefore, was considered to be a process necessary to sustain life, which is why there was a positive connotation attached to the notion of coolness, regarded as a life-giving process.

Justinian would have been surprised at finding out that this etymology of the 'soul' had been sustained by John Chrysostom, although the bishop appeared to have had no inkling of the Neoplatonic difference of ψυχή from νοῦς.¹⁸⁹ This distinction between ψυχή and νοῦς was the kernel of Justinian's invective against Origen. Furthermore, the emperor, who used to draw heavily on Cyril of Alexandria, would have been even more shocked had he discovered that the cunning bishop was virtually seeing the soul as a 'refrigerated νοῦς'.¹⁹⁰ In any event, a spurious text ascribed to Athanasius, which we come upon time and again in connection with exploring Cassian, upholds the Aristotelian (indeed Presocratic) account to the letter.¹⁹¹

Therefore, there is a certain mental connection established between the 'soul' and 'freezing', which also Plutarch, as well as Hippolytus, ascribed to

¹⁸⁸ Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum*, 909F11.

¹⁸⁹ John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1–34)*, PG.63.23.4–10: Καὶ τί θαυμαστόν εἰ ἐπὶ Θεοῦ, ὅπου γε οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἀγγέλου εὔροι τις ἀν ὄνομα τῆς οὐσίας δηλωτικόν; τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς· οὐ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα παραστατικόν εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψύχειν. Τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ ψυχὴν, καὶ καρδίαν, καὶ νοῦν καλουμένην ἴδοι τις ἂν.

¹⁹⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, PG.68.980.50–55: Χρὴ τοῖσιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωοποιουμένους, ζωοποίησιν δὲ φημι τὴν πνευματικὴν, νεκρῶν ἔργων ἀποφοιτᾶν, καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω χωρεῖν, εἴεν δ' ἂν, οἶμαι, ταυτὶ τὰ δι' ἂν ἂν γένοιτο κατανεκροῦσθαι ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι νοῦν, ἀχαλίνως ἐκνενευκότα πρὸς τὰ σαρκὸς τε καὶ κόσμου.

¹⁹¹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Liber De Definitionibus*, PG.28.544.30–35: καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας ἔχει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς προσηγορίαν· ψύχειν γὰρ τὸ ζωοποιεῖν λέγεται· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ζωοποιου ἐνεργείας ψυχὴ λέγεται, διὰ τὸ σῶμα ζωοποιεῖν καὶ ἕτερα δὲ μυρία ἐστίν, ἃ παριέμεν, ἵνα μὴ λέγωμεν πάντα κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας προσηγορίας. I have no doubt that this work, which is very much like Cassian/Caesarius, is a sixth-century one. This passage was copied verbatim by Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 2.4: καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας ἔχει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς προσηγορίαν· ψύχειν γὰρ τὸ ζωοποιεῖν λέγεται· οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῆς ζωοποιου ἐνεργείας ψυχὴ λέγεται, διὰ τὸ ζωοποιεῖν τὸ σῶμα· καὶ ἕτερα δὲ μυρία ἐστίν· ἵνα μὴ λέγω πάντα, κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας προσηγορίας· ἐνέργειά γάρ ἐστίν ἡ τῆς φύσεως δύναμις. He repeats the definition of what a 'soul' is further in this work, op. cit. 2.5. It is interesting that in his *Sermo III In Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei (Adversus Monotheletas)*, 3, Anastasius identifies death with 'freezing' (ἀποψύχειν), which is reminiscent of the account by Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum*, 909F11, *supra*. But Anastasius goes on with considering the opposite of ἀποψύχειν (denoting death), which is ἀναψύχειν, bespeaking life.

Chrysippus,¹⁹² and was likewise promulgated by Philo.¹⁹³ In all of these cases this correlation has a purely *natural* character. No moral notion is involved whatsoever. Stobaeus, too, makes mention of the etymology of ψυχή, but he does not report any dissenting Presocratic views: he accredits them all with maintaining a combination of contraries (hot, cool, dry, wet), as well as with sustaining the doctrine that the inspired air is soul itself (καὶ ἅμα ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἀναπνεόμενον ἀέρα ψυχὴν νομίζουσιν). Life (ζῆν), Stobaeus reports, originates in hotness; the soul is animated by 'coldness', by means of respiration. In this case, however, respiration does not simply provide coldness: it supplies soul *itself*, since according to Orphaeus there is one universal soul which is divided into many individual ones.¹⁹⁴ Aristotle clearly objected to this Orphic view.¹⁹⁵

To sum up, those theologians who associated 'soul' with 'coldness' did so having only an obscure idea of what they were talking about. At best, they had some inkling of the ancient conception of coldness somehow opposing heat within the physical human construction, thus bringing about a certain physical balance. At all events, the notion was a *physical* one from start to finish.

Origen is normally accused of 'Platonism' by modern scholars (as well as by ancient clergymen and monks), who hardly evince convincing signs of ever having studied Plato's texts themselves. I have urged that 'the claim of Platonism in Origen appears so baffling that argument would be needed to establish not its incoherence, but its coherence'.¹⁹⁶ Both in that book, and in its predecessor on Origen's Cosmology and Ontology of Time, I have maintained that Origen is an anti-Platonist in many respects. This 'many respects' means that I touched upon anti-Platonism only at points related

¹⁹² Plutarch, *De Stoicorum Repugnantibus* (1033a–1057b), 1052F (Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 806): ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τὴν ψυχὴν ὀνομάσθαι παρὰ τὴν ψῦξιν. Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium (Philosophumena)*, 1.21.3 (Chrysippus, Fr. 807): Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν λέγουσι μὲν ἀθάνατον, εἶναι δὲ σῶμα καὶ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς περιψύξεως τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ περιέχοντος· διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι ψυχὴν.

¹⁹³ Philo, *De Somniis (lib. i–ii)*, 1.31: διότι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ψῦξιν ὀνομάσθαι ψυχὴ δοκεῖ.

¹⁹⁴ Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 1.49.32: Τινὲς δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν σύνοδον τῶν ἐναντίων συνυφαίνουσιν, οἷον θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ, ξηροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναξείν ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναψύχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ ὀνομάσθαι ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ ἅμα ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἀναπνεόμενον ἀέρα ψυχὴν νομίζουσιν· ὥσπερ Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ἔπεσὶ φησι λέγεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν εἰσέναι ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου ἀναπνεόντων ἡμῶν φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων· ἔοικέ γε μὴν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀρφεὺς χωρὶς ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι καὶ μίαν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀφ' ἧς πολλὰς μὲν εἶναι διαιρέσεις, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἀμέσους ἐπιπνοίας καθήκειν ἐπὶ τὰς μεριστὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς.

¹⁹⁵ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 405b25–411a2.

¹⁹⁶ *PHE*, p. 17.

to my topics (more than two dozens of characteristic instances). Speaking of 'points', however, I do not mean any truffle-hunting of passages, or terms: I suggest discussion of radical different ontological conceptions of being, different understanding of History, and different function of human mind and conduct in pursuing both knowledge, virtue, and perfection. In short, sheer different existential and philosophical *attitudes* and premisses. Mark Edwards engaged in a comprehensive analysis, making Origen's dissent from Plato a topic of its own,¹⁹⁷ whereas scholars who persist in discovering the 'contamination' of Platonism in Origen have failed to come up with the clear view of what makes one a 'Platonist'. Instead, there is an obsession with discovering 'Platonic' terms here and there in Origen, even though such terms transpire more heavily in such orthodox writers as Gregory of Nazianzus and Cyril of Alexandria. But if discovery of such 'terms' sufficed to style an author 'Platonist', then hardly could anyone remain proof to this sweeping and nebulous designation, which modern theologians (in line with Justinian) hurl as obloquy, or, at best, a defect.

Worse still, Neoplatonist philosophers are barely of any interest to those who regard 'Platonism' as a filthy contamination. For the irony on the present issue about the 'soul' bespeaking 'coldness' is that what they lay blame on an allegedly 'Platonic' notion, although this was actually a *Stoic* one and was rebuked by the Patriarch of Neoplatonism, namely, Plotinus. The point deserves quotation, all the more so since this is part of a fuller account which Eusebius quoted for his own purposes, namely, aiming at securing that 'the soul is incorporeal'.¹⁹⁸

But as for the saying that the same breath (τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα) was growth principle (φύσιν) before, but when it got into the cold and was tempered became soul, since it becomes reified in the cold (ἐν ψυχρῷ γενομένην και στομωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν γενέσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἐν ψυχρῷ γιγνομένην), this is absurd to start with; for many animals come into existence in heat and have a soul which has not been cooled (ψυχὴν ἔχει οὐ ψυχθεῖσαν). But anyhow they assert that growth-principle (φύσιν) is prior to soul which comes into existence because of external accidental occurrences. So they find themselves making the worse first, and before this another of inferior quality, which they call 'entrenched habit' (ἔξιπ), whereas the and intellect (νοῦς) comes last, obviously originating from the soul.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Mark Edwards, *Origen Against Plato*, p. 1: "Alexandria stands for Platonism as London stands for smog"; (p. 161): "if Platonism was such an epidemic in Alexandria as scholars have supposed, the surest vaccine was to read Plato"; which is why 'Origen's work contains the antibodies to Platonism as proof that he has suffered and resisted its attacks'.

¹⁹⁸ Eusebius, *PE*, 15.22.1f. See the specific portion in *op. cit.* 15.22.60.

¹⁹⁹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, IV.7.8³.

The Middle-Platonist Plutarch was equally critical of what he saw as self-defeating Stoic account on this point well before Plotinus, who actually received his argument from Plutarch.²⁰⁰ Porphyry thought of the Stoic tenet as 'shameful'.²⁰¹

The expression *παρὰ τὴν ψύξιν*, ascribed to Chrysippus by Plutarch, has some similarity to the one attributed to Origen by Justinian.²⁰² It is therefore incumbent upon me to canvass what Origen is represented to have made of it. The portion in *De Principiis*, II.8.3, goes thus:

A prophet declares that 'evils shall be kindled from the north upon all who dwell on the earth'.²⁰³ Now the north wind is described in the scriptures as cold, as it is written in the Wisdom, 'the cold north wind'.²⁰⁴ This must undoubtedly be understood of the devil. If therefore the things which are holy are termed fire and light and fervent things while their opposites are termed cold, and the love of sinners is said to grow cold,²⁰⁵ we must ask whether perhaps even the word soul which in Greek is *ψυχή*, was not formed from

²⁰⁰ Plutarch, *De Stoicorum Repugnantibus* (1033a–1057b), 1052F–1053A: Τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ φύσει τρέφεσθαι νομίζει καθάπερ φυτὸν· ὅταν δὲ τεχθῆ, ψυχόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ στομούμενον τὸ πνεῦμα μεταβάλλειν καὶ γίνεσθαι ζῶον· ὅθεν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τὴν ψυχὴν ὠνομάσθη παρὰ τὴν ψύξιν. αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀραιότερον πνεῦμα τῆς φύσεως καὶ λεπτομερέστερον ἡγεῖται μαχόμενος αὐτῷ. πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τε λεπτομερὲς ἐκ παχυμερούς καὶ ἀραιὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ περιψύξιν καὶ πύκνωσιν; ὃ δὲ μεῖζόν ἐστι, πῶς περιψύξει γίνεσθαι τὸ ἔμψυχον ἀποφαινόμενος ἔμψυχον ἡγεῖται τὸν ἥλιον, πύρινον ὄντα καὶ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως εἰς πῦρ μεταβαλοῦσης. Likewise, op. cit. 1053C–D: ἐνταῦθα δῆπου σαφῶς τῇ μὲν ἐκπυρῶσει καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα τοῦ κόσμου φησὶν εἰς τὸ ἔμψυχον τρέπεσθαι, τῇ δὲ σβέσει πάλιν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνίσσθαι καὶ ἀνυγραίνεσθαι, μεταβάλλουσαν εἰς τὸ σωματοειδές. ἄτοπος οὖν φαίνεται τῇ περιψύξει νῦν μὲν ἐξ ἀναισθητῶν ποιῶν ἔμψυχα, νῦν δ' εἰς ἀναισθητα καὶ ἄψυχα μεταβάλλων τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς. ἀνευ δὲ τούτων ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς γενέσεως αὐτῷ λόγος μαχομένην ἔχει πρὸς τὸ δόγμα τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. γίνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ φησὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅταν τὸ βρέφος ἀποτεχθῆ, καθάπερ στομῶσει τῇ περιψύξει τοῦ πνεύματος μεταβαλόντος, ἀποδείξει δὲ χρῆται τοῦ γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μεταγενεστέραν εἶναι. *De Primo Frigido* (945f–955c), 946C: οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγουσιν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τῶν βρεφῶν τῇ περιψύξει στομούσθαι καὶ μεταβάλλον ἐκ φύσεως γίνεσθαι ψυχὴν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀμφισβητήσιμον. *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos* (1058e–1086b), 1084D–E: Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς βιάζονται προλήψεις· ἐκεῖνα δ' ἦδη καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἰδίας, τὸ θερμότερον περιψύξει καὶ πυκνώσει τὸ λεπτομερέστατον γεννῶντες. ἢ γὰρ ψυχὴ θερμότερόν ἐστι δῆπου καὶ λεπτομερέστατον ποιοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν τῇ περιψύξει καὶ πυκνώσει τοῦ σπέρματος οἷον στομῶσει τὸ πνεῦμα μεταβαλόντος, ἐκ φυσικοῦ ψυχικόν γενόμενον.

²⁰¹ Porphyry, *apud Eusebius, PE*, 15.11.4: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήκασιν ἄλλοι, αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν φέροι. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχυρὸς ὁ ἐντελέχειαν τιθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν λόγος σώματος φυσικοῦ ὀργανικοῦ; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνης γέμων ὁ πνευμά πως ἔχον αὐτὴν ἀποδοῦς ἢ πῦρ νοερόν, τῇ περιψύξει καὶ οἷον βαφῆ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀναφθὲν ἢ στομωθῆν;

²⁰² Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 114: Παρὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν καὶ τὴν ψύξιν. So in ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 212.

²⁰³ Jer. 1:14.

²⁰⁴ Ecclesiasticus 43:20.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Matt. 24:12.

ψύχεσθαι, with the idea of growing cold after having been in a diviner and better state, and whether it was not derived from thence because the soul seems to have grown cold by the loss of its first natural and divine warmth and on that account to have been placed in its present state with its present designation.

Let me consider for a while the scriptural instances involved in this quotation. The portion of Ecclesiasticus 43:20 does not show in any of Origen's extant works, nor does it appear in any other author, save one: Didymus, who in fact quotes the text in a context associating the concept of 'cool' with that of 'sin'. In these portions, the 'cold north wind' is clearly identified with sin and the devil.²⁰⁶ The concepts of 'cool' and 'north' are understood as betokening the notion of evil, which Didymus²⁰⁷ once again denotes by means of the portion of Ecclesiasticus 43:20. Origen himself clearly associates 'north' with evil.²⁰⁸

The portion of Jeremiah 1:14 is quoted by catenae-fragments ascribed to Origen and the 'north' is understood to denote the devil,²⁰⁹ which is also what the text of *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam* and Theodoret²¹⁰ do.²¹¹ So

²⁰⁶ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.131: Εὐκόλον παρασχῶν τὴν φυγὴν, φανεροὶ τοῦ καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ πόλει ἢ σωτηρία γίνεται τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βορρᾶ τοῦ σκληροῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ ἀνέμου· γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ· “Βορέας σκληρὸς ἄνεμος”, καὶ πάλιν· “Βορέας ψυχρὸς ἄνεμος πνεύσει.” *op. cit.* 1.179–180: Σκεπάζει δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρύους τῆς ἁμαρτίας περὶ οὗ γέγραπται· “Ὡς ψύχει λάκκος ὕδωρ, οὕτω ψύχει κακία αὐτῆς.” Εἰς τοῦτο ἀλληγορικῶς λήμψει· “Βορέας ψυχρὸς ἄνεμος πνεύσει.”

²⁰⁷ Didymus, *op. cit.* 1.414: Τῶν μελάνων ἵππων ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τοῦ βορρᾶ ἐληλυθότων ἴν' ἀναπαύσασιν τὸν θυμὸν Κυρίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου ὠφθησαν ἐρχόμενοι οἱ ποικίλοι καὶ ψαροὶ· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δηλαδὴ περὶ οὗ ἐν τῷ Ἀσματι τῶν Ἀσμάτων ἡ νύμφη πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς νύμφιον· “Ἐρχου, νότε”, ἀποπεμφθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ ψυχροῦ βορέα καὶ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ. “Ἐχει δ' οὕτως ἡ λέξις τῆς νύμφης· “Ἐξεγείρου, βορρᾶ, καὶ ἔρχου, νότε· διάπνευσον κηπὸν μου, καὶ βρευσάτω ἀρώματά μου.” Λόγοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ νοήματα εὐσεβῆ εἰσι τὰ ἀρώματα.

²⁰⁸ The idea appears in Origen's catenae-fragments. 'North' is associated with sin: *frPs*, Psalm 88:11: Τὸν Βορρᾶν ἴστησιν ὁ νότος, τούτέστιν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ζέων τὸ ἐν κακίᾳ ψυχρόν· ἑαυτῷ δὲ ποιεῖ νοῦς Βορρᾶν καὶ ἑαυτὴν ψυχὴν ποιεῖ θάλασσαν· οὐχὶ οὖν Βορρᾶς, οὐδὲ [θάλασσα] καθὸ θάλασσα ἐκτίσθησιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν εἰσι λογικά· So in *op. cit.* Psalm 96:5. Likewise, *selEz*, PG.13.796.36–41: Πλειόνων οὐσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐσωτέρων πιλῶν, καὶ τῆς μὲν βλεπούσης πρὸς νότον, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολάς, καὶ ἄλλης πρὸς δυσμάς, ἄγεται ἐπὶ τὴν βλέπουσαν πρὸς βορρᾶν, ἴν' ἐκεῖθεν ἀναβλέψας ἴδῃ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ βορειοιστικῷ τοῦτ' ὅτι κόσμῳ ἁμαρτανόντων. 'North' betokens sin, but 'God will arrive from the South'. *Scholia in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.17.273.11–17 (comm. on Song 4:16): Ἐοικεν ἐπιτιμῶν ἡ νύμφη τῷ Βορρᾶ, τὴν ἔξουσιαν λαβοῦσα παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιτιμῆσαντος τῷ ἀνέμῳ νυμφίου. Didymus, in *commZacch*, 1.414 provides the same exegesis on the same scriptural point.

²⁰⁹ Origen, *frJer*, Fr. 2; *frPs*, 96:5; *selPs*, PG.12.1633.18–20.

²¹⁰ Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 191; *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.501.15–20. He also made the identification of 'north' with hell. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.132.12, which is how Cyril of Alexandria saw it. *commProphXII*, v. 2, p. 391.

²¹¹ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 14.291.

did Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria,²¹² who did not hesitate to allow the final abolition of evil, even though he was writing in the dangerous sixth-century setting.²¹³ Quoting the same passage, Eusebius identifies ‘north’ with evil rather than the devil,²¹⁴ whereas what Didymus saw in ‘north’ was ‘punishment’.²¹⁵

We should expand our exploration a little further. The notion of ‘a north wind’ appears at other points of Scripture. Evagrius is the sole author to comment on such a point, namely, Prov. 25:23, and clearly associates ‘the north wind and insolent person’ with ‘the devil’.²¹⁶

A last correlation of ‘coldness’ with ‘wickedness’ is the passage of Jeremiah 6:7: ὡς ψύχει λάκκος ὕδωρ, οὕτως ψύχει κακία αὐτῆς. Only a few Christian authors made a brief comment on this,²¹⁷ and Didymus did actually see ‘the coldness of sin’ (τοῦ κρύους τῆς ἀμαρτίας) in the portion.²¹⁸ His vocabulary however was compelled by the scriptural portion itself, with no further implications being advanced.

The remaining passage is Prov. 27:16, which makes reference to the ‘the cruel north wind’. We have no extant writings of Origen quoting this passage. Hippolytus unwaveringly saw the devil in this imagery,²¹⁹ which is also what the *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*²²⁰ and Evagrius did.²²¹ Once again, what Didymus saw in this passage is the state of wickedness rather than the devil himself.²²²

²¹² Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *Commentarii Jeremiam (in catenis)*, PG. 93.629.18–21.

²¹³ *Id.*, *commJob*, p. 154: ταῦτα πάλιν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰὼβ ὑπὲρ πάντων εὐχεται· διόπερ οὐ περι ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀορίστως περὶ παντὸς προσώπου τὴν εὐχὴν ἐποίησατο. ὁμοῦ καὶ διδάσκει, ὡς οὐ κατισχύει ποτὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ κακία μέχρι τέλους.

²¹⁴ Eusebius, *DE*, 6.18.30; *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.21.

²¹⁵ Didymus, *commEccl* (7–8.8), Cod. p. 203; *commZacch*, 1.129; *comPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 280; *frPs(al)*, Fr. 781A.

²¹⁶ Evagrius, *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholion 315: Τὸν διάβολον εἶπεν πρόσωπον ἀναιδὲς ἐρεθίζοντα τὴν ψυχὴν.

²¹⁷ Cf. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Jeremiam (in catenis)*, PG.93.641.25–27. The portion has been also ascribed to Chrysostom. Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70.1421.14–19. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.541.34–40.

²¹⁸ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.179; Cf. *frPs(al)*, Frs. 45. 1277.

²¹⁹ Hippolytus, *frProv*, Fr. 8.

²²⁰ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 14.291.

²²¹ Evagrius, *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, p. 83. The same text in *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholion 53.

²²² Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.131; 1.414.

Matthew 24:12 is a theme abundantly quoted in Christian literature. However, no author did ever think of making any association of this vocabulary with the precarious etymology of the word ψυχή ('soul').

As a matter of fact, the Presocratics were not at one as to whether νοῦς and ψυχή are the same thing. Aristotle²²³ attests to Democritus holding such a view. By contrast, Anaxagoras saw them as two different realities: although he thought of them as being of the same (incorporeal) nature,²²⁴ he posited νοῦς as holding a priority over the soul.²²⁵ Philo definitely held νοῦς to be ontologically prior to ψυχή.²²⁶

According to Origen, νοῦς bears upon knowledge, soul appertains to moral quality.²²⁷ The former is impervious to any feelings; the latter is susceptible of feelings, such as joy or anxiety.²²⁸ Nevertheless, he is all but anxious to afford any philosophical definitions, which he treats with irony.²²⁹ Never did he make any hint of νοῦς being 'refrigerated' and consequently

²²³ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 404a27–31: ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ταυτὸν ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν εἶναι λέγει. (So 404b1–3; 405a9–15). Democritus, *Testimonia*, Fr. 101; so Frs. 1; 106; 113. Likewise, Aetius, *De Placitis Reliquiae (Stobaei excerpta)* (Empedocles, *Testimonia*, Fr. 96), p. 392: Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Δημόκριτος ταυτὸν νοῦν καὶ ψυχὴν, καθ' οὓς οὐδὲν ἄν εἴη ζῶον ἄλογον κυρίως.

²²⁴ Aristotle, *De Anima*, 405a15–18 (Anaxagoras, *Testimonia*, Fr. 100): Ἀναξαγόρας δ' ἔοικε μὲν ἕτερον λέγειν ψυχὴν τε καὶ νοῦν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν καὶ πρότερον, χρῆται δ' ἀμφοῖν ὡς μιᾷ φύσει, πλὴν ἀρχὴν γε τὸν νοῦν τίθεται μάλιστα πάντων· μόνον γοῦν φησὶν αὐτὸν τῶν ζῴων ἀπλοῦν εἶναι καὶ ἀμιγῆ τε καὶ καθαρὸν.

²²⁵ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 156 (Anaxagoras, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 12): καὶ ὅσα γε ψυχὴν ἔχει καὶ μείζω καὶ ἐλάσσω, πάντων νοῦς κρατεῖ.

²²⁶ Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 30; 53; 66; 69; *Legum Allegoriarum Libri i–iii*, 1.39. 1.40. *et passim*.

²²⁷ Origen, *Cels*, VII.4: καὶ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν, ἴν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, ἀφῆς τοῦ καλομένου ἁγίου πνεύματος διορατικώτεροι τε τὸν νοῦν ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν λαμπρότεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα. *frJohn*, Fr. III: ὃν γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, ἣ μὲν σοφία ἐστὶ λύει τὴν τοῦ νοῦ ἀγνοίαν, ἣ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τὰ διαβήματα τῆς ψυχῆς κατευθύνει. *frLuc*, Fr. 187: ἀστραπὴ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικε λαμπροτάτῃ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ φωτισμός, λύχνω δὲ ἐν ἀστραπῇ φωτιζοῦσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ σῶματι φῶς, πεφυκότι εἶναι σκότος, ἀγομένω, ὅπου ὁ νοῦς βούλεται. εἰ οὖν τῶν ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ ὁ νοῦς τῆ φύσει φῶς τυγχάνων σκότος ἐστίν, πάντως καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ παθητικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ θυμικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον σκότος ἐστίν. *JesNav*, p. 420 (*Philocalia*, 12.2): οὕτω τοῖσιν πίστευε καὶ περὶ τῆς θείας γραφῆς, ὅτι ὠφελείται σου ἡ ψυχὴ, κἂν μὴ ὁ νοῦς τὸν καρπὸν λαμβάνῃ τῆς ὠφελείας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐκ μόνης ψιλῆς τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. The catenae-fragments, although by a different hand, rendered this doctrine of Origen accurately. *frPs*, 106:30: Λιμὴν μὲν ψυχῆς ἢ ἀπάθει· λιμὴν δὲ νοῦ, γνῶσις σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων. *op. cit.* 107:3: Καὶ νοῦς μὲν ἐγείρεται ἀποβάλλων ἀγνοίαν, ψυχὴ δὲ κακίαν. *selPs*, PG.12.1304.25–28: Κιθάρα ἐστὶ ψυχὴ πρακτικὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ κινουμένη, ψαλτήριον δὲ νοῦς καθαρὸς ὑπὸ πνευματικῆς κινούμενος γνῶσεως. *Et passim*.

²²⁸ Origen appeals to John 12:27, Matt. 26:38; Mark 14:34, where the soul of Jesus is 'anxious' or 'sad'. Origen, *homJer*, 14.6; 15.3; *commJohn*, XXXII.18.218 & 223; *Cels*, II.9.

²²⁹ Origen, *Cels*, VIII.49: τοῖς μὴν γε τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὸν νοῦν, εἴτε πνευματικὸν τοῦτον ἐθέλουσι καλεῖν, εἴτε πνεῦμα νοερὸν ἄγιον καὶ μακάριον, εἴτε ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, εἴτε θείας καὶ ἀσωμάτου φύσεως ἔκγονον ὑπερουράνιον τε καὶ ἀφθαρτον, εἴθ' ὅ τι καὶ ὅ τι χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες.

falling into sin. Justinian could have been astonished at discovering that the sole Christian author to have done so was his dear Cyril of Alexandria.²³⁰ In Origen the relation between νοῦς and ψυχή has nothing to do with any Plotinian ontological pattern. The interplay between them takes place within human beings: once the νοῦς implants false doctrines into the soul, it will fall into wickedness. There is no question of the νοῦς being transformed into soul whatsoever.²³¹

The conclusion out of this exploration is that the disputed passage of *De Principiis* may indeed have been the product of Origen's hand. Had this the case been, it would only betoken Stoicism, not Platonism, let alone Neoplatonism. But Stoicism never hurled as obloquy by Christian detractors.

Caesarius is all too quick to emphasize that νοῦς and ψυχή are two different things.²³² One of his expressions is characteristic, indeed revealing: κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον means 'according to my definition', hence 'according to my own understanding of the question'. Only one author used this idiosyncratic expression, and this was his hero Gregory of Nyssa.²³³ The only other instance is, I believe, not by *another* author, but by the selfsame one, namely Cassian,²³⁴ which is one more strong indication of Cassian and Caesarius being the same person. Besides, Caesarius entertains the Aristotelian notion of νοῦς being the 'eye'²³⁵

²³⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG. 77.437.39–44: "Ὀλην γὰρ τὴν νύκτα, φησίν, ἥτις εἰς τὸν παρόντα βίον ἐκληφθήσεται. Οὐ γὰρ προσήκει, ποτὲ μὲν ἀποψύχεσθαι παρακλίνοντα πρὸς τὸ φαῦλον· ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἀναζωπυρεῖσθαι τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μόνотροπον εἶναι τινα, καὶ αἰεὶ τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντα, καθάπερ φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος. *De Adoratione*, PG.68.98050–98055: Χρὴ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωοποιουμένους, ζωοποιήσιν δὲ φημὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν, νεκρῶν ἔργων ἀποφοιτᾶν, καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω χωρεῖν, εἴεν δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, ταυτί, τὰ δι' ἂν ἄν γένοιτο κατανεκροῦσθαι ψυχὴν, καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι νοῦν, ἀχαλίνως ἐκνευεκότα πρὸς τὰ σαρκός τε καὶ κόσμου. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.508.38–43: Καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἐβάπτιζεν ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ· πυρὶ δὲ τῷ νοητῷ τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν δαπανῶντι συρφετόν, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἐκτῆκοντι ῥύπον, καὶ ἀποψύχεσθαι πρὸς ἐκτόπους ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἀφιέντι τὸν νοῦν· ἀποτετελέσμεθα δὲ ταῦτητοι, τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.

²³¹ Origen, *frPs*, 38:13. Even so, this might well be a rendering by Evagrius.

²³² This is the topic discussed in *QR*, 176 and 177.

²³³ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Sanctum Baptisma*, PG.36.368.37.

²³⁴ Cassian, p. 64^v: κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην.

²³⁵ Aristotle, *Topica*, 108a11. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 580; *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, pp. 59; 118. Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, 3.3.3; 4.27.20. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 53; 66; *De Ebrietate*, 158; *De Sobrietate*, 5; *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, 143. Origen, *frLuc*, Fr. 195; *expProv* (*fragmenta e catenis*), PG.17.200.9. Eusebius, *PE*, 11.24.9; *commPs*, PG.23.268.39–40. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, 78.4. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27: 77.24; 157.21–22. Didymus, *commZacch*, 3.204; *comPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 142. Ephraem Syrus, *De Uirtutibus et Passionibus*, p. 395. John Chrysostom, *In Matthaëum* (*homiliae 1–90*), PG.57: 290.57–78; 291.8. Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, PG.68.785.33–35.

and 'the ruler' (ἡγεμών) of the soul.²³⁶ Of the latter notion Philo made the most.²³⁷

When Caesarius confidently replies that it is not possible to pronounce any definition of 'virtue', which is by nature 'ever-unfinished',²³⁸ he actually presents us with a point of sheer influence by Gregory of Nyssa.²³⁹ Caesarius speaks of both 'virtue' and God being 'without limit', using the term ἀπεράτωτος three times in this reply. This scarce word originates in Plutarch, but once again Caesarius' source was Gregory of Nyssa, who had applied this to God. Plutarch used the term writing about the 'infinite', and tells us that the term was so used by 'ancient thinkers'.²⁴⁰ Otherwise, he applies the term to 'fate', but in the sense of 'not yet being concluded'.²⁴¹ One last usage is simply

²³⁶ QR, 176; 178.

²³⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 391a12. Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 30; 69; *Legum Allegoriarum Libri i–iii*, 1.39; 3.224; *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, 9; *De Somniis (lib. i–ii)*, 2.207; *De Specialibus Legibus (lib. i–iv)*, 2.62; *De Virtutibus*, 205. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 371A. Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, p. 15. Arius Didymus, *Liber de Philosophorum Sectis (epitome apud Stobaeum)*, 61,1. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 1, pp. 13; 66. Proclus made the interesting remark that the νοῦς cannot exist in the world apart from the soul. *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 5, p. 84: οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ ψυχῆς τῷ κόσμῳ πάρεστιν ὁ νοῦς. Of Christians, Athanasius, *Contra Gentes*, 31; *Epistula ad Marcellinum de Interpretatione Psalmorum*, PG.27.40.23–24. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epistulae Theologicae*, 101.43. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1389.7. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Vita Sanctae Syncreticae*, PG.28.1541.17. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, 1.26; 1.48. Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 132. Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In Psalmum n8 (homiliae 1–3)*, PG.55.697.33–34. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1856.39. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Jeremiae Epistulam*, PG.93.776.42.

²³⁸ Caesarius, QR, 190: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἓνα παρὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τελειότητος ὄρον ἐπαιδεύημεν τὸ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν ἀόριστον καὶ ἀπεράττων.

²³⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Vita Mosis*, 1.5. Cf. op. cit. 190: 'Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἓνα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου τελειότητος ὄρον ἐμάθομεν, τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν ὄρον· ὁ γὰρ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὑψηλὸς τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τρέχων οὐδέποτε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος ἔληξεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσφαλῆς αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ τοῦ δρόμου στάσις· διὰ τί; ὅτι πᾶν ἀγαθὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει ὄρον οὐκ ἔχει, τῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου παραθέσει ὀρίζεται. op. cit. 1.7–8: 'Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐδεὶς ἀρετῆς ὄρος πλὴν κακίας ἐδείχθη, ἀπαράδεκτον δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ Θεῖον, ἀόριστος ἄρα καὶ ἀπεράττως ἡ θεία φύσις καταλαμβάνεται· ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ τὴν ἀληθῆ μετιῶν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ Θεοῦ μετέχει, διότι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ παντελὴς ἀρετὴ· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ τῇ φύσει καλὸν εἰς μετουσίαν ἐπιθυμητὸν πάντως ἐστὶ τοῖς γινώσκουσιν, τοῦτο δὲ ὄρον οὐκ ἔχει, ἀναγκαιῶς καὶ ἡ τοῦ μετέχοντος ἐπιθυμία τῷ ἀορίστῳ συμπαράτειναι στάσιν οὐκ ἔχει. Οὐκοῦν ἀπορόν ἐστι παντάπασιν τοῦ τελείου τυχεῖν, διότι ἡ τελειότης, καθὼς εἴρηται, ὄροις οὐ διαλαμβάνεται, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς εἰς ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ἀόριστον· πῶς οὖν ἂν τις ἐπὶ τὸ ζητούμενον φθάσειε πέρας, οὐχ εὐρίσκων τὸ πέρας;

²⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales (612c–748d)*, 719D: τὸ ἀόριστον καὶ ἀπεράττων ἄπειρον εἰωθότων καλεῖν τῶν παλαιῶν. Cf. *De Defectu Oraculorum (409e–438d)*, 424D6: τὸ δ' ἄπειρον καὶ ἀπεράττων.

²⁴¹ Plutarch, *De Stoicorum Repugnantibus (1033a–1057b)*, 1056D: ἡ τὴν εἰμαρμένην λέγωμεν ἐλλείπουσαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν πεπωμένην ἀπεράττων.

literal, meaning 'a surface without end'.²⁴² Clement of Alexandria used the word literally, too, in order to define the meaning of 'abyss'.²⁴³ It was therefore Gregory of Nyssa who first applied the term to the divine nature.²⁴⁴

Damascius also employed the term ἀπεράτῳτος in its literal sense, speaking of the soul, which the body is not capable of containing.²⁴⁵ Simplicius used this making reference either to the infinite proper,²⁴⁶ or to 'matter *per se*', which is impossible to define, or to contain.²⁴⁷ John Philoponus expressed himself in like manner,²⁴⁸ making reference either to infinite proper, or to an extension that is infinite.

This exploration exhausts the usage of the adjective ἀπεράτῳτον, since the second Christian millennium made virtually nothing of it, and the term faded altogether.

We have therefore further strong evidence that Caesarius wrote from his readings of Gregory of Nyssa, whom he followed as a devout pupil. What he did not generally realize though is that Gregory's Origenism was transmitted to the Cappadocian's students, even at points where these students felt it necessary to renounce Origen by name. Whenever Cassian took initiatives of his own, probably from oral teaching by the Origenists of the New Laura, this was fatal and only reproduced a distorted doctrine which Origen's detractors in the sixth century styled 'Origenism', even though Origen's theology was far too alien to such statements. This hearsay is precisely what was eventually condemned by the synod of Constantinople in 553. One example would suffice to make this point. Cassian, Caesarius and the author of *De Trinitate* (who all are one and the selfsame person) urge that the fall of Adam and Eve narrated in Genesis was not the original fall. Creation of

²⁴² Plutarch, *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos* (1058e–1086b), 1080A: ἔσται σώματος πέρας ἔχοντος μέρος ἄνευ πέραςτος καὶ ἀπεράτῳτον.

²⁴³ Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae Propheticae*, 2.2: ἄβυσσος γὰρ τὸ ἀπεράτῳτον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν.

²⁴⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.1.103–104: τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς δόξης τῆς ἀγιοσύνης αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστι πέρας. εἰ δὲ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπεράτῳτα, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος κατ' οὐσίαν ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ ἐστὶν οὐδενὶ ὄρω κατ' οὐδὲν μέρος διαλαμβάνεται. *op. cit.*, 3.7.33: διαστάσεως δὲ μὴ οὐσης οὐδὲ τὸ πέρας ἔστιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀδιάστατος ἡ θεία φύσις, ἀδιάστατος δὲ οὐσα πέρας οὐκ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἀπεράτῳτον ἀπειρόν ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται. *De Vita Mosis*, 1.7: ἀόριστος ἄρα καὶ ἀπεράτῳτος ἡ θεία φύσις καταλαμβάνεται.

²⁴⁵ Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 55.

²⁴⁶ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 470; v. 10, p. 1278.

²⁴⁷ Simplicius, *op. cit.* v. 9, p. 502: ἀπειρος δὲ ἡ ὕλη, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτῆς λόγον ἀόριστος καὶ ἀπεράτῳτος τοῦ εἶδους ἐπάγοντος τὸ πέρας καὶ τὸν ὄρον. *Cf. op. cit.* v. 9, p. 538.

²⁴⁸ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, v. 14.2, pp. 304; 309; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 17, pp. 515; 519; 520.

other rational beings had preceded them.²⁴⁹ Caesarius' text, however, makes the bold assertion that this primeval creation involved 'incorporeal minds' (νόας ὑπάρχοντας καὶ ἀσωμάτους) and it was their fall that caused them to be clothed with bodies in order to be 'rectified'.²⁵⁰

Since the author repeatedly rebukes Origen by name, it follows that he must have been taught this doctrine (which he espoused) as *not* an Origenistic one. But the paradox is that this tenet was adduced by Justinian's letter to Menas as an attribution to Origen, and was subsequently anathematized as one of the cardinal doctrines of Origen.²⁵¹ Since the text of Caesarius was written at a time when his doctrinal indictment was behind him,²⁵² it follows that he was questioned for aspects of orthodoxy which were different than this one. As a matter of fact, the question was not about Cosmology, but about Theology, which takes us to a bifurcated argument at this point.

On the one hand, there are indeed some sources making mention of this theory of pristine incorporeal minds and relate it to the alleged heretical Origenistic doctrine.

1. The long-time Origenist Theodore of Scythopolis, considering the shifts in his environment, thought it wise to recant the tenets he used to espouse and anathematize what he thought to be Origenism. He did this in 552, that is, shortly before the Oecumenical Synod, in order to spare himself the after-effect of the forthcoming resolution. In his

²⁴⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v: Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν ὄρον παρὰ τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων μεμαθήκαμεν, πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ὁρατῆς τὸν Θεὸν πιστεύομεν πνευματικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις πεποιηκέναι. *op. cit.* p. 106^r: Ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη τῆς παραβάσεως ἐκείνης ἢ τοι πτώσεως ἢ ἀρχῆ, ἢ Γένεσις σαφῶς δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ ὀνομάζειν τὸν ἀπατ(ε)ῶνα ὀνόματι ἐφυβρίστω, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ὄφρεως. Caesarius, *QR*, 44: ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τραπεῖς ἀρχέκακος διάβολος συναποστήσας αὐτῷ ἱκανοὺς τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ γνώμη τραπέντας. Pseudo-Didymus (= Cassian the Sabaite), *DT (lib. 1)*, 17.2: ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑποδείξομεν τὰς θείας παρατιθέμενοι γραφὰς τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι πρῶτον κτίσμα ἐπαρθέν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐρρίφη ὡς ἀστραπῆ, καθὰ αὐτὸς ὁ κτίσας καλῶς καὶ ὑστερον δικαίως ρίψας ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ ἐθεώρησεν. *op. cit.* 17.4: ὥστε τὸν διάβολον πρῶτον κτίσμα εἶναι λέγει ἑαυτὸν ποιήσαντα ἐγκαταπαίξεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων διὰ τὸ ἀνόσιον αὐτοῦ καὶ κακόβουλον τῆς προαιρέσεως. *DT (lib. 2.1–7)*, 6.1: τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον κτίσμα ὁ σατανὰς τυγχάνει. ἢ κτίσις τὸ εἶναι ἔχει, οὐκ οὐσα τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἐδείχθη δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ καὶ ποῖον αὐτῆς ἔστιν ἐν λογικοῖς πρῶτον ποιήμα· λέγει γὰρ τὸ ψευσάμενον τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν φύσιν διάβολον. *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.804.47: Εἰ τὸ πρῶτον κτίσμα ὁ διάβολος ἐδείχθη ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ.

²⁵⁰ Caesarius, *QR*, 168: διὰ τί δε ἄρα καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἅμα τῷ διαβόλῳ νόας ὑπάρχοντας καὶ ἀσωμάτους ἀμαρτήσαντας καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταρραγέντας μὴ ἐν σώμασιν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸς νῆψιν καὶ διόρθωσιν κατησφαλίσατο;

²⁵¹ ACO, *Canones xv*, 4.1, p. 248. This is the second anathema of the Council of 553, upon 'those who maintain that rational creatures were produced from primeval minds, which were incorporeal and immaterial, and they were beyond any number or name'.

²⁵² About Cassian being the author of (Pseudo-Didymus) *De Trinitate*, see *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II.

apologetic condemnation (chapter I) he condemned the doctrine of human souls believed to be formerly ‘minds and holy powers’ (προϋπάρχειν τῶν σωμάτων τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχάς, οἷα πρῶτην νόας οὐσας καὶ ἀγίας δυνάμεις). He made no explicit mention of either incorporeality or immateriality, although this could be assumed to be the notion involved.²⁵³

2. The monk who was tantalized and sought authoritative answers, asked abba Barsanuphius for instruction with respect to (sixth-century) Origenism, as canvassed above. He said that he ‘had come upon the books by Origen and Didymus and the [*Kephalaia*] *Gnostica* by Evagrius, as well as books by his pupils’ (εἰς τὰ Γνωστικὰ Εὐαγρίου καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ),²⁵⁴ where he had read that ‘human souls were not created along with bodies, but they pre-existed in the form of naked minds, that is, incorporeal ones (νόες γυμνοὶ οὐσαι, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀσώματοι). Likewise, angels were naked minds, and daemons were naked minds, too.²⁵⁵
3. Hieromonk George (that is, a monk who was also a priest, or deacon) claims to report the resolution of the council of 553 with respect to Origenism. His account of this is the most extensive among all ‘heresies’ described in that manuscript.²⁵⁶

On the other hand, there is a second way to follow. Caesarius employed the theory about ‘incorporeal minds’ simply because he thought of it as a perfectly orthodox outlook, or, which is my own surmise, a certain environment considered this an orthodox doctrine. As a matter of fact, this environment

²⁵³ Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.233.

²⁵⁴ There is collection entitled *Κεφάλαια τῶν Μαθητῶν Εὐαγρίου*, which was fully published only recently, Évangre le Pontique, *Chapitres des disciples d'Évangre*, Sources Chrétienues, n. 514, Paris, 2007. See J. Paramelle, “‘Chapitres des disciples d'Évangre’ dans un manuscrit grec du Musée Bénaki d'Athènes”, *Mélanges offerts au R.P. François Graffin, S.J., Parole de l'Orient* 6–7 (1975–1976), pp. 101–113. Also, A. Guillaumont, “Fragments syriaques des ‘disciples d'Évangre’”, *ibid.* pp. 115–123. The foregoing title of the collection appears in *op. cit.* p. 103. Of the 198 Greek and 8 Syriac chapters (two of them overlapping), these references include only 5 Greek and 8 Syriac chapters.

²⁵⁵ Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responiones ad Coenobitas*, 600, lines 3–4.

²⁵⁶ Hieromonk George, *De Haeresibus ad Epiphanium* (not the Bishop of Salamis), p. 258: νόες ἦσαν δίχα παντός ὀνόματος ὡς ἐνάδα εἶναι πάντων τῶν λογικῶν, τῇ ταυτότητι τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας. This is from a manuscript claiming to report Origen's theology and its condemnation by the synod of 553. See Marcel Richard, *Opera Minora*, v. III, (62). He discovered this in 1961 in the National Museum of Ochrid. The text is attributed to a certain George Hieromonk and is entitled “The tract by George Hieromonk on the heresies”. Originally published as “Le traité de Georges Hiéromoine sur les hérésies”, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 28 (1971), pp. 239–269.

was the monastery of the Akoimetoι, whose patrimony was subsequently bequeathed to the Studite monastery. Once again, evidence suggests that Rudolf Riedinger was correct in guessing that the Akoimetoι was the milieu where some important pseudepigrapha were produced, including the Areopagite writings, to which I should add part of the collection *Epistulae et Amphiloχia* currently (and unconvincingly) ascribed to Photius.²⁵⁷

If Caesarius, that is Cassian, feels confident in making the statement about ‘incorporeal minds’ having been created, he does so because it was the Areopagite who had done so.²⁵⁸ Earlier still, another follower of the Antiochene school, namely, Basil of Seleucia, had made similar statements, though not in such a profound Neoplatonic sentiment as Dionysius did.²⁵⁹ It hardly comes as a surprise that the notion was reproduced by Studite hands; instead, it reinforces the assumption of the role of the Akoimetoι espousing the notion,²⁶⁰ and allows for the possibility of another anonymous work ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa to have been written in that monastery, too.²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ Photius, *Epistulae et Amphiloχia*, 228: ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας διαδραμοῦσα χώραν ἔχοι καὶ μέχρις αὐτῆς τῆς πρώτης φύσεως προίεναι. 244 (describing the state of resurrection): ... ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ... τῆς τῶν ἀσωμάτων λήξεως χαρίζεται τὴν συγγένειαν, ὥστε εἰκότως καὶ ἰσαγγελοὶ καὶ κρείττους ἐκείνων ἐσόμεθα: ... ἀπηλλάχθαι προσύλου τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας ἰσότητα ἀναδεδεγμένοι. 315: διττὸς γὰρ ὁ τοῦ νοῦ λόγος, ἵνα νῦν τὸν θύραθεν καὶ τὸν συγκατασκευασθέντα τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ συγκρίματι ὡς μηδὲν προσήκοντα τῇ ὑποθέσει ἔασω. εἰ βούλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας· καθ’ ἕτερον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι σημαίνόμενον τὴν τοῦ νοῦ φέρουσιν κλήσιν, εἶπερ οὔτε γινώσκει οὔτε σαρκίῳ φύσιν ἔλαχον ἐνοῦσθαι.

²⁵⁸ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 132: ἐξ ἧς καὶ θεοὶ καὶ θεῶν οἰοὶ καὶ θεῶν πατέρες οἱ θεοειδεῖς γίνονται καὶ ὀνομάζονται νόες πνευματικῶς δηλαδὴ τῆς τοιάσδε πατρότητος καὶ υἰότητος ἐκτελουμένης, τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀσωμάτως, ἀύλως, νοητῶς, τοῦ θεαρχικοῦ πνεύματος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νοητὴν αὐλίαν καὶ θέωσιν ὑπεριδρυμένου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ πάσης πατρίας καὶ υἰότητος θείας ὑπεροχικῶς ἐξηρημένων. op. cit. p. 144: Διὰ ταύτας ὑπέστησαν αἰ νοηταὶ καὶ νοεραὶ πᾶσαι καὶ οὐσίαι καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνέργειαι, διὰ ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ζωῆν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀνέκλειπτον καὶ ἀμείωτον ἀπάσης φθορᾶς καὶ θανάτου καὶ ὕλης καὶ γενέσεως καθαρεῦσαι καὶ τῆς ἀστάτου καὶ βευστῆς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φερομένης ἀλλοιώσεως ἀνφικισμένα καὶ ὡς ἀσώματα καὶ αὐλοὶ νοοῦνται καὶ ὡς νόες ὑπερκοσμίως νοοῦσι καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὄντων οἰκειῶς ἐλλάμπονται λόγους καὶ αὐθὶς εἰς τὰ συγγενῆ τὰ οἰκεία διαπορθμεύουσιν.

²⁵⁹ Basil of Seleucia prays to the ‘Almighty Lord, who ineffably casts light on the incorporeal minds, through’ his ‘intelligible light’: “May You cast light upon my mind, too”. *Sermones XXI*, p. 249: Δέσποτα παντόκρατορ, βασιλεῦ κτίσεως ἀπάσης, ὁ καταλάμπων ἀρρήτως τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας τῷ νοερῷ σου φωτὶ, καταύγασόν μου τὸν νοῦν.

²⁶⁰ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 17, p. 114: ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἀγγελικῶς, ζηλοῦντες τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ τρισμακαρίους πατέρας ἡμῶν. Antonius III Studites (monk, Patriarch of Constantinople, tenth century), *Oratio*, p. 114 (addressing the Virgin Mary): ἦν ἀνυμνοῦσιν ἀπαύστως νόες οὐράνιοι, ἧ παρίστανται Χερουβὶμ.

²⁶¹ Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Occursu Domini*, PG.46.1156.47–51: ἐορτάζοντες σήμερον, πνευματικῆς θεωρίας κατὰ τοὺς ἀσωμάτους νόας τρυφήσωμεν, καὶ τῶν θείων θαυμασίων τὸ μεγαλεῖον δοξάζοντες, κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀξίας ἐσόμεθα. The text takes it for granted that

Caesarius / Cassian in fact followed Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, whom he knew and with whom he conversed at the monastery of the Akoimetoι. Pseudo-Dionysius, in turn, had introduced Proclus' language into both his own language and Christian literature.²⁶² This fascinating phraseology is actually what a later Byzantine bishop employed while refuting Proclus.²⁶³

It is then unlikely that this is the statement which Photius had in mind when he wrote that Caesarius is doctrinally questionable.²⁶⁴ For Photius himself used the same phraseology, by which I do not mean the collection *Epistulae et Amphilochia* (for a large part of which I dispute Photius' authorship),²⁶⁵ but the treatise on the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit, which Migne attributed to him.²⁶⁶ When, therefore, Photius wrote that this author falls short of doctrinal precision,²⁶⁷ one cannot be sure that it was *this* statement of Caesarius that he had in mind.

The notion of 'incorporeal mind' appears in the collection *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*,²⁶⁸ which bespeaks the Antiochene presence in the monastery of the Akoimetoι, the spirit of which was taken up by Theodore Studites.

Cassian's texts give rise to the impression that the Laura of Sabas was the place where Origen's catenae-fragments on the Psalms were written, along with most of Ephraem's translations, some of which are only alternative editorial attributions of texts of the Pseudo-Macarian corpus.

One should not be deterred by the apparent paradox of one being an 'Origenist' while at the same time being quick to condemn either 'Origen' by

union with those 'minds' is the actual meaning of 2 Cor. 3:18, about men being 'changed into the same image from glory to glory'.

²⁶² Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, pp. 107; 211; *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, pp. 13; 46; v. 4, p. 41; *Institutio Theologica*, 171; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 1075; 1161; 1214; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 173; *De Decem Dubitationibus Circa Providentiam*, 13.

²⁶³ Nicolaus Methoneus (twelfth century), *Refutatio Institutionis Theologicae Procli*, 182: πρὸ ἡμῶν δὲ μετέχουσι τῆς τοιαύτης θεότητος οἱ ἀσώματοι καὶ μένοντες ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀμεταπτώτως νόες, συνεργούντες καὶ ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μέθεξιν κατὰ θεῖαν βούλησιν καὶ τὰς θείας εἰς ἡμᾶς μεθέξεις διαβιβάζοντες, οὐ μὴν αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν μετεχόμενοι. He comments on Proclus, *Institutio Theologica*, 182.

²⁶⁴ See Appendix III.

²⁶⁵ This collection advances the idea of an incorporeal creation having preceded the material one: 'in the beginning' God created an 'incorporeal and intelligible nature' (ἀσώματος καὶ νοεράς φύσεως δημιουργίας). *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 16, lines 36–41. I discuss this in in the edition volume, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix II.

²⁶⁶ Photius, *De Spiritu Sancti Mystagogiae*, 9: καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀσώματον εὐλαβεῖται φύσιν, οὐδὲ ὅτι ὡς νόες καθαροὶ καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμέσως τῷ κοινῷ παριστάμενοι Δεσπότη.

²⁶⁷ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 210, p. 168b: καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἀκριβειαν ὀλίγων αὐτῶν δεῖ. See this review in Appendix III.

²⁶⁸ *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*, *Canones Junii*, 3.1.9: σὺν ἀσωμάτοις νόες βραβεύοντες τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἄφεσιν.

name, or what was thought to be a catch-doctrine of Origen's, namely pre-existence of souls and final universal restoration. Such sixth-century Origenists as Theodore of Scythopolis,²⁶⁹ Domitian of Ancyra,²⁷⁰ and Leontius Byzantius²⁷¹ condemned Origen at some moment, while they never really ceased to be Origenist. Likewise, Theodore Askidas signed the condemnation of Origen in 543, only to carry on with advancing his own Origenism. By the same token, although Cassian apparently distances himself from Origen, his text is dotted with clear Origenistic doctrines.

A book by an unknown author defending Origen that Photius read and reviewed, is a catalogue of the doctrines that had been laid at the door of Origen. The author of this defense listed no less than fifteen accusations of heresy and set out to overturn them one by one. The same author says that even during his lifetime Origen himself had taken exception to the distortion of his writings. Although it is granted that he espoused pre-existence of souls, it is strongly argued that his Trinitarian theology is impeccable. Against all these, Photius is clearly indifferent to determine what Origen actually espoused. He only concludes that, 'even if he did not hold impious doctrines all the way through, this is not a reason for him to escape reprehension for his blasphemies'.²⁷² The date of this book cannot be determined, but this should have been a pretty old one, even as old as Pamphilus' apology for Origen, which is next reviewed in Photius' collection.

What Origenism meant in the sixth century is a moot question, on which I have made some suggestions, yet it is possible that this question may be susceptible to more than one answer. There are those (like Pseudo-Caesarius = Cassian) whom we style 'Origenists' although they rebuke Origen by name, while expounding Origen's doctrine at the same time. Cassian probably

²⁶⁹ Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86(1).232–236.

²⁷⁰ See the testimony by Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 192.

²⁷¹ Leontius Byzantius, *Libri Tres Contra Nestorianos et Eytuchianos*, PG.86(1).1377.

²⁷² Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 117, p. 91b. The list of alleged heretical doctrines held by Origen is illuminating of what people commonly knew, or thought, about Origen's theology. It goes thus: 1. Origen forbids praying to the Son. 2. The Son is not himself good by essence. 3. The Son does not know the Father as the Father knows himself. 4. Rational beings assume bodies of dumb animals. 5. Metempsychosis is a true doctrine. 6. The Saviour's soul was that of Adam. 7. There is no endless hell. 8. There is no resurrection for the flesh. 9. Witchcraft is not a bad thing to practice. 10. Astronomy (meaning astrology, actually the stars) is the cause for events to come to pass. 11. The Only-Begotten will cease to reign over his kingdom. 12. The saints came to this world because of their own downfall, not in order to minister the people of the earth. 13. The Father is invisible to the Son. 14. The Cherubim are only conceptions of the Son. 15. The image of God, considered in respect of Him of whom it is image, is not truth, since this is only an image.

thought that he had gone a step beyond Origen by espousing doctrines he had learnt as 'Evagrian' ones by those who styled themselves 'pupils of Evagrius'. Nevertheless, either beyond or not beyond Origen, Cassian definitely wrote *in the spirit* of Origen this is the spirit of enlightenment which is by no means shy to address Hellenism and converse with this as a cultural phenomenon.

The Origenism and Pseudo-Origenism of Cassian

The Origenism of Cassian appearing in Codex 573 is probably the result of his relation not only with Leontius, but also with Askidas, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Domitian, Bishop of Ancyra, formerly the abbot of the monastery of Martyrius, where Origenists had prevailed for a while.²⁷³ Leontius was a regular visitor to Constantinople, habitually conspiring with Theodore Askidas and Domitian in order to promote what he was seeing as his 'Origenistic' allegiances.²⁷⁴ Certainly Cassian's spiritual father St. Sabas detested Origenism, as Cyril of Scythopolis recounts.²⁷⁵ But when Theodore Askidas went to Constantinople for the first time as a deacon, Sabas was already dead.

The supposed Origenism of Cassian is in fact like Evagrius rather than Origen himself, as my remarks on Cassian's Greek texts point out every now and then. There are also points that a sixth-century detractor could style 'Origenism', which are actually irrelevant to Evagrius, let alone Origen. Anyway, Cassian was wise enough as to suspend judgement on the hot controversial points of his day, namely, the Christological ones.

In regard to events, allegations, and writings of the sixth century, the designation 'Origenism' is a precarious one. For this is a mixture of real Origenism (rarely), Evagrian Origenism, and a cluster of fanciful attributions to Origen. The text by Theodore of Scythopolis might be a list of doctrines that were regarded as Origenist during the sixth century.²⁷⁶ In the course of time soon after Origen's death, Origenism was made to accommodate

²⁷³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 188.

²⁷⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 191: οἱ περὶ Νόννον συναπιστάς ἔχοντες Λεόντιόν τε τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀναπλεύσαντα καὶ Δομιτιανὸν τὸν Γαλατίας καὶ Θεόδωρον τὸν Καππαδοκίας.

²⁷⁵ Op. cit. p. 176.

²⁷⁶ Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.231–236. Marcel Richard, *Opera Minora*, v. III, (62). Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responiones ad Coenobitas*, 600. Also, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I.

contradictory impeachment. In the sixth century this obloquy came to be employed in order to point out almost whatever might appear as a theological aberration. Almost all of the major heresies were imputed to Origen. Under the circumstances and vicissitudes of the era, the designation 'Origenist' was a partisan usage. Above all, it connotes obscurity, and came to be an incriminating sobriquet reproduced by hardly informed contemporary and later chroniclers and men of the cloth alike. It is therefore incumbent upon me to sort this mess out with respect to Cassian, as far as I am able to do so.

There are points where the real Origen is clearly present, such as the idea that the manifold significance of a scriptural text can be understood either literally or allegorically.²⁷⁷ Or, the expressions τῆ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος, which is characteristic of Origen, as well as Evagrius, whereas it also appears in Pseudo-Macarius, once again to intrigue our suspicion that Cassian's spirit stands behind these texts.²⁷⁸ Or, the assumption that full knowledge of God can only be an eschatological prospect, which is Origen's, too, and Cassian couches this in Origen's own words.²⁷⁹

To assert that it is only the Trinity that is 'incorporeal' is indeed a tenet of Origen.²⁸⁰ To describe this as 'simple and incorporeal substance' is not, since Origen refrained from attributing substance to God, who is 'beyond substance'.²⁸¹ Even at the time when, during his youth, he styled God 'one and simple',²⁸² he left the designation as it stood, without using any noun qualifying this 'one': he did not say, 'God is one and simple *substance*'.

²⁷⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 102^{r-v}: Τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτάρτυτά εἰσιν διὰ φανεράς φράσεως, ... Τινὰ δὲ ἀλληγορίας χρῆζοντα, ... Τινὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑκατέραν (ἐκ)δοχὴν, λέγω δὲ ἱστορικὴν καὶ ἀλληγορικὴν.

²⁷⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 59^v. *OctoVit*, p. 26^v: οἱ σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένοι ἄνθρωποι. op. cit. p. 55^v: ὁμοως σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι συνδεδεμένος. *SerenPrim*, p. 81^v: σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον. op. cit. pp. 81^v–82^r: μηδένα δύνασθαι σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένον τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐπιφέρεισθαι. See endnote 22 (p. 223) on p. 59^v.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^r: Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ οὐσίᾳ γινώσκεται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τοῖς ἁγίοις μόνις τετήρηται. See endnote 26, 27 (p. 224) to Cod. p. 60^r.

²⁸⁰ *COT*, p. 112. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, pp. 86^v–87^r: Εἰ γὰρ καὶ λέγομεν πνευματικὰς εἶναι φύσεις ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν λ(οι)πῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλ' ἕως γυμνὰς σωματικῶν παντελῶς ταύτας οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνομεν· ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ σώματα, εἰ καὶ πολλῶ λεπτι(ό)τερα τοῦ ἡμετέρου, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· καὶ σώματα ἐπουράνια καὶ σώματα ἐπίγεια· καὶ πάλιν, σπείρεται σῶμα φθαρτόν, ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν. Ἐκ τούτων γὰρ προφανῶς μανθάνομεν μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀσώματον εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον.

²⁸¹ *COT*, pp. 86–88.

²⁸² Origen, *commJohn*, I.20.119: Ὁ θεὸς μὲν οὖν πάντῃ ἔν ἐστι καὶ ἀπλοῦν.

Furthermore, to say that God is present throughout all things is too clumsy an assertion to be made by a Christian, since this is only a faint echo of the Stoic theory of the immanent logos²⁸³ imbuing the entire universe; and yet Cassian made this statement, indeed both in the monastic texts²⁸⁴ and in his *Scholia Apocalypsin*.²⁸⁵ The Stoic notion appears in the Wisdom of Solomon 7:24, with reference to God's sophia (wisdom). The tenet has nothing to do with Origen's thought, still the point is that sixth-century intellectuals who claimed Origenistic allegiances seem to have asserted this, or something like this. The letter by Justinian to Patriarch Menas (which was actually written by abbot Gelasius and the Laura of Sabas monks) explicitly brands this tenet Origenistic at three different points in order to condemn it. This was allegedly part of the *De Principiis*,²⁸⁶ where the Father is represented not only as the source of Deity, but he is also claimed to be the source of all things. Which suggests that the world's existence is sustained not on account of the Father's *will*, but of the Father's *being*, which is said to be present throughout. The Father's being is supposed to be a receptacle, which contains and sustains all created things. At the same time, He is also the container that holds the Son and the Holy Spirit, which are ontologically classified after the model of the Plotinian pattern. This presence of Deity throughout all things sustaining and holding them to being is only an analogy to the universal

²⁸³ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 442, *apud* Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione*, p. 224: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ τὸ πνεῦμα γεγονὸς ἐκ πυρός τε καὶ ἀέρος διὰ πάντων πεφοίτηκε τῶν σωμάτων (τῶ) πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κεκράσθαι καὶ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτου ἡρτησθαι τὸ εἶναι. So Frs. 416; 638; 1021; 1100.

²⁸⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 86^v: Τοῦτο γάρ, καθὼς εἴρηται, μόνῃ ἐστὶν τῇ Τριάδι δυνατὸν, ἥτις πάσῃ τῇ νοητῇ φύσει ἐνυπάρχει, δι' ὅλης τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς καὶ οὐσίας διήκουσα καὶ ἐρευνώσα τὰ ἀφανῆ αὐτῆς καὶ περιέχουσα, καὶ μόνῃ ὑπάρχουσα ἀπλή καὶ ἀσώματος οὐσία. *op. cit.* p. 87^r: Ἐκ τούτων γὰρ προφανῶς μανθάνομεν μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀσώματων εἰ μὴ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον, καὶ αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἐρευνᾶν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα διήκ(ει)ν τὰ βᾶθ(η) τῆς καρδίας καὶ γινώσκειν πάσας τὰς νοεράς οὐσίας. Διότι μόν(ω)ς καὶ ὄλως καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐστίν. Cassian the Sabaite (Pseudo-Didymus), *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.761.1–7: ὁ ἐπάρατος Πορφύριος, ... ἀμυδρῶς τὸ ἐν καὶ σωστικὸν ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ψυχῇν προσηγόρευσεν· οὐ τὴν ἀνθρώπου δὲ ὅμως, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῷ παντὶ διαπεφοιτηκυῖαν κόσμῳ.

²⁸⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia In Apocalypsin*, Scholion XV: ἀλλὰ καὶ (οἱ) πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφ(οι)τήσας, διὰ τοῦ χαλκολιβάνου παραβάλλονται.

²⁸⁶ Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 106 & ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, p. 208. Origen, *Fragmenta de Principiis*, Fr. 9 Ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τοῦ Περί ἀρχῶν βιβλίου. Ὅτι ὁ μὲν θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ συνέχων τὰ πάντα φθάνει εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων, μεταδιδούς ἐκάστῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ εἶναι ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἐλαττώτως δὲ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς φθάνων ἐπὶ μόνῃ τὰ λογικά (δεύτερος γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς), ἔτι δὲ ἡττώτως τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπὶ μόνους τοὺς ἁγίους δικνούμενον· ὥστε κατὰ τοῦτο μείζων ἢ δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, πλείων δὲ ἢ τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ἄλλιν διαφέρουσα μάλλον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἢ δύναμις παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἅγια.

Stoic logos, that is both immanent and permeating everything in the world. The same allegation is also a misreading of Athanasius, who had used this terminology with reference to divine *action*, not *being*.²⁸⁷ However, the same Athanasius reported Origen's view more accurately, which editors, who sought to collect Origen's fragments as reported by other authors, overlooked altogether.²⁸⁸

This point of Cassian's text reveals certain aspects of the sixth century pseudo-Origenism, hence it deserves some attention. It has been claimed that according to Origen, the Father holds all beings and he is present in all of them; the Son is present only in rational creatures, and the Holy Spirit dwells on the saints only. This claim was part of the letter of Justinian to Menas, and P. Koetschau made it part of his edition of *De Principiis*.²⁸⁹ I do not exclude the possibility of the young Origen having made such a statement in that early work of his, which marks a limbo between paganism and Christian faith. If indeed he ever really did so, this is only a token of the very early stages of his Christian life and anyway it was not couched in the form it has been reported by Gelasius, the hostile superior of the Laura of Sabas, and his band, who supplied Justinian with his text. For Athanasius quotes conveniently the text of Origen, which is not extant otherwise, and this testimony has a very different tenor, since there is not the slightest hint of *subordination* involved. Which is why Athanasius seems to take no offence at this. On the contrary, he is a notable witness to Origen's Trinitarian orthodoxy,²⁹⁰ evidently taking into account that phraseology of later works of Origen was more refined.²⁹¹ Still more impressive is

²⁸⁷ Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 40.14–15: ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ὑπερεξόχου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα διηκούσης δυνάμεως τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ οὐσίαν μίαν εἶναι γινώσκω. op. cit. 40.27–28: ποῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ σὴ παρουσία; ἢ ποῦ τὴν σὴν οὐ πάντες ἐνεργεῖαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ πάντα σου διηκόντων νόμων αἰσθάνονται; πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς περιέχεις, καὶ ἕξω σου οὔτε τόπον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπινοεῖσθαι θέμις. οὕτως ἡ σὴ δύναμις μετ' ἐνεργείας ἐστὶν ἄπειρος.

²⁸⁸ Athanasius, *In illud: Qui Dixerit Verbum In Filium*, PG.26.649.38–652.2: 'Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὁριγένης καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων κρίσεως οὕτω λέγει: "Ὁ μὲν Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ εἰς πάντα διήκει καὶ πάντα συνέχει, ἄψυχα τε καὶ ἔμψυχα, λογικά τε καὶ ἄλογα· τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τὰ λογικά μόνα διατείνει, ἐν οἷς εἰσι κατηχούμενοι καὶ Ἕλληνες, οἱ μὴδέπω πιστεύσαντες· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἰς μόνους ἐστὶ τοὺς μεταλαβόντας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τοῦ βαπτίσματος δόσει." In 1913, Paul Koetschau was eager to incorporate any allegation against Origen and to present it as a true part of the original *De Principiis*. In 1976, H. Görgemanns and H. Karpp published the *Origenes vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*, as if this testimony of Athanasius never existed at all.

²⁸⁹ Origen, *Fragmenta de Principiis*, Fr. 9. Likewise, H. Görgemanns and H. Karpp, *Origenes vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*, Fr. 9.

²⁹⁰ Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, 27.1.

²⁹¹ Origen, *Cels*, VI.71: οὐκ ἂν σῶμα εἶη ὁ θεὸς λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, ὁ φθάνων, ἵνα πάντα διὰ λόγου γίνηται, οὐχ ἕως ἀνθρώπων μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων εἶναι νομιζομένων καὶ ὑπό

that the same view God (not God the Logos) being himself present throughout the universe was urged by Origen's detractor Eustathius of Antioch.²⁹²

Cassian uses the verb *δήκνειν*, which Athanasius did, too, in order to describe the omnipresence of God in the world. But whereas Origen had taught that the Logos is present in the world, while at the same time he is transcendent to it, Cassian made the entire Trinity a Stoic Logos present *per se* throughout. This was precisely what Justinian's edict condemned, but he did so on false ascription. For he relied on allegations by abbot Gelasius and the leading monks of the Laura of Sabas reporting what probably they had read in the lost book by Antipatrus of Bostra. This they thought to be 'Origenism', and subsequently advised Justinian, which resulted in the letter to Menas and the edict itself.

Even when Cassian describes the Trinity as 'incorporeal and simple in its proper nature' (*ἀσώματος και ἀπλή τὴν φύσιν*), he does so in the language of Evagrius,²⁹³ who wrote following the young Origen of the first book of the *Commentary on John*.²⁹⁴ However, this kind of 'Origenism' transpiring in Cassian is too episodic to have anything to do with Origen himself. Rather, this is the 'Origenism' described in the edict of Justinian, which presumably was more or less espoused by sixth-century monks here and there.

Justinian's edict against Origen was evidently uninformed as far as Origen himself is concerned. It seems, however, that this document actually reproduced doctrines claiming Origen as their father, which circulated in the region of Palestine. The intermixture of spurious ideas imputed on the Alexandrian with genuine ones was fatal and barely possible to sort or clear away. The case of Cassian is therefore informative, since he commingles

φύσεως διοικουμένων. "The divine Logos is not material. Through him all things were made, and, in order that all things may be made by the Logos, he extends not to men but even to the things supposed to be insignificant which are controlled by nature."

²⁹² Eustathius of Antioch, *De Anima Contra Philosophos Fragmenta* (apud John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.477.6–13), Fr. 1: 'Ο Θεός τὰ πάντα πληροί, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περιοριζόμενος. 'Ο γὰρ ὑπὸ τόπου μὴ περιοριζόμενος, πάντως ἐν παντί τόπῳ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Δαβίδ ὕμνολογίαν, ἔσται. Εἰ γὰρ ἔξω λέγοιτο τόπου τινός, ἀνάγκη περιορίζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐπερ στηρίσκεται. 'Ολος οὖν ἐν παντί γενόμενος, οὐδαμῶς ἐξ ἑτέρων εἰς ἑτέρους μεθίσταται τόπους, τὰ πάντα πληρῶν.

²⁹³ Cassian, *SerenPrim*, Cod. pp. 84^v–85^r: This is the teaching of Evagrius, who discouraged 'definitions' about God, according to the testimony of the historian Socrates Scholasticus, *HE*, 3.7.

²⁹⁴ Origen, *commJohn*, XX.20.119: 'Ο θεός μὲν οὖν πάντῃ ἔν ἐστι και ἀπλοῦν· ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν διὰ τὰ πολλά, ἐπεὶ "προέθετο" αὐτὸν "ὁ θεός ἰλαστήριον" και ἀπαρχὴν πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, πολλά γίνεται ἢ και τάχα πάντα ταῦτα, καθὰ χρήζει αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι δυναμένη πᾶσα κτίσις. *Cels*, VII.38: Νοῦν τοῖνον ἢ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ και οὐσίας λέγοντες εἶναι ἀπλοῦν και ἀόρατον και ἀσώματον τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεόν.

both kinds of doctrines, which simply evinces that those who claimed to echo Origen had not actually read his books: at best, they had read heavily interpolated versions of them.

Origen's mature tenet did not engage in such stark classifications. He holds that the Trinity is transcendent to the world, whereas the Logos is present both in the divine timelessness and in history and the gifts of the Holy Spirit are granted through (and, in) the church.²⁹⁵ As late as the ninth century, Photius reviewed a version of *De Principiis*, in which the Son is allegedly a creature and the foregoing statement of Justinian is reproduced: the Father is present throughout all things,²⁹⁶ even though Origen had taught that the Trinitarian *act* and *will* is carried out within the world through the Logos.²⁹⁷

The origin of the tenet is of course Stoic, though it may have been Platonic and older still.²⁹⁸ The Stoic πνεῦμα is a fifth material substance besides the four known ones (fire, air, water, earth), which permeates all things and holds them as a cohesive force. This 'spirit' received different names,²⁹⁹ such as 'soul' or 'monad' or 'atom' or 'fire' or 'prime spirit' (πνεῦμα

²⁹⁵ COT, pp. 165–172.

²⁹⁶ Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 8, 3b: 'Ανεγνώσθη Ὁριγένους τὸ περὶ ἀρχῶν, λόγοι δ', ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος περὶ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐν ᾧ πλεῖστα βλασφημεῖ, τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεποισθῆναι λέγων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ διήκειν μὲν τὸν πατέρα διὰ πάντων τῶν ὄντων, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν μέχρι τῶν λογικῶν μόνων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα μέχρι μόνων τῶν σεσωσμένων.

²⁹⁷ Origen, *commJohn*, II.35.215: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλη μαρτυρία τοῦ αὐτοῦ βαπτιστοῦ περὶ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ, τὴν προηγουμένην αὐτοῦ ὑπόστασιν ἔτι διδάσκουσα διήκουσαν ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον κατὰ τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς λογικὰς. Procopius of Gaza (speaking of Christ), *Commentarii in Isaiam*, p. 2404: καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα δεικνύς ἑαυτόν. This commentary is a compilation from other authors commenting on Isaiah, including Origen's commentary, so this statement may well be Origen's.

²⁹⁸ Atticus, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 12.1: "Ἐτι τοῦ Πλάτωνος λέγοντος τὴν ψυχὴν διακοσμεῖν τὰ πάντα, διήκουσαν διὰ πάντων, καὶ ταύτην ὑφ' ἧς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ διοικεῖσθαι συγχωροῖεν ἂν ἕκαστα, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ἢ ψυχὴν.

²⁹⁹ Plutarch, *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo* (1012b–1030c), 1026C (identifying the universal cohesive power with Zeus): καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ νοῦς ἐστὶν ἡ διήκουσα διὰ πάντων δύναμις. Porphyry identifies the universal logos with Hermes. *Περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων*, 8: Τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦ πάντων ποιητικοῦ τε καὶ ἐρμηνευτικοῦ ὁ Ἑρμῆς παραστατικός. Ὁ δὲ ἐντεταμένος Ἑρμῆς δηλοῖ τὴν εὐτοσίαν· δεῖκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν σπερματικὸν λόγον τὸν διήκοντα διὰ πάντων. Posidonius simply refers to the universal 'spirit'. *Fragmenta*, Fr. 337a: λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐτέρως πνεῦμα ἢ τε ἐν φυτοῖς καὶ ζῴοις καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα ἐμψυχός τε καὶ γόνιμος οὐσία. Cf. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 4, p. 91; v. 5, p. 146; *Institutio Theologica*, 159; *In Platonis Alcibiadem* i, 53; 252; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 643; 734; 856; 921; 953; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 190; 215; 386; v. 2, pp. 52; 286; 301; 303. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10, p. 1218 (dealing with Aristotle's tenet): ἡ ἄλλην τινα τὴν φύσιν ἐκεῖνην οἰητέον τὸν διὰ πάντων διήκοντα δημιουργικὸν νοῦν. Damascius (ref. to Iamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus), *In Philebum*, 5: περὶ τοῦ τελικοῦ αἰτίου πάσι τοῖς οὐσίσι, ὃ ἐστὶ περὶ τοῦ διὰ πάντων διήκοντος ἀγαθοῦ.

τὸ πρῶτον), since it was a material yet a ‘most pure’ one (καθαρώτατον).³⁰⁰ When Origen is supposed to quote Wisdom of Solomon, he actually has Chrysippus in mind.³⁰¹

Despite the foregoing ambiguous statements (as in note 289), Athanasius remained faithful to the teaching of Origen: the Trinity acts within the world through the Logos,³⁰² and Theodoret made reference to the divine *providence* being present throughout.³⁰³ Eusebius was the most explicit of all in setting forth the doctrine he had been taught by Origen: it is not about the Father, but only about the Son that the Evangelist said, ‘He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.’³⁰⁴ Therefore, the Father governs and administers the world through the Son, whose providence is present everywhere.³⁰⁵ Basil of Caesarea made an extensive analysis in order to show that this way of divine action on no account impugns the Son as being on a par with the Father.³⁰⁶

Christian authors were generally cautious of making the distinction: it is either God’s *providence* or *power* that is present throughout the world. Gregory of Nyssa was careful to stress that it is God’s ‘power’, not God himself, that is present throughout the universe,³⁰⁷ and so he was when he wrote of

³⁰⁰ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Frs. 416; 638; 1021; 1029; 1100. Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 396b29: γῆν τε πάσαν καὶ θάλασσαν αἰθέρα τε καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν διεκόσμησε μία ἢ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα δύναμις. Hippolytus attributed this idea to Zeno and Chrysippus, too. *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium (Philosophumena)*, 1.21.1: καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀρχὴν μὲν τῶν πάντων θεόν, σώμα ὄντα τὸ καθαρώτατον, διὰ πάντων δὲ διήκειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ.

³⁰¹ Origen, *Selecta in Deuteronomium (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.12.808.46–51, quoting Wisdom of Solomon 7:22–23.

³⁰² Athanasius, *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.353.16–21: “Ἐν γὰρ εἶδος θεότητος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ Λόγῳ· καὶ εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ, ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶ ὧν κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι· καὶ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ δὲ φαινόμενος κατὰ τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἅπασι διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεργεῖν.

³⁰³ Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.1120.41–42: καὶ τὴν διὰ πάντων διήκουσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ προμήθειαν.

³⁰⁴ John 1:10.

³⁰⁵ Eusebius, *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 2.17.7: ἄτε δὴ τὰ πάντα πατρικῶ νύματι διακυβερνῶν (διὸ οὐ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, περὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέλεκται τὸ “ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο”)· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπέκεινα ἦν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα “φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον”, ὁ δὲ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν κηδεμονικῆ διήκων προνοία, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῷ συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπέου λόγου εἰκόνα.

³⁰⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 6.15: Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀκόλουθον διασφύζουσι οἱ διὰ πάντων διήκειν τῷ Πατρὶ μὴ διδόντες, τῆς τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων ἐνοίας τὰ πάντα τὸν Θεὸν πεπληρωκένα πιστευσούσης.

³⁰⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 3.4.30: τὴν διὰ πάντων αὐτοῦ διήκουσαν δύναμιν κατανοοῦντες ἐν οὐρανῷ τε καὶ ἀέρι καὶ γῆ καὶ θαλάσση καὶ εἴ τι ἐπουράνιον καὶ εἴ τι καταχθόνιον, πανταχοῦ μὲν καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι φαμεν.

the 'power' of the Spirit 'permeating all things'.³⁰⁸ There is only one statement of his which gives the impression that he allows not only for divine 'power' but also for divine 'nature' to be present throughout. This is probably what misled Cassian, who felt free to assert that the divine *hypostasis and essence* is present throughout the world, even though Gregory of Nyssa never said that.³⁰⁹ This instance is at all events one more among those attesting to Cassian's readings.

At the same time though Christian authors had somehow to cope with scriptural portions giving the impression that God is present throughout the universe, such as in Jer. 23:24 ('Do not I fill heaven and earth? said the Lord'), or Wisdom of Solomon 1:7 ('the spirit of God has filled all the world'), or Psalm 138:7–9, suggesting presence of the Holy Spirit in every part of the world. Gregory of Nazianzus touched on the issue only in a context of arguing that the notion of God permeating all things does not suggest that God is of any material nature,³¹⁰ and the author of a probably sixth-century text ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria set up to deal with the same problem while copying Nazianzen's text.³¹¹

During the sixth century, authors were alert so as to make God's power or providence, not God himself, present throughout the universe. Both Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite and Oecumenius carefully allowed only for the divine providence to permeate the world.³¹²

The question therefore is this: why did Cassian allow for God being 'in essence and hypostasis' present throughout the entire world? To which the answer is that Cassian either read this early statement of Origen (which is also reported by Athanasius), or he misread Gregory of Nyssa, who appar-

³⁰⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistulae*, 24.15: καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος δύναμιν.

³⁰⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, PG.46.564.34–42: Πάντη γὰρ οἶμαι πρόδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἡ θεία δύναμις τε καὶ φύσις πανταχοῦ οὐσα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, καὶ τοῦ παντός περιεδραγμένη, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως πέμπεσθαι λέγοιτο. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι κενὸν ἔξω ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον μὴ οὐσα, ὅταν πεμφθῆ, παραγένηται· ἀλλὰ τῇ συντηρητικῇ δυνάμει διακρατοῦσα τὸ πᾶν, οὐκ ἔχει εἰς ὃ μεταχωρήσει, αὐτῇ τοῦ παντός οὐσα πλήρωμα. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 13 (speaking of God): Αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ διὰ πάντων ἀμιγῶς διήκει καὶ πάσι μεταδίδωσι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐνεργείας. Nonetheless, like Gregory of Nyssa, he seems to make allowance for the 'divine nature' to be present throughout. op. cit. 51: αὕτη μὲν γὰρ διὰ πάντων διήκει, καθὼς βούλεται, καὶ περιχωρεῖ, δι' αὐτῆς δὲ οὐδέν.

³¹⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Theologia (orat. 28)*, 8: Πῶς δὲ καὶ σωθήσεται τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν καὶ πληροῦν τὰ πάντα θεόν, κατὰ τό· Οὐχὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐγὼ πληρῶ; λέγει κύριος.

³¹¹ Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1124.41 f.

³¹² Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, p. 44: Ἐλεγε γὰρ ὁ τοῦτο φήσας ὡς ἡ θεαρχικὴ δύναμις ἐπὶ πάντα φοιτῶσα χωρεῖ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀσχέτως διήκει. Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 73: διὰ πάντων ἡ πρόνοια διήκει τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανοῖς προνοοῦσα καὶ ἐπιβεβηκυῖα τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς.

ently made some allowance for the doctrine. Nevertheless, Cyril of Alexandria seems to have urged that making God present in the world does not entail his essence being ‘intermingled’ (συμπλέκεσθαι) with the things of this world.³¹³ Perhaps he had read a statement made by Philo in passing following the latter; reading of Gen. 46:4. God is represented to say ‘I will come with you in Egypt’, which does not suggest spatial transfer of his presence: ‘for I fill everything through my presence’.³¹⁴

The irony of this process is plain: whereas Cassian was confident that he walked on the safe path paved by Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril of Alexandria (which he normally did with other aspects of doctrine), he eventually couched statements which the sixth-century fervour branded as ‘Origenist’ ones, his brothers of the Great Laura included them in a *libellus* condemning Origen, and the emperor himself made this text an imperial edict. Cassian, once again, was placed on the side of heresy, since his text appeared to reproduce an ‘Origenist’ thesis, which though Origen himself would have rejected out of hand.

Cassian asserts that God is not the author of evil, which is a genuine Origenistic tenet, which was as old as Greek Classical literature.³¹⁵ Moving on, however, he takes it for granted, since he ‘had learned this from the holy fathers’ (τοῦτον τὸν ὄρον παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων μεμαθήκαμεν), that ‘before this visible creation’ (πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ὁρατῆς) God had created ‘spiritual and heavenly powers’ (τὸν Θεὸν πιστεύομεν πνευματικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις πεποιημέναι). Although these powers are said to have been created *ex nihilo* (ἐκ μηδενὸς κτίσαντος αὐτάς), there is nothing to suggest that they are not timelessly coeval with God. To the contrary, Cassian takes it as an axiom that ‘no one should believe that God has ever been inactive’ (Οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὸν Θεὸν ἀνενέργητον εἶναι ποτε), and takes the portion of John 5:17 as suggesting that ‘the Father has always been working’. In order to jump to the desired conclusion, he actually distorts the

³¹³ Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.73.37–44: Τὸ ἐν πᾶσιν ὄν καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκον, συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον. Οὕτω γὰρ ἂν εἶη καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλ’ οὐ συμπλέκεται μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ σωματῶν ὁμολογήσομεν μένει γὰρ ἐφ’ ἐαυτῆς καθαρά τε καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἕτερον κοινωνίας, ἀσύμπλοκος φυσικῶς· διήκει δὲ ὁ μὲν διὰ πάντων παραδόξως καὶ ἀρρήτως. Οὐκ ἄρα ταῖς σωματῶν ἀκολουθίαις ὑποκίεσται.

³¹⁴ Philo (comm. on Gen. 46:4), *De Posteritate Caini*, 30–31: ἐγὼ καταβήσομαι τοπικῶς οὐ χωρὶς ἐναλλάττων, ὅς τὸ πᾶν ἑμαυτοῦ πεπλήρωκα.

³¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v: Μὴ γένοιτο οὖν ἵνα τὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογήσωμέν ποτε δημιουργήσαντά τι καθ’ ὑπόστασιν κακόν. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: καὶ ἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦται πονηραὶ ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγ(ό)νασιν κατὰ φύσιν κακαί, αὐτῷ (ἂν) ἐπεγράφη καὶ ἡ πονηρία τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν· ἥτις πονηρία οὐ κατὰ φύσιν ἔκτισται ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ἐφηύραν παραβ(ή)ναι τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

scriptural text, replacing the word ‘hitherto’ (ἕως ἄρτι) with ‘always’ (ἀεί), which no other author ever did. Besides, he writes under the erroneous impression that God created a primeval world of *personal* spirits (πνευματικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις πεποιημέναι), who ‘were singing hymns of praise’ to him ‘before the foundation of this world’ (εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους ἀν(έ)πεμπ(ο)ν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου) until the Fall occurred.³¹⁶

The point is not that these views have nothing to do with Origen, since they are far too alien to him indeed. The real issue is that such theories were attributed to Origen by those who called themselves ‘anti-Origenists’ in the sixth century, and subsequently by Justinian himself. What is historically and doctrinally important is that such views were anathematised as *Origenistic* ones. This was the second anathema of the fifteen decreed at the council of 553. It is characteristic of confusion, nevertheless, that even though Justinian had condemned the doctrine of a beginningless creation explicitly, he had not included this in his own nine anathemas.³¹⁷

One point should not elude us: the most flagrant pseudo-Origenistic doctrines that were condemned by Justinian and by the synod of 553 transpire in those of Cassian’s texts which were addressed to Leontius Byzantius, that is, to a renowned Origenist, no matter what the libel actually meant at the time.

I have suggested that Origen drew on the *Pastor* of Hermas, in order to sustain his fundamental doctrine of creation out of nothing.³¹⁸ The value which he attached to that book was shared by some Christian authors, including Cassian himself.³¹⁹ What is important to our discussion is the image of two angels, one good and one evil, escorting each human being. The idea originates in Hermas, it was taken up by Origen in his *De Principiis*,

³¹⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 103^v–104^r. Likewise, p. 106^r: “Ὅτι περ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῆς τῆς παραβάσεως ἐκείνης, ἦτοι πτώσεως ἢ ἀρχῆς ἡ Γένεσις σαφῶς δηλοῖ.

³¹⁷ Justinian, *Edictum Contra Origenem*, p. 110: “Ὅτι συναΐδια τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κτίσματα, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τοῦ περὶ ἀρχῶν βιβλίου. Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἄτοπον τὸ μὴ ἔχοντά τι τῶν πρεπόντων αὐτῶ τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὸ ἔχειν ἐληλυθέναι; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε παντοκράτωρ οὐκ ἦν, αἰεὶ εἶναι δεῖ ταῦτα δι’ ἃ παντοκράτωρ ἐστὶ καὶ αἰεὶ ἦν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κρατούμενα ἄρχοντι αὐτῷ χρώμενα. Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου. Πάντα τὰ γένη καὶ τὰ εἶδη αἰεὶ ἦν, ἄλλος δὲ τις ἔρει καὶ τὸ καθ’ ἑν ἀριθμῷ· πλὴν ἐκατέρως δηλοῦται ὅτι οὐκ ἤρξατο ὁ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν ἀργήσας ποτέ.

³¹⁸ *COT*, p. 125. *PHE*, p. 410. See note 42 (p. 371) to *Cod.* p. 117^v.

³¹⁹ Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.23.520.28. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.431; *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, p. 72 (quoted *infra*, p. 341, n. 28). Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, pp. 148; 219. John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.418.64; *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)*, PG.61.413.25. Cassian the Sabaite (Pseudo-Didymus), *DT*, PG.39.917.38.

yet it remained extremely rare in literature.³²⁰ That Cassian entertains this idea³²¹ is important and invites this question: was any interpolated edition of Origen's *De Principiis* circulating in sixth-century Palestine, and did Cassian himself read Hermas' idea in that version? For the points of *De Principiis* which Cassian seems to espouse (and which were condemned by the leading figures of the Laura of Sabas, then by Justinian, and then by the Local Synod of 543) are by no means few or unimportant. As a matter of fact, it seems that a certain version of *De Principiis* was Cassian's source at the time when he was writing his texts addressed to the eminent Origenist Leontius, and it was probably Leontius himself that had supplied Cassian with that version of this work. This heavily interpolated and distorted version was certainly available to the monks of the Laura of Sabas, since it was on the basis of this that they composed the document they sent to Justinian, which was eventually decreed as an imperial edict and then as a synodical condemnation.

A final important remark is called for. Cassian quotes a characteristic passage from Ecclesiastes: "Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay".³²² A mere quotation, it might be said. But if one explores its usage, the result is quite stunning: this was never used by either the Cappadocians, or by any of the most renowned of theologians.³²³ The passage became the legacy of Origen bequeathed to Eusebius, to be taken up by Evagrius³²⁴ and Cassian himself, with whom it is shown to be familiar at the Laura of Sabas. First, it appears in Greek translations of Ephraem Syrus, notably, in a work dealing with the monastic ethos.³²⁵ Then we come upon Antiochus of Palestine, another Sabaite monk,³²⁶ with John of Damascus³²⁷ a century later writing in the same monastery joining

³²⁰ See note 23 to Cod. p. 110^r (pp. 360–361, in edition volume). Hermas' *Pastor* is the sole work of Christian literature that Cassian mentions. Of theologians, he refers Basil of Caesarea by name, but he actually reports anecdotal instances which are not otherwise attested. My surmise is that these anecdotes had been related to him by either Sabas or Theodosius the Coenobiarch, who were both Cappadocian. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 28^v; 36^v.

³²¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, pp. 110^r–111^r.

³²² Eccl. 5:4. Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 15^v.

³²³ Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, p. 398; *De Adoratione*, PG.68: 973.35–38; 1040.36–39. Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, *commEccl*, PG.93.540: 30–32 & 41–44. Two portions in works ascribed to John Chrysostom are spurious: *In Psalmum* 75, PG.55.597.1–3; *In Ecclesiasten*, 5.

³²⁴ Origen, *deOr*, 3.4. Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23: 437.1–3; 628.18–20; 885.14–16; Cf. op. cit. PG.23.500.12. Evagrius, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten (fragmenta e catenis)*, Scholion 36.

³²⁵ Ephraem Syrus, *Sermones Paraeneticus ad Monachos Aegypti*, Orationes 42; 44.

³²⁶ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 106.

³²⁷ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96: 380.48–49; 381.8–9.

the list. Then again, the portion transpires in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite,³²⁸ whom Cassian must have met personally in Constantinople, indeed at the monastery of the Akoimatoi. So does it in another figure of Constantinople, namely, Maximus Confessor,³²⁹ as well as in Theodore Studites.³³⁰ All of these authors entertained a language that is characteristically akin to that of Cassian.

In conclusion, Cassian appears to sustain both Origenistic and pseudo-Origenist views, which he commits to writing addressing Leontius. Some of these pseudo-Origenistic views were condemned by Cassian's own spiritual brothers at the Laura of Sabas, who managed to make their censure a royal, as well as synodical, official edict. At the same time, Cassian was tarred an Origenist, according to the import this designation had received during the sixth century, a century that cared more about discovering 'Platonism' in one's casual terminology, rather than in one's essential philosophical and theological *attitude*,³³¹ which should be assessed not only with care, but also with circumspect vigilance.

Subsequently, his writings fell under the treatment reserved for authors of this category: those regarded as heretic were placed sub par and suppressed as much as possible. The rest of Cassian's writings were scribed under the names of such orthodox authors as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Nilus of Ancyra, Basil of Caesarea, and others. The writings themselves continued to exist, while their author was condemned to non-existence, which is reminiscent of Stalin in the twentieth-century Soviet Union, who had his photos with former companions of his reproduced and mastered so that persons condemned to death disappeared from the frame.

³²⁸ Catena (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (e Oxon. coll. nov. 58), p. 85.

³²⁹ Maximus Confessor, *Scholia in Ecclesiasten (in catenis: catena trium patrum)*, 5.

³³⁰ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 52.

³³¹ Mark Edwards made a convincing case, maintaining that 'borrowing and dependence are inadequate terms to characterize the relation between philosophy and theology in Origen'. "Origen's Platonism: Questions and Caveats", *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 12 (2008), p. 21. This should be read as a corollary stemming from an earlier incisive remark by Edwards, made in his *Origen Against Plato*: (p. 5) "In every age intelligent thinkers have worked their way to the same conclusions, not because they have 'stolen', 'borrowed' or 'succumbed to influence', but because as human creatures they enjoyed the same climate and used the same resources, as citizens they lived under common ordinances and aspired to common goods, and as philosophers they reasoned on the same principles, and were vexed by the same shortcomings in the patrimony of knowledge. ... (p. 7) Let us remember also that between appropriation and polemic there is dialogue, and that one of the fruits of dialogue, when carried on without rancour or duplicity, is that each of the interlocutors arrives at a better understanding of his own position."

CHAPTER SEVEN

LATE ANTIQUE INTELLECTUAL INTERPLAY

Christian Influence on Neoplatonism

Neither Christian theologians nor scholars of Greek philosophy are prone to discussion concerning interaction between the new religion and the old, as well as contemporary, philosophy during the Late Antiquity. The former had recourse to their practice of anathematisation upon those who were found guilty of indulgence in Greek mentality. To Greek philosophers, the practice of anathemas was too alien to be employed, still they were all but quick to acknowledge influence by Christian scholars. There were real problems, of course. As a rule, Christian orthodoxy was supposed to come from the pulpit alone: to be a Christian intellectual while not a man of the cloth at the same time, simply made one a suspect of theological aberration. But it was hardly to be expected that a Greek philosopher would trust that he could receive a learned account of the religion by reading a bishop's work, at a time when debate between Christian clerics accusing each other of heresy was an established phenomenon.

We should bear in mind that Greek philosophers had different attitudes towards Christians over the centuries. Celsus looked at the new religion in different ways than Porphyry did; in turn, the anti-Christian sentiment of Emperor Julian could not have the same content as that of Celsus. The initial Greek contemptive attitude of the second century made way to Porphyry's stupefaction ('how is it possible for learned men such as Origen to become Christian?'),¹ which in turn was succeeded by Julian being astounded at the horrendous power the new religion had gained within the imperial establishment and institutional structure.

During the fourth century, the new religion imbued all the establishment, which allowed no room for pagans to hold Christians in contempt, on social grounds at least. Furthermore, it seems that some of the Greek intellectuals

¹ Porphyry, *Contra Christianos (fragmenta)*, Fr. 39, *apud* Eusebius, *HE*, 6.19.7, copied by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 5.13: 'Ὀριγένης δὲ Ἕλληνα ἐν Ἑλληνιστῶν παιδευθεὶς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐξώκειλεν τόλμημα.

decided to consider the Christian reasoning. A Greek philosopher who aspired to approach the work of a Christian intellectual with some confidence, had to choose a Christian scholar who should be indisputably knowledgeable, and should not be a clergyman. Not many persons of this kind were around during the fourth century, when Proclus set out to offer a fresh look at Classical philosophy. As a matter of fact, during this period, only Didymus of Alexandria was available, as in the sixth century there was only one philosopher whom Greeks could listen to in order to access the rationale of Christianity, and this was John Philoponus. That both Christian intellectuals were anathematised comes as no surprise. What may come as a surprise is that Didymus exerted a remarkable influence upon Proclus, which Greeks were anxious to play down and obscure, and Christians were equally eager to overlook. To the latter, sharing even the least of ground with the pagans was sheer abomination.

In this chapter, I am going to consider the influence upon Neoplatonists from Proclus onwards, since Proclus in turn made an impact on sixth-century mindset, both Christian and pagan. This however is not to say that Christian influence was not a dynamic and vigorous factor during earlier centuries: this is simply out of my present scope. Nevertheless, a couple of instances will be mentioned, since Christian theologians are haunted by the influence Neoplatonism exerted to their ancient brethren, whereas philosophers who study Neoplatonism do not care to grope for some important liabilities to Christian intellectuals. Maybe this is so because those Christians who made a mark on ancient philosophers are regarded as heretics, hence they are abhorrent to both parties.

Porphyry (c. 232–c. 304) knew Origen (c. 185–c. 255) personally and mentions him many times.² As already mentioned, Porphyry mourns Origen, ‘a Greek nourished by Greek parents’, having been lost to ‘the barbaric audacity’ of the new religion.³ I have no doubt that Porphyry was telling the truth. He had no reason to lie, whereas Eusebius had all the reasons of the world to make Origen the offspring of Christian parents, in like a manner he coined a list of bishops allegedly Patriarchs of Alexandria in direct succession from apostle Mark. Creation of mythology in the garment of ‘history’ or ‘theology’ was a favourite Roman practice, which was sanctioned by emperors caring for the coherence of society, and Eusebius was a man of the Roman court par excellence. Posterity added to this mythology. Eusebius was content with

² Porphyry, *Vita Plotini*, 3; 14; 20; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria (fragmenta)*, Book 1, Fr. 8, *apud* Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 63.

³ Porphyry, *Contra Christianos (fragmenta)*, Fr. 39.

making Leonides, the father of Origen, a martyr.⁴ But some later chroniclers wanted more: they made Leonides a bishop.⁵

Likewise, the tale about ‘two Origenes’, one Christian and another Neoplatonist, is sheer nonsense. For whenever authors mention different people having the same name, they always make a distinction and care to explain whom they are talking about. Porphyry had no reason to claim a Christian-born theologian (indeed a fervent one) as having been born to Greek parents and having been raised as a Greek. Origen was converted to Christianity, in all probability by Hippolytus: he introduced Origen to the wealthy Ambrose (a convert, too), who supplied him with all the means which his genius needed in order to procure the fruits it procured.⁶ This is why Origen is so reserved about appealing to pagan philosophy, especially in his reply to Celsus, and only says that he knows pagan philosophy as well as Celsus does. As a young man, Origen was a distinguished intellectual, who had written some works. Historian Eunapius mentions Origen (along with Amelius and Aquilinus) as companions of Porphyry: of all three of them, Eunapius had works available to him, but he says that they had written no discourse. Although Eunapius commends their ideas, he adds that their prose is without charm (ἀκύθηρον).⁷ It was natural for the young Origen to have written

⁴ Eusebius, *HE*, 6.1.1; *Antiquorum Martyriorum Collectio (fragmenta)*, PG.20.1524.3–8. This information was reproduced by George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, p. 434. Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Chroniographia Brevis (recensiones duae)* (dubious), p. 94. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 118, p. 92b. Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon*, p. 72. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Chronicon Breve (lib. 7–8) (redactio recentior)*, p. 1281. George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, v. 1, p. 441. John Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, v. 3, p. 107. Ephraem (historian, thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Historia Chronica*, lines 150–154. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *HE*, 5.2.

⁵ George Monachus, *Chronicon (lib. 1–4)*, p. 452; *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110.533.19–20. Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, v. 1, p. 137. Suda, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter omega, entry 183. Joel (chronicler, thirteenth cent.), *Chronographia Compendiaria*, p. 31.

⁶ See *PHE*, pp. 7–8; 19.

⁷ Eunapius of Sardis (historian, sophist, fourth–fifth cent.), *Vita Sophistarum*, 4.2.1–2: Συμφοριῆται μὲν οὖν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναγράφει, κράτιστοί τινες ὑπήρχον, Ὠριγένης τε καὶ Ἀμέριος καὶ Ἀκυλίνος, καὶ συγγράμματά γε αὐτῶν περισώζεται, λόγος δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ ἀκύθηρον, εἰ καὶ τὰ δόγματα ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ ἐπιτρέχει τοῖς λόγοις. ἀλλ’ ὅγε Πορφύριος ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς ἀνδρας τῆς δεινότητος, πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνατρέχων χάριν, μόνος δὲ ἀναδεικνύς καὶ ἀνακηρύττων τὸν διδάσκαλον, οὐδὲν δὲ παιδείας εἶδος παραλελοιπῶς. Eunapius misread Porphyry, who never said that Origen was his class-mate. Porphyry wrote that Plotinus and Origen studied under Ammonius Saccas. *Vita Plotini*, 3; *Contra Christianos (fragmenta)*, Fr. 39. Whether Plotinus and Origen studied *simultaneously* is a question that calls for research. Proclus says that they simply ‘partook of the same education’ (Ὠριγένην τὸν τῷ Πλωτίνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς μετασχόντα παιδείας). *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 2, p. 30.

works that were not elegant. After he was made a Christian, he recalls his youth, which was full of ‘false doctrines’ (ψευδοδοξίαι) and likens his conversion with spiritual circumcision.

During youth, false doctrines inevitably arise in the soul; for it is not possible for man to receive true and pure doctrines right from the beginning. ... Therefore, it behoves us to receive the Logos, who purifies doctrines and strips away all those things that took place out of our false doctrine.⁸

Porphyry noticed Origen’s scupulousness about treating entities which are incorporeal,⁹ and picked up a phrase of Origen in order to make it a maxim duly adapted to his pagan context. The phrase is exactly the same and has a proverbial sublimity: “volume coexists with space” (ὄγκω γὰρ συνυφίσταται τόπος).¹⁰ Nemesius of Emesa took up the proverbial phrase into his own philosophical context,¹¹ but it was Porphyry that had first picked up the dictum from Origen and made it a *sententia* of his own.¹² Likewise, it is rather unexpected that Porphyry comes up with styling the body ‘tunic of the soul’ (καὶ χιτῶν γε τὸ σῶμα τῆ ψυχῆ ὃ ἡμφίεσται),¹³ which he must have taken up either from Gnostic circles of Alexandria, whom both Clement and Origen rebutted, or from Origen’s own polemic references against this Platonizing doctrine, as already canvassed. This was to be employed by Proclus, who entertained it abundantly, as discussed presently.

1. Proclus

Common linguistic terminology does not necessarily imply influence. It may, however, indicate some kind of contact. With regard to Proclus, I have urged that not only was he familiar with the Egyptian intellectual atmo-

⁸ Origen, *In Jeremiam (homiliae 1–11)*, Homily 5.15: κατὰ τὴν πρώτῃν ἡλικίαν ψευδοδοξίαι πάντως γίνονται ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστιν ἀρχῆθεν ἀληθῆ δόγματα καθαρῶς λαβεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπων· ... Χρεῖα οὖν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον παραλαβεῖν τὸν καθαίροντα τὰ δόγματα καὶ περιαιρούντα πάντα τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ ψευδοδοξίαν ἐν ἡμῖν. I emend the editor’s (καὶ) καθαρά to simply καθαρῶς, since καθαρῶς λαβεῖν was an established expression, whereas καθαρά λαβεῖν is nonsensical.

⁹ Cf. Origen, *commJohn*, XX.18.158.

¹⁰ Origen, *frPs*, Psalm 41, verses 10–11; *selPs*, PG.12.1420.25–27; *excPs*, PG.17.136.54–56: Τῆς γὰρ ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας τὸ ἐν τόπῳ νομίζειν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν· ὄγκω γὰρ συνυφίσταται τόπος· ὄγκου δὲ τὸ Θεῖον ἐλεύθερον.

¹¹ Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis*, 3: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἔχον μέρος ποῖα δύναται τόπω περιγράφεσθαι; ὄγκω γὰρ τόπος συνυφίσταται. τόπος γὰρ ἐστὶ πέρας τοῦ περιέχοντος καθ’ ὃ περιέχει τὸ περιεχόμενον.

¹² Porphyry, *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Deucentes*, Sententia 27: οὐδὲ τοπικῶς διέρχεται τὸ ἀσώματον ὅπου βούλεται—ὄγκω γὰρ συνυφίστατο τόπος.

¹³ Porphyry, *De Antro Nympharum*, 14.

sphere, but there are identifiable commonalities.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, it is Damascius who tells us that Proclus had liaisons with the intelligentsia of Egypt, which explains his liabilities to Didymus. The Alexandrian grammarian Orion was the teacher of Proclus, who had received the wisdom of Didymus, since Orion had another pupil too: Eudocia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius II. Being a good teacher, Orion had to be aware of not only pagan but also Christian thought, and Didymus was the best, as well as the closest, representative scholar of such learnedness at the time.¹⁵

There are characteristic instances that evince mutual awareness of respective doctrines. For instance, although the idea of tripartite soul has been a heavily recurrent theme, casting the soul as one that has ‘three powers’ (τριδύναμος) is restricted to Didymus (the sole Christian who used the term), Hierocles, Ammonius of Alexandria, and Proclus. Influence between parties cannot be traced, since Didymus says that ‘this has been so styled by many people’, whereas this instance of the term τριδύναμος accorded to the soul is the most ancient available to us.¹⁶ Evidently this had been a Neoplatonic gloss to Plato’s tripartite division, but what matters is mutual knowledge between Christian and pagan intellectuals. As a matter of fact, there is testimony by Galen that ‘three powers of the soul’ was a doctrine introduced by Posidonius dissenting from Chrysippus.¹⁷ Origen spoke of ‘the Stoics who deny the doctrine of tripartite soul’ (which pointed to Chrysippus),¹⁸ and entertained the idea of ‘three powers of the soul’,¹⁹ but he also spoke of ‘three parts’ of it.²⁰ However, all these may be owing to catenists rather than to

¹⁴ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XIXa.

¹⁵ Op. cit. EN XXVh.

¹⁶ Didymus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (11–12), Cod. p. 337: τριδύναμος ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, ὡς πολλοὶ εἰρήκασιν. *Commentarii in Psalmos* 29–34, Cod. p. 142: τινὲς βούλονται λέγειν τὴν ψυχὴν τριδύναμον εἶναι· παχύτερον δὲ καὶ μεριστὴν αὐτὴν λέγουσιν. νοῦν δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ λογιστικὸν λέγουσιν. Hierocles (philosopher, fifth century), *In Aureum Carmen*, 206: πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσκησιν ὄλγον ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν ψυχὴν. τριδύναμος δὲ πῶς ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὴ, καὶ καθ’ αὐτὴν λογικὴ οὐσα. Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 1215: καὶ τὸ τριδύναμον ἔκ τε τοῦ ἡνιόχου καὶ τῶν ἵππων συμπληρωμένον δηλοῖ τὴν πρὸς τριάδα συγγένειαν αὐτῆς. Ammonius of Alexandria (fifth century), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, p. 2: τὸ γινώσκον ἐνταῦθα τὰ πράγματα διὰ τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν τριδύναμος οὐσα. Centuries later, Michael Psellus essayed to explain why the term τριδύναμος had been applied in this context, still no other author did use this epithet in this, or any other, context ever again. Michael Psellus, *Opuscula Psychologica, Theologica, Daemonologica*, pp. 107–108.

¹⁷ Galen, *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, 8.1.14.

¹⁸ Origen, *Cels*, V.47.

¹⁹ Origen, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, p. 340. *Selecta in Genesim (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.12.125.1–6: αἱ τρεῖς δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσι, τὸ λογικόν, τὸ θυμικόν, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν.

²⁰ Origen, *Fragmenta in Lucam (in catenis)*, Fr. 187; *frPs*, Psalm 107:3; *Expositio in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.17.189.56.

Origen himself. The notion definitely recurs in Didymus, Maximus Confessor, and Anastasius of Sinai. But none of them applied the extremely rare term *τριδύναμος* to the soul, except for Didymus and the foregoing philosophers.

Again, however, communication may well indicate a certain discord expressed in terms of cultural antagonism between different traditions. Quite simply, Proclus might have wished to indicate that a specific inventive terminology could fit neatly his own ontological scheme, rather than that of the authors who had invented it, namely, the Christian mindset. This means that such cultural categories provide us with some understanding of not only cultural friction, but also of intellectual operations spawning the appetite to take up the words and eschew the doctrines. When Damascius says that the Egyptian astrologer and sophist Heraiscus had composed a treatise addressed to Proclus, he is not particularly happy at making such a report, yet he treats Proclus' views seriously.²¹ I have sustained that in Antiquity there were differences in tenets, viewpoints, and attitudes, but the actual people were parleying with each other. In Late Antiquity they often studied in common classes, despite different backgrounds and different aims and aspirations: pagans, Christians, agnostics, sceptics, eclecticists, atheists at least *knew* each other.²² It is only a truism to urge that common language is as much a token of dispute as of intellectual affinity. What is more though, putting certain alien linguistic tools in one's service does not have to attest to either influence, or sympathy, or antipathy, far less to appropriation or stealing. At best, it may betoken a certain interest, which is beyond the reach of ratiocination or words, which at all events suggests that Neoplatonists were not as contemptuous of Christian scholars as the case-study of Porphyry might delude us to allow. Proclus did not need to labour in order to preserve his autonomy while employing the terminology of his neighbours, nor would he have felt that his argument was threatened thereby, nor indeed were his constructions to the least destructive or subversive to the Christian argument couched in the selfsame terms. One thing is for sure, however: turning an interesting glance at Christian intellectuals, Proclus conceded that erudite people like Didymus had something important (or, at least, interesting) to say. Furthermore, he could not exclude

²¹ Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 324: ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅτι διαίρετικοὶ εἰσι πολλαχοῦ τῶν κατὰ ἔνωσιν ὑφεστώτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν διηρήκασιν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ιδιότητος, ὡς ἔξεστι μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγράμμασιν ἐντυχούσι τοῖς βουλομένοις, λέγω δὲ τῆ Ἡραΐσκου ἀναγραφῆ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καθ' ὅλον λόγου πρὸς τὸν Πιρόκλον γραφεῖση τὸν φιλόσοφον.

²² PHE, Preface.

the possibility of a learned Christian being able to offer a different rendition of the same myths, or one of apparently similar ontological premises, which might turn out to allow for discussion or reconciliation. This was the approach of the Late Antiquity interpreters being at pains to show that Aristotle was not too different from Plato after all. Such a conversation however could take place only beyond the perimeters of religion. I am apt to believe that we should not be too quick to exclude such a possibility of conversation, even though Christian intellectuals of the time acted within a milieu of absolute delegitimation of religious pluralism and tolerance. At the same time though, we should study a vast corpus of anonymous tracts, especially on Aristotle's ethics, rhetoric, and logic. I would be not surprised at all if a considerable number of them turned out to have been penned by Christian hands, such as those of Didymus and Cassian.

The most spectacular and stunning influence of Christian thought upon Neoplatonism pertains to Origen's doctrine of creation, which was taken up by Porphyry. As already said, he was well acquainted with Origen and he attests to him having written a treatise entitled 'On deemons', while he mourned Origen's conversion to the new religion. I did not include this liability of Porphyry to Origen in the previous page, since this account comes from Proclus recording Porphyry's views, but this is not just a testimony: in his own cosmology, namely, his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, Proclus incorporates and endorses 'the sacrosanct accounts that Porphyry bequethed in respect to these questions'.²³ First, however, let me summarize Origen's concept of creation, which I have canvassed in a previous work of mine.²⁴

The object of creation are the *reasons* (λόγοι), which means that there is no creation of individual personal beings, far less of incorporeal personal beings, such as souls. There is only creation of *logoi*, that is, of relations, possibilities, principles, of laws and causalities of all kinds, of constitutive and cohesive causes. This is creation of the principles according to which the actual world not only came to being, but also it is maintained and kept in existence. We have the framework for the emergence of the world to be possible. Although this is an evolutionary conception of creation, the world is not regarded as an automaton, or a self-regulated system concerning its own evolution. The universe is constantly dependent on the Logos, because all created principles and *logoi* are being *in* the Logos, who is also a Person. In

²³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 391: Φέρε δὴ οὖν καὶ ὅσα ὁ φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος ἐν τούτοις ἱεροπρεπή νοήματα παραδέδωκε, συντόμως περιλάβωμεν.

²⁴ *COT*, chapters, 2–4.

other words, the world is sustained and kept in being only because the Logos wills so.²⁵ By the same token, the universal presence and activity of the Logos is the source of incessant creation. The reasons, the constitutive causes, make this universe evolve and cause it to be transformed ceaselessly.

The actual material creation exists on account of the Providential creation, the latter is the 'cause' for the existence of the former. "It is because of this creation that the entire world has been able to have come to existence" (δι' ἣν κτίσιν δεδύνηται καὶ πάντα κτίσις ὑφεστάναι),²⁶ yet this causal dependence is not understood in terms of temporal succession: the Providential creation is present and incessantly at work, and it is because of this continuous function that the material world is held in existence. Matter operates on account of being ruled by this set of reasons, laws, possibilities, and causes, according to which the world exists and moves forward.

This fundamental conception of Origen was in fact taken up by major subsequent theologians, such as Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory, for instance, says that the created incorporeal nature (contrasted with the uncreated one), that is the *logoi* of the world, are 'always being created' (πάντοτε κτιζεται); it is constantly orientated towards its 'first cause' (πρώτον αἴτιον), it is sustained in existence by 'participating in this' (μετουσία), and is 'always being created' (πάντοτε κτιζεται).²⁷ What he calls 'beginning of creation' (ἀρχὴ τῆς κοσμογονίας) he understands as an instantaneous act of God introducing 'the causes and impulses and forces at one go' (ἐν ἀκαρεῖ) into the universe. What God made 'in the beginning' was to establish 'collectively' (συλλήβδην) 'for all of them' (πάντων τῶν ὄντων) their 'starting points, their causes, and their powers' (τάς ἀφορμάς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις). This took place at once and as a whole (ἄθρόα καταβολή) and in no duration of time (ἐν ἀκαρεῖ).²⁸

²⁵ Origen, *Cels*, VI, 65.

²⁶ Origen, *commJohn*, I, XXXIV.

²⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum Cantorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 174. Incorporeal nature is divided in two categories, namely, uncreated and created one. πάλιν δὲ καὶ τῆς νοητῆς φύσεως διχῆ διηρημένης ἢ μὲν ἄκτιστός ἐστι καὶ ποιητικῆ τῶν ὄντων, αἰεὶ οὐσα ὕπερ ἐστὶ καὶ πάντοτε ὠσαύτως ἔχουσα, κρείττων τε προσθήκης ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς ἐλαττώσεως τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνεπίδεκτος, ἢ δὲ διὰ κτίσεως παραχθείσα εἰς γένεσιν πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον αἰεὶ βλέπει τῶν ὄντων καὶ τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ ὑπερέχοντος διὰ παντός ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ συντηρεῖται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πάντοτε κτιζεται διὰ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπαυξήσεως πρὸς τὸ μείζον ἀλλοιουμένη. This is Origen's doctrine of creation itself.

²⁸ Gregory of Nyssa, *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, PG.44.72.10–28: 'Ὡς τὸ σημεῖον ἀρχῆς τῆς γραμμῆς, καὶ τοῦ ὄγκου τὸ ἄτομον, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἀκαρὲς τοῦ χρονικοῦ διαστήματος. Ἡ οὖν ἄθρόα

When Origen refers to the opening of Genesis, ‘the earth was invisible and unformed’, he suggests that the reasons, or natural laws, were already a constitutive element of the world, yet their interaction had not yet brought about what is called ‘earth’.²⁹ This is not really anything essentially different from what modern cosmology believes. Holding this conception of creation, which ceaselessly evolves according to principles created in the beginning, he sustains a similar view for the creation of man: the human race came forth in like manner as an individual man comes from the human sperm. An embryo has in itself all the potential to be developed to a human being. This potential is latent in early stages, but it is not dormant. The principles of its own development are inherently there, and they function so that the embryo grows to human being. So the principles for human growth are within: they do not come ‘from outside’.³⁰ This *dynamic* and *evolutionary* conception of creation applies to a human being as well as to the entire world. The two conceptions resemble each other in this respect: what precedes any concrete object or animal is the existence of the *reasons*, the principles, according to which their actual existence comes to pass. The object of creation then is the causative and constitutive principles, according to which everything that was to come forth emerged. These are the principles according to which this world and everything in it, from start to finish, will exist and act and react with each other, whether animate or inanimate, whether a senseless object or a person. Before anything visible appeared, God created the setting for it to emerge, to make sense, and to develop, be they planets, things, persons, or phenomena. The organizing principles, the potentiality and sustainability and workability of the setting—this was the primal object of creation. In a pithy passage from his *Homilies on Genesis* referring to Gen. 1:21–23, Origen reasons that ‘God saw that they were good’.³¹ This means that ‘God saw the usefulness of those things and that

τῶν ὄντων παρὰ τῆς ἀφράστου δυνάμεως τοῦ Θεοῦ καταβολή, ἀρχὴ παρὰ τοῦ Μωϋσέως, ἦτον κεφάλαιον κατωνομάσθη, ἐν ἣ τὸ πᾶν συστήναι λέγεται. ... Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο νοεῖν, ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κοσμογονίας ὑποτίθεται, ὅτι πάντων τῶν ὄντων τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, συλλήβδην ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀκαρεῖ κατεβάλλετο, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ θελήματος ὀρμῇ, ἢ ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων οὐσία συνέδραμεν, οὐρανός, αἰθὴρ, ἀστέρες, πῦρ, ἀήρ, θάλασσα, γῆ, ζῶον, φυτὰ· ἃ τῶ μὲν θεῖω ὀφθαλμῷ πάντα καθεωρᾶτο, τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως λόγῳ δεικνύμενα, τῷ, καθὼς φησιν ἡ προφητεία, “εἰδοῦτι πάντα πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν.”

²⁹ Origen, *Cels*, VI, 49; *Commentarii in Genesim (fragmenta)*, PG.12.49.30–31, *apud* Eusebius, *PE*, 7.20.9. Pseudo-Justin (who is probably Cassian himself) has it that this portion of Genesis 1:1 suggests that ‘the earth became perceptible, according to a certain form created by God’ (τὴν κατὰ προϋπάρχον εἶδος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην αἰσθητήν). *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, p. 29.

³⁰ *commiCor*, 84.

³¹ Gen. 1:21.

way by which they could make good men perfect³² although in themselves they are as they are. Therefore, the goodness of the object of creation stems from the usefulness of the *relations* which come to being. This evolutionary conception of creation suggests that the object which emerged out of nothing was, in the first place, *relations*, indeed potential relations. There is neither determinism nor predestination. There are only potentialities and possible outcomes. What the aftermath of any historical contingency will be, is known to God, it is foreknown, yet not as divine experience, but only as a divine foresight. This is presumably why Origen makes this point: God *saw* that the object of creation was good: it is not written that God *said* that this object was good. The juxtaposition which Origen invents at this point is telling: 'God *saw*' means God had foreknowledge of what was to come to pass in due historical course; to say that God *said* that the object he created was good, would suggest that this was already a fact, even though it had not yet produced the spatio-temporal consequences from the interplay between the *logoi*.

If Methodius of Olympus' invective against Origen had a happy result, this is do doubt that he preserved a very illustrative account of Origen's doctrine of creation, which was recorded by Epiphanius of Salamis.³³ The vital force for a new being to be brought about is a 'seminal reason' (σπερματικὸς λόγος). This is evidently perceived as incorporeal,³⁴ but the conception of it by Origen is exactly the same as a soul is understood to be incorporeal: it is envisaged abstractly, not as an independent entity, actually is makes sense and is realized only once it is associated with a physical object, be that a animated body or an inanimate article. Methodius was not sure whether he had grasped correctly Origen's illustration of a seminal reason creating wheat out of a seed, which is why he states, 'if we understood his example properly' (εἰ καλῶς ἐλάβομεν τὸ παράδειγμα). To be sure, he had grasped it perfectly. Let us then follow the argument:

once the seminal reason seizes the matter which is around and takes hold of all of it, and compels it to be shaped according to the forces that are inherent in this [reason], it imposes [its power] on that which formerly was earth, and water and air and fire. Once it has conquered the qualities of these [four

³² Origen, *Homilies on Genesis*, I.10.

³³ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, pp. 422–427.

³⁴ The father of the doctrine, namely Chrysippus, actually thought of it as corporeal. The Stoics were rebuked for this by Origen, who blamed them for having made 'the first principles corporeal'. *Cels*, I.21: ἀρχὴν φθαρτὴν εἰσάγοντος τὴν σωματικὴν. VI.71: τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, σωματικὰς λέγοντας εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς. So did Plotinus meaning both the Stoics and the Atomists. *Enneades*, III.1.2; IV.4.20; V.4.1.

elements], it transforms them to that quality, of which this [reason] is the creator. In this way, wheat is formed, which is by far different from the initial seed, in terms of volume and shape and variety.³⁵

ὁ σπερματικὸς λόγος ἐν τῷ κόκκῳ τοῦ σίτου δραξάμενος τῆς παρακειμένης ὕλης, καὶ δι' ὅλης αὐτῆς χωρήσας, περιδραξάμενος αὐτῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἴδους, ὧν ἔχει δυνάμεων ἐπιτίθησι τῇ ποτε γῆ, καὶ ὕδατι, καὶ ἀέρι, καὶ πυρὶ, νικήσας τὰς ἐκείνων ποιότητας, μεταβάλλει ἐπὶ ταύτην ἧς ἐστὶν αὐτὸς δημιουργός· καὶ οὕτως συμπληροῦται ὁ στάχυς εἰς ὑπερβολὴν διαφέρων τοῦ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κόκκου, μεγέθει καὶ σχήματι, καὶ ποικιλίᾳ.

Despite the Stoic notion of 'seminal reason' being there, my experience from modern scholarship (which is inexorably always eager to discover Platonism everywhere) is that this passage would be branded 'Platonism', too. This is actually Stoicism, however. But we know this only because Origen himself replying to Celsus informed posterity that this is a doctrine taught by Chrysippus.³⁶ For all his dissent on grounds of ontological principles, Plotinus had grasped the Stoic notion, which makes him a reliable source for reconstructing Chrysippus' views.³⁷ The Stoics were criticized by Plutarch, Porphyry, and Proclus, for having made the soul a product of the earth: it appeared to Neoplatonists that the Stoics produced 'the superior from the inferior'.³⁸ Plotinus argued that these *reasons* must of necessity be immaterial, whereas the Stoics held them to be material. The truth is, however, that Plotinus was rather baffled at the Stoic notion of *reasons*, which he was

³⁵ Origen, *selPs*, PG.12.1097.25–35, *apud* Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, pp. 246–247.

³⁶ Origen, *Cels*, IV.48: "Ὅπου γε ὁ Σολεὺς Χρύσιππος, ὁ τὴν Στοᾶν τῶν φιλοσόφων πολλοὺς συγγράμμασι συνειτοῖς κεκοσμημένοι νομιζόμενος, παρερμηνεύει γραφὴν τὴν ἐν Σάμφῳ, ἐν ἣ ἀρρητοποιούσα ἡ Ἥρα τὸν Δία ἐγγέγραπτο. Λέγει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασιν ὁ σεμνὸς φιλόσοφος ὅτι τοὺς σπερματικὸς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ὕλη παραδεξαμένη ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ εἰς κατακόσμησιν τῶν ὄλων. This is Fr. 1074 of Chrysippus' *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*. Cf. *Cels*, I.37: Εἰ γὰρ γενητός ἐστὶν ὁ κόσμος, ὡς καὶ πολλοὶ Ἑλλήνων ἤρεσεν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρῶτους μὴ ἐκ συνουσίας γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς σπερματικῶν λόγων συστάντων ἐν τῇ γῆ.

³⁷ We owe to Plotinus the following portions attesting to Stoic thought. Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Frs. 314; 315; 319; 320; 371; 373; 375; 376; 400; 402; 443; 478; 799; 804; 858; 934; 946; 986. Editor J. von Arnim attributed all references to Chrysippus, but the fact is that nowhere does Plotinus mention Chrysippus by name. By the same token, there are sixty-six references by Origen, which have contributed to our better understanding of the Stoic thought, which were also collected by Johannes von Arnim in his *SVF*. However, Origen refers to Chrysippus by name at ten points only. This means that the rest of references do not have to be definitely Chrysippus', as von Arnim assumed: they may be either Origen's own, or ones by later Stoics, such as Cornutus. I postpone discussion of this point, which at present is beyond my scope.

³⁸ Plutarch, *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis* (1033a–1057b), 1052F–1053A; *op. cit.* 1053C–D; *De Primo Frigido* (945f–955c), 946C; *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos* (1058e–1086b), 1084D–E. Porphyry, *apud* Eusebius, *PE*, 15.11.4. Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 887; *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 193.

unable to classify among the genera or species he was aware of.³⁹ He definitely thought that involvement of immaterial forms with matter is a state of decay.⁴⁰ His point is that 'bodies are able to do what they can do due to incorporeal powers'; therefore, what matter acquires 'are immaterial and incorporeal reasons'.⁴¹ Despite all this dissent, the doctrine of seminal reason forming matter and producing natural objects exercised some appeal to him,⁴² even though he dismisses seminal reasons as a formative power of the soul.⁴³ For in reality he saw the ingenuity and plausibility of nature functioning according to principles, which are forming forces in nature: what he took exception to was only the notion of those principles being posited as material ones.

Origen actually believed that seminal reasons are present and function immediately upon formation of an embryo, following intercourse between a man and a woman.⁴⁴ Like Plotinus, he had it that the tendencies of a human soul are formed by exercise of free will and action, unlike personal natural characteristics (such as stature, shape of face, etc.).⁴⁵ Origen however allows for some mental predispositions, which are also owing to certain seminal reasons, which in this case are used to explain hereditary qualities.⁴⁶

³⁹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, VI.1.29.

⁴⁰ *Enneades*, I.8.8.

⁴¹ *Enneades*, IV.7.8a.

⁴² Plotinus, *Enneades*, V.9.9: 'Ὡς γὰρ ὄντος λόγου ζῶου τινός, οὕσης δὲ καὶ ὕλης τῆς τὸν λόγον τὸν σπερματικὸν δεξαμένης.

⁴³ Plotinus, *Enneades*, IV.4.39: Γίνεται τοίνυν τὰ ἐν τῷ παντὶ οὐ κατὰ σπερματικούς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγους περιληπτικούς καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἢ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν σπερμάτων λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἐν σπερματικοῖς λόγοις ἐνι τι τῶν γινομένων παρὰ τοὺς σπερματικούς αὐτοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τῶν παρὰ τῆς ὕλης εἰς τὸ ὅλον συντελούντων οὐδὲ τῶν δρωμένων εἰς ἀλλήλα παρὰ τῶν γενομένων.

⁴⁴ *Cels*, I.37: Τί οὖν παράδοξον, εἰ βουληθεῖς ὁ θεὸς θεῖον τινα διδάσκαλον πέμψαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποιήκεν, ἀντὶ (τοῦ διὰ) σπερματικοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐκ μίξεως τῶν ἀρρένων ταῖς γυναιξὶ ποιῆσαι, ἄλλω τρόπῳ γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ τεχνησομένου;

⁴⁵ Origen, *commMatt*, 13.26: δοκεῖ μοι ὅτι ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σώμασιν ἐστὶ μεγέθη διάφορα, ὡς τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι μικροὺς ἑτέρους δὲ μεγάλους καὶ ἄλλους (τοὺς) μεταξύ, καὶ πάλιν εἶναι μικρῶν διαφορὰς ἐπὶ πλεον ἢ ἕλαττον ὄντων μικρῶν, ὁμοίως καὶ μεγάλων, καὶ τῶν μεταξύ, οὕτως καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς ἐστὶ τινα χαρακτηρίζοντα τὴν μικρότητα αὐτῶν καὶ ἄλλα τὴν (ἴν) οὕτως εἶπω) μεγαλότητα καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς (ἄλλα) ἀνάλογον τοῖς σωματικοῖς τὴν μεταξύτητα. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σωμάτων οὐ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς σπερματικούς λόγους ὁ μὲν τις ἐστὶ βραχὺς καὶ μικρὸς, ὁ δὲ μέγας, ὁ δὲ μεταξύ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ αἰ τοιαῖδε πράξεις καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς (ἄλλα) ἀνάλογον τοῖς σωματικοῖς τὴν μεταξύτητα. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν σωμάτων οὐ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς σπερματικούς λόγους ὁ μὲν τις ἐστὶ βραχὺς καὶ μικρὸς, ὁ δὲ μέγας, ὁ δὲ μεταξύ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ αἰ τοιαῖδε πράξεις καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἦθος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει τοῦ μέγαν τινὰ εἶναι ἢ μικρὸν ἢ ἐν τοῖς μεταξύ τυγχάνειν.

⁴⁶ Origen, *commJohn*, XX.2.5–6: ἀπὸ τινων σπερματικῶν λόγων, συγκαταβαλλομένων τισὶν ὡς

Proclus followed the Stoic doctrine in its salient features. Although the principle comes from Chrysippus,⁴⁷ the example of seed developing to wheat impelled by the force of seminal reason is Origen's. This is the very same imagery that Proclus entertains in order to make the same point: a seed contains in itself the reasons which produce its next stage of existence. Proclus, of course, was explicit that these *logoi* are incorporeal,⁴⁸ and so did Origen, who criticised the Stoics for having made 'the principles material' as mentioned earlier.

Proclus was aware of Origen as an intellectual, though a pagan one, before he was converted.⁴⁹ The intellectual under this name, who is mentioned in Proclus' works is not other than Origen, the converted Christian: he was an older contemporary of Plotinus, with whom they shared the same education.⁵⁰ He was also the contemporary of Cassius Longinus (c. 213–273), who also studied under Ammonius Saccas along with Origen and Plotinus.⁵¹ He is the same Origen whom Porphyry had met, and whose testimony about the person Proclus reports.⁵² This is Origen who had an authoritative

οἶμαι ψυχαῖς, δεῖ χαρακτηρίζειν τοὺς ὄντας σπέρμα τοῦ Ἄβραάμ. ... δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πάντες ἄνθρωποι μετὰ πάντη σπερματικῶν λόγων τῶν (αὐτῶν) ἐγκατασπαρέντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδημηῆκασιν. op. cit. XX.3.13: τοῦτο νοητέον περὶ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ Σῆμ καὶ Νῶε καὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω δικαίων, ὧν τὰς ιδιότητας σπερματικῶς δοκοῦσιν κοινῇ ἀνεληγμένα εἰς γένεσιν ἐρχόμενοι Ἄβραάμ καὶ Ναχώρ καὶ Ἀρράμ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἄβραάμ γεωργηκέναι οὐς εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ σπερματικούς λόγους πάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δικαίων, καὶ τούτοις προσθετικένοι ἀγίαν ἰδίαν ποιότητα, τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σπέρμα, οὗ ἐδύνατο μετέχειν οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν καλούμενοι "σπέρμα Ἄβραάμ". op. cit. XX.5.36–38: ἔστιν δὲ ἰδεῖν ἐπικρατούντα καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς ἢ τοῦ πάππου αὐτῆς, κατὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μίξεσι βρασμούς ἅμα πάντων σειομένων, ἕως (ἂν) ἐπικρατήσῃ τις τῶν σπερματικῶν λόγων. ταῦτα δὴ μεταγέσθω ἐπὶ τὴν πεπληρωμένην ψυχὴν νοητῶν σπερμάτων, ἐληλυθότων ἀπὸ τινων ὀνομαζομένων πατέρων αὐτῆς, καὶ (τὸ) παρὰ τὸ πολυκίνητον ἢ εὐκίνητον τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ φαντασίᾳ ἐπίστασιν προκυπτέτωσαν οἰονεῖ σπερματικοὶ τινες τῶν πατέρων λόγοι· ἂν γεωργουμένω ἔσται τις τέκνον ὅδε μὲν τοῦ Ἄβραάμ, δῆλον δ' ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν καὶ τοῦ Νῶε, ἄλλος δὲ τοῦ Νῶε, οὐχ ὥστε δὲ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἄβραάμ, καὶ ἄλλος τοῦ Χαναάν, καὶ ἄλλος τινὸς τῶν δικαίων ἢ τῶν ἀδικίων. op. cit. XIII.41.273: Ἡμεῖς οὖν θερσιμόν συναγομένου καρποῦ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐκλαμβάνομεν κατὰ τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ σπερματικῶς ἐγκειμένου κατὰ τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῖν λόγου ἀπὸ γεωργίας πλείους τετελειωμένου.

⁴⁷ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 1074, *apud* Origen, *Cels*, IV.48.

⁴⁸ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 396.

⁴⁹ I postpone until a future work of mine argument about the 'pagan Origen' being simply the young (later Christian) Origen.

⁵⁰ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib. 1–6*), v. 2, p. 31: Ὠριγένην τὸν τῷ Πλωτίνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς μετασχόντα παιδείας.

⁵¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 31; 60; 63; 162.

⁵² Proclus, op. cit. v. 1, pp. 63–64: ὥστε, φησὶν ὁ Πορφύριος, τριῶν ὄλων ἡμερῶν διατελέσαι τὸν Ὠριγένη βωδόντα καὶ ἐρυθρίωντα καὶ ἰδρωτὶ πολλῷ κατεχόμενον.

opinion on matters of interpretation,⁵³ of historical assessment,⁵⁴ and he is Origen, as we know him, who had advanced the notion of multiple ranks of life, indeed three (divine powers, humans, daemons).⁵⁵ Proclus says that it was Origen who did not recognise the One as utterly transcendent and posited Mind as the supreme principle *in* the universe.⁵⁶ He concedes that this is partially Platonic philosophy, adding that statements such as ‘the One is beyond any possibility of knowledge or grasp’ would have been acceptable to Plato himself, since it complies with ‘the nature of things’ (οὐτ’ ἂν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν). But to say that ‘the One does not exist at all, or that it is non-subsistent’ (εἰ δ’ ὅτι παντελῶς ἀνύπαρκτον τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον), or that ‘Mind is the most excellent’ of beings (καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἄριστον ὁ νοῦς, that is, the supreme ontological reality), or to say that ‘the foremost Being and the foremost One is the selfsame reality’ (καὶ ὡς ταυτόν ἐστι τὸ πρῶτως ὄν καὶ τὸ πρῶτως ἓν) are statements that neither Proclus himself does endorse it, nor would have Plato himself ever done so: instead, he would have never counted such tenet among his own (οὐτ’ ἂν ἡμεῖς αὐτῶ ταῦτα συνομολογήσαιμεν οὐτ’ ἂν ὁ Πλάτων ἀποδέξαιτο καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμοις συναριθμήσειε): this doctrine is simply ‘far to alien to Plato and far to close to the Peripatetic philosophy’.⁵⁷ When Proclus says that he admires ‘the exegetes of Plato’, especially ‘Origen and Plotinus, who shared the same education’, he knows what he is talking about. Origen maintained personal friendship with Plotinus, even after they had

⁵³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 68 (interpretation of Plato): ‘Ὀριγένης δὲ ἀπεδέχετο τὸν τύπον τῆς ἑρμηνείας τῶν προκειμένων ῥήσεων ὡς ὄντα συγγραφικόν. Likewise, op. cit. pp. 83 & 86.

⁵⁴ Op. cit. v. 1, p. 93.

⁵⁵ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 76–77: οἱ δὲ εἰς δαιμόνων τινῶν ἐναντίωσιν, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀμεινόνων, τῶν δὲ χειρόνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πλήθει, τῶν δὲ δυνάμει κρείττωνων, καὶ τῶν μὲν κρατούντων, τῶν δὲ κρατουμένων, ὡσπερ Ὀριγένης ὑπέλαβεν. ... οἱ δὲ καὶ μίξαντες τὴν Ὀριγένους, ὡσπερ οἴονται, καὶ Νουμηνίου δόξαν ψυχῶν πρὸς δαίμονας ἐναντίωσιν εἶπον, τῶν μὲν δαιμόνων καταγωγῶν ὄντων, τῶν δὲ ψυχῶν ἀναγομένων· παρὰ οἷς ὁ δαίμων τριχῶς· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι φασὶ τὸ μὲν θείων δαιμόνων γένος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ σχέσιν, ὃ μερικαὶ συμπληροῦσι ψυχὰς δαιμονίας τυχοῦσαι λήξεως, τὸ δὲ πονηρὸν ἄλλο καὶ λυμαντικὸν τῶν ψυχῶν. τοὺς οὖν ἐσχάτους δαίμονας τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συγκροτεῖν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν τῇ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν καθόδῳ.

⁵⁶ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 2, p. 30: θαυμάζω δὲ ἔγωγε τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἄπαντας τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξηγητάς, ὅσοι τὴν νοερὰν βασιλείαν ἐν τοῖς οὐσι προσήκοντο, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρρητον ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐκβεβηκυῖαν ὑπαρξίν οὐκ ἐσέφησαν, καὶ δὴ διαφερόντως Ὀριγένην τὸν τῷ Πλωτίνῳ τῆς αὐτῆς μετασχόντα παιδείας. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν νοῦν τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πρῶτιστον ὄν, τὸ δὲ ἓν τὸ παντὸς νοῦ καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὄντος ἀφίησι.

⁵⁷ Proclus, loc. cit.

parted ways and he knew of the *Enneades* before they were committed to systematic writing by their author.

In this context, there is a stunning instance, which is worth mentioning, with respect to Plato's famous asseveration that 'the Good itself is not essence, but still transcends essence in dignity and surpassing power' (ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας πρεσβεία τε καὶ δυνάμει).⁵⁸ Plotinus went a step beyond in reinforcing the transcendence of the One, which is 'beyond essence, and beyond activity and beyond mind and thought' (ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας, ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ νοήσεως).⁵⁹ Of this, it is 'beyond mind' (ἐπέκεινα νοῦ)⁶⁰ that Plotinus emphasized: the One is ontologically superior to the Mind. Of all authors, either pagan or Christian, after Plotinus, it was only Origen who mentions this notion in an oblique reference to Plotinus himself.⁶¹ Origen was twenty years older than Plotinus and quite evidently he did not have to wait for publication of the *Enneades*: he was aware first-hand of Plotinus' views and so in the late 240s he actually quotes these views. With the exception of Eusebius, who made extensive quotations from the *Enneades*,⁶² no author did ever make any reference to this point during the next two hundred years. One would be surprised at finding out that the author who did so was not any Neoplatonist enthusiast: it was Cyril of Alexandria, the star of Christian orthodoxy. As a matter of fact, he was obsessed with applying Plotinus' expression ἐπέκεινα νοῦ,⁶³ which is horrendous to modern theologians, who are always all too quick to hurl the obloquy against Origen for

⁵⁸ Plato, *Respublica*, 509b.

⁵⁹ Plotinus, *Enneades*, I.7.1.

⁶⁰ Op. cit. III.8.9 & V.1.8 & V.3.11; V.3.12; V.4.2; V.8.1; V.9.2.

⁶¹ Origen, *Cel*, VII.38: Νοῦν τοίνυν ἢ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ οὐσίας λέγοντες εἶναι ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον τὸν τῶν ὄλων θεόν.

⁶² Eusebius, *PE*, 11.17.10.9.

⁶³ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, p. 683: Θεὸς δὲ ὁ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, γενέσεως καὶ φθοράς τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχων ἐξηρημένην τε καὶ ὑπερίσχουσαν. op. cit. p. 685: ὁ ὢν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῇ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ. *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales (epist. 1–30)*, PG.77.725.34: Τροπὴν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἢ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ ἀνωτάτω φύσιν. op. cit. PG.77.769.46: Ἀποδέχεται τὸν λόγον, ὡς Λόγου Πατὴρ, ὁ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, φημι δὴ Θεός. op. cit. PG.77.773.33: καὶ ὁ πρὸ παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ χρόνου τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἀπόττειν ἔχων, τὴν ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ λόγου παντός. op. cit. PG.77.885.45: καὶ ἀναμορφοῦσθαι τρόπον τινὰ δι' εὐαγούς πολιτείας πρὸς τὸν παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ. op. cit. PG.77.893.18: τὴν θείαν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον φύσιν, τὴν παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, καὶ πέρα λόγου καὶ θαύματος. op. cit. PG.77.924.20: Ὁ γὰρ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ παντός, ὁ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα παρήχθη πρὸς γένεσιν, ὁ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναφύς τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς Λόγος. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.465.46: Ἄποπτος γὰρ παντελῶς, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ παντός, καὶ λόγου δύναμιν ὑπερφέρεται. *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70.896.47: ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ἢ πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔσται. Μένει γὰρ ὁ αὐτός, καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἔχει τὴν φύσιν, καὶ ἀκράδαντον τὴν κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχὴν, καὶ διηνεκὴ βασιλείαν. *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi i–vii*, p. 383: καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ γοῦν "ἐν ἐσώπτρω καὶ αἰνίγματι"

having made God 'too a transcendent' one. Their fear is perhaps that, if God is posited as 'too transcendent' it would be impossible for their prayers to reach him. No other Christian author dared use this dangerous Platonic catchphrase until the eleventh century, when Michael Psellus did so. This, however, did not prevent the Council of Ephesus from employing it conveniently, through Cyril's writings, of course.⁶⁴ On the other hand, styling God one who is 'beyond everything' (ἐπέκεινα πάντων) became a recurrent theme in Christian literature: once again, Cyril of Alexandria championed this usage at dozens of points, but Origen is absent from them.⁶⁵ It should be remarked that the expression 'beyond essence and mind' is used by Origen only because Celsus entertained a similar (though not the selfsame) vocabulary in the first place: he had spoken of πάντων ἐπέκεινα ὢν ('who is beyond everything'),⁶⁶ which is pretty like Plato. It could not have been otherwise, since Plotinus was not even born at the time when Celsus wrote his *True Discourse*. It was Origen who introduced the Plotinian terminology, which betokens awareness of the Neoplatonic approach. Since Plotinus' *Enneades* were written in c. 253, the point calls for further study, since the actual source for both Plotinus and Origen would well have been Ammonius Saccas.

Moving on, Proclus makes use of the imagery of Genesis about 'skin-tunics', which has been canvassed in chapter six. The interpretation of tunics betokening human bodies is Platonic of course, but the terminology is Biblical. It is then noteworthy that Proclus expresses the idea of the soul

βλέπειν. op. cit. p. 506: τὴν ἀπόρρητον καὶ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ φύσιν. op. cit. p. 558: πρὸς τὰ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ παντὸς ἀναμύειν οὐ παραιτούμεθα.

⁶⁴ ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,1, p. 48 (*apud De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, p. 683): θεὸς δὲ ὁ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν ὑπαρξίν ἔχων ἐξηρημένην τε καὶ ὑπερίσχουσαν. op. cit. 1,1,1, p. 50 (*apud De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, p. 685): ὁ ὢν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆ παντὸς ἐπέκεινα νοῦ.

⁶⁵ Cf. Origen, *Cels*, VI.64: whether God is 'beyond essence' (quoting Plato, *Respublica*, 509b) or He is essence himself, is a question that he leaves moot. Likewise, in VI.64. In VII.45, πάντων ἐπέκεινα ὢν are Celsus' words. More interesting is a reference made nearly ten years before *Cels* was composed. In the *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* (XLVII), he seems to allow for comprehension of the incomprehensible God: as every instrument of the body is akin to grasping certain kind of stimuli (such as an eye is capable of seeing things that are visible, or an ear can hear sounds), so mind is akin to grasping 'intelligible things and God, who is beyond intelligible things' (ὡσπερ ἕκαστον μέλος ἡμῶν πρὸς τι πέφυκεν οἰκειότητα σφίζειν, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ ὅτα πρὸς τὰ ἀκουστά, οὕτω νοῦς πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν νοητῶν θεόν). In *Cels*, VII.45, he is explicit on this, too: 'although God is beyond everything, he can be grasped intellectually, by means of an ineffable power' (πάντων ἐπέκεινα ὢν, ἀρρήτω τινὶ δυνάμει νοητός).

⁶⁶ Origen, *Cels*, VII.45.

dwelling in a body through the term ‘tunic’ (χιτών), indeed one which is concomitant with the ‘fall’ of man.⁶⁷

Didymus was the intellectual who put the adverb ἀνηγμένως (‘according to an anagogic rendition’) in consistent theological and philosophical usage, thus making it a salient element of his theological nomenclature, indeed a term peculiar to him. The Neoplatonist Proclus, who lived shortly after Didymus, took up the term along with its import: ἀνηγμένος suggests an elevated life⁶⁸ befitting the divine one, or the sublime conception of it, or indeed a *theoria* befitting the divine reality.⁶⁹ This is an example confirming that it was not only Christians that were influenced by Neoplatonism: things functioned the other way round, too. It seems that Proclus received the idea from Hermias of Alexandria, who would have taken this up from Didymus via the grammarian Orion.⁷⁰ In any case, it was Proclus, not Hermias, who entertained both the idea and vocabulary, making this as characteristic of him as it was of Didymus. In view of this influence, some of the Neoplatonism attributed to Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, although sustainable, should

⁶⁷ Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 138: ἀνιοῦσιν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ ἀποδυόμενοις τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς χιτώννας οὓς κατιόντες προσεληφάμεν. op. cit. 179–180: ταῦτα δέ, ἢ σύνθεσις καὶ ἢ ἀνάλυσις, προσήκει πάντως τῇ φύσει τῆς ψυχῆς, κατιούση μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τελειοτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀτελέστερα διὰ συνθέσεως λόγων καὶ προσθέσεώς τινων ἀλλοτριῶν χιτώνων, ἕως ἂν τὸν παχὺν τοῦτον καὶ ἀντίτυπον περιστοιχίσῃται δεσμόν. Some scholars dispute the attribution of *Alcibiades i* to Plato. But the Neoplatonist commentators did not. *Institutio Theologica*, 209: Πάσης μερικῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ὄχημα κάτεισι μὲν προσθέσει χιτώνων ἐνυλοτέρων. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 112: πολλοὺς γὰρ αἱ ψυχὰ κατιούσαι περιβάλλονται χιτώννας, ἀερίους ἢ ἐνύδρους, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμπυρίους. op. cit. v. 2, p. 182: τὸ δὲ ἐκδεῖραι τὸ τῶν χιτώνων τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ ἐμβριθῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως περιελεῖν, ἐκκαθαίροντας αὐτῶν τὴν ὄλην ζωὴν ἀπὸ τῶν προσπεφυκότων κακῶν. op. cit. v. 3, p. 19: τρίται δὲ εἰσιν αἱ προσεχωῶς μὲν ἐμπνεύουσαι τὸ ζῆν τοῖς αὐγοειδέσιν ὄχημασιν, ἐφελκόμεναι δὲ κακῶν τῶν ἀπλῶν στοιχείων χιτώννας ἐνύλους καὶ δευτέραν εἰς τοῦτους ἀπορρέουσαι ζωὴν. op. cit. v. 3, p. 285. op. cit. v. 2, p. 159: ζῶν τε εἶδη ποικίλα, καὶ τὰ ὄχηματα τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐνυλώτερα ποιοῦσαι διὰ τῆς προβολῆς καὶ περιαιπισχόμεναι χιτώννας παχυτέρους καὶ γενέσει φίλους. *Et passim*.

⁶⁸ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 103: πρὸς τὴν χωριστὴν ἀνηγμένους καὶ τὴν ἔξω γενέσεως ζωὴν. *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 1, p. 96: ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ὁπαδοῖς καὶ τὸν πολλὸν ὄχλον τῆς γενέσεως ἀπολιπούσας καὶ γυμναῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀνηγμέναις.

⁶⁹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 16: μιμεῖται γὰρ ἢ μὲν ψυχῆς ἔτι πρὸς τὰ πάθη μαχομένης ζωὴν, ἢ δὲ παντελῶς εἰς θεωρίαν ἀνηγμένης καὶ ἀπεκδυσαμένης τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἀγῶνων ἐκείνων. op. cit. v. 1, p. 137: τῷ δημιουργῷ πρόσεισιν τοῦ παντὸς ἐπὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀνηγμένῳ νοητῶν. op. cit. v. 1, p. 176: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφανῶν ἀνηγμένον καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων εἰς τὴν ἀφανῆ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἡμῶν θεωρίαν. *Institutio Theologica*, 204: τὰς αἰεὶ ἐπομένους ψυχὰς καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἐνεργοῦσας καὶ εἰς νόας ἀνηγμένας. *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 646: ἐν θείῳ στόματι φθειρομένης, δι’ ὀνομάτων ἱεροπρεπῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ ὕψος ἀνηγμένης ἰδέας. op. cit. p. 705: τὸν γὰρ ἀνηγμένον πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὄντως ὄν ἀνάγκη καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν καλλοῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγαθότητος εἶναι πλήρη τὴν ψυχὴν. op. cit. p. 1037: ὁ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνηγμένην.

⁷⁰ Hermias of Alexandria, *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, p. 46: πάντα ταῦτα οἰκεία ὀνόματα τοῖς ἐνύλοις καὶ γεώδεσι καὶ μήπω ἀνηγμένοις. op. cit. p. 254: ὁ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκων καὶ ἀνηγμένος.

be slighted. When he entertained the notion, he actually echoed Didymus, even if he were not actually aware of this influence being one of Christian provenance, which I myself doubt.⁷¹

Didymus had barely any followers regarding this specific usage of this terminology. Quite ironically, his followers were the Neoplatonists. This expression, therefore, remains typical of his phraseology, being one of the means by which he can be identified in notable instances. Although ἀναγωγῆ had been heavily used by Origen as a technical term,⁷² Didymus went well beyond this and applied a wider import to the Present Perfect participle ἀνηγγμένος and its cognate adverb ἀνηγγμένως. The term has always been characteristic of Didymus, so that we can identify him. Christians after him remained without any inkling of its value, with the exception of the learned John Philoponus, who displays a remarkable awareness of it,⁷³ a hundred and fifty years after the death of Didymus.⁷⁴

According to Cassian, a monk should crucify himself ‘in the form and model’ in which Christ was crucified himself. To couch this, he uses a heavily loaded expression, which is, τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι (‘in the form and model’ of Christ’s crucifixion).⁷⁵ As it happens with the portion Eccl. 5:4, which⁷⁶ was scarcely used by Christian writers but was entertained by Cyril of Alexandria, Cassian once again shows himself a follower of this Alexandrian bishop. One of Cyril’s texts is anyway part of the ‘book of Cassian’, as already mentioned.

In Cassian’s text, the novice is urged to engage in such a conduct of life as to imitate the suffering and death of Jesus. A monk should crucify himself ‘in the form and model’ (τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι) in which Christ himself was crucified. By employing this formulation, Cassian in fact follows the formulation τύπος καὶ σχῆμα, which is characteristic of Cyril of Alexandria: the

⁷¹ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, p. 86: ὁ καθόλου θεῖος ἀνὴρ ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἄξιος κοινῶνός ὁ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν θεοειδοῦς ἄκρον ἐν παντελέσει καὶ τελειωτικαῖς θεώσεσιν ἀνηγγμένος. op. cit. p. 113: ἐραστός ἐστι ταῖς ὁμοταγείαι καὶ ἱερωτάταις τάξεσιν εἰς τὸ θεοειδέστατον ἀνηγγμένος κάλλος.

⁷² Cf. *PHE*, pp. 29; 108; 367; 368.

⁷³ John Philoponus, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 16, p. 132; *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 4.

⁷⁴ The term is absent from the vocabulary of Didymus’ younger contemporary, the long-winded Chrysostom, who used it once and then put it to rest. In *Acta Apostolorum* (*homiliae* 1–55), PG.60.25.54–55: Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνήχθησαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνηγγμένως αὐτοῖς διαλέγεται.

⁷⁵ Cassian the Sabaiter, *Const.*, p. 16¹: Τοῦτω τοίνυν τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, ᾧ ὁ δεσπότης ὑπέρο ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκρεμάσθη.

⁷⁶ Op. cit. p. 15^v.

Old Testament foreshadowed the New one and these Biblical occurrences were 'a model and figure' of the events surrounding the life of Jesus and the 'new Israel'. Likewise, the events making up the life, death and resurrection of Jesus are 'a model and figure' of the eschatological end. There can be no doubt that Cassian was aware of Cyril's writings, all the more so since he had to make up his mind in respect of the Monophysite dispute of the 530s. The idea is Origen's,⁷⁷ but it was Cyril alone who supplied Cassian with this language. The expression τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι is indicative of the Christian philosophy of history and involves a certain conception of all time, from start to finish.⁷⁸ In the first place, it bespeaks what happened to Jesus' body during his earthly lifetime, even as an exemplar, as the parallel Latin *habitu ac figura* has it.⁷⁹ The literal sense in which the Latin entertains the idiom occurs in Cyril,⁸⁰ too, as it does in a historical sense.⁸¹ The same

⁷⁷ PHE, pp. 32; 33; 385; 408; 430.

⁷⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 453: καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐγνωκότας τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς οἱ γε τῷ γράμματι τῷ νομικῷ προσεδρεύοντες, τύπων ἀπλῶς καὶ σχημάτων μεστὸν ἔχουσι τὸν νοῦν. op. cit. p. 466: ἡ μὲν γὰρ διὰ νόμου παιδεύσις, ἡ ἐν τύποις φημί καὶ σχήμασιν. p. 568: εἶτα πάλιν ἑτέρως ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν τύπῳ καὶ σχήματι τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ἐπιδεικνύει λέγων (then quoting Ex. 40:3). p. 588: ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὴν ἐν σκιάς καὶ τύποις πανήγυριν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἐορτάζειν ἡδύ· πρὸς ταύτην οὐκ ἀνεμί τὴν ἑορτήν, τὴν ἐν τύπῳ δηλονότι καὶ σχήματι. p. 592: ἀλλὰ πάλω μὲν ἐποχοῦμενος εἰς τύπον τοῦ νέου λαοῦ, νηπίων δὲ προελαύνοντα δῆμον οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον ἔχων, σχῆμα πάλιν ἀποπληροῦντα τοῦ τεχθῆσομένου λαοῦ. p. 687: ἐξίστησι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐν γράμμασι τύπων, καὶ μετακομίζει εὐφυῶς τὰ ἐν σχήμασιν. v. 2, p. 80: οὐ γὰρ ἐν τύποις ἔτι καὶ σχήμασι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἐπιτηδεύειν ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ Σωτῆρος διδάσκει λόγος. p. 503: οὐκ ἐν τύποις ἔτι καὶ σχήματι τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς καταγράφω εἶδος, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μωυσῆς. ἀλλὰ γυμνῆν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐμφανῆ καθιστάς. p. 567: νέα γὰρ ἐκβάλλει καὶ παλαιά, τὴν τοῦ νόμου σκιάν καὶ τῆς ἐν νόμῳ λατρείας τὴν δύναμιν μεταπλάττων εἰς σχῆμα πολιτείας εὐαγγελικῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἐδήλου διὰ τῶν τύπων ὁ νόμος, τοῦτο Χριστὸς ἀπημφιεσμένως ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. p. 600: ὡς εἶη μὲν ἡθὴ καιρὸς τὰ ἐν τύπῳ παρελάσαι λοιπόν, καὶ ὅτι σχημάτων μὲν ἄλις καὶ σκιάς, ὥρα δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναλάμψαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. p. 689: ὁ γεμῆν ὑπὲρ τύπους καὶ σχήματα νομικὰ πεφηνῶς ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς ἀρχιερεῦς τε ἅμα καὶ μεσίτης Χριστὸς. v. 3, p. 98: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ μακάριος ἔφη Παῦλος, διὰ τῶν ἐν τύποις ἡμῖν σχημάτων ἐδήλου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὴν τοῖς ἀγίοις πρεπωδεστέραν οὕτω πεφανερῶσθαι τριβόν. *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.477.28–30: ἐξετάζειν δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος διὰ τῶν ἀγίων λαλούμενα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν σχήματι καὶ τύποις ἀναπλαττόμενα. op. cit. PG.77.665.39–42: Σκιάν μὲν ὁ νόμος ἔχει τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ὑποπλάττεται σχῆμα, διὰ τὸ τύπο καὶ αἰνιγμάτων, τῶν διὰ Χριστοῦ τεθεσπισμένων ὑποφαίνων ἡμῖν τὸ μυστήριον. *GlaphPent*, PG.69.133.9–10: Ἡ γὰρ διὰ νόμου λατρεία, διὰ σχημάτων ἰοῦσα καὶ τύπων. op. cit. PG.69.653.36–37: Τὰ δὲ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἱμάτια, φαίνῃ ἂν ἔγωγε τῆς δουλείας τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ τῆς ἐν φανερῷ πολιτείας ἀναγράφειν τοὺς τύπους. *Contra Julianum* (lib. 1–2), 1.26: διὰ σχημάτων καὶ τύπων τῶν ἐναργεστέρων ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ καὶ ἐν αἰνιγματι τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς μανθάνομεν.

⁷⁹ *Institutiones*, IV.34. PL.49.195A.

⁸⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, *De Adoratione*, PG.68.385.42–44: Οὐκοῦν ἡ Μωσέως εὐχὴ τύπος ἂν εἶη τῆς μεσιτείας Χριστοῦ, κατὰ γε τὸ σχῆμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

⁸¹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Responsiones ad Tiberium Diaconum Sociosque Suos*, p. 593: ἐπειδὴ δὲ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ὁ Θεός, ἀνείδεός που πάντως ἐστί, καὶ τύπου καὶ σχήματος καὶ περιγραφῆς

wording appears only in Severianus of Gabala, who is one more example of an Antiochene who did not disdain allegory at all.⁸²

Coming upon the same expression in Proclus is one more token of him having been influenced by Alexandrian Christianity, duly adapted to his own Platonic ontology,⁸³ even though he employed the pattern in a literal sense.⁸⁴

Following my suggestion about relevance between Didymus and Proclus, there is a lemma by the grammarian Orion⁸⁵ where an etymology of 'virtue' (ἀρετή) is propounded: this is supposed to be derived from αἰρετή ('chosen'), since to be virtuous is the result of free will and choice. Subsequently, Orion ascribes this to an ὑπόμνημα by 'Didymus'.⁸⁶ Although there were too many intellectuals under this name in Alexandria, we can identify who this Didymus is: he is the blind sage of Alexandria, following recent discovery of one of his texts. This ὑπόμνημα is his commentary on the Psalms and it

ἐπέκεινα ἀπάσης. *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.441.36–38: ὡσπερ ἐκ τύπου καὶ σχήματος εἰς τρόπων διαφορὰς μετασκευαζομένου τοῦ πράγματος. Moreover, in the same work Cyril entertains the notion of τύπος καὶ σχῆμα as one betokening a certain philosophy of history.

⁸² Severianus of Gabala, *In Illud: Quando Ipsi Subiciet Omnia*, p. 164: τὸ ἴωτα λέγω, ῥάβδου ἔχει σχῆμα καὶ τύπον· ῥάβδος γὰρ ἦν παιδεύουσα καὶ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τὸν λαόν.

⁸³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 115: οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν περὶ γῆν ἰόντες καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα σχήματα δεικνύντες διὰ τὰς ποικίλας νοήσεις τῶν ψυχῶν· γράμματα γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ σχήματά ἐστι καὶ τύποι τινὲς δραστήριοι δι' ἐκείνας.

⁸⁴ Proclus, *op. cit.* p. 244: ἡ φανταστικὴ γνῶσις ὑπὸ τινων προσαγορεύεται νόσις καὶ νοῦς, ἡ φαντασία παθητικός, ὅτι καὶ ἔνδον καὶ μετὰ τύπων καὶ σχημάτων γινώσκει ὅσα γινώσκει.

⁸⁵ Orion of Thebae died in c. 460. He was the teacher of both Proclus and Eudocia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius II. He taught in Alexandria, Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Constantinople. The *Suda Lexicon* ascribes to Orion a collection of maxims in three books addressed to Eudocia, which is extant in a Warsaw manuscript. *Suda, Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter omega, entry 188: Ὠρίων, Θεβαῖος τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Συναγωγὴν γνωμῶν ἤγουν Ἀνθολόγιον πρὸς Εὐδοκίαν τὴν βασιλίδεα γυναῖκα Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ, βιβλία γ'. Entry 189: Ὠρίων, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, γραμματικός. Ἀνθολόγιον, Ἀττικῶν λέξεων συναγωγὴν, Περὶ ἐτυμολογίας, Ἐγκώμιον Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος.

⁸⁶ Orion of Thebae, *Etymologicum*, Alphabetic letter alpha, p. 1 & *Etymologicum (excerpta e regio Paris. 2630)*, p. 185: Ἀρετὴ· αἰρετὴ τίς ἐστίν, ἣν αἰροῦνται πάντες. οὕτω Δίδυμος ἐν Ὑπομνήματι. So in *Etymologicum Gudianum, Addimenta in Etymologicum Gudianum*, Alphabetic entry alpha, p. 190. Editor E.L. de Stefani emended the MS-word αἰρετὴ to αἰρετικὴ. This, however, is a wrong emendation, in view of the existing testimony in Orion's etymological lexicon, which was largely used by the compilers of both the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Furthermore, the same editor takes the passage as belonging to Didymus the Grammarian, which is also wrong, since its real attribution can be confirmed to be a portion by Didymus the Blind.

is indeed there that he propounds the specific etymology of 'virtue'.⁸⁷ This means that, by the word ὑπόμνημα Orion refers to the commentary of Didymus on the Psalms,⁸⁸ which further clearly suggests that works by Didymus the Blind were available to Orion. This is natural, as already argued, since he was the teacher of a Christian empress: he should be learned enough to reply to questions by his crowned pupil. Besides, even out of curiosity he should have sought to inform himself about the main doctrines of the imperial religion. Quite evidently, he chose to consult the writings of Didymus, since he was one of the very few erudite Christians in terms of the Greek lore. Besides, to the eyes of a pagan, Didymus had the advantage of not being a man of the cloth. At the same time, Orion was the master of Proclus, which is how the connection between Proclus and Didymus was established.

I have argued⁸⁹ that the rare expression τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς⁹⁰ ('the disorderly impulses of the soul') is used all but at random and cannot be a translation from Latin. For indeed this appears to be used by Didymus⁹¹ and Proclus alike.⁹² The Sabaite Antiochus of Palestine used the same expression, which simply suggests that the writings of the erstwhile abbot Cassian were available to him at the library of the monastery. The translation of Ephraem would have been carried out in the same monastery.⁹³ That this expression also occurs in the *Constitutiones Asceticae* makes the spurious text (ascribed to Basil of Caesarea) subject to exploration for relevance

⁸⁷ Didymus, *commPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 82: κυρίως γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ αἰρετὴ λέγεται. ὡσπερ φιλητόν ἐστιν τὸ ἄξιον τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, κὰν μῆδεις αὐτὸ φιλή, } φιλητόν ἐστιν } και μισητόν τὸ ἄξιον τοῦ μισεῖσθαι, κὰν μῆδεις αὐτὸ μισή, οὕτως αἰρετὴ ἐστιν ἢ "ἀρετὴ", κὰν μῆδεις αὐτὴν αἰρήται } αἰρεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔστιν και κακά, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰρετά.

⁸⁸ Cf. Didymus styling his own commentaries ὑπομνήματα. *commZacch* (commentary on Isaiah), 1.24; 1.303; 2.285; 4.289; 5.123; (commentary on Revelation and Romans), op. cit. 3.73; (commentary on Matthew), op. cit. 3.133; 7.78; (commentary on Zachariah), op. cit. 5.212; ('other commentaries'), op. cit. 4.249.

⁸⁹ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Greek text, Cod. p. 25^v, endnote 6 (p. 155).

⁹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 25^v.

⁹¹ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 935: πρώτη γὰρ εὐεργεσία τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἀποθανεῖν τὰς ἀτάκτους και τεθορυβημένας ὀρμάς. John Chrysostom, *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.669.1–2: Δέον γὰρ διορθῶσαι μόνον τὴν ἀτακτον τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμήν. Ephraem Syrus, *Precautiones e Sacris Scripturis Collectae*, Prayer 6, p. 331: ὅτι ταῖς ἀτόποις ἐπιθυμίαις θύραν ἀνοίξας, και (ἀλόγοις) και ἀτάκτοις ὀρμαῖς χρῆσάμενος, τὴν ταλαίπωρόν μου ψυχὴν τοῖς πάθεσι κατεμόλυνα.

⁹² Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 301: Πρὸς δὴ τούτοις και αἰ προδρομαὶ τοῦ λόγου σημαίνουσι τὰς ἀτάκτους ὀρμάς τῶν ἀτελῶν ψυχῶν.

⁹³ Antiochus of Palestine (seventh cent.), *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 19 (quoting Cassian, *OctoVit*, p. 25^v): ἄπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀστάτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς συστέλλειν.

with Cassian himself.⁹⁴ It is only this handful of Christian authors that used the foregoing peculiar expression, only to be followed by Proclus alone, which suggests more influence by Didymus upon the Neoplatonist.

Cassian's expression 'assenting to the Good' (τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως)⁹⁵ is extremely scarce. The context shows that he received the idea from Gregory of Nazianzus.⁹⁶ Once again Proclus appears to concur by using a rare expression originating in Christian thought.⁹⁷

In the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*,⁹⁸ we came upon the expression καταλλήλως λαμβάνειν ('to entertain a proper exegesis')⁹⁹ which is exclusive to Didymus.¹⁰⁰ Beside him though, the idiom crops up in a certain portion of Proclus, which seems to be one more influence by Didymus.¹⁰¹ Otherwise, no author employed the expression until some centuries later.

Likewise, in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (Scholion XVI), exploring the expression τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἐκτεθηλυμένον ('yielding to passion and having

⁹⁴ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1365.34–35: κατιδεῖν τε τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμάς καὶ κινήσεις.

⁹⁵ Cassian the Sabaitte, *ScetPatr*, p. 61^r and endnote 35, pp. 226–227.

⁹⁶ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In dictum Evangelii: Cum Consummasset Jesus hos Sermones*, PG.36.305.20–22: Δοκοῦσι τοῖνον οἱ μὲν ἐκ φύσεως νεύειν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν. Φύσεως δὲ ὅταν εἶπω, οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τὴν προαίρεσιν. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 2, p. 481: Οὐκοῦν ἐγίγνωσκεν δύνασθαι διευθύνεσθαι τὸ σκλήνωμα τοῦτο καὶ νεύειν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἵνα νεκρωθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. Later still, Ignatius Diaconus (eighth–ninth cent.), *Vita Nicephori*, p. 180: οἱ δὲ μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ἐλπιδι πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσαντες. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, 187: ἅ τε δὴ ἐφάπαξ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως διαστήσασα.

⁹⁷ Proclus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 318: ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀσώματος φύσις καὶ ἐνοειδῆς καὶ συννεύει πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν.

⁹⁸ See *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIV.

⁹⁹ Op. cit. EN XIVg.

¹⁰⁰ Didymus, *commEccl* (5–6), Cod. p. 150: καταλλήλως ἀγαθοσύνην τὴν ἡδονὴν λαμβάνομεν. *commEccl* (n–12), Cod. p. 341: καὶ καταλλήλως καὶ τοὺς "ἀστέρους" λάμβανε. op. cit. Cod. p. 347: οὐ καταλλήλως λαμβάνομεν. *commEccl* (1.1–8), Cod. p. 25: καταλλήλως λαμβάνομεν. op. cit. Cod. p. 47: καταλλήλως λαμβάνομεν τὴν "σοφίαν" τὴν "ἀφροσύνην". *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. p. 66: συνεκδοχικῶς δὲ δύναται τὸν "καιρὸν" λαμβάνειν καταλλήλως τῆ αὐτῶν ἀποτέξει καὶ τῷ αὐτῶν θανάτῳ. *commPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 14: καταλλήλως δὲ ἐκάστῳ αἰῶνι καὶ τὴν ζωὴν λάμβανε ὅτε μὲν ἀρχηγικὴν καὶ εἰσαγωγικὴν, ὅτε δε μεσάζουσαν, ὅτε δε τελείαν. *commPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 69: τοῦτο καὶ εἰσωτερικῶς καὶ τελείως καὶ εἰσαγωγικῶς καὶ καταλλήλως τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐκλαβεῖν δεῖ. *commPs* 35–39, Cod. p. 263: καταλλήλως δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος, λάμβανε τὴν προσόξεσιν καὶ τὴν σῆψιν. op. cit. Cod. p. 281: καταλλήλως τοῖς λέγο(υσιν) ἐκλαμβάνειν δεῖ τοὺς λόγους. *In Genesisim*, Cod. p. 60: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλην διάνοιαν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγομεν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων, κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ προσταχθέντα γενέσθαι, καταλλήλως λαμβάνομεν αὐτόν. op. cit. Cod. p. 102: καταλλήλως καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκλημπτέον. There is only a single usage, although not strictly a parallel, in Eusebius, which is rather mere chance. *commPs*, PG.23.880.57: ἀνάγκη τῆ ἀποδοθεῖση εἰρήνῃ καταλλήλως καὶ τὴν Σιών ἐκλαμβάνειν.

¹⁰¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, 62: καὶ δεῖ καταλλήλως αὐτὰ λαμβάνειν.

become effeminate'), it turns out that it was only Didymus¹⁰² and Eusebius¹⁰³ who employed this analogy. Once again, Proclus followed, which no other author ever did.¹⁰⁴

Considering the expression 'the shares to the Spirit' (αἱ μετουσίαι τοῦ πνεύματος),¹⁰⁵ some important conclusions flow. Although μετουσία ('participation') is a word familiar to philosophical parlance, the Plural form of it is rather strange, actually it is extremely difficult to come upon this term in Plural form. Up until the fifth century it is hard to find more than five instances where such a Plural occurs. And yet, one of these instances is ascribed to Didymus.¹⁰⁶ By all appearances, it is after him that Proclus assumed the nerve to apply this Plural himself, which is the last time of this form having been used.

The expression μετουσία πνεύματος ('participation in the Spirit') in Origen occurs only in catenae-fragments on the gospel of John and on the Psalms. In these instances, however, at the points where μετουσία alone (but not 'participation in the Spirit') appears, this is couched in the language of Didymus. By contrast, the term μετουσία in Didymus appears in more than fifty-five instances, of which seven at least refer to 'participation to the Spirit'.¹⁰⁷ The notion of 'participation in the Spirit' recurs heavily in Gregory of Nyssa, but not in his namesake of Nazianzus.¹⁰⁸ The mysterious

¹⁰² Cf. Didymus, *commEccl* (11–12), Cod. pp. 353–354: διὰ τὸ ἄνδρον αὐτῶν καὶ (διὰ τὸ) ἐκτεθλυμμένον. Didymus writes after Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.3: διαβάλλων δὲ τὸ ἄνδρον τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τεθλυμμένον γυναικας αὐτοὺς ἀποκαλεῖ. Eusebius' portion is the sole parallel to Scholion XVI on the Apocalypse, which treats the notions of ἐμπαθὲς and ἐκτεθλυμμένον as equivalent. Eusebius, *DE*, 4.15.9: μυρίοι γοῦν τῶν τὰ σώματα τεθλυμμένων ἐμπαθεῖς ἄλλως καὶ ἀκόλαστοι. Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XVII.

¹⁰³ Eusebius, *DE*, 4.15.9: μυρίοι γοῦν τῶν τὰ σώματα τεθλυμμένων, ἐμπαθεῖς ἄλλως καὶ ἀκόλαστοι, μύρων ποικίλων περιεργίαις χρώμενοι, πάσης αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ῥυπώσης δυσωδίας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπιφέρονται.

¹⁰⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 247: ἐπεὶ καὶ ὅσῳ τὸ θῆλυ γένος ἀσθενέστερον ὢν ἐπιρρεπέστερόν ἐστιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαθὲς.

¹⁰⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XIX, and EN XIXa.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Didymus referring to 'one being bound up with the Holy Spirit', and expressing this 'bond' by means of the term μετουσία in the Plural (μετουσίαι). Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (e Oxon. coll. nov. 58), p. 333: ὡς αἱ μετουσίαι τῶν θείων τοῦτων δηλοῦνται τῷ ὄνομαι.

¹⁰⁷ Didymus, *In Genesim*, Cod. pp. 46 & 62; *commJob*, PG.39.1141.16; *commEccl* (9.8–10.20), Cod. p. 315. *commPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 156; op. cit. Cod. p. 204; *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Cassian the Sabaite (Pseudo-Didymus), *DT (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.700.26. Methodius of Olympus (third cent. AD), *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, Oration 8.8. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Instituto Christiano*, v. 8.1, pp. 45; 59; *De Spiritu Sancto sive In Pentecosten*, PG.46.697.40. Athanasius, *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.585.40. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 53.1. Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, p. 66. Ephraem

figure of Pseudo-Macarius champions the notion and expression μετουσία πνεύματος,¹⁰⁹ which confirms the Akoimetan identity of the expression. One should notice that its employment is exclusive to Christian literature, even though the term μετουσία alone comes from the very old times, indeed it is present in some of the best moments of Classical Greece,¹¹⁰ while it is not absent from the Biblical glossary,¹¹¹ not to mention its thriving recurrence in Philo. Nevertheless, the list of Christian authors entertaining the notion of μετουσία τοῦ πνεύματος is rather short.

To sum up, although μετουσία ('participation') is a traditional word in philosophical wording, the Plural form of it (μετουσίαι) is a rather eccentric usage. It is extremely difficult to find this term in the Plural. From Homer up until the fifth century AD one can come upon no more than five instances where such a Plural transpires. And yet, one of these five instances is ascribed to Didymus.¹¹²

It is then after Didymus that Proclus got the nerve to entertain this peculiar Plural himself, which is in fact the last time for this form ever to occur. Whereas Proclus applies the Singular, namely, μετουσία, at dozens of instances, he uses the Plural μετουσίαι just once. I believe it was Didymus of Alexandria that he had in mind: he refers to 'the theologians' who sustain that 'there are venerated exchanges of powers as well as pertinent participations, which are [powers] that are believed to pervade divine [hypostases] and to be permeated by each other'.¹¹³ Although Proclus normally accords

Syrus, *Sermo Asceticus Perutilis*, p. 175; *Institutio ad Monachos*, pp. 307; 308; 319. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 370; v. 2, pp. 566; 620; 695; 717; 720; 721; 722; 723; 731; v. 3, pp. 133; 135; *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi i-vii*, pp. 532; 533; *et passim*. Theodore of Mopsuestia (fourth–fifth cent. AD), *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, pp. 133; 135; 140; 141; *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, pp. 180; 187. Oecumenius was clearly influenced by the notion of μετουσία πνεύματος. Cf. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁹ Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homilies 2.6.4; 36.3.3; 41.1.6; 43.1.2&5; 48.1.9; 51.1.4; 60.3.5; *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, Homilies 5; 37; *Sermones 1–22; 24–27*, Homilies 26.2; 27.4 & 7; *Epistula Magna*, pp. 238; 239; 249; 291; 292.

¹¹⁰ Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae*, line 152; *Ranae*, line 443. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 8.5.24. Demosthenes, *De Rhodiorum Libertate*, 29; *De Corona*, 128; *In Midiam*, 124; *In Aristocratem*, 40; 41; *In Aristogitonem*, 74; *Pro Phormione*, 32. Aeschines, *De Falsa Legatione*, 152. Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia* (πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλευθερίας), Fr. 360 (*SVF*, III.88.7, *apud Philo, Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 47).

¹¹¹ 4 Macc. 2:1: τὴν τοῦ κάλλους μετουσίαν.

¹¹² Cf. Didymus referring to 'one being bound up with the Holy Spirit', and expressing this 'bond' by means of the term μετουσία in the Plural (μετουσίαι). Catena (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (*e Oxon. coll. nov. 58*), p. 333: ὡς αἱ μετουσίαι τῶν θείων τούτων δηλοῦνται τῷ ὀνόματι.

¹¹³ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 18: καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεολόγοις μεταδόσεις

the term 'theologian' to old antecedents such as Plato and Hesiod, this point bespeaks that he knew of the Christian teaching about the 'gifts by the Spirit',¹¹⁴ as well as of the Christian notion of 'participating to the Holy Spirit'.¹¹⁵ At any rate, the phraseology in which he put it (namely, the Plural μετουσίαι) is found in no author other than in Didymus. This is one more instance evincing influence by Didymus upon Proclus. The connection was of course his teacher Orion, as mentioned earlier.

In the New Testament-Catena, there is a text purporting to relate 'Origen's exegetical exposition on the notion *according to God's foreknowledge*' ('Ωριγένους ἐκ τῆς ἐρμηνείας εἰς τὸ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ).¹¹⁶ The selfsame Greek text is ascribed also to Didymus.¹¹⁷ In this text, the expression 'having predestined them unto the adoption of children though participation to the Spirit of adoption' (προορίσας αὐτοὺς υἱοὺς εἶναι μετουσίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς υιοθεσίας, which is the language of Eph. 1:5) is more likely to be Didymus' rather than Origen's.

The idiomatic phrase 'to speak in a scientific manner' (ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγειν, or, ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγειν)¹¹⁸ is distinctive of Didymus,¹¹⁹ which he took up from Alexander of Aphrodisias.¹²⁰ It is doubtful that Proclus received this¹²¹ from Alexander: although he mentions him once in passing, there

εἰσὶ δυνάμεων ὑμνημέναι καὶ μετουσίαι, πληρούντων τε ἄλληλα τῶν θείων καὶ πληρουμένων ὑπ' ἄλλήλων.

¹¹⁴ 1 Cor. 12:4 & 9.

¹¹⁵ Heb. 6:4.

¹¹⁶ Catena (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam Petri i*, p. 42.

¹¹⁷ Didymus, *In Epistulas Catholicas Brevis Enarratio*, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN PSchXXIVa: ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγει(ο)ν(τος).

¹¹⁹ Didymus, *commPs 20–21*, Cod. p. 19: οἶον ὃ λέγω ἐπιστημονικῶς. *commEccl (11–12)*, Cod. pp. 342–343: καὶ νοεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ θεωρεῖ τὰ ἐπιστημονικὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὰ δύναται διδασκαλικῶς.

¹²⁰ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 258: περὶ τῶν τῆ οὐσίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιστημονικῶς τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν λέγειν. op. cit. p. 344: περὶ τούτων τὴν πρώτην φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγειν. *ibid.* περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διαλαμβάνουσα, λογικῶς μέντοι ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπιστημονικῶς. *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, p. 29: εἰ ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγοι περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ δεικνύοι ταῦτα. Cf. the anonymous *Prolegomena in Librum ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΝ*, v. 14, p. 323: πῶς λέγετε ἐπιστήμην; τὸ ψιλῶς ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν ἀπλῶς ἢ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὴν ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγουσαν; καὶ εἰ μὲν τὴν ψιλῶς ἐπίσταμένην λέγειν φατέ, οὐ μόνον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς φατέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκάστης σχεδὸν τέχνης. *loc. cit.* ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγειν φατέ, πάλιν κακῶς· ποιεῖτε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπιστήμην, πολὺ τῆς ἐπιστήμης διαφέρουσιν.

¹²¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 84: ὅτι οὕτε ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐστὶν ἐκείνων ἢ λέγει. *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, 310: τὸ διελέσθαι τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα τῶν λόγων εἶδη πᾶσιν ἀποδίδοναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰ ἐπιστημονικὰ, τοῖς δὲ τὰ δοξαστικά. *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 801: οὐδὲν ἐπιστημονικὸν οὐδὲ ὑγιὲς λεγόντων. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, p. 303: καὶ ἐπιστημονικῶς μὲν δυνάμεθα λέγειν, νοερώς δὲ οὐ. op. cit. v. 1, p. 348: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς ἀπηκριβωμένον ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων ὅσοι λέγονται

is no indication that he had cared to study his views with the purpose of dealing with them seriously.¹²²

Further conclusions flow from exploration of the ‘conceptions of the Father’ (έννοιᾶς τοῦ πατρός).¹²³ The term έννοιᾶ in this context has the specific meaning of ‘comprehension’, not of ‘notion’ (which is more common in literature).¹²⁴ We know of έννοιᾶ meaning ‘comprehension’,¹²⁵ following Heb. 4:12.¹²⁶ This is precisely the sense occurring in Cassian’s writings.¹²⁷ The notion ‘concept of the Father’ quoted by Didymus¹²⁸ can be presumed to be scriptural.¹²⁹ Only the seventh-century Sabaite monk Antiochus of Palestine did the same,¹³⁰ never to be coupled again. Antiochus drew heavily on Cassian’s writings anyway. Nevertheless, this is an expression attributed to Chrysippus¹³¹ and may be regarded as old as Plato, even though he did not use this terminology himself.¹³² The idea was entertained in Christian

περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν, οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπιστημονικῶν ὄντως, ἀλλ’ ὡς εἰοικῶτων ἐκείνοις. op. cit. v. 2, p. 237: καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἀντιληψὶν τῶν λεγομένων ἑαυτοῦς ἐπιτηδείους παράσχωμεν. In *Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, pp. 221–222: ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ἀοριστίας εἰς τάξιν καὶ ὄρον ἐπιστημονικὸν ἀχθῆ.

¹²² Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 272. Proclus refers to Alexander of Aphrodisias styling Fate ‘partial nature’ (μερικὴ φύσις). But there is no such reference in Alexander, who refers to ‘partial nature’ only in passing and in a different context: if a word describes a certain nature, each letter of this word is a ‘partial nature’ of it, which contributes to adumbration of the specific nature that this word is supposed to render. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 787–788.

¹²³ Scholion XXI, EN XXIg.

¹²⁴ This meaning was recorded by Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, p. 729: Ἔννοιᾶ. ἡ περὶ τίνος τοῦ νοῦ κίνησις.

¹²⁵ Caesarius, *QR*, 1: ὑπερφέρεται τὴν ἐμὴν έννοιαν ἢ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκριβεστάτη διήγησις. 115: πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν οὖν ζωὴν ἀνάγων ἡμῶν τὴν έννοιαν. 125: ἀπαγε οὖν ἀξιάγαστε τῆς τοιαύτης περὶ Χριστοῦ έννοιᾶς. 138: τὸ ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ὑπὲρ έννοιαν τῆς δραστηκῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας. 190: ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐμὴν φημι ὑπάρχειν έννοιαν. 191: τῇ ἀπαραβλήτῳ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ έννοιαν θεία φύσει. 209: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀπλή καὶ πρόχειρος έννοιᾶ. 214: Καλὴ μὲν καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος έννοιᾶ. Also, έννοιᾶ meaning the ability to comprehend properly, p. 214: ἡ μετὰ τὴν σωματικὴν αὐξήσιν καὶ τῆς έννοιᾶς τελείωσιν. Meaning ‘notion’, op. cit. 115: τὴν αὐτὴν φημι έννοιαν.

¹²⁶ Cf. Heb. 4:12 quoted by Caesarius, *QR*, 146; 171.

¹²⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, Codex pp. 82^v–83^r: θελήσωμεν τουτέστιν ὑψηλὰς έννοιᾶς καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγούσας. Likewise, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXI: έννοιᾶς τοῦ πατρός.

¹²⁸ Didymus, *commZacch*, 2.270.

¹²⁹ Proverbs 4:1. Didymus appears to be the sole author who entertains the expression as a scriptural quotation.

¹³⁰ Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sanctae*, Homily 82.

¹³¹ Chrysippus *apud* Philo, *De Monarchia*, 1.216, *SVF*, II, 301, 13: μάλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως έννοιαν λήψεσθαι δεῖ τοῦ Πατρός καὶ ποιητοῦ καὶ προσέτι ἡγεμόνος;

¹³² Cf. Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib.* 1–6), v. 3, p. 76: τὴν θεολογικωτάτην έννοιαν τῆς δυνάμεως Πατρός.

literature, not only by Didymus,¹³³ but also by other theologians.¹³⁴ However, the Plural used in the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* (Scholion XII: ἐννοίας τοῦ πατρὸς) transpires in Gregory of Nyssa¹³⁵ and in Didymus (περὶ θεοῦ ἐννοίας),¹³⁶ but nowhere else in Christian literature.¹³⁷

On the other hand, the expression ἐννοιαὶ πατρὸς was later taken up by Proclus as a recurring theme. Purporting to construe Parmenides and Plato, Proclus sees divinity as a Triad comprising 'Father, Power, and Mind' (Πατέρα, δύναμιν, νοῦν).¹³⁸ The 'ideas' within the mind of the Father are also styled 'gods' and they are identified with the 'concepts of the Father', which rest in his mind and are the causes for creation of the world: this is what Proclus calls 'concepts of the father' (ἐννοιαὶ τοῦ πατρὸς).¹³⁹ They are the 'ideas' (ὑφεστώσας ιδέας) which par excellence exist in the mind of the Father and it is after them that we can comprehend the mystery of theology:¹⁴⁰ they are 'comprehensions not of anything else, but comprehensions of themselves' (Οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄλλαι ἄλλων εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκεῖ νοήσεις, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐταὶ ἑαυτῶν).¹⁴¹ To be sure, the tenet of the ideas being thoughts existing in God's mind was as old as Middle Platonism.¹⁴² What we see, however, is that Proclus expressed the notion in terminology which is exclusive to Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus.

Cassian's references to those 'who experience the intelligible inward war' (πεῖραν ἔχοντες τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολέμου),¹⁴³ is another point

¹³³ Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Frs. 137 & 172.

¹³⁴ Cf. Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, 10.33.2: τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοίας. Origen, *commMatt*, 17.14: οἱ συγχρόνους πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ ἐννοιαὶ. Also, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Epiphanius of Salamis, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret.

¹³⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 1.1.641: πάσαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐννοίαις.

¹³⁶ Didymus *frPs*, Fr. 96, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (*e Oxon. coll. nov. 58*), p. 46: οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες δὲ περὶ θεοῦ ἐννοίας διηρθρωμένας. Fr. 725: πάντες γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ καὶ εὐθεῖς γεγεννημένοι ἐσπαρμέναις ἔχουσι τὰς περὶ θεοῦ ἐννοίας. However, Didymus' expression is somewhat different and comes from very old times, namely, from Chrysippus, Posidonius, Philo, Plutarch. It was thence taken up as early as by the time of Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria.

¹³⁷ Cf. also this rare Plural in *Oracula Chaldaica* (second cent. AD), Oracle 38: ἐννοιαὶ πατρὸς αἶδε.

¹³⁸ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (*lib. 1-6*), v. 3, p. 76.

¹³⁹ Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 801: σαφῶς γὰρ οἱ θεοὶ εἰρήκασι καὶ ὡς ἐννοιαὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσι, μένουσι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς νοήσεσι τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ ὡς προέρχονται πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργίαν. Likewise, *op. cit.* p. 895.

¹⁴⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 895: Τὰς γοῦν ἐν ἐκείνῳ πρώτως ὑφεστώσας ιδέας ἡμῖν ἐφερμηνεύοντα τὰ λόγια κέκληκεν αὐτὰς ἐννοίας πατρικὰς, ὡς οὐσὰς δημιουργικὰς νοήσεις διὰ τὴν τῶν νοήσεων πρὸς τὰ νοούμενα μίαν ὑπόστασιν.

¹⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴² Albinus, *Epitome Doctrinae Platonicae sive Didascalikos*, 9.2-3.

¹⁴³ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 83^v; *op. cit.* p. 83^v: τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου πολέμου.

evincing Proclus' liability to Christian literature. The notion of 'internal war' is as old as Christianity itself. Put in these specific terms, however, it transpires in a casual reference by Eusebius, and was taken up by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil.¹⁴⁴ Still none of them made this a recurrent theme as much as two theologians did: these were John Chrysostom and the mysterious Pseudo-Macarius, whose writings over and again appear akin to Cassian's ones, as already noted.¹⁴⁵ It should be noticed that Cassian's phraseology is most akin not to that of any Christian, but to that of Proclus.¹⁴⁶ Theodore Studites is once again the author reproducing the Sabaite's phraseology and conceptional apparatus.¹⁴⁷

Cassian makes reference to God's 'administration and providence' over the world, as well as over human affairs (διοικήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ προνοίας).¹⁴⁸ This expression¹⁴⁹ reveals influence by the Stoic notion διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια of Chrysippus, attested by Dio Chrysostom, which however did not relate to *divine* administration, but to civic authority practised according to the law.¹⁵⁰ Christian authors made some use of this in respect of the imperial power, but what is remarkable about this usage is its reference to the divine providential care over the universe. The authors through whom the notion

¹⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 2.23: οἱ δὲ ἐξεδόθησαν τοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πολεμοῦσι καὶ γεγόνασι λαὸς διηρασμένους καὶ προνονομευμένους· ἡ γὰρ παγίς ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν ἅμα. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica (orat. 2)*, PG.35.493.15–16: τὸν ἔνδον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, τὸν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι πόλεμον, ὃν πολεμοῦμεθα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ταπεινώσεως σώματος. *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum (orat. 11)*, PG.35.837.7–9: πρὸς τὸν ἔνδον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι πόλεμον. Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.357.38–39: οἱ τοῦ φρονήματος τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπανιστάμενοι πόλεμοι.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. John Chrysostom, *In Genesis (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53.313.29–30: τοῦ ἔνδοθεν τιττομένου πολέμου; *et passim* (some three dozens of instances). Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 3.3.7: ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκηδίας οὐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀκούει· ἀναπτεροὶ δὲ ἑαυτὴν ἢ ψυχὴ δι' ὀνειρῶν καὶ ἐναναπαύεται ἐνυπνίους, μὴ κατανοήσασα τὸν ἔνδον πόλεμον. *op. cit.* Homilies 32.2.1; 50.4.4; 50.4.6; 59.2.3; 59.2.4; 59.2.5. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1445.24, quoting Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Chananaea*, PG.52.452.44: ἀλλ' εὐρίσκω τὸν πόλεμον ἔνδον.

¹⁴⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 47: κατὰ τῶν ἔνδον παθῶν ἅπας ἡμῖν ἔστω ὁ πόλεμος. Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 13: ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία τὴν καθαρτικὴν (τὸ γὰρ ἄτρωτον ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀληθινῶν ἡμῖν πολεμίων ἔνδον ἐγκαθημένων ταύτης ἐξάιρετον).

¹⁴⁷ Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 174: Στήθι οὖν ἔτι, τέκνον μου, ὑποφέρων τὸν κόπον τῶν ἔνδον λογισμῶν· μέγας γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος καὶ ἀκατάληκτος μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς. 194: Διό, ἀδελφέ, θερμότερον ποιοῦ μοι τὴν προσευχὴν, ἵνα στερεότητι ψυχῆς τούς τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐχθροὺς πολεμήσῃμι.

¹⁴⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^r.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXVII: τὸν τῆς προνοίας λόγον διὰ κρίσεως καὶ διοικήσεως φανερώσαι.

¹⁵⁰ Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, 3.43 (Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia*, Fr. 331).

reached Cassian are all important to the language of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.¹⁵¹ In view of this tradition, Proclus appears to be the sole author to put to use the notion of διοίκησις and πρόνοια in explicit reference to *divine*, not *mundane*, power exercised over the world.¹⁵² This he did in a distinctively Plotinian context (e.g. ἀμερίστως τὰ μεριστά), but the specific notion of ‘administration and providence’ can be a liability to no other than Christian lore.

The question of interaction between Christian literature and Proclus is a question that should be explored further and deserves a study of its own. I myself have restricted my investigation in so far as Cassian’s texts are concerned. There are points, however, which are awaiting scholarship to research. For instance, Proclus seems to be obsessed by the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος. The verb ἐκφοιτῶ used by Euripides¹⁵³ means ‘get out’.¹⁵⁴ Subsequently, the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος means ‘not departing from’, therefore, ‘inseparable’. The term appears for the first time in a casual usage by Syrianus of Athens¹⁵⁵ (died c. 437), to be taken up by his pupil Proclus who used this in no less than three dozen instances.¹⁵⁶ Procopius of Gaza refuting

¹⁵¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 4.12.88.2; 7.2.8.3 (the context is fairly similar to Cassian’s text at this point). Origen, *Cels*, VII.68. Eusebius, *DE*, 5.1.6; *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, 3.2.16; 3.2.25; *Commentarius in Isaïam*, 1.41; 2.28; *Vita Constantini*, 2.46.2; *commPs*, PG.23: 180.25; 225.16; 228.37; 457.29; 1377.1. Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 299; *commPs* 22–26.10, Cod. p. 79; *commEccl* (3–4.12), Cod. p. 84. Gregory of Nazianzus, *De Moderatione in Disputando* (orat. 32), PG.36.205.32. Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, pp. 19; 33. Procopius of Gaza, *Commentarii in Isaïam*, p. 1933.

¹⁵² Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 4, p. 47: Ἄλλὰ προϊόντα μὲν ταῦτα διήρηται δυαδικῶς, τὸ μὲν μονίμου καὶ σταθερᾶς τελειότητος τοῖς θεοῖς χορηγὸν ὑπάρχον, τὸ δὲ προνοίας ἀκλινούς καὶ ἀπολύτου διοικήσεως καὶ ἀφθόνου τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταδόσεως, κατὰ τὰς δύο τῶν ὄλων ἀρχᾶς προστησάμενα τὴν τοιαύτην διανομήν. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 196: ἄρα ἀμιγεῖς ἐκείνοι οἱ θεοὶ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην, ἀμιγῶς μὲν τὰ μεμιγμένα διακοσμοῦντες, ἀγενήτως δὲ τὰ γενητὰ καὶ ἀμερίστως τὰ μεριστὰ συνέχοντες, ζωῆς αἴτιοι νοῦ χορηγοὶ θυνάμεως ἀποπληρωταὶ ψυχῆς δοτῆρες ἀγαθῶν ἀρχηγοὶ πάντων, τάξεως καὶ προνοίας καὶ διοικήσεως ἀρίστης ἐξάρχοντες καὶ ζῶα κρείττονα περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑποστήσαντες, ἀγγέλων ἡγούμενοι, δαιμόνων ἄρχοντες, ἡρώων προϊστάμενοι κατὰ τάξιν.

¹⁵³ Euripides, *Electra*, line 320.

¹⁵⁴ Suda, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 726 (Cf. Alphabetic letter sigma, entry 1337). Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, Alphabetic letter epsilon, entry 1814. Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis* (Σβ) (*recensio aucta e cod. Coisl. 345*), Alphabetic entry epsilon, p. 215.

¹⁵⁵ Syrianus, In *Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 109 (ἀνεκφοίτητος).

¹⁵⁶ Proclus, In *Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 90; v. 2, pp. 243 & 296; *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 1, p. 57; v. 2, p. 41; v. 3, p. 35; v. 4, p. 94; v. 5, p. 138; In *Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 816; 1008; 1043; 1045; 1051; 1136; 1199; In *Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, pp. 167; 185; In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 1, pp. 6; 12; 111; 231; 273; 364; 433; v. 2, pp. 2; 108; 204; v. 3, pp. 72; 105; 106; 205; 245; 251; 255; 260.

Proclus took up the term from his opponent just once.¹⁵⁷ Subsequently, Damascius¹⁵⁸ made fair use of it, suggesting that it was Iamblichus who had used the term,¹⁵⁹ whereas Simplicius ignored it altogether.

The term ἀνεκφοίτητος appears in spuria, such as the *De Sancta Trinitate*, which has been attributed to Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁶⁰ This is not Cyril, however, since the same passage is quoted by John of Damascus, who, although knew who the author was, did not mention him.¹⁶¹ Had Cyril been the author, John of Damascus would have mentioned him, since he does mention Cyril by name in other sections of the same work.¹⁶² On the other hand, John of Damascus (who made pretty much of the epithet ἀνεκφοίτητος)¹⁶³ never mentioned Cassian by name, perhaps because he regarded him as a heretic who had indulged in such aberrations as Origenism and Nestorianism during the turbulent sixth century. At the same time, however, he quoted from Cassian's work in the *Sacra Parallela*, as shown in Appendix I. The case might well be the same with the *De Sancta Trinitate*. Although we do not come across the term ἀνεκφοίτητος in Cassian's text, in John of Damascus the term appears in the same context as it does in *De Trinitate*, which I surmise to be a work of Cassian.¹⁶⁴ At all events, this was a legacy to sixth-century Neoplatonist theology as expressed by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite.¹⁶⁵ As it happened with the pseudo-Cyrrillian *De Sancta Trinitate*, so the pseudo-Athanasian *Homilia in Occursum Domini* (where the adverb ἀνεκφοιτήτως appears, too)¹⁶⁶ was used by later theologians, who did not mention the real author of this work at all.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷ Procopius of Gaza, *Refutatio Procli* (fragmentum e cod. Vat. gr. 1096), p. 2792h.

¹⁵⁸ Damascius, *Princ.*, v. 1, pp. 17; 127; 143; *In Parmenidem*, p. 163.

¹⁵⁹ Damascius, *Princ.*, v. 1, p. 145.

¹⁶⁰ Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1140.31.

¹⁶¹ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 8. Cf. also, Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1164.29 (the same text by John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 91).

¹⁶² Cf. John of Damascus mentioning Cyril by name: *Expositio Fidei*, s 50, 51, 55, 59, 79, 91.

¹⁶³ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 14; 49; *Contra Jacobitas*, 78; *Contra Manichaeos*, 8; *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.572.48; *Homilia in Sabbatum Sanctum*, PG.96.605.7.

¹⁶⁴ John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei*, 14; 49; *Contra Manichaeos*, 8; *Homilia in Sabbatum Sanctum*, PG.96.605.7.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the term ἀνεκφοίτητος in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 126; 136; 137; 153; 159; 210; 227; *De Mystica Theologia*, p. 146; *Epistulae*, 9.3.

¹⁶⁶ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.989.6: Ταῦτά με τῶν πατρικῶν ἀνεκφοιτήτως ἐξανέστησε κόλπων, καὶ ὡς ὑμᾶς τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς πορείαν ποιήσασθαι πεποίηκε.

¹⁶⁷ The portion was used with slight alterations by Symeon Neotheologus (tenth–eleventh cent.), *Orationes Ethicae*, Oration 7.1, line 603. George Tornices (twelfth cent.), *Orationes*,

Interesting is also the notion of 'active force' (δύναμις ἐνεργητική) in the specific sense understood by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius (or Didymus) on the one hand, and Proclus on the other. Clement was the first to style the Logos 'active force' of God.¹⁶⁸ Either Eusebius or Didymus, or both, opined the same idea, since the selfsame text is ascribed to them both.¹⁶⁹ The portion was probably written by Eusebius and taken up by Didymus, since the instance transpires in a fragment ascribed to Eusebius,¹⁷⁰ too. Besides, Proclus refers to time proper as being an 'active force' (δύναμις ἐνεργητική).¹⁷¹ Although referring to different things, both the above Christians and Proclus mean to say the same thing, namely, to depict the way in which God arranges the function of cosmic and human things. Of the rest of Christian authors, there are references to God's 'active force' by Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus,¹⁷² yet none of them seems to identify this 'power' with the Logos himself.¹⁷³

Reference to a 'supra-mundane light' (ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς) is a rare theme in both Christian and pagan literature. Coming across a reference by Caesarius,¹⁷⁴ it turns out that the notion was a loan from Basil of Caesarea, actually from his second homily on the *Hexaemeron*, which is the same homily from

Oration 31, p. 182. Nicolaus Mesarites, *Epitaphius in Joannem Mesaritem* (twelfth-thirteenth cent.), p. 65. Gregory Palamas (thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Homiliae XLIII–LXIII*, Homily 53.64.

¹⁶⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 6.6.47.3–4: ὅτι δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀσθενήσῃ δύναμις ... οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἐνεργητικὴ φθάνει, πάντη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ αἰεὶ ἐργάζεται.

¹⁶⁹ Eusebius, *commPs*, PG.23.1232.43–44 & Didymus, *frPs(al)*, Fr. 946: Καὶ τάχα δεξιὰ μὲν ἡ ἐνεργητικὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις, οὐκ ἄλλη τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου τυγχάνουσα, καλεῖται.

¹⁷⁰ Eusebius, *De Theophania (fragmenta)*, Fr. 6: ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν θηρευτὰς ἀνθρώπων καὶ κήρυκας τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ποιήσῃν ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ πεποίηκεν οὐ ψευδάμενος τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, παριστὰς θεοῦ δύναμις ἐνεργητικὴν πράγματος πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὴν καλύπτοντος.

¹⁷¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 3, p. 31: καὶ πρωτουργὸν ἐνέργειαν καὶ δύναμις ἐνεργητικὴν τῶν ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν κινήσεων.

¹⁷² Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.373; 3.3.64 ('the Logos is of an active nature'); 3.6.34 (ref. to 'active force' of God, but no identification with the Logos is made); *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 336; *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, PG.44.69.30–31: Didymus, *commJob* (7.20c–n), Cod. p. 280 (distinguishing 'active' from 'passive' 'force'); *commPs 35–39*, Cod. p. 252; *frPs(al)*, Frs. 249; 976.

¹⁷³ The sole exception is perhaps a portion ascribed to Theodoret, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Epistulam ad Hebraeos (catena Nicetae)* (e cod. Paris. gr. 238), p. 371. He refers to the 'active power' of God, through which man was made, but in fact the reference is made to the 'force' of the Logos: "κατ' ἀρχάς" τουτέστιν ἅμα τῷ οὐσιωθῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ ὄντας ἐποίησας τῇ ἐνεργητικῇ σου δυνάμει, καὶ τούτων μεταβολὴν δεχομένων καὶ ἀλλοιουμένων ὡς ποιημάτων, σὺ τὸ ἄτρεπτον ἔχεις ὡς ποιητής.

¹⁷⁴ Caesarius, *QR*, 128.61: ἐπεὶ ἀδιάδοχον νυκτὶ τὸ ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς.

which Caesarius' expression was taken up.¹⁷⁵ Whereas no Christian author other than Basil did ever make such a reference, Proclus took this up and made the most of it. The masters of the Academy of Athens paid little attention to the notion, which Proclus regarded not simply as 'light', but as the energy directed from the highest ontological level to lower ones.¹⁷⁶ Whereas Simplicius went as far as to quote Proclus on this point,¹⁷⁷ Damascius found this a rather bizarre notion.¹⁷⁸ Sometimes, both appear reluctant to follow Proclus in his exotic predilections, which is how they were seeing Proclus' loans from the Egyptian milieu, be that Christian, or not. As usual, Pseudo-Dionysius followed Proclus rather than Basil on this point,¹⁷⁹ and made pretty much of the notion of 'supra-mundane light' referring to the divine things.¹⁸⁰ Taking into account striking liabilities of Caesarius to Pseudo-Dionysius,¹⁸¹ there can be little doubt that the idea of 'supra-mundane light' adds to the list of Proclus' Christian liabilities. Therefore, the interplay between Proclus and Christian authors is a two-way influence. Proclus received the idea from Basil's work (via a third party, an Egyptian one, no

¹⁷⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, Homily 2.5: Εἰ γὰρ οἱ καταδικαζόμενοι πέμπονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, δηλονότι οἱ τὰ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἄξια εἰργασμένοι, ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσιν.

¹⁷⁶ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica* (lib. 1–6), v. 2, p. 45: τοῦ δὲ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς ὑπάρξεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας ἀπολαύοντα, τῷ νοερῷ φωτὶ τὰ ὑπερκόσμια συνέχειν. In *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, v. 2, p. 80: ἵνα γὰρ συνάπτηται πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοφυῶς καὶ ἐναρμόζῃται πρὸς τὰ ὑπερκόσμια φῶτα διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ ὁμοιότητος. v. 3, p. 81: ὅτι τὸν ὅλον χρόνον ἐκφραίνει τὸ φῶς, ἐκφαντορικὴν ἔχον δύναμιν, καὶ προκαλεῖται τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον αὐτοῦ μονάδα. v. 3, p. 82: ἔστι γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου τάξις ἀνωθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων ἤκουσα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν συνέστησε τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνάψαι φησὶν αὐτὸ τὸν δημιουργόν. ... ἐτέραν δὲ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἕξαιψιν, καθ' ἣν ὑπερκοσμίου δυνάμεως αὐτῷ μεταδίδωσιν. v. 3, p. 83: ὁ Ζεὺς νοερὸν καὶ δημιουργικὸν ἀνάπτει φῶς εἰς πάντας τοὺς ὑπερκοσμίους. v. 3, p. 83: καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ὑπερκόσμιος ὡν τὰς πηγὰς ἀφήσῃ τοῦ φωτὸς, καὶ οἱ γε μυστικώτατοι τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν ὁλότητα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις παραδεδώκασιν.

¹⁷⁷ Simplicius (quoting Proclus), *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 614: τὸ φῶς τοῦτο πρώτων εἰκῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερκόσμιος ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνος.

¹⁷⁸ Damascius, *Princ.*, v. 1, p. 213: ἐν τῷ ὑπερκοσμίῳ φωτὶ, ὃ τίποτε καὶ ὄσον ἐστὶ.

¹⁷⁹ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, p. 56: τοὺς ἱεροὺς νόας τοῦ μὲν κρυφίῳ φωτὸς ὑπερκοσμίως ἀποπληρουμένους. *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 111: Καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν φωταγωγούμεθα πρὸς τοὺς θεαρχικούς ὕμνους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπερκοσμίως φωτιζόμενοι. *op. cit.* p. 128: τὰ θεοειδῆ καὶ ὑπερουράνια φῶτα. *op. cit.* p. 145: αἱ ὑπερκόσμιοι φωταγωγία. *op. cit.* p. 150: Φῶς οὖν νοητὸν λέγεται τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν φῶς ἀγαθὸν ὡς ἀκτὶς πηγῆς καὶ ὑπερβλύζουσα φωτοχυσία πάντα τὸν ὑπερκόσμιον καὶ περικόσμιον καὶ ἐγκόσμιον νοῦν ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς καταλάμπουσα.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, pp. 56; 59; *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 111; 128; 145; 150.

¹⁸¹ See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix I, p. 410, note 210.

doubt),¹⁸² which was consigned to Pseudo-Dionysius, who in turn influenced Caesarius, that is, Cassian.

Speaking of the epiphany of Christ by means of the female noun ἡ θεοφάνεια (which is different from the usual neuter τὰ θεοφάνεια, signifying the epiphany during the baptism of Jesus) is an option employed by only a few authors: they are all relevant to our study of Cassian's texts¹⁸³ and the sole pagan to join is Proclus.¹⁸⁴

Coming upon the characteristic designation ἀρχικὴ τριάς ('original trinity'), which was apparently introduced by Origen¹⁸⁵ and taken up by only a couple of Christian authors¹⁸⁶ and Gregory of Nazianzus par excellence,¹⁸⁷ it can hardly be a coincidence that the idiom was entertained by Proclus, even though he eschewed the Christian notion.¹⁸⁸ Given the scarcity of the use of this expression, it is rather bizarre that we come upon it in the introduction to the *Philocalia* compiled by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus paying homage to Origen. This only suggests to me that this introductory note warning against heretical ideas included therein¹⁸⁹ was written by a Studite monk,

¹⁸² There is an epistle by Isidore of Pelusium (died c. 449), where he wonders (among other alternatives) whether heavenly bodies 'are vehicles susceptible of the immaterial and supra-mundane light' (ὀχήματα δεκτικά τοῦ ἄβλου καὶ ὑπερκοσμίου φωτός). Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistulae* (1414–1700), 1435. Isidore was born in Egypt to a prominent Alexandrian family.

¹⁸³ Severus of Antioch, *apud* Catenae (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae)* (*e Oxon. coll. nov.* 58), p. 109 (θεοφανίας). Julian the Arian, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 46 (θεοφανίας). Caesarius, *QR*, 218; 262 & 375. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homilies 70; 119; 122.

¹⁸⁴ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, p. 151 (θεοφανίας).

¹⁸⁵ Origen, *commMatt*, 15.31: τῶν ὑποκάτω τῆς ἀρχικῆς τριάδος.

¹⁸⁶ Zacharias of Mytilene (bishop, rhetor, theologian, fifth–sixth cent.), *Ammonius sive De Mundi Opificio Disputatio*, 2, lines 1094–1095: περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ μακαρίας τριάδος. Likewise, line 1130. Theodore Studites, *Epistulae*, 525: τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀρχικῆς Τριάδος. 532: τὴν πολυ-ὑμνητον, παντουργὸν καὶ ἀρχικὴν Τριάδα. *Canon in Requiem Monachi*, lines 163–166: Μονάδα τῆ φύσει σε, Τριάς, ἀνυμνῶ ἀναρχον, ἀκτιστον, ἀρχικὴν, βασιλικὴν, ὑπερτελὴ ἐνάδα. *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 34: τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀρχικῆς Τριάδος. *Testamentum*, p. 1813: τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀρχικὴν Τριάδα.

¹⁸⁷ Gregory of Nazianzus, *Apologetica (orat. 2)*, PG.35.444.24–25: ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος ὑποληπτέον. *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum (orat. 11)*, PG.35.840.27–28: τῷ φωτὶ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀρχικῆς Τριάδος. *In Laudem Cypriani (orat. 24)*, PG.35.1185.13–14: τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς Τριάδος τὴν θεότητα. *Carmina Moralia*, p. 688: Πρώτην τε λαμπρὰν Τριάδος τῆς ἀρχικῆς.

¹⁸⁸ Proclus, *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 6, p. 35: καὶ τὴν μίαν πηγὴν τῆς δημιουργικῆς σειρᾶς εἰς τριάδα παντελῆ προαγαγόντες ἀρχικὴν, ἣν καὶ ὀ Πλάτων ἐνδεικνύμενος ἀρχὴν προσείρηκεν. p. 44: "Ὅλως δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς Ποσειδῶνι μὲν καὶ Ἰηλοῦτωνι συνταττόμενος ὁ τῆς ἀρχικῆς τριάδος ἐστὶν ἀκρότατος.

¹⁸⁹ Theodore Studites attacked Origen and Origenism by name in his writings. *Epistulae*, 532, reporting Origen's condemnation by the Fifth Oecumenical Council of 553. This is all

probably Theodore Studites himself, after he had reproduced the book in his renowned *scriptorium*.¹⁹⁰

Finally, let me make one more point. The term ἐκφαντορικός ('revealing', especially mysteries) is typical of Proclus,¹⁹¹ who entertained it abundantly. Equally typical is that of Pseudo-Dionysius,¹⁹² which is one of the manifest points supporting the surmise of connection between the two authors, namely the hypothesis that Proclus was perhaps the teacher of Dionysius. Beyond this, we come upon the pseudo-Athanasian text *Homilia in Occursum Domini* once again,¹⁹³ where this term marks a very unusual instance in Christian literature.¹⁹⁴

2. *Simplicius and Damascius*

The term ἀσυντρόχαστον¹⁹⁵ used by Didymus is a telling one. The adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος (-η, -ον, derived from the rare verb συντροχάζειν)¹⁹⁶ means 'individually distinct', 'separate', 'incompatible with'. This form appears for

Theodore had to say about that synod. Also, op. cit. 471; *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 45; *Parva Catechesis*, Catechesis 22.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. In EN XXVIIc. I canvass the expression of Rev. 5:1, ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν, which is employed by the *Philocalia*, deviating from Origen's normal quotation of the scriptural portion (ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν). This suggests a third hand having edited the text of the *Philocalia* and this hand must have been one of the Akoiimetoι. Theodore Studites is at all appearances the one who wrote the introductory note to this version *Philocalia* warning against points of theological aberration, which, in his view, would have been impossible to have been endorsed (let alone culled) by the Cappadocians.

¹⁹¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 2, pp. 118; 124; 153; 254; 255; 270; *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, v. 4, p. 53; *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pp. 690; 1235; *et passim*.

¹⁹² Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caestri Hierarchia*, pp. 9; 10; 11; 12; *et passim*; *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, pp. 100; 101; 108; 112; 113; 127; *et passim*; *De Divinis Nominibus*, pp. 112; 114; 125; *et passim*; *Epistulae*, s 7.1; 8.2; 9.1; 9.2.

¹⁹³ We saw this text (PG.28.989.6) applying the rare adverb ἀνεκφοιτήτως, *supra*.

¹⁹⁴ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.976.8 (ἐκφαντορίας); *Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae*, PG.28.940.27 (ἐκφαντορικώτατον).

¹⁹⁵ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XIXb.

¹⁹⁶ Meaning 'to run together', 'run with', or 'concur'. In Ecclesiastes, 12.6, it means 'to unfold'. In Plotinus, *Enneades*, II.4.8, συντροχάζειν = keeping step with. Christian writers (Hippolytus, Olympiodorus the deacon of Alexandria, Pseudo-Chrysostom) exhausted their usage with quoting Ecclesiastes. Didymus, however, is the sole author who used it more than once and to entertain the sense of the verb and its cognates consciously. Whereas he quotes Eccl. 12:6 [*commEccl* (11–12), Cod. pp. 361; 362], he also uses the term independently; *commPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 4: ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα συντροχάζει καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀγγέλους. *commPs* 29–34, Cod. p. 177: καρδίαν πρὸς καρδίαν συντροχάζσαι. διαφέρουσιν πάντως. op. cit. Cod. p. 178: δύσκολον οὖν ἐστὶν συντροχάζσαι πρόσωπον προσώπῳ ἐν ὁμοίότητι. loc. cit. οὐ συντροχάζει οὖν καρδία πρὸς καρδίαν.

the first time in Origen,¹⁹⁷ to be subsequently taken up by Didymus.¹⁹⁸ Later on, Simplicius used the uncommon term¹⁹⁹ in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categoriae*. This rare adjective appears in only four instances in literature, of which one transpires in Simplicius, another two in Origen and Didymus, plus the instance in Cassian's Scholion XIX, which is a quotation from Didymus' text. This makes Origen the first to have coined the term or, at least, the adjective cannot be traced to any author preceding Origen. After Simplicius (who did not use any other form of the verb συντροχάζειν, or its cognates, at all), the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστον does not occur ever again. It is therefore a plausible hypothesis that Simplicius owes this term to a Christian source, which might have been either Didymus or indeed Cassian using the language of Didymus in Scholion XIX of his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*.

The idiomatic expression προχείρως ἀκούειν,²⁰⁰ which bespeaks understanding a certain text only in its bare literal sense, has long been used by Christians interested in entertaining allegorical exegesis. Such authors rejected mere reception of the literal meaning of the text, which they contrasted with apprehension of the spiritual sense of Scripture. Didymus made this a recurring theme, always warning against sticking to the literal sense of Scripture: one should always seek the spiritual meaning presumed to be concealed behind bare letter. Therefore, the expression implies, more or less, derision for those who read the sacred text superficially and do not care to ponder over the 'veiled' deeper meaning of the text. The idiom transpiring in Simplicius is an impressive point, which calls for serious consideration on whether the Neoplatonist masters Simplicius and Damascius moved to Cassian's native region after they had decided to decamp from Persia.²⁰¹ My surmise is that it was natural for Simplicius to move towards the region of Antioch, where a celebrated Aristotelian tradition existed at the schools of Edessa and then Nisibis. Since these Neoplatonists were also Aristotelian commentators, and given their frustrating experience from Persia, it was all too natural for them to seek a place where there was a good chance for them to meet erudite Aristotelists. These Christian people also happened

¹⁹⁷ Origen, *deOr*, XXIV.2: τὸ τοίνυν τούτων τῶν ποιότητων ἴδιον καὶ ἀσυντρόχαστον πρὸς ἕτερον.

¹⁹⁸ Didymus, *commPs* 20–21, Cod. p. 3: καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα περὶ τῆς θεότητος ἀσυντρόχαστά εἰσιν πρὸς ἄλλον τινὰ μονογενῆς γὰρ ἔστιν.

¹⁹⁹ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Categoriae Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 380: οὐ κατὰ μαχομένων μόνον καὶ ἀσυντρόχαστων τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔταξεν.

²⁰⁰ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN IIIId.

²⁰¹ Sixth-century historian Agathias recounts that once the philosophers conversed with the Persian King, they were utterly disappointed and 'all their hope was frustrated' (ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ἐλπίδος). Hence they decided to leave the country. Agathias, *Historiae*, pp. 80–81. Where they actually headed for, is a point of speculation.

to be Nestorians. After exploring Cassian's ideas and vocabulary along with germane connections, my surmise is that Cassian actually met these Neoplatonists somewhere in Syria (his native country), either in Antioch or in Constantinople. I stop short of suggesting a meeting at Nisibis, since the city had been handed over ignominiously to the Persians by Emperor Jovian in 363, under humiliatingly unfavourable terms. Unless he went straight off to Constantinople, Simplicius possibly taught at the region of Antioch after the year 531 and thence took up the idiom,²⁰² along with other terms, such as the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος. Simplicius is anyway the philosopher in whose writings some characteristic instances relevant to the parlance of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* call for attention and study.

A similar idiom is the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον ('according to a literal, or *prima facie*, comprehension').²⁰³ This is absent from Classical literature and appears only later in Aristotle's commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias²⁰⁴ to enter Christian phraseology with Origen,²⁰⁵ no doubt following Alexander of Aphrodisias. The immediate successors of Origen that took up this construction were the Cappadocian brothers, Basil of Caesarea²⁰⁶ and Gregory of Nyssa.²⁰⁷ Like Basil, Clement of Alexandria used this only in passing.²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, no author used this expression as frequently as Didymus did.²⁰⁹ Once again, its employment by Theodore of Mopsuestia should be pointed out.²¹⁰ Despite an occasional instance in Alexander of Aphrodisias, I am satisfied that its occurrence in Proclus is due to the abundant

²⁰² See quotations in EN IIIId.

²⁰³ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXVd.

²⁰⁴ Cf. κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον in Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 616.

²⁰⁵ Origen, *commEx*, PG.12.280.47: ὑπολαμβάνουσι κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον τῆς λέξεως.

²⁰⁶ Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.381.41; *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.337.11.

²⁰⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablabium Quod Non Sint Tres Dei*, v. 3,1, p. 39; *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, v. 3,1, pp. 163; 184; *Contra Eunomium*, 3,1.23; 3,1.32; 3,2.22; 3,5.10; *In Canticum Cantorum (homiliae 15)*, v. 6, p. 5; v. 6, pp. 267; 359; *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem i*, p. 40; *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 31; *De Oratione Dominica Orationes v*, pp. 248; 250; *Orationes VIII De Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1293.2. Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De Occursu Domini*, PG.46.1180.56.

²⁰⁸ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, pp. 485; 679.

²⁰⁹ Didymus, *commZacch*, 1.383; 3.60; *commJob (1-4)*, Cod. pp. 71; 85; *commJob (12.1-16.8a)*, Frs. 337; 406; *commJob*, PG.39.1148.38; *commEccl (3-4.12)*, Cod. p. 99; *commEccl (7-8.8)*, Cod. pp. 209; 219; 240; *commPs 29-34*, Cod. pp. 179; 197; *commPs 35-39*, Cod. p. 236; 238; 240; *commPs 40-44.4*, Cod. p. 316; *In Genesisin*, Cod. p. 60.

²¹⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, pp. 128; 150; *Catena (Novum Testamentum)*, *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos*, (*typus Vaticanus*) (*e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [= Misc. 48]*), p. 97.

use of the idiom by Didymus.²¹¹ Through Simplicius, the Neoplatonic environment of the next century embraced the expression, mainly commenting on Aristotle.²¹²

The expression διαίρεσις τῶν νοητῶν has a history and significance of its own.²¹³ This is an Aristotelian legacy, mainly from Aristotle having posited that 'being can be adumbrated in many ways' (τὸ ὄν πολλαχῶς λέγεται)²¹⁴ and set out to explore these different ways by means of 'division', in the fourth book of the *Metaphysics*. This is important to us, since the specific comment of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, where the concept occurs, was written by Cassian himself. The notion had been controversial ever since Plotinus had criticised Aristotle's germane phraseology. Clement of Alexandria had no inhibitions about instilling the idea of 'division', that is, 'classification' in 'intelligible things', and had urged that doing so is a mark of 'prudence' (φρόνησις).²¹⁵ By and large, however, Christians saw the concept of instilling classification of intelligible realities with suspicion, and refrained from entertaining it. Which they did with good reason, even though the erudite among them were aware of its import.²¹⁶ For an immediate consequence of διαίρεσις τῶν νοητῶν would be to divide the intelligible things into species, as parts of a genus. Since, however, the Trinity was the incorporeal reality *par excellence*, such a process could result in catastrophic doctrinal formulations. Such compositions and tendencies were thought to be the source of heresies such as Arianism and Apollinarism.

In Aristotle's view, any division (that is, classification) of intelligible things lacks authority, since there is no actual correspondence between the notions introduced by the human mind and the incorporeal reality proper. Plotinus levelled his relevant criticism at Aristotle precisely for failing to make such a division of the *par excellence* 'beings'. Although the stricture appeared officially with Plotinus,²¹⁷ after Alexander of Aphrodisias had essayed to exonerate Aristotle from this, Alexander's writings imply that this criticism was circulating in pagan schools even before Plotinus'

²¹¹ Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, v. 1, p. 221.

²¹² Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 71; 92; v. 10, p. 1165.

²¹³ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXVh.

²¹⁴ Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, 1018a36.

²¹⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.28.177.3: αὕτη γὰρ τῷ ὄντι ἡ διαλεκτικὴ φρόνησις ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ νοητὰ διααιρετικὴ, ἐκάστου τῶν ὄντων ἀμίκτως τε καὶ εὐλικρινῶς τοῦ ὑποκειμένου δεικτικὴ, ἢ δύναμις περὶ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων γένη διααιρετικὴ, μέχρι τῶν ἰδικωτάτων καταβαίνουσα παρεχομένη ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων καθαρὸν ὅσον ἔστι φάινεσθαι.

²¹⁶ Didymus, *commZacch*, 4.280: Τόπον δ' ἐν τούτοις ἐκληπτέον οὐ τὸν περιγράφοντα καὶ περιορίζοντα σώμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν διαιρούμενον εἰς προτάσεις καὶ προβλήματα.

²¹⁷ Plotinus, *Enneades*, 6.1.1, quoted in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXVg.

time. Aphrodisian's reply was that 'such a division applies to human mind, not to the things that are actually involved' (ἡ διαίρεσις ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι).²¹⁸ For what Aristotle meant by *par excellence* 'beings' were 'individual' (that is, material) substances, not incorporeal ones. As far as the latter are concerned, 'they are the subject of a different account'.²¹⁹ For all this, Plotinus was not deterred from criticising Aristotle, and the Peripatetics in general, for failing to come up with an account on the issue.

It was with Proclus only that Greek thought had no restrictions in applying the idea of 'division' to intelligible realities.²²⁰ Damascius and Simplicius were rather reluctant to do so, even though they both implicitly recognised that the criticism by Plotinus was unfounded. Nevertheless, Damascius was shy about allowing that such a 'division' would have any actual meaning. His formulations suggest that this notion is only an intellectual abstraction,²²¹ which means that he conceded soundness to Alexander's apology for Aristotle. In fact, he sustained that once 'division' is applied to superior realities, this is a precarious notion to entertain: this is the lesson Damascius read in Parmenides.²²² He was aware of Proclus confidently entertaining the idea of such a 'division', yet he asserted that Proclus received this libertine teaching from 'the Egyptians', insinuating that Damascius himself did not

²¹⁸ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 458.

²¹⁹ Loc. cit. και τὸ μὴ ὄν ὡς ψεῦδος θεωρησάσαι δεῖ, ὕστερον ἐπισκεπτέον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὡς δέδεικται, ἡ συμπλοκὴ ἐστὶ και ἡ διαίρεσις ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι, συμπλοκὴν και διαίρεσιν λέγων τὸ ἀληθὲς και τὸ ψεῦδος, τὸ δ' οὕτως, ἦτοι τὸ ὡς ἀληθὲς, τὸ παρὰ σύνθεσιν και διαίρεσιν, ἕτερον ὄν ἐστὶ τῶν κυρίως ὄντων, κυρίως ὄντα λέγων τὰς ἀτόμους οὐσίας, ὡς ἐν τῷ μετὰ τοῦτο βιβλίῳ ἐρεῖ· περὶ γὰρ τῶν νοητῶν ἄλλος λόγος. εἶτα και πῶς ἕτερόν ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς ἀληθὲς ὄν τῶν κυρίως ὄντων λέγει. ἢ γὰρ, φησιν, ἡ διάνοια τὸ τί ἐστὶ και οὐσίαν μετὰ οὐσίας συνάπτει ἢ διαιρεῖ, ἢ πάλιν ποῖον μετὰ οὐσίας ἢ ποσὸν ἢ ἄλλην τινα τῶν κατηγοριῶν.

²²⁰ Cf. Proclus making his own 'divisions' conveniently. *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1-6)*, v. 4, p. 97: Τετράς γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖ μονάδι και τριάδι διαιρουμένη, πρεπούσης τῇ τρίτῃ τάξει τῶν νοητῶν εἰδῶν τῆς τοιαύτης διαρέσεως.

²²¹ Damascius, *Princ.* v. 1, p. 274: Ἐστω δὲ και ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἄλλως πως ὀρωμένη ἡ τριαδικὴ πρόδος, ἐν δὲ τῷ νοητῷ και ταύτην ἀδύνατον ἐμφανίῃσαι: ἀλλὰ νόει μοι και ταύτης ὠδῖνα, τὴν ἐκεῖ λεγομένην τριχῆ διαίρεσιν. op. cit. v. 1, p. 275: και ἀρκούμενοι ταύτῃ τῇ πτώσει ἐτολμήσαμεν κατηγορησάσαι τοῦ νοητοῦ τὴν τριχῆ διαίρεσιν. πάντα ἐστὶ γὰρ, ἀλλὰ νοητῶς, φησὶ τὸ λόγιον. Διὰ τί οὖν μὴ και εἰς πάντα διαιρεῖται ἀναλόγως; ἢ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς ταῦτα κατα ἀλήθειαν, ἔστι δὲ ὅμως πάντα ἐκεῖ τὸν ἀδιάκριτον τρόπον. op. cit. v. 1, p. 276: ἢ ἄρα διαίρεσις αὕτη ἐμφασίς ἐστὶ διαρέσεως τῶν ἐκεῖθεν γεννωμένων· αὕτη δὲ τοῦ νοητοῦ ἢ ὑπαρξίς ἐστὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον και ἀδιάκριτον, και πᾶν εἶ τι τοιοῦτον.

²²² Damascius, *In Parmenidem*, p. 6: Μήποτε δὲ και τὸ μὲν νοητὸν οὐ διαιρετέον εἰς ἐνάδα και ὄν ταύτης ἐξηρημένον· ἐν ὄν γὰρ ὄλον ὄμοῦ τὸ νοητὸν κατὰ Παρμενίδην, και οὐ διέστη εἰς ἡγούμενον και ἐπόμενον. op. cit. p. 53: ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐπω ἐδυνάστευσεν ἡ διαιρετικὴ δύναμις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ὄλον δ' ὄλου νοητῶς καταδιήρηκεν τὸ ἐν ὄν.

endorse this.²²³ This remark, nevertheless, is informative about the contact that Proclus had with the intelligentsia of Egypt, which explains his liabilities to Didymus.

Simplicius is equally sympathetic with Aristotle on this point. He calls upon his readers 'not to blame either Plato or Aristotle' for failing to consider any notion of 'division' on intelligible things, since division is concomitant with things 'which come to being', not with eternal ones.²²⁴ He moves along the same line with Damascius by appealing to Parmenides, who saw only *oneness* in intelligible things, whereas distinction is only a human action 'in thought' (εἰς τὴν νοερὰν διάκρισιν). Once a notion of 'division' were applied to such things, this should result in different 'genera', which by definition are different from each other (τὰ γένη ἐναντία διαιρέσει ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα).²²⁵

Against this background, Cassian was bold enough as to dare entertain the notion of 'classification of the intelligible things'. For one thing, he was a learned person and knew what he was talking about. For another, his remark applies not to Deity, but to the *activity* of Deity, since Theodore of Mopsuestia had taught him what 'heavens getting open' actually means. This is the question discussed in Scholion XXV of his *Scholia in Apocalypsin*. This audacity of Cassian is his distinctive mark upon the Scholion, which allows us to identify his own pen behind these lines, even though he drew on Didymus, though not heavily, at other points of the same Scholion.

Moving on, the expression τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ τοῦτο σαφῶς ('the following demonstrates this clearly'),²²⁶ appears in Simplicius, but it was Christian usage that made a mark. The expression τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ (or, τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ) was used by some authors, including Didymus,²²⁷ yet it was Theodoret

²²³ Damascius, op. cit. v. 1, p. 324: ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὅτι διαιρετικοὶ εἰσι πολλαχοῦ τῶν κατὰ ἔνωσιν ὑφεστώτων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν διηρήκασιν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ιδιότητας, ὡς ἔξεστι μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγράμμασιν ἐντυχοῦσι τοῖς βουλομένοις, λέγω δὲ τῇ Ἡρακλεῖου ἀναγραφῇ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου καθ' ἕλον λόγου πρὸς τὸν Πρόκλον γραφεῖσθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον.

²²⁴ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 148: λέγεται τὸ δὲ καὶ οὕτως πολλὰ ἔστα ἢ μοναχῶς, καὶ ἡ οὐσία ἢ συμβεβηκός. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ νοητῷ προσήκει, ἐν τῇ γενέσει τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης ἀναφανομένης καὶ εἴπερ ἄρα κατ' αἰτίαν ἐν τῇ νοερᾷ διακρίσει προειλημμένης, μηδεὶς δὲ τῷ Πλάτῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει μεμφέσθω πρὸς ἄλλας ἐνοίας ἀντιλέγοντι.

²²⁵ Simplicius, op. cit. v. 9, p. 136: τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον δὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη γένος, εἴπερ τὰ γένη ἐναντία διαιρέσει ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα. καὶ κατὰ μίαν ιδιότητα περιγέγραπται διακεκριμένα ἤδη ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς νοητῆς ἐνώσεως, ἐν τῇ πάντα ἐν ἦν, ὡς ὁ Παρμενίδης φησὶ, καὶ ὑπελθόντα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν νοερὰν διάκρισιν, ἀμερίστως μερισθεῖσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰσθητὸν διασπασμὸν καὶ μεταξὺ τούτων εἰς τὴν ψυχικὴν ἀλληλουχίαν.

²²⁶ *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion XXVI.

²²⁷ Didymus, *commJob* (1-4), Cod. p. 90; *commJob* (7.20c-n), Cod. p. 279.

who championed this.²²⁸ Leading Christian authorities, such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen (apart from a catena-fragment),²²⁹ Eusebius (except for once),²³⁰ Athanasius, the Cappadocians, did not use the phrase at all. The exception was John Chrysostom, who applies this at numerous points.²³¹ Pagan usage is virtually absent, save one instance apiece in Alexander of Aphrodisias, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Strabo. Later though Simplicius took this up,²³² which may suggest an influence or connection, since the construction in Scholion XXVI is definitely Cassian's own idea.

Cassian's expression τὴν ῥαδίαν μετάπτωσιν ('a swift lapse')²³³ has probably something to tell us. For this was used by Christian authors, though not so often as it was by pagan ones. Although John Philoponus did so possibly having in mind Galen,²³⁴ Simplicius entertained this in a sense which is quite similar to the one transpiring in Cassian.²³⁵

We meet the Neoplatonists again once we come across the expression 'the soul that is firmly established within' (τὴν ἔνδον ἐνιδρυμένην ψυχὴν),²³⁶ which is an uncommon expression used by Simplicius.²³⁷ The locution originates in Philo, whom Cassian no doubt had studied carefully. There is a

²²⁸ Theodoret, *commIs*, 15; 18; 20; *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, pp. 100; 173; 197; *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, PG.80: 704.5; 716.17; *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.652.37. Cf. *DT (lib. 3)*, PG.39.921: τὰ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ.

²²⁹ Origen, *commCor*, 84.

²³⁰ Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam*, 1.19.

²³¹ John Chrysostom, *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum (homiliae 1-3)*, PG.51.276.4; *In Genesisim (sermone 1-9)*, PG.54.589.13; *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55: 289.4; 389.23; *In Matthaum (homiliae 1-90)*, PG.58: 541.7; 679.47; *In Joannem (homiliae 1-88)*, PG.59: 168.28; 462.59; 469.54; *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1-55)*, PG.60.309.15; *In Epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1-32)*, PG.60.437.61; *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-44)*, PG.61: 140.27; 227.62; 375.50; *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1-30)*, PG.61: 422.20; 514.32; 576.50; *In Epistulam ad Ephesios (homiliae 1-24)*, PG.62.40.39; *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1-34)*, PG.63: 233.52; 234.33; *In Isaiam*, 7.8; 7.9. Also, in spuria attributed to Chrysostom.

²³² Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 171; *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 202; 594.

²³³ Canvassed in *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, EN XXIIIe.

²³⁴ The expression μεταπίπτει ῥαδίως is a theme occurring in Galen: *De Victu Attenuante*, 71; *Synopsis Librorum Suorum de Pulsibus*, v. 9, pp. 477 & 506. John Philoponus, *De Opificio Mundi*, p. 152: καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ἀμφοῖν, ὕδατός τε καὶ ἀέρος, συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἀλληλα ῥαδίαν αὐτῶν μετάπτωσιν.

²³⁵ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, p. 667: τὰ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ σχέσιν οὐδὲν κωλύει εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μεταπίπτει ῥαδίως.

²³⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 27^v. Cf. John Cassian, *Institutiones*, VI.6, PL.49.282A: quam illum interiore sensum.

²³⁷ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 379 (expounding Aristotle): τὸ σωματοειδὲς ἅπαν ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐντὸς αὐτῆς ἔτεκτῆνατο ὡς αὐτὸ τῆ ψυχῆ ἐνιδρυμένον. *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 75: τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ αἰεὶ ἰδρυμένας. p. 77: αἰ μὲν τῶν κρείττωνων ἡμῶν ψυχὰι αἰεὶ ἄνω οὔσαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ αἰωνίως ἰδρυμέναι.

substantial difference, however. In all instances where the slogan transpires, the discussion is about a property or disposition, which is ‘firmly established *in the soul*’ (ἐνιδρυμένος τῇ ψυχῇ). This is the case with Philo and other authors.²³⁸ Once again, of pagan intellectuals it is Simplicius who joins the list. On the other hand, Cassian refers not to something being soundly established *in the soul*, but to the *soul itself* being solidly firmly incorporated in human existence itself. Gregory of Nyssa, who had spoken of ‘mind’ being firmly established within, influenced Cassian once again.²³⁹ A fake text that moves along this line is ascribed to Athanasius, too; indeed the same text is part of two spurious works, which are both attributed to Athanasius.²⁴⁰ There is good reason to surmise that these are texts written by Cassian, too. Since Cassian’s two Epistles to Castor were also ascribed to Athanasius, these two spuria deserve some research in order to determine possible relation to his pen.

The noun συνδιαγωγῆ (‘intercourse’ with other people)²⁴¹ used by Cassian is a revealing one. This seems to have been introduced by Diogenes Laertius,²⁴² to be taken up by Gregory of Nyssa.²⁴³ One instance transpires in Hesychius of Jerusalem,²⁴⁴ another in Justin Martyr.²⁴⁵ It was from Gregory that Cassian took up the term. No doubt John Climacus²⁴⁶ received it from Cassian himself. So did the author of *Chronicon Paschale*, the text of which I have urged that it may have been a later augmented version of an original text by Cassian,²⁴⁷ who also came upon the noun during his presence at the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536.²⁴⁸ The term was also current at

²³⁸ Philo, *De Opificio Mundi*, 128; *De Confusione Linguarum*, 108; *De Specialibus Legibus* (lib. i–iv), 1.191; 3.4. Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, s 2.4; 146; *Epistulae Tres*, 2 (the same text in *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1241.5–15). John Chrysostom, *In Illud: Vidi Dominum* (homiliae 1–6), Homily 3.3. Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 1.92.

²³⁹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, 21: ὁ νοῦς, ἐνδοθεν ἡμῖν ἐνιδρυμένος.

²⁴⁰ Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Corpore et Anima*, PG.28.1433.28; *Liber de Definitionibus*, PG.28.553.15–22.

²⁴¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *Octo Vitae*, p. 46^v: ἐν τῇ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐναρέτω (συν)διαγωγῆ καὶ γυμνασίᾳ. op. cit. p. 48^r: τῆς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εὐλαβῶν συνδιαγωγῆς.

²⁴² Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, 10.7.

²⁴³ Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, 5; *De Vita Mosis*, 1.19; *Orationes VIII de Beatitude*, PG.44.1296.9.

²⁴⁴ Hesychius of Jerusalem (presbyter, fifth cent.), *Commentarius Brevis*, Psalm 100:5.

²⁴⁵ Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, 47.3.

²⁴⁶ John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 4.725; 26.1060; 27.1108.

²⁴⁷ *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 680. See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendix III, pp. 622–626.

²⁴⁸ ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, Tome 3, pp. 135 & 140. Justinian, *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, p. 166.

the monastery of St. Sabas and was used by Cyril of Scythopolis,²⁴⁹ who probably received it from his spiritual father Cassian. Later still, another Sabaite monk, namely, John of Damascus, would have come upon the term while living in the same milieu.²⁵⁰ There are two instances in Basil, but I believe they will eventually turn out to be Cassian's writings.²⁵¹ Once again, a distinctively Christian term transpires in Simplicius, who is the sole Neoplatonist to use this.²⁵²

Simplicius also employed the rare verb *προσασχολεῖσθαι* ('to deal with' a certain work)²⁵³ used by Cassian, too.²⁵⁴ The same neologism was used by eminent members of the Laura of Sabas, such as Cyril of Scythopolis, monk Antiochus of Palestine,²⁵⁵ as well as by theologians who regularly reproduced Cassian's parlance and mentioned him by name.²⁵⁶ Once again Simplicius is part of the small group entertaining the term *προσασχολεῖσθαι*, which can hardly be a coincidence. As a matter of fact, Simplicius is the sole non-Christian ever to use this verb. The verb *προσασχολεῖσθαι* does not transpire in any author prior to Gregory of Nyssa, who therefore appears to have made it up.²⁵⁷ This is indicative of one more influence by Gregory of

²⁴⁹ Cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 176.

²⁵⁰ John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1065.20; PG. 96: 349.16; 352.32; 464.47 & 51.

²⁵¹ Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 113.1. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Sermo 11* (*Sermo Asceticus et Exhortatio de Renuntiatione Mundi*), PG.31.637.21.

²⁵² Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 64: καὶ γὰρ πρὸς συνδιαγωγὴν καὶ συμβουλήν οὗτοι.

²⁵³ Simplicius, *op. cit.* p. 19: ὡς μὴ μόνοις αὐτοῖς προσασχολούμενοι.

²⁵⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 61^v: προσασχολ(ώ)μεθα.

²⁵⁵ Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 99: μὴ τοῖς ἡττημένοις ἐχθροῖς μάτην προσασχολεῖσθαι. *op. cit.* p. 115: καὶ ταῖς γηίναις φροντίσι καὶ κοσμικαῖς προσόδοις προσασχοληθέντων. Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 21, line 102: ὁ ἐγκρατευόμενος καὶ προσασχολῶν ἔτι δὲ ἐκ μελέτης δι' ἑτέρου πράγματος.

²⁵⁶ Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et Dubia*, 170: "Ὁτ' ἂν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ διὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας μετὰ τὴν ἐν ἕξει τελείαν ἀπάθειαν καταλείψασα τὴν εὐχὴν, πάθει τινὶ μάτην προσασχολεῖται, ἀποκτέννει, τουτέστιν ἄπρακτον ποιεῖ τὸν τελεώτερον τῆς θεωρίας τρόπον, τοῖς ἡττημένοις ἐχθροῖς προσασχολούμενη. John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, 1136: ὁ τὸ τυχὸν μετερχόμενος ἔργον καὶ καὶ προσευχῆς ὥρας καταλαμβανομένης ἐν αὐτῷ προσασχολούμενος. Over and again, Theodore Studites reproduces Cassian's vocabulary. *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 17, p. 48: ὁ ἐγκρατευόμενος καὶ προσασχολῶν.

²⁵⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, v. 5, p. 30: ἢ τισιν ἐπιδιφορίοις ἐργασίας προσασχολούμενοι. *Epistulae*, 6.11: τῷ τῇ διψῆ καταναγκάζεσθαι προσασχοληθῆναι. *De Virginitate*, 6.1: μηδενὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων προσασχολεῖν τὴν δianoian. *Orationes VIII de Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1245.8: μηδενὶ τοιοῦτω τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν προσασχολεῖν. *op. cit.* PG.44.1257.43: ἀλλοτρίαις συμφοραῖς προσασχολεῖσθαι τὸν ἕλεον. *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.948.55: μηδενὶ τότε τῶν κοινῶν προσασχολεῖσθαι. *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, PG.44.65.12–13: ταῖς ἐπιδιφορίοις ἐργασίας προσασχολούμενοι. *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.177.43: ἐν τοῖς ψυχικοῖς προτερήμασι προσασχολεῖσθαι.

Nyssa upon Cassian. It seems that, during the sixth century, the gate for Origenism to be introduced into the Laura of Sabas was not only Evagrius, but also the authority of Gregory of Nyssa, who I believe was the best pupil of Origen. The verb transpires in casual usage by Ephraem Syrus (the text is probably a Sabaite translation) and Nilus of Ancyra.²⁵⁸ That it also appears in a spurious text ascribed to Basil of Caesarea²⁵⁹ only tells us that this text (which we come upon time and again) should be Cassian's. Simplicius used the verb once and there is good reason to surmise that he took it up from Christians either in Syria or in Constantinople. As just said about the term συνδιαγωγῆ, we find once again Simplicius reproducing Christian vocabulary in his commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*.²⁶⁰ This might suggest that he wrote this work after some interaction with Christian intellectuals had taken place. Simplicius' analysis of this work by Epictetus seems to have played a role in the exchange of ideas between Cassian and Simplicius. For we come across this once again, notably at the point where Cassian classifies three kinds of 'established habit' (ἔξις): the babyish (νηπιώδης), the practical (πρακτική) and the cognitive (γνωστική).²⁶¹ A unique analysis by Simplicius advises that this was in fact a classification made by Epictetus himself: men are classified under the labels of 'idiots', 'progressing', and 'philosophers'. The first one corresponds to Cassian's 'babyish', the second to the 'practical', and the third to the 'cognitive'.²⁶² When Cassian says that the concealed meaning of Scripture 'nourishes generally the established ethos of men' (τρέφει καθολικῶς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔξι(τιν)), he actually refers to all three kinds, which he explicates at that point.²⁶³

²⁵⁸ Ephraem Syrus, *Consilium de Vita Spirituali; ad Monachum Novitium (capita xcvi)*, 55: ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ ἀνανεουμένη κρατύνεται ἐν τῷ τὸν νοῦν προσασχολεῖσθαι τῇ θεωρίᾳ καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν προσδοκωμένων. Theodoret (quoting a letter by Eastern bishops to Western ones), *HE*, p. 290: ἀναρχαῖον πλεῖονα ἡμᾶς προσασχοληθῆναι χρόνον. Nilus of Ancyra (fifth cent. AD), *Epistulae*, 257, PG.79.332.34–36: καὶ τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων προσασχολῶν θεωρίᾳ. *De Voluntaria Paupertate ad Magnam*, 55, PG.79.1041.8–9: ἵνα τοῖς ματαίοις λογισμοῖς προσασχολήσωμεν τὴν διάνοιαν. *Peristeria*, 11.6, PG.79.912.45–46: ἰδίους ἀλγήμασι προσασχολήσασα τὸν ἀλάστορα.

²⁵⁹ Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1380.24: αἰεὶ περὶ τὰ καλὰ διασκέψει προσασχολεῖν.

²⁶⁰ Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 19 (προσασχολούμενοι).

²⁶¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 102^v.

²⁶² Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, p. 132: πρῶτον ἡμῖν τὰς τρεῖς ἔξεις παραδίδωσιν, τὰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους περιλαμβανούσας. Τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν, ἰδιῶται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ διαμέτρου τούτων, φιλόσοφοι· οἱ δὲ, ἀφιστάμενοι μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, προσχωροῦντες δὲ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις· οὓς Προκόπτοντας καλεῖ. op. cit. 133: Διαστήσας τὰς τρεῖς ἔξεις, τὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φρομένας, ἰδιώτου, καὶ φιλοσόφου, καὶ προκόπτοντος.

²⁶³ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 102^r: Διὰ τῶν θεωριῶν οὖν τούτων τρέφει ὁ Θεὸς τὰς ἔξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Moreover, there is a unique parallel to Cassian's notion of ἀπαράλειπτος γνώσις ('flawless' or, 'unfailing', 'knowledge'),²⁶⁴ which transpires in Simplicius,²⁶⁵ only to confirm that distinctive parallel points in both Cassian and Simplicius are too striking to be ignored.

The expression 'thus the question is resolved' (λύεται οὖν ἡ ζήτησις)²⁶⁶ deserves some attention. The idiom is distinctive of Alexander of Aphrodisias.²⁶⁷ Simplicius took it up, though he used it mostly in reference to Alexander of Aphrodisias himself.²⁶⁸ Hence, after four centuries of this elegant expression being out of use, it was revived in the sixth century by Cassian and Simplicius alike.

Cassian's expression κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον ('according to my definition', or, 'to my understanding')²⁶⁹ is a token of erudition of the highest level. Although of Aristotelian provenance,²⁷⁰ this is representative of Galen.²⁷¹ We come upon occasional usage in other non-Christian authors, too, including Proclus and Damascius.²⁷² Christian usage can be ascertained only in a limited number of authors.²⁷³ Nevertheless, the expression transpires in dubious texts under the names of eminent theologians.²⁷⁴ The two cited texts ascribed either to Justin or to Theodoret are in fact the selfsame one attributed to different authors, and I have urged that there is a high probability of this being a text by Cassian. On the other hand, later interests interpolated

²⁶⁴ Op. cit. p. 115: ἐν ἀπαράλ(είπτω) τε καὶ διακριτικῇ γνώσει.

²⁶⁵ Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 11, p. 7: ἀκριβεστέρα δὲ γνώσις ἢ ἀναγκαία καὶ ἀπαράλειπτος καὶ ἡ οἰκεία τῷ γνωστῷ.

²⁶⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 112^v.

²⁶⁷ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, pp. 551; 560; 644; 717.

²⁶⁸ Simplicius (referring to Alexander of Aphrodisias by name), *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, v. 7, p. 405; 412; *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 233. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 10, p. 1358. ref. to Plotinus by name: *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, v. 8, p. 127. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 9, pp. 94; 512; 586; v. 10, p. 814.

²⁶⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 64^v. Cf. 66^v: οὗτος τοῖνον ὁ ὄρος.

²⁷⁰ Cf. κατὰ τὸν ὄρον in Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, 1.1.17.

²⁷¹ Galen, *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, 4.2.20; 4.7.5; *Thrasylbulus sive Utrum Medicinae sit an Gymnasticae Hygieine*, v. 5, p. 818; *De Differentia Pulsuum Libri iv*, v. 8, pp. 701; 734; 740; 743; 745; 759.

²⁷² Hermogenes, *Περὶ Στάσεων*, 11. Dexippus (fourth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, p. 50. Proclus, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 941. Damascius, *Princ*, v. 1, p. 174.

²⁷³ Origen, *deOr*, XIV.4. Nemesius of Emesa (bishop, fourth cent. AD), *De Natura Hominis*, 17. Severianus of Gabala, *In Job (sermones 1-4)*, PG.56.570.62. Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Fragmenta in Epistolam ad Romanos*, p. 164.

²⁷⁴ Pseudo-Justin, *QetR*, pp. 427; 428. The same work has been ascribed also to Theodoret, *QetR*, pp. 73; 74, but this is probably Cassian's.

another work attributed to Basil of Caesarea,²⁷⁵ as I hope to show in a future work of mine. This portion should probably fall under this category.

Stoicism

I now come to making some comments further evincing Cassian's remarkable erudition. Before canvassing his Aristotelian terminology, I am going to show that he avails himself conveniently of Stoic technical expressions.

The notion of *διοίκησις και πρόνοια* has been discussed in relation to Cassian's own text.²⁷⁶ Besides, there is remarkable application of the Stoic *συγκατάθεσις* ('assent')²⁷⁷ and of the notion of the ruling power of the soul (*ἡγεμονικόν*). Moreover, it would be revealing to canvass Cassian's use of the Stoic notion of 'feat' (*κατόρθωμα*) for a while.

The notion of 'feat' (*κατόρθωμα*), although occasionally occurring in Aristotle,²⁷⁸ is a distinctive technical term of Chrysippus' moral philosophy.²⁷⁹ Historians, such as Polybius, Diodore of Sicily, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, made much of it, and so did Philo, Plutarch, and Alexander of Aphrodisias. Clement of Alexandria was the first Christian to apply this noun in its Stoic sense.²⁸⁰ Origen naturally followed entertaining the term abundantly, yet he was the first to style 'charity' (or, love) a 'feat'. Although his fragments on the Psalms may betoken the phraseology of a later catenist (and I strongly suspect Sabaite monks to be among them), his reference in the Commentary on John leaves no doubt that the usage was initially his own.²⁸¹ Gregory of Nyssa was the writer to follow in the same vein. Heavy though his use of *κατόρθωμα* is, its apposition to 'love' stands out as an influence by Origen.²⁸² The same goes for ascetic writings ascribed to Basil

²⁷⁵ Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon Magnum*, PG.31.1213.24.

²⁷⁶ See edition volume, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, p. 60^r, endnote 28 (p. 225) to the Greek text.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, pp. 28^r; 28^v; 40^r; *SerenPrim*, p. 84^r.

²⁷⁸ Aristotle, *Magna Moralia*, 2.3.2.

²⁷⁹ Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Moralia*, Frs. 11; 13; 202; 210; 211; 284; 297; 363; 494; 499; 500; 501; 502; 503; 515; 519; 520; 521; 524; 528; 529; 672; 674; *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Frs. 1002; 1003; 1004; 1005; 1128.

²⁸⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 4.51.1; *Paedagogus*, 1.11.97.1; 1.13 (title); 1.13.102.3; 2.8.74.3; *Stromateis*, 2.3.11.1; 2.6.27.1; 4.5.19.3; 6.14.111.3; 6.17.150.3; *Eclogae Propheticae*, 27.2; *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 1.27.4.

²⁸¹ Origen, *commJohn*, XX.34.305–306: τὰ τῆς τελείας ἀγάπης κατορθωκότα. *selPs*, PG. 12.1148.53: Ὁ γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην κατορθώσας. *op. cit.* PG.12.1596.44–45: Ἡ ἀγάπη δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἢ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ ζήτησις καὶ κατορθωσις.

²⁸² Gregory of Nyssa, *In Ascensionem Christi*, v. 9, p. 327: κατορθῶσαι τὴν μίμησιν, ἐν τῇ πρὸς

of Caesarea, which I surmise to be Cassian's.²⁸³ I have already indicated the affinity of Cassian's writings with the language of the so-called Pseudo-Macarius ones,²⁸⁴ whereas similar expressions in Ephraem only indicate translations composed at the Laura of Sabas,²⁸⁵ or even texts written by a Sabaite scholar (probably Cassian) and later ascribed to Ephraem. For example, the selfsame text has been ascribed to both Ephraem and Pseudo-Macarius in modern editions.²⁸⁶ To cite another instance, the expression *διεγειρόμεθα πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτοῦ*²⁸⁷ (referring to the soul being aroused to longing for the Logos) has a unique parallel, which runs in the sentiment of the Song of Songs.²⁸⁸

When Cassian (along with conspicuous philosophers) entertains the distinction between *τέχναι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα* ('arts and habits of life'), he actually embarks on a Platonic concept employed by Chrysippus. Yet, once again, his mind was with the writings of such prominent Origenists as Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa.²⁸⁹

Returning to the Stoic notion of 'feat', Cassian entertains the term *κατόρθωμα* heavily with respect to sundry virtues,²⁹⁰ and he is one of the few Chris-

θεὸν ἀγάπη. *In Basilium Fratrem*, 11: τῶν κατορθωμάτων οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου ἄρα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὧν ἡ ἀγάπη καθηγείται. loc. cit. ὁ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀγάπης ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατορθώσας.

²⁸³ Basil of Caesarea, *Asceticon Magnum* (heavily interpolated, at least, and perhaps entirely spurious), PG.31: 920.23: οὔτε αὐτὴν τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπην, οὔτε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον δυνάμεθα κατορθῶσαι. 985.22: καὶ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς ἀγάπης ἀκατόρθωτον εἶναι. 1065.26 & 1188.38: κατορθῶσαι τὴν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπην. *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1125.3. Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1409.47: καὶ ἡ σωτηρία μετὰ ἀγάπης καὶ ὁμονοίας τῶν ἀπάντων κατορθωθήσεται.

²⁸⁴ Pseudo-Macarius, *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, Homily 19, line 58; *Epistula Magna*, p. 261, line 22.

²⁸⁵ Ephraem Syrus, *Capita Centum. Quomodo Quis Humilitatem Sibi Comparet*, 87; *Epistula ad Ioannem Monachum de Patientia* (see full title in Bibliography), p. 406; *Sermo de Communi Resurrectione, De Paenitentia et De Caritate, et In Secundum Adventum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, p. 50; *Sermo in Pretiosam et Vivificam Crucem*, p. 136; *In Sermonem, Quem Dixit Dominus, Quod: In hoc Mundo Pressuram Habebitis, et De Perfectione Hominis*, pp. 352; 395; *De Caritate*, p. 125; *Institutio ad Monachos*, pp. 336; 338; 368; *De Iuliano Asceta*, p. 130; *Encomium in Martyres*, p. 181.

²⁸⁶ Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna* and Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos* is the same work ascribed to these authors by different editors.

²⁸⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^v.

²⁸⁸ Pseudo-Macarius, *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, Homily 10.1.8: Ἀκούσασα τοῖνον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ψυχὴ καὶ συνηθρομένη τῷ θεῷ διεγειράτω ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐξυπνιζέτω εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ ποθομένου κυρίου καὶ ἐξαπτεῖται τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ νυμφίου.

²⁸⁹ See endnote 6 (p. 216) to the Greek text following p. 56^v, from *Cod. Vind. theol. gr. 121, folio 220^r*.

²⁹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const*, p. 4^r: κατορθῶσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. op. cit. 11^r: τῶν ἐν τοῖς κοινοβίοις διαλαμψάντων πατέρων κατορθώματα. op. cit. 19^r: καὶ πλήρωμα πάντων τῶν καλῶν κατορθού-

tian authors to do so in connection with 'charity'.²⁹¹ Once again, he shows himself a student not only of Gregory of Nyssa, but also of Theodoret.²⁹² Cassian is a spiritual offspring of Antioch and of Theodoret himself, yet at the same time the influence upon him by Gregory of Nyssa is evident every now and then. By contrast, similar instances in Cyril of Alexandria are too rare compared with the volume of his writings.²⁹³

Cyril was simply a follower of Gregory's inspired formulations, which I wish to show by one more example. The notion of 'mind which is in perpetual motion'²⁹⁴ expressed through the epithet ἀεικίνητος ('ever-moving') shows once again Cassian following Gregory of Nyssa, the author who introduced the illustration. So far one would believe that Cyril of Alexandria alone copied Gregory.²⁹⁵ However, Cassian comes along and once again

ταί. op. cit. 20^v: ἡ ταπεινώσις γνωρίζεται, ἥτις ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθῇ. op. cit. 21^v: καὶ τὴν μακροθυμίαν τὴν σὴν, μὴ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς προσδόκα κατορθοῦσθαι. *OctoVit*, p. 25^v: Τὴν δὲ διὰ σωφροσύνης μερικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρότητα ἐξαιρέτως ἐγκράτεια καὶ νηστεία κατορθοί. op. cit. 29^v: τὸ δῶρον τῆς παρθενίας κατορθοῦσθαι, ὅσον ἐν τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγιωσύνη καὶ καθαρότητι ἥτις φόβῳ Θεοῦ κατορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν. op. cit. 29^v: τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς ἀργείας. op. cit. 29^v: περὶ τοῦ κατορθώματος τῆς σωφροσύνης. op. cit. 37^v: τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν ταύτην κατορθῶσαι δύσκολον. op. cit. 42^v: ἡ ἀρετὴ τῆς μακροθυμίας κατορθωθήσεται. op. cit. 42^v: Τὸ κεφάλαιον τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας διορθώσεως καὶ εἰρήνης, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν πλησίων μακροθυμίας τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς γινομένης κατορθοῦται. op. cit. 46^v: γινώσκων τὴν ὑγίαν τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἐν τῷ χωρισμῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατορθοῦσθαι. op. cit. 55^v: ὅταν ἀρετὴν τινα κατορθώσωμεν. *ScetPatr*, p. 64^v: καὶ τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην κατορθώσαντες. op. cit. 73^v: ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν κατορθῶσαι ἀδυνατοῦμεν. *SerenPrim*, p. 93^v: ἀνθρώπων κατορθούντων ἀγιωσύνην. op. cit. 95^v: Μέγα δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν κατόρθωμα οἱ πατέρες ἡγούονται, op. cit. 95^v: ἀντὶ μεγάλων κατορθωμάτων.

²⁹¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 56^v: δι' ὧν ἡ τελεία ἀγάπη κατορθοῦται. *ScetPatr*, p. 58^v: τῆς ἀγάπης κατόρθωσιν. op. cit. 59^v: τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπην κατορθώσωμεν· ὁ γὰρ κατορθώσας τὴν ἀγάπην ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει τὸν Θεόν. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion X: Οὐ διαφωνεῖ πρὸς τὸ οἰδᾶ σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἀ σὺν ἀγάπῃ κατορθοῦται.

²⁹² Theodoret, *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, Vita 3.20: τῷ θεῷ τῆς φιλοξενίας κατορθώματι. Vita 4.4: τοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης ἐστὶ κατορθώματος ἴδιον. Vita 31.15: Ἀδύνατον γὰρ κατορθῶσαι φιλοσοφίαν τὸν μὴ θερμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον ἐραστήν. *Epistulae: Collectio Patmensis (Epistulae 1–52)*, 43: Ἀγάπη, λέγων, καλύψει πληθὸς ἁμαρτιῶν, τὰ δὲ φαινόμενα κατορθώματα συμμέτρως θαυμάζειν. *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.973.12: οὐχ ὡς οὐδέπω τοῦτο τέλειον κατορθώσας· ἀλλὰ κόρον λαβεῖν τῆς ἀγάπης οὐκ ἀνεγόμενος. *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81.181.5–7: τινὰς δὲ ῥόα κατὰ τὰ διάφορα τῆς ἀρετῆς κατορθώματα. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην φύουσι. *intPaulXIV*, PG.82: 221.2–4: Ἐν Κυρίῳ γὰρ ἀγαπήτων αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε· κατορθωμάτων δὲ τοῦτο δηλωτικόν. 337.16–19: Ἐδειξε παύμενα τὰ χαρίσματα, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην μένουσαν. Ἐδειξε δὲ καὶ τῶν γνωμικῶν κατορθωμάτων αὐτὴν υπερέχουσαν. 641.45–46: Τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης κατόρθωμα πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου παντὸς ὁ θεὸς Ἀπόστολος προσηγόρευσε.

²⁹³ Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, pp. 563; 577; *Commentarii in Matthaicum (in catenis)*, Fr. 251; *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales (epist. 1–30)*, PG.77.981.22; *GlaphPent*, PG.69.164.40–42; *expPs*, PG.69: 881.43–44.

²⁹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62^v: ἡ διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀεικίνητος οὖσα.

²⁹⁵ Gregory of Nyssa, *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.157.4–5: Ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πυρῶδες συγγενῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς διανοίας κίνησιν λέγει, διὰ τὸ ἀεικίνητον εἶναι καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν

evinces both himself a devout student of Gregory and his text an original Greek tract. He is the sole author to use this construction twice,²⁹⁶ which I will also discuss later, all the more so since the Latin Patrology felt it necessary to include this terminology in Greek.²⁹⁷

Aristotelism

Coming to Aristotelism, there is abundance of Peripatetic terminology throughout Cassian's writings.²⁹⁸ Expressing the notion of something involving 'much difficulty' through the expression *δυσχέρειαν πολλήν εἶναι*²⁹⁹ is an Aristotelian idiom.³⁰⁰ Likewise, the distinction between *τῆ φύσει* and *τῆ προαιρέσει* (an act owing either 'to nature' or 'to choice') is of Aristotelian provenance, even though it was Chrysippus who engaged in the theory of this distinction.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, this was quite current a distinction by Cassian's day, so it cannot be a token of extraordinary Aristotelism.

Expressions such as *ἡ ὑπόνοια ἢ ὁ ὀρισμὸς*³⁰² evince not only Aristotelism, but also a sixth-century writer. Whereas initially *ὑπόνοια* used to mean the obscured meaning of a text suggested by means of metaphor or allegory,³⁰³ with writers such as John Philoponus it came to indicate the common (even not common) *conception* of a certain notion.

διάνοιαν. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 2, p. 267: Τάχα δὲ τῆ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀεικινήτῳ φορᾷ παρεικάζει τὴν εὐπάριστον καὶ φιλόκακινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάνοιαν, τὴν μὴ ἴσταμένην ἐπὶ μιάς δοκίσεως, ἀλλὰ μεταπηδῶσαν ἀπὸ ἐτέρας γνώμης εἰς ἄλλην, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἀπὸ ὥρας ἄλλης εἰς ἄλλην μεταβαίνει. Likewise, *Catena* (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Joannem* (*catena integra*) (*e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. Tl.4*), p. 315: Τῆ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀεικινήτῳ φορᾷ τὴν ἀπάριστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεικάζει διάνοιαν, καὶ φιλόκαλόν πως ὑπάρχουσαν εἰς βουλήν καὶ προαίρεσιν ταῖς ὥραις παραπλησίως.

²⁹⁶ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 83^r: ἡ διάνοια καὶ ἐκ φύσεως ἔχουσα τὸ ὀξύτατον καὶ ἀεικίνητον.

²⁹⁷ See endnote 41 (p. 228) to the Greek text, p. 62^r, and *supra*, p. 156.

²⁹⁸ Cf. ἀρετῆ, Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 57^r, *et passim*; προαίρεσις, *op. cit.* p. 61^r; πρακτικὴ ἀρετῆ / θεωρία, *op. cit.* p. 57^r; τέχνη καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, *op. cit.* p. 57^r; τέλος, *op. cit.* p. 57^r; σκοπὸς / τέλος, *op. cit.* p. 57^r; λήθην ποιέσθαι, *op. cit.* p. 58^r; οὐσία, *op. cit.* p. 60^r, *et passim*; ὑπόστασις, *SerenPrim*, p. 85^v, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v; καθ' ὑπόστασιν, *op. cit.* p. 103^v; διαίρεσις, *op. cit.* p. 116^v; ὀρισμὸς, *SerenPrim*, p. 82^r; φύσις, *OctoVit*, pp. 26^v, 30^r, *et passim*.

²⁹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 61^r.

³⁰⁰ Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, 1091b22; (Cf. 1085b17; 1086b12); *De Partibus Animalium*, 645a28; *Politica*, 1261a10; 1263a22; 1335a2.

³⁰¹ Aristotle, *De Partibus Animalium*, 657b1: καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐκ προαιρέσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐποίησε. Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, Fr. 1016 *apud* Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, 9.111: ἤτοι οὐκ ὑπὸ φύσεως κινεῖται ἢ ὑπὸ προαιρέσεως ἢ ὑπὸ δίνης καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκην.

³⁰² Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 82^r.

³⁰³ *PHE*, p. 26.

Likewise, the wording *κίνησίν τε καὶ διάθεσιν* ('movement and mood')³⁰⁴ comes from Aristotle³⁰⁵ and was canvassed by his commentators. Although there is a casual reference in Clement of Alexandria,³⁰⁶ it was Gregory of Nyssa who applied this regularly, and no doubt this is one more liability of Cassian to his hero.³⁰⁷ That Cassian was aware of Theodoret's work is beyond doubt. Little wonder then that he conveniently entertains the Aristotelian distinction between *σκοπὸς* ('intent') and *τέλος* ('end'), which only a few scholars have realised, even nowadays. Following the present project, it has turned out that Cassian's knowledge of Aristotle was mediated to him through Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponus. As far as the specific distinction is concerned, Galen is also a probable go-between. As a matter of fact, only a couple of Christian authors were aware of the telling distinction between *σκοπὸς* ('intent') and *τέλος* ('end'), and it is all but a coincidence that these scholars are Clement, Didymus and, Theodoret.³⁰⁸

In like manner, the expression *ὡσπερ τεκτονικῶ κανόνι* ('like an iron bar' used by a builder to keep a certain construction straight)³⁰⁹ once again betokens an erudite writer who had read not only Aristotle, but also John Philoponus. Although the imagery of a carpenter's bar used to keep a thing straight betokening a 'rule' is as old as the fourth-century BC orator Aeschines, as well as Aristotle, and the first-century sophist Dio Chrysostom apart, this adumbration was all but fashionable. The exceptions were John Philoponus and Elias of Alexandria, who were both contemporaries of Cassian.

The idiom *ἐκπεπτωκέναι τοῦ ἰδίου σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου* ('to fall from one's personal intent and aim')³¹⁰ is an important one betokening Aristotelian ethics introduced into Christian doctrine by Pseudo-Macarius and Ephraem.³¹¹ There is one man who explained the distinction: he was the Aristotelian commentator Eustratius of Nicaea (eleventh-twelfth century), a metropolitan of the city and disciple of John Italus. The point is closely related to the Aristotelian ethics entertained by Cassian himself. The term *ὄρος* means 'limit' and 'definition'. Since the 'medium way' (the 'mean') is tantamount

³⁰⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 85^f and note 19 (pp. 299–300).

³⁰⁵ Aristotle, *De Caelo*, 270a; *Ethica Eudemia*, 1220a; *Metaphysica*, 1001b; 1061a; *De Virtutibus Et Vitiis*, 1251b.

³⁰⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 2.22.133.6.

³⁰⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium*, 2.1.116; *De Oratione Dominica Oraciones* v, p. 276; *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.96.6; *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, v. 5, p. 389.

³⁰⁸ See edition volume, pp. 216–217.

³⁰⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 57^v.

³¹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 67^v. See both text and translation.

³¹¹ Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, p. 251 & Ephraem Syrus, *Institutio ad Monachos*, p. 322: Ἰδοὺ πῶς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τελειότητος ὄρον καὶ σκοπὸν καὶ κανόνα διὰ πολλῶν εἰς φανερόν πασι τίθησιν.

to 'virtue', this 'limitation' actually depicts the 'intent' of anyone who wishes to pursue virtue.³¹² Only a couple of authors did entertain this,³¹³ but it is important that we come upon it in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, whom I argue Cassian met, probably personally.³¹⁴ Cassian certainly knew what he was talking about and used the term ὄρος in this specific (not usual) sense.³¹⁵ This is one more point excluding the possibility of this text being anything other than a Greek original one.

The same goes for the similar idiom κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον (and οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ὄρος)³¹⁶ meaning 'according to my own definition' (eventually, 'to my understanding'), which is one more token of refinement of the highest level. This is an Aristotelian expression, too, and its presence in Christian authors is scarce. These authors have a characteristic bearing on the language of the Scholia on the Apocalypse. Once again, my proposition is that pseudopigrapha under the names of Justin, Basil of Caesarea, and Theodoret, where the characteristic Aristotelian expression occurs, should be reconsidered as to their authorship. I have no doubt about the *Asceticon Magnum* being heavily interpolated by Cassian's writings and perhaps this was entirely written by him. Coming across works ascribed to Pseudo-Justin, which are dotted with unique parallels to Cassian's work, is a starting point for considering Cassian as the possible author of some of them, which must have been produced in the monastery of the Akoimetoi.

When Cassian states ἡ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρία πολλαχῶς λαμβάνεται ('the contemplation of God is grasped in many ways'),³¹⁷ he actually uses Aristotelian

³¹² Eustratius of Nicaea, *In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea VI Commentaria*, p. 264: δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον εἰδέναι καὶ τὸ μέσον τί ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἕξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄρος τίς ἐστὶν ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντος ὡς περιορίζων τε καὶ ἰστών μέχρις ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκείνου ὀρμήν.

³¹³ John Chrysostom, *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53.268.17–18: Εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶ σκοπὸς καὶ εἷς ὄρος τῆς θείας Γραφῆς. Cyril of Alexandria, *commProphXII*, v. 1, p. 378: "Ὅλος ἡμῖν ἐν τούτοις ὁ τῆς προφητείας διαφαίνεται σκοπὸς, καὶ τοῦ παντός χρησιμωδήματος ὄρος.

³¹⁴ Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Divinis Nominibus*, p. 177: Οὐκοῦν τὸ κακὸν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ παρὰ τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ παρὰ τὸ τέλος καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὄρον καὶ παρὰ τὴν βούλησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν. Στέρησις ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἔλλειψις. Italics are mine. See *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Appendices I and II, where Areopagites' influence on Cassian is pointed out at several points.

³¹⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 64^v: κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην. op. cit. p. 66^v: Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ὄρος καὶ ἡ γνώμη τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου ... βεβαιώσωμεν τὸν ὄρον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου. op. cit. p. 67^v: ἐκπεπτωκέναι τοῦ ἰδίου σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου. op. cit. p. 70^v: Καὶ νέοις παραδείγμασιν καὶ ὄροις τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων. *De Panareto*, p. 103^v: Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν ὄρον παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων μεμαθήκαμεν. Cassian, of course, entertains also the hackneyed sense of the term at other points.

³¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 66^v.

³¹⁷ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 60^r and notes 24, 25 (pp. 223–224).

language.³¹⁸ Likewise, the verb προοδοποιεῖν³¹⁹ is one introduced by Aristotle and was applied by Cassian's master Gregory of Nyssa, also obsessively by Chrysostom, along with a casual instance in Clement of Alexandria and perhaps one in Didymus.³²⁰ In like manner, the notion of ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά ('quality and distinction') is a notion as old as Aristotle, which played an important role in Greek thought, both Stoic and Neoplatonist. During the Christological controversy of the sixth-century, this was a prominent notion that served in the exposition of Severian Monophysitism.

Cassian also uses the Aristotelian expression ἐπάναρχές ἐστι,³²¹ which I have discussed in relation to him being a sixth-century author. Besides, reference to ἀνισότης ('inequality') and ἐναντίωσις ('contrariety')³²² is a valuable token of the present author being an erudite Aristotelist, since he writes having in mind a specific passage of Aristotle's ethics in order to make his specific point.³²³

Cassian also makes use of the typical Aristotelian tenet³²⁴ of virtue being the mid way (the 'mean') between two extremes.³²⁵ His specific expression points to his personal readings, since, as it stands, it appears in two other instances only. One, in historian Diodore of Sicily,³²⁶ who had contributed

³¹⁸ Cf. Aristotle, τὸ δὲ πολλὰ ἁπλοῶς λέγεται. *Metaphysica*, 1217b27; 1003a33; 1003b5; 1018a35; 1026a33; 1026b2; 1028a6&10&30; 1060b32; 1061b1; *Physica*, 185a21; 185b6.

³¹⁹ Cassian the Sabaite, *OctoVit*, p. 29^v.

³²⁰ See the terms canvassed in the edition volume; p. 29^v: προοδοποιεῖν (note 17, p. 158); p. 82^v: ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά (note 12, p. 296).

³²¹ Cod. pp. 16^r; 58^r; 63^r; 82^r; 90^r; 90^v; 91^v (bis).

³²² Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 92^r (note 31, p. 305).

³²³ Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia*, p. 1222a24–28: αἴτιον δὲ τῆς ἐναντιώσεως, ὅτι οὐκ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἀνισότητος ἢ ὁμοιότητος πρὸς τὸ μέσον, ἀλλ' ὅτε μὲν θάττον ἂν μεταβαίη ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μέσην ἕξι, ὅτε δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλλείψεως, ἥς ὅς πλέον ἀπέχει, οὗτος δοκεῖ ἐναντιώτερος εἶναι. ('The cause of this contrariety is that the resemblance does not always reach the same point of inequality in regard to the middle, but sometimes it may pass over more quickly from the excess, sometimes from the deficiency, to the middle state, the person farther removed from which seems to be more contrary'). Cf. *Metaphysica*, 1055b18–21: πᾶσα γὰρ ἐναντιώσις ἔχει σπέρησιν θάτερον τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως πάντα: ἀνισότης μὲν γὰρ ἰσότητος, ἀνομοιότης δὲ ὁμοιότητος, κακία δὲ ἀρετῆς. διαφέρει δὲ ὥσπερ εἴρηται: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐὰν μόνον ἢ ἔστερημένον, τὸ δ' ἐὰν ἢ ποτὲ ἢ ἔν τινι, ὅσον ἂν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τινὶ ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ, ἢ πάντη. Aristotelian commentators made little of this telling distinction. See Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 642. Syrianus, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 5. Also the anonyma *Scholias in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea*, 1130A24.

³²⁴ Aristotle, *Ethica Eudemia*, 1220b34–35; 1222a10; 1227b5–8; *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1106b27–34; 1106b36; 1107a7; 1108a32; 1108b12; 1109a20; 1120b31; *Magna Moralia*, 1.8.22; 1.9.51; 1.22.17; 2.3.172; 2.3.174; *Politica*, 1295a37–40.

³²⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 64^v: καταλιμπάνοντα τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολήν. See edition volume, note 50 (p. 231).

³²⁶ Diodore of Sicily (historian, first cent. BC), *Bibliotheca Historica* (lib. 21–40), Book 34/35,

to Cassian's education.³²⁷ Two, in the 'Rules' of the monastery of 'Prodromus the Dreadful', which quotes extensively from Cassian's writings, as shown in Appendix I. In one of them, where the rules of 'the real fast' (ὑποτύπωσις περὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς νηστείας)³²⁸ are stipulated, Cassian's Aristotelian view is employed almost to the word, arguing that both eating and fasting should not be practised to the extent of exaggeration. The expression is a distinctive mark of Cassian having influenced the point, by banning any scrupulous legalism in dietary conduct.³²⁹

There is a point, however, which reveals once again that the Latin was not only a translation from Greek, but also that the translator was wanting with respect to the Greek language.³³⁰ Reading Cassian's Greek text ἐκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς ('excess towards either of the two extremes'),³³¹ the Latin translator felt it necessary to add a gloss into his text, which he actually did.³³² However, the way he did this reveals a poorly educated person. Cassian himself reproduces Aristotle's celebrated definition of virtue being both a certain 'mean' and a certain 'extreme' at the same time.³³³ The statement is fascinating in itself, evidently because of its apparent contradictory diction. Which is why it became a sort of a proverbial phrase used by those who did not care (or, were unable) to ponder upon Aristotelian ethics, or upon philosophy in general. Hence the expression ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες ('opposite extremities, which result in the same condition'), which appears as a Greek quotation into the Latin text, had its own story already, since it had

23.1 (Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, Fr. 164): τιθεὶς τοῖς Γαλάταις τὴν εἰς ἕκαστον μέρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τιμωρίας.

³²⁷ Cf. Cassian the Sabaite, *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, XVI; XX; XXVII; XXXII; XXXV; XXXVIII. The other author is Aspasius (second cent. AD), *In Ethica Nicomachea Commentaria*, pp. 50–51 (comm. on *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1106b34): οὐδὲ τῶν κακιῶν ἐστὶ μεσότης οὐδ' ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν πρᾶττηται τὰ κατὰ τὴν κακίαν, ἀμαρτάνεται, καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μερῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μὲν ὑπερβολὴ ἐστὶ πᾶν, τὸ δ' ἔλλειψις. Cf. *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, Scholion X.

³²⁸ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi* τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, 5, p. 14.

³²⁹ Loc. cit.: αἱ ἀκρότητες ἐκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ἐπίσης βλάπτουσιν.

³³⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 79a: ἐξ ἐκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς. The Latin text has recourse to a Greek gloss, which is a frequent practice therein. PL.49.549B: Vetus namque sententia est ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες, id est, nimietates aequalitates sunt.

³³¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 79^r in edition volume, pp. 208–209.

³³² PG.49.549B: Vetus namque sententia est ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες, id est, nimietates aequalitates sunt.

³³³ Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1107a6–9: διὸ κατὰ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι λέγοντα μεσότης ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετὴ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ εὖ ἀκρότης. ('While in respect of its substance and the definition that states what it really is in essence virtue is the observance of the mean, in point of excellence and rightness it is an extreme.')

been used also by writers who had almost nothing to do with philosophy. This hearsay was reproduced as a proverb rather than a conscious philosophical statement. The collection of texts ascribed to Aesopus tells us that this expression had been received as a proverb.³³⁴ Epiphanius of Salamis, too, reproduces the expression ἀκρότητες ισότητες and he is by no means shy to declare himself a stranger to such philosophical subtleties. While having no inkling of either its background or its implications, he employs the phrase ἀκρότητες ισότητες, only to add ironically that this is ‘repeated as a kind of song by the outside philosophers’.³³⁵ No one could of course expect from the fanatic Bishop of Salamis to care for philosophical reflection. The second (and last) theologian to reproduce the formula was Basil of Ancyra, who simply attributes this to ‘one of the wise’ (τις τῶν σοφῶν).³³⁶ Basil was not an extremist of the sort Epiphanius was: he was a doctor with a remarkable literary training, which is why there no irony for pagan philosophy in his statement. Therefore, the shibboleth ἀκρότητες ισότητες could only survive in marginal works, eventually to vanish.³³⁷ What is for sure is that the real Cassian would have never made use of it in an alleged ‘Latin original’. The Greek expression ἀκρότητες ισότητες in the Latin is only a barely learned extrapolation by the Latin translator of Cassian, who essays bootlessly to communicate the Sabaite’s thought to Latin readers.

By the same token, the expression ἄπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν is an articulate one.³³⁸ The specific idiomatic phrase, which generally means, ‘to expound more extensively’, comes from Alexander of Aphrodisias³³⁹ and

³³⁴ Aesopus et Aesopica, *Proverbia*, Proverb 81: Ἀκρότητες ισότητες. Ἐρμηνεία. Πλοῦτος ὁ πολὺς καὶ πενία μεγάλη ἀνάπαυσιν ἴσην φροντίδων ἔχουσι.

³³⁵ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 476: οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος κλίναντες ἐν ἀκρότητι βλάβης καταλαμβάνονται, ὅπως κάκεινο τὸ παρά τισι τῶν ἔξωθεν φιλοσόφων ἀδόμητον καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς πληρωθῆσεται ἐν τῷ λέγειν, αἱ ἀκρότητες ισότητες.

³³⁶ Basil of Ancyra, *De Virginitate*, PG.30.684.48–49: Αἱ ἀκρότητες γὰρ ὄντως, ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ισότητες.

³³⁷ The slogan appears in a (probably sixth-century) spurious work ascribed to Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Problemata* (lib. 3–4), 4.25: ἔμπυκνος γὰρ ἡ χιῶν, αἱ δ’ ἀκρότητες ισότητες θερμὴ τε καὶ ψυχρά, to be much later reproduced verbatim by Michael Psellus, *Opuscula Logica, Physica, Allegorica, Alia*, *Opusculum* 55, line 154: Ἡ χιῶν ψυχρὰ οὐσα καίει διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τὴν πολλήν, αἱ δὲ ἀκρότητες ισότητες, θερμὴ τε καὶ ψυχρά.

³³⁸ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 21: ἄπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν. Cf. *SerenPrim*, p. 102: Ὁ πλατυσμὸς τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν.

³³⁹ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, p. 443: ὡς ἐν τοῖς Νικομαχείοις ἐπιγραφόμενοις ἠθικοῖς εἶρηκε πλατύτερον. p. 567: εἶρηται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ Δ ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας πλατύτερον. p. 589: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων πάντων πλατύτερόν μοι ἐν τῇ Περὶ ψυχῆς εἶρηται. p. 641: ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου εἶρηται μοι ἐν τῷ Β πλατύτερον.

has a noteworthy history of its own. With regard to pagan literature, it was employed by sixth-century Aristotelian commentators.³⁴⁰ Christian writers did not make much of it. However, some casual references once again reveal the writers who appear and reappear as sources of Cassian's vocabulary.³⁴¹ We come upon the same wording in epistles ascribed to Basil of Caesarea. However, as I have suggested, singular parallels to expressions used by Cassian appear in such epistles, yet in no other text by Basil. This probably means that these epistles (like the ascetic writings ascribed to him) call for redaction since it appears that ascription to Basil is not correct.³⁴² Likewise, the text of the constitution of a monastery, which made the most of Cassian's writings and mentions him by name in admiration,³⁴³ reproduces his account of humility.³⁴⁴ For all its scarce Christian usage, it is possible that Cassian took up his expression not from previous Christian writers, but from

³⁴⁰ Themistius, *Quae Fertur In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum I Paraphrasis*, v. 23,3, p. 63: ὡσπερ εἴρηται ἡμῖν πλατύτερον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ σχήματι. Simplicius, *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria*, v. 11, p. 303: τὰ πλατύτερον εἰρημμένα ἐν ἐκεῖνοις ῥητέον. p. 315: συγκεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πλατύτερον αὐτῶ εἰρημμένα. John Philoponus (quoting Themistius, *supra*), *In Aristotelis Analytica Priora Commentaria*, v. 13,2, p. 230: ὡς εἴρηται ἡμῖν πλατύτερον ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ σχήματι. *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, v. 17, pp. 609–610: ἐροῦμεν δὲ πλατύτερον ἐν τῷ ἐφεξῆς. p. 694: εἴρηται δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ τόπου λόγοις. Olympiodorus, *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, p. 227: Ταῦτα, φησὶν, εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς Περί αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητοῦ λόγοις πλατύτερον. David of Alexandria (Neoplatonist, sixth cent.), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium*, p. 146: εἰρήσεται δὲ ἡμῖν πλατύτερον. Also the anonyma, *De Scientia Politica Dialogus*, p. 45: καὶ αὐθις πλατύτερόν πως εἰρήσεται. *In Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium*, p. 5: ἐστενωμμένως εἴρηκε νῦν, πλατύτερον δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀναλυτικοῖς.

³⁴¹ Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, v. 3, p. 289: πλατύτερον μὲν ἀλλαχού εἴρηται. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.700.2: τὰ αὐτὰ πλατύτερον εἰρηκῶς ἐπάγει καὶ ταῦτα. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannem*, v. 1, p. 363 (header of Book III, possibly by a scribe); *De Adoratione*, PG.68.625.47: Καὶ πλατύτερον μὲν περὶ γε τούτων ἡμῖν κατὰ καιροῦς εἰρήσεται. ACO, *Concilium Universale Ephesenum anno 431*, 1,1,2, p. 14 (quoting Theodotus of Ancyra): τὰ δὲ συντομώτερον εἰρημμένα πλατύτερον ἐκθεμένῃ. Anastasius of Sinai, *Viae Dux*, 12.1: ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν. *Questiones et Responsiones*, Question 27.4: ἐν ἐτέρῳ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν. Nicephorus I of Constantinople, *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, 3: πλατύτερον εἴρηται. *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis anni 815*, 36: πλατύτερον εἴρηται. *op. cit.* 143: εἴρηται πλατύτερον. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 31, p. 6b (reviewing Theodoret's *HE*): Οὗτος καὶ πλατύτερον τῶν εἰρημμένων τὰ περὶ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου διέλαβε.

³⁴² Basil of Caesarea, *Epistulae*, 8.12; 105.1; 131.2; 188.8; 199.29; 361.1; *De Baptismo Libri Duo*, PG.31: 1517.19; 1520.14; 1561.9; 1589.37; 1592.13; 1593.17; 1621.3. That this expression transpires only in these two works is a serious reason not for taking the epistles as genuine ones, but for suspecting Basil's alleged work *On the Baptism* to be a spurious one.

³⁴³ *Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ*, 6, p. 16: τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν ... ὁ εἰρημμένος θεῖος Κασσιανός.

³⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* 8, p. 19, *apud* Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 21^v: ταῦτα πάντα, ἅπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν.

his contemporary sixth-century Aristotelian commentators, while at the same time he was aware of such authors as Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria having applied this.

The expression τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς ('the excellent and good ones')³⁴⁵ is a simple designation on the face of it, which though reveals Cassian's Aristotelian erudition. Plato used this only casually. It was Aristotle who took this up from his master to entertain it abundantly.³⁴⁶ Although both Philo and (to a lesser extent) Plutarch took this up, the designation did not enjoy much attention among eminent Aristotelian commentators, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias and John Philoponus. Christian authors (Origen, Eusebius, the Cappadocians, Theodoret, Cyril) paid no attention to this rhetorical construction. We are therefore faced with an instance of Cassian entertaining his personal readings. For there is only a unique instance, which he probably came across, namely Palladius, who used this phraseology writing about the monks he met at Nitria of Egypt.³⁴⁷ He styled σπουδαίους καὶ καλοὺς those monks who honoured their profession. Otherwise, as if history wished to notify us about this work by Cassian being an original Greek text, we come upon a unique instance of Cassian's posterity, once again in Theodore Studites,³⁴⁸ who made abundant use of Cassian's characteristic language, as discussed throughout this work.

In conclusion, and given the abundance of Cassian's liabilities to an uninterrupted Greek tradition, the questions that are invited out of the present state of affairs are the following:

³⁴⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *Const.*, p. 18^v. See note 21 (pp. 73–74) to the Greek text.

³⁴⁶ Plato, *Euthydemus*, 300e: Τί γελᾷς, ὦ Κλεινία, ἐπὶ σπουδαίοις οὕτω πράγμασιν καὶ καλοῖς; Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, 1100b27: καὶ ἡ χρῆσις αὐτῶν καλῆ καὶ σπουδαία. 1148a23: αἱ μὲν εἰσι (τῶν) τῷ γένει καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων. 1169a32–33: εἰκότως δὴ δοκεῖ σπουδαῖος εἶναι, ἀντὶ πάντων αἰρούμενος τὸ καλόν. 1176b8: τὰ γὰρ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαία πράττειν. *Magna Moralia*, 1.9.9: τὰ δὲ καλὰ καὶ σπουδαία κελεύει. 2.7.23: καὶ ἐὰν μὲν γε ἡδόμενος πράττην, σπουδαῖος ἔσται, ἂν δὲ λυπούμενος τὰ καλὰ πράττην, οὐ σπουδαῖος. *Politica*, 1332a24: καὶ τὰς χρήσεις ἀναγκαῖον σπουδαίας καὶ καλὰς εἶναι ταύτας ἀπλῶς. *Rhetorica*, 1364b8–11: καὶ ὧν αἱ ἐπιστήμαι καλλίους ἢ σπουδαιότεραι, καὶ τὰ πράγματα καλλίω καὶ σπουδαιότερα ... καὶ τῶν σπουδαιότερων δὲ καὶ καλλίωνων αἱ ἐπιστήμαι ἀνάλογον διὰ τὸ αὐτό. 1367a18: καὶ αἱ τῶν φύσει σπουδαιότερων ἀρεταῖ καλλίους καὶ τὰ ἔργα. 1392a13: καὶ εἰ τὸ σπουδαῖον καὶ καλὸν γενέσθαι δυνατὸν, καὶ ὅλως δυνατὸν γενέσθαι. *Protrepticus*, Fr. 49: οὐκ ἀγαθὸς νομοθέτης οὐδὲ σπουδαῖος: οὐ γὰρ ἐνδέχεται μὴ καλοῦ μίμημα καλὸν εἶναι.

³⁴⁷ Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, Vita 7.1: Συντυχῶν οὖν καὶ συνδιατρίψας τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μοναστηρίοις ἔτη τρία, καλλίστοις καὶ σπουδαιότατοις ἀνδράσιν ὡς δισχίλοις, ἀναχωρήσας ἐκείθεν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῆς Νιτρίας.

³⁴⁸ Theodore Studites, *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, Catechesis 75, p. 517: εἰ καλοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι εἶεν, καὶ χαρὰ καὶ ἀγωνία πρόσσεσι.

Are we asked to believe that a certain Latin author called 'John Cassian' wrote originally in Latin? Furthermore, that he was subsequently translated in Greek, and the original Latin text was in the first place heavily loaded with translated specific Greek technical expressions (often extremely rare ones), which already had a long-time usage by eminent Christian authors of old?

Are we invited to believe that a Latin author addressing a Latin audience felt it necessary every now and then to interlace his text with Greek terms and expressions, even scriptural portions, written in Greek?

Should we believe that striking Neoplatonic expressions and notions applied by Cassian in theology are the fortuitous result of a translation from Latin?

Normally, foreign words are introduced into a translated text mainly for two reasons: either the notions and terminology are delicate and have been expounded by a certain thinker in a specific (his own) language, which impels the original term to be there in its own original language. Or, the case would be that a translator feels it necessary to quote a term in the original, again in order to make himself accurate and share responsibility of his rendering with the eventual reader of the work. However, the case is that the Greek terms appearing in the Latin editions of 'John Cassian' are not technical ones, nor are there any abstruse or intricate philosophical terms (such as *substantia*) written in Greek, even though *substantia* is used at tens of points in Latin. What remains, therefore, is the case of a person translating into Latin and citing certain points in Greek, which though are terms of no particular theological or philosophical importance: they are only words that the translator himself had difficulty with rendering in Latin.

Considering the literature of the early centuries, it was neither common nor possible for any author to write extremely extensive treatises. Quite simply, this was difficult on the grounds of the practical means available, such as parchment, which is why sometimes a parchment had to be written again as a palimpsest. Beyond the mental ability required in order for one to be able to write extensive discourses, one had to be supplied with the practical means to do so. This was possible to Origen because he was sponsored by his admirer Ambrose, to the Cappadocians, to Theodoret, to Chrysostom, and to Augustine, who were famous personalities and their extensive treatises expound crucial theological questions, mostly controversial ones. It is hard to imagine a mediocre Latin theologian such as the fabulous 'John Cassian' to be supplied with the means to write works as extensive as these in the *Patrologia Latina*, indeed in order to expound the dresses of monks in Egypt, or the eight principal faults. Quite simply, the case is that

Cassian the Sabaite wrote the book, which we have in Greek. The rest are in fact interpolations by interested parties in the West, which were written by the end of the sixth century and thereafter. It is hardly a coincidence that 'John Cassian' is represented to style his treatise a 'little work' (*opusculo*),³⁴⁹ which is certainly not the case of the habitual banalities and ostentatious clerical modesty. Rather, it is the same designation which Photius applied to Cassian's book which he had read, namely, βιβλιδάριον (a little book).

Subsequently, Greek translations of these augmented interpolated texts were produced, propagated, and promulgated, such as those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is unfortunate (but whether this is a coincidence I am not so sure) that folio 2 of Codex 573 is missing: this is precisely the point where the person of 'Germanus' is introduced. To fill this lacuna, I had to use a manuscript which is later by five centuries. But the question as to why this folio was cut off is a tantalising one. The numbers on the top right side of the folios are much later and they are consecutive. One can realise the lacuna only upon studying the text. Which means that folio 2 was torn off during the ancient times. To what purpose really? And of what use could a single folio be to anyone at all? I am afraid that this folio was removed only for the purpose of destroying it, not of trading on a virtually worthless archaeological object.

³⁴⁹ Praefatio Ad Castorem Pontificem (*opusculo huic*); so in IV.32 (*Institutiones*): (*opusculo huic*); V.40 (*opusculo huic*); XI.16: (*huic opusculo*).

CONCLUSION

The Greek Codex Metamorphosis 573 reveals an abundant intellectual wealth. The expressions used therein are heavily loaded with the spirit and language of specific Greek Fathers and the language is highly refined and elegant. By contrast, in the Latin text, the opulent Greek terminology which is pregnant with instances of the author's allegiances, liabilities, influences, even aspirations, is entirely lost. This Latin text simply lacks the historicity and intellectual vigour of the Greek. Historicity and vigour mean that hundreds of Greek expressions, which carried over a continuous tradition and bear on the authority of both eminent Greek Fathers and Greek Classical lore, are lost in the Latin text. At the points where an effort was made to maintain some of them through a verbatim Latin rendering, they make no sense to a Latin reader. On the other hand, Greek terminology of unimportant words appears here and there in this Latin. True, Latins were not deeply conversant with Greek philosophical thought. But the scantiness of the Latin vocabulary and its penury of terms could appear as a problem only once a Greek text was rendered in Latin, not the other way around. In other words, it becomes immediately plain that the Latin text is but a mere augmented and heavily interpolated *translation*, since hardly would it have been the case that a Greek theologian, also highly erudite in Classical lore, suddenly decided to write in Latin.

The works of the Meteora-Codex belong to Cassian the Sabaite, the abbot of the Laura of Sabas. All these texts save one are mentioned by Photius; portions of them were included by John of Damascus in his anthology *Sacra Parallela*; they were extensively copied by Antiochus of Palestine; they made up a large part of the constitution of the monastery of Prodromus the Dreadful; they were also quoted to a considerable extent by Nikon of Montenegro stipulating his own monastic rules; these are also the texts used in the *Philocalia* by Nicodemus of Athos. Later, they were falsely attributed to the figment called 'John Cassian', by means of tampering with the manuscripts, whereas an additional biography of 'John Cassian' was fabricated and smuggled into the compilation of biographies by Gennadius of Marseilles.

In his edition of 'John Cassian's' works in the Vienna Corpus, Michael Petschenig wrote that some Greek manuscripts contain excerpts from Cassian's work which were known to Patriarch Photius in the ninth century

and accurately correspond to Migne's Latin epitome. What he saw in this Latin version was the genuine epitome by Eucherius, while he presumed the Greek excerpts to be a precise translation of them. This contention remained uncontested only for a short while: as early as 1898, Karl Wotke made a convincing (indeed devastating) case, proving that this Latin 'epitome' was only a worthless and rather clumsy translation from the defective Greek text preserved in cardinal Altems' library. Petschenig's allegation that the Latin 'epitome' is the original and the Greek text the translation has therefore collapsed since more than a century, also following the study by Franz Diekamp in 1898.

When Migne printed 'two books' with excerpts from Cassian (1846), his ambitious contention was that his Latin text beside the Greek one was '*S. Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi epitome operum Cassiani*', yet he adduced no evidence or testimony as to how had he come upon this 'epitome'. Franz Diekamp showed that this Latin is only an *ad hoc* translation of the specific Greek text, the only one available to Migne (actually to Montfaucon), whose Greek is a distorted, deficient, and wanting copy. "This Latin text, which Eucherius of Lyons has nothing to do with, was accorded the fake title *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis episcopi epitome operum Cassiani*", yet this is a 'text of no value' (Der text ist demnach völlig wertlos).¹

Karl Wotke was certainly right in arguing that 'one should stop conducting any futile search in order to discover the putative epitome of Eucherius, on the basis of the reference by Gennadius'. That aside, one should wonder about what the actual content of this epitome was thought to be. Migne's text (and alleged 'epitome') by Montfaucon contains 'two books'. These are not actually 'books'. Gennadius' reference to 'uno volumen' apart, the header *Liber primus* and *secundus* was introduced by Migne. Montfaucon had chose to entitle them *Epistola prima* and *secunda*. The manuscripts have it simply Πρὸς Κάστορα and Πρὸς Λεόντιον correspondingly. Since Diekamp did so, I will not abide by the fact that in the Greek text there is no reference to the state of affairs at the French monastery, which is strange since the rest of the text appears there word for word. However, whereas Diekamp wonders as 'to what was that which impelled the Bishop of Lyons to omit these references', my point is that no one omitted anything:

¹ F. Diekamp, op. cit. p. 355. His introduction, p. 341: "with respect to the text, the falsity and sheer worthlessness of which is treated in the ensuing exposition" (dem Texte zu befürhten dessen Unechtheit und völlige wertlosigkeit die folgenden Ausführungen darthum sollen).

those ‘French’ references are only later interpolation by forgers. More important is to reflect on the alleged content of that fantastical epitome. If the content of this were the text which Migne alleged it to be, what should be made of the Greek text appearing in the *Meteora Codex 573* (folia 56^v–118^v) which does not appear in Migne as part of that ‘epitome by Eucherius’? Likewise, *Codex Vind. 121* (folia 219–247) contains Greek text which is also outside that of Migne’s.² Is this, or is it not, part of the fabulous ‘epitome’? For indeed the actual content of this ‘epitome’ has never been determined. Which has resulted in the notion of an alleged ‘epitome’ serving as a *passé-partout* for any text of Cassian’s found in Greek to be styled ‘part of the Latin epitome’.

During my own research on the Vienna manuscripts that I have considered in this study, the catalogue of the Library of Austria has attributed to all of them the wholesale designation ‘Greek epitome of Latin texts’ (griechische Epitome des lateinischen Textes). These texts are not only the institutions of monasteries and the tract on the eight evil thoughts, but also the conference with abba Moses, as well as the one with abba Serenus. The sole text of the *Meteora Codex 573* that I have not been able to trace in any library is the last one in this volume, namely the conference with Serenus, entitled *De Panareto*, which was not available to Photius either. It seems that once this text comes to light (as indeed it now does, being part of the edition volume of the *Meteora Codex*), I will not be surprised if some scholars will be all too quick to style this ‘part of the translated Latin epitome’, too. It seems, therefore, that every time we come across a Greek text by Cassian in any codex, we ought to brand it ‘part of Eucherius epitome in Greek translation’. But in this way one makes the whimsical proleptic assertion ‘epitome’ not only a talisman always prompt to oblige as a phylactery vouchsafing an ‘epitome’, but indeed a factotum establishing a ‘Latin Cassian’ out of thin air.

Andreas Schottus, the editor of Eucherius’ works in the *Bibliotheca Patrum Coloniensis*, never endorsed the hypothesis of an epitome by Eucherius ever having existed. Thus he exclaimed in 1618: “Extaret utinam, quam in Catalogis ecclesiasticorum scriptorum nominari video ex Joanne Cassiano

² PG.28.849–872 & 872–906. The text of PG.28.849–872 is the one appearing in *Codex Metamorphosis 573*, folia 1–22, as well as in *Codex Vind. 121*, folia 206–219. The text of PG.28.872–906 is the one of *Metamorphosis 573*, folia 22^v–56^r (it is absent from *Codex Vind. 121*). The text in *Metamorphosis 573*, folia 101^r–118^v (*De Panareto*) is absent from both Migne and *Codex Vind. 121*. *Codex Vindobonensis theologicus Graecus 121* contains two of the three ‘discourses’ (λόγοι) that Photius had read. The tract treating the eight evil thoughts is not included either in that manuscript or in *Codex Vind. Gr. theol. 104*.

Eucherii epitoma! Lucem enim aliquam obscuris in locis debravatisque haud dubie afferent".³

Karl Wotke made a convincing case that the alleged Epitome by Eucherius mentioned in Gennadius' biographies is a phantom. Its existence has never been confirmed, and Wotke speaks of Gennadius with contempt, while mentioning accounts by frustrated Western scholars who never managed to come upon such an epitome, notwithstanding their exertions. With reference to a work published by a certain scholar called Bruno Czaplá, who had considered in admiration 'Gennadius as a historian of philology' (Münster, 1898), Wotke declares his own appreciation: "since I set out to express my opinion in public [I declare that] I do not esteem Gennadius as much as Czaplá does" (Ich denke, wenn ich meine Meinung offen darlegen soll, über Gennadius, nicht so gut als Czaplá); Gennadius' 'reference is very much wanting and inaccurate' (Ist doch die ganze Stelle höchst dürftig und ungenau, nich einmal dies Titel *Instructiones* und *Formulae spiritalis intellegentiae* sind dem Gennadius bekannt).⁴ The real case is however that, without having any inkling of this, Wotke was somewhat unfair to Gennadius, who never actually wrote either a single word about Eucherius or about any 'epitome' of Cassian's text. For indeed the real Cassian was only a young man at the time when Gennadius wrote his biographies, and the Sabaite monk and presbyter wrote his works well after Gennadius' death.

Cassian was presumably accorded the epithet 'the Roman' by later scribes, so that confusion between two different persons and two different oeuvres should be avoided. The most ancient instance of this designation appears in the *Meteora* codex (ninth century) and was made by the Sabaite scribe Theodosius. The present state of affairs shows that the endeavour by this later Sabaite, as well as by Studite brothers, to tell him apart was not sufficient enough to save him from spiritual death and non-existence. I cherish the hope that this study will contribute to sorting this fatal fusion out. The real Cassian, the Sabaite monk of Scythopolis and spiritual offspring of Sabas, was entirely eclipsed by an anachronistic contrivance called 'John Cassian', otherwise unknown to the entire East. 'Abba Cassian' of the *Apophthegmata* and 'abba Cassian' of Cyril of Scythopolis is one and the self-same person. The text of Codex 573 is the same text which Photius read and reviewed, save the last lecture by Serenus.

³ K. Wotke, op. cit. p. 4.

⁴ Op. cit. pp. 3-5.

The text of Cassian is a genuine part of an uninterrupted chain of the Greek literature, with technical terms and striking parallels of earlier Greek authors, both in language and notions. There is no way for this to be a translation, either from Latin or from any other language.

Cassian says that the pedagogy flowing from his text is not an invention of his own, but opinions by the fathers of old.⁵ This suggests not only previous hermits and monks (which is the normal meaning of 'fathers' in Cassian, and in monastic literature, in general), but also influence by earlier writers. Normally, nevertheless, Cassian does not mention earlier writers by name, save Basil of Caesarea at a couple of points. However, it can definitely be shown that he is bowled head over heels by the technical parlance and theology of previous authors. Perusal of these texts reveals who the 'fathers' that supplied Cassian with his vocabulary were. The author is an immensely erudite Greek, especially familiar with Plato, and with the Aristotelian as well as Stoic ethics.

His hero and creative flare is Gregory of Nyssa, his writings reveal an Easterner, indeed an Antiochene, and his ideas are drawn from Origen, Didymus, Evagrius, Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria, and Theodoret. Quite definitely, Cassian is an outstanding case of an Antiochene freely drawing on Alexandrian theologians, on Origenists, on eminent Greeks of Classical and Late Antiquity, without any sense of alienation from his patrimonial theological nourishment, which would have been Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Nestorius nonetheless. Had the ostensible 'John Cassian' been able to study the vast bulk of all the prolific authors who are outstandingly present through this text, he would have been able to write in Greek, not in Latin.

Cassian's phraseology is not the achromatic language of a text, which any translation always is with respect to the original. Not only notions, but also a specific vocabulary (often exclusive to one or two writers) are confidently reproduced. The author knows Hebrew and quotes from that text, mostly by memory, and sometimes Old Testament quotations are a Greek translation of his own from the Hebrew.

Were this text a translation from Latin, the translator would have had all the time and means to render these portions in the more or less standard Greek scriptural text. However, what we see (especially in the conferences with Moses and Serenus) is a Greek author who quotes scripture by memory and feels free to make critical use of paraphrased scriptural portions.

⁵ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 62^v: οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχαῖαι τῶν πατέρων γινώμαι.

The author had an impressive command of Greek literature. Some expressions are singularly used by authors such as Cyril of Alexandria (e.g. ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πλανώμενον),⁶ or Gregory of Nazianzus (e.g. τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως).⁷ Locution appearing in such instances as in the Local Synod of Constantinople in 536, where Cassian was present himself (e.g. βεβαίῳ λογισμῷ),⁸ never appeared ever again. Aristotelian expressions, which had been scarcely taken up by Christian authors, are there, too, (e.g. καὶ δυσχέρειαν πολλὴν εἶναι),⁹ whereas there is some correspondence with expressions transpiring in Proclus only, as well as in the language of Simplicius and Damascius. The distinctive characteristic of Cassian's Greek terminology is unflinchingly there, advising posterity that there is no way for this text to have been the product of any translation. When, for instance, Cassian refers to καθ' ὑπόστασιν κακόν,¹⁰ he simply reproduces an expression which is distinctly characteristic of Gregory of Nyssa. In general, if Gregory of Nyssa is the best pupil of Origen, Cassian the Sabaite is the best pupil of Gregory of Nyssa.

The entire atmosphere and setting of the Conferences shows that this is simply staged by Cassian aiming at expounding not only his own knowledge of monastic life, but also his aspirations and ideal of it. He never mentions his own name; it is only his staged friend Germanus that asks the anchorites questions, which is what Plato had done in his own dialogues. It is certainly all but an accident that there is a fair amount of Platonism here and there.

The 'book of Cassian' has all the characteristics of a book that was transcribed during the ninth century from an original book-companion, which belonged to Cassian himself. For all the mistakes of orthography by the scribe, the texts are of the highest quality, as far as the Greek language and learnedness are concerned. The finest moments of Greek prose are wonderfully availed of and reproduced. Had the real Cassian not suffered this unfair obscurity of his identity, some of his maxims could have been emblematic and second to no Classical dictum. Consider, for instance, his pithy aphorism: Ἀδύνατον παρὰ κακοῖς εὐρεθῆναι ἐπιστήμην, οὐδὲ ἐν πράγμασιν ἀπ(αι)δεύτοις μεμετρημένον τι ('It is impossible to find either true knowledge amidst evil people or anything considerate in a state of coarseness').¹¹

⁶ Cassian the Sabaite, *ScetPatr*, p. 63^r.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 61^r.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 63^r.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 61^r.

¹⁰ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v.

¹¹ Cassian the Sabaite, *SerenPrim*, p. 90^r.

Any Classical Greek sage would have been delighted at the elegance and wisdom of the maxim. Within Christian literature, where elegance was not always the foremost priority, this statement should have remained proverbial, not only for its telling terseness, but also as a pointed laconic epitome of both Platonism and Solomon.¹² Likewise, at points Cassian appears as a scholar rather than as a monk. Even though he had styled himself and his kinsfolk *ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἰδιώτας* ('savages and simpletons'),¹³ at the same time he refers conveniently to a different version of the Old Testament text of which he knew, in an 'edition by the Jew' (*ὑπερ ὃ Ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι*),¹⁴ which is not attested otherwise.¹⁵ Furthermore, it is Cassian who sets forth the fundamental judicial principle stipulating that no law can have a retroactive effect (*ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα εἴωθεν ἐγκλήματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα κρίνειν*).¹⁶ To anyone who has studied the uproar caused in Palestine and Antioch (in short, 'the East' of the times) by Justinian's decision to impose posthumous condemnation on defunct theologians, and the outrage caused to eminent pious figures of the region, this reference by Cassian can only suggest his own animadversion to the imperial demeanour.

Caesarius is Cassian himself writing well after the period he had composed his monastic texts. Meantime, he had come across the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, and probably Pseudo-Dionysius himself, of whom Caesarius is the sole author to advise us that he came from Thrace.

When Cassian assumed the name 'Caesarius', he had just come across the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius and made much of the latter's term *θεανδρικός*. There is no reason to assume that this denotes Monophysitism by any means. For although in that text there are formulations which could be pleasing to any anti-Chalcedonian, they could nonetheless be equally

¹² Cf. Wisdom of Solomon 1:4: *εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται σοφία οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι κατὰ χρεὼ ἁμαρτίας* ('Wisdom will not enter a malpracticing soul, nor shall she ever enter a body bowled into sin').

¹³ *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Greek text, p. 57^r and endnote 12 (p. 220).

¹⁴ Cassian the Sabaite, *De Panareto*, p. 103^v.

¹⁵ See op. cit., Greek text, p. 106^r and endnote 18 (pp. 358–359).

¹⁶ *De Panareto*, p. 113^v. See discussion in endnote 29 (pp. 362–363) to the Greek text. The author sets forth a fundamental judicial principle stipulating that no law can have a retroactive effect. The sole Christian parallel transpires in Amphilochius of Iconium, *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (orat. 4), lines 240–242: *Ἄλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς μὲν, ὁ μὴ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κρίνων, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐπαινῶν, ὁ μὴ τὰ παρελθόντα κολάζων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα δοκιμάζων*. There is a fair correspondence of the Latin text. *Collationes*, VIII.22, PL.49.760B: *lex enim praeterita solet crimina, sed futura damnare*. An anonymous commentary on Demosthenes explicates the principle: *τὸ περὶ τῶν παρελθόντων νομοθετεῖν ἄτοπον* ('it is absurd to legislate on past things'). *Scholia in Demosthenem* (*scholia vetera*), Oration 24.159.

conceded by a Chalcedonian, on account of Cassian / Caesarius not pushing such terminology too far, simply by not elaborating on it. This attitude is in fact the gist of what was styled Neo-Chalcedonism.

By that time (the 540s) Origenism had come to be under ferocious attack by the imperial throne, which called for cautious writing by authors sympathising with Origen. Earlier, however, Cassian had had no reason for doing so, and he allowed himself to be more freely expressive, since he was under the spell of Leontius and the protection of such men as Theodore Askidas. Justinian's *Edictum Contra Origenem* came in the early 540s, at a time when Cassian was back in Palestine after he had spent some years at Constantinople. After 543, reconsidering his Origenistic allegiances of the 530s and earlier, Cassian / Caesarius set out to declare himself faithful to the imperial orthodoxy and denounced Origen in an exhibitionist manner, even though he did not realize that important Origenistic doctrines continued to flow unconsciously out of his pen. He then reproduced Origenistic doctrines outstandingly espoused by theologians such as Didymus (such as the distinction *ποίησις / πλάσις*), and oftentimes he did not grasp his own Origenism, simply because he drew on Gregory of Nyssa and Eusebius, without realizing the Origenism which the theology of these authors was loaded with. In Caesarius, the distinction *ποίησις* and *πλάσις* is a recognisable Origenistic tenet, although it is through Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus that we have a full account of it. Caesarius attacks Origen by name, while being unaware that Origen was the father of the distinction which Caesarius / Cassian himself reproduced.

During an early stage of his life, the Conferences and Institutions were written for the sake of Leontius Byzantius and of his predecessor Bishop Castor in the leadership of an unidentified monastery. He was at the time under the influence of Leontius and reproduced a certain 'Origenism', of which Origen was not always the source. Rather, this was the product of sixth-century hearsay attributed to Origen, since monks were familiar with texts by Evagrius and Didymus rather than those of Origen. Leontius was younger than Cassian by roughly fifteen to twenty years, but Cassian outlived him by six to eight years.

Whether one reads Cassian or Caesarius, the text is imbued by the vocabulary of Gregory of Nyssa and the theology of Theodoret. The text of Codex 573 is full of notions and technical terms which are redolent of Gregory par excellence. There are also other theologians implicitly yet distinctly present, such as Eusebius, Didymus, Epiphanius of Salamis, Theodoret, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria. Ironically, this is the reason why it was made possible for Cassian's writings to suffer pseudepigraphous attribution: a group of works

of his are currently presented under names of others, and remain under the designation 'spuria'. However, once specific expressions and forms are studied on the grounds of philology, philosophy, and theology, it turns out that Cassian's texts evince a striking semblance to works currently under such names as Clement of Rome (Pseudo-Clementina), Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Basil of Seleucia, Caesarius, Didymus, or various anonymi works aimed against the Jews. An voluminous corpus of spurious works is still waiting for exploration and for their real author to be identified. It is my firm conviction that Cassian will be identified as the author of a large number of such writings.

Special mention should be made to the set of epistles under the header *Amphilochia*, which is currently attributed to Photius. I do not actually urge any wholesale contention against this attribution. For instance, I do not dispute the lengthy, detailed, and incisive first answer, which is addressed to Amphilochius, as being an original one by Photius. However, the similarities (some of them unique) of other epistles with Cassian's style are too many to be overlooked. The collection is so called because it was dedicated to Amphilochius of Cyzicus: he was one of the devout friends and oldest disciples of Photius, who had propounded certain questions to his master and he is frequently mentioned therein. The edition comprises a set of questions and answers. Although, according to the prologue, they are three hundred in number, in existing manuscripts and editions the number is greater and more variable, and the order is not the same. Evidently, additions have been made with the passage of time, and I am not sure whether these additions should be attributed to one author alone besides Photius. What I am certain about is that a number of them was authored by Cassian the Sabaite. The order is different in various manuscripts, and it is due to irregular additions that either some passages are treated more than once, or there is no apparent plan, or their length varies, some being mere notes, while others are almost treatises. As it happens with Cassian's texts, along with that of Caesarius and *De Trinitate*, there is little originality in these passages. Nevertheless, the author's excerpts from Dionysius the Areopagite are noteworthy, and the fact that there are no less than thirty-two passages where the author repeats Theodoret almost word for word should alert one to an Antiochene writer.

Exploration of Cassian's text brings to light him having used Greek expressions which are unique and characteristic of, at most, a couple (sometimes only one) distinguished Christian authors before him. Some of these expressions have been rendered in Latin to the letter. To posit that this Greek text is a translation means that we are asked to believe that a Latin

author was aware of a vast variety of extremely rare Greek expressions, which he rendered in Latin, while originally writing in that language.

The specific Greek text of Cassian was extant during the second half of the sixth century and Antiochus of Palestine quoted extensively from this in early seventh century. To posit that this Greek text is a translation means that once 'Cassian' wrote about the rules of monasteries in Palestine and Egypt in Latin, Palestinian monks cared to translate this text in Greek, so that they might learn the rules of their own monasteries from a Latin author.

According to Owen Chadwick, Cassian was 'the first guide to the contemplative ideal in the history of western thought', and 'not only a worthy predecessor, but a founder of the Benedictine tradition'.¹⁷ The scholar emphasized the continuity of the Benedictine Rule with Cassian¹⁸ and his influence on Benedict himself,¹⁹ which is why 'the modern Benedictine still looks to him'.²⁰ Sadly, despite some perceptive remarks pointing out the heavy interpolation into Cassian's work, Owen Chadwick never disputed the Latin identity of this author. Considering what he saw as 'influence on Greek theology', Chadwick assumed that this is simply represented by the review by Photius and references by John Climacus. Consequently, he thought that 'naturally the Greeks quoted him much less frequently than the Latins'.²¹

What Chadwick did not know, however, is that the East quoted from Cassian abundantly, and saw the Sabaite monk as conveniently Greek as the rest of the theologians whose names featured in *florilegia* exclusively composed out of Greek authorship. In Appendices I, III, III, one can see the texts themselves, which attest to Cassian being present in the *Doctrina Patrum*, in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, as well as in the writings by John of Damascus, Theodore Studites, Anastasius of Sinai, John Oxites, Nicon of Montenegro, and abundantly so in the constitution of the monastery of Prodromus the Dreadful (Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ). Besides, there are numerous unpublished codices, where the name of Cassian features as one among many in chains of quotations from Greek authors.

Codex 583 of the Great Meteoron (eleventh century, 271 folia) is a collection of Greek authors, including mainly Isaac Syrus, but also Basil of Caesarea, Maximus Confessor, abba Thalassius, Macarius. In folio 129^v, there is a portion (folia 129^v–132^v) of the text of Codex 573, attributed to 'abba Cassian' (ἄββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ). Likewise, Codex 143 of the same monastery (fourteenth

¹⁷ Op. cit. p. 162.

¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 155.

¹⁹ Op. cit. pp. 151–156.

²⁰ Op. cit. p. 157.

²¹ Op. cit. Index, p. 166.

century, parchment, 118 folia) contains a collection (folia 27^v–96^v) compiled by John Oxites of Antioch, which comprises thirty-three patristic texts. All of them are texts by Greek authors. This anthology contains another portion of Codex 573, which is attributed simply to ‘saint Cassian’ (τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ) (folia 94^v–95^r), quite conveniently treating him as a Greek author, as it does for the rest of the others. By the same token, Codex 633, now preserved in the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, which comprises ‘chapters dealing with the holy and awesome mysteries’ (περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων),²² quotes from thirty authors, who are all Greek, from Gregory of Nazianzus, to Dionysius Areopagite and Andreas of Caesarea. ‘Abba Cassian’ (ἁββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ) features among these authors, and one might surmise that we are invited to believe that the catenist(s) had it that this Cassian was allegedly a Latin author included therein, indeed the only one. The same goes for Codex 365 (thirteenth century, paper, 287 folia) of the same library: it records passages from thirty authors (including Ephraem Syrus, Philo, Didymus, and Cassian), plus the lives of fourteen saintly men, including Sabas himself and John Hesychast the Sabaite. The twenty-third portion belongs to Cassian (Κασσιανοῦ) and no thought of adding ‘the Roman’ occurred to the scribes. Codex 57 of the same library (thirteenth or fourteenth century, 293 folia) records from Cassian’s teaching of abba Serenus: the author is simply ‘saint Cassian’ (τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ).²³ Codex 181 (end of thirteenth century, 270 folia) of the same milieu records Cassian’s address ‘to Bishop Castor, on the eight considerations [of evil]’ (πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν, folia 187–189): he is ‘Cassian the Roman’ (Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου, not ‘John’ Cassian). Sabaite Codex 55 (parchment, written in 927 AD, 153 folia)²⁴ records a portion from the eight dispositions to evil (starting on folio 131^r): “By our holy father Cassian the Roman, to Bishop Castor about the eight dispositions [to evil]” (τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου πρὸς Κάστορα ἐπίσκοπον περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν). Likewise, the Sabaite Codex 157 (tenth century) records works from thirty-six different authors, plus a thirty-seventh one with maxims by saintly elders, and a final thirty-eight one with one more collection of the same kind. All of the authors are Greek, of course: Cassian is scribed ‘in full’ (τοῦ Κασσιανοῦ ὅλον) and he is simply ‘Cassian’. Finally, Codex 171 (paper, fourteenth century) records excerpts

²² Codex 633 (fourteenth century, written on linen paper, 243 folia), folia 168^r–243^v.

²³ The codex is concluded with this passage (folia 286^r–290^v). It actually comprises 290 + 3 folia, since three of them (2^r, 25^r, 185^r) were added during later times.

²⁴ Actually 156 folia, since three of them (1^r, 103^r, 139^r) have not been numbered. This codex was found in pieces at the Great Laura.

from twenty-one 'holy fathers' in a collection which is styled 'very much beneficial' (folia 48^{ff}) (Συλλογή συντεθεισα ἐκ τῶν θεοφθόγγων ῥημάτων τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων πάνυ ὠφέλιμος) and among the names of these authors (including Diadochus of Photike and Antiochus of Palestine) the name of the old Sabaite intellectual monk features once again, being simply 'Cassian' (Κασσιανοῦ).

The author was a very familiar figure in the Sabaite Laura, indeed so familiar that sometimes it was felt that it was not necessary to write his name on the header of culled passages of his. The aforementioned Sabaite Codex 633 (fourteenth century) comprises 243 folia and the last section of it (folia 168–243) is an anthology from a vast number of authors: all of them are Greek and most of them are monastic personalities (Nilus, Ephraem Syrus, Macarius, Barsanuphius, Isidore of Pelusium *et. al.*). The anthology includes also a brief text from Cassian's work, and his name is stated on the header. What is telling is this: at the end of this codex (folia 239^v–243^v) there is a very extensive text, which was included only because there were some pages left for the codex to be complete. This passage has a title, but no name of author. The title goes 'On dejection, chapter thirty' (περὶ λύπησ, κεφάλαιον λ'), which is actually a text by Cassian on the 'evil thought' of 'dejection'. Well-known as he was in his own monastery, it was felt unnecessary to put his name also on the header of this text, which only served as a conclusion for the sake of the specific codex to be filled full, even though his name was mentioned earlier in the same collection.

The most striking case, however, is Antiochus of Palestine, who was born near Ancyra, which is why he is sometimes styled Antiochus of Ancyra, and is known as the monk (and perhaps abbot) of the Laura of Sabas. The Persians destroyed his hometown Ancyra in 619, which compelled the monks of the neighbouring monastery of Attaline to flee their home and move from place to place. As they were unable to carry many books with them, abbot Eustathius, who had introduced Antiochus to monastic life, asked him to compile an abridgement of the Holy Scripture for their use. Antiochus obliged by writing a work known as *Pandectes* of the Holy Scripture. He mentions only a couple of earlier writers by name: Gregory Thaumaturgus, Irenaeus, Ignatius of Antioch. What he did not say, however, is that he himself drew heavily on Cassian, who had also been a monk and abbot in the same Laura of Sabas only seventy years before Antiochus himself. Vast sections of this compilation are simply word-for-word quotations from the work of Cassian the Sabaite.²⁵

²⁵ See Antiochus' texts copied from Cassian in Appendix I. Antiochus never mentioned his source and predecessor.

Here is a strange phenomenon then. Seventy years after Cassian's death, Antiochus of Palestine, setting out to produce a *résumé* of the moral teaching of Scripture, quotes from Cassian extensively, and yet he does not mention his name at all. John of Damascus and Anastasius of Sinai also quoted from this work, yet neither of them mentioned Cassian. This means that Sabaite writers, such as Antiochus and Damascenus, blacked Cassian out. If Anastasius is also considered, this allows for the impression that there was an attitude of suspicion against Cassian by those who lived in the wider region of Palestine. In other words, we come upon an echo of the Origenistic controversies of the sixth century, with the file against Cassian's name still being kept open. This however reflects the local spirit of Palestine and the memories of the vicissitudes that had tormented the region, indeed the Laura of Sabas itself. For, by contrast, theologians of more remote theatres, such as Constantinople, treated both Cassian's name and work with respect.²⁶

Antiochus of Palestine wrote his *Pandectes* of the Holy Scripture at the request of his former superior, abbot Eustathius of the monastery of Attaline, near Ancyra, as already noted. The question which is subsequently given rise to is this: while living at the Great Laura and its renowned library, which contained works by all Cappadocian, Alexandrine, Antiochene and Palestinian stars of Christian theology, why should Antiochus have been in need of a translation of a work by a hardly known Latin author in order to compose his abridgement of the moral teaching of Scripture? Is it not more plausible to infer that he deemed it handy to quote from the work of a Sabaite monk and abbot, namely Cassian, who had died only seventy years before, his work was certainly on the shelves of that library, and his body was resting in the same premises, side by side with that of Sabas himself?

I have no doubt that there will be scholars, especially ones with specific religious allegiances, all but prepared to disown the established myth concerning 'John Cassian': they will be eager and anxious to reject the dreadful

²⁶ See Appendix II, references to Cassian by John Climacus (sixth–seventh cent.) and Theodore Studites (eighth–ninth cent.). Later still, Nikon of Montenegro (or, Nikon of Raithus, or, Nikon of Sinai, eleventh–twelfth cent.), who was born in Constantinople and founded a monastery of 150 monks on the Black Mountain adjacent to the Amanos River north of Antioch. Not only does his *Canonarium vel Typicon* mention Cassian, an Antiochene of old, but also styles him saint (ch. 1, pp. 50; 53; 54; 55). Likewise, the twelfth-century constitution of the monastery of Prodromus the Dreadful (Προδρόμου τοῦ Φοβεροῦ) styles him 'the great Cassian' (τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανόν) and 'the divine Cassian' (ὁ θεῖος Κασσιανός), ch. 6, p. 16. This somehow confirms the current view that this monastery was located in the wider region of the capital, namely, near the Asiatic shore of Bosphorus, close to the entrance to the Black Sea. So does the *Synaxarium* of the Church of Constantinople, styling him ὁσιος Κασσιανός.

thesis that the existing Latin text ascribed to 'John Cassian' is the product of a massive interpolation and forgery. To them all it should be reminded in advance, that it was a wise Benedictine abbot, namely Johannes Trithemius, who realized that Cassian wrote originally in Greek. But Trithemius' voice was silenced by a swarm of subsequent commotion. The result was that his incisive resolution was never really heard, let alone considered seriously.

Following this, once the techniques of the fifth-century era are considered, one has to allow the following as a consequence. In order to say a few things concerning the rules of monasteries and other relevant topics, that fabled 'John Cassian' had at his disposal the abundance of means required for the production of a Latin original such as the one preserved today, which is far more extensive than the authentic Greek work that Cassian the Sabaite actually composed.

Anyone who professes the current universal view,²⁷ namely, that a certain Latin author called 'John Cassian' wrote in Latin, has also to concede the following.

1. The Greek text, taken as a translated one, has been automatically and heavily loaded with distinct and all too rare technical expressions drawing on a long tradition in the Greek Christian East, which are however absent from Latin literature. But these expressions have a traceable history, as they were handed down from one Greek theologian to another during the first six centuries, but they have no history in Latin, whatsoever.
2. A Latin author addressing a Latin audience felt it necessary every now and then to interlace his text with Greek terms and expressions, even Greek scriptural portions.

²⁷ As already noted, no challenge to this opinion has been offered up to now. Beyond Richard Goodrich, *op. cit.* pp. 210–234, who disputes to a certain extent Cassian's association with Marseilles, scholarship is at one as regards the hackneyed opinion that John Cassian had been identified with Marseilles and the burgeoning ascetic movement at that city. Cf. Henri Marrou, "Jean Cassien a Marseille", pp. 21, 26. Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, pp. 174–175. *Id.* "Cassian: Monastery and the World", p. 68; C. Stewart, *Cassian the Monk*, pp. 15–16. Conrand Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, p. 35. Steven Driver, *John Cassian and the Reading of Egyptian Monastic Culture*, p. 1. E. Griffe suggested that Cassian, after his ordination, spent a number of years at Antioch: "Cassien a-t-il été prêtre d'Antioch?", pp. 240–244. But Boniface Ramsey defiantly urged about that 'at any event', 'John Cassian' 'went to Marseilles, where he founded two monasteries': *John Cassian: The Conferences*, p. 6. As already noted, Conrand Leyser went as far as to dispute the attribution of Cassian to Marseilles: "This Sainted Isle: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism", p. 192.

3. Some striking Neoplatonic expressions and notions applied by Cassian in theology are the fortuitous result of a Greek translation from Latin.

My thesis is, therefore, plain: the claim that this text has been originally written in Latin turns out to be too extravagant and too unreasonable to allow.

There is a characteristic aversion to rendering Cassian's name in English literature in the way it should be rendered. Whereas the name is *Κασσιανός* and the fictitious 'John Cassian' is named 'Cassian', Cassian the Sabaite himself seems to cause embarrassment. In the sparse cases where mention has to be made of Cyril of Scythopolis referring to the Sabaite monk and abbot, a special translation is reserved for *Κασσιανός*: his name is rendered 'Cassianus' or 'Kassianos', never Cassian.²⁸ Likewise, a scholar who set out to write a life of Theodore Studites and came upon him mentioning Cassian, resolved that 'John Cassian' may have exerted some influence upon Studites, even though Studites refers to Cassian, not to any 'John Cassian'. The author defiantly goes on that 'Greek resumés of Cassian may have been available to Theodore' Studites, as if the abbot of Stoudios needed a minor Latin author to be retailed in Greek, so that he could learn how monastic life was conducted in the Greek-speaking East. Although Theodore Studites mentions 'Cassian', this author decided to classify this author as 'John Cassian' in his Index.²⁹

Quite evidently, to scholars *Κασσιανός* is an inconvenient and probably flustering synonymity. But although it has appeared to scholars that this 'Cassianus' the Sabaite mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis can be conveniently left a skeletal figure, my contention is that both Cassian the Sabaite's texts and sufficient historical testimony can flesh him out.

The Dominican scholar A.J. Festugière remarked that it takes only some erudition for any one who deals with ideas to reach any conclusion one likes (*en ce qui touche les idées ... on peut, avec quelque erudition, soutenir ce*

²⁸ Joseph Patrich, *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church*, p. 25: 'Kassianos' (so named by the editor). In Index, the name is 'Cassian' only because this is only a reference to an article by a French scholar, who correctly names the Sabaite 'Cassien'. Likewise, Joseph Patrich, in *Sabas, the Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*: he names him 'Cassianus', *passim* and Index, p. 395. By the same token, R.M. Price in his translation of Cyril of Scythopolis' chronicle decided that the Sabaite monk *Κασσιανός* should be rendered as 'Cassianus'. *Lives of the Monks of Palestine by Cyril of Scythopolis*, pp. 193; 205; 254; 290. In like manner, in a collection of Greek manuscripts, Marcel Richard, comes upon Cassian named *Κασσιανός*, and yet, in Index, Cassian is listed only under letter J, namely, 'Jean Cassien' (v. III, p. xxiii), despite his name in text being simply 'Cassian' (v. I, 1: 495; 502; 504; 505). *Opera Minora*, vols. I, III.

²⁹ Roman Cholij, *Theodore the Stoudite, The Origin of Holiness*, p. 36 and n. 219. Index, p. 273.

qu'on veut).³⁰ This holds all the more true once a specific conclusion was desirable not by only 'one', but many quarters having set out to devise a Latin figure supposed to have been 'the father of western monasticism'.

Codex 573 contains an original Greek text, from which a series of subsequent authors, especially Sabaite, Antiochene, and Constantinopolitan intellectuals quoted right after this had been written. Besides, Cassian is the author not only of the monastic texts, but also of a long series of spuria or anonyma, which currently appear under the names of Christian celebrities. One of them is the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, which he not only authored but also cherished in his own companion, the 'Book of Cassian', of which Codex 573 is the most ancient reproduction of which we know.

Cassian is a commanding figure that demands our attention and deserves a hearing.

This is the task I have essayed to fulfil in this book.

³⁰ A.-J. Festugière, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique*, p. 142.

APPENDIX I

THE BOOK OF CASSIAN COPIED BY POSTERITY

Antiochus of Palestine copying 'the Book of Cassian'

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus* (*Περὶ Φιλαργυρίας, De Philargyria*):

- 31^f Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νόσος, ὅταν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἄπιστον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποταγῆς εὕρη ψυχὴν, δικαίας τινὰς καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν εὐλόγους αὐτῇ προφάσεις ὑποβάλλει πρὸς τὸ κατασχέειν τί ποτε ὦν κέκτηται· ὑπογράφει γὰρ τῷ μοναχῷ κατὰ διάνοιαν γήρας μακρὸν καὶ ἀσθένειαν σώματος.
- 37^f Χρεῖα τοίνυν πάση σπουδῇ ἐκκόπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὴν ῥίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία, ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκ(ο)ντες ὅτι μενούσης τῆς ῥίζης εὐχερῶς οἱ κλάδοι φύονται.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Πορνείας, De Fornicatione*):

- 25^v [ὁ ἀγίων] οὐτ(ο)ς διπλοῦς καθέστ(η)κεν, ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι συνιστάμενος· καὶ τούτου χάριν διπλὴν χρῆ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πάλ(η)ν ἀναδέξασθαι. Οὕτε γὰρ ἰκανὴ ὑπάρχει μόνῃ ἡ σωματικῇ νηστεία πρὸς κτήσιν τῆς τελείας σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀγνείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ καρδίας γένηται συντριμμὸς καὶ εὐχὴ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκτενῆς καὶ πυκνῆ τῶν γραφῶν μελέτη, καὶ κάματος καὶ ἔργον χειρῶν, ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμὰς συστέλλειν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν φαντασιῶν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι αὐτήν. Πρὸ γέ δε πάντων συμβάλλεται ταπεινώσις ψυχῆς, ἥς χωρ(ι)ς οὐδὲ πορν(ε)ίας οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν δυνήσεται τις περιγενέσθαι.
- Προηγουμένως τοίνυν χρῆ πάση φυλακῇ τ(η)-ρεῖν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν. Ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης (ἐξ)έρχονται, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί, φόνοι, μοιχ(ε)ῖαι, πορν(ε)ῖαι*, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.
- 26^v Διὰ δὴ τούτου, εἰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν | σπουδῇ, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, νομίμως ἀθλήσαι καὶ στεφανώθῃναι, νικήσαντας τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα τῆς πορν(ε)ίας, μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἀσκήσει θαρρήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ βοηθειᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 8 (*Περὶ Φιλαργυρίας, De Philargyria, hoc est, amore pecuniae*), PG.89.1456–

- 1460:
 Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νόσος, ὅταν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἄπιστον εὕρη ψυχὴν, εὐλόγους τινὰς αὐτῇ ὑπερβάλλει προφάσεις· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ μοναχῷ γήρας μακρὸν, καὶ ἀσθένειαν σώματος, ...
 ὁ θέλων γοῦν ἐκκόπτειν τὸ τῆς φιλαργυρίας πάθος τὴν ῥίζαν ἐκκοπτέτω. Μενούσης γὰρ τῆς ῥίζης, καὶ ἐπιτέμνων τοὺς κλάδους, πάλιν ἄλλοι ἀναφύονται.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 19 (*Περὶ Πορνείας, De Fornicatione*), PG.89.1488:

- διπλοῦς καθέστηκεν ὁ τῆς πορνείας δαίμων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι συνιστάμενος. Καὶ τούτου χάριν διπλὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ χρῆ τὴν πάλιν ἀναδέξασθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὴ ὑπάρχει μόνῃ ἡ σωματικῇ νηστεία ἵνα κτησῆται τις τὴν τελείαν σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀγνείαν, εἰ μὴ καὶ καρδίας γένηται συντριμμὸς καὶ εὐχὴ ἐκτενῆς πρὸς Θεόν, καὶ τῶν Γραφῶν πυκνῆ μελέτη, καὶ κάματος καὶ ἐργόχειρον, ἅπερ δύνανται τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὀρμὰς συστέλλειν. Πρὸ γε πάντων συμβάλλεται ταπεινώσις ψυχῆς, ἥς χωρ(ι)ς οὐτε πορνείας, οὐτε τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν δυνήσεται τις περιγενέσθαι. Χρῆ δὲ τὸ τὴν καρδίαν πάσῃ φυλακῇ τηρεῖν ἀπὸ ῥυπαρῶν λογισμῶν. Ἐκ γὰρ ταύτης ἐξέρχονται, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνήν, *διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί*. Εἰ οὖν ἔστιν ἡμῖν, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, νομίμως ἀθλήσαι καὶ στεφανώθῃναι, νικήσαντας τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα τῆς πορνείας, μὴ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἀσκήσει θαρρήσωμεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ δεσπότη Θεοῦ βοηθειᾷ. Οὐ παύεται γὰρ ἄνθρωπος πολεμοῦμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πνεύματος τούτου, ἕως οὐ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πιστεύσῃ, ὅτι οὐχὶ ἰδίᾳ σπουδῇ καὶ καμάτῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ σκέπῃ καὶ βοηθειᾷ ἀπαλλάττεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης,

Θεοῦ. Οὐ παύεται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πολεμούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τούτου, ἕως (ἀν) ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πιστεύσ(η) ὅτι οὐκ ἰδίᾳ σπουδῇ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ καμάτῳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ σκέπ(η) καὶ βοηθείᾳ ἀπαλλάττεται ταύτης τῆς νόσου.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitatae Cogitationibus* (Περὶ Ὁργῆς, *De Ira*): Τούτου γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καρδίᾳ ἀποκαθημένου καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας ταῖς σκοτ(ε)ναιᾶς ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῦντος, οὔτε διάκρ(ι)σιν τῶν συμφερόντων κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε πνευματικῆς γνώσεως εὑρεῖν κατάληψιν, οὔτε βουλεύματος ἀγαθοῦ κατασχεῖν τελει(δ)τητα, οὔτε τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς γενέσθαι μέτοχοι, οὔτε τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀληθ(ι)νοῦ φωτὸς δεκτικὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς γενήσεται. Ἐταράχθῃ, γὰρ φησιν, ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου. Οὔτε θείας σοφίας μέτοχοι γενησόμεθα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σοφοὶ ταῖς ὑπονοίας παρὰ πάντων νομίζ(ώ)μεθα, ἐπειδὴ γέ-
 38^γ γραπτ(αι), θυμὸς | ἐν κἀπῳ ἀφρόνως αὐλιζέται. Ἄλλ' οὔτε τὰς σωτηριώδ(ε)ις τῆς διακρ(ι)σεως βουλὰς κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα· γέγραπτ(αι) γὰρ ὅτι ὄργῃ καὶ φρον(ι)μους ἀπόλλυσιν. Οὔτε τὰς τῆς δικαί(ο)σύνης κυβερνήσεις ν(η)φαλίῳ καρδίᾳ ἐπέχειν ἰσχύσ(ο)μεν.
 Ὁ τοῖνον βουλόμενος πρὸς τελείωσιν ἔλθειν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγῶνα νομίμως ἀγων(ι)σασθαι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἑλαττ(ώ)ματος ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ ἀλλότριος ἔστω.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitatae Cogitationibus*, (Περὶ Λύπης, *De Tristitia*): Ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα περιδράξῃται τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅλην αὐτὴν σκοτίσ(η), οὐκ εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖν μετὰ προθυμίας συγχωρεῖ, οὐ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων τῇ ὠφελείᾳ ἐγκαρτερεῖν, πρᾶον καὶ εὐκατάμικτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οὐκ ἀνέχεται, καὶ πρὸς πάντα τῶν ἔργων τὰ ἐπιτ(η)δέυματα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν μ(ι)σος ἐμποιεῖ. Καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ σωτηριώδη βουλεύματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ λύπη συγχέασα καὶ τὴν ἐπιτολίαν αὐτῆς καὶ καρτερίαν παραλύσασα, ὡς ἄφρονα ταύτην καὶ παραπλήγῃ ἀπεργάζεται: ... ἐκαλίν(ει)ν πείθουσα ἅσασαν ἀγαθὴν συντυχίαν καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν γνησίων φ(ι)λῶν λόγον συμβουλίας δέχεσθαι συγχωροῦσα, οὐδὲ χρηστ(η)ν ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν ἢ

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 23 (Περὶ Ὁργῆς, *De Ira*), PG.89.1504–1505: Ὁ τοῖνον βουλόμενος πρὸς τελείωσιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγῶνα νομίμως ἀγωνίσασθαι, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἑλαττώματος ὀργῆς τε καὶ θυμοῦ ἀλλότριος ἔστω, (Cassian's text has this portion at the end of it).

Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τῆς ὀργῆς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καρδίᾳ καθήμενον, τὸν μὲν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας σκοτειναῖς ταραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῖ· λοιπόν, οὔτε διάκρισιν τῶν συμφερόντων δυνάμεθα κτήσασθαι, οὔτε πνευματικῆς γνώσεως εὑρεῖν κατάληψιν, οὔτε βουλεύματος ἀγαθοῦ κατέχειν τελειότητα, οὔτε τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς γενέσθαι μέτοχοι. Οὔτε τῆς θεωρίας τοῦ θείου φωτὸς δεκτικὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς γενήσεται· οὔτε δὲ σοφίας μέτοχοι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς σωτηριώδεις τῆς διακρίσεως βουλὰς κτήσασθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης κυβερνήσεις νηφαλέᾳ καρδίᾳ ἐπέχειν ἰσχύσομεν.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 25 (Περὶ Λύπης, *De Tristitia*), PG.89.1500–1501: Ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα περιδράξῃται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὅλην αὐτὴν σκοτίσῃ, οὐκ εὐχὰς ἐκτελεῖν μετὰ προθυμίας συγχωρεῖ, οὔτε ἱερῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων τῇ ὠφελείᾳ ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Οὔτε πρᾶον καὶ εὐκατάμικτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφίησι· καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν μίσος ἐμποιεῖ, καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ σωτηριώδη βουλεύματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ λύπη συγχέασα, ὡς ἄφρονα ταύτην καὶ παραπλήγῃ ἀπεργάζεται κωλύουσα πάσαν ἀγαθὴν συντυχίαν. Καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν γνησίων φίλων συγχωροῦσα δέχεσθαι λόγον συμβουλίας, οὐδὲ εἰρηνικὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀφείσα τοῦτοις μεταδίδοναι· ἀλλὰ περιλαβοῦσα πάσαν τὴν ψυχὴν, πικρίας καὶ ἀηδίας αὐτὴν πληροῖ· καὶ πείθει αὐτὴν φεύγειν τοὺς ἄνθρώπους, ὡς αἰτίους αὐτῇ

εἰρηνικὴν ἐπιτρέπουσα τούτοις μεταδοῦναι· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν περιλαβοῦσα, πικρίας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀηθίας πληροῖ. Καὶ λ(οι)πὸν ὑποβάλλει αὐτὴν φυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς αἰτίους αὐτῆ τῆς ταραχῆς γινομένου· καὶ οὐ συγχωρεῖ αὐτὴν ἐπιγνώναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδοθεν ἔχει τὴν
 46^v ν(ό)σον ἀποκειμένην, ἣτις τότε φανεροῦται, | ὅταν οἱ πειρασμοὶ ἐπιστάντες διὰ τῆς γυμνασίας εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές ταύτην προενέγκωσιν.

The same text of Cassian was copied by John of Damascus, who was also a monk of the monastery of St. Sabas.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Λύπης, De Tristitia*): Πέμπτος τοῖνον ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, τοῦ ἐπισκοτοῦντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ πάσης πνευματικῆς θεωρίας καὶ κωλύ(ο)ντος αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀγαθῆς ἐργασίας. Ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα περιδράξῃται τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ὅλην αὐτὴν σκοτίσ(η), οὐκ εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖν μετὰ προθυμίας συγχωρεῖ, οὐ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων τῆ ὠφελείᾳ ἐγκαρτερεῖν, πρᾶον καὶ εὐκατάμικτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οὐκ ἀνέχεται, καὶ πρὸς πάντα τῶν ἔργων τὰ ἐπιτ(η)δεύματα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν μ(ι)σὸς ἐμποιεῖ. ...

46^r Διὰ τοι τοῦτο εἰς σκοπὸς ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγὼνα καὶ νικῆσαι σὺν Θεῷ τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πονηρίας. Πάση οὖν φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης. Ὡσπερ γὰρ σῆς ἰμάτιον καὶ σκ(ώ)ληξ ξύλον, οὕτως ἡ λύπη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν κατεσθίει, ἐκκλίν(ει)ν πείθουσα ἅπαναν ἀγαθὴν συντυχίαν καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν γνησίων φ(ι)λῶν λόγον συμβουλίας δέχεσθαι συγχωροῦσα, οὐδὲ χρηστ(ῆ)ν ἀπόκρ(ι)σιν ἢ εἰρηνικὴν ἐπιτρέπουσα τούτοις μεταδοῦναι· ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν περιλαβοῦσα, πικρίας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀηθίας πληροῖ. Καὶ λ(οι)πὸν ὑποβάλλει αὐτὴν φυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς αἰτίους αὐτῆ τῆς ταραχῆς γινομένου· ...

48^r 47^v: ἦντινα λύπην ὀφείλομεν οὕτως ἐκκλίνειν | ὡς τὴν πορν(ε)ίαν καὶ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὰ λ(οι)πὰ τῶν παθῶν. Αὕτη δὲ θεραπεύται διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εὐλαβῶν συνδιαγωγῆς.

τῆς ταραχῆς γενομένου. Οὐ γὰρ συγχωρεῖ αὐτὴ ἐπιγνώναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδοθεν ἔχει τὴν ν(ό)σον ἀποκειμένην. Τότε δὲ φανεροῦται, ὅταν οἱ πειρασμοὶ ἐπελθόντες, διὰ τῆς γυμνασίας εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές αὐτὴν προσαγάγωσιν.

John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.96.25.34–28.6:

Πέμπτος ἡμῖν ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης, τοῦ ἐπισκοτοῦντος τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ πάσης πνευματικῆς θεωρίας καὶ κωλύοντος αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀγαθῆς ἐργασίας. Ὅταν γὰρ τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο πνεῦμα περιδράξῃται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ὅλην αὐτὴν σκοτώσῃ, οὐκ εὐχὰς ἐκτελεῖν μετὰ προθυμίας συγχωρεῖ, οὐ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων τῆ ὠφελείᾳ ἐγκαρτερεῖν. Πρᾶον καὶ εὐκατάμικτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι οὐκ ἀνέχεται. Καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν μίσος ἐμποιεῖ.

...

Διὰ τοῦτο εἰς σκοπὸς ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν πνευματικὸν ἀγὼνα καὶ πάση φυλακῇ τηρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης. Ὡσπερ γὰρ σῆς ἰμάτιον, καὶ σκώληξ ξύλον, οὕτως ἡ λύπη τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν κατεσθίει, ἐκκλίνειν πείθουσα πᾶσαν ἀγαθὴν συντυχίαν· καὶ οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν γνησίων φίλων συμβουλίας δέχεσθαι συγχωροῦσα, οὐδὲ χρηστὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἢ εἰρηνικὴν ἐπιτρέπουσα μεταδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν περιλαβοῦσα, πικρίας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀηθίας πληροῖ. Καὶ λοιπὸν ὑποβάλλει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς αἰτίους αὐτῆ τῆς ταραχῆς γινομένου.

...

ἦντινα λύπην οὕτως ὀφείλομεν ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς τὴν πορνείαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν παθῶν. Αὕτη δὲ θεραπεύται διὰ προσευχῆς, καὶ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (Περὶ Ἀκηδίας, *De Acedia*):

- 48^r Δειν(ὸ)ς οὐτ(ο)ς και βαρύτατος δαίμων και τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἀεὶ πολεμῶν, ὅστις ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν και φρίκ(η)ν αὐτῷ ἐμποιοῦν και μίσος ἐργάζεται και πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον και πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς και πρὸς πάσαν ἐργασίαν και πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ και λογισμοὺς μεταβάσεως και ὡς, (εἰ) μὴ μεταστήσ(οι)εν | αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ ἅπας ὁ πόνος και ὁ χρόνος γενήσεται. Πρὸς τοῦτοις πάσιν και π(ε)ῖναν αὐτῷ ἐντίθησιν περὶ ὥραν ἔκτην, ὅση οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συνέβη ἐκ τριημέρου νηστείας ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογισμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ δυνησεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης και τοῦ βάρους ἀπα(λ)λάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ προέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς και παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν (ὡ)φελείας δ(η)θεν και ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων. Ὅταν δὲ μὴ δυνηθ(ῆ) ἐν τοῦτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσαι, τ(ὸ) τ(η)νικαῦτα ὑπνω βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας αὐτὸν σφοδρ(ὸ)τερος κατ' αὐτοῦ και ἰσχυρ(ὸ)τερος γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπ(ὸ)μενος εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς και ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας και μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων και τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῦτοις τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον | αὐτὸν εὐρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσιν ἄστατον ἀποδεικνυσιν και ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ και ῥάθυμον και ἄεργον, και μοναστήρια πολλὰ περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει και οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ περισκοπεῖν ποῦ ἄριστα και πότοι γίνονται. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς. Και λ(οι)πὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰς κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν ἐνδασμεῖ και κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταύταις ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχολ(ίαις), ἕως ἂν και αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλ(η).

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 26 (Περὶ Ἀκηδίας, *De Acedia*), PG.89.1543–1546:

Δεινὸς οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἀκηδίας δαίμων, και οὗτος συνηγὸς και σύζυγος ὑπάρχει τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς λύπης και σφόδρα βαρύτατος, ὅστις περὶ ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀγωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐμποιοῦν και ἀπεχθῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν τόπον μᾶλλον δὲ και πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς και πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἐργασίαν και πρὸς τὴν θείαν γραφὴν ... ὑποβάλλει αὐτῷ και λογισμοὺς μετ' ὑποβάσεως και ὡς, εἰ μὴ μεταστήσῃ ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τόπους ἐτέρους, πᾶς ὁ χρόνος και ὁ πόνος μάταιος αὐτῷ γενήσεται ... Εἴτα ὑποτίθεται αὐτῷ ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ δυνησεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ συνεχῶς ἐξέρχεσθαι και παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς δῆθεν ὠφελείας ἢ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων χάριν ... Τὸ γὰρ πάθος τοῦτο διὰ προσευχῆς ἀνατρέπεται και ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας, και τοῦ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐργοχειροῦ, και μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων και τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις τοῦτοις κατασφαλιζομένους ἡμᾶς εὐρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσι, ῥεμβοῦς και ἀκαθίστους ἡμᾶς ἀποτελεῖ και ἀμείβοντας τόπους ἐκ τόπων και οὐδεν ἄλλῳ μεριμνᾶν και περισκοπεῖν, ἢ τοῦτο μόνον, ποῦ πότοι και ἀγίων μνήμαι γίνονται. Τοῦ γὰρ ἀκηδιαστοῦ ἢ διάνοια οὐδὲν ἄλλο φαντάζεται και ψηφίζει, ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς. Λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου εἰς κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν συνδασμεῖν και κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ταύταις ἀσχολίαις, ἕως ἂν και τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλῃ.

A more expanded quotation transpires in John of Damascus, which Migne would have used to fill the lacuna which he came across in the selfsame text of Cassian (PG.28.897.51–53).

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitatae Cogitationibus*, (Περὶ Ἀκηδίας, *De Acedia*):

- 48^r Ἐκτος ἡμῖν ἔστω ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀκηδίας, τοῦ συνεζευγμένου καὶ συνεργούντος τῷ πνεύματι τῆς λύπης. Δειν(ὸ)ς οὐτ(ο)ς καὶ βαρυτάτος δαίμων καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμῶν, ὅστις ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν καὶ φρικ(η)ν αὐτῷ ἐμποιοῦν καὶ μίσος ἐργάζεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ λογισμοὺς
- 48^v μεταβάσεως καὶ ὡς, (εἰ) μὴ μεταστήσ(οι)εν | αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ ἅπας ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ χρόνος γενήσεται. Πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν καὶ π(ε)ῖναν αὐτῷ ἐντίθησιν περὶ ὥραν ἔκτην, ὅση οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συνέβη ἐκ τριήμερου νηστείας ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογισμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ δυνήσεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἅπα(λ)λάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ προέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν (ὡ)φελείας δ(η)θεν καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενοῦντων.
- Ἄσθενεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσασιν, τ(ὸ) τ(η)νικαῦτα ὑπὸν βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας αὐτὸν σφοδρ(ὸ)τερος κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρ(ὸ)τερος γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπ(ὸ)μενος εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τούτοις τοῖς
- 49^r ὄπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον | αὐτὸν εὖρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσιν ἄστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν καὶ ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ ῥάθυμον καὶ ἄεργον, καὶ μοναστήρια πολλὰ περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ περισκοπεῖν ποῦ ἄριστα καὶ πότοι γίνονται. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς.

Cf. John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG.95.1212.24–1313.43:

Ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ἀγὼν ἔστι κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀκηδίας, συνεζευγμένου καὶ συνεργούντος τῷ πνεύματι τῆς λύπης. Δεινὸς οὗτος καὶ βαρυτάτος δαίμων, καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμῶν ὅστις κατ' ὥραν ἔκτην ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν καὶ φρίκην αὐτῷ ἐμποιοῦν, καὶ μίσος ἐργαζόμενον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων Γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ λογισμοὺς μεταβάσεως, [Antiochus: μετ' ὑποβάσεως] ὡς εἰ μὴ μεταστήσῃ ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ὁ πόνος γενήσεται.

Πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ πείναν αὐτῷ ἐντίθησιν περὶ ὥραν ἔκτην, ὅσα αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂν συνέβη ἐκ τριήμερου νηστείας, ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ, ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογισμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει, ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ δυνήσεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ἐξέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς, καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν ὡφελείας, καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενοῦντων.

Ἄσθενεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσασιν, [missing: τῷ τ(η)νικαῦτα ὑπὸν βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας αὐτὸν] σφοδρότερος κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρότερος γίνεται, [missing: οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπ(ὸ)μενος] εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας, καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων, καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τούτοις τοῖς ὄπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον αὐτὸν εὖρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσιν, ἄστατον αὐτὸν ἀναδείκνυσιν, καὶ ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ ῥάθυμον, καὶ ἄεργόν, καὶ μοναστήρια [missing: πολλὰ] περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν, εἰ¹ μὴ [missing: τοῦ περισκοπεῖν ποῦ ἄριστα καὶ] ποῦ πότοι γίνονται. [missing: Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς.]

¹ εἰ μὴ should be ἦ, as in Codex 573.

Και λ(οι)πὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰς κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν ἐνδεσμεῖ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταύταις ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχολ(ια)ῖς, ἕως ἂν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλ(η).

Λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου καὶ εἰς κοσμικὰ αὐτὸν πράγματα ἐνδεσμεῖ, [missing: καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχο(λ)ιαῖς,] ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως ἐκβάλ(η).

Up to this point, this is the quotation made also by Antiochus. John of Damascus quotes from Cassian's further, carrying on with continuous text at that point.

Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἰατρός π(ρ)όριζον ἀνασπάσαι, τὰς αἰτίας ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται δεικνυσιν δι' ὧν (δὲ) γράφων Θεο(σ)αλονικεῦσι τάδε φησίν· παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, | ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, στέλ(λ)εσθαὶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδ(ο)σιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε πῶς δεῖ μμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ δωρεάν ἄρτον ἐφάγ(ο)μεν (παρά τινος), ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινὰ ὑμῶν· οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχ(ο)μεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοῦς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤμ(η)ν, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι (εἰ) τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτ(ω). ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινὰς (περιπατοῦντας) ἐν ὑμῖν (ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους· τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) ἵνα μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἴδιον ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.

50^f Ἀκούσωμεν πῶς σοφ(ῶ)ς | ἡμῖν ὑποδείκνυσι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀκηδίας ὁ ἀπόστολος· ἀτάκτους γὰρ καλεῖ τοὺς μὴ ἐργαζομένους ἐνὶ τούτῳ ῥήματι πολλὴν κακίαν ἐμφαίνων· ὁ γὰρ ἄτακτος καὶ ἀνευλαβὴς τυγχάνει καὶ προπετ(ή)ς περὶ λόγον καὶ εἰς λοιδορίαν πρόχειρος καὶ εἰς ἡσυχίαν ἀνεπιτ(ή)δ(ε)ιος καὶ τῆς ἀκ(η)δίας δούλος.

Παραγγέλλει οὖν στέλλεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀφοριζέσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ λ(οι)μικῆς νόσου. Εἰτά φησιν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἐμφαίνων ὑπερφάνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ καταφρονητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδ(ό)σεων καταλυτὰς. Καὶ πάλιν, δωρεάν, φησιν, ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγ(ο)μεν παρά τινος, ἀλλὰ ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινὰ.

Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος [missing: ἐπιστάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἰατρός π(ρ)όριζον ἀνασπάσαι, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται, δεικνυσιν δι' ὧν] γράφων Θεσσαλονικεῦσι, τάδε φησί· Παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος. [missing: καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδ(ο)σιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν·] Αὐτοὶ οἴδατε πῶς δεῖ μμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς [missing: ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν]. Δωρεάν ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγ(ο)μεν παρά τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ ἐργαζόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινὰ ὑμῶν. Οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοῦς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἤμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω. Ἦκούομεν γὰρ τινὰς περιπατοῦντας ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους. [missing: ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους· τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις] Παραγγέλλομεν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἵνα μετὰ ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. [missing: Ἀκούσωμεν πῶς σοφ(ῶ)ς ἡμῖν ὑποδείκνυσι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀκηδίας ὁ ἀπόστολος·] Ἀτάκτους γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόστολος καλεῖ τοὺς μὴ ἐργαζομένους [missing: ἐνὶ τούτῳ ῥήματι πολλὴν κακίαν ἐμφαίνων·] Ὁ γὰρ ἄτακτος, καὶ ἀνευλαβὴς τυγχάνει, καὶ προπετῆς περὶ λόγον, καὶ εἰς λοιδορίαν πρόχειρος, καὶ εἰς ἡσυχίαν ἀνεπιτήδεις, καὶ τῆς ἀκηδίας δούλος.

Παραγγέλλει οὖν στέλλεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀφοριζέσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ λοιμικῆς νόσου. [missing: Εἰτά φησιν· καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἐμφαίνων ὑπερφάνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ καταφρονητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδ(ό)σεων καταλυτὰς. Καὶ πάλιν·] Δωρεάν ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγομεν παρά τινος, ἀλλὰ ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινὰ.

50^ο Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ κήρυξ | τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ μετάρσιος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, ὁ λέγων τὸν Κύριον προστεταχέναι τοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλοντας ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρ(ῆ)σαί τινα. Τί τοίνυν ἡμεῖς ποιήσ(ο)μεν ἀκηδιῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν μεταδιώκοντες, οἷς οὔτε κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέρ(ι)μν)α, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν μόμων ἢ φροντίς;

Ἔττα, σαφέστερον δευκνύων τὴν τικτομένην βλάβην ἐκ τῆς ἀργίας, (ἐπιφέρει): μὴδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀργολογίας περιεργία, καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πᾶσα (κακία). Κατασκευάζ(ων) δὲ πάλιν τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς, ἐπιφέρει: τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν, (καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν) ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐργαζομένους τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν: | καὶ ἐπιπληκτικ(ώ)τερον λέγει: εἴ τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀποστολικῶς διδάγμασιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄγιοι πατέρες παιδευμένοι, οὐδένα κ(αι)ρὸν ἀργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους, εἰδότες ὡς διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀκ(η)δίας ἀπελαύνουσιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν προσπορίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις βοηθοῦσιν.

Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χρειᾶς ἔνεκεν ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου ἐπιχορ(η)γούσιν, πιστεύοντες τὴν τοιαύτην εὐποίαν θυσίαν ἀγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ γίνεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ὁ ἐργαζόμενος ἐνὶ δαίμονι πολεμ(εῖ) καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θλίβεται: ὁ δὲ ἄεργος ὑπὸ μυρίων πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Κενοδοξίας, De Inani Gloria*):

52^ο Πολύμορφον τοῦτο καὶ λεπτ(ό)τατον πάθος, καὶ οὐ ταχέως οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πειραζομένου καταλαμβάνομενον. Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ φανερώτεραι τυγχάνουσαι, εὐκολ(ω)τέραν πῶς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς μάχην ἔχουσιν, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιγινωσκουμένης τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως καὶ προσευχῆς τοῦτον εὐθέως ἀνατρέπει. (Ἡ) δὲ τῆς κενοδοξίας κακία πολύμορφος οὐσα, καθ' ἃ εἴρηται, δυσκαταγώνιστος τυγχάνει.

Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ κήρυξ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ὁ μετάρσιος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, ὁ λέγων τὸν Κύριον προστεταχέναι τοῖς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, [missing: ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας εἰργάζετο πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινα. Τί τοίνυν ἡμεῖς ποιήσ(ο)μεν ἡμεῖς ἀκηδιῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν μεταδιώκοντες, οἷς οὔτε κήρυγμα Εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέρ(ι)μν)α, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν μόμων ἢ φροντίς;]

εἶτα σαφέστερον δευκνύων τὴν τικτομένην βλάβην [missing: ἐκ τῆς ἀργίας, (ἐπιφέρει): μὴδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους:] ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀργίας περιεργία, καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας, πᾶσα κακία: [missing: Κατασκευάζ(ων) δὲ πάλιν τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἐπιφέρει: τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν, (καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν) ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐργαζομένους τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν: καὶ ἐπιπληκτικ(ώ)τερον λέγει:] Εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴδὲ ἐσθιέτω.

[missing: Τούτοις τοῖς ἀποστολικῶς διδάγμασιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἄγιοι πατέρες, παιδευμένοι, οὐδένα κ(αι)ρὸν ἀργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους, εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ ἔργου ἀκ(η)δίας ἀπελαύνουσιν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν προσπορίζουσιν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις βοηθοῦσιν.]

Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χρειᾶς ἔνεκεν ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις, καὶ πτωχοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου αὐτῶν ἐπιχορηγοῦσι, πιστεύοντες τὴν τοιαύτην εὐποίαν θυσίαν ἀγίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ Θεῷ γίνεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ὁ ἐργαζόμενος ἐνὶ δαίμονι πολλαῖς πολεμεῖ, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θλίβεται: ὁ δὲ ἀεργὸς ὑπὸ μυρίων πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 43 (*Περὶ Κενοδοξίας, De Inani Gloria*), PG.89.1565–1568:

Τὸ πάθος τοῦτο τῆς κενοδοξίας πάνυ πολύμορφον ἐστὶ καὶ λεπτότατον καὶ οὐ ταχέως οὐδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πειραζομένου καταλαμβάνομενον.

Ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν αἱ προσβολαὶ φανερώτεραι τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ βράδιον ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πρὸς τούτους πόλεμον, καὶ διὰ προσευχῆς τοῦτον ἀνατρέπει. Ἡ δὲ τῆς κενοδοξίας κακία, ὡς οὐσα πολύμορφος, δυσκαταγώνιστος τυγχάνει.

Και γὰρ ἐν παντί ἐπιτ(η)δεύματα παρυφίσταται ἔν τε σχήματι καὶ ἐν μορφῇ καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι καὶ ἐν φωνῇ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν σωπῇ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ ἐν εὐχῇ καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσμασι καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ. Διὰ πάντων γὰρ τούτων ἐπιχειρεῖ
52^v τὸν στρατιώτην | τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατατοξεύειν.

Καὶ γὰρ ὄντινα μὴ δυνήθῃ πολυτελεῖα ἐνδυμάτων πρὸς κενοδοξίαν ἀπατήσαι, τοῦτον δι' εὐτελοῦς ἐσθήτ(ο)ς ἐπιχειρ(ε)ῖ πειράζειν. Καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ τιμῆς ἐπάρα, τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ φέρειν δῆθεν ἀτιμίαν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αἶρει· καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πείσαι δι' ἐπιστημ(ονικ)ῶν λόγων κενοδοξεῖν, τοῦτον διὰ σωπῆς ὡς ἡσυχον δῆθεν δελεάζει· καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ πολυτελείας βρωμάτων χανῶσαι, τοῦτον διὰ νηστείας πρὸς ἔπαινον ἐλκύει. Καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ἔργον, πᾶν ἐπιτ(η)δεύμα, πρόφασιν παρέχει πολέμου τῷ πονηρῷ τούτῳ δαίμονι.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (Περὶ Ὑπερηφανίας, *De Superbia*):

54^r Ὁ γδοος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἁγῶν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας. Χαλεπώτατος οὗτος καὶ πάντων τῶν προ(ο)τέρων ἀγριώτερος, τοὺς τελείους μάλιστα πολεμῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τοὺς ἀναβεβηκ(ό)τας ἐπιχειρῶν καταστρέφει. Καὶ καθάπερ νόσος λοιμικὴ καὶ φθοροποιός, (ἥτις) οὐχ ἔν μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἀλλ' ὅλον διαφθείρει, οὕτως ἡ ὑπερ(η)φάνεια οὐ μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν διαφθείρει. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων (παθῶν) ἕκαστον, εἰ καὶ ταράσσει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μίαν, τὴν ἀντικειμένην αὐτῷ, ἀρετὴν πολεμ(οῦ)ν καὶ ταύτην νικῆσαι φιλον(ε)ικῶν, ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτοῖ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ταράσσει αὐτὴν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας πάθος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοτ(ο)ῖ καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην πτώσιν κατὰγει.

...

54^v | ὅταν κυριεύσ(η) τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς, ὡσπερ τις χαλεπώτατος τύραννος μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ ὑψηλὴν παραλαβῶν, ὄλην αὐτὴν καταστρέφει καὶ ἕως θεμελίων κατασκάπτει.

...

55^r Ταῦτα τοῖνον γινώσκοντες, φοβηθῶμεν καὶ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τ(η)ρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θανατ(η)φόρου πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερ(η)φανείας

Καὶ ἐν παντί γὰρ ἐπιτηδεύματα παρυφίσταται, ἔν τε σχήματι καὶ ἐν μορφῇ, καὶ ἐν βαδίσματι, καὶ ἐν φωνῇ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν σωπῇ καὶ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ ἐν νηστείαις καὶ ἐν εὐχῇ καὶ ἐν ἀναγνώσει καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ· διὰ τούτων πάντων ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον κατατοξεύειν.

Ὅταν γὰρ μὴ δυνήθῃ διὰ πολυτελῶν ἐνδυμάτων πρὸς κενοδοξίαν ἀπατήσαι, δι' εὐτελῶν ἐσθήτος ἐπιχειρεῖ πειράζειν. Καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ τιμῆς ἐπάρα, τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ φέρειν δῆθεν ἀτιμίαν εἰς ἀπόνοιαν αἶρει· καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πείσαι δι' ἐπιστήμης λόγων κενοδοξεῖν, τοῦτον διὰ σωπῆς ὡς ἡσυχον δῆθεν δελεάζει· καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἠδυνήθη διὰ πολυτελείας βρωμάτων χανῶσαι, τοῦτον διὰ νηστείας εἰς ἔπαινον ἐλκύει. Καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν ἐπιτηδεύμα πρόφασιν παρέχει πολέμου τῷ πονηρῷ τούτῳ δαίμονι.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 44 (Περὶ Ὑπερηφανίας, *De Superbia*), PG.89.1569–1573:

Ὁ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας δαίμων χαλεπώτατος πάντων τῶν παθῶν ὑπάρχων, πᾶν τοὺς ἐν προκοπῇ πολεμεῖ, καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖ καταστρέφειν. Καὶ καθάπερ νόσος λοιμικὴ καὶ φθοροποιός οὐχ ἔν μέρος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' ὅλον διαφθείρει, οὕτω καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάθη ἐκ μέρους ἐπισκοτοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἢ καὶ ταράσσουν αὐτὴν· τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑπερηφανείας πάθος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν σκοτεῖ καὶ εἰς μεγάλην πτώσιν κατὰγει.

...

ὅταν γὰρ κυριεύσ(η) τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς, ὡσπερ τις χαλεπώτατος τύραννος μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ ὑψηλὴν παραλαβῶν, ὄλην αὐτὴν καταστρέφει, καὶ ἕως θεμελίων κατασκάπτει.

Φοβηθῶμεν οὖν ἀδελφοί, καὶ πάσῃ φυλακῇ τηρήσωμεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ θανατ(η)φόρου πνεύματος τῆς ὑπερηφανείας.

Cassian does not include *μνησικακία* (= remembrance of injuries by those who bear a grudge) into his 'eight' dispositions to evil. However, he refers to this repeatedly in his chapter about 'wrath'. Antiochus of Palestine is the monk who lived in the same monastery in which Cassian was once the abbot. Antiochus became the abbot himself about seventy years after Cassian, he wrote a short treatise on *μνησικακία*, where he actually quotes from Cassian treating 'wrath' as an evil disposition.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Ὁργῆς, De Ira*):

- 43^v Εἰ τοίνυν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τυχεῖν τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐ μόνον τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὀργήν, καθ' ἃ εἶρηται, ὀφείλομεν κ(ω)λύσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν. Οὐτε γὰρ τοσοῦτον (ὦ)φελεῖ τὸ κρατεῖν τοῦ στόματος ἐν κ(αι)ρῷ θυμοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ῥήμα μανιώδες, ὅσον τὸ καθαρίζειν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ μνησικακίας καὶ μὴ ἀναστρέφειν τὴ διανοίᾳ πονηροῦς κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λογισμοῦς. Τὰς ρίζας γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρ(η)μάτων ἐκκόπτεσθαι παραγγέλλει ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία, ἥπερ τοὺς καρπούς. Τῆς ρίζης γὰρ τοῦ
- 44^f θυμοῦ | ἐκκοπ(ει)σης ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, οὐτε μίσος οὐτε φθόνος εἰς ἔργον προαχθήσεται.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Ὁργῆς, De Ira*):

- 44^f Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μισ(ῶ)ν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωποκτόν(ος) ἐστίν, φονεύων αὐτὸν τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους κατὰ διάνοιαν. Οὐτίνος τὸ αἷμα, οὐ διὰ ξίφους χυθέν, ἀνθρωποὶ (οὐ) βλέπουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους ἀν(αι)ρεθὲν ὁ Θεὸς ἐφορᾷ· ὅς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ λογισμῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ἢ στεφάνους ἢ τιμωρίας ἀποδίδωσιν, καθὼς αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου φησὶν· Ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*, (*Περὶ Πορνείας, De Fornicatione*):

- 28^v Ἀλλὰ προσήκει, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, εἰς τὰς πρωίας ἀποκτε(ί)νειν πάντα τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς τῆς γῆς, τούτέστιν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς γνώσεως διακρίνειν καὶ ἐξολοθρεῖν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν καὶ ὡς ἔτι νήπιοὶ εἰσιν υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος, οἱ πονηροὶ φημι λογισμοί, τοῦτους ἐδαφίζειν καὶ συντρίβειν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 53 (*Περὶ τοῦ Μῆ Μνησικακεῖν, De Memoria Accepte Injuriae*), PG.89.1596–

1597:

Εἰ τοίνυν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν τοῦ μακαρισμοῦ αὐτοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὀργήν κωλύσαι ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν. Οὐτε γὰρ τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν τὸ κρατεῖν τοῦ στόματος ἐν καιρῷ θυμοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ῥήματα μανιώδη, ὅσον τὸ καθαρίζειν τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ μνησικακίας, καὶ μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πονηροῦς λογισμοῦς. Τὰς ρίζας γὰρ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκκόπτεσθαι παραγγέλλει ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία. Τῆς ρίζης γὰρ ἐκκοπίσεως τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, οὐτε μίσος, οὐτε φθόνος εἰς ἔργον προαχθήσεται.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 57 (*Περὶ τοῦ Μῆ Μισεῖν, Neminem Oderis*), PG.89.1605:

ὁ δὲ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ οὐ μόνον ὅτι θεοστυγῆς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρωποκτόνος εἶρηται. Φονεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους κατὰ διάνοιαν, οὐτίνος τὸ αἷμα, οὐ διὰ ξίφους ἐκχυθέν ἀνθρωποὶ οὐ βλέπουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ μίσους ἀναρεθὲν ὁ Θεὸς ἐφορᾷ· ὅς οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ λογισμῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἐκάστου, ἢ στεφάνους ἢ τιμωρίας ἀποδίδωσιν, καθὼς αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου φησὶν· Ἐγὼ ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν.

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 81 (*Περὶ Λογισμῶν, De Cogitationibus*), PG.89.1677:

Χρὴ οὖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην προσβολὴν αἰεὶ ἀνατρέπειν καὶ ἐξολοθρεῖν τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ὡς ἔτι εἰσὶ νήπιοὶ υἱοὶ Βαβυλῶνος, τούτέστιν οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί, ἐδαφίζειν τοῦτους καὶ συντρίβειν πρὸς τὴν πέτραν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός.

This story about the monk who subjected himself to circumcision following a devilish dream that he saw, is a loan not from Cassian's *On the Eight Dispositions to Evil*, but from his treatise addressed to Leontius, relating stories about 'the holy fathers at Scetis'.

Cassian, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum*:

- 69^v Μακρόν ἄν εἶη τὴν ἀπάτην ἐκείνου τοῦ Μεσοποταμινοῦ διηγῆσασθαι, ὃς τοσαύτην ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδειξάμενος καὶ ἐν κελλίῳ ἀποκεκλεισμένος ἐπὶ ἔτη πολλά, οὐτ(ω)ς εἰς ὕστερον διαβολικαῖς ἀποκαλύψεσιν καὶ ἐνυπνίοις ἐνεπ(αί)χθη, (ῶ)ς μετὰ τοσοῦτους καμάτους τε καὶ ἀρετάς, αἷς πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς ἐκείσε μοναχοῦς, πρὸς ἰουδαϊσμόν καὶ περιτομὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καταπεσεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος ἀπατήσαι, πολλάκις αὐτῷ ἔδειξεν ἀληθῆ ἐνύπνια, ἵνα διὰ τούτων εὐπαράδεκτον ποιήσ(η) ἦν ἐμελλεν αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ὑποτιθεσθαι πλάνην. Δείκνυσι τοίνυν αὐτῷ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ τ(ὸ)ν δῆμον τῶν χρ(ι)στιανῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων σκοτ(ε)ρινόν τε καὶ πάσης αἰσχύνης πεπληρωμέν(ο)ν^v καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τὸν Ἰουδαίων τὸν δῆμον μετὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν λαμπρῶ φωτὶ περιουαζόμενον καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἰλαρ(ό)τητι διάγοντα. Καὶ συνεβούλευεν ὁ ἀπατε(ῶ)ν ὡς, (εἰ) βούλοιο τῆς μακαρι(ό)τητος καὶ χαρᾶς τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων μετασχεῖν, περιτομὴν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν.
- 70^v Ὁ δὴ καὶ ἀπατ(η)θεὶς ἐποίησε. |

Antiochus of Palestine, *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, Homily 84 (*Περὶ Ἐνυπνίων, De Insomniis*); PG.1689.76–1692.29:

Ἐγένετο τις παράδειγμα μοναχὸς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινᾷ, ὃς τοσαύτην ἐγκράτειαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, καὶ ἐν κελλίῳ, καὶ ἐπικεκλεισμένος ἐπὶ ἔτη πολλά, ὕστερον διαβολικαῖς ἀποκαλύψεσι καὶ ἐνυπνίοις ἐμπαιχθεὶς, πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμόν κατέπεσε καὶ περιτομὴν τῆς σαρκὸς. Πολλάκις τοίνυν δείξας αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος ἀληθινὰ ἐνύπνια, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν δελεάσας τὸν ἐσκοτισμένον αὐτοῦ νοῦν, δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ὕστερον τὸν δῆμον τῶν μαρτύρων καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὄλων τῶν Χριστιανῶν, σκοτεινόν τε καὶ πάσης αἰσχύνης πεπληρωμένον. Ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου δὲ Μωϋσέα, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ τὸν θεοστυγῆ δῆμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων λαμπρῶ φωτὶ περιουαζόμενον, καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἰλαρότητι διάγοντα. Ταῦτα ἐωρακῶς ὁ ἄθλιος, παραχρῆμα ἀναστάς, καὶ καταλείψας τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος, ἔρχεται εἰς Παλαιστίνην, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Νόαρα καὶ Λιβυάδα, τὰ ὄρη τῆρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀφηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς τὰς φανείσας αὐτῷ διαβολικὰς φαντασίας περιετμήθη καὶ ἰουδαίσει, καὶ γυναῖκα ἔλαβε, καὶ προφανῶς ὑπερ Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐδογματίζε. τοῦτον καὶ γὰρ ἐθεασάμην, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μοναχῶν· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει τρία ἔτη κακῶ θανάτῳ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξας. Καταρρεύσας γὰρ ἀπὸ χρόνων, καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξεψύχησε.² τοῦτον ἰδόντες ἐγὼ καὶ τινες εὐλαβεῖς μοναχοί, πολὺ ἐθρηνήσαμεν. Ἦν γὰρ ἑλεεινὸν θέαμα, ἀνήρ ὄλος πεπολιωμένος, ἐν ἀσκήσει καὶ πόνοις καταγρησάσας, γυναιξὶ προσπαίζων, κρεῶν μεμολυσμένων τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀπογεύομενος, ἄσημνα ῥήματα λαλῶν, τὸν Χριστὸν βλασφημῶν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα ἐνυβρίζων, ὄντια οἱ ἄνομοι Ἰουδαῖοι δεύτερον Ἀβραάμ ἐκάλουν.

² Migne's ἐξέψυξε makes no sense.

Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi του Φοβερού copying the *Book of Cassian*

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum*:

64^υ Αὕτη γὰρ διδάσκει τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καταλιμπά-
νοντα τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέρη ὑπερβολὴν, ὁδῶ
βασιλικῇ βαδίζειν·

Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus:

- 22^υ Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐροῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἄπερ εἰ-
λήφαμεν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν. Ἐκεῖ-
νοι τοῖνυν οὐχ ἕνα κανόνα νηστείας, οὐδὲ ἕνα
τρόπον τῆς τῶν βρωμάτων μεταλήψεως, οὐδὲ
23^ϛ τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον | πᾶσιν παραδεδώκασιν, διὰ τὸ
μηδὲ πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχύιν ἔχειν, ἢ διὰ ἡλι-
κίαν, ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἢ διὰ ἕξ(ι)ν ἀστειοτέρ(αν)
σώματος. Ἔνα δὲ πᾶσιν σκοπὸν παραδεδώκα-
σιν, φεύγ(ει)ν τὴν πλησμονὴν καὶ ἀποστρέφε-
σθαι τὴν χορτασίαν τῆς γαστροῦ. Τὴν δὲ καθη-
μερινὴν νηστείαν ἐδ(ο)κ(ι)μασαν ὠφελιμωτέραν
εἶναι καὶ συμβαλλομένην πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα
τῆς ἐν τρ(ι)σίν ἢ τέσσ(α)ρασιν ἢ ἕως ἑβδομά-
δος ἔλκομένης. Καὶ γὰρ φασι τ(ὸ)ν ἀμέτρως
ἐπεκτεινόμενον τῇ νηστείᾳ ὑπὲρ μέτρον πολ-
λάκις τῇ τρ(ο)φῇ κεχρ(ῆ)σθαι, ὡς ἐκ τούτου
ποτὲ μὲν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς ἀσιτίας ἀτονεῖν τὸ
σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικὰς λειτουργίας
ὀκνηρ(ό)τερον γίνεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν
τροφῶν καταβαρυνόμενον ἀκη(ρ)ιδίαν καὶ χαύ-
νωσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ ψυχῇ. Καὶ πάλιν οὐ πᾶσιν
23^δ ἀρόδιον εἶναι δοκ(ι)μάσα(ι) τὴν τῶν λαχάνων
μετάληψιν, οὐδὲ πᾶσ(ι)ν τὴν τῶν ὀσπρίων, οὐ-
δὲ πάντας δύνασθαι τῇ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἄρτου κεχρη-
σθαι τροφῇ (διηλεκῶς). Καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶπαν
δύο λίτρας ἐσθίοντα ἄρτου ἀκμὴν πεινᾶν, ἄλ-
λον δὲ ἐσθίοντα λίτραν ἢ ἕξ οὐγκίας χορτάζε-
σθαι. Πᾶσιν οὖν ἕνα ὅρον ἐγκρατείας παραδε-
δώκασιν, τὸ μὴ ἀπατάσθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας,
μηδὲ ἐξέλκεσθαι τῇ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἡδονῇ. Οὐ-
δὲ γὰρ ἡ διαφορά τῆς ποιότητος τῶν βρωμά-
των (μόνον), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ποσότης τοῦ πλήθους
τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλη τῆς πορν(ε)ίας εἴωθεν ἀνά-
πτειν· οἷας γὰρ δ(ῆ)ποτε τροφῆς πληρουμένη
γαστήρ, ἀσωτίας σπέρματα τίκτει. Καὶ πάλιν οὐ
μόνον κρ(αι)πάλη οἴνου τὴν διάνοιαν μεθύσκειν
εἴωθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλησμονὴ ὕδατος καὶ πασῶν
τροφῶν ὑπερβολῇ κεκαρωμένην καὶ νυστάζου-
24^α σαν | ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ. Τοῖς Σοδομ(ι)ταῖς οὐκ
οἴνου καὶ διαφόρων βρωμάτων κραιπάλη κατα-
στροφῆς γέγονεν αἰτία, ἀλλὰ ἄρτου πλησμονὴ
κατὰ τὸν προφήτην. Ἡ (γὰρ) ἀσθένεια τοῦ σώ-
ματος πρὸς τὴν καθαρ(ό)τητα τῆς καρδίας οὐκ

Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi του Φοβερού,
chapter 4, p. 12: ταύτη τῇ λεωφόρῳ ἐλαύνων
ὁδὸν καὶ βασιλικὴν τὸν κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον
ὑπογράφω τῆς μονῆς.

Chapter 4, p. 13–chapter 5, p. 15:

ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλ' ἄπερ οἱ
θεῖοι πατέρες καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἡμῖν διετάξαντο.
Ἐκεῖνοι τοῖνυν οὐχ ἕνα κανόνα νηστείας, οὐδ' ἕνα
τρόπον τῆς τῶν βρωμάτων μεταλήψεως οὐδὲ τὸ
αὐτὸ μέτρον παραδεδώκασι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ πάντας
τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχύιν ἔχειν, ἢ δι' ἕξιν ἀστειοτέρ(αν)
σώματος· ἕνα δὲ πᾶσι σκοπὸν παραδεδώκασι,
τὸ φεύγειν τὴν πλησμονὴν καὶ ἀποστρέφεσθαι
τὴν χορτασίαν τῆς γαστροῦ. Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ
καθημερινὴν νηστείαν εἶπον καὶ δοκιμάσαντες
ὠφελιμωτέραν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ συμβαλλομέ-
νην πρὸς καθαρότητα τῆς ἐν τρισίν ἢ τέταρσιν
ἢ ἕως ἑβδομάδος ἔλκομένης νηστείας· καὶ γὰρ
φησι τὸν ἀμέτρως ἐπεκτεινόμενον τὴν νηστείαν
ὑπὲρ μέτρον πολλάκις τῇ τροφῇ κεχρησθαι, ὡς
ἐκ τούτου ποτὲ μὲν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς ἀσιτίας
ἀτονεῖν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικὰς λει-
τουργίας ὀκνηρότερον γίνεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ τῷ πλή-
θει τῶν τροφῶν καταβαρυνόμενον ἀκηιδίαν καὶ
χαύνωσιν ἐμποιεῖν τῇ ψυχῇ. Καὶ πάλιν οὐ πᾶ-
σιν ἀρόδιον εἶναι ἐδοκίμασαν τὴν τῶν λαχάνων
μετάληψιν, οὐδὲ πᾶσιν τὴν τῶν ὀσπρίων, οὐδὲ
πάντας δύνασθαι τῇ τοῦ ξηροῦ ἄρτου κεχρησθαι
τροφῇ διηλεκῶς· καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶπαν δύο λίτρας
ἐσθίοντα ἄρτου ἀκμὴν πεινᾶν, ἄλλον δὲ ἐσθίοντα
λίτραν ἢ ἕξ οὐγκίας χορτάζεσθαι. Πᾶσιν οὖν, ὡς
εἴρηται, ἕνα ὅρον ἐγκρατείας παραδιδόσαι, τὸ
μὴ ἀπατάσθαι χορτασίᾳ κοιλίας, μηδὲ ἐξέλκε-
σθαι τῇ τοῦ λάρυγγος ἡδονῇ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ διαφορά
τῆς ποιότητος τῶν βρωμάτων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ
ποσότης τοῦ πλήθους τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλη τοῦ
ἐχθροῦ εἴωθεν ἀνάπτειν· οἷας γὰρ δῆποτε τρο-
φῆς πληρουμένη γαστήρ, ἀσωτίας σπέρματα τί-
κτει. Καὶ πάλιν οὐ μόνον κραιπάλη οἴνου τὴν διά-
νοιαν μεθύσκειν εἴωθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλησμονὴ ὕδα-
τος καὶ πασῶν τροφῶν ὑπερβολῇ κεκαρωμένην
καὶ νυστάζουσαν ταύτην ἀποτελεῖ. Τοῖς Σοδομί-
ταις οὐκ οἴνου καὶ διαφόρων βρωμάτων μετά-
ληψις καταστροφῆς γέγονεν αἰτία, ἀλλὰ ἄρτου
πλησμονὴ κατὰ τὸν προφήτην. Ἡ γὰρ ἀσθέ-
νεια τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὴν καθαρότητα τῆς καρ-
δίας οὐκ ἀντίκειται, ὅταν παράσχωμεν τῷ σώ-
ματι ἄπερ ἡ ἀσθένεια ἀπαιτεῖ, οὐχ ἄπερ ἡ ἡδο-
νὴ θέλει. Ἡ τῶν βρωμάτων χρῆσις ὅσον πρὸς

ἀντίκειται, ὅταν παράσχωμεν τῷ σώματι ἃ ἢ ἀσθένεια ἀπαιτεῖ, οὐχ ἅπερ ἡ ἡδονὴ θέλει. Ἡ τῶν βρωμάτων χρήσις ὅσον ὑποργησαί πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παραλαμβάνεται, οὐχ ὅσον (δουλεύσαι) ταῖς ὀρμαῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Ἡ σύμμετρος καὶ μετὰ λόγου τῶν τροφῶν μετάληψις τῆς ὑγ(ε)ίας φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὴν ἀγιωσύνην ἀφαιρεῖται. Ὅρος ἐγκρατείας καὶ κανῶν παραδεδ(ο)μένους παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀκριβῆς οὗτός ἐστιν, τὸν μεταλαμβάνοντά τινος τροφῆς ἔτι τῆς ὀρέξεως ἐγκειμένης | ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν τὸν κόρον. Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ εἰπών, τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιείσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς ζωῆς κυβέρνησιν ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλήδονον ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπηγόρευσε. Ἄλλως τε πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα ψυχῆς μόνῃ ἢ τῶν βρωμάτων ἀποχὴ οὐκ ἰσχύει, εἰ μὴ καὶ αἱ λ(οι)παὶ ἀρεταὶ συνδράμωσιν. Τοιγαροῦν ἡ ταπεινώσις διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος καταπονήσεως μεγάλη ἡμῖν συμβάλλεται. Ἡ ἀποχὴ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἔχειν χρήματα ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν κεκτ(ῆ)σθαι, πρὸς καθαρ(ό)τητα ψυχῆς ὀδηγεῖ. Ἡ τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποχὴ, τῆς λύπης, τῆς κενοδοξίας, τῆς ὑπερ(ῆ)φανείας, ταῦτα πάντα τὴν καθολικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρ(ό)τητα ἀπεργάζονται. | Τὴν δὲ διὰ σωφρο(ο)σύνης μερικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καθαρ(ό)τητα ἐξαιρέτως ἐγκράτεια καὶ νηστεία κατορθοῖ. Ἄδύνατον γάρ τὸν τὴν γαστέρα κεκορησμένον πολεμήσαι κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ πνεύματι τῆς πορν(ε)ίας.

Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum:

79^α Καὶ γὰρ καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες, αἱ ἀκρότητες τῶν ἑκατέρων μερῶν ἐφ' ἴσης βλάπτουσιν, καὶ ἡ τῆς νηστείας ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς γαστρὸς χορτασία, καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ἀμετρία καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὕπνου κόρος, καὶ αἱ λ(οι)παὶ ὑπερβολαί.

79^β Καὶ γὰρ ἐγνωμέν τινος διὰ γαστριμαργίαν | (μὲν) μὴ ἠττηθέντας, διὰ δὲ ἀμέτρου νηστείας καταβληθέντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος τῆς γαστριμαργίας ὀλισθήσαντας διὰ τὴν προσγενομένην ἕκ τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀσθένειαν. Κἀγὼ δὲ μέμνημαί ποτε τοιοῦτον τι πεπονθῶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγκρατευσάμενος, ὥστε με ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς ὀρέξεως τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μένοντα ἄσιτον καὶ μὴδὲ ὅλως τροφῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ταύτη(ν) διήγειρον. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλής τοῦ διαβόλου οὕτως ὁ ὕπνος ἀπέστ(ῆ), ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστας νύκτας ἄπυνον διατελοῦντα ἱκε-

τὸ ὑποργησαί τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν, εἰ παραλαμβάνεται, οὐ κωλύεται, ἢ σύμμετρος καὶ μετὰ λόγου τῶν τροφῶν μετάληψις τῆς ὑγείας φροντίζει τοῦ σώματος, οὐ τὴν ἀγιωσύνην ἀφαιρεῖται. Ὅρος ἐγκρατείας καὶ κανῶν παραδεδομένος παρὰ πατέρων ἀκριβῆς οὗτός ἐστι, τὸ μεταλαμβάνοντα τροφῆς, ἔτι τῆς ὀρέξεως ἐγκειμένης, ταύτης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν τὸν κόρον. Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ εἰπών, τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιείσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τῆς ζωῆς κυβέρνησιν ἐκώλυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλήδονον ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπηγόρευσε. Ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς καθαρότητα τελείαν ψυχῆς μόνῃ ἢ ἀποχὴ τῶν βρωμάτων οὐκ ἰσχύει, εἰ μὴ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀρεταὶ συνδράμωσι. Τοιγαροῦν ἡ ταπεινώσις διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος καταπονήσεως μεγάλη ἡμῖν συμβάλλεται. Ἡ ἀποχὴ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἐπιθυμεῖν κεκτῆσθαι, πρὸς καθαρότητα ψυχῆς ὀδηγεῖ. Τῆς ὀργῆς ἢ ἀποχῆς, τῆς λύπης, τῆς κενοδοξίας, τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ἐξαιρέτως ἐγκράτεια καὶ νηστεία κατορθοῖ. Ἄδύνατον γάρ τὸν τὴν γαστέρα κεκορησμένον πολεμήσαι κατὰ διάνοιαν τῷ πνεύματι τῆς πορνείας.

Καὶ γὰρ, καθὼς λέγουσιν οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς ἐμάθομεν, αἱ ἀκρότητες ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ἐπίσης βλάπτουσι, καὶ ἡ τῆς νηστείας ὑπερβολὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς γαστρὸς χορτασία καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας ἀμετρία καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὕπνου κόρος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ὑπερβολαί.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐγνωμέν τινος διὰ γαστριμαργίαν μὲν μὴ ἠττηθέντας, διὰ δὲ ἀμέτρου νηστείας καταβληθέντας καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ πάθος τῆς γαστριμαργίας ὀλισθήσαντας διὰ τὴν προσγενομένην ἕκ τῆς ἀμετρίας ἀσθένειαν. Κἀγὼ δὲ μέμνημαί ποτε τοιοῦτον τι πεπονθῶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγκρατευσάμενος, ὥστε με ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς ὀρέξεως τῆς τροφῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μένοντα ἄσιτον καὶ μὴδὲ ὅλως τροφῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ταύτην διήγειραν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ διαβόλου οὕτως ὁ ὕπνος ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστας νύκτας ἄπυνον

τεύειν τὸν Θεὸν μικροῦ ὕπνου μεταλαβεῖν. Καὶ βαρύτερον ἐκινδύνευσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἀσιτίας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, ἤπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ τῇ καρώσει τοῦ ὕπνου.

- 25^τ Τοιγαροῦν πρῶτος ἔστω ἡμῖν ἀγὼν τὸ κρατεῖν γαστρός καὶ δουλαγωγεῖν τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μόνον διὰ νηστείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ ἀναγνώσεως καὶ τοῦ συνάγειν τὴν διάνοιαν εἰς τὸν φόβον τῆς γεέννης καὶ εἰς τὸν πόθον τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrum:

- 48^τ Ἐκτος ἡμῖν ἔστω ἀγὼν κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀκηθίας, τοῦ συνεζευγμένου καὶ συνεργούντος τῷ πνεύματι τῆς λύπης. Δειν(δ)ς οὐτ(ο)ς καὶ βαρύτερος θαίμων καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμῶν, ὅστις ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν καὶ φρίκ(η)ν αὐτῷ ἐμποῖων καὶ μίσος ἐργάζεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ λογισμοὺς
- 48^υ μεταβάσεως καὶ ὡς, (εἰ) μὴ μεταστή(οι)εν | αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ ἅπας ὁ πόνος καὶ ὁ χρόνος γενήσεται. Πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν καὶ π(ε)ῖναν αὐτῷ ἐντίθησιν περὶ ὥραν ἔκτην, ὅση οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συνέβη ἐκ τριημέρου νηστείας ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογισμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ δυνησεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἅπα(λ)λάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ προέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν (ὦ)φελείας δι(ῆ)θεν καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων. Ὅταν δὲ μὴ δυνηθ(ῆ) ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσαι, τ(δ) τ(η)νικαῦτα ὕπνω βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας αὐτὸν σφοδρ(δ)τερος κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρ(δ)τερος γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπ(δ)μενος εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀποχῆς ἀργολογίας καὶ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ
- 49^τ τούτοις τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον | αὐτὸν εὐρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βέλεσιν ἄστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν καὶ ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ ῥάθυμον καὶ ἄεργον, καὶ μοναστήρια πολλὰ περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ περισκοπεῖν πού ἄριστα καὶ πότοι γίνονται. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀκ(η)διαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς. Καὶ

διατελοῦντα ἰκετεύειν τὸν Θεὸν μικροῦ ὕπνου μεταλαβεῖν με. Καὶ βαρύτερον ἐκινδύνευσα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἀσιτίας καὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας, ἤπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γαστριμαργίᾳ καὶ καρώσει τοῦ ὕπνου.

Τοιγαροῦν πρῶτος ἔστω ἡμῖν ἀγὼν τὸ κρατεῖν γαστρός καὶ δουλαγωγεῖν τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μόνον διὰ νηστείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἀγρυπνίας καὶ κόπου καὶ ἀναγνώσεως καὶ τοῦ συνάγειν τὴν καρδίαν εἰς τὸν φόβον τῆς Γεέννης, καὶ εἰς τὸν πόθον τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἀποκρούεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀκηθίας.

Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀγὼν διηνεκῆς κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἀκηθίας, τοῦ συνεζευγμένου καὶ συνεργούντος τῷ πνεύματι τῆς λύπης. Δεινός οὐτος καὶ βαρύτερος θαίμων καὶ τοῖς μοναχοῖς αἰεὶ πολεμῶν, ὅστις ἔκτην ὥραν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ μοναχῷ, ἀτονίαν καὶ φρίκην αὐτῷ ἐμποῖων καὶ μίσος ἐργαζόμενος καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἀδελφούς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐργασίαν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὑποβάλλων αὐτῷ καὶ λογισμοὺς μεταβάσεως καὶ ὡς, εἰ μὴ μεταστήσει ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἐτέρους τόπους, μάταιος αὐτῷ ἅπας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ὁ τόπος γενήσεται. Πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ πείναν ἐντίθησι περὶ ὥραν ἔκτην, ὅση οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ συμβαίη ἐκ τριημέρου νηστείας ἢ μακροτάτης ὁδοῦ ἢ βαρυτάτου κόπου. Ἐπειτα λογισμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐμβάλλει ὡς οὐδενὶ ἄλλω τρόπῳ δυνησεται τῆς νόσου ταύτης καὶ τοῦ βάρους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ ἐξέρχεσθαι συνεχῶς καὶ παραβάλλειν ἀδελφοῖς χάριν ὠφελείας δῆθεν καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀσθενούντων. Ὅταν δὲ μὴ δυνηθῆ ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸν ἀπατήσαι, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὕπνω βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας αὐτὸν σφοδρότερος γίνεται, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀνατρεπόμενος εἰ μὴ διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀποχῆς τῶν ἡδέων καὶ τῆς ἀργολογίας καὶ διὰ μελέτης τῶν θείων λογίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ὑπομονῆς. Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ τούτοις τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡσφαλισμένον αὐτὸν εὐρη, κατατοξεύσας τοῖς αὐτοῦ βέλεσιν ἄστατον ἀποδείκνυσιν καὶ ῥεμβὸν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ ῥάθυμον καὶ ἀργόν, καὶ μοναστήρια πολλὰ περιέρχεσθαι παρασκευάζει καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ περισκοπεῖν πού ἄριστα καὶ πότοι γίνονται. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ διάνοια τοῦ ἀκηθιαστοῦ φαντάζεται ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων μετεωρισμούς. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων καὶ εἰς

λ(οι) πὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰς κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν ἐνδουλεῖ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχολ(ιαίς), ἕως ἂν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλ(η).

Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν ὡς σοφὸς ἰατρός π(ρ)όρριζον ἀνασπάσαι, τὰς αἰτίας ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται δεικνυσιν· δι' ὧν (δὲ) γράφων Θεσ(σ)αλονικεῦσι τάδε φησίν· παραγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, | ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, στέλ(λ)εσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδ(ο)σιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ δωρεὰν ἄρτον ἐφάγ(ο)μεν (παρὰ τινος), ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τίνα ὑμῶν οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχ(ο)μεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἤμ(η)ν, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι (εἰ) τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω). ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινος (περιπατοῦντος) ἐν ὑμῖν (ἀτάκτως, μηδὲν ἐργαζο)μένου, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένου· τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ (Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) ἵνα μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἴδιον ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.

50^α Ἀκούσωμεν πῶς σοφ(ῶς) | ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνυσὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀκηδίας ὁ ἀπόστολος· ἀτάκτους γὰρ καλεῖ τοὺς μὴ ἐργαζομένους ἐνὶ τούτῳ θήματι πολλὴν κακίαν ἐμφαίνων· ὁ γὰρ ἄτακτος καὶ ἀνευλαβῆς τυγχάνει καὶ προπετ(ή)ς περὶ λόγον καὶ εἰς λοιδορίαν πρόχειρος καὶ εἰς ἡσυχίαν ἀνεπιτ(ή)δ(ε)ιος καὶ τῆς ἀκ(η)δίας δούλος. Παραγγέλλει οὖν στέλλεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τούτέστιν ἀφορίζεσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ λ(οι)μικῆς νόσου. Εἶτα φησιν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἐμφαίνων ὑπερηφάνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ καταφρονητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδ(ό)σεων καταλύτας. Καὶ πάλιν, δωρεάν, φησιν, ἄρτον οὐκ ἐφάγ(ο)μεν παρὰ τινος, ἀλλὰ ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τίνα.

50^β Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ κήρυξ | τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ μετάρσιος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, ὁ λέγων τὸν Κύριον προστεταχέναι τοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλοντας ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργάζεται πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρ(ῆ)σαι τίνα. Ἦ τοίνυν

κοσμικὰ πράγματα αὐτὸν ἐνδουλεῖ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον δελεάζει ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιβλαβέσιν ἀσχολ(ιαίς), ἐφ' ὃ ἂν τούτου τοῦ μοναδικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος τελείως αὐτὸν ἐκβάλ(η).

Ταύτην τὴν νόσον βαρυτάτην οὖσαν ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν πρόρριζον ἀνασπάσαι, τὰς αἰτίας ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα τίκεται δεικνυσιν· δι' ὧν δὲ γράφων Θεσσαλονικεῦσι τάδε φησί· παραγγέλλομεν ἡμεῖς ἀδελφοί, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἴδατε πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἠτακτήσαμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐδὲ δωρεάν ἄρτον ἐφάγομεν παρὰ τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τίνα ὑμῶν· οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἑαυτοὺς τύπον δώμεν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἤμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω). ἀκούομεν γὰρ τινος περιπατοῦντος ἐν ὑμῖν ἀτάκτως καὶ μηδὲ ἐργαζομένου. τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἵνα μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν.

Ἀκούσωμεν, πῶς σοφῶς ὑποδεικνυσὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ἀκηδίας ὁ ἀπόστολος· ἀτάκτους γὰρ καλεῖ τοὺς μὴ ἐργαζομένους ἐνὶ τούτῳ τῷ θήματι πολλὴν κακίαν ἐμφαίνων· ὁ γὰρ ἄτακτος καὶ ἀνευλαβῆς τυγχάνει καὶ προπετῆς καὶ περὶ λόγον καὶ εἰς λοιδορίαν πρόχειρος, καὶ λοιπὸν καὶ εἰς μοναστηρίου ὑποταγὴν ἀνεπιτήδειος καὶ τῆς ἀκηδίας δούλος. Παραγγέλλει οὖν στέλλεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τούτέστιν ἀφορίζεσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ λοιμικῆς νόσου. Εἶτα τί φησι; καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἦν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν, διὰ τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ἐμφαίνων ὑπερηφάνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ καταφρονητὰς καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων καταλύτας. Καὶ πάλιν· δωρεάν, φησιν, οὐκ ἐφάγομεν ἄρτον παρὰ τινος, ἀλλ' ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τίνα.

Ὁ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὁ κήρυξ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ μετάρσιος ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, ὁ λέγων τὸν Κύριον προστεταχέναι τοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλοντας ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργάζεται πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τίνα. Ἦ τοίνυν ἡμεῖς ποιήσωμεν

ἡμεῖς ποιήσ(ο)μεν ἀκηδιῶντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν μεταδιώκοντες, οἷς οὔτε κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ μέρ(ι)μνα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν μόνων ἢ φροντίς;

Εἶτα, σαφέστερον δεικνύων τὴν τικτομένην βλάβην ἐκ τῆς ἀργίας (ἐπιφέρει)· *μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους*: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀργο-λογίας περιεργία, καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πάσα (κακία). Κατασκευάζ(ων) δὲ πάλιν τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς, ἐπιφέρει· *τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν, (καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν) ἐν* 51^γ *ἡσυχίᾳ ἐργαζομένους τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν*· | *καὶ ἐπιπληκτικ(ώ)τερον λέγει· εἴ τις οὐ θέλ(ει) ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.*

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀποστολικῶς διδάγμασιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἅγιοι πατέρες πεπαιδευμένοι, οὐδένα κ(αι)ρὸν ἀργοῦς εἶναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους, εἰδότες ὡς διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀκ(η)δῖαν ἀπελαύνουσι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν προσπορίζουσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις βοηθοῦσι. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χρείας ἔνεκεν ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου ἐπιχορ(η)γοῦσι, πιστεύοντες τὴν τοιαύτην εὐποίαν *θυσίαν ἁγίαν εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ* γίνεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ὁ ἐργαζόμενος ἐνὶ δαίμονι πολεμ(εῖ) καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θλίβεται· ὁ δὲ ἀργὸς ὑπὸ μυριῶν πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται.

51^γ Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ λόγων | ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μω(ϋ)σέως, τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσιν, (οὗς) πρὸς με ἀπεφθέγγετο. Καθεσθέντος γὰρ μου ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ὠχλήθην ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δῖας καὶ παρέβαλον αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπον ὅτι χθὲς δεινῶς ὄχλ(η)θεις ὑπὸ ἀκ(η)δῖας καὶ ἐξασθενήσας σφόδρα, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγην αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ ἀπῆλθον καὶ παρέβαλον τῷ ἀββᾷ Παύλῳ. Ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ μοι πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωσῆς καὶ εἶπεν· θάρσει, οὐ σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤλευθέρωσας, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἔκδοτον ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοῦλον ταύτῃ παρέδωκας. Γίνωσκε οὖν ὅτι βαρυτέρως σε ὡς λιποτάκτην καταπολεμήσει, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ δι' ὑπομονῆς καὶ προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν ταύτην καταπολεμήσαι σπουδάσῃς.

ἀκηδιῶντες ἀπὸ ἔργου καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν διώκοντες, οἷς οὔτε κήρυγμα εὐαγγελίου ἐνεχειρίσθη, οὔτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ μέριμνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἰδίας μόνον ψυχῆς ἢ φροντίς;

Εἶτα, σαφέστερον δεικνύων τὴν τικτομένην βλάβην ἐκ τῆς ἀργίας, ἐπιφέρει· *μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους*: ἀπὸ ἀργίας περιεργία καὶ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ἀταξία καὶ ἀπὸ ἀταξίας πάσα κακία. Κατασκευάζω δὲ πάλιν τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτοῖς, ἐπιφέρει· *τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις παραγγέλλομεν, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐργαζομένους τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἄρτον ἐσθίειν*· καὶ ἐπιπληκτικώτερον λέγει· *εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω.*

Τούτοις τοῖς ἀποστολικῶς διδάγμασιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἅγιοι πατέρες πεπαιδευμένοι οὐδένα καιρὸν ἀργοῦς εἶναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς νεωτέρους, εἰδότες ὡς διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἀκηδῖαν ἀπελαύνουσι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τροφὴν προσπορίζουσι, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις βοηθοῦσι. Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χρείας ἐργάζονται ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακαῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου ἔργου ἐπιχορηγοῦσι, πιστεύοντες τὴν τοιαύτην εὐποίαν *θυσίαν ἁγίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ Θεῷ* γίνεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι οἱ πατέρες, ὅτι ὁ ἐργαζόμενος ἐνὶ δαίμονι πολεμεῖ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θλίβεται, ὁ δὲ ἀργὸς ὑπὸ μυριῶν πνευμάτων αἰχμαλωτίζεται.

Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ λόγον ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσι, ὃν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανὸν ἀπεφθέγγετο. Καθεσθεὶς γὰρ ὁ εἰρημένος Κασσιανὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ὄχληθεις ὑπὸ ἀκηδῖας καὶ παρέβαλε τῷ ἁγίῳ Μωϋσῆϊ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Χθὲς δεινῶς ὄχληθεις ὑπὸ ἀκηδῖας καὶ ἐξασθενήσας σφόδρως οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγην αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ παρέβαλλον τῷ ἀββᾷ Παύλῳ. Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς καὶ εἶπεν· θάρσει· οὐ σεαυτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤλευθέρωσας, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἔκδοτον καὶ δοῦλον ἑαυτὸν ταύτῃ παρέδωκας. Γίνωσκε τοῖνον ὅτι βαρυτέρως σε ὡς λιποτάκτην καταπολεμήσει, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ δι' ὑπομονῆς καὶ προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τῶν χειρῶν, ταύτην καταπαλαίσει σπουδάσῃς. Ταῦτα δε πάντα, ἀδελφοί μου ἡγαπημένοι ὑπομνήσκω, ὅτι ὑπομονῆς χρεῖα πολλῆς.

Ad Castorem Episcopum De Canonicis Occidentalis et Aegyptionis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus:

- 17^γ Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐναρξάμενος τοῦ καλοῦ μακάριος, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἕως τέλους ἐν τούτῳ διαμένει. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς συρόμενος ὄφει τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰετ(η)ρεῖ
- 18^ρ πτέρναν, τουτέστιν | τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξόδῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ ἕως τέλους τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὑποσκελίζειν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖ. Καὶ τούτου χάρι(ι)ν τὸ ἐναρξασθαι καλῶς οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσει, οὐδὲ ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποταγῆς θερμότης, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος ὡσαύτως γένηται. Καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ ταπεινώσις, ἣν νῦν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐπηγγείλω, οὐκ ἄλλως βεβαιωθήσεται εἰ μὴ ἕως τέλους ταύτην ἐπιδείξ(η)ς. Διό, ἵνα δυνηθ(ῆ)ς ταύτην κτήσασθαι τελείως καὶ συντριψ(ι)αὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος, σποῦδαζε, ὅταν ἐπέρχ(ω)νται σοι λογισμοί, εὐθέως τούτους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναγγέλλειν. Οὕτω γὰρ δ(η)μοσιεύων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὀλεθρίων τοῦ δράκοντος λογισμῶν, καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνόμενος ἐκφαίνειν τῷ σῶ πατρὶ, συντριψ(ει)ς τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν. Διό δὴ, κατὰ τὴν Γραφήν, εἰ προσῆλθες δουλεύειν Θεῷ, ἐτοιμάσον τὴν καρδίαν σου μὴ πρὸς ἀμεριμνίαν, μὴ πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ τέρψιν, ἀλλὰ
- 18^υ πρὸς | πειρασμούς, πρὸς θλίψεις. Διὰ γὰρ πολλῶν θλίψεων (δεῖ) ἡμᾶς, φησιν, εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ, *Στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν*. Πρόσχετε τοῖνυν τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς καὶ ἐκ παραδείγματος αὐτῶν κανόνιζε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον· μὴ προσχῆς τοῖς ῥαθύμοις καὶ καταφρον(η)ταῖς, κἄν πολλοὶ ὦσιν. Πολλοὶ γάρ, φησιν, κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, καὶ μικρὸν τὸ ποίμνιον (ᾧ) ἠδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν. Μὴ μ(ι)κρὸν γὰρ ἀμάρτημα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τελει(ό)τητα καὶ τοῖς ἀμελεστέροις καὶ ῥαθύμοις ἀκολουθεῖν. Ἴνα τοῖνυν δυνηθ(ῆ)ς ἐπιβῆναι τῇ τελει(ό)τητι, ταύτη κέρησο τῇ τάξει καὶ τούτοις ἀνάβαινε τ(ο)ῖς βαθεύμοις.

Πρῶτος βαθμὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ ἀσφάλεια ὁ φόβος ἐστὶν τοῦ

19^ρ Κυρίου· διὰ | τούτου γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτ(η)μάτων ἀποκάθαρσις καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν φυλακὴ καὶ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν γίνεται. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος εἰσελθ(ῆ) εἰς ψυχὴν, καταφρονεῖν πείθει πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων καὶ λ(ή)θην τῶν κατὰ σάρκα συγγενῶν γενῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταπει-

Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἀπαρξάμενος τοῦ καλοῦ μακάριος, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἕως τέλους ἐν τούτῳ διαμεμένηκεν· ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς συρόμενος ὄφει τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰετ(η)ρεῖ πτέρναν τηρεῖ, τουτέστι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξόδῳ ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ ἕως τέλους τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ὑποσκελίζειν ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖ, καὶ τούτου χάριν τὸ ἀπαρξασθαι καλῶς οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσει, οὐδὲ ἢ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποταγῆς θερμότης, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος ὡσαύτως γένηται. Καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ ταπεινώσις, ἣν νῦν ἐπηγγείλασθε ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἄλλως βεβαιωθήσεται εἰ μὴ ἕως τέλους ταύτην ἐπιδείξετε. Διό, ἵνα δυνηθῆτε ταύτην τελείως κτήσασθαι καὶ συντριψ(ι)αὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος σποῦδαζετε, ὅταν ἐπέρχωνται ὑμῖν λογισμοί, εὐθέως τούτους ἐξαγγέλλειν τῷ ἱατρῷ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν. Οὕτω γὰρ δημοσιεύοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὀλεθρίων τοῦ δράκοντος λογισμῶν καὶ μὴ αἰσχυνόμενοι ἐκφαίνειν συντριψ(ει)τε τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν. Διό δὴ, κατὰ τὴν Γραφήν, εἰ προσῆλθατε τοῦ δουλεύειν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐτοιμάσατε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν μὴ πρὸς ἀμεριμνίαν, μὴ πρὸς ἀνέσεις καὶ τέρψεις, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πειρασμούς, πρὸς θλίψεις. Διὰ πολλῶν γὰρ θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ, *Στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν*. Προσέχετε τοῖνυν τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς καὶ ἐκ παραδείγματος αὐτῶν κανονίζετε τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον· μὴ προσέχετε τοῖς ῥαθύμοις καὶ καταφρονηταῖς, κἄν πολλοὶ ὦσιν. Πολλοὶ γάρ, φησί, κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί, καὶ μικρὸν τὸ ποίμνιον ᾧ ἠδόκησεν ὁ πατὴρ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν. Μὴ μικρὸν εἶναι νομίσητε ἀμάρτημα τὸ ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τελειότητα καὶ τοῖς ἀμελεστέροις καὶ ῥαθύμοις ἀκολουθεῖν. Ἄλλ' ἵνα δυνηθῆτε τῆς τελειότητος ἐπιβῆναι, ταύτη κέρησθε τῇ τάξει.

Περὶ τῆς κατὰ πνεῦμα τελειότητος καὶ ὅπως δεῖ πρὸς ταύτην ἀνάγεσθαι.

Πρῶτος βαθμὸς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσφαλείας καὶ σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· διὰ τούτου γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων κάθαρσις, καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν φυλακὴ καὶ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν γίνεται. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος εἰσελθ(ῆ) εἰς ψυχὴν, καταφρονεῖν πάντων πείθει τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων καὶ λήθην τῶν κατὰ σάρκα συγγενῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου ἐμποιεῖ. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταπεινώσις τὸ κεφάλαιον,

νωσις τὸ κεφάλ(αι)ον καὶ πλήρωμα πάντων τῶν καλῶν κατορθοῦται· καταφρονῆσει γὰρ καὶ στερῆσει πάντων τῶν (τοῦ κόσμου) πραγμάτων ἢ ταπεινώσις προσγίνεται. Ἡ ταπεινώσις δὲ τούτοις τοῖς γνωρίσμασιν δοκιμάζεται καὶ δείκνυται. Πρῶτον, εἰ νεκρωθέντα τις ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια θελήματα· δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τῶν οικειῶν πράξεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμήσεων μηδὲν (ἀπὸ) το(ῦ) ἰδίου(υ) κρύ(πτ)ει πατρ(ός)· τρίτον, εἰ μηδὲν τῇ ἰδίᾳ συν(ει)δήσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα | τῇ 19^ν τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς διακρ(ί)σει πιστεύει, διψῶν αἶμα καὶ ἡδέως ἀκούων τῆς τούτου νοουθεσίας· τέταρτον, εἰ (ἐν) πᾶσιν ἀνεπαισχύντως δουλεύ(ε)ι τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς προστάγμασιν· πέμπτον, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐ τολμᾷ ὑβρ(ί)σαι τινὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἐπαγομένους αὐτῷ ὑβρεις μετὰ χαρᾶς προσδέχοιτο· ἕκτον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπιχειρήσει καινότερον τι πράξει, ὅπερ οὐχ ὁ κοινὸς κανὼν ἐπιτρέπει, οὐδὲ τῶν πατέρων αἰ παραδόσεις· ἕβδομον, εἰ πάσῃ εὐτελείᾳ ἀρκούμενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς διδομένοις εὐχαριστῶν, ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγείται καὶ τούτων· ὄγδοον, εἰ ἑαυτὸν κατώτερον μὴ ὑπερέχοντά τινος ἐξ ἀλ(η)θ(ι)νῆς καρδίας ἡγείται· ἕνατον, εἰ γλωσσης κρατ(ῆ) καὶ μὴ (ῆ) προπετ(ῆ)ς ἐν λόγοις καὶ τραχὺς ἐν φωνῇ· δέκατον, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν εὐχερῆς καὶ 20^ν πρόχειρος | ἐν γέλωτι.

Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τούτ(οις) σημείοις ἢ ταπεινώσις γνωρίζεται, ἥτις, ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθ(ῆ), ταχέως πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνάγει, ἐν ἣ φόβος οὐκ ἔστιν κολάσεως καὶ δι' ἧς τὰ πάντα οὐκέτι μετὰ κόπου φυλάττεται, ἀλλὰ πόθῳ διαπύρω καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ. Πρὸς ἡντινα ἀρετὴν ἵνα ἰσχύσης εὐχερέστερον φθάσαι, ὑποδείγματά σοι πρὸς μ(ί)μησιν ἔστωσαν ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμεν(ό)ντων καὶ εὐλάβειαν κεκτημένων ἀδελφοί, μὴ (οἱ) πλείους καὶ ἀμελέστερόν τε καὶ ῥαθυμ(ό)τερον ζῶντες. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μιμείσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν τοὺς σπουδαίους μεγίστη (ᾠ)φέλεια γίνεται τοῖς βουλομένοις πρὸς τελει(ό)τητα φθάσαι. Εἰ οὖν θέλῃς δυνηθῆναι πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐξακολουθήσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα τοῦ κοινοβίου ἄχρ(ι) 20^ν τέλους διακαρτερῆσαι, ταῦτα ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἀναγκαῖά σοι πρὸς παραφυλακὴν ἐν τῇ συνοδίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔστωσαν· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡσεὶ κ(ω)φὸς οὐκ ἤκου(υ)ον, καὶ ὡσεὶ ἄλαλος οὐκ ἀν(οῖ)γων τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς.

καὶ πλήρωμα πάντων τῶν καλῶν κατορθοῦται· καταφρονῆσει γὰρ καὶ στερῆσει πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων ἢ ταπεινώσις προσγίνεται. Ἡ ταπεινώσις δὲ τοιοῦτοις γνωρίσμασιν δοκιμάζεται καὶ δείκνυται, εἰ νεκρωθέντα τις ἔχει τὰ ἴδια θελήματα· δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ τῶν οικειῶν πράξεων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων μηδὲν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου κρύπτει πατρός· τρίτον, εἰ μηδὲν τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνέσει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς διακρίσει πιστεύει, διψῶν αἶμα καὶ ἡδέως ἀκούων τῆς τούτου νοουθεσίας· τέταρτον, εἰ ἐν πᾶσιν ὀλοψύχως δουλεύει τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς προστάγμασι· πέμπτον, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐ τολμᾷ ὑβρῆσαι τινὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαγομένους αὐτῷ ὑβρεις μετὰ χαρᾶς προσδέχοιτο· ἕκτον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπιχειρήσει καινότερον τι πράξει, ὅπερ οὐχ ὁ κοινὸς κανὼν ἐπιτρέπει, οὐδὲ τῶν πατέρων αἰ παραδόσεις· ἕβδομον, εἰ πάσῃ εὐτελείᾳ ἀρκούμενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς διδομένοις εὐχαριστῶν, ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγείται καὶ τούτων· ὄγδοον, εἰ ἑαυτὸν κατώτερον μὴ ὑπερέχοντά τινος ἐξ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας ἡγείται· ἕνατον, εἰ γλωσσης κρατῆ καὶ μὴ ἢ προπετῆς ἐν λόγοις καὶ τραχὺς ἐν φωνῇ· δέκατον, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν εὐχερῆς καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν γέλωτι.

Περὶ ταπεινώσεως

Τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις τούτων σημείοις ἢ ταπεινώσις γνωρίζεται, ἥτις ὅταν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ κατορθωθῆ, ταχέως πρὸς τὸ ὕψος τῆς ἀγάπης ἀπάγει, ἐν ἣ φόβος οὐκ ἔστι κολάσεως, καὶ δι' ἧς τὰ πάντα οὐκέτι μετ' ἀνάγκης φυλάττεται, ἀλλὰ πόθῳ διαπύρω καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ καλοῦ· πρὸς ἡνπερ ἀρετὴν ἵνα ἰσχύσῃτε εὐχερέστερον φθάσαι, ὑποδείγματά ὑμῖν πρὸς μίμησιν ἔστωσαν ὀλίγοι τῶν συμμενοντων καὶ εὐλάβειαν κεκτημένων ἀδελφοί, μὴ οἱ πλείους, καὶ ῥαθυμότερον ζῶντες. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μιμείσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν τοὺς σπουδαίους μεγίστη ἀσφάλεια γίνεται τοῖς βουλομένοις πρὸς τελειότητα φθάσαι. Εἰ οὖν θέλετε δυνηθῆναι πᾶσι τούτοις ἐξακολουθήσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν πνευματικὸν κανόνα τοῦ κοινοβίου ἄχρι τέλους διακαρτερῆσαι, ταῦτα ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἀναγκαῖά ὑμῖν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἔστωσαν· Ἐγὼ δὲ ὡσεὶ κωφὸς οὐκ ἤκουον, καὶ ὡσεὶ ἄλαλος οὐκ ἀνοίγων τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ·

- "Όσα τοίνυν βλέπεις ἀλλότρια οἰκοδομῆς καὶ ὠφελείας, ὡς τυφλὸς γενοῦ· καὶ ὅσα ἀκούεις, ὡς κ(ω)φὸς καὶ ἀλαλος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι ἐλεγμούς. Καὶ μὴ μιμήσ(η) τούτους, ὅσοι ἄπιστοι καὶ ἀνήκοοι καὶ προπετεῖς καὶ ὕβρισται καὶ συρφετοὶ τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς κ(ω)φὸς καὶ μὴ ἀκούων ταῦτα παραπέμπου. Ἐάν σοί (τις) ἐλέγχους ἢ ὄνειδη ἢ ὕβρεις ἐπιπέμψ(η), ἀκίνητος ἔσ(ο) ὡς πεφ(ι)μωμένος καὶ ἀλαλος, αἶτι τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιλέγων· *Εἶπα· Φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, τοῦ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν με ἐν*
- 21^Γ *γλώσσῃ(η) μου. Ἐθέ(ι)μην (τῷ) στόματί μου φυλακῆν, ἐν τῷ συστήναι τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου.*
- "Ἐτι μὴν πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τέταρτον τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων μελέτα καὶ φύλασσε, ὅπερ καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένα τρία κοσμήσαι δύναται. Τὸ(ν) μωρὸν καὶ ἄφρονα ἑαυτὸν, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ρητόν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι ποιῆσαι ἵνα γένησθε σοφοί, δηλονότι μὴδὲν διακρίνων ἢ διστάζων ἐν οἷς ἂν προσταχθ(ῆ)σιν ὑπὸ τοῦ σου πατρὸς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως τὴν ὑπακοὴν ποιῶν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων λογιζόμενος, καὶ σοφὸν καὶ συμφέρον πιστεύων, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ σου πατρὸς προσταχθέν σοι. Τοιαύτη γὰρ διαθέσει ἀσφαλίσάμενος τὴν σὴν καρδίαν, δυνήσ(η) ἕως τέλους ὑπομείναι τὸν χρηστὸν ζυγὸν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν σε
- 21^Δ τ(ῶ)ν τοῦ διαβόλου | πειρασθῆναι καὶ τεχνασμάτων δυνήσεται σαλεύσαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστ(ή)μης τοῦ κοινοβίου. Καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν δὲ καὶ μακροθυμίαν τὴν σὴν μὴ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς προσδόκα κατορθοῦσθαι· οἷον ὅταν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς παροξύνῃ ἢ ἐξουθενῶσαι ἢ ἀτιμάζ(η), ὅπερ οὐδὲ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστιν δεῖγμα τοῦτο, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ κείται· ἀλλ' ὅταν λοι(ο)δ(ο)ρούμενος ἢ ἀτιμαζόμενος ἢ ἐξουθενούμενος πράως ὑποφέρ(η)ς· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ προαιρέσει κείται.
- "Ἴνα τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα ἄπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν συναθρο(οί)σαντες, τί ποτε σύντομον εἴπωμεν πρὸς τ(ὸ) εὐκόλως τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν τούτων μνημονεύειν, ἄκουε πάλιν κατὰ τάξιν πῶς δυνήσ(η) ἐπιβῆναι τῆς τελει(ό)τητος.
- 22^Α Ἄρχῃ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστίν | σωτηρίας ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐκ τούτου γεννᾶται ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή· ἐκ ταύτης τίκτεται ἡ ἀποταγή καὶ ἡ καταφρόνησις πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἢ ταπεινώσις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως γεννᾶται τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων ἢ νέκρωσις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς νεκρώσεως τῶν θελημάτων αἱ τῶν ἡδονῶν ῥίζαι μαραινόνται· ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάντα

Καὶ μὴ μιμῆσθε τοὺς ἀπίστους καὶ ἀνήκοους καὶ προπετεῖς, καὶ ὕβριστὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς κωφοὶ καὶ μὴ ἀκούοντες τούτους παραπέμπεσθε. Ἐάν σοί τις ἐλέγχῃ ἢ ὄνειδη ἢ ὕβρεις ἐπιπέμψῃ, ἀκίνητος ἔσθι ὡς πεφωμωμένος καὶ ἀλαλος, αἶτι τὸν στίχον τοῦτον τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ἐπιλέγων ἑαυτῷ· *Εἶπα· Φυλάξω τὰς ὁδοὺς μου, τοῦ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν με ἐν γλώσσῃ μου. Ἐθέμην τῷ στόματί μου φυλακῆν, ἐν τῷ συστήναι τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου.*

"Ἐτι μὴν πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων μελετᾶτε διηλεκτικῶς καὶ φυλάσσετε, τὸ μωρὸς καὶ ἄφρονας, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου παράγγελμα, ἑαυτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι, ἵνα γένησθε σοφοί, δηλονότι μὴδὲν διακρινόμενοι ἢ διστάζοντες ἐν οἷς ἂν προσταχθῆτε ὑπὸ τοῦ σου πατρὸς ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ πίστεως τὴν ὑπακοὴν ποιεῖτε, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων λογιζόμενοι καὶ σοφὸν καὶ συμφέρον πιστεύοντες, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέν ὑμῖν. Τοιαύτη γὰρ διαθέσει ἀσφαλίσάμενος τὰς ὑμῶν καρδίας, δυνήσεσθε ἕως τέλους ὑπομείναι τὸν χρηστὸν ζυγὸν τῆς ὑποταγῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου πειραθῆναι καὶ τεχνασμάτων δυνήσεται σαλεύσαι ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοινοβίου. Καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν μακροθυμίαν ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῆς προσδοκᾶτε κατορθοῦσθαι, οἷον ὅταν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς παροξύνῃσθε ἢ οὐκ ἐξουθενήσθε, ἢ οὐκ ἀτιμάξῃσθε, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῆς ὑμῶν ἀρετῆς δεῖγμα τοῦτο, οὔτε ἐν τῇ ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ κείται· ἀλλ' ὅταν λοιδορηθῆτε ἢ ἀτιμάξῃσθε ἢ ἐξουθενήσθε, πράως φέρετε· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὑμῶν προαιρέσει κείται.

"Ἴνα τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα, ἄπερ πλατύτερον εἴρηκα, συναθροίσας, τί σύντομον εἴπω πρὸς τὸ εὐκόλως τὴν ὑμῶν διάνοιαν τούτων μνημονεύειν, ἀκούετε πάλιν, κατὰ τάξιν πῶς δυνήσεσθε ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς τελειότητος.

Ἐτέρα κλίμαξ πνευματικῆς ἀναβάσεως.

Ἄρχῃ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ἐστίν ὁ φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐκ τούτου γεννᾶται ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή· ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὑπακοῆς τίκτεται ἡ ἀποταγή καὶ ἡ καταφρόνησις πάντων τῶν τοῦ κόσμου πραγμάτων· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἢ ταπεινώσις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ταπεινώσεως γεννᾶται τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων ἢ νέκρωσις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς νεκρώσεως τῶν θελημάτων αἱ τῶν ἡδονῶν ῥίζαι μαραινόνται· ἐκ

τὰ ἐλαττ(ώ)ματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβάλλονται· τῆ δὲ ἀποβολῇ τούτων, αἱ ἀρεταὶ καρπὸν ποιούσιν καὶ αὐξάνουσιν· τῆ δὲ αὐξήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας προσγίνεται· τῆ δὲ καθαρ(ό)τητι τῆς καρδίας ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τελει(ό)της παραγίνεται.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Vitiis Cogitationibus*:

- 34^v Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες τὸ καλῶς εἰρημένον ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ, μακάριόν ἐστιν διδόναι μᾶλλον, ἢ λαμβάνειν, κακῶς ἐρμηνεύουσιν, βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπάτην καὶ τῆ τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ παραλογιζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν τὴν λέγουσαν, εἰ θέλ(ει)ς τέλειος εἶναι, π(ώ)λησόν σου τὰ υπάρχ(ο)ντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς καὶ ἕξ(ει)ς θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ δεῦρ(ο) ἀκολουθ(εῖ) μοι, κρ(ι)νοῦσι τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης μακαριώτερον τὸ ἐξουσιάζειν τοῦ ἰδίου πλοῦτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτου περιουσίας διδόναι τοῖς δεομένοις.

Γινωσκέτωσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μὴ ἀποτετάχθαι τῷ βίῳ, μὴδὲ ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς μοναχικῆς τελει(ό)τητος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐπαισχύνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξον μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἀναλαβεῖν πτωχείαν, καὶ τῆ τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπηρετεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἔργῳ πληρῶσαι τὴν μοναχικὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δοξασθῆναι, διασκορπ(ι)σαντες τὸν παλαιὸν πλοῦτον ἐν λιμῷ

- 35^v καὶ δίψει καὶ ψύχ(ει) | καὶ γυμνότητι, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζέσθωσαν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ ἔχειν παλαιὸν πλοῦτον ἀναγκαι(ό)τερον πρὸς τελείωσιν ἐγίνωσκεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος, οὐκ ἂν κατεφρόνησεν τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ἀξίας· ἐπίσημον γὰρ λέγει ἑαυτὸν γεγονέναι καὶ πολίτην Ῥωμαῖ(ο)ν. Καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις δέ, οἵτινες ἐπώλουν τὰς οἰκίας ἑαυτ(ῶ)ν καὶ τοὺς ἀγρούς, καὶ ἐτίθεσαν τὰς τούτων τιμὰς παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπραττον, εἰ κεκριμένον ἐγίνωσκ(ο)ν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων μακαριώτερον τ(ὸ) τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι τρέφεσθαι καὶ μὴ καμάτῳ ἰδίῳ καὶ τῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφορᾷ. Σαφέστερον δὲ διδάσκει περὶ τούτων ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐν οἷς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γράφων τάδε λέγει· *Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῆσαι τοῖς ἀγίοις. (Ἡ)δὸδοῦσ(α)ν γὰρ*
- 36^v *Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωvιαν | τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερου-*

δὲ τούτων πάντα τὰ ἐλαττώματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβάλλονται· τῆ δὲ ἀποβολῇ τούτων αἱ ἀρεταὶ καρπὸν ποιούσιν καὶ αὐξάνονται, τῆ δὲ αὐξήσει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡ καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας, ἡγοῦν ἡ ἀποστολικὴ τελειότης παραγίνεται.

Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ, chapter 23, p. 40, chapter 24, p. 42:

ἤκουσά τιων ἐξ ἐρμηνευόντων κακῶς τὸ καλῶς εἰρημένον ἐν τῇ θείᾳ Γραφῇ· μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι, ἢ λαμβάνειν, καὶ βιαζόμενων πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπάτην καὶ τῆ τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀπατηλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ παραλογιζόμενων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν τὴν λέγουσαν· εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, πώλησόν σου τὰ υπάρχοντα, καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ δεῦρο, ἀκολουθεῖ μοι· καὶ κρίνουνσι τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης μακαριώτερον τὸ ἐξουσιάζειν τοῦ ἰδίου πλοῦτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς τούτου περιουσίας διδόναι τοῖς δεομένοις.

Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρῆναι τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης κρείττον ἡγείσθαι τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλοῦτου ἐξουσιάζειν δι' ἐλεημοσύνην.

Γινωσκέτωσαν τοῖνυν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μὴ μὴ ἀποτετάχθαι τῷ κόσμῳ, μὴδὲ ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς μοναχικῆς τελειότητος, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐπαισχύνονται τὴν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἔνδοξον ἀναλαβεῖν μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου πτωχείαν καὶ τῆ τῶν χειρῶν ἐργασίᾳ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ὑπηρετεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἔργῳ πληρῶσαι τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου δοξασθῆναι, διασκορπίσαντες τὸν παλαιὸν πλοῦτον ἐν λιμῷ καὶ δίψει καὶ ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι, μετὰ Παύλου ἀγωνιζέσθωσαν τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ ἔχειν παλαιὸν πλοῦτον ἀναγκαιότερον πρὸς τελείωσιν ἐγίνετο, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἂν κατεφρόνησε τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ ἀξίας· ἐπίσημον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν λέγει καὶ πολίτην Ῥωμαῖον. Καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις δέ, οἵτινες ἐπώλουν τὰς οἰκίας ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀγρούς καὶ ἐτίθεσαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐκ ἂν τοῦτο ἔπραττον, εἰ κεκριμένον ἐγίνωσκον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι τρέφεσθαι καὶ μὴ καμάτῳ ἰδίῳ καὶ τῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφορᾷ. Σαφέστερον διδάσκει περὶ τούτων ὁ εἰρημένος Παῦλος ἐν οἷς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους γράφων τάδε λέγει· *Νυνὶ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ διακονῆσαι τοῖς ἀγίοις· εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωvιαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἱερουσολύμοις· εὐδόκησαν γὰρ καὶ ὀφειλέται εἶσι. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ δεσμοῖς καὶ φυλακαῖς πολ-*

σαλήμ. (H)ὑδόκησαν γὰρ καὶ ὀφειλέται αὐτῶν εἰσιν. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ δεσμοῖς καὶ φυλακαῖς πολλάκις καὶ τῷ σκυλμῷ τῆς ὁδ(ο)πορίας ὑποβληθεὶς καὶ ἐμποδιζόμενος ἐκ τούτου, ὡς (ε)ῴθηαι, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν προσπορίζειν ἑαυτῷ τὰς χρεῖας, ταύτας εἰληφέναι διδάσκει παρά τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων, φάσκων· Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑστέρημά μου προσανεπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. Καὶ Φιλιπ(η)σίοις δὲ γράφει· οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς Φιλιπ(η)σίοι ὅτι ἐξελθόντος μου ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν χάριν δι(ὀ)σεως καὶ λ(ή)ψεως, εἰ μ(η) ὑμεῖς μόνοι ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις ἐπέμψατέ μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν.

36^v Ἔστωσαν τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν φιλαργύρων καὶ οὗτοι μακαριώτεροι τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑποστάσεων ἐχ(ο)ρήγησ(α)ν αὐτ(ῶ) τὰς χρεῖας. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰς ἐσχάτην ἄνοιαν ἐλθὼν εἰπεῖν τολμήσ(α)ι τοῦτο. Εἰ τοῖνυν βουλ(ό)μεθα τῷ ἀποστολικῷ καὶ εὐαγγελικῷ προστάγματι καὶ πάσῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελιωθεῖσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκολουθῆσαι, μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὑπονοίαις πειθώμεθα, μῆδὲ τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα κακῶς νοώμεν· ἀλλ' ἀπορρίψαντες τὴν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἀπιστον γνώμην, ἀναλάβωμεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Οὕτω γὰρ δυνησ(ό)μεθα καὶ τοῖς τῶν πατέρων ἴχνησιν ἀκολουθῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοιν(ο)βίου μηδέποτε ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀποτάξασθαι τῷ κόσμῳ.

Καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐναυθα καὶ λόγου(υ) ἀγίων πατέρων μνησθῆναι. Φέρε(ε)ται τοῖνυν τοῦ ἀγίου 37^r Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπου Κ(αι)σαρείας λόγος | πρὸς τινα συγκλ(η)τικὸν χλιαρῶς ἀποταξάμενον καὶ παρα(κατα)σχ(ό)ντα τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ὅτι καὶ τὸν συγκλ(η)τικ(ὸ)ν ἀπώλεσας, καὶ μοναχ(ὸ)ν οὐκ ἐποίησας.

Χρεῖα τοῖνυν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ἐκκόπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἡμέτερας ψυχῆς τὴν ρίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία, ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκ(ο)ντες ὅτι μενούσης τῆς ρίζης εὐχερῶς οἱ κλάδοι φύονται. Τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν ταύτην κατορθῶσαι δύσκολον μὴ ἐν κοινοβίῳ διάγοντας· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρεῶν ἀμεριμνοῦμεν. Τὴν κατάκρ(ι)σιν τοῖνυν Ἄνανιου καὶ Σαπφείρας πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, φρίξωμεν καταλιμπάνειν ἑαυτοῖς τί ποτε τῆς παλαιᾶς περιουσίας. Ὁμοίως, τοῦ Γιεζὶ φοβηθέντες τὸ παράδειγμα, τοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν αἰωνία λέπρα

37^v παραδοθέντ(ο)ς, φυλαξάμεθα μὴ συναθροίζειν |

λάκις καὶ τῷ σκυλμῷ τῆς ὁδοπορίας ὑποβληθεὶς καὶ ἐμποδιζόμενος ἐκ τούτου, ὡς εῴθηαι, ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ προσπορίζειν ἑαυτῷ τὰς χρεῖας ταύτας εἰληφέναι διδάσκει παρά τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντων, φάσκων· Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑστέρημά μου ἐπλήρωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. Καὶ Φιλιππησίοις δὲ γράφων οὕτως ἕξει· Οἴδατε γὰρ Φιλιππησίοι ὅτι ἐξελθόντος μου ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησε χάριν δόσεως καὶ λήψεως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἅπαξ καὶ δις ἐπέμψατέ μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν.

Ἔστωσαν τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν φιλαργύρων καὶ οὗτοι μακαριώτεροι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑποστάσεων ἐχορήγησαν αὐτῷ τὰς χρεῖας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εἰς ἐσχάτην ἄνοιαν ἐλθὼν εἰπεῖν τολμήσει τοῦτο. Εἰ τοῖνυν βουλόμεθα τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ καὶ ἀποστολικῷ προστάγματι καὶ πάσῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελιωθεῖσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκολουθῆσαι, μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὑπονοίαις πειθώμεθα, μῆδὲ τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπορρίψαντες τὴν χλιαρὰν καὶ ἀπιστον γνώμην, ἀναλάβωμεν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· οὕτω γὰρ δυνησόμεθα καὶ τοῖς τῶν πατέρων ἴχνησιν ἀκολουθῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ κοινοβίου μηδέποτε ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἀποτάξασθαι τοῦτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

Καλὸν δὲ ἐναυθα καὶ λόγου ἀγίων πατέρων ἐπιμνησθῆναι. Φέρεται τοῖνυν τοῦ ἀγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου πρὸς τινα συγκλητικὸν χλιαρῶς ἀποταξάμενον καὶ παρακατασχόντα τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ῥῆμα τοιοῦτον· καὶ τὸν συγκλητικὸν ἀπώλεσας, καὶ μοναχὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας.

Χρεῖα τοῖνυν ἡμῖν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ἐκκόπτειν ἐκ τῆς ἡμέτερας ψυχῆς τὴν ρίζαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία, ἀσφαλῶς γινώσκουσιν, ὅτι μενούσης τῆς ρίζης εὐχερῶς οἱ κλάδοι φύονται, τὴν δὲ ἀρετὴν ταύτην κατορθῶσαι δύσκολον μὴ ἐν κοινοβίῳ διάγοντας· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρεῶν ἀμεριμνοῦμεν. Τὴν κατάκρισιν τοῖνυν Ἄνανιου καὶ Σαπφείρας πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχοντες, φρίξωμεν καταλιμπάνειν ἑαυτοῖς τί τῆς παλαιᾶς περιουσίας. Ὁμοίως τοῦ Γιεζὶ φοβηθῶμεν τὸ παράδειγμα, τοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλαργυρίαν αἰωνία λέπρα παραδοθέντος, καὶ φυλαξάμεθα μὴ συναθροίζειν

ἐαυτοῖς χρήματα ἄπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶχομεν. Ἔτι μὴν, τοῦ Ἰουδα λογιζόμενοι τὴν δι' ἀγχόνης τελευτήν, φοβηθῶμέν ἀναλαμβάνειν τί ποτε ὦν ἀποτασσ(ό)μενοι κατεφρονήσαμεν. Ἐπὶ πάντιν τούτοις, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχ(ω)μεν ἀεὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ ἀδηλον, μὴ ποτε ἐν ὥρᾳ ἢ οὐ προσδοκῶμεν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος καὶ εὕρη ἐσπιλωμένον τὸ ἡμέτερον συνειδὸς καὶ ἐρεῖ ἡμῖν ὅπερ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐρ(β)έθη τῷ πλουσίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ· ἄφρων, ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ αἴρουσιν τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἀ δὲ ἡτοίμασας τίτιν ἔσται;

χρήματα ἑαυτοῖς, ἄπερ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πολλαί- κες εἶχομεν, ἔτι μὴν, τὴν τοῦ Ἰουδα λογιζόμενοι δι' ἀγχόνης τελευτήν. Φοβηθῶμεν τοίνυν τι, ὦν ἀποτασσόμενοι κατεφρονήσαμεν.

Ἐπὶ πάσι τούτοις πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχωμεν τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἀδηλον, μὴ ποτε ἐν ὥρᾳ ἢ οὐ προσδοκῶμεν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ εὕρη ἐσπιλωμένον τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ τὸ ἡμέτερον συνειδὸς καὶ ἐρεῖ ἡμῖν ἄπερ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐρβέθη τῷ πλουσίῳ ἐκεῖνῳ· τὴν ψυχὴν σου αἴρουσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ· ἀ δὲ ἡτοίμασας τίτιν ἔσται; ἰτέον δὲ ὅθεν ἐξέβη- μεν.³

Cassian quoted in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 244.

Περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Κασσιανοῦ.

ἀ'. Διηγῆατο ὁ ἀββᾶς Κασσιανός, ὅτι Παρεβάλομεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Γερμανός εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πρὸς τινα γέροντα. Καὶ φιλοξενήσας ἡμᾶς ἠρωτήθη παρ' ἡμῶν· Τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τῶν ξένων ἀδελφῶν, τὸν κανόνα τῆς νηστείας ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ παρελάβομεν, οὐ φυλάττετε; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη λέγων· Ἡ νηστεία πάντοτε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν· ὑμᾶς δὲ κατέχειν πάντοτε μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ οὐ δύναμαι· καὶ ἡ μὲν νηστεία καὶ χρήσιμόν ἐστι πράγμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, τῆς ἡμετέρας δὲ ἐστὶ προαιρέσεως· τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης πλήρωσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμος. Ἐν ὑμῖν οὖν δεχόμενος τὸν Χριστόν, χρεωστῶ μετὰ πάσης θεραπεῦσαι σπουδῆς. Ἐπὶ δὲ ὑμᾶς προπέμψω, τὸν κανόνα τῆς νηστείας δύναμαι ἀνακτήσασθαι. Οὐ δύναται γὰρ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος νηστεύειν, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ὅταν δὲ ἀρθῇ ὁ νυμφίος, τότε μετ' ἐξουσίας νηστεύουσιν. [Cf. Matt. 9:15; Mark 1:19].

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 244:

γ'. Εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι Παρεβάλομεν ἐτέρῳ γέροντι καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι. Προετρέπετο δὲ ἡμᾶς κορεσθέντας, ἔτι μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς. Ἐμοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος μηκέτι δύνασθαι, ἀπεκρίθη· Ἐγὼ ἐξάκις παραγενομένων ἀδελφῶν τράπεζαν ἔθηκα, καὶ προτρεπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον συνή-

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 10–16), 13.2.

Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανός, ὅτι· Παρεβάλομεν ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πρὸς τινα γέροντα. Καὶ φιλοξενήσας ἡμᾶς ἠρωτήθη παρ' ἡμῶν· Τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τῶν ξένων ἀδελφῶν τὸν κανόνα τῆς νηστείας ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ παρελάβομεν, οὐ φυλάττετε; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη λέγων· Ἡ νηστεία πάντοτε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν, ὑμᾶς δὲ πάντοτε κατέχειν μετ' ἐμοῦ οὐ δύναμαι· καὶ ἡ μὲν νηστεία εἰ καὶ χρήσιμόν ἐστι πράγμα καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐστὶ προαιρέσεως· τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης πλήρωσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόμος. Ἐνα οὖν ἐξ ὑμῶν δεξάμενος, τὸν Χριστόν ὡς χρεωστῆς θεραπεύω μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς. Ἐπὶ δὲ προπέμψω ὑμᾶς, τὸν κανόνα τῆς νηστείας δύναμαι ἀνακτήσασθαι. Οὐ δύναται γὰρ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος νηστεύειν, ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ὅταν δὲ ἀρθῇ ὁ νυμφίος, τότε μετ' ἐξουσίας νηστεύουσιν. [Cf. Matt. 9:15; Mark 1:19].

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 10–16), 13.2:

Εἶπε πάλιν ὅτι· Παρεβάλομεν ἐτέρῳ γέροντι καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς γεύσασθαι. Προετρέπετο δὲ ἡμᾶς κορεσθέντας ἔτι μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς. Ἐμοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος μηκέτι δύνασθαι, ἀπεκρίθη· Ἐγὼ ἐξάκις παραγενομένων ἀδελφῶν τράπεζαν ἔθηκα, καὶ προτρεπόμενος ἕκαστον συνήσθιον αὐτοῖς

³ Which means that these words of Cassian were regarded as a digression.

σθιον, και ἀκμὴν πεινώ. Τοῦτο δὲ σὺ ἄπαξ φαγῶν οὕτως ἐκορέσθης, ὥστε μηκέτι φαγεῖν δύνασθαι;

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 244:

δ'. Διηγήσατο πάλιν ὁ αὐτός, ὅτι Παρέβαλεν ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης ἀνθρωπος κοινοβίου ἡγουμένος μεγάλου, τῷ ἀββᾷ Παησίῳ, ἐν ἀκροτάτῃ ἐρήμῳ διάγοντι ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ὡς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὴν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης παρρησίαν εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Τί ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ οὕτως ἀναχωρῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπου ταχέως ὀχλούμενος κατῶρθωσας; Ὁ δὲ φησιν· Ἄφ' οὐ ἐμόνασα, οὐδὲ ποτέ με εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐσθίοντα. Εἶπε δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἰωάννης· Οὐδὲ ἐμὲ ὀργίζομενον.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 245:

ε'. Τοῦτον τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἰωάννην περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ὄντα, καὶ ἐκδημιούνα προθύμως καὶ ἰλαρῶς πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, ἐκύκλωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοί, ἀξιούντες λόγον τινὰ σύντομον καὶ σωτήριον ἐν κλήρου τάξει καταλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς, δι' οὗ δυνήσονται ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τελειότητος. Ὁ δὲ στενάξας ἔφη· Οὐδέποτε ἐποίησα τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα· οὐδὲ τινα ἐδίδαξα, ὅπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐποίησα.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 245:

ζ'. Εἶπε πάλιν, ὅτι Συγκλητικός τις ἀποταξάμενος, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχοντα πένησι διαδοῦς, παρακατέσχε τινὰ εἰς ἴδιαν ἀπόκλασιν, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς τελείας ἀποταγῆς ἀναδέξασθαι ταπεινοφροσύνην, καὶ τὴν γνησίαν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβιακοῦ κανόνος. Πρὸς δὲ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος λόγον ἀπεφθέγγετο τοιοῦτον· Καὶ τὸν συγκλητικὸν ἀπόλεσας, καὶ μοναχὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), p. 244:

ς'. Διηγήσατο πάλιν περὶ ἐτέρου γέροντος ἐν ἐρήμῳ καθεζομένου, ὅτι παρεκάλεσε τὸν Θεὸν χαρίσασθαι αὐτῷ, ὥστε μηδέποτε νυστάξει αὐτὸν κινουμένης ὀμιλίας πνευματικῆς· εἰ δὲ τις καταλαλιάς ἢ ἀργολογίας λόγους ἐπιφέρει, εὐθὺς εἰς ὕπνον καταφέρεισθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἰοῦ τοιοῦτου γεύσωνται αἱ ἀκοαὶ αὐτοῦ. Οὗτος δὲ ἔλεγε, τὸν διάβολον σπουδαστὴν εἶναι τῆς ἀργολογί-

καὶ ἀκμὴν πεινώ. Τοῦτο δὲ σὺ ἄπαξ τοῦτο φαγῶν, οὕτως ἐκορέσθης, ὥστε μηκέτι φαγεῖν δύναμενος;

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9), 4.26:

Διηγήσατο ἀββᾶς Κασιανὸς περὶ τινος ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου γενομένου ἡγουμένου μοναχῶν ὅτι παρέβαλε τῷ ἀββᾷ Ἀρσενίῳ ἐν ἀκροτάτῃ ἐρήμῳ διάγοντι ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ ὡς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης παρρησίαν, ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων· Τί ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ οὕτως ἀναχωρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ταχέως ὀχλούμενος κατῶρθωσας; Ὁ δὲ φησιν· Ἄφ' οὐ ἐμόνασα οὐδέποτε με εἶδεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐσθίοντα. Εἶπε δὲ καὶ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννης· Οὐδὲ ἐμὲ ὀργίζομενον.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9), 1.15:

Διηγήσατο ἀββᾶς Κασιανὸς περὶ τινος ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου κοινοβιάρχου ὅτι μέγας ἦν τῷ βίῳ. Τοῦτον, φησί, τελευταῖαν μέλλοντα καὶ ἐκδημιούνα ἰλαρῶς καὶ προθύμως πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐκύκλωσαν οἱ ἀδελφοί ἀξιούντες λόγον τινὰ σύντομον καὶ σωτήριον ἐν κλήρου τάξει καταλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς, δι' οὗ δυνήσονται ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τελειότητος. Ὁ δὲ στενάξας φησὶ· Οὐδέποτε ἐποίησα τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα, οὐδὲ τινα ἐδίδαξα ὅπερ πρότερον οὐκ ἐποίησα ἐγώ.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9), 6.14:

Εἶπεν ἀββᾶς Κασιανὸς ὅτι συγκλητικός τις ἀποταξάμενος καὶ διαδοῦς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρήματα πένησι παρακατέσχε τινὰ εἰς ἴδιαν ἀπόκλασιν, μὴ βουλόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς τελείας ἀκτημοσύνης ἀναδέξασθαι ταπεινοφροσύνην καὶ τὴν γνησίαν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβιακοῦ κανόνος. Πρὸς δὲ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος λόγον ἀπεφθέγγετο τοιοῦτον· Καὶ τὸ συγκλητικὸν ἀπόλεσας, καὶ μοναχὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 10–16), 11.48:

Διηγήσατο πάλιν περὶ τινος γέροντος ἐν ἐρήμῳ καθεζομένου ὅτι παρεκάλεσε τὸν Θεὸν χαρίσασθαι αὐτῷ, ὥστε μηδέποτε νυστάξει αὐτὸν κινουμένης ὀμιλίας πνευματικῆς· εἰ δὲ τις καταλαλιάς ἢ ἀργολογίας λόγους ἐπιφέρειν πειρασθῆ, εὐθὺς εἰς ὕπνον καταφέρεισθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἰοῦ τοιοῦτου γεύσωνται αἱ ἀκοαὶ αὐτοῦ. Οὗτος δὲ ἔλεγε τὸν διάβολον σπουδαστὴν μὲν εἶ-

ας, πολέμιον δὲ πάσης διδασκαλίας πνευματικῆς· τοιοῦτω χρώμενος ὑποδείγματι· Λαλοῦντος γάρ μου, φησί, περὶ ὠφελείας πρὸς τινὰς ἀδελφοὺς, τοσοῦτω ὑπνω βαθεῖ κατεσχέθησαν, ὥστε μήτε τὰ βλέφαρα κινεῖν δύνασθαι. Ἐγὼ οὖν θέλων δεῖξαι τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἐνέργειαν, λόγον ἀργολογίας παρεισήνεγκα· ἐφ' ᾧ χαρέντες παραχρήμα διένηψαν. Στενάξας δὲ εἶπον· Μέχρι τοῖνυν περὶ οὐρανίων πραγμάτων διελεγόμεθα, πάντων ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῷ ὑπνω συνείχοντο· ἡνίκα δὲ λόγος ἀργὸς ἐβῆ, πάντες μετὰ προθυμίας διανέστητε. Διό, ἀδελφοί, παρακαλῶ, ἐπίγνωτε τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς προσέχετε, φυλαττόμενοι τὸν νυσταγμὸν, ἡνίκα τι ποιεῖτε πνευματικόν, ἢ ἀκούετε.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrum*:

71^v Καὶ ὅπως τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην ἀκριβεστέραν καὶ ἀπὸ παραδείγματος μάθ(η)τ(ε), τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνος ἔργον, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος συνεχῶς τοῖς παραβάλλουσι φυλακῆς χάριν προέφευρεν, διηγῆσομαι.

Φησὶν οὖν οὗτος, ὅταν ὑπῆρχον νε(ώ)τερος καὶ συνήμενον ἀββᾶ Θε(ω)νᾶ, ὡς ἡσθίσιμον, ἀνιστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς | κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δαίμονος ἔκλεπτον παξάμαν καὶ τοῦτον ἔτρ(ω)γον λάθρα τοῦ ἀββᾶ μου. Ὡς οὖν ἔμεινα τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον κατακυριευθεὶς, οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἑαυτὸν περιγενέσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐκρινόμην ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας συνειδήσεως, τῷ δὲ γέροντι (ἢ) σιχυνόμην εἰπεῖν. Συνέβη δὲ κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ τοῦ φιλανθρ(ώ)που ἔλθειν τινὰς πρὸς τὸν γέροντα ὠφελείας χάριν καὶ ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων λογισμῶν. Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ γέροντος ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως βλάπτει τοὺς μοναχοὺς καὶ χαροποιεῖ τοὺς δαίμονας ὡς τὸ κρῦπτειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ πνευματικῶν πατέρων. Ἐλάλησε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας. Τούτων δὲ λεγομένων, εἰς ἑμαυτὸν ἔλθ(ω)ν καὶ λογισάμενος ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ γέροντι τ(δ) πταίσμα μου, κατανυ-

72^v γεις | ἠρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐξέβαλον τὸν παξάμαν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου, ὃν κακῶς εἴωθα κλέπτειν, ρίψας δὲ ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἤθουν συ(γ)γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρελθόντων καὶ εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν μελλόντων. Τότε λέγει ὁ γέροντος ὦ τέκνον, ἤλευθέρωσέν σε καὶ ἐμοῦ σιωπῶντος ἢ σὴ ἐξομολόγησις καὶ τὸν τιτρώσκοντά σε δαίμονα διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ἐξείπων τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔσφαξας, ὃν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατακυριεῖσ(αί) σου ἐποίησας, μήτε ἀντιλέγων μήτε

ναὶ τῆς ἀργολογίας, πολέμιον δὲ πάσης διδασκαλίας πνευματικῆς, τοιοῦτω χρώμενος ὑποδείγματι· Λαλοῦντος γάρ μου, φησί, περὶ ὠφελείας πρὸς τινὰς ἀδελφοὺς τοσοῦτω κατεσχέθησαν ὑπνω βαθεῖ, ὥστε μηδὲ τὰ βλέφαρα δύνασθαι κινεῖν. Ἐγὼ δὲ θέλων δεῖξαι τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἐνέργειαν λόγον ἀργίας παρεισήνεγκα ἐφ' ᾧ χαρέντες παραχρήμα ἀνένηψαν. Καὶ εἶπον· Μέχρι τοῦ νῦν περὶ οὐρανίων πραγμάτων διελεγόμεθα καὶ πάντων ὑμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῷ ὑπνω συνείχοντο· ἡνίκα δὲ λόγος ἀργὸς ἐβῆ, πάντες μετὰ προθυμίας διανέστητε. Διό, ἀγαπητοί, παρακαλῶ, ἐπίγνόντες τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος τὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ ἑαυτοῖς προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς φυλαττόμενοι τὸν νυσταγμὸν, ἡνίκα τι ποιεῖτε πνευματικόν ἢ ἀκούετε.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1-9), 4.27:

Εἶπε πάλιν ὅτι διηγῆσατο ἡμῖν ἀββᾶ Μωϋῆσος περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνος εἰπόντος ὅτι·

ἽΟτε ἤμην νεώτερος καὶ ἐκαθήμην μετὰ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεωνᾶ, ὡς ἡσθίσιμον ἀνιστάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν ἔκλεπτον παξάμαν, καὶ τοῦτον ἔτρωγον λάθρα τοῦ ἀββᾶ μου. Ὡς οὖν ἔμεινα τοῦτο ποιῶν ἐπὶ χρόνον, κατακυριευθεὶς οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἑμαυτοῦ περιγενέσθαι, μόνον δὲ ἐκρινόμην ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας συνειδήσεως καὶ τῷ γέροντι εἰπεῖν ἡσυχνόμην. Συνέβη δὲ κατ' οἰκονομίαν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ τινὰς ἔλθειν πρὸς τὸν γέροντα ὠφελείας χάριν καὶ ἠρώτων αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων λογισμῶν. Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ γέροντος ὅτι· Οὐδὲν οὕτως βλάπτει τοὺς μοναχοὺς καὶ χαροποιεῖ τοὺς δαίμονας ὡς τὸ κρῦπτειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πνευματικῶν πατέρων. Ἐλάλησε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ ἐγκρατείας. Τούτων δὲ λεγομένων λογισάμενος ἐγὼ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἐπληροφόρησε τὸν γέροντα περὶ ἐμοῦ, κατανυγεις ἠρξάμην κλαίειν καὶ ἐξέβαλον τὸν παξάμαν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου ὃν κακῶς εἴωθον κλέπτειν ρίψας δὲ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ἤθουν συγνώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν παρελθόντων καὶ εὐχὴν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῶν μελλόντων. Τότε λέγει ὁ γέροντος ὦ τέκνον, καὶ ἐμοῦ σιωπῶντος τῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας ταύτης ἢ σὴ ἐξομολόγησις ἤλευθέρωσε καὶ τὸν τιτρώσκοντά σε δαίμονα διὰ τῆς σιωπῆς ἐξείπων τὰ κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔσφαξας, κἂν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατακυριεῖσαι σου ἐποίησας, μήτε ἀντιλέγων μήτε διελέγων αὐτὸν, οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ

ἐλέγχων αὐτόν. Οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τόπον ἔξει ἐν σοί, ἐκ τῆς καρδίας σου εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐξενεχθείς. Οὕτω δὲ συνετέλεσεν ὁ γέρον λαλῶν, καὶ ἰδοῦ, ἡ ἐνέργεια ὠφθη ὡς λαμπὰς πυρὸς ἐξερχομένη ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τὸν οἶκον δυσωδίας, | ὥστε νομίζειν τοὺς παρεστῶτας ὅτι πλήθος θεαφίου ἐστὶ καϊόμενον. Τότε εἶπεν ὁ γέρον· Ἴδε, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς σῆς ἐλευθερώσεως παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἀπόδειξι(ν) διὰ τοῦ γενομένου σημείου.

Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum*:

73^v Ὁ Μωσῆς εἶπεν: Καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ, καθ' ἃ προεῖπον, μὴ ἀποκρύπτειν τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· οὐ μὲντοι τοῖς τυχοῦσιν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ γέρουσιν πνευματικοῖς καὶ διακρι(τ)τικοῖς τούτους ἐξαγγέλειν. Οὐχὶ τοῖς διὰ χρόνον μόνον πεπολιωμένοις, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποβλέποντες ἀντὶ θεραπείας εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀκούοντος περιέπεσ(ο)ν.

Ἦν γὰρ τις ἀδελφὸς τῶν πάνυ σπουδαίων καὶ σφοδρῶς ὀχληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορν(ε)ίας ἦλθεν πρὸς τινὰ γέροντα καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτ(ῶ) τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς. Ἐκείνος δὲ ἀκούσας, ἀπειροῦ ὢν, ἀγανακτῶν ἄθλιον ἔλεγεν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ὡς τοιοῦτο(ις) δε(ι)δεμένον λογισμο(ι)ς.

74^v Ταῦτα οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀπογνοῦς ἑαυτο(ῦ) καὶ καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον τόπον, ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐπανήρχετο. Κατὰ δὲ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῶ ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀπολλῶς, τῶν γερόντων ὁ δοκιμώτατος. Καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸν τεταραγμένον καὶ πάνυ σκυθρωπάζοντα ἠρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων: Τέκνον, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης συγν(ό)τητος; Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἀθυμίας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίθη. Ὑστερον δὲ πολλὰ παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξείπεν λέγων ὅτι λογισμοὶ πορν(ε)ίας ὀχλοῦσίν μοι καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀνήγγειλα τῷδε τῷ γέροντι καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν μοι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· ἀπογνοῦς οὖν ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον. |

75^v Ταῦτα ὁ πατήρ Ἀπο(λ)λῶς ἀκούσας, πολλὰ παρεκάλει καὶ ἐνουθέτ(ε) αὐτὸν λέγων: Μὴ ξεν(ι)ζου, τέκνον, μηδὲ ἀφελπίσης (σ)εαυτόν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ πολιᾷ σφόδρα ὑπὸ τούτων ὀχλοῦμαι τῶν λογισμῶ(ν). Μὴ οὖν ἀθυμῆσθ ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ πυρώσει, ἥτις οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀνθρωπίνῃ σπουδῇ θεραπεύεται ὅσον

νῦν τόπον ἔξει ἐν σοί ἐκ τῆς σῆς καρδίας ἐξενεχθείς. Οὕτω δὲ συνετέλεσε λαλῶν ὁ γέρον καὶ ἰδοῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια ὠφθη ὡς λαμπὰς πυρὸς ἐξερχομένη ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου, καὶ ἐπλήρωσε τὸν οἶκον δυσωδίας ὡς νομίζειν τοὺς παρόντας ὅτι πλήθος θεαφίου ἐστὶ τὸ καϊόμενον. Τότε οὖν εἶπεν ὁ γέρον· Ἴδε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς σῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἀπόδειξιν διὰ τοῦ γενομένου σημείου.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1-9), 5.4:

Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανὸς ὅτι· Ἐλεγεν ἡμῖν ἀββᾶ Μωϋσῆς: Καλὸν ἐστὶ μὴ ἀποκρύπτειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἀλλὰ γέρουσι πνευματικοῖς καὶ διακριτικοῖς ἐξαγγέλλειν αὐτοὺς, οὐχὶ τοῖς διὰ χρόνον μόνον πεπολιωμένοις, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποβλέποντες καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐξειπόντες ἀντὶ θεραπείας εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀκούοντος περιέπεσον. Ἦν γὰρ τις ἀδελφὸς τῶν πάνυ σπουδαίων καὶ σφοδρῶς ὀχληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς πορνείας ἦλθε πρὸς τινὰ γέροντα καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτῶ τοὺς ἰδίους λογισμοὺς. Ἐκείνος δὲ ἀκούσας, ἀπειροῦ ὢν, ἀγανακτῶν ἄθλιον ἀπεκάλει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ὡς τοιοῦτους δεξάμενον λογισμοὺς.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἀδελφός ἀπογνοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καταλείψας τὸν ἴδιον κελίον ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀπήρχετο. Κατὰ δὲ Θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῶ ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶς. Καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τεταραγμένον καὶ πάνυ σκυθρωπάζοντα ἠρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων· Τέκνον, τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης συγνότητος; Ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἀθυμίας οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη οὐδέν. Ὑστερον δὲ πολλὰ παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ γέροντος τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξείπε λέγων ὅτι· Λογισμοὶ πορνείας ὀχλοῦσί μοι καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀνήγγειλα τῷδε τῷ γέροντι καὶ κατὰ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστι μοι σωτηρίας ἐλπίς· ἀπογνοῦς οὖν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ πατήρ Ἀπολλῶς ὡς σοφὸς ἱατρός παρεκάλει πολλὰ καὶ ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν λέγων· Μὴ ξενίζου, τέκνον, μηδὲ ἀπελπίσης ἑαυτόν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ πολιᾷ, σφόδρα ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν λογισμῶν ὀχλοῦμαι. Μὴ οὖν ἀθυμῆσθ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πυρώσει ἥτις οὐ τοσοῦτον ἀνθρωπίνῃ σπουδῇ ὅσον ἐλέει Θεοῦ

τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπία. Μόνον δὲ τῆ(ν) σήμερον χάρισαι μοι καὶ ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸν τόπον σου. Ἐποίησεν δὲ ὁ ἀδελφός οὕτως. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀββάς Ἄπο(λ)λῶς ἐπορεύθ(η) εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ ἀπαγορευθέντος τὸν ἀδελφόν γέροντος. Καὶ στὰς ἕξω ἐδεήθη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ δακρῶν λέγων· Κύριε, ὁ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπάγων, μετástρεψον τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς τὸν γέροντα, ἵνα
76^τ διὰ πείρας | εἰς τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ μάθῃ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ οὐκ ἐδιδάχθη, ὅπως συμπάσχ(η) τοῖς πολεμουμένοις.

Ἦς δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐτέλεσεν, ὁρᾷ Αἰθί(ο)πα στ(ή)-κοντα πλησίον τοῦ κελλίου καὶ βέλη ἀφιέντα κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος, ὑφ' ὧν τρωθεὶς εὐθὺς ὡς ἐκ μέθης ὠδε κακείσε περιεφέρετο. Μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ καρτερῆσαι, ἐξελθὼν τοῦ κελλίου τῆ αὐτῆ ὁδῷ ἦ καὶ (ὁ νε)ώτερος ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐχώρει. Ὁ δὲ ἀββάς Ἄπο(λ)λῶς νοήσας τὸ γεγον(ὸς) ὑπήνησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσελθὼν λέγει· Πού πορεύῃ; τίς δὲ ἡ αἰτία ταύτης τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταραχῆς; Αἰσηθῆεις δὲ ὅτι ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν τῷ ἀγίῳ, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν. Εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀββάς Ἄπο(λ)λῶς· Ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου, καὶ τοῦ λ(οι)ποῦ ἐπίγνωθι τὴν ἀσθέν(ε)ῖαν σου | καὶ ἔχε σεαυτὸν ἢ ἀγνοηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ καὶ καταφρονηθέντα· δι' ὃ οὐκ ἤξι(ώ)θης κατὰ τοὺς σπουδαίους τῆς πρὸς αὐτ(ὸ)ν πάλης. Τί δὲ λέγω πάλης; Προσβολὴν αὐτοῦ ἕως μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐνεγκεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθης. Τοῦτο δέ σοι συνέβη ὅτι νεώτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐχθροῦ πολεμούμενον δεξάμενος, ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλείψαι εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐνέβαλες, μὴ λογ(ι)σάμενος τὸ σοφὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγγελμα τὸ λέγ(ο)ν· Ῥῦσαι ἀγ(ο)μένους εἰς θάνατον καὶ ἐκπρί(ου)κτε(ι)νομένους μὴ φ(ε)ῖσ(η), ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν λέγουσαν κάλαμον τεθλασμένον μὴ συντριβ(ε)ῖν καὶ λίνον καπνίζόμενον μὴ σβεννύειν. Οὐδεὶς γάρ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἠδύνατο (ἂν) φέρειν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, ἀλλ'
77^τ οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς | φύσεως βρασμὸν σβέσαι, εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐφρούρ(ε)ι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν.

Τοιγαροῦν συμπληρωθ(ε)ῖς τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σωτηριώδους ταύτης οἰκονομίας, κοινὰς εὐχαῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύσωμεν, ὅπως καὶ τὴν κατὰ σοῦ ἀφειθεῖσαν μάστιγα παραγάγῃ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν· ἔπ(αι)σεν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἰάσαντο· ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ· θανατοὶ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, κατὰγει εἰς ἄδου καὶ ἀνάγει. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπευξάμενος παραχρήμα τοῦ ἐπε-

θεραπεύεται. Μόνον τὴν σήμερον χάρισαι μοι καὶ ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου. Ἐποίησε δὲ ὁ ἀδελφός οὕτως. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀββά Ἀπολλῶς ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ κελλίον τοῦ γέροντος τοῦ ἀπαγορευθέντος τὸν ἀδελφόν. Καὶ στὰς ἕξω ἐδεήθη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ δακρῶν λέγων· Κύριε, ὁ τοὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπάγων, μετástρεψον τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς τὸν γέροντα τοῦτον ἵνα πειρασθῆ εἰς τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ (τοῦ) μαθεῖν ὅπερ ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ οὐκ ἐδιδάχθη, ἵνα συμπάσχῃ τοῖς πολεμουμένοις.

Ἦς δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐτέλεσεν, ὁρᾷ Αἰθί(ο)πα στή-κοντα πλησίον τοῦ κελλίου καὶ βέλη ἀφιέντα κατὰ τοῦ γέροντος ὑφ' ὧν τρωθεὶς εὐθὺς ὡς ἐκ μέθης ὠδε κακείσε περιεφέρετο. Μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ καρτερῆσαι, ἐξελθὼν τοῦ κελλίου αὐτῆ τῆ ὁδῷ ἦ καὶ ὁ νεώτερος ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐχώρει. Ὁ δὲ ἀββά Ἀπολλῶς νοήσας τὸ γεγον(ὸς) ὑπήνησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσελθὼν λέγει· Πού πορεύεις; καὶ τίς ἡ αἰτία τῆς κατεχούσης σε ταραχῆς; Αἰδεσθεῖς δὲ ὅτι ἐγνώσθη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀββά Ἀπολλῶς· Ὑπόστρεψον εἰς τὸ κελλίον σου, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπίγνωθι τὴν ἀσθένειάν σου καὶ ἔχε σεαυτὸν ἢ ἀγνοηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ καὶ καταφρονηθέντα· διὸ οὐδὲ ἠξιώθης τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν πάλης κατὰ τοὺς σπουδαίους. Τί δὲ λέγω πάλης; Προσβολὴν αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ ἕως μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐνεγκεῖν ἠδυνήθης. Τοῦτο δέ σοι συνέβη ὅτι νεώτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐχθροῦ πολεμούμενον δεξάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἀγῶνα ἐπαλείψαι εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐνέβαλες, μὴ λογισάμενος τὸ σοφὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγγελμα τὸ λέγον· Ῥῦσαι ἀγομένους εἰς θάνατον καὶ ἐκπρίνο κτεινομένους μὴ φείσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν παραβολὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ τὴν λέγουσαν κάλαμον τεθλασμένον μὴ συντριβεῖν καὶ λίνον καπνίζόμενον μὴ σβεννύειν. Οὐδεὶς γάρ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναται τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς φύσεως βρασμὸν σβέσαι ἢ ἐπισχεῖν εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν.

Τοιγαροῦν πληρωθεῖς τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς σωτηριώδους ταύτης οἰκονομίας, κοινὰς εὐχαῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἱκετεύσωμεν ὅπως καὶ τὴν κατὰ σοῦ ἀφειθεῖσαν μάστιγα παραγάγῃ. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖ καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστησιν, ἔπαισε καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἰάσαντο· ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυψοῖ· θανατοὶ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, κατὰγει εἰς Ἄδου καὶ ἀνάγει. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπευξάμενος παραχρήμα τοῦ ἐπε-

επενεχθέντος αὐτῷ πολέμου ἀπήλλαξεν, παραινέσας αὐτῷ αἰτεῖν παρὰ Θεοῦ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ γλώσσαν παιδείας τοῦ γνῶναι ἐν καιρῷ ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον.

Pseudo-Caesarius, *Questiones et Responsiones*, chapters 53 & 54 (ref. to Gen. 1:2):

[Πεῦσις ΝΓ]

Ὁ ἀήρ πότε ἐγένετο; μὴ καὶ τοῦτον ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Σολομὼν ἔγραψεν;

[Ἀπόκρισις]

Ἄκουε δὴ Μωσέως φάσκοντος· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος· συμφώνως δὲ τοῦτω ὁ Ἄμω· κύριος στερεῶν βροντῆν καὶ κτιζῶν πνεῦμα.

[Πεῦσις ΝΔ]

Ἄλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λέγει, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος μᾶλλον εἴρητο ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο λέγομεν εἶναι ἢ προσαγορεύεσθαι πνεῦμα πλὴν τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα.

[Ἀπόκρισις]

Δέος μοι τῇ κτίσει συνκαταριθμησαί τὸ ἄκτιστον· πλὴν ὅμως οὐκ ἀναιρῶν τὸ εἰρημένον δέχομαι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως καὶ θεοπρεπῶς νοούμενον, ἐπιφέρεσθαι τοῖς ὕδασι πρὸς ζωογονίαν αὐτὰ συνθάλλοντος δίκην ἐπαζούσης ὄρνιθος, ζωτικὴν τινα δύναμιν ἐνιέντος τοῖς ὑποθαλαπόμενοις ὕδασι πρὸς τὸ ἐκβράσαι τὰ ἄπειρα τῶν ἰχθύων γένη.

Cassian, Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Leontium Hegumenum Contributio Sereni Abbatis Prima*:

82f Ὅταν δὲ τῆ πολυχρονίῳ ἀσκήσει καὶ μελέτῃ 82v | τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐν ἔξει γένηται τῶν καλῶν καὶ μάθῃ ποίας τῆ ἰδία μνήμῃ ὕλας ὀφείλει προσπαρασκευάζειν, τότε ἰσχύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὰς προσβολὰς εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀκόπως ἀποκρούεσθαι. Οὐ χρ(ῆ) τοῖνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας καρδίας τὸν μετεωρισμὸν ἢ τῆ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἢ τῷ ταύτης κτίστῃ Θεῷ ἐπιγράφειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς προαιρέσεως ραθυμία.

νεχθέντος αὐτῷ πολέμου ἀπήλλαξεν, παραινέσας τε αὐτῷ αἰτεῖν δοθῆναι αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ γλώσσαν παιδείας τοῦ γνῶναι ἐν καιρῷ ἡνίκα δεῖ εἰπεῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

Photius (?), *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, Epistle 16, lines 15–33:

Δῆλον δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ ἀήρ ... ἂν ἐτύγχανεν ὀρατὸς ... διὰ τοῦτο ἄρα ὁ Μωσῆς τὸν ἀέρα εἰδὼς τῷ ὕδατι ἐποχοούμενον τὸ ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου σκότος ὠνόμασεν· τῆς γὰρ φωτιζούσης ἀυγῆς διὰ τῆς ἀερίου φύσεως οὐ διικνουμένης (οὐπω γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ πηγάζον ταύτην εἶχεν τὴν ὑπαρξιν) οὕτε αὐτὸν ὀρατὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα, πολλῶν δὲ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ τὴν ἀβύσσον, ἐφ' ἧς ὠχεῖτο τὸ ἀέριον πνεῦμα, ἐνεδέχετο· διὸ καὶ σκότος εἰκότως ὀνομάζεται. τὸ γὰρ λέγειν τὸ θεῖον εἶναι πνεῦμα τὸ τῇ ἀβύσσῳ ἐπιφερόμενον μήποτε καὶ περιγραφῆν τοῦ ἀπεριγράπτου συνείσαγει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων οἷς οὐκ ἐπεφέρετο τὴν θεῖαν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐποψίαν συστέλλει· ἴσως δ' οὐκ ἂν εἶη οὐδὲ θεολογίας ἐπάξιον ἐν τῇ κτίσεως καταβολῇ τῇ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ μακαριᾷ φύσει, ἦτοι τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι, χώραν ἐκνέμειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Σύρα γλώσσα τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα τοῖς ὕδασι ἐποχεῖσθαι βούλεται καὶ οἶον ἐπιφάσει ταῦτα καὶ ζωογονεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἀγνοίην· ἀρκεῖν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοις εἰδέναι τέως τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ δύναιντο, ζωογόνου τε καὶ δημιουργικῆς ὑπάρχειν οὐσίας καὶ δυνάμεως.

... πνεῦμα δὲ θεοῦ ὁ ἀήρ εἴρηται, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, οἷα δὴ κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα αὐτοῦ. ... καὶ εἶη ἂν εἰρημένον πνεῦμα θεοῦ, ἐν ἴσῳ τῷ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· κάκεινα γὰρ θεοῦ ὡς ποιήματα, καὶ τοῦτο ὁμοίως κτίσμα καὶ ποίημα αὐτοῦ, διὸ καλῶς εἴρηται πνεῦμα θεοῦ.

Anastasius of Sinai,⁴ *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, PG.89.404.44–52:

Ὅταν γὰρ τῇ πολυχρονίῳ ἀσκήσει καὶ μελέτῃ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐν ἔξει γένηται τις τῶν καλῶν, καὶ μάθῃ ποίας τῆ ἰδία μνήμῃ ἡμᾶς ὀφείλει παρασκευάζειν, τότε ἰσχύσει τοῦ πολέμου τὰς προσβολὰς εὐκόλως ἀποκρούσασθαι. Οὐ χρῆ τοῖνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας καρδίας τὸν μετεωρισμὸν, ἢ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει, ἢ τῷ ταύτης κτίστῃ Θεῷ ἀπογράφειν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς προαιρέσεως ραθυμιά.

⁴ Anastasius copies from Cassian, yet he ascribes this passage not to Cassian himself, but to Serenus (Σερίνου), the hermit-personage staged by Cassian.

APPENDIX II

GREEK REFERENCES TO CASSIAN

John Climacus (sixth–seventh cent.), *Scala Paradisi*, chapter 4, col. 717: ἐκ ταπεινώσεως διάκρισις, ὡς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κασσιανῷ ἐν τῷ περὶ διακρίσεως αὐτοῦ λόγῳ πεφιλοσόφηται κάλλιστά τε καὶ ὑψηλότατα.

Doctrina Patrum (seventh–eighth cent.), p. 242: Κασσιανοῦ λόγοι γ' στίχοι γτ'. (Reference to Cassian's work comprising 3300 verses, which are as many as those in the *Metamorphosis*, *Meteora*, Codex 573).

Theodore Studites (eighth–ninth cent.), *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, Catechesis 66, p. 186: Οὐκ ὄρατε ὅτι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Κασσιανῷ γέγραπται; (Ref. to Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Canonicis Occidentalis et Aegyptionis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus*, p. 7').

Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, p. 160b: Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον ἐν ᾧ (Κασσιανοῦ) μοναχοῦ, Ῥώμην λαχόντος πατριδα, περιῆσαν λόγοι β'.

Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*, p. 184: Τῆς γὰρ τιμίας θήκης ἀνοιχθείσης πρὸς τὸ κατατεθῆναι τοῦ μακαρίου Κασσιανοῦ τὸ λείψανον κατέβην προσκυνῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου τὸ σῶμα καὶ εὔρον αὐτὸ σῶον καὶ ἀδιάλυτον πεφυλαγμένον καὶ θαυμάσας ἐδόξασα τὸν θεὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ τιμῆσαντα αὐτὸν πρὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ καθολικῆς, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου λειψάνου.

Vita Sabae, p. 196: τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Μεγίστῃ λαύρᾳ περιλειφθέντες πατέρες κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔλαβον ἡγούμενον τὸν ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν τὸν Σκυθοπολίτην τὴν τοῦ Σουκά συνοδίαν τὸ τηρικαῦτα καλῶς καὶ ὀρθοδόξως κυβερνῶντα, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων ἀποταξάμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σάβα παιδευθέντα καὶ πρεσβύτερον τῆς Μεγίστης λαύρας γεγονότα καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ χρόνους τὴν τοῦ Σουκά λαύραν κυβερνήσαντα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζουγγά λεγομένην μονὴν ἐν Σκυθοπόλει συστησάμενον. ὅστις ἀββᾶς Κασσιανὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβύτου ἱεράν ποιμνὴν ἐπὶ δέκα μῆνας ποιμάνας ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ὑπνωσεν μνητὶ Ἰουλίῳ εἰκάδι τῆς δεκάτης ἡνδικτιόνης τῷ ἐξκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Σάβα κοιμήσεως χρόνῳ.

Vita Cyriaci, p. 231: ἀλλ' ἡ συνοδία πάλιν ζήλω πνευματικῷ κινουμένη Πέτρον μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐξέωσεν καὶ εἰς τὴν λαύραν τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα ἀπελθοῦσα ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῇ τὸν νῦν ἡγούμενον ἀββᾶν Κασσιανὸν Σκυθοπολίτην ὄντα τῷ γένει ὀρθόδοξόν τε ὄντα καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένον.

Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536, Tome 3, p. 36: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος λαύρας [μονῆς] τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμου δεηθεὶς ὑπέγραψα.

Op. cit. p. 130: Κασσιανὸς πρεσβύτερος τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα.

Op. cit. p. 145: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως μοναχῶν ἀξιώσας ὑπέγραψα.

Op. cit. p. 158: Κασσιανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα.

Op. cit. p. 50: Κασσιανὸς ἐλέει θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ μοναχὸς λαύρας τῶν Σάββα ποιούμενος τοὺς λόγους καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ἐρήμῳ μοναχῶν ὑπογράψας ἐπέδωκα.

Op. cit. p. 165: Κασσιανὸς πρεσβύτερος τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάβα.

Op. cit. p. 174: Κασσιανὸς πρεσβύτερος τῆς λαύρας τοῦ μακαρίου Σάββα.

John Oxites, (John IV or V; or, John Damascenus Junior, Patriarch of Antioch, 1089–1100), *Oratio de Monasteriis*, chapter 1, p. 32, lines 200–211: Ἐπεὶ δὲ χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων τοῦ κόσμου πολλοὶ τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ἐλόμενοι μοναχοὶ καὶ ἅγιοι γεγόνασι, συνεγράψαντο καὶ οὗτοι βίβλους οὐκ ὀλίγας αἱ εἰσιν οὕτως ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Παλλαδίου πρὸς Λαύσον, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου πρὸς τὸν μαθητὴν Σωφρόνιον ἦτοι ὁ Νέος Παράδεισος, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Καλλίστου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Δωροθέου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Κασσιανοῦ, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Ησαΐου, αἱ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἐφραΐμ, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου τῆς Κλίμακος, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Μάρκου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Διαδόχου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καρπάθου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Θαλασσίου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Νεΐλου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Μαξίμου, ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Ἀντιόχου ἦτοι ὁ Πανδέκτης, καὶ αἱ βίβλοι τοῦ ἁγίου ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου.

Nicon of Montenegro (or, Nicon of Raithus, or, Nicon of Sinai, eleventh-twelfth cent.), *Canonarium vel Typicon*, chapter 1, p. 32: Χρῆ εἰδέναι ὅτι καθὼς προεγράψαμεν περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν καὶ ψαλμωδίαν, ὅτι τὰ λείποντα τῶν τε Στουδίου καὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ τυπικὸν χρῆ ἐγγράφως ἔχειν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς παραδόσεις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρμόζον κρατεῖν καὶ τὰς πρακτικὰς παραδόσεις τῶν κοινοβιακῶν κανόνων ἀπάσης τῆς μοναχικῆς πολιτείας, ὅλον τὸν βίον τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παχωμίου ἐγγράφως χρῆ ἔχειν, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου τὰς τῶν κοινοβίων καταστάσεις, ὡσαύτως καὶ τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου, ὡς κανόνας καὶ τύπους ἔχοντα διατυπώσεων.

Op. cit. chapter 1, p. 50: καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κασσιανὸς ἐν ταῖς διατυπώσεσιν τῶν κοινοβίων λέγει, καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἀσκητικοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πατέρες.

Op. cit. chapter 1, p. 53: καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κασσιανὸς ἐν ταῖς διατάξεσι τῶν κοινοβιακῶν διατάξεων τοὺς ἄρτι ἀποτασσομένους καὶ εἰς προκοπὴν μὴ ἐλθόντας ἐκδύεσθαι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνδύματα τῆς μονῆς λέγει καὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ πάλιν ἐνδύεσθαι, ἐν ᾧ φορῶν ἦλθεν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπολλύεσθαι.

Op. cit. chapter 1, p. 54: Τούτῳ τῷ τύπῳ τῶν ἀρχαίων πατέρων, καθὼς τοῦ ἁγίου εἶπαμεν Κασσιανοῦ τοῖς συγγράμμασι.

Op. cit. chapter 1, p. 54: Δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι καθὼς καὶ ἐκ τῶν θείων παρελάβομεν πατέρων, ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου καὶ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Παχωμίου, ἔκ τε τῶν κοινοβιακῶν διατάξεων τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, οὕτως ἔχειν χρῆ τὸν τύπον τοὺς διακονοῦντας ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ μονῇ ἐφημερευτάς εἶναι. καὶ εἰς μὲν τοῦ ἁγίου Παχωμίου κατὰ τρεῖς ἐβδομάδας ὁ θεὸς ἄγγελος παραδίδει ἀλλάσσεσθαι, εἰς δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Κασσιανοῦ ἐβδομάδα μίαν. ὁμοίως καὶ εἰς τὰ Ἀσκητικὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου.

Op. cit. chapter 1, p. 55: καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἀνάρμοστον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος Κασσιανὸς ἐν ταῖς διατάξεσι τῶν κοινοβίων λέγει.

Constitutio Monasterii Prodromi του Φοβερού (eleventh cent.) chapter 6, p. 16: Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ λόγον ἐπιμνησθῆναι τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως τοῦ δοκιμωτάτου ἐν τοῖς πατράσι, ὃν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Κασσιανὸν ἀπεφθέγγετο. Καθεστῆς γάρ ὁ εἰρημένος Κασσιανὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καὶ ὀχληθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀκηδίας καὶ παρέβαλε τῷ ἁγίῳ Μωϋσῆι καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι Χθὲς δεινῶς ὀχληθεὶς ὑπὸ ἀκηδίας καὶ ἐξασθενήσας σφοδρῶς οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγην αὐτῆς, εἰ μὴ παρέβαλλον τῷ ἀββᾶ Παύλῳ.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), pp. 244: β'. Ὁ αὐτὸς [Κασσιανός] εἶπεν, ὅτι Ἦν τις γέρων, καὶ ὑπηρετεῖτο ὑπὸ ἁγίας παρθένου· καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἔλεγον· Οὐκ εἰσὶ καθαροί. Καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ γέρων. Ὅταν δὲ ἡμέλλε τελευτᾶν, εἶπε τοῖς Πατράσιν· Ὅταν τελευτήσω, φυτεύσατε τὴν ῥάβδον μου εἰς τάφον· καὶ ἐὰν βλαστήσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ καρπὸν, μάθετε ὅτι καθαρὸς εἰμι ἀπ' αὐτῆς· εἰ δὲ μὴ βλαστήσῃ, γινώσκετε ὅτι πέπτωκα μετ' αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἐφυτεύθη ἡ ῥάβδος, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐβλάστησε, καὶ ἐποίησε καρπὸν. Καὶ πάντες ἐδόξασαν τὸν Θεόν.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica), pp. 245: η'. Εἶπε πάλιν [Κασσιανός], ὅτι Ἦν τις μοναχὸς οἰκῶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἐν ἐρήμῳ· καὶ ἐδηλώθη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι Ὁ πατήρ σου ἰσχυρῶς ἐνοχλεῖται, καὶ μέλλει τελευτᾶν, ἔλθε ἵνα κληρονομήσῃς αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη πρὸς αὐτούς· Ἐγὼ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀπέθανον τῷ κόσμῳ· νεκρὸς ζῶντα οὐ κληρονομεῖ.

Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica) (cap. 1–9), 8.12: Εἶπεν ἀββᾶ Κασσιανὸς ὅτι παρέβαλεν ἀδελφὸς τῷ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίωνι, καὶ προετρέπετο αὐτὸν ὁ γέρων κατὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν εὐχῆν ποιῆσαι. Ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτωλὸν ἑαυτὸν λέγων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ἀνάξιον οὐκ ἐπέιθετο. Ἠθέλησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ νίψαι· καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμενος λόγοις οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. Ἐποίησε δὲ αὐτὸν γεύσασθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν αὐτοὺς ἤρξατο ὁ γέρων ἐν ἀγάπῃ νουθετεῖν αὐτὸν λέγων· Τέκνον, εἰ θέλεις ὠφελῆθῆναι, καρτέρει ἐν τῷ κελίῳ σου καὶ πρόσχεε σεαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἐργοχείρῳ σου. Οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει σοι τὸ προέρχεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει τοσοῦτον ὄφελος ὅσον τὸ καθεζεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὕτω ἐπικράνηθι καὶ ἡλλοιώθη τῇ μορφῇ ὥστε μὴδὲ δυνηθῆναι λαθεῖν τὸν γέροντα. Εἶπεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἀββᾶ Σαραπίων· Μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔλεγες ὅτι· Ἐμαρτωλὸς εἰμι, καὶ κατηγορεῖς σεαυτὸν ὡς ἀνάξιον καὶ τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ μετὰ ἀγάπης ὑπέμνησά σε, τοσοῦτον ἐθιριώθης; Ἐὰν οὖν θέλῃς εἶναι ὄντως ταπεινός, τὰ παρὰ ἄλλου λαλούμενά σοι μάθε φέρειν γενναίως καὶ μὴ τὰ ῥήματα ἀργὰ κάτεχε σεαυτῷ. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ ἀδελφὸς μετενόησε τῷ γέροντι καὶ πολλὰ ὠφεληθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν.

Ἦκουσέ ποτε ἄρχων περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως καὶ ἀπήλθεν εἰς τὴν Σκήτιν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. Καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ γέροντι τινες τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἀνέστη φυγεῖν εἰς τὸ ἔλος. Καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄρχων λέγων· Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, γέρον, ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ κέλλα τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως; Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Τί θέλετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; Ἄνθρωπος σαλός ἐστὶν καὶ αἰρετικός. Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ ἄρχων λέγει τοῖς κληρικοῖς· Ἐγὼ ἀκούων τὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως ἦλθον ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ὑπήντησεν ἡμῖν γέρων ὑπάγων εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἶπαμεν αὐτῷ· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ κέλλα τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μωϋσέως; Καὶ εἶπεν ἡμῖν· Τί θέλετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ; Σαλός ἐστὶν καὶ αἰρετικός. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ κληρικοὶ ἐλυπήθησαν καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Ποταπὸς ἐστὶν ὁ γέρων ὁ ταῦτα λαλήσας κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Γέρων μακρὸς καὶ μελανός, παλαιὰ φορῶν. Εἶπαν δὲ οἱ κληρικοί· Αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀββᾶς Μωϋσῆς, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν συντυχεῖν, ταῦτα εἶπεν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ πολλὰ ὠφεληθεὶς ὁ ἄρχων ἀνεχώρησεν.

APPENDIX III

CASSIAN AND CAESARIUS REVIEWED BY PHOTIUS

Photius reviewing 'the Book of Cassian', *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, pp. 160b–161b

Ἐνεγνωσθη βιβλιδάριον ἐν ᾧ (Κασσιανού) μοναχοῦ, Ῥώμην λαχόντος πατρίδα, περιήσαν λόγοι β'.

ἽΩν ὁ μὲν Κάστορι ἐπισκόπῳ ἀνεγέγραπτο, αὐτῷ πεποιμένῳ τὴν τῶν γεγραμμένων αἴτησιν. Τύπουσ δ' οὗτος καὶ κανόνας ἀπαγγέλλει καθ' οὓς ἐβίου τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰ συστήματα μοναδικόν· κοινὸβία δὲ αὐτὰ ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐτυμότητος ὀνομάζει λόγος· καὶ ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ προσπεφωνημένος ἐστὶ, περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ δὲ λογισμῶν τὴν ἐπιγραφήν φέρει, οἷς γαστριμαργίαν, πορνείαν, φιλαργυρίαν, ὀργήν, λύπην καὶ ἀκηδίαν, κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν ἐξάπτει.

Χρήσιμα δέ, ὑπὲρ τι ἄλλο, τὰ λόγια ταῦτα τοῖς αἰρουμένοις τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἀναδέχεσθαι ἀγῶνα. Καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ θεῖον περιέστιν, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι νῦν, εἴ τι κατὰ τοὺς τύπους τουτουσί καὶ τὰ διατάγματα μοναστικόν σύστημα πολιτεύοιτο, ἀνθεὶ τε ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προλάβει καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ὄραται ἐργαστήριον, ὅς δὲ τούτους διεγράψατο, ἐπὶ μικροῖς τισὶ λειψάνοις τῶν ἀρετῶν σαλεύει ἢ καὶ ναυαγίῳ περιδύεται. Διὸ χρεῶν ἐστὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς παραδεδομένων παρορᾶν· δεσποτικῆς γὰρ ταῦτα νομοθεσίας καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας ἐστὶν ἀνάπτυξις τε καὶ ἐξάπλωσις.

A small book has been read, in which two discourses by monk [Cassian],¹ who happened to have been from Rome, were included.

Of them, one was addressed to Bishop Castor, who was the man that had solicited the text which was written therein. This [discourse] recites the regulations and rules, which governed the collective monastic life in Egypt, which is why they are styled *coenobia*, on the grounds of etymology. The second [discourse] is addressed to the same person and is entitled *On the Eight Dispositions* [to Evil],² whereinto he takes up gluttony, fornication, covetousness, ire, dejection and accidie, as well as vainglory and pride.

More than anything else, these sayings are beneficial to those who choose to enter upon the struggle of asceticism. There is so much forcefulness and divine character into these [sayings] that, even until the present times, once a certain monastic community conducts itself according to these regulations and ordinances, it really flourishes and shines out from amongst all others, and is regarded as a workshop of virtues. By contrast, he remains weak amid some faint relics of virtues, or even incurs disaster by being stripped of them altogether, who has pretermitted them [sc. these sayings]. Which is why one should overlook nothing that holds among them as a traditional [rule of life]. For they constitute an account and an exposition of legislation and evangelical conduct of life, which was set forth by the Lord.

¹ Cassian's name was deleted from the manuscript and it was only the context that allowed identifying him. So was the name of Caesarius in Photius' review.

² This is exactly the title appearing in the *Metamorphosis*, *Meteora*, Codex 573: *περὶ τῶν ἡ λογισμῶν*.

Ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ οἰκεία τοῖς διανοήμασι καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, τό τε σαφὲς ἀποστίλβοντα, καὶ τὸ ῥαδίως ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐγγράσσεισθαι τὴν χάριν κληρωσάμενα, ἅμα καὶ τοῦ συμπεῖθαι καὶ ἔλκειν αὐτάς πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον.

Καὶ οὕτω πάντα σοφῶς τε καὶ δεξιῶς κέχραται καὶ διαμεμόρφωται, ὥστε καὶ τροπολογίαις ὁ δεύτερος λόγος ὑποβαλλόμενος, καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχων καὶ θελκτήριον, πλεόν παρέχεται τὸ φοβοῦν τε καὶ καταπληκτικὸν καὶ δυνατὸν ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς μετάνοιαν.

Καὶ τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις λογίδιον συνανειγνώσθη, ὃ μετὰ τελευτὴν Κάστορος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς μονῆς, δι' ἣν καὶ οἱ κανόνες ἐστάλησαν, προσπεφώνηται. Ἔστι μὲν συγγενὲς τοῖς προειρημένοις, διδάσκει δὲ τί τέ ἐστι διάκρισις, καὶ ὅτι μείζων αὐτῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, καὶ ὅθεν τίχεται, καὶ ὡς τὸ πλεόν τῆς ἀνωθεν ἐστὶ δωρεάς. Καὶ περὶ ἐξαγγελίας γραφικαῖς πίστεσιν, ὡς δεῖ ταύτην πράττειν, κατασκευάζει, καὶ τίς ὁ σκοπὸς καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀσκητικαῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐξεταζόμενων.

Ταῦτα Μωσῆα τινὰ θαυμαστὸν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς εἰσάγει διδάσκοντα καὶ πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς, μικροῦ κειμένους ὑπ' ὅσων τὰ ῥήματα βεβαιούμενων.

Εἶτα Σερῆνον οὐ δεύτερον τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενον διδασκαλίᾳ παριστάνει, ὡς τὸ μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ἀδύνατον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ συνωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάζεσθαι καταπίπτειν πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ διωθεῖσθαι τὴν ὄχλησιν καὶ τὸ παραδέχεσθαι αὐτὴν· καὶ ὡς οὐ χωροῦντα διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ δαιμόνια τοὺς ἀνθρώπινους οἶδε λογισμούς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τινων τεκμηρίων ἔξωθεν θηρᾶ τούτους· μόνης γὰρ εἶναι τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος τὸ διὰ ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων χωρεῖν. Καὶ ὡς διάφορα φύλα δαιμο-

His [viz. Cassian's] words are of the same quality as his thoughts are: their clarity of expression shines; they are adorned with the grace of being able to be engraved into the [readers'] souls easily and effortlessly, while they manage to make the object of study persuasive and attractive.

He has handled and arranged everything so wisely and dexterously therein, that the second discourse, where figurative narratives are included, is very attractive and inviting, which in addition gives rise to fear and awe, and may drive [the reader] to seeking repentance.

In addition to, and along with, them, a third short discourse was read: this was addressed to the successor to the care of the monastery, for which the rules had been sent, after the death of Bishop Castor. This is relevant to the foregoing ones: it teaches what discretion is; [also,] that this virtue is the most important of all; whence does this come forth; and that this [sc. discretion] is the most [important gift that] one could be granted from above. Furthermore, by means of scriptural documentation, he expounds the profession of those who are tried in monastic exertions, how this should be practised, and what the intent and ultimate goal of them is.

This exposition introduces a certain Moses teaching, who was admirable for his virtues, and who confirmed his hortatory words by means of events that had taken place around there and of which he had been himself an eye-witness.

Subsequently, he stages Serenus, who was not second to [the above-mentioned Moses] in regard to conduct of life. He espoused the same doctrines [as Moses, and taught that] it is impossible for the mind not to be disturbed by demons. At the same time though, no one can be either compelled by force or obliged into falling to wickedness; but to either reject a disturbance or yield to it depends on our free will. Besides, he saw human [evil] thoughts as demons which are unable to permeate the soul: [demons]

νίων, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀγρία καὶ κακωτικὰ λίαν, ἃ δ' ἦττον, καὶ ἄλλα εὐτράπελα.

Οἷς καὶ ὁ τρίτος συμπληροῦται λόγος, ἐπαγγελ-
λομένου διαλαβεῖν τοῦ Σερήνου ἐν καιρῷ καὶ
περὶ τοῦ ἠρωτημένου, ὅπερ ἦν “Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν
ἡμῖν ἢ πάλιν, πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα” καὶ ἐξῆς.

Λεόντιος δ' ἦν ὄνομα ᾧ τουτὶ τὸ τρίτον λόγιον
προσεφωνήθη.

hunt [men] by following their notice of some external tokens of [human] behaviour. For it is the Holy Trinity alone that is able to permeate the human soul, as well everything else [in the world]. [He also taught] that there are sundry races of daemons: some of them are wild and extremely injurious, others are less so, whereas others are ribald.

By these words the third discourse is concluded, with Serenus promising to treat in due time [the answer to] the question about [the meaning of the saying], *For we wrestle not against flesh and blood*,³ and the rest.

The name of the man to whom this third discourse was addressed was Leontius.

Photius' review rendered in Latin

*Photius episcopus Constantinop. Bibliothecae cod. 197. [PL.49.47D–48C].*⁴

Cassiani monachi Regulae monachorum Aegypti De octo vitiosis cogitationibus; Libellus trium Collationum. Lectus libellus quo Cassiani Monachi libro duo continebantur: eorum alter Castori cuidam episcopo nuncupatur, qui hunc ab illo scribi postularat. Formas autem ac regulas praescribit, ex quarum praescripto vivunt in Aegypto monachi, per coetus illos distributi, quos ex vocis origine petita ratione coenobia nominant.

Photius, Bishop of Constantinople, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 197.

By monk Cassian, Rules [holding for the] monks of Egypt [and] On the eight vicious thoughts: a small book comprising three contributions, in which two books⁵ by monk Cassian are contained. One of them is dedicated to a certain Bishop Castor, who had asked him [Cassian] to write them. This records regulations and ordinances, by authority of which monks live in Egypt: these [monks] are grouped in assemblages, which are reasonably called *coenobia*, following the origin of the word [*coetus*].

³ Eph. 6:12.

⁴ This is the Latin version of Photius' text, allegedly translated from the Greek one of *Bibliotheca*, Codex 197, pp. 160b–161b.

⁵ *Patrologia Latina* finds it strange that Photius mentions two books for the Rules in Egypt and the Eight evil thoughts. PL.49.10B: Photius duos libros facit, Institutionum alterum, alterum de octo capitalibus vitiis inscriptum; eamque divisionem secutus est Guychins. But this is how the arrangement by Cassian appears in our Codex of Meteora, Metamorphosis 573. Therefore, the following claim is only an arbitrary extrapolation out of Latin forgeries: PL.49.10B–C: Cassianus ipse non nisi unum et continuum XII librorum opus agnoscit, quod perfectam vitam monasticam exemplis et praeceptis docet.

Alter quoque liber eidem inscriptus ab octo illis (vitiosis cogitationibus) titulum mutatur, quibus gulam, luxuriam avaritiam, iram, invidiam, acediam, inanem gloriam, atque superbiam attribuit; utilissima vero, si quae alia, haec iis sunt pronuntiata, qui religiosam inire vitam cupiunt.

Et vero tanta iis vis inest, ac quasi divinitas, ut et in hunc usque diem, si quis monachorum conventus hac ex forma, et hisce praeceptionibus gubernetur, revera tantisper floreat, caeterisque praelucens virtutum esse officina cernatur: cum qui haec repudiavit coetus, parvis quibusdam virtutum reliquiis instructus, veluti in fluctibus jactetur, vel etiam naufragium faciat. Quare expedit nihil eorum, quae ibi traduntur, contemnere. Nam Dominicae haec legis sunt, atque Evangelicae disciplinae expositio et explanatio.

Caeterum sensibus ipsa quoque apud eum respondet elocutio, ut quae non perspicuitatem solum afferat, sed ea insuper sit facultate praedita, ut facile ac sine ulla vi hominum animis imprimatur, quin et eisdem pervadere atque ad institutum suum attrahere queat.

Immo sapienter adeo sunt omnia, et dextre temperata atque efformata, ut nec topologiis liber secundus destituatur, sed multa contineat quae demulceant atque alliciant: ac plura etiam, quae cum metum ac terrorem incutiant, tum poenitentiam commovendi vim habeant.

Likewise, the other book received its own title out of those eight (thoughts of vice): to these [thoughts] he attributes greed, extravagant avarice, ire, envy, accidie, vainglory, and pride.⁶ To those who wish to conduct a religious life, these [reflections], more than anything else, are most useful.

As a matter of fact, there is so much vigour in them, indeed almost a divine one, that, right until this day, once a gathering of monks is governed by these rules and precepts, it really flourishes, and shines out from amongst all other people, and is regarded as a workshop of virtues. [By contrast], he shall be swiped as if amidst sea-waves, or indeed shall be wrecked, who has rejected this [kind of] assemblage and has been instructed by [only] a few of the rest of virtues. Which is why nothing of these [rules of life], which are hereby passed on, should be scorned. For they are elements of the Lord's laws, and an account and exposition of the evangelical conduct of life.

We likewise notice that the same eloquence of his transpires [in the text itself], so that not only is this a perspicuous one, but also makes an easy and smooth imprint on the souls of men, which it pervades and attracts to its own point.

And to such an extent is everything so wisely and dexterously dealt with and arranged, that there is no need for a second book expounding topological exegeses; indeed there are many things that are comforting and attractive; also, [there are] many thoughts, which banish anxiety and dread, and they have the power to force along penitence.

⁶ The Latin, although mentioning *eight* evil thoughts, lists only seven. At the same time, it alters Photius' (and indeed Cassian's) list: it eschews fornication (*πορνεία*) and dejection (*λύπη*), and interpolates envy (*invidiam*) instead. Despite some similarities at specific points, on the whole hardly does this Latin text have anything to do with Photius' own review.

Tertium his adjunctum libellum legimus, quem a Castoris episcopi morte inscripsit coenobii illius moderatori, cuius coenobii causa, et Regulae illae prius missae fuerant. Qui quidem libellus iis quos jam annumeravimus assimilis est. Docet enim in primis quid discretio sit, etc. Vide caetera apud eundem.

Along with them, we read a third small book, which he wrote to the man⁷ that was in charge of the coenobium, after the death of Bishop Castor, for the sake of whom these rules had been composed earlier. This little book is indeed similar to that which has been already mentioned. That is, it mainly teaches what discretion is, etc. See the rest in the same one.

Photius reviewing Caesarius

Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 210, p. 168b:

Ἀνεγνώσθη (Καισαρίου) βιβλος ἐν ἡ' κεφαλαίοις περιέχεται δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικά, τοῦτο μὲν ῥητῶν ἀναπτύξεις, τοῦτο δὲ συζητήσεων ἐπιλύσεις, κ' καὶ σ'. Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἔοικε νεάζειν τε καὶ πρὸς γονὰς μὲν λόγων καὶ μάθησιν τῆς τε θυράθεν σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σφριγάν, δεῖσθαι δ' ὁμῶς οὐκ ἔλαχίστων, ἵνα συντόμως εἶπω, εἰς τὸ μὴ καταισχύνειν τὰς ὁρμάς.

A book by [Caesarius], which comprises eight chapters⁸ has been read. Specifically, this consisted of two hundred and twenty ecclesiastical issues, which are either exegeses on [scriptural] sayings, or resolutions to [arguable] issues. This man appears to be full of youthful spirit, as well as swollen with passion in using terms of old, and in knowledge of both secular wisdom and that of ours. However, to put it briefly, he is in need of [additional] qualities, which are by no means few, lest his impetus should [eventually] be put to shame.

Πλὴν σαφῆς τε ἔστι τὴν φράσιν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ποιητικὰς ἐκνεωτερίζει λέξεις πολλάκις, καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς συντάξεως μετιῶν ἔστιν, ὅπου ἐπ' ἔλαττον φέρεται καὶ τούτου, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν δογματῶν ἀκριβείαν ὀλίγων αὐτῷ δεῖ.

That aside, he expresses himself with clarity, even though he is many times prone to novelty⁹ by using poetic words, and entertains the common rules of syntax on which he is deficient, too, whereas he falls short of some points concerning doctrinal precision.

Εἰς ἐρωτήσεις δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις μεθ' ὑποβολῆς προσώπων τὸ τοῦ λόγου σχῆμα πεποιήται.

Furthermore, he has composed his exposition according to the genre of questions and replies by persons who are engaged [in dialogue].

Εἶναι δὲ φασὶ Γρηγορίου, οὗ τὸ θεολόγος ἐπώνυμον, τὸν συγγραφέα ἀδελφόν.

This writer is said to have been the brother of Gregory, surnamed 'the theologian'.

⁷ Unlike Photius' Greek review, here there is no reference to Leontius by name.

⁸ The Greek text of Migne has it that the work comprises 'Four Dialogues' (Διάλογοι Τέσσαρες), arranged in 220 questions and replies. R. Riedinger has an arrangement in only 218 questions and replies.

⁹ Photius means that Caesarius uses words from Homer, Pindar, and other ancient poets. This he styles 'innovation' (ἐκνεωτερίζει).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. *Codices*

- Metamorphosis 573, Meteora (ninth century)
Metamorphosis 583, Meteora (eleventh century)
Metamorphosis 143, Meteora (fourteenth century)
Varlaam 22, Meteora (sixteenth century)
Varlaam 23, Meteora (sixteenth century)
Holy Trinity 14, Meteora (fourteenth century)
Holy Trinity 34, Meteora (eighteenth century)
Roussanos 3, Meteora (thirteenth century)
Roussanos 12, Meteora (folia from fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries)
Sabaiticus 8, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (ninth-tenth century)
Sabaiticus 76, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (tenth century)
Sabaiticus 157, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (tenth century)
Sabaiticus 365, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (thirteenth century)
Sabaiticus 393, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (middle of fourteenth century)
Sabaiticus 407, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (end of twelfth century)
Sabaiticus 576, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (seventeenth century)
Sabaiticus 633, Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (fourteenth century)
Sabaiticus 'Codex Noroff', Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (twelfth century)
Jerusalem 55 (transferred from the Monastery of the Holy Cross), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (written in 927)
Jerusalem 57 (main library), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (thirteenth or fourteenth century)
Jerusalem 120 (main library), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (eighteenth century)
Jerusalem 171 (main library), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (fourteenth century)
Jerusalem 181 (main library), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (end of thirteenth century)
Jerusalem 540 (transferred to Jerusalem from the Subsidiary of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (written in 1596)
Jerusalem 692 (transferred to Jerusalem from the Subsidiary of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople), Greek-Orthodox Patriarchal Library, Jerusalem (written after 1675)

- Vidobonensis Graecus theologicus 121, National Library of Austria, Vienna (twelfth century)
- Vidobonensis Graecus theologicus 104, National Library of Austria, Vienna (fourteenth century)
- Athens 334, National Library of Greece, Athens (thirteenth century)
- Athens 423, National Library of Greece, Athens (fourteenth century)
- Athens 510, National Library of Greece, Athens (thirteenth century)
- Athens 525, National Library of Greece, Athens (fourteenth century)
- Athens 549, National Library of Greece, Athens (thirteenth century)

II. Primary Sources

- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Canones xv* (contra Origenem sive Origenistas), ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 4.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971, pp. 248–249.
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. Riedinger, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda, volumen primum: Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984: 2–28, 34–108, 114–174, 180–244, 250–402, 404–420.
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense Anno 451*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 2.1.1–2.1.3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2.1.1–2.1.2: 1933; 2.1.3: 1935 (repr. 2.1.1–2.1.2: 1962; 2.1.3: 1965).
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium (680–681)*. Concilii Actiones I–XVIII, ed. R. Riedinger, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum Series secunda, volumen secundum: Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Pars 1–2*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990, 1992: Pars 1: pp. 2–12, 14–24, 26–168, 170–178, 180–188, 190–260, 262–276, 278–398, 400–512; Pars 2: pp. 514–704, 732–738, 752–830, 832–884, 888–908.
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Concilium Universale Ephesenum Anno 431*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 1.5.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1924–1925 (repr. 1963).
- Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum (ACO), *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana Anno 536*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, vol. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940 (repr. 1965).
- Acta Monasterii Theotoci Euergetae (eleventh-twelfth cent.), *Synaxarium (Mar.–Aug.)* ed. R. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (March–August)* [*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 6.6. Belfast: Institute of Byzantine Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 2005].
- Acta Monasterii Theotoci Euergetae, *Synaxarium (Mar.–Aug.)*, ed. R. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (March–August)* [*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 6.6. Belfast: Institute of Byzantine Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 2005].
- Acta Monasterii Patmi, *Testamentum et Codicillus Sancti Christoduli (anno 1093)*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Monasteriorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis*, Tomus Tertius [*Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi. Sacra et profana* 6. Vienna: K. Gerold, 1890], pp. 81–90.
- Acta Monasterii Studii (ninth century), *Descriptio Constitutionis*, ed. A. Dmitrievsky,

- Typika* [*Opisanie liturgicheskikh rykopisei* I (1). Kiev: Korchaky-Novitskago, 1895], pp. 224–238.
- Adamantius, *De Recta in Deum Fide*, ed. W.H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *Der Dialog des Adamantius περί τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὁρθῆς πίστεως, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901.
- Aelius Aristides (rhetor, Mysia, second cent.), *Ῥώμης Ἐγκώμιον*, ed. W. Dindorf, *Aristides*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Reimer, 1829 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), pp. 321–370.
- Aelius Herodianus (grammarian and rhetor, Alexandria, Rome, second cent. AD) (or, Pseudo-Herodianus), *Partitiones* (*Ἐπιμερισμοί*), (e codd. Paris. 2543 + 2570), ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Herodiani partitiones*. London, 1819 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakert, 1963).
- Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus sive De Animarum Immortalitate et Corporum Resurrectione Dialogus*, ed. M.E. Colonna, *Enea di Gaza. Teofrasto*. Naples: Iodice, 1958.
- Aeschines (rhetor, fifth–fourth cent. BC), *De Falsa Legatione*, d. V. Martin and G. de Budé, *Eschine. Discours*, vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927 (repr. 1962), pp. 110–169.
- Aeschylus, *Supplices*, ed. G. Murray, *Aeschyli tragoediae*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955 (repr. 1960), pp. 3–48.
- Aesopus et Aesopica, *Proverbia*, ed. B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, vol. 1. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952, pp. 265–291. Proverbia 1–143 (proverbiorum sylloge quae inscribitur Αἰσώπου λόγοι): pp. 265–286.
- Aetius (doxographer, first–second cent. AD), *De Placitis Reliquiae* (*Stobaei excerpta*), ed. H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*. Berlin: Reimer, 1879 (repr. De Gruyter, 1965).
- Agathias Scholasticus (Constantinople, sixth cent.), *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell, *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque* [*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae* 2. Series Berolinensis. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967].
- Albinus, *Epitome Doctrinae Platonicae* sive *Διδασκαλικός*, ed. P. Louis, *Albinos. Épitomé*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1945.
- Alexander (a Cypriot monk, prob. sixth cent.), *Inventio Crucis*, PG.87(3).4016–4076.
- , *Laudatio Barnabae Apostoli*, ed. P. van Deun, *Hagiographica Cypria. Sancti Barnabae laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 26. Turnhout: Brepols, 1993].
- Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Mixtione*, ed. I. Bruns, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis prae-ter commentaria scripta minora* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, suppl. 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1892], pp. 213–238.
- , *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1891].
- , *In Aristotelis Topicorum Libros Octo Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis topicorum libros octo commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 2.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1891].
- Alexander, son of Numenius, *De Figuris* (or, *Περί τῶν τῆς Διανοίας καὶ τῆς Λέξεως Σχημάτων*), ed. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 3.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1856 (repr. 1966), pp. 9–40.
- Ammonius of Alexandria (the son of Hermias, fifth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum i Commentarium*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ammonii in Aristotelis analyticorum priorum librum i commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4.6. Berlin: Reimer, 1899].

- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarius*, ed. A. Busse, *Ammonius in Aristotelis categorias commentarius* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4.4. Berlin: Reimer, 1895].
- Ammonius, presbyter of Alexandria (possibly, fifth–sixth cent.), *Fragmenta in Joannem* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* [*Texte und Untersuchungen* 89. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966], pp. 196–358.
- Amphilochius of Iconium (fourth cent AD), *In illud: Pater Si Possibile Est* (orat. 6), ed. C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978: 139–152.
- , *In Mulierem Peccatricem* (orat. 4), ed. C. Datema, *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978, pp. 107–126.
- Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Problemata* (lib. 3–4), ed. H. Usener, *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis quae feruntur problematorum liber iii et iiii* [*Programm Gymnasium Joachimsthal* (1859)].
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Septembris*, A. Debiassi Gonzato and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 1. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1966.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Octobris*, A. Debiassi Gonzato and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 2. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1979.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Novembris*, A. Kominis and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 3. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1972.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, *Canones Decembris*, ed. A. Kominis and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 4. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1976.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Januarii*, A. Proiou and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 5. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1971.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Februarii*, G. Schiro, and E. Tomadakis, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 6. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1974.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Martii*, G. Schiro, and E. Tomadakis, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 7. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1971.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Aprilis*, C. Nicas and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca*, vol. 8. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1970.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Maii*, C. Nicas and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 9. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1973.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Junii*, A. Acconcia Longo and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 10. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1972.
- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Julii*, A. Acconcia Longo and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 11. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1978.

- Analecta Hymnica Graeca, eds. *Canones Augusti*, A. Proiou and G. Schiro, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, vol. 12. Rome: Istituto di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Università di Roma, 1980.
- Anastasius of Sinai, *Anastasiū Sinaitae in Hexaemeron Anagogicarum Contemplationum Libros Duoecim*, ed. J.D. Baggarly and C. A. Kuehn, *Anastasius of Sinai Hexaemeron* [*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 278. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007].
- , *Interrogationes et Responsiones*, PG.89.311–824.
- , *Questiones et Responsiones*, ed. J.A. Munitiz and M. Richard, *Anastasiū Sinaitae Questiones et Responsiones* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 59. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006].
- , *Sermo I in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985].
- , *Sermo II in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985], pp. 35–48.
- , *Sermo III in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei* (adversus Monotheletas), ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 1985], pp. 55–83.
- , *Viae Dux*, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasius Sinaitae viae dux* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 1981].
- Anaxagoras (fifth cent. BC Clazomenae, Athens), *Testimonia*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1952 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 5–32.
- Andreas of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, 1. Text [und] Einleitung [*Münchener theologische studien* 1. Munich: K. Zink, 1955]
- Anonymi in Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam, *In Aristotelis Artem Rhetoricam Commentarium*, ed. H. Rabe, *Anonymi et Stephani in artem rhetoricam commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 21.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1896].
- Anonymi In Hermogenem, *Prolegomena in Librum ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΑΣΕΩΝ*, ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon sylloge* [*Rhetores Graeci* 14. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931], pp. 183–228.
- Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, *Epigrammata Sepulcralia*, ed. E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova*, vol. 3. Paris: Didot, 1890, pp. 94–224.
- Antiochus of Palestine (or Antiochus of Ancyra, or Antiochus Strategius, seventh cent.), *Pandecta Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.80: 1857–1866 & 1428–1849.
- Antonius Hagiographus (fifth cent.), *Vita Symeonis Stylitae Senioris*, ed. H. Lietzmann, *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites* [*Texte und Untersuchungen* 32.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908], pp. 20–78.
- Antonius III Studites (monk, Patriarch, Constantinople, tenth century), *Oratio*, L. Sternbach, “Λόγος Ἀναγνωσθεῖς ἐν Βλαχέρναις παρὰ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Στουδίτου

- μοναχοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Τριπύχου”, in F. Makk (ed.), *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* [Acta universitatis de Attila Jozsefnominatae. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica. Tomus 19. Opuscula Byzantina 3. Szeged, Hungary, 1975]. pp. 113–117.
- Apollinaris of Laodicea, *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos (in catenis)*, ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 57–82.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio alphabetica)*, PG.65.72–440.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica)* (cap. 10–16), ed. J.-C. Guy, *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres x–xvi* [Sources chrétiennes 474. Paris: Cerf, 2003], pp. 14–416.
- Apophthegmata Patrum (collectio systematica)* (cap. 1–9), ed. J.-C. Guy, *Les apophtegmes des pères. Collection systématique, chapitres i–ix* [Sources chrétiennes 387. Paris: Cerf, 1993], pp. 92–448.
- Appendix Eclogae*, (eighth–twelfth cent.), L. Burgmann and Sp. Troianos, “Appendix Eclogae,” *Fontes Minores III* [Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 4. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1979], pp. 97–124.
- Aristophanes, *Ranae*, ed. V. Coulon and M. van Daele, *Aristophane*, vol. 4. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928, repr. 1967 (1st ed. corr.) pp. 85–157.
- , *Thesmophoriazousae*, ed. V. Coulon and M. van Daele, *Aristophane*, vol. 4. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928 repr. 1967 (1st edn. corr.), pp. 17–71.
- Aristotle, *De Anima*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotle. De Anima*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961 (repr. 1967).
- , *De Mundo*, d. W.L. Lorimer, *Aristotelis qui fertur libellus de mundo*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933, pp. 47–103 (391a1–401b29).
- , *De Partibus Animalium*, ed. P. Louis, *Aristote. Les parties des animaux*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956.
- , *De Respiratione*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotle. Parva naturalia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955 (repr. 1970): 470b6–480b30.
- , *Ethica Eudemia*, ed. F. Susemihl, *Aristotelis ethica Eudemia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- , *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. I. Bywater, *Aristotelis ethica Nicomachea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894 (repr. 1962).
- , *Magna Moralia*, ed. F. Susemihl, *Aristotle*, vol. 18 (ed. G.C. Armstrong). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935 (repr. 1969).
- , *Metaphysica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotle's metaphysics*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924 (repr. 1970 [of 1953 corr. edn.]).
- , *Politica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis politica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957 (repr. 1964).
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. I. Düring, *Aristotle's protrepticus*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961.
- , *Topica*, ed. W.D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophisticis elenchi*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958, repr. 1970 (first edn. corr.).
- Arius Didymus, *Liber De Philosophorum Sectis (epitome apud Stobaeum)*, ed. F.W.A. Mullach, *Fragmenta philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. 2. Paris: Didot, 1867 (repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1968), pp. 53–101.

- Asclepius of Tralleis (sixth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum Libros A–Z Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Asclepii in Aristotelis metaphysicorum libros A–Z commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 6.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1888].
- Aspasius (second cent. AD), *In Ethica Nichomachea Commentaria*, ed. G. Heylbut, *Aspasii in ethica Nicomachea quae supersunt commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 19.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1889].
- Asterius of Amasea (c. 350–c. 410), *Homiliae 1–14*, ed. C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea. Homilies i–xiv*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Athanasius of Alexandria, *Contra Gentes*, ed. R.W. Thomson, *Athanasius. Contra gentes and de incarnatione*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- , *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi*, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940, pp. 1–45.
- , *De Synodis Arimini in Italia et Seleucia in Isauria*, ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius Werke*, vol. 2.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940, pp. 231–278.
- , *Epistula ad Marcellinum de Interpretatione Psalmorum*, PG.27.12–45.
- , *Epistulae Quattuor ad Serapionem*, PG.26.529–648.
- , *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.27: 60–545, 548–589.
- , *In Illud: Qui Dixerit Verbum in Filium*, PG.26.648–676.
- , *Orationes Tres Contra Arianos*, PG.26.12–468.
- Athanaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, ed. G. Kaibel, *Athenaei Naucratis deipnosophistarum libri xv*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1–2: 1887; 3: 1890 (repr. Stuttgart: 1–2: 1965; 3: 1966).
- , *Deipnosophistae (epitome)*, ed. S.P. Peppink, *Athenaei dipnosophistarum epitome*, vols. 2.1–2.2. Leiden: Brill, 2.1: 1937; 2.2: 1939.
- Atticus, *Fragments*, ed. J. Baudry, *Atticos. Fragments de son oeuvre*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1931.
- Barsanuphius and John, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondance, tome I–II* [*Sources chrétiennes* 426/427. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997–1998].
- , *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Coenobitas* (Epistulae 224–616), ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, *Correspondance* (Volume II, Aux cénobites: Tome I, Lettres 224–398; Tome II, Lettres 399–616) [*Sources chrétiennes* 450/451. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000].
- Basil of Ancyra (fourth cent.), *De Virginitate*, PG.30.669–809.
- Basil of Caesarea, *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG.29: 497–669, 672–768.
- , *Asceticon Magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae brevius tractatae)*, PG.31.1052–1305.
- , *Asceticon Magnum sive Quaestiones (regulae fusius tractatae)*, PG.31.901–1052.
- , *De Baptismo Libri Duo*, PG.31.1513–1628.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto*, ed. B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit*, second ed. [*Sources chrétiennes* 17 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1968], pp. 250–530.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile. Lettres*, 3 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1957; 2: 1961; 3: 1966.
- , *Epistulae Tres*, ed. S.Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile*. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1953.
- , *Homilia in Psalmum 115*, PG.30.104–116.

- , *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, ed. S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée. Homélie sur l'hexaéméron*, second edn. [Sources chrétiennes 26 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1968], pp. 86–522.
- , *Homiliae Super Psalmos*, PG.29.209–494.
- , *Quod Deus Non Est Auctor Malorum*, PG.31.329–353.
- , *Regulae Morales*, PG.31.692–869.
- , *Sermones de Moribus a Symeone Metaphrasta Collecti*, PG.32.1116–1381.
- Basil of Seleucia, *Sermones XLI*, PG.85.28–474.
- Basilica*, eds. H.J. Scheltema and N. van der Wal, *Basilicorum libri LX. Series A*, vols. 1–8 [*Scripta Universitatis Groninganae*. Groningen: Wolters, 1: 1955; 2: 1956; 3: 1960; 4: 1962; 5: 1967; 6: 1974; 7: 1974; 8: 1988].
- Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*, edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero with the assistance of Giles Constable, Oaks Research Library and Collection, 21, 23 & 35, Washington D.C. 2000.
- Cassian the Sabaite, *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Canonicis Occidentalis et Aegyptionis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus*, in P. Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- , *Ad Castorem Episcopum De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus*, in P. Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- , *Ad Leontium Hegumenum De Scetae Sanctorum Patrorum*, in P. Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- , *Contributio Sereni Abbatis De Panareto*, in P. Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- , *Contributio Sereni Abbatis Prima*, in P. Tzamalikos, *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- Cassianus Ioannes, *Collationum XXIV Collectio In Tres Partes Divisa*, PL.49.1815–1875.
- , *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, PL.49.47–1328C.
- , *Epistolas Castoris Aptensis Episcopi Ad Cassianum Abbatem Massiliensem*, PL.49.53–476B.
- Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalmum LXIX*, PL.70.491C–495A:
- , *M. Aurelii Cassiodori De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, PL.70.1105–1150.
- Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, ed. U.P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1895; 2: 1898; 3: 1901 (repr. 1955).
- , *Historiae Romanae* (versio 1 in volumine 1), ed. U.P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895 (repr. 1955).
- Catena (Novum Testamentum), *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae) (e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58)*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1838 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- , *Catena in Acta (catena Andreae) (e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58)*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 41–83.

- , *Catena in Epistulam ad Hebraeos (catena Nicetae)* (*e cod. Paris. gr. 238*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1843 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 279–598.
- , *Catena in Epistulam ad Romanos (typus Vaticanus)* (*e cod. Oxon. Bodl. Auct. E.2.20 [= Misc. 48]*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1844 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 1–162.
- , *Catena in Epistulam Jacobi, (catena Andreae)* (*e cod. Oxon. coll. nov. 58*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 1–40.
- , *Catena in Epistulam Petri i*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 41–83.
- , *Catena in Joannem (catena integra)* (*e codd. Paris. Coislin. 23 + Oxon. Bodl. Auct. Ti.4*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1841 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 177–413.
- , *Catena in Matthaeum (catena integra)* (*e cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 23*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).
- , *Supplementum et Varietas Lectionis in Epistulam ad Galatas (catena Pseudo-Oecumenii)* (*e cod. Bodl. Auct. T.1.7 [= Misc. 185]*), ed. J.A. Cramer, *Catena Graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, vol. 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 399–402.
- Chronicon Paschale* (or, *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, or *Chronicon Constantinopolitanum*, vel *Fasti Siculi* seventh cent. AD), ed. L. Dindorf, *Chronicon paschale*, vol. 1 [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1832].
- Chrysippus, *Fragmenta Logica et Physica*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903 (repr. Stuttgart: 1968).
- , *Fragmenta Moralia*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903 (repr. Stuttgart: 1968), pp. 3–191.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *De Oratore*, (transl.) Edward William Sutton, Harris Rackham, 2 vols. Harvard University Press, 1948
- , *Pro Sestio. In Vatinius*, (transl.) Robert Gardner, The Loeb Classical Library: Latin Authors, 309, Harvard University Press, 1958
- , *Selected Letters*, (transl.) Patrick Gerard Wals, Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Clement of Alexandria, *Eclogae Propheticae*, ed. O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, vol. 3, second edn. [GCS 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970], pp. 137–155.
- , *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, ed. F. Sagnard, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Extraits de Théodote*, second edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 23. Paris: Cerf, 1948 (repr. 1970)].
- , *Paedagogus*, ed. H.-I. Marrou, M. Harl, C. Mondésert and C. Matray, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le pédagogue*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 70, 108, 158. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1960; 2: 1965; 3: 1970].
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. C. Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie. Le protreptique*, second edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 2. Paris: Cerf, 1949].

- , *Stromateis*, volumes 2, 3rd edition, and 3, 2nd edition (title: *Stromata*) of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, edited by O. Stählin, L. Früchtel and U. Treu [GCS 52(15), 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2: 1960; 3: 1970].
- Cleomedes, *De Motu Circulari Corporum Caelestium*, ed. H. Ziegler, *Cleomedis de motu circulari corporum caelestium libri duo*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1891.
- Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus (Emperor, tenth cent.), *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 2: *excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, pts. 1 & 2. Berlin: Weidmann, 2.1:1906; 2.2:1910.
- , *Oratio de Translatione Chrysostomi*, ed. K.J. Dyobouniotes, “Λόγος ἀνέκδοτος εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν λειψιδίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσόστομου”, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀθῆνησι Πανεπιστημίου*, 1, 1925, pp. 306–319.
- Constitutio Monasterii Prodrumi τοῦ Φοβεροῦ* (eleventh cent.) A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1913 (repr. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1976), pp. 1–87.
- Constitutiones Apostolorum* (possibly compiled by Julian the Arian), ed. M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 320, 329, 336. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1985; 2: 1986; 3: 1987].
- Corpus Hermeticum, *Πρὸς Τὰς Υἱὸν Ὅτι Ἀφανῆς Θεὸς Φανερώτατός Ἔστιν*, ed. A.D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1946 (repr. 1972), pp. 60–65.
- Cosmas Vestitor of Constantinople (eighth-ninth cent.), *Orationes de Translatione Corporis Mortui Joannis Chrysostomi*, C.I. Dyobouniotes “Κοσμᾶ Βεστίτωρος Ἀνέκδοτα Ἐγκώμια εἰς Χρυσόστομον, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν”, 2 (1925), pp. 55–83.2 (1925): 55–83.
- Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarii in Lucam* (in catenis), PG.72.476–949.
- , *Commentarii in Matthaemum* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* [Texte und Untersuchungen 61. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957], pp. 153–269.
- , *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam*, PG.70.9–1449.
- , *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in xii prophetas*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1868 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965).
- , *Contra Julianum* (lib. 1–2), ed. P. Burguière and P. Évieux, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Contre Julien*, tome 1: livres 1 et 2 [*Sources chrétiennes* 322. Paris: Cerf, 1985].
- , *De Adoratione et Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate*, PG.68.132–1125.
- , *De Incarnatione Unigeniti*, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Deux dialogues christologiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 97. Paris: Cerf, 1964], pp. 188–300.
- , *De Sancta Trinitate Dialogi i–vii*, ed. G.M. de Durand, *Cyrille d’Alexandrie. Dialogues sur la Trinité*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 231, 237, 246. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1976; 2: 1977; 3: 1978].
- , *Epistulae Paschales sive Homiliae Paschales* (epist. 1–30), PG.77.401–981.
- , *Expositio in Psalmos*, PG.69.717–1273.
- , *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, PG.69.9–677.

- , *In Joannem*, d. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965):
- , *Responsiones ad Tiberium Diaconum Sociosque Suos*, ed. P.E. Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), pp. 577–602.
- , *Thesaurus de Sancta Consubstantiali Trinitate*, PG.75.9–656.
- Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Abramii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 243–247.
- , *Vita Cyriaci*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 222–235.
- , *Vita Euthymii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 3–85.
- , *Vita Joannis Hesychastae*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 201–222.
- , *Vita Sabae*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 85–200.
- , *Vita Theodosii*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* [Texte und Untersuchungen 49.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939], pp. 235–241.
- Damascenus Studites (sixteenth cent.), *Thesaurus*, ed. E. Deledemou, *Θησαυρὸς τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου*, New York: Atlantis Greek Book Co., Inc., 1943.
- Damascius, *De Principiis*, ed. C.É. Ruelle, *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones*, vols. 1 & 2. Paris: Klincksieck, 1: 1889; 2: 1899 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), v. 1: pp. 1–324; v. 2: pp. 1–4.
- , *In Parmenidem*, ed. C.É. Ruelle, *Damascii successoris dubitationes et solutiones*, vol. 2. Paris: Klincksieck, 1899 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), pp. 5–322.
- , *In Philebum*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Damascius. Lectures on the Philebus wrongly attributed to Olympiodorus*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1959 (repr. Hakkert, 1982), pp. 3–121.
- David of Alexandria (Neoplatonist, sixth cent. AD Thessaloniki, Alexandria), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904], pp. 80–219.
- De Morbis Acutis et Chroniis*, I. Garofalo, *Anonymi medici De morbis acutis et chroniis* [Studies in Ancient Medicine 12. Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997].
- De Scientia Politica Dialogus (e cod. Vat. gr. 1298)*, ed. C.M. Mazzucchi, *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario de scientia politica dialogus*. Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1982, pp. 1–55.
- Demetrius Chomatenus (Archbishop of Achris, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Πονήματα Διάφορα*, ed. G. Prinzing, *Πονήματα διάφορα* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 38. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002]
- Democritus (Abdera, fifth–fourth cent. BC), *Testimonia*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1952 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 81–129.

- Demosthenes, *De Corona*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1966), pp. 225–332.
- , *De Rhodiorum Libertate*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1966), pp. 190–201.
- , *In Aristocratem*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 2.1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 (repr. 1966), pp. 621–693.
- , *In Aristogitonem*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 2.1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 (repr. 1966), pp. 770–800.
- , *In Midiam*, ed. S.H. Butcher, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 2.1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907 (repr. 1966), pp. 514–587.
- , *Pro Phormione*, ed. W. Rennie, *Demosthenis orationes*, vol. 2.2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921 (repr. 1966), pp. 944–963.
- Dexippus (fourth cent. AD), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Dexippi in Aristotelis categorias commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.2]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1888].
- Didymus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (1.1–8)*, ed. G. Binde and L. Liesenborghs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 1 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 25*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1979].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (11–12)*, ed. G. Binder and L. Liesenborghs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 6 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 9*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (3–4.12)*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 2 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 22*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1977].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (5–6)*, ed. J. Kramer, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 3 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 13*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1970].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (7–8.8)*, ed. J. Kramer and B. Krebber, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 4 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 16*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1972].
- , *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten (9.8–10.20)*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes*, pt. 5 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 24*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1979].
- , *Commentarii in Job (1–4)*, ed. A. Henrichs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 1 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 1*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job (5.1–6.29)*, ed. A. Henrichs, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 2 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 2*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job (7.20c–11)*, ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn and L. Koenen, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 3 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 3*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Job (12.1–16.8a) (partim in catenis)*, ed. U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn and L. Koenen, *Didymos der Blinde. Kommentar zu Hiob*, pt. 4.1 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 33.1*]. Bonn: Habelt, 1985].
- , *Commentarii in Job (in catenis)*, PG.39.1120–1153.
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos 20–21*, ed. L. Doutreleau, A. Gesché and M. Grone-

- wald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 1 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 7. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos 22–26.10*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 2 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 4. Bonn: Habelt, 1968].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos 29–34*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 3 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 8. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos 35–39*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 4 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 6. Bonn: Habelt, 1969].
- , *Commentarii in Psalmos 40–44.4*, ed. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 5 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 12. Bonn: Habelt, 1970].
- , *Commentarii in Zachariam*, ed. L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l'Aveugle sur Zacharie*, 3 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 83, 84, 85. Paris: Cerf, 1962].
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam ii ad Corinthios* (in catenis), ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 14–44.
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos (e commentario altero)*, ed. E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, 2 vols. [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 15 & 16. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1: 1975; 2: 1977].
- , *In Epistulas Catholicas Brevis Enarratio*, (in catenis), ed. F. Zoepfl, *Didymi Alexandrini in epistulas canonicas brevis enarratio* [*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen* 4.1. Münster: Aschendorff, 1914].
- , *In Genesim*, ed. P. Nautin and L. Doutreleau, *Didyme l'Aveugle. Sur la Genèse*, vols. 1–2 [*Sources chrétiennes* 233, 244. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1976; 2: 1978].
- Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae exstant omnia*, vols. 1–2, second edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1893; 2: 1896 (repr. 1962).
- Diocles of Carystus (fourth cent. BC), *Fragmenta*, ed. T. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880: 766–769.
- Diodore of Sicily (historian, first cent. BC), *Bibliotheca Historica (lib. 21–40)*, ed. F.R. Walton, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vols. 11–12. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 11: 1957; 12: 1967 (repr. 11: 1968).
- Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentarii in Psalmos I–L* (in catenis), ed. J.-M. Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis commentarii in psalmos. I: Commentarii in psalmos I–L*, vol. 1 [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 6. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980].
- Diogenes Laertius, *Vitae Philosophorum*, ed. H.S. Long, *Diogenis Laertii vitae philosophorum*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964 (repr. 1966).
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first cent. AD), *Antiquitates Romanae*, ed. K. Jacoby, *Dionysii Halicarnasei antiquitatum Romanarum quae supersunt*, 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1885; 2: 1888; 3: 1891; 4: 1905 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *De Lysia*, ed. H. Usener and L. Radermacher, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*, vol. 5. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. Stuttgart: 1965), pp. 8–53.
- Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 1.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965).

- Dissertatio Contra Iudaeos*, M. Hostens, *Anonymi auctoris Theognosiae dissertatio contra Iudaeos* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 14. Turnhout: Brepols, 1986].
- Doctrina Patrum*, ed. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione verbi*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1907.
- Dorotheus of Gaza (monk, sixth cent.), *Doctrinae Diversae i–xvii*, ed. L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza. Oeuvres spirituelles* [*Sources chrétiennes* 92. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963], pp. 146–486.
- , *Epistulae i–xvi*, ed. L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Dorothee de Gaza. Oeuvres spirituelles* [*Sources chrétiennes* 92. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963], pp. 488–524.
- Ecloga Basilicorum* (ninth-thirteenth cent.), ed. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga Basilicorum* [*Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* Band 15. Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau Gesellschaft, 1988], pp.
- Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Eliae in Porphyrii isagogen et Aristotelis categorias commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1900], pp. 107–255. There is a tentative allowance for this work to have been written by David (sixth cent. Thessaloniki, Alexandria).
- Empedocles (fifth cent. BC Agrigentium), *Testimonia*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966): 276–307.
- Epanagoge*, ed. P. Zepos (post C.E. Zacharic von Lingenthal), *Leges Imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum* [*Jus Graecoromanum* 2. Athens: Fexis, 1931], pp. 236–368.
- Ephraem of Thrace (historian, thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Historia Chronica*, ed. O. Lampsides, *Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1990.
- Ephraem Syrus, *Ad Imitationem Proverbiorum*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 185–280.
- , *Beautitudines Aliae; Capita Viginti*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 267–279.
- , *Capita Centum. Quomodo Quis Humilitatem Sibi Comparet*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 280–362.
- , *Consilium de Vita Spirituali; ad Monachum Novitium (capita xcvi)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 209–251.
- , *De Caritate*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 118–128. Ephraem Syrus, *De Iuliano Asceta*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 119–130.
- , *De Iuliano Asceta*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 119–130.
- , *De Monachis*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *‘Οσίου ‘Εφραίμ του Σύρου Έργα*, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 251–254.

- , *De Octo Cogitationibus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 295–304.
- , *De Perfectione Monachi*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 375–403.
- , *De Uirtutibus et Passionibus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 392–410.
- , *Encomium in Martyres*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 176–186.
- , *Epistula ad Ioannem Monachum de Patientia et de Cavendo Nequis Decipiatur Cogitationibus Praetextu Iustificationum Neque Dicat: "Tamquam pastor incedo," et De Temperantia*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 403–415.
- , *Homilia in Meretricem*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 86–111.
- , *In Illud: Attende Tibi Ipsi (capita xii)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 2. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1989, pp. 142–198.
- , *In Sermonem, Quem Dixit Dominus, Quod: In hoc Mundo Pressuram Habebitis, et De Perfectione Homini*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 333–398.
- , *Institutio ad Monachos*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 5. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1994, pp. 300–370.
- , *Paraenesis ad Ascetas (ordine alphabetico)*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 338–356.
- , *Precationes e Sacris Scripturis Collectae; Quarum Pleraequae Sunt Sancti Ephraim, Pro Iis Qui Uolunt Suam Ipsorum Procliuem Ad Passiones Uoluptatesque Uoluntatem Cohibere*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 6. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1995, pp. 280–353.
- , *Sermo Asceticus*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 1. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1988 (repr. 1995), pp. 122–184.
- , *Sermo de Cain, et De Abel Caedo (e cod. 99 Monasterii Pantocratoris in Monte Athonis, fol. 375')*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 199–217.
- , *Sermo de Communi Resurrectione, De Paenitentia et De Caritate, et In Secundum Adventum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 47–75.
- , *Sermo de Paenitentia et Iudicio et Separatione Animae et Corporis*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, 'Όσίου Έφφραιμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 234–244.

- , *Sermo in Pulcherrimum Ioseph*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 7. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1998, pp. 260–300.
- , *Sermones Paraeneticus ad Monachos Aegypti*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 3. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1990, pp. 36–294.
- , *Sermo Paraeneticus De Secundo Aduentu Domini, et De Paenitentia*, ed. Konstantinos G. Phrantzoles, *Ὅσιου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου Ἔργα*, vol. 4. Thessaloniki: Τὸ Περιβόλι τῆς Παναγίας, 1992, pp. 206–222.
- Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Band 1: Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915].
- , *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)*, ed. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion* [GCS 25, 31, 37. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1: 1915; 2: 1922; 3: 1933].
- Eucherius, Sancti Eucherii Lugdunensis Episcopi Epitomes Operum Cassiani Ad Castorem Aptensem Libri Duo: Liber Primus. *De Canonicis Coenobiorum Institutis*. Liber Secundus. *De Octo Malitiae Cogitationibus*. PL.50.867–894
- Eunapius of Sardis (historian, sophist, fourth-fifth cent.), *Fragmenta Historica*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1870, pp. 205–274.
- , *Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. J. Giangrande, *Eunapii vitae sophistarum*. Rome: Polygraphica, 1956.
- Euripides, *Electra*, ed. J. Diggle, *Euripidis fabulae*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981, pp. 59–113.
- Eusebius, *Antiquorum Martyriorum Collectio (fragmenta)*, PG.20.1520–1533.
- , *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PG.23.66–1396. PG.24.9–76.
- , *Commentarius in Isaiam*, ed. J. Ziegler, *Eusebius Werke, Band 9: Der Jesajakommentar* [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975].
- , *De Ecclesiastica Theologia*, ed. E. Klostermann and G.C. Hansen, *Eusebius Werke, Band 4: Gegen Marcell. Über die kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells* [GCS 14, second edn. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972], pp. 61–182.
- , *De Theophania (fragmenta)*, ed. H. Gressmann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 3.2: Die Theophanie* [GCS 11.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904].
- , *Demonstratio Evangelica*, ed. I.A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke, Band 6: Die Demonstratio evangelica* [GCS 23. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913].
- , *Demonstratio Evangelica (fragmenta libri xv)*, ed. I.A. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke, Band 6: Die Demonstratio evangelica* [GCS 23. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913], pp. 493–496.
- , *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 vols. [Sources chrétiennes 31, 41, 55. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1952; 2: 1955; 3: 1958 (repr. 3: 1967)].
- , *Praeparatio Evangelica*, ed. K. Mras, *Eusebius Werke, Band 8: Die Praeparatio evangelica* [GCS 43.1 & 43.2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 43.1: 1954; 43.2: 1956].
- , *Vita Constantini*, ed. F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke, Band 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975].
- Eustathius of Antioch, *De Anima Contra Philosophos Fragmenta (apud John of Damascus, Sacra Parallela)*, PG.96.477.6–13).

- Eustathius of Constantinople (sixth-century monk), *Ad Timotheum Scholasticum de Duabus Naturis Adversus Severum* (e cod. Vat. gr. 2195, pp. 185–208), ed. P. Allen, *Diversorum postchalconensium auctorum collectanea I: [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 19. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989], pp. 413–447.
- Eustathius of Thessaloniki (twelfth cent.), *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, ed. M. van der Valk, *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, vols. 1–4. Leiden: Brill, 1: 1971; 2: 1976; 3: 1979; 4: 1987.
- , *De Emendanda Vita Monachica*, ed. K. Metzler, *Eustathii Thessalonicensis De emendanda vita monachica [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 45. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 2006].
- Eustratius of Constantinople (presbyter, sixth–seventh century), *Vita Eutychii*, ed. C. Laga, *Eustratii presbyteri vita Eutychii patriarchae Constantinopolitani [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 25. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992].
- Eustratius of Nicaea (eleventh–twelfth cent. AD a disciple of John Italus), *In Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea VI Commentaria*, ed. G. Heylbut, *Eustratii et Michaelis et anonyma in ethica Nicomachea commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 20. Berlin: Reimer, 1892], pp. 256–406.
- , *Orationes*, A. Demetrakopoulos, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 1. Leipzig, 1866 (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1965).
- Eutherius of Tyana (fifth cent.), *Confutationes Quarundam Propositionum*, ed. M. Tetz, *Eine Antilogie des Eutherios von Tyana [Patristische Texte und Studien* 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964.
- Évagre le Pontique, *Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre*, Sources Chrétiennes, n. 514, Paris, 2007. Greek title: *Κεφάλαια τῶν Μαθητῶν Ἐυαγρίου*.
- , “‘Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre’ dans un manuscrit grec du Musée Bénaki d'Athènes”, J. Paramelle (ed.), in *Mélanges offerts au R.P. François Graffin, S.J., Parole de l'Orient* 6–7 (1975–1976), pp. 101–113.
- Evagrius of Pontus, *De Malignis Cogitationibus (sub nomine Nili Ancyran)*, PG. 79.1200–1233; PG.40.1240–1244.
- , *Expositio in Proverbia Salomonis*, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Notitia editionis codicis biblicorum Sinaitici*. Leipzig, 1860, pp. 76–122.
- , *Practicus (capita centum)*, ed. A. Guillaumont and C. Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou le moine*, vol. 2 [*Sources chrétiennes* 171. Paris: Cerf, 1971].
- , *Scholia in Ecclesiasten (fragmenta e catenis)*, ed. P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies à l'Écclésiaste [Sources chrétiennes* 397. Paris: Cerf, 1993].
- , *Scholia in Proverbia (fragmenta e catenis)*, ed. P. Géhin, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies aux Proverbes [Sources chrétiennes* 340. Paris: Cerf, 1987].
- , *Sententiae ad Monachos*, ed. H. Gressmann, *Nonnenspiegel und Mönchsspiegel des Evagrius Pontikos [Texte und Untersuchungen* 39.4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913], pp. 153–165.
- Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (sixth cent. Antioch), ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the scholia*. London: Methuen, 1898 (repr. New York: AMS Press, 1979).
- Facundi, Hermianensis Episcopi, *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum Concilii Chalcedonensis Libri XII Concilii Chalcedonensis Libri XII Ad Justinianum Imperatorem*, PL.67.527–852.

- Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. C.L. Kayser, *Flavii Philostrati opera*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1871 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).
- Galen of Pergamon (second cent. AD), *De Differentia Pulsuum Libri iv*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 8. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1824 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 493–765.
- , *De Placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, ed. P. de Lacy, *Galen. On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.4.1.2, pts. 1–2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1978].
- , *De Uteri Dissectione*, ed. D. Nickel, *Galen de uteri dissectione* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.2.1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971].
- , *De Victu Attenuante*, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, *Galen de victu attenuante* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5.4.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923], pp. 433–451.
- , *In Hippocratis Librum De Articulis et Galeni In Eum Commentarii iv*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 18.1. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1829 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 300–345 & 423–767.
- , *Synopsis Librorum Suorum de Pulsibus*, ed. C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 9. Leipzig: Knobloch, 1825 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), pp. 431–533.
- , *Thrasybulus sive Utrum Medicinae Sit An Gymnasticae Hygieine*, ed. J. Marquardt, I. Müller and G. Helmreich, *Claudii Galeni Pergameni scripta minora*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakert, 1967), pp. 33–100.
- Gelasius of Cyzicus (fifth-century historian, fl. c. 475), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Heinemann and G. Loeschcke, *Gelasius. Kirchengeschichte* [*GCS der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* 28. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1918].
- Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC), *Elementa Astronomiae*, ed. G. Aujac, *Géminos. Introduction aux phénomènes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975.
- Gennadius I of Constantinople (Patriarch, fifth cent.), *Epistula ad Eis Qui ad Ecclesiam Accidunt*, F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* [*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938 (repr. 1962)], p. 83.
- Gennadius of Marseilles, *De Viris Illustribus*, PL.LVIII.1059–120.
- Gennadius Scholarius (c. 1400–c. 1473, Patriarch of Constantinople, 1454–1464), *De Differentia inter Peccata Excusabilia et Perniciosa*, ed. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 4. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1935, pp. 274–284.
- , *Tractatus de Processu Spiritus Sancti II*, ed. M. Jugie, L. Petit, and X.A. Siderides, *Oeuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, vol. 2. Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1929, pp. 269–457.
- George Cedrenus (eleventh–twelfth cent. AD), *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, 2 vols. [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1: 1838; 2: 1839].
- George Hieromonk, *De Haeresibus ad Epiphanium* (not the Bishop of Salamis), in Marcel Richard, *Opera Minora*, v. III, (62). Originally published by Marcel Richard as “Le traité de Georges Hiéromoine sur les hérésies”, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 28 (1971), pp. 239–269.
- George Monachus (ninth cent.), *Chronicon (lib. 1–4)*, ed. C. de Boor, *Georgii monachi chronicon*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904 (repr. Stuttgart: 1978, first edn. corr. P. Wirth).

- , *Chronicon Breve (lib. 1–6) (redactio recentior)*, PG.110.41–1260.
- George Syncellus (eighth-ninth cent.), *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A.A. Mosshammer, *Georgius Syncellus. Ecloga chronographica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1984.
- George Tornices (twelfth cent.), *Orationes*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, Lettres et Discours* [*Le Monde Byzantin*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970].
- Germanus I of Constantinople (Patriarch, seventh-eight cent.), *Historia Mystica Ecclesiae Catholicae*, ed. P. Meyendorff (ap. N. Borgia), *St. Germanus of Constantinople on the Divine Liturgy* (Translation, Introduction and Commentary). Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984, pp. 56–106.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum (orat. 1)*, PG.35.832–841.
- , *Apologetica (orat. 2)*, PG.35.408–513.
- , *Carmina Dogmatica*, PG.37.397–522.
- , *Carmina Moralia*, PG.37.521–968.
- , *De Moderatione in Disputando (orat. 32)*, PG.36.173–212.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto (orat. 31)*, ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963, pp. 218–276.
- , *De Theologia (orat. 28)*, ed. J. Barbel, *Gregor von Nazianz. Die fünf theologischen Reden*. Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1963, pp. 62–126.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. P. Gallay, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, 2 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1964; 2: 1967.
- , *Epistulae Theologicae*, ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres théologiques* [Sources chrétiennes 208. Paris: Cerf, 1974], pp. 36–94.
- , *Funeris Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia Episcopi (orat. 43)*, ed. F. Boulenger, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours funèbres en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée*. Paris: Picard, 1908.
- , *In dictum Evangelii: Cum Consummasset Jesus hos Sermones (orat. 37)*, PG. 36.281–308.
- , *In Laudem Athanasii (orat. 21)*, PG.35.1081–1128.
- , *In Laudem Cypriani (orat. 24)*, PG. 35.1169–1193.
- , *In Laudem Heronis Philosophi (orat. 25)*, PG.35.1197–1225.
- , *In Sancta Lumina (orat. 39)*, PG.36.336–360.
- , *In Sanctum Pascha (orat. 45)*, PG.36.624–664.
- , *In Seipsum, Cum Rure Redisset, Post Ea Quae a Maximo Perpetrata Fuerant (orat. 26)*, PG.35.1228–1252.
- , *In Theophania (orat. 38)*, PG.36.312–333.
- Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablabium Quod Non Sint Tres Dei*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 37–57.
- , *Antirrheticus Adversus Apollinarium*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.1. Leiden: Brill, 1958, pp. 131–233.
- , *Apologia in Hexaameron*, PG.44.61–124.
- , *Contra Eunomium*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vols. 1.1 & 2.2. Leiden: Brill, 1960.
- , *De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*, PG.46.553–576.
- , *De Instituto Christiano*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1. Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 40–89.
- , *De Mortuis Non Esse Dolendum*, ed. G. Heil, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 28–68.

- , *De Opificio Hominis*, PG.44.124–256.
- , *De Oratione Dominica Orationes v*, ed. F. Oehler, *Gregor's Bischofs von Nyssa Abhandlung von der Erschaffung des Menschen und fünf Reden auf das Gebet*. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1859, pp. 202–314.
- , *De Perfectione Christiana ad Olympium Monachum*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.1. Leiden: Brill, 1963, pp. 173–214.
- , *De Spiritu Sancto sive In Pentecosten*, PG.46.696–701.
- , *De Virginitate*, ed. M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nyssse. Traité de la virginité* [*Sources chrétiennes* 119. Paris: Cerf, 1966].
- , *De Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, PG.46.893–957.
- , *De Vita Mosis*, ed. J. Daniélou, *Grégoire de Nyssse. La vie de Moïse*, third edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 1 ter. Paris: Cerf, 1968].
- , *Dialogus de Anima et Resurrectione*, PG.46.12–160.
- , *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem i*, ed. O. Lendle, *Gregorius Nyssenus. Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Pasquali, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 8.2, second edn. Leiden: Brill, 1959, pp. 3–95.
- , *In Ascensionem Christi*, ed. E. Gebhardt, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 9.1. Leiden: Brill, 1967, pp. 323–327.
- , *In Basilium Fratrem*, ed. J. Stein, *Encomium of Saint Gregory Bishop of Nyssa on his brother Saint Basil*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928.
- , *In Canticum Canticorum (homiliae 15)*, ed. H. Langerbeck, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 6. Leiden: Brill, 1960, pp. 3–469.
- , *In Ecclesiasten (homiliae 8)*, ed. P. Alexander, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1962, pp. 277–442.
- , *In illud: Tunc et Ipse Filius*, ed. J.K. Downing, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 3.2. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
- , *In Inscriptiones Psalmorum*, ed. J. McDonough, *Gregorii Nysseni opera*, vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1962, pp. 24–175.
- , *In Sanctum Baptisma (orat. 40)*, PG.36.360–425.
- , *Oratio Catechetica Magna*, ed. J. Srawley, *The catechetical oration of Gregory of Nyssa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903 (repr. 1956).
- , *Orationes VIII de Beatitudinibus*, PG.44.1193–1301.
- , *Vita Sanctae Macrinae*, ed. P. Maraval, *Grégoire de Nyssse. Vie de sainte Macrine* [*Sources chrétiennes* 178. Paris: Cerf, 1971].
- Gregory Palamas (metropolitan of Thessaloniki, thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Homiliae I–XX*, ed. P.K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ "Ἀπαντα τὰ Ἔργα*, vol. 9 [*Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* 79. Thessalonili: Πατερικαὶ Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, 1985].
- , *Homiliae XLIII–LXIII*, P.K. Chrestou, *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ "Ἀπαντα τὰ Ἔργα*, vol. 11 [*Ἑλληνες Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* 79. Thessalonili: Πατερικαὶ Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, 1986].
- , *Pro Hesychastis*, J. Meyendorff, *Grégoire Palamas. Défense des saints hésychastes* [*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents* 30. Louvain, 1973].
- Greorge Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioan-*

- nis Scylitzae ope*, 2 vols. [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1: 1838; 2: 1839].
- Guillaumont, A. "Fragments syriaques des 'disciples d'Evagre'", *Mélanges offerts au R.P. François Graffin, S.J., Parole de l'Orient* 6–7 (1975–1976), pp. 115–123.
- Hermas, *Pastor*, ed. M. Whittaker, *Die apostolischen Väter I. Der Hirt des Hermas* [GCS 48, second edn. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967].
- Hermias of Alexandria (fifth cent. AD), *In Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, ed. P. Couvreur, *Hermeias von Alexandrien. In Platonis Phaedrum scholia*. Paris: Bouillon, 1901 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1971).
- Hermogenes (rhetor, second-third cent. Tarsus), *Περὶ Στάσεων*, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913 (repr. Stuttgart: 1969), pp. 28–92.
- , *Περὶ Ἰδεῶν Λόγου*, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenis opera*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913 (repr. Stuttgart: 1969), pp. 213–413.
- Hesychius of Jerusalem (presbyter, fifth cent. AD), *Commentarius Brevis*, V. Jagic, *Supplementum Psalterii Bononiensis. Incerti auctoris explanatio Graeca*. Vienna: Holzhausen, 1917.
- Hierocles (philosopher, fifth century), *In Aureum Carmen*, ed. F.G. Köhler, *Hieroclis in aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974.
- Hippolytus, *Demonstratio Temporum Paschatis (in catenis)*, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [GCS 1.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897].
- , *Fragmenta in Proverbia*, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 1.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897, pp. 157–167, 176–178].
- , *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium (= Philosophumena)*, ed. M. Marcovich, *Hippolytus. Refutatio omnium haeresium* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 25. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986].
- Hippon (or Hipponax, fifth cent. BC Regium), *Testimonia*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 385–387.
- Historia Monachorum In Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1971: 4–138. This is an anonymous chronicle, probably written by a monk of Jerusalem.
- Homer, *Ilias*, ed. D.B. Morno, T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera: Ilias*. Vols. I–II. Oxford (repr.) 1969 (I), 1971 (II).
- , *Odyssea*, ed. T.W. Allen, *Homeri Opera: Odyssea*. Vols. III–IV. Oxford (repr.) 1967 (III), 1966 (IV).
- Hypatius of Ephesus (Archbishop, sixth cent.), *Fragmenta in Lucam (e Nicetae catena)*, F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica* [*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 117. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938 (repr. 1962)], pp. 151–153.
- Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, ed. É. des Places, *Jamblique. Les mystères d'Égypte*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966.
- , *Protrepticus*, ed. H. Pistelli, *Iamblichi protrepticus ad fidem codicis Florentini*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- Ignatius Diaconus (or, Ignatius Melodus, biographer and poet, deacon at the Hagia Sophia, Bishop of Nicaea, eighth-ninth cent.), *Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor,

- Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. New York: Arno, 1975), pp. 139–217.
- , *Vita Tarasii Patriarchae*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon [Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 4]*. Aldershot, England, Ashgate, 1998.
- Ioannis Cassiani Abbatis Massiliensis, *De Coenobiorum Institutis Libri Duodecim*, PL.49.53–476.
- Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses (libri 1–2)*, d. W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857.
- , *Fragmenta Deperditorum Operum*, ed. W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857, pp. 470–511.
- Isidore of Pelusium (monk, fifth century), *Epistulae (1414–1700)*, ed. P. Éviéux, *Isidore de Péluze, Lettres (1414–1700)* [*Sources chrétiennes* 454. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000].
- Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, PL.23.597–720A.
- , *Epistulae 1–70*, CSEL 54, ed. I. Hilberg, 1910–1918, editio altera supplementis aucta 1996.
- Joannis Cassiani Massiliensis Presbyteri, *De Incarnatione Christi Contra Nestorium Haereticum Libri Septem*, PL.50.9–272.
- Joannis Cassiani Opera*, ed. Michael Petschenig, (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum XIII, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*), Vienna: Tempsky, S. XCVI–CIII, 1886–1888.
- Joel (chronicler, thirteenth cent.), *Chronographia Compendiaria*, ed. I. Bekker, *Joelis chronographia compendiaria* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1836].
- John Apocaucus (monk, jurist, metropolitan, Naupactus, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Notitiae et Epistulae*, N.A. Bees, “Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien),” *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971–1974), pp. 57–160.
- John Chrysostom, *Ad Demetrium de Compunctione (lib. 1)*, PG.47.393–410.
- , *Ad Theodorum Lapsum (lib. 2)* (= *Epistula ad Theodorum Monachum*), ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. A Théodore* [*Sources chrétiennes* 117. Paris: Cerf, 1966].
- , *De Lazaro (homiliae 1–7)*, PG.48.963–1054.
- , *De Paenitentia (homiliae 1–9)*, (homilies 7–9 are spurious), PG.49.277–350.
- , *Epistulae ad Olympiadem* (epist. 1–17), ed. A.-M. Malingrey, *Jean Chrysostome. Lettres à Olympias*, second edn. [*Sources chrétiennes* 13 bis. Paris: Cerf, 1968].
- , *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG.55.39–498.
- , *In Acta Apostolorum (homiliae 1–55)*, PG.60.13–384.
- , *In Epistulam ad Ephesios (homiliae 1–24)*, PG.62.9–176.
- , *In Epistulam ad Galatas Commentarius*, PG.61.611–682.
- , *In Epistulam ad Hebraeos (homiliae 1–34)*, PG.63.9–236.
- , *In Epistulam ad Romanos (homiliae 1–32)*, PG.60.391–682.
- , *In Epistulam i ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–44)*, PG.61.9–382.

- , *In Epistulam ii ad Corinthios (homiliae 1–30)*, PG.61.381–610.
- , *In Genesim (homiliae 1–67)*, PG.53.21–385; PG.54.385–580.
- , *In Genesim (sermone 1–9)*, PG.54.581–630.
- , *In Illud: Filius ex Se Nihil Facit*, PG.56.247–256.
- , *In Illud: Habentes Eundem Spiritum (homiliae 1–3)*, PG.51.271–302.
- , *In Illud: Vidi Dominum (homiliae 1–6)*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. Homélie sur Ozias* [*Sources chrétiennes* 277. Paris: Cerf, 1981], pp. 42–228.
- , *In Isaiam*, ed. J. Dumortier, *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Isaïe* [*Sources chrétiennes* 304. Paris: Cerf, 1983].
- , *In Joannem (homiliae 1–88)*, PG.59.23–482.
- , *In Matthaëum (homiliae 1–90)*, PG.57.13–472; PG.58.471–794.
- John Climacus (sixth–seventh cent. AD), *Scala Paradisi*, PG.88.631–1161.
- John Laurentius Lydus, *De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, ed. A.C. Bandy, *Ioannes Lydus. On powers or the magistracies of the Roman state*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983.
- , *De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch, *Ioannis Lydi liber de mensibus*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1898 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967).
- , *De Ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth, *Ioannis Laurentii Lydi liber de ostentis et calendaria Graeca omnia*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897.
- John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Malalae chronographia* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1831].
- John Moschus (c. 550–619, born in Damascus), *Pratum Spirituale (Λειμωνάριον)*, PG.87(3).2852–3112.
- John of Damascus, *Contra Jacobitas*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 109–153.
- , *Contra Manichaeos*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 351–398.
- , *De Sacris Jejuniis*, PG.95.64–77.
- , *Epistula de Hymno Trisagio*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 4 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981], pp. 304–332.
- , *Expositio Fidei*, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 2 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 12. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973], pp. 3–239.
- , *Homilia in Sabbatum Sanctum*, PG.96.601–644.
- , *Homilia in Transfigurationem Domini*, PG.96.545–576.
- , *Laudatio Sanctae Barbarae*, PG.96.781–813.
- , *Oratio Prima in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 483–500.
- , *Oratio Secunda in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 516–540.
- , *Oratio Tertia in Dormitionem Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 5 [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 29. Berlin—New York: De Gruyter, 1988], pp. 548–555.
- , *Sacra Parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres*

- libros conflant*) (*fragmenta e cod. Berol. B.N. gr. 46 [= parallela Rupefucaldina]*), PG.96.441–544.
- , *Sacra Parallela (recensiones secundum alphabeti litteras dispositae, quae tres libros conflant)* (*fragmenta e cod. Vat. gr. 1236*), PG.95.1040–1588; PG.96.9–441.
- John Oxites of Antioch (eleventh-twelfth cent. or. John IV, or, V; or, John Damascenus Junior, of John Oxites, Patriarch of Antioch, 1089–1100), *Oratio de Monasteriis*, ed. T. Creazzo, *Joannis Oxiteae oratio de monasteriis laicis non tradendis*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, 2004, pp. 61–83.
- John Philoponus, *De Aeternitate Mundi*, ed. H. Rabe, *Ioannes Philoponus. De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1899 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).
- , *De Opificio Mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt, *Joannis Philoponi de opificio mundi libri vii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1897.
- , *In Aristotelis Analytica Posteriora Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica posteriora commentaria cum Anonymo in librum ii [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.3]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1909.
- , *In Aristotelis Analytica Priora Commentaria*, ed. M. Wallies, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis analytica priora commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.2]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1905].
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis categorias commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.1]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1898].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Commentaria* (some scholars doubt the authorship), ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 15]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1897].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros de Generatione et Corruptione Commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis libros de generatione et corruptione commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.2]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1897].
- , *In Aristotelis Meteorologicorum Librum Primum Commentarium*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis meteorologicorum librum primum commentarium [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.1]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1901].
- , *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, ed. H. Vitelli, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, 2 vols. [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 16 & 17*. Berlin: Reimer, 16: 1887; 17: 1888].
- , *In Libros de Generatione Animalium Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Ioannis Philoponi (Michaelis Ephesii) in libros de generatione animalium commentaria [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 14.3]*. Berlin: Reimer, 1903].
- John VI Cantacuzenus (or, Christodulus, or, Joasaph, Emperor, Constantinople, fourteenth cent.), *Orationes Contra Iudaeos*, ed. Ch.G. Soteropoulos, *Ἰωάννου Καντακουζηνοῦ Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων Λόγοι Ἐννέα*, Athens, 1990, pp. 69–263.
- John Zonaras (grammarian, historian, eleventh-twelfth cent.) *Epitome Historiarum* (*lib. 1–12*), ed. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Zonarae epitome historiarum*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1868; 2: 1869; 3: 1870.
- Joh III Scholasticus (Patriarch of Constantinople, sixth cent.), *Synagoga L Titulorum*, ed. V. Beneshevich, *Iohannis Scholastici synagoga L titulorum*. Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.

- Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, ed. B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vols. 1–4. Berlin: Weidmann, 1: 1887; 2: 1885; 3: 1892; 4: 1890 (repr. 1955).
- Julian the Arian (fourth cent.), *Commentarius in Job*, ed. D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 14. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973].
- Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, ed. E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1915: 90–265.
- Justinian, *Contra Monophysitas*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973].
- , *Edictum contra Origenem*, ACO, *Synodus Constantinopolitana et Hierosolymitana anno 536*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1940 (repr. 1965), pp. 189–214.
- , *Edictum Rectae Fidei*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973], pp. 130–168.
- , *Epistula Contra Tria Capitula*, ed. M. Amelotti, R. Albertella and L. Migliardi (post E. Schwartz), *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians*, second edn. [*Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium. Subsidia* 2. Milan: Giuffrè, 1973], pp. 82–126.
- , *Liber Adversus Origenem* (Letter to Patriarch Menas), PG.86(1).945–991.
- , *Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and W. Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis*, vol. 3. Berlin: Weidmann, 1895 (repr. 1968).
- Juvenalis, *Satires*, ed. William J. Dominik, William Thomas Wehrle, *Roman Verse Satire: Lucilius to Juvenal: a selection with an introduction, text, translations, and notes*. Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Wauconda, Illinois, 1999.
- Leontius Byzantius, *Contra Monophysitas*, PG.86(2).1769–1902.
- , *Libri Tres Contra Nestorianos et Eytuchianos*, PG.86(1).1267–1396.
- Leontius of Constantinople (presbyter, fifth-sixth cent.), *In Penteconten (Homilia 11)*, ed. P. Allen and C. Datema, *Leontii presbyteri Constantinopolitani homiliae* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 17. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987], pp. 347–365.
- Leucippus, *Testimonia*, d. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 2, 6th edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1952 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 70–79.
- Liberatus Carthaginensis Diaconus, *Breviarium*, *Causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, collectum a Liberato archidiacono Ecclesiae Carthaginensis regionis sextae, PL.68.969A–1050A.
- Life of Chariton*, G. Garitte, “La vie prémonastique de S. Chariton”, *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 21 (1941), p. 33. For a translation in English, see L. Di Segni, “The Life of Chariton”, in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis 1990, pp. 396–420.
- Macarius of Magnesia (bishop, fourth-fifth cent.), *Apocriticus seu Μονογενής*. εδ. R. Goulet, *Macarios de Magnésie: Le monogénès* (Tome II). Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 2003.
- Marcus Eremita (monk, Egypt, Palestine, fifth-sixth cent.), *Ad Nicolaum Praecepta Animae Salutaria*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II* [*Sources chrétiennes* 455. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 106–154.
- , *Disputatio Cum Quodam Causidico*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Traité II* [*Sources chrétiennes* 455. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2000], pp. 26–92.

- Marcus Eugenicus (Constantinople, Metropolitan of Ephesus, fourteenth-fifteenth cent.), *Oratio Altera de Igne Purgatorio*, ed. L. Petit, *Documents relatifs au concile de Florence* La question du purgatoire a Ferrare, Documents I–VI [*Patrologie orientale* 15/1. Paris, 1920], pp. 108–151.
- Matthaeus Blastares (monk, theologian, Thessaloniki, fourteenth cent.), *Collectio Alphabetica*, ed. M. Potlesd and G.A. Rhalles, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἀγίων καὶ πανευφύμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀγίων πατέρων, Athens: Αὐγή, 1859.
- Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua ad Thomam*, ed. B. Janssens, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002].
- , *Epistolae*, PG.91.423–433.
- , *Epistula Secunda ad Thomam*, ed. B. Janssens, *Maximi Confessoris Ambigua ad Thomam una cum Epistula secunda ad eundem* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002], pp. 37–49.
- , *Quaestiones et Dubia*, ed. J.H. Declerck, *Maximi confessoris quaestiones et dubia* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982].
- , *Scholia in Ecclesiasten* (in catenis: catena trium patrum), ed. S. Lucà, *Anonymous in Ecclesiasten commentarius qui dicitur catena trium patrum* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 11. Turnhout: Brepols, 1983].
- Methodius of Olympus, *De Resurrectione*, in *Methodius*, ed. G. Nathanael Bonwetsch, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 27, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917, pp. 217–424.
- , *Methodius*, ed. G. Nathanael Bonwetsch, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 27, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1917.
- , *Symposium sive Convivium Decem Virginum*, V.-H. Debidour and H. Musurillo, *Méthode d'Olympe. Le banquet* [*Sources chrétiennes* 95. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963].
- Michael Glycas (historian, astrologer, Constantinople, twelfth cent.), *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, *Michaelis Glycae annales* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1836].
- , *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam*, ed. S. Eustratiades, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γλυκά, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, Athens: P.D. Sakellarios, 1906.
- , *Quaestiones in Sacram Scripturam* (Cap. 41–98), ed. S. Eustratiades, *Μιχαήλ τοῦ Γλυκά, Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*. Alexandria: Πατριαρχικὸν Τυπογραφεῖον, 1912.
- Michael of Ephesus (Aristotelian commentator, eleventh-twelfth century), *In Libros De Partibus Animalium Commentaria*, ed. M. Hayduck, *Michaelis Ephesii in libros de partibus animalium, de animalium motione, de animalium incessu commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 22.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904].
- , *In Parva Naturalia Commentaria*, ed. P. Wendland, *Michaelis Ephesii in parva naturalia commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 22.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1903].
- Michael Psellus, *Opuscula Logica, Physica, Allegorica, Alia*, ed. J.M. Duffy, *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1992.
- , *Opuscula Psychologica, Theologica, Daemonologica*, ed. D.J. O'Meara, *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.

- Nemesius of Emesa (bishop, fourth cent. AD), *De Natura Hominis*, M. Morani, *Nemesii Emeseni de natura hominis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1987.
- Neophytus Inclusus (monk, presbyter, Cyprus, died in 1219), *Decem Homiliae*, ed. e. Stephanes, "Δέκα λόγοι περί τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν", in I. Karabidopoulos, c. Oikonomou, D.G. Tsames, and N. Zacharopoulos (eds.), *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1. Paphos: Ἱερά Βασιλική καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, 1996, pp. 35–212.
- Nestorius, *Sermones (fragmenta)*, F. Loofs, *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente des Nestorius*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1905.
- Nicephorus I of Constantinople (or, Nicephorus I, or, Nicephorus Homologetes, or, Nicephorus Confessor, Patriarch from 806 to 815), *Breviarium Historicum de Rebus Gestis Post Imperium Mauricii*, (*e cod. Vat. gr. 977*), ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. New York: Arno, 1975).
- , *Eusebii Caesariensis Confutatio*, ed. J.B. Pitra, "Sancti Nicephori Antirrheticus liber quartus," *Spicilegium Solesmense* 1. Paris: Didot, 1852 (repr. 1962), pp. 373–503.
- , *Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. Featherstone, *Nicephori Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Refutatio et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 33. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997].
- Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (thirteenth-fourteenth cent.), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG.145.560–1332; 146.9–1273; 147.9–448.
- Nicetas Choniates (twelfth-thirteenth cent.), *Orationes, (1–18)*, ed. J. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae* [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis* 3. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972].
- Nicetas David (or, Nicetas of Paphlagonia, bishop and scholar, Constantinople and Paphlagonia, ninth-tenth cent.), *Homiliae Septem*, ed. F. Lebrun, *Nicetas le Paphlagonien. Sept homélies inédites*. Leuven, 1997.
- Nicetas Stethatus (monk, Constantinople, eleventh cent.), *Orationes*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Nicetas Stéthatos, Opuscules et Lettres* [*Sources chrétiennes* 81. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961].
- Nicolaus Catacepnus (twelfth cent.), *Vita Sancti Cyrilli Phileotae*, ed. É. Sargologos, *La Vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin (†110)* [*Subsidia hagiographica* 39. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1964].
- Nicolaus Mesarites, *Epitaphius in Joannem Mesaritem* (Nicaea, Constantinople, twelfth-thirteenth cent.), A. Heisenberg, "II. Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. I. Der Epitaphius des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes," *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1973, pp. 16–72.
- Nicolaus Methoneus (bishop, twelfth cent.), *Orationes*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1866 (repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1965), pp. 219–380.
- , *Refutatio Institutionis Theologicae Procli*.
- Nicomachus of Gerasa (mathematician, second cent. AD), *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*, ed. V. de Falco, [*Iamblichii*] *theologoumena arithmeticae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922, pp. 17–30, 42, 56–71.
- Nicon of Montenegro (or, Nicon of Raithus, or, Nicon of Sinai, eleventh-twelfth cent.), *Canonarium vel Typicon (cap. 1–4)*, in V. Beneshevich, *Taktikon Nikona*

- Chernogortsa*. St. Petersburg: Zapiski Istoriko-Philologicheskago Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta, 1917.
- Nilus of Ancyra (abba, fifth cent. AD), *Commentarii in Cantica Canticorum*, M.-G. Guérard, *Nil d'Ancyre. Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques* [Sources chrétiennes 403. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994].
- , *De Voluntaria Paupertate ad Magnam*, PG.79.968–1060.
- , *Epistulae*, PG.79.58–582.
- , *Peristeria*, II.6, PG.79.811–968.
- , *De Octo Vitiosis Cogitationibus* (Περὶ τῶν Ὀκτῶ τῆς Κακίας Λογισμῶν). This is a summary of the text in PG.28.845–906, recording the spurious works ascribed to Athanasius: Introduction, Epistle I to Castor (*De Canonicis Coenobiorum Constitutionibus*), Epistula II to Castor (*De Octo Malitate Cogitationibus*).
- Oecumenius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. H.C. Hoskier, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1928.
- Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, PG.93.477–628.
- Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Job*, ed. U. Hagedorn and D. Hagedorn, *Olympiodor Diakon von Alexandria. Kommentar zu Hiob* [Patristische Texte und Studien 24. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984].
- Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Jeremiae Epistulam*, PG.93.773–780.
- , the deacon of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *Commentarii in Jeremiam* (in catenis), PG.93.628–725.
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Categoriae Commentarium*, ed. A. Busse, *Olympiodori prolegomena et in categoriae commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 12.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1902].
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Aristotelis Meteora Commentaria*, ed. G. Stüve, *Olympiodori in Aristotelis meteora commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 12.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1900].
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Platonis Alcibiadem Commentarii*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Olympiodorus. Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1956 (repr. 1982).
- Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria (sixth cent.), *In Platonis Phaedonem Commentaria*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 1 [Olympiodorus]. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976, pp. 39–181.
- Oracula Chaldaica (second cent. AD), *Oracula (fragmenta)* (olim sub auctore Juliano Theurgo), ed. É. des Places, *Oracles chaldaïques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971.
- Origen, *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis*, ed. *Commentarii in Joannim*, E. Preuschen, GCS 4 (1903). PG.14.21.
- , *Commentarii in Genesim (fragmenta)*, PG.12.45–92.
- , *Commentarii in Romanos*, ed. Scherrer, J. (ed.), *Le Commentaire d'Origène sur Rom. III.5–V.7, d'après les extraits du Papyrus n. 88748 du Musée du Caire et les fragments de la Philocalie et du Vaticanus graecus 762. Essai de reconstitution du texte et de la pensée de tomes V et VI du 'Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains'*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 27. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1957.

- , *Commentariorum in Matthaëum libri 10–17*, E. Klostermann GCS 10, 1935. PG.13.836f.
- , *Commentarium in Evangelium Matthaëi libri 12–17*, ed. E. Klostermann, *Origenes Werke*, v. 10.1–10.2, GCS 40.1–40.2. Leipzig: Teubner. v. 10.1: 1935; v. 10.2: 1937.
- , *Contra Celsum*, Books 1–4; P. Koetschau, GCS 1 (1899), pp. 51f., PG.11.641f. Books 5–8, GCS 1, p. 1f., PG.11.1181f.
- , *De Oratione*, ed. P. Koetschau, *Origenes Werke*, v. 2. GCS 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899, pp. 297–403. PG.11.416f.
- , *De Principiis*, (Lat. with Greek frs.), P. Koetschau, GCS 5 (1913). PG.11.115.
- , *De Resurrectione Libri ii (fragmenta)*, PG.11.96.
- , *Excerpta in Psalmos*, PG.17.105–149.
- , *Expositio in Proverbia (fragmenta ex commentariis in Proverbia e catenis)*, PG.13.17.161–252.
- , *Fragmenta 1–71 ex Homiliis in Jeremiam*. GCS 3, p. 199. PG.13.544.
- , *Fragmenta de principiis*, ed. H. Görgemanns and H. Karpp, *Origenes vier Bücher von den Prinzipien*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976.
- , *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in Exodum (= In illud: Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis)*, PG 12.264–281.
- , *Fragmenta ex Commentariis in I Cor.* C. Jenkins, *Journal of Theological Studies* (JTS), 9 (1908), pp. 232, 353, 500; JTS 10 (1908), p. 29.
- , *Fragmenta in Evangelium Joannis (in catenis)*, ed. E. Preuschen, *Origenes Werke*, v. 4. GCS 10, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903, pp. 483–574.
- , *Fragmenta in Lucam (in catenis)*, ed. M. Rauer, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 9, second edn. [GCS 49 (35). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959], pp. 227–336.
- , *Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150*, ed. J.B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, vols. 2 & 3. 2: Paris: Tusculum, 1884 (repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966); 3: Venice: St. Lazarus Monastery, 1883.
- , *Homiliae in Exodum*, (Lat.), GCS 6, p. 145. PG.12.297. Greek Fr. GCS 6, pp. 217–218, 221–230. PG.12.353–354.
- , *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, ed. W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 8 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 33. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925].
- , *In Jeremiam (homiliae 1–11)*, ed. P. Nautin, *Origène. Homélie sur Jérémie*, vol. 1 [*Sources chrétiennes* 232. Paris: Cerf, 1976], pp. 196–430.
- , *In Jesu Nave homiliae xxvi (fragmenta e catenis)*, ed. W.A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 7 [*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 30. Leipzig: Teubner, 1921].
- , *Philocalia sive Ecloga de Operibus Origenis a Basilio et Gregorio Nazianzeno Facta* (cap. 1–27), ed. J.A. Robinson, *The Philocalia of Origen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893.
- , *Scholia in Canticum Cantorum*, PG.17.254–288.
- , *Selecta in Deuteronomium (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.12.805–817.
- , *Selecta in Exodum*, PG.12.281–297.
- , *Selecta in Ezechielem*, PG 13.768–825.
- , *Selecta in Genesim (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.12.92–145.
- , *Selecta in Psalmos (fragmenta e catenis)*, PG.12: 1053–1320, 1368–1369, 1388–1389, 1409–1685.
- Orion of Thebae, *Etymologicum*, ed. F.G. Sturz, *Orionis Thebani etymologicon*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1820 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973).

- , *Etymologicum (excerpta e cod. regio Paris. 2630)*, ed. G.H.K. Koës, *Orionis Thebani etymologicon* (ed. F.G. Sturz). Leipzig: Weigel, 1820, pp. 173–184.
- Palladius (monk, fourth-fifth cent. Helenopolis), *Dialogus de Vita Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Palladii dialogus de vita S. Joanni Chrysostomi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928.
- , *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, *Palladio. La storia Lausiaca*. Verona: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974.
- Pamphilus (presbyter, sixth-seventh cent.), *Diversorum Capitum seu Difficultatum Solutio*, J.H. Declerck, *Diversorum postchalcedonensium auctorum collectanea I: Pamphili theologi opus [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 19]*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1989], pp. 127–261.
- Paralipomena (seu Ascetica) de Sanctis Pachomio et Theodoro*, ed. F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de saint Pachome [Cahiers d'Orientalisme 2]*. Genève: Cramer, 1982], pp. 73–93.
- Peter of Alexandria (bishop, c. 360), *De Paschate ad Tricentium*, ed. P.-P. Joannou, *Fonti. Fasciolo ix. Discipline générale antique (ii–ix s.)*. *Les canons des pères grecs, vol. II*, Rome: Tipographia Italo-Orientale “S. Nilo”, 1963, pp. 57–58.
- Petronius, *Satyricon*, ed. Walter K. Kelly, 1854, London: Henry G. Bohn.
- Philo, *De Abrahamo*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 4. Berlin: Reimer, 1902 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Aeternitate Mundi*, ed. L. Cohn and S. Reiter. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 6. Berlin, 1915 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Agricultura*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 95–132.
- , *De Confusione Linguarum*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 229–267.
- , *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1898 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 72–109.
- , *De Ebrietate*, ed. P. Wendland. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Monarchia*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 3, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1879 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971), pp. 126–158.
- , *De Opificio Mundi*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Posteritate Caini*, d. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 1–41.
- , *De Praemiis et Poenis & De Exsecrationibus*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 5. Berlin: Reimer, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 336–376.
- , *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Sobrietate*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1897 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 215–228.
- , *De Somniis (lib. i–ii)*, ed. P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 3. Berlin: Reimer, 1898 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 204–306.

- , *De Specialibus Legibus (lib. i–iv)*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 5. Berlin, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *De Virtutibus*, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 5. Berlin: Reimer, 1906 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 266–335.
- , *De Vita Mosis (lib. i–ii)*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 4. Berlin, 1902 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *Legum Allegoriarum Libri i–iii*, ed. L. Cohn. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, v. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1896 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962).
- , *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, ed. L. Cohn and S. Reiter, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, vol. 6. Berlin: Reimer, 1915 (repr. De Gruyter, 1962), pp. 1–45.
- Photius (Patriarch, ninth cent. Constantinople), *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, 8 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1959; 2: 1960; 3: 1962; 4: 1965; 5: 1967; 6: 1971; 7: 1974; 8: 1977.
- , *Commentarii in Matthaeum* (in catenis), ed. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* [Texte und Untersuchungen 61. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957], pp. 270–337.
- , *De Spiritu Sancti Mystagogiae*, PG.102.153–191.
- , *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, *Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vols. 1–6.2 [*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1983; 2: 1984; 3: 1985; 4: 1986; 5: 1986; 6.1: 1987; 6.2: 1988].
- , *Homiliae*, B. Laourdas, *Ἑλληνικά, 12 Παράρτημα*, Thessaloniki, 1857–1866.
- Physiologus (redactio tertia quae vocatur pseudo-Basiliana)*, ed. F. Sbordone, *Physiologus*. Rome: Dante Alighieri-Albrighi, Segati, 1936 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), pp. 259–299.
- Plato, *Euthydemus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903 (repr. 1968): St I.271a–307c.
- , *Respublica*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902 (repr. 1968): St II.327a–621d.
- , *Timaeus*, ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902 (repr. 1968): St III.17a–92c.
- Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones & D.E. Eichholz (translators), *Pliny—Natural History*, 10 vols, Loeb Classical Library, 1938–1962.
- Plotinus, *Enneades*, ed. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *Plotini opera*, 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1: 1951; 2: 1959; 3: 1973.
- Plutarch, *Cicero*, ed. K. Ziegler, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, vol. 1.2, 3rd ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964, pp. 312–368.
- , *De Anima Procreatione in Timaeo (1012b–1030c)*, ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 6.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1954 (repr. 1959), pp. 143–188.
- , *De Communibus Notitiis Adversus Stoicos (1058e–1086b)*, ed. R. Westman (post M. Pohlenz), *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 6.2, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1959, pp. 62–122.
- , *De Defectu Oraculorum (409e–438d)*, ed. W. Sieveking, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1929 (repr. 1972), pp. 59–122.
- , *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, ed. M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.3, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960, pp. 31–89.

- , *De Iside et Osiride*, ed. W. Sieveking, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 2.3. Leipzig: Teubner, 1935 (repr. 1971), pp. 1–80.
- , *De Primo Frigido* (945f–955c), d. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.3, 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner, 1960, pp. 90–114.
- , *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis* (1033a–1057b), ed. R. Westman (post M. Pohlenz), *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 6.2, second edn. Leipzig: Teubner, 1959.
- , *Quaestiones Convivales* (612c–748d), ed. C. Hubert, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1938 (repr. 1971), pp. 1–335.
- Porphyry (third-fourth cent.), *Contra Christianos* (*fragmenta*), ed. A. von Harnack, *Porphyrius. Gegen die Christen* [Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-hist. Kl. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1916].
- , *De Antro Nympharum*, ed. Seminar Classics 609, *Porphyry. The cave of the nymphs in the Odyssey* [Arethusa Monographs 1. Buffalo: Department of Classics, State University of New York, 1969].
- , *De Philosophia ex Oraculis* (*Περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν Λογίων Φιλοσοφίας*), ed. G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda*. Berlin: Springer, 1856 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962).
- , *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria* (*fragmenta*), ed. A.R. Sodano, *Porphyrii in Platonis Timaeum commentariorum fragmenta*. Naples, 1964.
- , *Περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων*, ed. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre le philosophe néo-platonicien*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1913 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).
- , *Sententiae ad Intelligibilia Ducentes*, ed. E. Lamberz, *Porphyrii sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1975.
- , *Vita Plotini*, d. P. Henry and H.-R. Schwyzer, *Plotini opera*, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, 1951, pp. 1–41.
- Posidonius, *Fragmenta*, ed. W. Theiler, *Posidonios. Die Fragmente*, vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982.
- Prochiron Auctum*, P. Zepos (post C.E. Zacharic von Lingenthal), *Prochiron Auctum* [Jus Graecoromanum 7. Athens: Fexis, 1931].
- Prochiron vel Πρόχειρος Νόμος*, P. Zepos (post C.E. Zacharic von Lingenthal), *Leges Imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum* [Jus Graecoromanum 2. Athens: Fexis, 1931].
- Proclus, *De Decem Dubitationibus Circa Providentiam*, ed. H. Boese, *Procli Diadochitria opuscula*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960, pp. 5–108.
- , *In Platonis Alcibiadem i*, ed. L.G. Westerink, *Proclus Diadochus. Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1954.
- , *In Platonis Cratylum Commentaria*, ed. G. Pasquali, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Cratylum commentaria*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1908.
- , *In Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. V. Cousin, *Procli philosophi Platonici opera inedita*, pt. 3. Paris: Durand, 1864 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961), pp. 617–1244.
- , *In Platonis Rem Publicam Commentarii*, ed. W. Kroll, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis rem publicam commentarii*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1899; 2: 1901 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- , *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, ed. E. Diehl, *Procli Diadochi in Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1903; 2: 1904; 3: 1906 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- , *In Primum Euclidis Elementorum Librum Commentarii*, ed. G. Friedlein, *Procli*

- Diadochi in primum Euclidis elementorum librum commentarii*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.
- , *Institutio Theologica*, ed. E.R. Dodds, *Proclus. The elements of theology*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 (repr. 1977).
- , *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6)*, ed. D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink, *Proclus. Théologie platonicienne*, vols. 1–5. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1: 1968; 2: 1974; 3: 1978; 4: 1981; 5: 1987.
- Procopius of Caesarea (historian, Caesarea, sixth cent.), *De Aedificiis (lib. 1–6)*, ed. G. Wirth (post J. Haury), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1964.
- , *De Bellis*, ed. G. Wirth (post J. Haury), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vols. 1–2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1962; 2: 1963.
- Procopius of Gaza (fifth-sixth cent.), *Catena in Canticum Cantorum*, PG. 87(2).1545–1753.
- , *Commentarii in Isaiam*, PG.87(2).1817–2717.
- , *Epistulae 1–166*, ed. A. Garzya and R.-J. Loenertz, *Procopii Gazaei epistolae et declamationes [Studia patristica et Byzantina 9]*. Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag, 1963].
- , *Refutatio Procli (fragmentum e cod. Vat. gr. 1096)*, PG.87(2).1857–1866.
- Proteuangelium Jacobi*, ed. É. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du protévangile de Jacques*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961.
- Pseudo-Cyril of Alexandria, *De Sancta Trinitate*, PG.77.1120–1173.
- Pseudo-Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De Febribus*, ed. J.L. Ideler, *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, vol. 1. Berlin: Reimer, 1841 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963), pp. 81–106.
- Pseudo-Athanasius, *De Corpore et Anima*, PG.28.1432–1433.
- , *Doctrina ad Antiochum Ducem*, ed. W. Dindorf, *Athanasii Alexandrini praecepta ad Antiochum*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1857.
- , *Homilia in Occursum Domini*, PG.28.973–1000.
- , *Liber de Definitionibus*, PG.28.533–553.
- , *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*, PG.28.597–700.
- , *Sermo in Annuntiationem Deiparae*, PG.28.917–940.
- , *Sermo in Nativitatem Christi*, PG.28.960–972.
- , *Syntagma ad Quendam Politicum*, PG.28.1396–1408.
- , *Vita Sanctae Syncreticae*, PG.28.1488–1557.
- Pseudo-Basil of Caesarea, *Constitutiones Asceticae*, PG.31.1320–1428.
- , *De Vita et Miraculis Sanctae Theclae Librui ii, 1.7*, d. G. Dagron, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle [Subsidia hagiographica 62]*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1978], pp. 168–412.
- , *Enarratio in Prophetam Isaiam*, ed. P. Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al profeta Isaia*, 2 vols. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1939. My own suggestion is that this is a work by Cassian the Sabaite.
- , *Sermo n (sermo Asceticus et Exhortatio de Renuntiatione Mundi)*, PG.31.625–648.
- Pseudo-Caesarius, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*. Rudolf Riendinger (ed.), Pseudo-Kaisarios. *Die Erotapokriseis [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte]*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989].
- Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, PG.56.313–386.

- Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recognitiones (e Pseudo-Caesario)*. ed. B. Rehm and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen II. Rekognitionen* [GCS 51. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965].
- Pseudo-Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. 4. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1897 (repr. Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), pp. 175–184.
- Pseudo-David (sixth-eighth cent.), *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium, Davidis prolegomena et in Porphyrii isagogen commentarium* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 18.2. Berlin: Reimer, 1904].
- Pseudo-Didymus (= Cassian), *De Trinitate (lib. 1)*, ed. J. Hönscheid, *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 1* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 44. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975].
- , *De Trinitate (lib. 2.1–7)*, ed. I. Seiler, *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 2, Kapitel 1–7* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 52. Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1975].
- , *De Trinitate (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG.39.600–769.
- , *De Trinitate (lib. 3)*, PG.39.773–992.
- Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 7–59.
- , *De Divinis Nominibus*, ed. B.R. Suchla, *Corpus Dionysiacum i: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De divinis nominibus* [Patristische Texte und Studien 33. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990].
- , *De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 63–132.
- , *De Mystica Theologia*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 141–150.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum ii: Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita. De coelesti hierarchia, de ecclesiastica hierarchia, de mystica theologia, epistulae* [Patristische Texte und Studien 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991], pp. 155–210.
- Pseudo-Eustathius of Antioch, *Homilia Christologica in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham*, ed. F. Cavallera, *S. Eustathii episcopi Antiocheni in Lazarum, Mariam et Martham homilia christologica*. Paris: Picard, 1905.
- Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa (= Anastasius of Sinai, *Sermo I in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei*), *Ad Imaginem Dei et Ad Similitudinem*, PG.44.1328–1345.
- , *De Occursu Domini*, PG.46.1152–1181.
- Pseudo-Hippolytus, *Fragmenta in Psalmos*, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolyt's kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften* [GCS 1.2. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897], pp. 131–145, 147–153.
- Pseudo-Ignatius of Antioch (first–second cent. AD), *Epistulae Interpolatae et Epis-*

- ulae Suppositiciae (recensio longior)*, ed. F.X. Funk and F. Diekamp, *Patres apostolici*, vol. 2, third edn. Tübingen: Laupp, 1913, pp. 83–268.
- Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *De Chananaea*, PG.52.449–460.
- , *De Jejunio (sermones 1–7)*, PG.60.711–724.
- , *De Paenitentia (sermo 1)*, PG.60.681–700.
- , *De Paenitentia (sermo 3)*, PG.60.705–708.
- , *De Spe*, PG.60.771–774.
- , *De Turture Seu de Ecclesia Sermo*, PG.55.599–602.
- , *Eclogae i–xlviii ex Diversis Homiliis*, PG.63.567–902.
- , *Epistula ad Monachos*, ed. P.G. Nicolopoulos, *Αἰ εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόστομον ἐσφαλμένως ἀποδιδόμεναι ἐπιστολαί*, Athens: Tsiveriotos, 1973, pp. 481–493.
- , *In Ecclesiasten*, ed. S. Leanza, *Procopii Gazaei catena in Ecclesiasten necnon Pseudochrysostomi commentarius in eundem Ecclesiasten* [*Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978], pp. 67–97.
- , *In Genesim (sermo 3)*, PG.56.525–538.
- , *In Mediam Hebdomadam Jejuniorum*, PG.59.701–704.
- , *In Psalmum 75*, PG.55.593–598.
- , *In Psalmum 118 (homiliae 1–3)*, PG.55.675–708.
- , *In Sanctum Pascha (sermo 6)*, ed. P. Nautin, *Homélie pascales*, vol. 1 [*Sources chrétiennes* 27. Paris: Cerf, 1950], pp. 117–191.
- , *Oratio Secunda*, PG.63.923–928.
- , *Quod Mari Similis Sic Haec Vita*, PG.64.19–22.
- Pseudo-John of Damascus, *De Octo Spiritibus Nequitiae (fragmentum)*, PG 95.80–84.
- , *Epistula ad Theophilum Imperatorem de Sanctis et Venerandis Imaginibus*, PG.95.345–385.
- , *Vita Barlaam et Joasaph*, ed. G.R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, [*St. John Damascene*]. *Barlaam and Joasaph*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914 (repr. 1983).
- Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 3, 3rd edn. Jena: Mauke, 1879 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971), pp. 18–126.
- , *Epistula ad Zenam et Serenum*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 4, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1880 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 66–98.
- , *Expositio Rectae Fidei*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 4, 3rd edn. Jena: Mauke, 1880 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 2–66.
- , *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, ed. J.C.T. Otto, *Corpus apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi*, vol. 5, third edn. Jena: Mauke, 1881 (repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1969), pp. 2–246.
- Pseudo-Macarius, *Epistula Magna*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Two rediscovered works of ancient Christian literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*. Leiden: Brill, 1954, pp. 233–301.
- , *Homiliae 7 (collectio HA)*, ed. G.L. Marriott, *Macarii anecdota* [Harvard Theological Studies 5. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918 (repr. New York: Kraus, 1969)], pp. 19–48.]
- , *Homiliae Spirituales 50 (collectio H)*, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann and

- M. Krüger, Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios [Patristische Texte und Studien 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964].
- , *Opusculum 1* (= *De custodia cordis*), PG.34.821–841.
- , *Sermones 1–22; 24–27*, ed. E. Klostermann and H. Berthold, *Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon* [Texte und Untersuchungen 72. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961].
- , *Sermones 64 (collectio B)*, ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe*, 2 vols. [GCS. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973].
- Pseudo-Nicephorus I of Constantinople (eighth–ninth cent.), *Chronographia Brevis (recensiones duae)*, ed. C. de Boor, *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opuscula historica*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1880 (repr. New York: Arno, 1975), pp. 81–135.
- Pseudo-Plutarch, *Placita Philosophorum* (874d–911c), ed. J. Mau, *Plutarchi moralia*, vol. 5.2.1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1971.
- Pseudo-Theodoret of Cyrhus, *Quaestiones et Responiones ad Orthodoxos*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Θεοδώρητου ἐπισκόπου πόλεως Κύρου, ἐνὸς τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ξλ' ἀγίων πατέρων, πρὸς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρά τινος τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων Ἀποκρίσεις*. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1895.
- Pythagoristae (D–K), *Testimonia et Fragmenta*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1, sixth edn. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951 (repr. Dublin/Zurich: 1966), pp. 446–480.
- Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani (1350–1363)*, ed. M. Hinterberger, J. Koder, and O. Kresten, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363, vol. 3 [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 19/3. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001], pp. 16–605.
- Regula Sancti Christoduli*, ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Monasteriorum et Ecclesiarum Orientis*, Tomus Tertius [*Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi. Sacra et profana* 6 (1890)], pp. 59–80.
- S. Prosperi Aquitani, *Chronicum Integrum*, PL.51.531–608B. Cf. the same text in the Introduction to the works of John Cassian, PL.49.45C: S. Prosper Aquitanicus in *Chronico*, an. 436. There is some discrepancy on the year. Cf. the same text under year 437 in Prosperi Aquitanici, *Chronicon*, PL.27.719A.
- , *Contra Collatorem*, PL.51.215–276.
- Sancti Barsanuphii, *Doctrina Circa Opiniones Origenis, Evagrii et Didymi*, PG.86.891–902.
- Scholia in Aristotelem, *Scholia in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea (scholia vetera et recentiora) (e cod. Paris. gr. 1854)*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1839 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), pp. 180–244.
- Scholia in Basilicorum Libros I–XI*, ed. D. Holwerda and H.J. Scheltema, *Basilicorum libri LX*, Series B, vols. 1–9 [*Scripta Universitatis Groninganae*. Groningen: Wolters, 1: 1953; 2: 1954; 3: 1957; 4: 1959; 5: 1961; 6: 1964; 7: 1965; 8: 1983; 9: 1985].
- Scholia in Demosthenem (scholia vetera)*, ed. M.R. Dilts, *Scholia Demosthenica*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1:1983; 2:1986.
- Scholia In Hesiodum, *Scholia in Opera et Dies* (scholia vetera partim Procli et

- recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni), ed. T. Gaisford, *Poetae minores Graeci*, vol. 2 [*Scholia ad Hesiodum*]. Leipzig: Kühn, 1823.
- Scholia in Homerum, *Scholia in Iliadem* (scholia vetera) (= D scholia), ed. C.G. Heyne, *Homeri Ilias*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1834.
- Severianus of Gabala (fourth cent.), *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Ephesios* (in catenis), ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Kettenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 304–313.
- , *In Illud: Quando Ipsi Subiciet Omnia*, ed. S. Haidacher, “Drei unedierte Chrysostomus-Texte einer Baseler Handschrift”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 31 (1907), pp. 150–167.
- , *In Job* (sermones 1–4), PG.56.563–582.
- Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, ed. H. Mutschmann and J. Mau, *Sexti Empirici opera*, vols. 2 & 3 (second edn.). Leipzig: Teubner, 2: 1914; 3: 1961.
- Simplicius, *Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion*, ed. F. Dübner, *Theophrasti characteres*. Paris: Didot, 1842.
- , *In Aristotelis Categorias Commentarium*, ed. K. Kalbfleisch, *Simplicii in Aristotelis categorias commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 8. Berlin: Reimer, 1907].
- , *In Aristotelis Libros de Anima Commentaria* (some scholars doubt the attribution), ed. M. Hayduck, *Simplicii in libros Aristotelis de anima commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 11. Berlin: Reimer, 1882].
- , *In Aristotelis Physicorum Libros Commentaria*, ed. H. Diels, *Simplicii in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria*, 2 vols. [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 9 & 10. Berlin: Reimer, 9: 1882; 10: 1895].
- , *In Aristotelis Quattuor Libros De Caelo Commentaria*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, *Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 7. Berlin: Reimer, 1894].
- Socrates Scholasticus, (fourth–fifth cent. AD), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. W. Bright, *Socrates' ecclesiastical history*, second edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893.
- Sophronius, *Narratio Miraculorum Sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, ed. N. Fernández Marcos, *Manuales y anejos de “Emérita”* 31, Madrid: Instituto “Antonio de Nebrija”, 1975, pp. 243–400.
- Soranus of Ephesus (medical doctor, first–second cent. AD), *Gynaeciorum libri iv*, ed. J. Ilberg, *Sorani Gynaeciorum libri iv, de signis fracturarum, de fasciis, vita Hippocratis secundum Soranum* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927].
- Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen, *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte* [GCS 50. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960].
- Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* (epitome), ed. A. Meineke, *Stephan von Byzanz. Ethnika*. Berlin: Reimer, 1849 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958).
- Stephanus of Alexandria (medical doctor, sixth–seventh cent.), *Scholia in Hippocratis Prognosticon*, ed. J.M. Duffy, *Commentary on Hippocrates' Prognosticon* [*Diss. SUNY Buffalo* (1975)].
- Stobaeus, *Anthologium*, ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, *Ioannis Stobaei anthologium*, 5 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1–2: 1884; 3: 1894; 4: 1909; 5: 1912 (repr. 1958).

- Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, 4 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1905 (repr. Stuttgart: 1968).
- Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke, *Strabonis geographica*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1877 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969).
- Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, Edwards, Catharine (transl.), *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars*, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Symeon Logothetes, *Chronicon* (sub nomine Leonis Grammatici vel Theodosii Melisseni vel Julii Pollucis) (redactio A + B operis sub titulo Epitome fort. sub auctore Trajano Patricio), ed. I. Bekker, *Leonis Grammatici chronographia* [*Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn: Weber, 1842]. Perhaps the author is the same person as Symeon Metaphrastes.
- Symeon Metaphrastes (or, Simeon Metaphrastes, or, Symeon Magister, or, Symeon Logothetes, or, Pseudo-Symeon), *Chronicon Breve* (lib. 7–8) (*redactio recentior*), PG.110.1261–1285.
- Symeon Neotheologus (tenth-eleventh cent.), *Orationes Ethicae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Traités théologiques et éthiques* [*Sources chrétiennes* 122, 129. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966, 1967].
- Synodicon Vetus, *Synodicon Vetus* (*versio altera*), ed. J.M. Duffy and J. Parker, *The Synodicon Vetus* [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis* 15. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979], pp. 149–196.
- Synodicon Vetus, *Synodicon Vetus*, J.M. Duffy and J. Parker, *The Synodicon Vetus* [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis* 15. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1979], pp. 2–142.
- Syrianus of Athens (Neoplatonist, fifth cent.), *Commentarium in Hermogenis Librum Περὶ Ἰδεῶν*, ed. H. Rabe, *Syriani in Hermogenem commentaria*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1892.
- , *In Aristotelis Metaphysica Commentaria*, ed. W. Kroll, *Syriani in metaphysica commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 6.1. Berlin: Reimer, 1902].
- Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*, PL.2.523–594A.
- Testamenta XII Patriarcharum* (second cent. BC–third cent. AD), ed. M. de Jonge, *Testamenta xii patriarcharum*, second edn. [*Pseudepigrapha veteris testamenti Graece* 1. Leiden: Brill, 1970].
- Themistius (fourth cent. Constantinople), *Δεκαετηρικός, ἢ Περὶ τῶν Πρεπόντων Λόγων τῷ Βασιλεῖ*, ed. H. Schenkl and G. Downey, *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1965, pp. 215–230.
- , *Πενταετηρικός*, ed. H. Schenkl and G. Downey, *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1965, pp. 153–180.
- , *Quae Fertur In Aristotelis Analyticorum Priorum Librum I Paraphrasis*, ed. M. Wallies, *Themistii quae fertur in Aristotelis analyticorum priorum librum i paraphrasis* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 23.3. Berlin: Reimer, 1884].
- , *Ἐπὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης Οὐάλεντι*, ed. H. Schenkl and G. Downey, *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1965, pp. 195–214.
- , *In Aristotelis Libros De Anima Paraphrasis*, ed. R. Heinze, *Themistii in libros Aristotelis de anima paraphrasis* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 5.3. Berlin: Reimer, 1899].
- Theoctistus Studites (monk, Constantinople, fourteenth cent.), *Vita Athanasii Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Zitija dvuh Vse-*

- lenskikh patriarhov XIV v., svv. Afanasija I i Isidora I* [*Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo fakul'teta Imperatorskago S.-Peterburgskago Universiteta* 76. St. Petersburg, 1905], pp. 1–51.
- Theodore Anagnostes (historian, fifth–sixth cent. AD), *Historia Ecclesiastica*, G.C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte* second edn. [*GCS der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge* 3. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995].
- Theodore of Mopsuestia (fourth–fifth cent. AD), *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores*, H.N. Sprenger, *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in XII Prophetas* [*Göttinger Orientforschungen. V. Reihe: Biblica et Patristica* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977].
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam ad Romanos*, K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 113–172.
- , *Fragmenta in Epistulam i ad Corinthios*, ed. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenenhandschriften gesammelt*. Münster: Aschendorff, 1933, pp. 172–196.
- Theodore of Nicaea (bishop, tenth cent.), *Epistulae*, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1960: 262–316.
- Theodore of Scythopolis, *Libellus de Erroribus Origenianis*, PG.86.231–236.
- Theodore Studites (eighth–ninth cent. AD), *Canon in Requiem Monachi*, ed. M. Arco Magri, “Il canone in requiem monachi di Teodoro Studita,” *Helikon* 18/19 (1978/1979), pp. 280–292.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1–2 [*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolinensis* 31. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992].
- , *Homilia in Nativitatem Mariae*, PG.96.680–697.
- , *Iambi de Variis Argumentis*, P. Speck, *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände* [*Supplementa Byzantina* 1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968], pp. 109–308.
- , *Μεγάλη Κατήχησις*, A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Theodoros Studites, Μεγάλη κατήχησις*. St. Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1904.
- , *Parva Catechesis*, ed. E. Auvray, *Theodori Studitis Parva Catechesis*. Paris, 1891.
- , *Sermones Catecheseos Magnae*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 9/2 (Cat. 1–77), 10/1 (Cat. 78–111), Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana et Typi Vaticani, 1888–1905.
- , *Testamentum*, PG.99.1813–1824.
- Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Commentaria in Isaiam*, ed. J.-N. Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr. Commentaire sur Isaïe*, vols. 1–3 [*Sources chrétiennes* 276, 295, 315. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1980; 2: 1982; 3: 1984].
- , *De Incarnatione Domini*, PG.75.1420–1477. This work was found in works attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. (PG.75.1419–1478).
- , *De Providentia Orationes Decem*, PG.83.556–773.
- , *De Sancta Trinitatae*, PG.75.1148–1189.
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Patmensis (Epistulae 1–52)*, ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance I* [*Sources chrétiennes* 40. Paris: Cerf, 1955].
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (Epistulae 1–95)*, ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance II* [*Sources chrétiennes* 98. Paris: Cerf, 1964].
- , *Epistulae: Collectio Sirmondiana (epistulae 96–147)*, ed. Y. Azéma, *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance III* [*Sources chrétiennes* 111. Paris: Cerf, 1965].

- , *Eranistes*, ed. G.H. Ettliger, *Theodoret of Cyrus. Eranistes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- , *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, PG.81.28–213.
- , *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, ed. P. Canivet, *Théodoret de Cyr. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, 2 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 57. Paris: Cerf, 1958].
- , *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, PG.83.336–556.
- , *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. L. Parmentier and F. Scheidweiler, *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte*, second edn. [GCS 44. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954].
- , *Historia Religiosa (Philotheus)*, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodoret de Cyr. L'histoire des moines de Syrie*, 2 vols. [*Sources chrétiennes* 234, 257. Paris: Cerf, 1: 1977; 2: 1979].
- , *Interpretatio in Jeremiam*, PG.81.496–805.
- , *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG.80.857–1997.
- , *Interpretatio in XIV Epistulas Sancti Pauli*, PG.82.36–877.
- , *Quaestiones in Genesim*, PG.80.77–226.
- , *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon*, PG.80.528–858.
- , *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos and A. Saenz-Badillos, *Theodreti Cyrensis quaestiones in Octateuchum [Textos y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros”* 17. Madrid: Poliglota Matritense, 1979].
- Theodotus of Ancyra (died before 446), *Homilia IV in Sanctam Deiparam et Simeonem* (called *Εἰς τὰ Φῶτα* by the Seventh Oecumenical Council of Nicaea, 784 AD), PG.77.1389–1412.
- Theognostus of Constantinople (or, Theognostus Protospatharius, grammarian, ninth cent.), *Canones sive De Orthographia*, ed. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1835 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963).
- Theoleptus of Philadelphia (bishop, thirteenth–fourteenth cent.), *Orationes Monasticae*, ed. R.E. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos of Philadelphia, The Monastic Discourses [Studies and Texts* 111. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1992].
- Theon of Alexandria (mathematician, Alexandria, fourth cent.), *Commentaria in Ptolemaei Syntaxin Mathematicam i–iv*, A. Rome, *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vol. 1 [*Studi e Testi* 54. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1931].
- , *Ἐπόμνημα Εἰς τοὺς Προχείρους Πτολεμαίου Κανόνας*, (commentarium magnum) (lib. 1–3), ed. J. Mogenet and A. Tihon, *Le ‘grand commentaire’ de Théon d'Alexandrie aux tables faciles de Ptolémée*, 2 vols. [*Studi e Testi* 315 & 340. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 315: 1985; 340: 1991].
- Theophanes Confessor (eighth–ninth cent.), *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis chronographia*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).
- Theophrastus, *De Sensu et Sensibilibus* (= fr. 1, Wimmer), ed. H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*. Berlin: Reimer, 1879 (repr. De Gruyter, 1965), pp. 499–527.
- Typicon Monasterii Deipare Cecharitomenes seu Gratiae-Plenae*, ed. P. Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné, vol. 43,” *Revue des études byzantines* (1985), pp. 19–155.
- Typicon Monasterii Theotoci Petritziotissae*, P. Gautier, “Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos,” *Revue des études byzantines* 42 (1984), pp. 19–133.

- Typicon sive Regula Lavrae Sancti Sabbae Hierosolymitani*, E. Kurtz, "Die Klosterregeln des hl. Sabbas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 3 (1894), pp. 168–170.
- Vita Antonii Junioris*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Νέου*, *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* 19:3 (1907), pp. 186–216.
- Vita Lazari in Monte Galesio*, H. Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Tomus III*, Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910 (repr. Culture et Civilisation, 1965), pp. 508–588.
- Vita s. Lucae Stylitae* (sixth century), ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites*. Brussels, 1923, pp. 195–237.
- Vita Theophanis Confessoris* (tenth century), ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis chronographia*, vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1885 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), pp. 13–27.
- Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ed. E.C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, vol. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910 (repr. 1970).
- Zacharias of Mytilene (bishop, rhetor, theologian, fifth-sixth cent.), *Ammonius sive De Mundi Opificio Disputatio*, M. Minniti Colonna, *Zacaria Scolastico. Ammonio. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, commentario*. Naples, 1973.

III. Modern Sources

- Abel, F.M. *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, Paris 1933.
- Allison, Robert, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving founders' Typica and Testaments*, edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero with the assistance of Giles Constable, Oaks Research Library and Collection, 21, Washington D.C. 2000.
- Amato, Eugenio and Ramelli, Ilaria, "L'inedito Πρὸς βασιλέα di Temistio, con due postille e due tavole," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2006), pp. 1–67.
- Bagnall, Roger S. *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Bees, N. *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*, Κατάλογος περιγραφικός τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς Μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ Νίκου Α. Βέη (The Manuscripts of Meteora: a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts conserved in the monasteries of Meteora, published from the extant staff initially compiled by Nikos A. Veis), Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Κέντρον Ἐρεῦνης τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ καὶ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, Ἀθῆναι, 1998, Τόμος Α', Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως.
- Blake, R.P. "La littérature greque en Palestine au VIII siècle", *Le Muséon* 78, 1965, pp. 367–380.
- Brown, Elisabeth A.R. "*Falcitas pia sive reprehensibilis*: Medieval Forgers and Their Intentions", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften* 33.1 (1988), pp. 101–119.
- Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving founders' Typica and Testaments*, edited by John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero with the assistance of Giles Constable, Oaks Research Library and Collection, 35, Washington D.C., 2000.
- Chadwick, Owen, *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1968,
- Chitty, D.J. *The Desert A City*, Oxford 1966,
- Cholij, Roman, *Theodore the Stoudite, The Origins of Holiness*, Oxford, 2002.
- Chrysos, E. *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔριν περὶ τὰ Τρία Κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν Ἐ' οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον*, *Analecta Vlatadon* 3, Thessaloniki (Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikon Meleton), 1969, pp. 26–30.

- Constable, Giles, *Archiv für Diplomatic, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel und Wappenkunde*, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 1–41.
- Diekamp, Franz, “S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Episcopi epitome operum Cassiani—eine moderne Titelfälschung”, *Roemische Quartalschrift fuer christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 14, 1900, pp. 341–355.
- Driscoll, J. *The ‘Ad Monachos’ of Evagrius Ponticus*, Its Structure and a Select commentary, Roma, 1991.
- Driver, Steven, *John Cassian and the Reading of Egyptian Monastic Culture*, New York and London, 2003.
- Edwards, Mark, *Origen Against Plato*, Ashgate Studies in Philosophy and Theology in Late Antiquity, Aldershot, 2002.
- , “Origen’s Platonism: Questions and Caveats”, *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 12 (2008), pp. 20–38.
- Eustace, G.—Palmer, H.—Sherrard, P.—Ware, K. (eds), *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, vol. 1, London, 1983.
- , *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, vol. 1, London, 1983.
- Eustratiadès, S. “Στέφανος ὁ ποιητῆς ὁ Σαβαΐτης”, *Νέα Σιών* 28 (1933), pp. 594–602, 651–673, 722–737; 29 (1934), pp. 3–19; 113–130; 185–187.
- Évieux, Pierre, (ed.), *Isidore de Péluse, Lettres (1414–1700)*, Sources chretiennes, 454, Paris: Cerf, 1997.
- Festugière, A.-J. *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique*, Paris 1972.
- Flusin, B. *Miracle et histoire dans l’oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis*, Études Augustiniennes, Paris, 1983.
- Garitte, G. “La vie prémonastique de S. Chariton”, *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 21, 1941.
- . “Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte tertouvé en arabe au Sinai”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), pp. 332–369.
- Gibbon, Edward, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited with Introduction, notes and appendices by J.B. Bury, (7 vols.). London: Methuen, 1896–1900. Revised 1909–1914.
- Gibson, Edgar, ‘Prolegomena’ in *The Works of John Cassian, Translated With Prolegomena and Notes*, In *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, second series, v. 11, New York, Oxford, London, 1894.
- Goodrich, R.J. *Contextualizing Cassian. Aristocrats, asceticism, and reformation in fifth-century Gaul*, Oxford, 2007.
- Griffe, E. “Cassien a-t-il été prêtre d’Antioch?”, *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 55, 1954, pp. 240–244.
- Griffith, S.H. “Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*”, *Byzantion* 56, 1986, pp. 117–138.
- Grumel, Vernace, *Acémètes*, lemma in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, ed. Beauchesne, 1932.
- Guy, J.C. “Jean Cassien, historien du monasticisme égyptien?” *Studia Patristica*, 8. Berlin, 1966, pp. 363–372.
- Hannick, Christian, “Hymnographie et hymnographes sabaïtes”, in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaïte Heritage in the Orthodox Church*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters, Leuven, 2001, pp. 217–228.

- Hatlie, Peter, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850*, Cambridge, 2007.
- Herde, Peter, "Römisches und kanonisches Recht bei der Verfolgung des Fälschungsdelikts im Mittelalter", *Traditio* 21 (1965), pp. 291–296.
- Hirschfeld, Yizhar "The Monastery of Chariton survey and excavations", *Liber Annuus* 50 (2000), pp. 315–362.
- Holum, Kenneth G. "The Classical City in the Sixth Century", p. 97; in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge, 2005.
- Hombergen, Daniël, *The Second Origenistic Controversy, A New Perspective on Cyril of Scythopolis' Monastic Biographies as Historical Sources for Sixth-Century Origenism*, Roma 2001.
- Hook, Walter Farquhar, *An Ecclesiastical Biography Containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines*, London, 1847; vol. III, pp. 516–521.
- Ignatius Aphram Barsoum, Patriarch of Antioch, *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, Engl. tr. Matti Moosa, Gorgias Press, 2003, pp. 370–371.
- Janin, Raymond, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2: *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975.
- Jones, A.H.M.—Martindale, J.R.—Morris, J. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Leyser, Conrand, "This Sainted Isle: Panegyric, Nostalgia, and the Invention of Lerinian Monasticism", *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus*, edited by William Klingshirn and Mark Vessey, Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- , *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great*, Oxford, 2000.
- Lieberman, S. "The Martyrs of Caesarea", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939–1944), pp. 437–438.
- Linder, A. "The Christian Communities in Jerusalem", in J. Prawer, ed., *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Islamic Period (638–1099)*, Jerusalem (Hebrew) 1987, pp. 112–113.
- MacKendrick, P. *The Speeches of Cicero*, London, 1995.
- Marrou, H.I. "Jean Cassien a Marseille", *Revue du moyen age latin* 1, 1945.
- , "La Patrie de Jean Cassien", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XIII, 1947, pp. 588–596.
- Mauridès, K. Ch. "Η επίδρασις τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα ἐπὶ τῆς ποιήσεως καὶ ὑμνολογίας", *Νέα Σιών* 42 (1947), pp. 13–24.
- Mommsen, Theodor, *Chronica Minora saec. IV.V.VI.VII*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, auctores antiquissimi, 9, Berlin, 1892, p. 499.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, v. 2, 1894, repr. Culture et Civilisation, Bruxelles, 1963.
- Pargoire, Jules, *Acémètes*, lemma in Leclercq, Henri,—Cabrol, Fernand, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1920–1953.
- Patrich, Joseph, (ed.), *The Sabaité Heritage in the Orthodox Church*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters, Leuven, 2001.
- Patrich, Joseph, *Sabas, the Leader of Palestinian Monasticism*, Bumbarton Oaks, 1995, p. 191.
- Plenkers, H. *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, 1906, I, pp. 70–84.

- Price, R.M. (tr.), *Lives of the Monks of Palestine by Cyril of Scythopolis*, Cistercian Publications Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1991.
- Ramelli, Ilaria, "Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism: Re-Thinking the Christianisation of Hellenism," *Vigiliae Christianae* 63 (2009), pp. 217–263.
- Ramsey, Boniface, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, New York 1997.
- Regnault, L. *Les sentences des Pères du désert*, v. III: *Troisième recueil & tables, par Dom Lucien Regnault, moine de Solesmes*, Abbaye de Solesmes, 1976.
- Riedinger, Rudolf, "Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites, Pseudo-Kaisarios und die Akoimeten", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Pt. 52 (1959), pp. 276–296.
- , "Akoimeten", *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Pt. 2 (1978), pp. 148–153.
- , *Pseudo-Kaisarios, Die Erotapokriseis*, Berlin, 1989, p. viii.
- Rousseau, Philip, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian*, Oxford, 1978.
- , "Cassian: Monastery and the World", in Miles Fairburn and W.H. Oliver (eds.), *The Certainty and Doubt: Tributes to Peter Munz*, Wellington, New Zealand, Victoria University Press, 1995.
- Seeck, Otto, *Caesarius*, lemma in Pauly—Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Stuttgart 1897, v. 3,1, cols. 1298/1300.
- Segni, L. Di, "The Life of Chariton", in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook*, Minneapolis 1990, pp. 396–420.
- Sivan, Hagith, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2008.
- Stewart, Columba, *Cassian the Monk*, Oxford, 1998
- Tsafir Y.—Forester, G. "Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Sean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 51, 1997, pp. 85–146.
- Tsafir Y.—Segni, L. Di—Green, J. *Tabula Imperii Romani Iudaea Palaestina*, Jerusalem 1994.
- Tzamalikos, P. "Origen: The Source of Augustine's Theory of Time". *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 17–18, 1989, pp. 396–418.
- , "The Autonomy of the Stoic View of Time". *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 19–20, 1989–1990, pp. 352–369.
- , "Origen and the Stoic View of Time". *Journal of the History of Ideas*, v. 52 (4), 1991, pp. 535–561.
- , *The Concept of Time in Origen*, Peter Lang, Bern / Frankfurt / Paris / New York / London / Wien / Berlin, 1991.
- , "Creation *ex nihilo* in Origen: Rebuttal of a tragic historical bias". *Papers in Honour of Professor Emeritus G. Nitsiotas*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki Press, Thessaloniki 1994, pp. 1157–1208.
- , "The Concept of Space-Time in Origen", *Diotima*, Review of Philosophical Research, 24, 1996, pp. 144–149.
- , "The Concept of *ὕλη* (matter) in Plato's *Timaeus*". *Philosophia*, Yearbook of the Research Center for Greek Philosophy at the Academy of Athens, v. 27–28, 1997–1998, pp. 131–141.
- , "The concept of *Accidental Being* in Aristotle and its Significance for Patristic Thought". *Proceedings of the International Conference on Aristotle's Metaphysics*,

- (held at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 9 & 10 October 1997), Thessaloniki 1999, pp. 171–185.
- , *Origen: Cosmology and Ontology of Time*, Brill, Leiden / Boston, 2006.
- , *Origen: Philosophy of History and Eschatology*, Brill, Leiden / Boston, 2007.
- , *A Newly Discovered Greek Father*, Cassian the Sabaite eclipsed by 'John Cassian' of Marseilles, Brill, 2012.
- , *An Ancient Commentary on the Book of Revelation*, A critical edition of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin* from an ancient manuscript with Commentary and an English translation, Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Vailhé, S. "Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 4, 1900, and 5, 1900.
- , *Acémètes, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, 1 (1912) 274–281.
- Watts, Edward, "Where to Live the Philosophical Life in the Sixth Century? Damascius, Simplicius, and the Return from Persia", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005), pp. 285–315.
- Wotke, Karl, *Die griechische Version der Epitome operum Cassiani des Pseudo-Eucherius im cod. Vindob. graec. Nr. CXXI*. Erster Teil, Wien 1898.

IV. Ancient Lexica of Greek Language

- Etymologicum Genuinum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (ἀνάβλησις-βώτορες), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 2. Athens: Parnassos Literary Society, 1992.
- Etymologicum Genuinum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (littera λ), ed. K. Alpers, *Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des Etymologicum genuinum [Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser 44.3]*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969], pp. 29–53.
- Etymologicum Genuinum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum, ninth cent.), *Etymologicum Genuinum* (α-ἀμωσγέπωσ), ed. F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, *Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum magna grammatica. Etymologicum magnum auctum*, vol. 1. Rome: Ateneo, 1976.
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* (ἀάλιον-ζειαι), (e codd. Vat. Barber. gr. 70 [olim Barber. I 70] + Paris. suppl. gr. 172), ed. A. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, fasc. 1 & 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1909; 2: 1920 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum*, ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammaticorum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 585–588.
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ἀάλιον-ζειαι), ed. A. de Stefani, *Etymologicum Gudianum*, fasc. 1 & 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1: 1909; 2: 1920 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Etymologicum Gudianum (eleventh cent.), *Etymologicum Gudianum* (ζειδωρος-δμαί), ed. F.W. Sturz, *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum et alia grammati-*

- corum scripta e codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edita*. Leipzig: Weigel, 1818 (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), pp. 229–584.
- Etymologicum Magnum (or, Etymologicum Magnum Auctum, twelfth cent.), ed. T. Gaisford, *Etymologicum magnum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- Etymologicum Parvum (ninth cent.), *Etymologicum Parvum*, ed. R. Pintaudi, *Etymologicum parvum quod vocatur [Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 42]*. Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1973].
- Hesychius of Alexandria (lexicographer, fifth–sixth cent. AD, probably a pagan: not to be confused with the homonymous Egyptian bishop, c. 300, or the Alexandrian exegete Hesychius, also c. 300), *Lexicon (A-O)*, ed. K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vols. 1, 2. Copenhagen, v. 1: 1953; v. 2: 1966.
- Hesychius of Alexandria, *Lexicon (H-Ω)*, ed. M. Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vols. 3–4. Halle: *n.p., 3: 1861; 4: 1862 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965).
- Julius Naucratis (or, Julius Pollux, or Julius Polydeuces, grammarian, second cent. AD), *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Bethe, *Pollucis onomasticon*, 2 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 9.1–9.2. Leipzig: Teubner, 9.1: 1900; 9.2: 1931 (repr. Stuttgart: 1967)].
- Lexica Segueriana (or, Lexica Bekkeriana), *De Syntacticis (e cod. Coisliniano 345)*, ed. I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, v. 1. Berlin: Nauck, 1814 (repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1965).
- Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis (Σβ) (recensio aucta e cod. Coislin. 345)*, ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1828.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis* (= *Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν*) (= *Σα*) (e cod. Coislin. 347) (*littera a tantum edita*), ed. C. Boysen, *Lexica Graeca minora* (ed. K. Latte & H. Erbse). Hildesheim: Olms, 1965, pp. 16–38.
- Lexica Segueriana, *Collectio Verborum Utilium e Differentibus Rhetoribus et Sapientibus Multis (recensio aucta e cod. Coisliniano 345)*, ed. L. Bachman, *Anecdota Graeca*, v. 1, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1828.
- Pseudo-Zonaras (thirteenth cent.), *Lexicon*, ed. J.A.H. Tittmann, *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, 2 vols. Leipzig: Crusius, 1808 (repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967).
- Suda, *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols. [*Lexicographi Graeci* 1.1–1.4. Leipzig: Teubner, 1.1: 1928; 1.2: 1931; 1.3: 1933; 1.4: 1935 (repr. Stuttgart: 1.1: 1971; 1.2: 1967; 1.3: 1967; 1.4: 1971)].

INDEX OF PERSONS OF ANTIQUITY,
LOCATIONS, AND NOTIONS

- Abba Anastasius, 137.
 Abba Apollos, 139; 140.
 Abba Conon of Lycia, 78; 81; 265; 270;
 272; 274.
 Abba Curiacus, 81; 265.
 Abba Elias, 187.
 Abba Gerasimus, 76.
 Abba Irenaeus, 139.
 Abba Isaias, 128.
 Abba Isidore, 140.
 Abba Job, 137; 138.
 Abba John of Petra, 139.
 Abba John, the abbot of the New
 Laura for seven years, 132.
 Abba Melitas, 78; 79.
 Abba Moses, 62; 88; 91; 89; 140; 141; 143;
 145; 162; 197; 207; 395.
 Abba Pambo, 188–189.
 Abba Pinufius, 133; 135.
 Abba Serapion, 140.
 Abba Serenus, 62; 120; 137–138; 140;
 142; 144–145; 197; 152; 207; 395;
 represented as a Christian author
 by Anastasius of Sinai, 280.
 Abba Sergius, 137–138.
 Abba Thalassius, 400.
 Abba Theodosius, later Bishop of
 Capitolias, 67.
 Abbot Agapetus, 72–75; 133.
 Abbot Eustathius of Attaline, 87.
 Abraham, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
 Abramius, Sabaitic translator of
 Ephraem Syrus, 36.
 Academy of Athens (closed down by
 Justinian, in 529), xii; 5; 26; 244;
 364.
 Achilles, 275.
 active life, 122.
 Adam, 293; 295–296; 299; 315.
 Adamantius, surname of Origen, 274;
 dialogue of A., 277; false ascription,
 277; 281–282; he is not Origen, 298–
 299; A. a product of the Akoimetoι,
 282.
 Adoptionism, 70.
 Aelius Aristides, 17; 231.
 Aelius Herodianus, 17; 203.
 Aeneas of Gaza, 175.
 Aeschines, 17.
 Aeschines, 381.
 Aeschines, appl. the term μετουσία,
 356.
 Aeschylus, 17; 163.
 Aesopus, appl. ἀκρότητες ισότητες, 385.
 Aetius doxographer, 283; 305; 312.
 Aetius of Antioch, 17.
 Agathias Scholasticus, 244–245; 367.
 Akoimetoι, 3; 4; 6; 8; 13–19; 21–23; 25;
 27–29; 33; 39; 43–45; 63; 74; 78; 137;
 160–162; 169; 191; 192; 245; 255; 256;
 282; 283; 289; 290; 318; 356; 366.
 Albinus, 17; 359.
 Alexander of Aphrodisias, 6–7; 11–
 13; 17; 173; 244; 254; 323; 368–370;
 372; 376; 383; 385; 387; influence
 on Didymus, 357; mediated
 Aristotelism to Cassian, 381; appl.
 the term κατόρθωμα, 377; mind is
 the ‘eye’ and ‘ruler’ of the soul, 313.
 Alexander of Cyprus, monk, 29; 51–52.
 Alexander of Numenius (or, Alexan-
 der Numenius, rhetorician), 197.
 Alexander the Akoimetoς, 13; 27.
 Ambrose, Origen’s sponsor, 207; 335.
 Amelius, companion of Porphyry, 335.
 Ammonius of Alexandria, 17; 35; 304;
 335; on the ‘three powers of the
 soul’, 337.

- Ammonius Saccas, 335; 345; 348.
 Ammonius, Origenist monk, 144.
 Ammonius, presbyter of Alexandria (possibly fifth or sixth century), 231.
 Amorium, 262.
 Amphilocheus of Cyzicus, 399.
 Amphilocheus of Iconium, 200–201; 396; 293.
 Anacreon, 17.
 Anastasius of Sinai (appl. *πλατύτερον εἴρηται*), 386.
 Anastasius of Sinai, 76; 111; 167–168; 200; 225; 280; 282–283; 290; 297; 306; sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293; embracing the doctrine of skin-tunics betokening human bodies, 294; Gregory of Nazianzus as sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293; 294; on 'three powers of the soul', 338; quoting from Cassian without mentioning him at all, 400–403.
 Anaxagoras, all first principles are not made of contraries, 304; distinguishing mind from the soul, 312.
 Ancyra, 86; 87.
 Andreas of Caesarea, 80; quoted in Codex 633 of the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, 401.
 Angelists, a Monophysite sect with Sabellian tendencies, 72.
 Angelium, a region of Alexandria, 72.
 Anthimus, a pro-Chalcedonian Akoimetan monk, 31.
 Anthimus, Patriarch, 31.
 Anthony, monk, 84.
 Anthony, Saint, 64; 119.
 Anti-Chalcedonians, 29; 40.
 Anti-Hellenic spirit, 42–43.
 Antiochene Nestorians, 243.
 Antiochus of Palestine, 14; 22; 86–89; 90–92; 105; 109–111; 117; 128; 144; 155; 160–161; 167; 175; 183; 192–193; 199; 220; 283; 331; 353; 359; 365; 374; 391; 400; 402–403; also named Antiochus of Ancyra, 87; 109; 402.
 Antipatrus of Bostra, 259; 27–79; his account of 'Origenism', 325.
 antiphony, 32; 33.
 Antisthenes, 275.
 Antonius Hagiographus, 84.
 Antonius III Studites, 318.
 Apamea in Syria, 52; 231.
 Aphthartodocetism, 40; 255.
 apokatastasis, 261; sustained by Gregory of Nyssa, 291; 302.
 Apollinaris of Laodicea, 17; 216; 355.
 Apollinarism, 369.
 Apollonius, sophist, 17.
 Apostolic Council of 48/49, 253.
 Apt, 216.
 Apt, 84.
 Aquilinus, companions of Porphyry, 335.
 Arabia, 133; 136.
 Arabs, 40; 255.
 Arethas of Caesarea, 3.
 Arian Goths, 17; 286.
 Arianism, 17; 42–43; 255; 287; 369; Arian 'blasphemies', condemned by Theodore of Scythopolis, 300.
 Arians, 7; 261; 271; 286.
 Aristophanes, 356.
 Aristotelian language, 11; 145; 289; 396.
 Aristotelian tradition, 3; 203; 245; 367.
 Aristotelism, 3; 13; 123; 173; 217; 244; 247; 285; in Cassian, 380 f.; 381; 383.
 Aristotelism, 41; 43; 45; 65.
 Aristotle, 3–4; 6–7; 10–12; 17; 19; 22; 35; 80; 170–173; 175–177; 197; 243; 244; 254; 283–285; 303–307; 312–313; 327; 339; 367; 371; 376–377; 380–385; 383; 387; 395.
 Arius Didymus, 314; 154.
 Arius, 254.
 Arles, 58.
 Arras, 219.
 Ascalon, 72.
 Asclepius of Tralleis, 199.
 Asia Minor, 71.
 Asia, 27; 229; 403.
 Aspasius, 17; 384.
 Asterius of Amasea, 177; 200.

- Asterius of Antioch, 17.
- Athanasius of Alexandria, 3; 20; 39; 53; 66; 101; 116; 119; 127; 155; 166; 167; 173; 181; 207; 213; 227; 254; 259; 264; 296; 302; 306; 332; 355; 372; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; on universal *action*, not *being*, of the Trinity, 324; appl. the verb *διῆκειν* for divine omnipresence, 325; accurately Origen's view of God being present throughout the world, 327; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; pseudepigrapha actually written by Cassian, 399.
- Athanasius, Athonite monk, 1.
- Athenaeus (sophist second–third cent. AD), 171.
- Athens, 203.
- Athos, 1.
- Attaline, 402.
- Attaline, 87; 402; 403.
- Atticus, 326.
- Augustine, 53–54; 59; 60; 92; 123; 207; 388.
- Auxanon (Αὐξάνων), monk of St. Sabas monastery, 81.
- babyish habit (νηπιώδης ἔξις), 12; 190.
- Babylon, 161.
- Babylonian Talmud *Pesahim*, 90.
- Bacchylides, 17.
- Backovo, 237.
- Barsanuphius and John, 118; 175; 188; 193; 276; 300; 302; 321.
- Barsanuphius, 301; 303; 317; 402.
- Basel, 113.
- Basil of Ancyra, 385.
- Basil of Caesarea, 119; 161; 163; 167; 176–181; 196–197; 215–216; 252; 254; 259; 266; 282; 294; 382; 332; 355; 359; 360; 363–364; 368; 373–378; 386; 399; 400; being attributed the 'skin tunics-doctrine', 291–292; sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 'which was prior to this world', 293; faithful to the teaching of Origen, 327; *Constitutiones Asceticae* are not his work, 353–354; mentioned by Cassian, 331; 395.
- Basil of Seleucia, 170; making mention to 'incorporeal minds', 318; pseudepigrapha actually written by Cassian, 399.
- Basil, abbot of the Great Laura, 35.
- Bedouins, 87.
- Beliar, 126.
- Benedict St., 22; 57; 123; 214; 217; 219.
- Benedictine Rule, 218; 400.
- Bethlehem, 10; 82; 92; 211–212; 218–220.
- Black Mountain, adjacent to the Amanos River north of Antioch, 403.
- Black Sea, 130; 403.
- Bosporus, 130; 403.
- Britons, 150.
- Brittuncullus*, 150.
- Broad Rock (Πλατὺς Λίθος), 1.
- brook *Cedron*, 218.
- Bulgaria, 237.
- Caesarea in Cappadocia, 116; 274; 321; 352.
- Caesarius of Arles, 218.
- Callistus (writer of monastic texts), 109.
- Cappadocia, 210; 218; 229.
- Carthage, 150; 227.
- Cassian, a bishop, who was born a Jew and became the Christian Patriarch of Jerusalem, 52.
- Cassian, allegedly the seventeenth Patriarch of Jerusalem, 51.
- Cassian, an Ionian sophist, 52.
- Cassian, an unknown Apologist, 51.
- Cassiodorus, 95; 96; 213.
- Cassiodorus, 98.
- Cassius Dio, 17; 80; 150.
- Castor, bishop, Cassian's addressee, 2; 28; 46; 54; 58; 64; 66; 74; 76; 83; 84; 86; 108; 119; 149; 219; 220; 398.
- Castor, 'the bishop and martyr' commemorated in the East, 83.

- Castor, addressee of Procopius of Gaza, 85.
- Castor, Bishop of Apt, 84.
- Cave (Σπήλαιον) of St. Sabas, 138.
- Cave of the Nativity, 92; 133; 219.
- Celestine, Pope, 96.
- Celsus, 244; 288; 333; 335; 343; 348.
- Chaeremon, monk, 141.
- Chalcedonian party, 18; 29–31; 44; 191; 299; 397.
- Chaldaeans, 175.
- Chaldaeans, 175.
- Chariton, monk, 82; 83; 135.
- Chosroes, King of Persia, 88; 203; 245.
- Christian universalism* (the spirit of the Akoimetoι), 6.
- Christological dispute (sixth-century), 29; 42–43; 259; 321.
- Chrysippus, 7; 12; 154; 163; 183; 276; 323; 327; 356; being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275; being attributed the expression παρά τὴν ψύξιν by Plutarch, 309; denying the doctrine of tripartite soul', 337; Chrysippus, distinguishing τῆ φύσει from τῆ προαιρέσει, 380; on 'seminal reasons', 342–345; on διοικήσις καὶ πρόνοια, 360; on the etymology of ψυχή, 307; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; rejecting the 'three powers of the soul', 337; appl. the term κατόρθωμα, 377.
- Church of Antioch, 26.
- church of Cassian, 83–84.
- Cicerculus*, 150.
- Cicero, 97; 150; 151.
- Cilicia, 26; 76; 232.
- Classical Greece, 62; 151; 356.
- Claudius Aelianus, 17.
- Clement of Alexandria, 3; 9; 41; 42; 51; 52; 160; 163; 197; 204; 205; 259; 288; 298; 336; 372; attack on Julius Cassian the Gnostic, 298; appl. the term ἀπεράτωτος literally, 315; on διοικήσις καὶ πρόνοια, 360; ref. to the 'concept of God', 359; on δύναμις ἐνεργητική, styling the Logos 'active force' of God, 363; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368; on 'division of intelligible things', 369; the first Christian to apply κατόρθωμα in its Stoic sense, 377; parallel to Cassian's κίνησιν καὶ διάθεσιν, 381; inspired Cassian, 395; distinction between σκοπός and τέλος, 381.
- Clement of Rome, 63.
- cognitive habit (γνωστικὴ ἔξις), 12.
- Commentarius in Epicteti Enchiridion* (Simplicius), 11; 12; 372; 374; 375.
- conjunction (συνάφεια), 196; conjunction (συζυγία), 169.
- Constantine, Emperor, 210.
- Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus, 160; 199; 236; 335.
- Constitutio Antoniniana*, 61.
- contemplative speculation, 122; 187; 190; 400.
- Coptic community of Egypt and Syria, 138.
- Cosmas Vestitor of Constantinople, 67.
- Council of Antioch, 26; 222.
- Council of Chalcedon, 16; 17; 18; 27; 29; 30; 68; 75; 76; 79; 185; 192; 197; 272; defended by Leontius and Askidas, 273.
- Council of Constantinople (Sixth Oecumenical, 680–681), 39; 52; 128.
- Council of Ephesus, 16; 72; 192; 194; 196; 224; 225; 226; appl. Plotinus' expression ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, 348.
- Council of Lateran, 69; 204.
- Council of Nicaea, 17; 18; 37; 39; 40; 71; 182; the 'twentieth rule of the Council of N. '), 38; 39.
- Crypto-Origenism, during the sixth century, 266.
- Cypriot, 59.
- Cyriacus, Palestinian monk, 28; 79; 81; 83; 10; 134–136; 261; 263; 274.
- Cyricus, monk, 76; 77; 279.

- Cyril of Alexandria, 4; 6; 7; 10; 11; 22; 25; 161; 162; 170; 173; 175; 179; 185; 195; 202; 216; 260; 287; 327; 331; 350; 255; attacked by Theodoret, 270; the soul is a 'refrigerated νοῦς, 306; appl. Platonic terms, 308; associating 'north' 'north' with hell, 310; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; 'mind' is 'refrigerated', 313; misread by Cassian, 329; on God being present throughout the world, 329; appl. τύπος καὶ σχῆμα, quoting Plotinus' expression ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, 347–348; 350; Cassian knew his works, 351; appl. the notion of 'participation in the Spirit', 355–356; only spuria use the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος, 362; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; appl. κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368; not making much of virtue being a 'feat' (κατόρθωμα), 379; following Gregory of Nyssa, 380; appl. σκοπὸς καὶ ὄρος, 382; appl. πλατύτερον εἴρηται, 386–387; appl. Cassian's ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πλανώμενον, 396; influence on Cassian, 398.
- Cyril of Jerusalem, 298.
- Cyril of Scythopolis, 9; 10; 18; 28; 29; 30; 55; 61; 67; 68; 70; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76; 78; 79; 80; 81; 83; 115; 119; 122; 127; 130; 132–136; 138; 139; 140; 188; 192; 193; 196; 200; 221; 226; 234; 257; 258; 259; 260; 261; 262; 266; 267; 268; 271; 272; 273; 274; 279; 280; 286; 287; 374; on 'spheroid' bodies', 278; recounts that Sabas detested Origenism, 321; mentioning Cassian, 405; styling Cassian 'orthodox', 265.
- Cyrrhus, saint, 233.
- Damascenus Studites, 118.
- Damascius, 3; 6; 7; 11; 13; 17; 198; 203–205; 244; 245; appl. ἀπεράτωτος literally, 315; on the universal cohesive power, 326; attesting to Proclus having liaisons with the intelligentsia of Egypt, 337; appl. ἀνεκφοίτητος, 362; found Proclus' notion of ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς rather bizzare, 364; his settlement after decamping from Persia, 367; treating the notion of 'division of intelligible things' reluctantly, 370–371; seeing only *oneness* in intelligible things, 371; appl. κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον, 376; characteristic correspondence with Cassian's language, 396.
- Daniel, monk at Scetis, 141.
- David of Alexandria, 17; 192; 386.
- David, the Psalmist, 134.
- Demetrius Chomatenus, 233.
- Democritus, 173; god is a 'spheroid body', 283; identifying mind and soul, 312.
- Demosthenes, 17; 194; 396; appl. the term μετουσία, 356.
- Desert of Jordan, 68.
- Dexippus, 17.
- Dexippus, appl. the expression κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον, 376.
- Diadochus of Photike, 64; 109; 401.
- Didymus the Blind, 3; 4; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 16; 17; 22; 24; 25; 32; 41; 42; 75; 94; 145; 162; 163; 167; 168; 170; 173; 178; 179; 180; 195; 201; 220; 244; 257; 259; 260; 261; 269; 270; 285; 286; 287; 289; 290; 297; 302; 334; 352; 401; being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275; a reflecting mind functions like a rolling 'wheel', or a 'circle', 285; endorsing the notion of tunics denoting human corporeality, 296; considered by Barsanuphius, 300; associating 'cool' with 'sin', 310; associating 'cool' with 'punishment', 311; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; his books inquired by sixth-century monks, 317; on the 'three powers of the soul', 337; on 'three powers of the soul', 338;

- Didymus the Blind (*cont.*), possible author of comm. on Aristotle, 339; appl. the adverb ἀνηγμένως, 349; appl. ἀναγωγή, ἀνηγμένος, and ἀνηγμένως, as technical terms, 350; meaning of ὑπόμνημα, 352–353; influence on Cassian, 353–356; ref. to the ‘*concepts of the Father*’, 359–360; on διοικήσις καὶ πρόνοια, 360; on δύναμις ἐνεργητική, 363; appl. the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος, 366–367; appl. the expression προχειρῶς ἀκούειν, 367; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368–369; appl. τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ (or, τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ), 371; distinction between σκοπὸς (‘intent’) and τέλος (‘end’), 381; appl. the verb προοδοποιεῖν, 383; a source of Cassian’s Origenism, 398; influence on Proclus, 337; 338; 351; 356; 357; 395; influence on Proclus and Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, 339–350; pseudepigrapha actually written by Cassian, 399.
- Didymus the grammarian, 352.
- Dio Chrysostom, 17; 381; on διοικήσις καὶ πρόνοια, 360–361.
- Diocese of Marseilles, 105; 218.
- Diocese of the East, 25.
- Diocles of Carystus, 171.
- Diocletian, Emperor, 83.
- Diodore of Sicily, influence on Cassian’s locution, 17; 194; 383–384; appl. the term κατόρθωμα, 377; virtue is the ‘mean’, 383–384.
- Diodore of Tarsus, inspired Cassian, 3; 7; 10; 17; 41; 254; 261; 266; 272; 395; appl. ὁμολογία καὶ ἐξαγόρευσις, 172; appl. συντόμως εἰπεῖν, 198; sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293.
- Diogenes Laertius, 17; introducing the term συνδιαγωγή, 373.
- Dionysius Areopagite, 3; 12; 17; 22; 25; 245; 399; 401.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 180; 183; 372; 377.
- Dionysius Thrax, 158.
- Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, 79.
- Dobrudja, 50.
- Docetism, 201; 255.
- Domitian, 22; 23; 72; 75; 116; 133; 270; 272–274; superior of the monastery of Martyrius, 76; 263; 272; 273; received the see of the province of Ancyra in Galatia, influence on Cassian’s Origenism, 312; an Origenist that condemned Origen, 266; 267; 320; professing his Origenistic allegiance, 268.
- Domnus, 70.
- Dorotheus of Gaza (monk, sixth cent.), 193.
- Dorotheus of Gaza (or, Abba Dorotheus, monk, writer of monastic texts, sixth cent.), 39; 109; 111; 117; (canonized, as St. Dorotheus the Hermit of Kemet), 118.
- Douay, 219.
- Easter, 37; 146; celebrated on the 14th of the Jewish month of Nisan by bishops of Asia Minor (*Quartodecimans*), 71.
- Ebionites, 253.
- Edessa, 28; 43; 203; 254; 245; 367.
- Edict of Antoninus (or, Edict of Caracalla, *Constitutio Antoniniana*, 212AD), 61; 230.
- Egyptian monasticism, 152; 143.
- Egyptians, monks had two offices of prayer, 217; Damascius, meaning Heraiscus), influence on Proclus, 370.
- Eleutheropolis, 72.
- Elias of Alexandria (sixth cent.), 17; 202; 381.
- Elias prophet, his body during the Transfiguration, 278.
- Elias, Patriarch of Jerusalem (494–516), 83.
- Empedocles, 305; identifying mind and soul, 312.

- Ephraem Syrus, 35; 110; 125; 161–163; 168–170; 173; 183–184; 193–195; 200; 216; 283; 331; 401–402; affinity with Cassian's writings, 378; appl. Didymus' and Cassian's expressions, 353; the notion of 'participation in the Spirit', 355–356; his translations were composed at the Great Laura, 353; appl. the term *προσασχολεῖσθαι*, 375; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; parallel language with Cassian, 381.
- Ephraem, historian, thirteenth–fourteenth century, 335.
- Ephraem, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 36.
- Ephraemius, Patriarch of Antioch, 266; 267; 279.
- Epictetus, 12; 246; 375.
- Epicurus, 175.
- Epiphanius of Cyprus (not Epiphanius of Salamis), 276.
- Epiphanius of Salamis, 24; 51; 52; 71; 78; 163; 173; 177–178; 183; 200; 277; 291; 385–386; quoting Origen on 'seminal reasons', 343; recorded Methodius of Olympus' invective against Origen, 342; his vocabulary used by Cassian, 354; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; influence on Cassian, 398.
- Epistles ascribed to Basil of Caesarea, (actually they are compilations [Lesefrüchte] from Basil's epistles), 21.
- Epistulae et Amphiloquia*, 20; 21; 80; 117; 180; 192; 200; 232; 294; 298; 318; 319; 354; 432.
- essence*, union by e., 69–70; the bread befitting human e., 159; e. is the general substratum, 182; e. of the moral teaching of the Gospel, 190; definitions aiming at e., 246; e. of Christianity, 247–248; cosmology seeking e., 250; e. defined arbitrarily, 254; e. of the divine 'cause' I cyclical movement, 284; the Son is not good by e. acc. to alleged Origenism, 320; divine e. present throughout the world, 327–328; the Good itself is beyond e., 347–348; e. of virtue is the 'mean', 384.
- established habit (*ἔξις*), 12.
- Eucherius of Lyons, 46; 55; 59; 98; 99; 100; 102; 104; 105; 107; 111; 123; 392.
- Eudocia, empress, pupil of Orion, 352–353; wife of Emperor Theodosius II, 337.
- Euethius, deacon and archimandrite, 23.
- Eulogius, monk, 81; 274.
- Eunapius of Sardis, 236; 335.
- Euripides, 17; appl. the verb *ἐκφοιτῶ*, 361.
- Eusebius, 6; 52; 162; 163; 170; 172; 173; 175; 176; 177; 178; 180; 195; 196; 216; 236; 288; 387; quoting Plotinus criticism against the Stoic view of the soul, 308; associating 'north' with evil, 311; faithful to the teaching of Origen, 327; valuing the *Pastor* of Hermas, 330; quoting Eccl. 5:4 after Origen, 331; made up history, 334–335; made extensive quotations from the *Enneades*, 347; parallel to the vocabulary of Cassian, 354–355; influence on Didymus, 355; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; appl. the notion of 'inward war', 360; barely used the expression *τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ* (or, *τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ*), 372; on *δύναμις ἐνεργητικῆ*, 363; inspired Cassian, 395; a source of Cassian's Origenism, 398.
- Eusebius, *papas*, a powerful priest at the Great Church of Constantinople and administrator, 72; 73; 273.
- Eustathius of Antioch, sustaining omnipresence of God in the world, 325.
- Eustathius of Constantinople (sixth-century monk), 69.

- Eustathius of Thessaloniki, 117; 276.
 Eustathius, abbot, addressee of
 Antiochus of Palestine, 220; 402–403.
 Eustochion, 211.
 Eustratius of Constantinople, 292.
 Eustratius of Nicaea, 12; 163; 381; 382.
 Eutheries of Tyana, 233.
 Euthychius, master of Eustratius of Constantinople (presbyter, sixth–seventh century), 292.
 Euthymius, Palestinian monk, 28; 76; 83; 188.
 Eutyches, 20; 44; 188.
 Evagrian Origenism, 10; 257; 321.
 Evagrian teaching, 123; 190.
 Evagrius of Pontus, 6; 7; 9; 17; 22; 32; 64; 68; 75; 92; 121; 122; 125; 143; 145; 166; 179; 180; 190; 191; 193; 194; 195; 257; 259; 261; 269; 270; 286; 288; 301; 302; 331; being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275; considered by Barsanuphius, 300; associating ‘north’ with the devil, the idea of souls being prior to the body ‘has not been taught by anyone’, 301; 311; his books inquired by sixth-century monks, 317; doctrines set forth by the ‘pupils of Evagrius’, 321; Cassian describing the Trinity as ‘incorporeal and simple in its proper nature’ uses the language of E., 325; inspired Cassian, 395; a source of Cassian’s Origenism, 398.
 Evagrius Scholasticus, 70; 76; 81; 268; 274; 275.
 Eve, 296; 299; 315.
experience, valued by fifth-century hermits at the expense of theory, 191.
 Extreme Hellenization, 239.
 Facundus, African Bishop of Herminian, 266; 268.
 fall of Jerusalem (70AD), 253.
 Fastidiosus, 53.
 Faustus abbot at Lerins, 53.
 Faustus, Bishop of Apollonia, 71.
 Fifth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople, 553AD, 70; 79; 191; 274; 286; 315; 316; 330.
 Firminus, monk, 261.
 Florence, 113.
 France, 55.
 Fréjus, 54; 83.
 Fulgentius of Ruspe, 218.
 Galatia, 87; 116; 274.
 Galen, 6; 163; 171; on the ‘three powers of the soul’, 337; possibly mediated Aristotelism to Cassian, 381; appl. the expression *κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον*, 376; appl. the expression *μεταπίπτειν ῥαδίως*, 372.
 Gaudentius, 53.
 Gaul, 46; 52; 57; 58; 111; 221; 229.
 Gaza, 73; 84; 85; 117.
 Gelasius of Cyzicus, 39; 53; 197.
 Gelasius, abba, mentioned in the *Apophthegmata*, 209.
 Gelasius, Abbot of the Great Laura, 23; 32; 73; 78–79; 262; 264; 267; 271; 278–280; 285–286; 323–325; the real writer of Justinian’s edict, 258–260; 267; 324–325.
 Geminus of Rhodes (first cent. BC), 34.
 Geneva, 227.
 Gennadius I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 72; 293.
 Gennadius of Marseilles, 20; 46; 49; 50; 52–58; 60; 97; 99; 101; 107; 124; 129; 130; 216; 227; 229; 391–392; 394.
 Gennadius Scholarius, 160; 292; 293.
 Gentiles, 91.
 George Cedrenus, 29; 203; 236; 335.
 George Hieromonk, 276; 317.
 George Monachus, 198; 203; 335.
 George Syncellus, 52; 203; 236; 335.
 George the Origenist, 78; 79; 262; 264; 265.
 George Tornices (twelfth cent.), 363.
 Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 39; 193.

- Germanus, friend of Cassian, 92; 93; 116; 120; 121; 131; 132; 142; 389; 396.
- Germanus, presbyter mentioned by Palladius, 93–94; 124; 131; 132.
- gnostic habit (γνωστική ἔξις), 190.
- Gnosticism, 253; ‘skin tunics’ betokening ‘flesh’ is a G. doctrine, 298.
- Gnostics, 336; being attributed the ‘skin tunics-doctrine’, 291; 292.
- God-man (θεάνθρωπος), a designation accorded Christ, 37.
- Gomon, the Asian side of Bosphorus, 27.
- Göttingen, 277.
- Graeculus*, 150; 151; 152.
- Greece, 46; 234; Classical G., 62; 151; 356.
- Greek Classical legacy, 43.
- Greek Classical lore, 10; 11; 41; 45.
- Greek patrimony, 7; 8; 21.
- Gregory of Nazianzus, 3; 125; 160; 162; 184; 198; 233; 234; 252; 302; 401; a ‘Platonist’, 308; sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293; on the ‘skin tunics-doctrine’, 291–298; defining αἰὼν as a timeless reality, 295; esp. appl. the theory of pre-existent souls, 300; and the doctrine of pre-existent souls, 302; mind is the ‘ruler’ of the soul, 314; his vocabulary used by Cassian, 354; God permeating the world does not suggest him being of any material nature, 327; the notion of ‘participation in the Spirit’, 355; on ‘inward war’, 360; on διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια, 360; appl. the term ἡ θεοφανία, 365; appl. the expression ἀρχικὴ τριάς, 365; appl. Cassian’s τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως, 396.
- Gregory of Nyssa, 6; 9; 11; 22; 25; 108; 121; 145; 156; 162; 163; 169; 170; 172; 173; 176; 177; 178; 180; 183; 184; 193; 196; 197; 198; 223; 225; 226; 254; 259; 283; 291; 302; 318; not employing the ‘skin tunics-doctrine’, 291; on ‘skin-tunics’ doctrine, 293–294; sustaining the doctrine of apokatastasis, 300; only G. and Cassian employed the phrase κατὰ γε τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον, 313; banning definition of ‘virtue’, 314; the first who applied the rare term ἀπεράτωτος to the divine nature, 313–315; faithful to the teaching of Origen, 327–328; influenced by Origen’s doctrine of creation, 340; misread by Cassian regarding God being present throughout the world, 329; dynamic and evolutionary conception of creation, 341–342; the notion of ‘participation in the Spirit’, 355; ref. to the ‘concept of the Father’, 359; ref. to God’s ‘active force’, 363; appl. κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368; on sth ‘firmly established in the soul’, 373; appl. the term συνδιαγωγή, 373; appl. the term προσασχολεῖσθαι, 374–375; appl. κατόρθωμα following influence by Origen, 377; influence on Cassian, 379; 381; appl. Aristotle’s verb προοδοποιεῖν, 383; Cassian’s creative flare, 395; his best pupil was Cassian, 396; his expression καθ’ ὑπόστασιν κακόν used by Cassian, 396; a source of Cassian’s Origenism, 398.
- Gregory of Sinai, Patriarch of Antioch (Gregory I, 570–593), 76.
- Gregory Pakourianos, 237.
- Gregory Palamas, 172; 363.
- Gregory Thaumaturgus, 87; 266; 402.
- Gregory the Great, Pope, 105; 125.
- Hadrian Emperor, 51; 52; 150; 231.
- Harran, 203; 245.
- Hebrew Scriptures, 46.
- Helladius, allegedly mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles, 54.
- Hellenism, 10; 42; 43; 151; 246; 247–249; 250; 251; 253; 255; 256.
- Hellenized Christianity, 251; 254.
- Heraclitus philosopher, account of the soul, 304–305.

- Heraclius Emperor, 64; 88.
 Heraiscus, Egyptian astrologer and sophist, 338.
 Hermas, 122; 155; Origen drew on his *Pastor*, 330; idea of 'two angels for each man', 330–331.
 Hermes Trismegistus, 4.
 Hermias of Alexandria, 17; influenced by Christians, 349.
 Hermogenes, 17; 80; appl. the expression *κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον*, 376.
 Herodotus, 17.
 Heron, the philosopher and confessor, 78.
 Hesiod, 17; 175; styled 'theologian', 357.
 Hesychius of Alexandria, 155; meaning of the verb *ἐκφοιτῶ*, 361.
 Hesychius of Jerusalem, appl. the term *συνδιαγωγή*, 373.
 Hierocles of Alexandria, 17; on the 'three powers of the soul', 337.
 Hieromonk George (not the Bishop of Salamis), 317; reporting condemnation of 'Origenism' in 553 AD, 276; 317.
 Hilary of Marseilles, 123.
 Hippocrates, 171.
 Hippolytus, 78; 204; 306; 366; 372; converted Origen to Christianity, 288; 335; associating 'the cruel north wind' with the devil, 311; the universal power decorated the world, 327; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359.
 Hippon (or Hipponax), account of the soul, 304–305.
 Holy Communion, 120; 121.
 Holy Spirit, 142; 213; 'the Holy Spirit does not give birth' to progeny (*τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ*), 15–16; procession of, described through the term *ἐκπεμψις*, instead of the normal *ἐκπέρευσις*, 292; terms used for 'procession', 293; did not teach anything about the primary substance of bodies, 301.
 Homer, 17; 165; 275; 356.
 Honoratus, 54.
 Horace, 97.
 Hypatios of Rousphinianae, 27.
 Hypatios of Ephesus, 39.
hypostasis, 252; 254; meaning of, 181; the divine h. permeates the world (Cassian), 328.
 Iamblichus, 17; 25; 183; 205; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; reported by Damascius on the universal cohesive power, 326.
 Iconoclast council of 815 AD, 209.
 Ignatius Diaconus (or, Ignatius Melodus, hymnographer, deacon in Hagia Sophia, metropolitan of Nicaea), 200.
 Ignatius Diaconus, 354.
 Ignatius of Antioch, 51; 87; 402.
 inhabitation, 70; 289.
 Innocent I, Pope, 93; 123; 131.
 Innocentius of Maronia, 73.
 Ioannia, 138.
 Irenaeus, 37; 38; 87; 298; 359; 372; 402.
 Isaac Syrus, 36; 109; 400.
 Isaac, monk at Scetis, 141.
 Isauria, 26.
 Isidore of Pelusium, 29; 124; 157; 158; 364; 402.
 Isochrists, 266; 275; 300.
 Isocrates, 17.
 James, allegedly head of the heresy of *τετραδίται*, 71.
 James, apostle, 36; 59.
 Jericho, 82; 89.
 Jerome, 49; 54; 59; 112; 144; 159; 211; 298.
 Jewish eschatological orientation, 253.
 Jews, 89; 91; 261; 399.
 Jacobite Monophysites, 73.
 Joel (chronicler, thirteenth cent.), 335.
 John Apocaucus (monk, jurist, metropolitan, Naupactus, twelfth–thirteenth cent.), 233.

- John Chrysostom, 18; 20; 49; 53; 54; 67; 80; 92; 97; 118; 121; 123; 124; 132; 145; 161; 162; 164; 167; 168; 169; 173; 180; 184; 185; 197; 200; 215; 218; 231; 259; 283; 311; 382; 388; 399; being attributed orthodox works of 'heretics', 302; Cassian's texts spuriously ascribed to JC, 332; sustaining that ψυχή ('soul') is derived from ψύχος ('coolness'), 306; valuing the *Pastor* of Hermas, 330; appl. Didymus' technical terminology, 350; profusely used the expression τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ (or, τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ), 372; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; on sth 'firmly established in the soul', 373; Didymus' and Cassian's expressions being used, 353; on the 'inward war', 360; influence on Cassian, 398.
- John Climacus, 67; 106; 108; 109; 110; 111; 125; 129; 130; 143; 144; 149; 150; 183; 195; 234; 373; ref. Cassian, 400; 403.
- John Grammaticus, 6; 37.
- John Hesychast the Sabaite, 271; 401.
- John II, Pope of Rome, 14; 256.
- John Italus, 163; 381.
- John Laurentius Lydus, 175; 194; 198; 203; 231.
- John Malalas, 83; 84; 196; 199; 203.
- John Moschus, 14; 61; 64; 67; 68; 76; 81; 109; 110; 116; 139; 144; 186; 187.
- John of Antioch, monk and deacon of the Laura, 278.
- John of Carpathus, 64; 109.
- John of Damascus, 22; 37; 68; 83; 84; 105; 111; 117; 125; 126; 128; 137; 155; 161; 165; 180; 192; 203; 216; 225; 226; 277; 331(acc. to Glycas) sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293; quoting from Cassian, 391; 400; quoting from Cassian yet not mentioning him at all, 402–403; appl. the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος, 362; appl. the term συνδιαγωγή, 374.
- John of Jerusalem, 298.
- John Oxites of Antioch (John IV, or, V; or, John Damascenus Junior), 67; 109; 110; 118; 128; 144; 234; 400; 401.
- John Philoponus, 6; 9; 11–13; 17; 22; 35; 41; 42; 176; 178; 181–183; 189; 197–198; 202; 244; 257; 272; 285; 299; 304; 334; testifying to ancient theories of the soul, 305; appl. the term ἀπεράττωτος literally, 315; appl. Didymus' technical terminology, 350; appl. τὴν ῥαδίαν μετὰπτωσιν, 372; infl. on Cassian's ὡσπερ τεκτονικῶ κανόνι, 381; John Philoponus, intr. a fresh meaning to ὑπόνοια, 380; mediated Aristotelism to Cassian, 381; appl. πλατύτερον εἴρηται, 386; not appl. τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς), 387.
- John Scholasticus of Scythopolis, 280.
- John Stroggylus, 262.
- John the Eunuch, 139; 140.
- John the Evangelist, 16; 36; 71; 138; 249; 327.
- John VI Cantacuzenus, 294.
- John Zonaras, 52; 236; 294; 335.
- John, 'the blessed monk and presbyter', 137.
- John, a saint, 233.
- John, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
- John, presbyter and archimandrite, 23.
- John, pupil of monk Cyriacus, 135.
- John III Scholasticus, 38.
- Jordan, presbyter and archimandrite, 137; 138.
- Jordan, river, 77; 89.
- Joseph, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
- Joseph, the husband of Mary, 91.
- Josephus, 127; 236; 377.
- Jovian Emperor, handed over Nisibis to the Persians in 363 AD, 368.
- Jovinian, 54.
- Judaeen desert, 82; 257; 258.
- Judaic Christianity, 253.
- Julian Emperor, 333.
- Julian of Eclanum, 53.

- Julian the Arian, 17; 41; 163; 168; on *διοίκησις* και *πρόνοια*, 360; appl. the term *ἡ θεοφανία*, 365; valuing the *Pastor* of Hermas, 330.
- Julian the Chaldaean (father), 175; 176.
- Julian the Chaldaean (son), 175.
- Julius Cassian, a Gnostic, 52; 298.
- Julius I, Pope, 53.
- Justin II Emperor, 76.
- Justin Martyr, 373; 382.
- Justinian, 8; 14–16; 18; 23; 31; 40; 61; 73; 75; 78; 83; 120; 169; 191; 193; 196; 198; 239; 241; 255; 256–259; 261; 266; 270–271; 274; 276–277; 280; 286; 289; 299; 300; 303; 306; 313; 316; Draconian legislation against Greek philosophers, 43; against Origen about the resurrected ‘body of the Lord’, 275–276; against Origen’s alleged doctrine of the soul, 309; along with modern theologians hurling ‘Platonist’ as obloquy, 308; attr. the doctrine of beginningless creation to Origen, 330; decision to impose posthumous condemnation on defunct theologians, 396; edict against Origen, 268; 287; edict against Origen produced by the Great Laura leaders, 267; 331–332; letter to Menas, 323–326.
- Justus, a Monophysite saint, 138.
- Juvenalis, 151.
- Keves, 142.
- knowledge* (γνώσις) and concrete *action* (πράξις), shift of emphasis from the former to the latter during the Fifth century, 187.
- knowledge*, the ideal of, 11; return to the ideal of gnosis and theoretical contemplation during the Sixth century, 188.
- Koile* Syria, 14; 50; 51; 127.
- Lampadius, consul, 78.
- Lausus, 109.
- Lent (Τεσσαρακοστή), 84.
- Leo I, Emperor (457–474), 84.
- Leo of Rome, 49; 96; 97; 129; 211.
- Leonides, allegedly a martyr and bishop, 335.
- Leontius of Jerusalem, 69.
- Leontius, 22; 23; 75; 78; 133; Castor’s successor, 28; 46; 54; 66; 76; 83; 145; 220; representing the New Laura at the Local Council of Constantinople, in 536; 72; reported by Cyril of Scythopolis, 74; L. Byzantium, 32; 68–71; 76; re-admitted to the New Laura in 519/520, 73; advises which his country was, 73; 74; signing at the Local Council of 536, 77; 79; 115–116; 274; admired by Cassian, 263; addressee and friend of Cassian’s, 332; 398; Origenist, 31; 121; 139; 261–262; 272–273; 278; 287; against Origen, 266; attacking Theodore of Mopsuestia, 268; an Origenist that condemned Origen at some moment while not ceasing to be Origenist (see lemma ‘Origenism’), 320; signed the acts of of the Local Council of 536, 116; 273; the pseudo-Origenistic doctrines that were condemned by the synod of 553 transpire in those of Cassian’s texts, 330; a regular visitor to Constantinople, 312; influence on Cassian’s Origenism, 312; perhaps he supplied Cassian with a version of Origen’s *De Principiis*, 331.
- Leontius, Bishop of Fréjus, allegedly mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles, 54.
- Leontius, the presbyter of Constantinople, 121.
- Leporius, 59.
- Lérins, 55; 56.
- Lesser Syria, 26; 222.
- Leucippus, 284.
- Libanius, 17.
- Liberatus of Carthage, 268; 269.

- Libyas, 89.
 Local Council of Constantinople,
 536AD, 3; 9; 22; 23; 31; 32; 37; 68; 69;
 73; 78; 79; 110; 115; 137; 192; 193; 196;
 234; 266; 267; 272–274; 279; 286; 331;
 373; 396.
 Lower Egypt, 141.
 Lucian of Samosata, 6; 17; 162; 163.
 Luke, the evangelist, 253.
 Lysias, 17.
- Macarius of Magnesia, 177; 231; 297.
 Macarius, writer of monastic texts, 67;
 109; 400; 402; allegedly sustaining
 the ‘skin-tunics’ doctrine, 294.
 Macedonia, 52.
 Manichaeism, 42; 300.
 Marcellus of Ancyra, 17.
 Marcellus, abbot of the Akoimetoi,
 27–29; 31.
 Marcionism, 281; 282.
 Marcus Eremita, 64; 109; 166.
 Marcus Eugenicus, 291; 294.
 Marius Mercator, 96.
 Mark, allegedly a Patriarch of
 Jerusalem, 52.
 Mark, the Evangelist, 253; 334.
 Marseilles, 49; 50; 52; 53; 55; 56; 58; 60;
 67; 79; 93; 95; 105; 129; 152; 216; 217;
 218; 227.
 Martin of Tours, 59.
 Martyrius, 76.
 Martyrius, bishop, Patriarch of
 Antioch (459–468/70), 84.
 Martyrius, monk, 76; 279.
 Mary the Mother of Jesus, 15; 16; 90; 91;
 225; 226; 318.
 Matthaëus Blastares, 40.
 Maximian, 131.
 Maximus Confessor, 92; 166; 177; 186;
 193; 195; 198; 200; 216; 232; 400; appl.
 a language characteristically akin
 to that of Cassian, 332; on the ‘three
 powers of the soul’, 338; appl. the
 term *προσασχολείσθαι*, 374.
 Maximus, a certain Christian quoted
 in *Philocalia*, 282.
- Mazikes (Μάζικες), 139.
 Megethius, a Marcionite, 281–282.
 Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople,
 258; 266; 323; 316; 267; 268; 276;
 324–326.
 Mercurius, a Coptic saint, 138.
 Mesopotamia, 210.
 Messalian habits, 27.
 Methodius of Olympus, 277; 278;
 298; 299; appl. the notion of
 ‘participation in the Spirit’, 355;
 invective against Origen, 342;
 not attributing the ‘skin tunics-
 doctrine’ to Origen, 291; styling
 Origen ‘Centaurus’, 288; took up
 from Origen the idea of skin tunics’
 bespeaking *mortality*, 295.
 Meton, 35.
 Michael Glycas, 39; 71; 225; sustaining
 primeval incorporeal creation,
 293–294.
 Michael of Ephesus, 35; 304.
 Michael Psellus, 8; 337; appl. Plotinus’
 expression *ἐπέκεινα νοῦ*, 348; repro-
 ducing Pseudo-Alexander of Aphro-
 disias’ *ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες*, 385.
 Minervius, allegedly mentioned by
 Gennadius of Marseilles, 54.
 Modern Europe, 227.
 Monastery of Attaline, 87.
 Monastery of Chariton, 10; 82; 83; 272.
 Monastery of Douka (Deir el-
 Quruntul, west of Jericho), 82.
 Monastery of Euthymius, 76.
 Monastery of Eutyches, 29; 44.
 Monastery of Firminus, 70; 72; 76; 137;
 263.
 Monastery of Martyrius, 76; 139; 263;
 273; 312.
 Monastery of Pharan, 83.
 Monastery of Souka, 9; 14; 23; 28; 32;
 74; 78; 79; 81; 82; 83; 135; 137; 219;
 220; 256; 272; 273; 286.
 Monastery of St. Mary, 138.
 Monastery of St. Victor, 56; 58; 122; 218.
 Monastery of Studios, 8; 14; 27; 32; 39;
 44; 128; 209; 318.

- Monastery of the Akoimatoi, 318; 319; 332; 382.
 Monastery of the Byzantii, 76.
 Monastery of the Cave of Nativity, 187.
 Monastery of the Stylites, 2.
 Monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch, 76; 109.
 Monastery of Theotokos Petritzotissa, 237.
 Monastery of Vaast, 219.
 Monastery of Zouga, 28; 81; 82.
 Monophysite acronym ΧΜΓ, 138.
 Monophysite community of Egypt and Syria, 138.
 Monophysite controversy, 137; 138; 216.
 Monophysite Egypt, 138.
 Monophysitism, 2; 13; 15; 19; 23; 30; 31; 37; 44; 72; 73; 86; 189; 227; 255; 258; 272; 274; 396.
 Moses (of the OT), 22; 290; his body during the Transfiguration, 278.
 Moses the Ethiopian, 140.
 Moses, monk mentioned in a *Synaxarium*, 117.
 Moses, the Libyan monk, 140.
 Mount Sinai, 89.
 Muslim Arabs, 73.
 Muslim conquest, 83.
 Narbonensis Secunda, 58.
nature, 68; 254; it is difficult to define n., 191; different definitions of n., 257; 259; two natures in Christ, 69–70; 191; 210; one's own nature, 126; 204; 247; deification by adoption, not by n., 223; 'according to n.' (Stoic), 247; overcoming human n., 247; natural reality, 252; Cassian describes the Trinity as 'incorporeal and simple in its proper nature', 325.
 Nazarenes, 253.
 Nemesius of Emesa, 155; 336; 376.
 Neo-Chalcedonism, 6; 17; 398.
 Neophytus Inclusus, 143; 144.
 Neoplatonic lore, 26.
 Neoplatonism, 3; 7; 11; 13; 45; 204; 205; 244; 255; on 'spheroid body', 284; N. alien to Origen, 313; Christian influence on N., 333 f.; difference of ψυχή from νοῦς, 306; on the 'three powers of the soul', 337; influenced by Christians, 349; appl. the notions of ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά, 383.
 Neoplatonists, 'sphere' and 'cycle' are associated with purity, knowledge and holiness, 285; criticizing the Stoics, 343; influenced by Didymus, 334; followed Didymus' terminology, 350; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, commenting on Aristotle, 368–369; perhaps met with Cassian after their decampment from Syria, 368.
 Nestavus, monk of the monastery of Firminus, 72.
 Nesteros, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
 Nestorianism, 14; 19; 22; 30; 31; 44; 57; 70; 129; 225; 227; 245; 255; 286; 287; 362.
 Nestorians, 254; 261; 286; the Christian Aristotelists of Edessa and Nisibis, 368.
 Nestorius, 4; 15–19; 21–29; 32; 43; 50; 53; 94; 96; 97; 129; 188; 211; 221–222; 224–226; 254–255; 259; 270–272; 289; condemned by Theodore of Scythopolis, 300; inspired Cassian, 395.
 Nicene Christianity, distinguished from Primitive Christianity, 187.
 Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (Callistus II, Patriarch for one year, in 1397), 29; 31; 51; 52; 67; 72; 76; 81; 124; 125; 194; 195; 274; 335.
 Nicephorus I of Constantinople, 52; 225; 281; 335; 386.
 Nicephorus Theotokes, 36.
 Nicetas Choniates, 160; 295.
 Nicetas David (or, Nicetas of Paphlagonia), 160; 225.
 Nicetas Stethatus, 117.

- Nicodemus of Athos, 66; 218; 391.
 Nicolaus Catacepnus (twelfth cent.), 118.
 Nicolaus Mesarites, 362.
 Nicolaus Methoneus, 233; 319.
 Nicomachus of Gerasa, 171.
 Nikon of Montenegro (or, Nikon of Raithus, or, Nikon of Sinai), 111; 130; 144; 192; 228; 235; 391; 400; 403.
 Nile Delta, 140; 141.
 Nile, 131.
 Nilus of Ancyra, 64; 80; 92; 109; 125; 127; 183; 259; 402; Cassian's texts spuriously ascribed to N., 332; appl. the term *προσασχολεῖν*, 375.
 Nilus, a spiritual son of Theodore Studites, 117.
 Nisibis, 43; 203; 245; 254; 367.
 Nitria, 145; 387.
 Noara, 89.
 Nonnus, the Origenist companion of Leontius, 67–68; 75; 133; 139; 262–263; 273–274; 279.
 Nonnus, who paraphrased the gospel of John, 244.
 Numenius, 231.
 Oecumenius, 4; 201; God's power or providence, not God himself, present throughout the universe, 327; appl. the notion of 'participation in the Spirit', 355–356.
 Olympiodorus, the deacon of Alexandria, 167; 168; 179; 195; 290; 311; 314; 331.
 Olympiodorus, the philosopher of Alexandria, 17; 35; 177; 199; 202; 386.
 Orestes, consul, 78.
 Oriental lore, 7; 8.
 Origen, 1; 4; 6–11; 15; 17; 18; 22; 32; 41; 42; 108; 122; 145; 153; 157; 159; 161–163; 170; 173; 175; 178; 180; 188; 191; 195; 207; 212; 216; 248; 250; 254; 258–261; 263; 266; 269; 270; 272; 274; 276–277; 282; 286; 289; 302; 331; frs on Psalms actually being Didymus', 289; Pseudo-Caesarius alleging that ' (Ὁριγένης) and 'wrath' (ὀργή) are cognate ones, 299; dismissing the idea of souls being prior to the body, 301; being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275; fifth anathema against O. by Justinian's edict, 275; doctrine of resurrected bodies, 278; different vocabulary in *Philocalia*, 283; unwilling to cite Greek sources, 288; human being is one entity, 291; rejecting the 'skin-tunics' doctrine, 294–297; defining αἰὼν as a 'natural system', 295; denying the Platonic idea of the idea of skin tunics', 295; the idea of skin tunics' bespeaking *mortality* is problematic, 296; attacked by Pseudo-Caesarius by name, 299; concept of creation, considered by Barsanuphius, 300; attr. the doctrine of soul being a mind which grew cold (ἐψύχῃ), 303–304; actually an anti-Platonist in many respects, 307–308; associating 'north' with evil, 310; distinguishing mind from the soul, 312; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; renounced by those who followed him through Gregory of Nyssa, 315; his catenae-fragments on the Psalms were probably written at the Great Laura, 319; during the sixth century, almost all of the major heresies were imputed to O., 321; Cassian's notion of universal immanent Trinity is alien to O.'s theology, 323; the Logos is present in the world, 325–326; the Trinity is transcendent to the world, 326; quoting Wisdom of Solomon, but having Chrysippus in mind, 327; doctrine on God being present throughout the world, distorted by the imperial edict, 329; not holding the doctrine of beginningless creation, 330; converted to Christianity, 333; personally acquainted with Porphyry, 334;

- Origen (*cont.*), studied under Ammonius Saccas, 335; rebutted the Gnostics, 336; attesting to the Stoics, denying the doctrine of tripartite soul', 337; 339; Providential creation, 340; dynamic and evolutionary conception of creation, 341–342; attesting to 'seminal reasons' sustained by Chrysippus, 343; on seminal reasons, 344–345; initially a pagan, 288; 335; 345–346; shared the same education with Plotinus, 345; personal acquaintance with Porphyry, 345; an 'exegete of Plato', acc. to Proclus, 346; maintained personal friendship with Plotinus, 346; knew of Plotinus' *Enneades* before they were committed to writing, 347–348; appl. ἀναγωγὴ as a technical term, 350; Cassian's source of typology, 351; catenaefragments vocabulary parallel to Cassia, 355; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; on διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια, 360; introduced the expression ἀρχικὴ τριάς, 365; appl. the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος, 367; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368; did not use the expression τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ (or, τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ), 372; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον, 376; the first who styled 'charity' (or, love) a 'feat' (κατόρθωμα), 377; not appl. τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς, 387; sponsored by Ambrose, 388; inspired Cassian, 395; his sympathizers writing in the sixth century, 398.
- Origenism, 5; 11; 13; 14; 16; 19; 27; 30; 44; 57; 70; 71; 123; 127; 133; 178; 187; 188; 191; 193; 204; 214; 227; 257; 274; 287; Origenistic controversy, 9; sixth-century O., 259; 260; Origenists, 272; 287; O. considered by Barsanuphius and John, 276; authentic O. rendered through a Sabaite understanding, 289; O. in Barsanuphius; reply, 303; Justinian making the distinction between ψυχὴ and νοῦς, 306; O. and 'Pseudo-O.' of Cassian, 312; Gregory of Nyssa's Origenism taken up by his followers, 315; Pseudo-Caesarius in contrast to Origen's real teaching; the primeval creation involved 'incorporeal minds', 316; Origenists' condemning 'Origen' was a sixth-century phenomenon, 319–320; the designation of O. was a partisan usage as an incriminating sobriquet, 321; Evagrian Origenism, 321; pseudo-O. of the sixth century, 324; O. pseudo-O. of Cassian, 332; O. possibly laid at the door of Cassian, 362; O. under attack by the imperial throne, 398.
- Orion, influence on Didymus, 349; 357; a peculiar etymology of 'virtue' (ἀρετή), 352; referring to Didymus the Blind, 353; teacher of Proclus, 337; 353.
- Ovid, 97.
- Oxyrhynchus, 50.
- Pachomius, 239.
- Palestina Prima, 83.
- Palestina Secunda, 61; 83; 110.
- Palladius, 53; 57; 67; 80; 93; 109; 110; 124; 131; 140; 142; 143; 144; 191; 197; 211; 217.
- Pamphilus (presbyter, theologian, sixth–seventh cent.), 69; 201; his apology for Origen, 320.
- Panepho, 133.
- Panephrisis, 131.
- Pangratus, monk, 81; 274.
- Paphnutius, another monk, from Athens, 131.
- Paphnutius, monk at Scetis, 131; 140; 141.
- Paradise, dispute as to whether this is a corporeal or incorporeal state, 302.

- Parmenides, identifying mind and soul, 312.
- Patmos, isle, 32.
- Patricius, Sabaite translator of Ephraem Syrus, 36.
- Patroclus, 275.
- Paul the apostle, 71; 80; 127; 175; 177; 230; 231; 249; 253; 323.
- Paul, Palestinian monk, 28; 133; 136.
- Paula, 211.
- Paulinus of Nola, 59.
- Pelagianism, 53; 92.
- Pelagius, 53; 59.
- Peloponnesian War, 136.
- Pentecost, 37; 39; Pentecostal period, during which kneeling is banned, 38.
- Pericles, 136.
- Peripatetic philosophy, 243; 255; 346; 370; 380.
- Persia, 244; 367.
- Persian invasion of Palestine, in 614, 87.
- Persians, 87; destroyed Ancyra in 619AD, 402.
- Persius, 97.
- person*, 252.
- Peter I of Patriarch Jerusalem, 264.
- Peter of Alexandria, anti-Origenist bishop, 38; 40.
- Peter the Fuller, 26; 29; 71.
- Peter the Greek (Helladicus), an Origenist, 262; 263.
- Peter, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 73; 262; 266; 267; 275; 279; 280; 287.
- Peter, the apostle, 71.
- Petrizos, 237.
- Petronius, 151.
- Philippoupolis, 237.
- Philo, 12; 17; 80; 170; 172; 173; 180; 183; 194; 253; 298; 307; 387; 401; on the etymology of ψυχή, 307; positing mind as ontologically prior to the soul, 312; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 313–314; on God being present throughout the world, 329; appl. the notion of μετουσία, 356; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; on sth 'firmly established in the soul', 372–373; appl. the term *κατόρθωμα*, 377.
- Philocalia*, compiled by Nicodemus of Athos, 66; foreshadowed by the *New Paradise*, 67; only the texts of *P.* are attributed to Cassian, 217–218; the real Cassian obscured by the editors of *P.*, 228; possibly a product of the Akoimetoι, 282–283.
- Philostratus of Athens (Flavius Philostratus, sophist, c. 170–250), 52.
- Philoxenus of Mabbug, a Monophysite saint, 138.
- Photius, 8; 11; 20; 21; 54; 55; 60–67; 71; 76; 80; 87; 88; 94; 92; 102; 105; 107; 110; 116; 124; 127; 129; 142; 144; 165; 180; 192; 200; 203; 216; 218; 228; 229; 232; 235; 277; 288; 298; 299; 300; 318; 319; 335; on 'skin tunics' bespeak *mortality*, 295; appl. Proclus' phraseology, 319; reviewing a defense of Origen, 320; parallel to the vocabulary of Cassian, 354; appl. *πλατύτερον εἶρηται*, 386; distorted by M.
- Petschenig, 391–392; did not have *De Panareto* available to him, 393–394; many of the *Epistulae et Amphilochia* are Cassian's, 228; 399; reviewing Origen's *Princ.*, 326; styling Cassian's book *βιβλιδάριον*, 389; reviewing Cassian, 391; 400.
- Physiologus, 160.
- Piamun, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
- Pindar, 17.
- Pinufius, monk, 134; 141.
- Plato, 4; 10; 17; 19; 35; 120; 142; 145; 171; 243; 244; 256; 276; 285; being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275; P.'s texts hardly read by modern theologians, 307; tripartite division of the soul, 337; P. not too different from Aristotle acc. to Late Antiquity interpreters, 339;

- Plato (*cont.*), would not have never endorsed some of the pagan Origen's statements, acc. to Proclus, 346; 'the Good is not essence', 347–348; styled 'theologian', 357; construed by Proclus, 359; ref. to the 'concept of the Father', 359; defended by Simplicius, 371; appl. τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς casually, 387; familiar to Cassian, 395; his dialogues were a model to Cassian, 396.
- Plato, Christian martyr, 87.
- Plato, monk of Sakkoudion, 209.
- Platonic dialogues, 141.
- Platonic style, 145.
- Platonism, 243; 244, the body being the tunic of the soul, 291; 292; alien to Origen, 313; the sixth century eagerly seeking 'heresy' in Platonic terminology, 332; eagerly sought in Origen by modern scholarship, 343.
- Pliny the Elder, 151.
- Pliny the Younger, 151.
- Plotinus, 17; 175; 205; 244; 335; ontological pattern, 303; 323; ontological pattern different from Origen's, 313; dismissing the Stoic view of the soul, 308; actually received argument against the Stoic account of the soul from Plutarch, 309; criticising the Stoic doctrine of 'seminal reasons', 342; attesting to Stoic philosophy, 343; on seminal reasons, 344; his *Enneades* were known to Origen before they were committed to writing, 346; the One is ontologically superior to the Mind, 346; criticised Aristotle who dismissed 'division of intelligible things', 369–370; appl. the verb συντροχάζειν, 366; mentioned by Simplicius, 376.
- Plovdiv, 237.
- Plutarch, 6; 17; 80; 150; 162; 163; 195; 306; 307; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; criticizing the Stoics, 309; 343; appl. the rare term ἀπεράτωτος, 313; 315; identifying the universal cohesive power with Zeus, 326; ref. to the 'concept of God', 359; appl. the term κατόρθωμα, 377; appl. τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς, 387.
- Poenulus*, 150.
- Poimen, monk mentioned in a *Synaxarium*, 117.
- Polybius, 17; appl. the term κατόρθωμα, 377.
- Polycrates of Ephesus, *Quartodeciman* bishop, 71.
- Pontius Pilate, 246.
- Pontus, 28; 229.
- Porphyrus, 17; 35; 175; 231; 244; 333; 334; testimony about Origen, 288; thought of the Stoic tenet of the soul as 'shameful', 309; styled the Holy Spirit 'the soul' of God, 323; identifying the universal cohesive power with Hermes, 326; had no reason to claim a Christian-born theologian as Greek, 335; copying Origen, 336; contemptive of Christian scholars, 338; influenced by Origen, 339; criticizing the Stoics, 343; personal acquaintance with Origen, 345.
- Posidonius of Apamea, 17; 194; 384; on the 'three powers of the soul', 337; ref. to the 'concept of God', 359; styling the universal cohesive power 'spirit', 326.
- Posidonius, monk, 211.
- practical habit (πρακτικὴ ἔξις), 12; 190.
- praxis*, the fourth-century monastic ideal, 11.
- precise copies of Scripture, 211.
- Prefecture of the East, 25.
- Presocratics, etymology for ψυχή, 303; account of the soul, 304–306.
- primary substance of bodies, 301.

- Proclus, 3; 6; 7; 11; 13; 25; 35; 45; 198; 205; 244; 245; 284; mind cannot exist in the world apart from the soul, 314; mind is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; influence on Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, 319; on the universal cohesive power, 326; reported by Damascius on the universal cohesive power, 326; influenced by Didymus, 334; 349; 353–354; 356; attesting to Origen, 335; taking up Origen's formulation, 336; P. had liaisons with the intelligentsia of Egypt, 337; on the 'three powers of the soul', 337; employing Christian locution, 338; relation with Heraiscus, 338; praising Porphyry's legacy, 339; criticizing the Stoics, 343; knew of the pagan Origen, 345; selectively employing Stoic 'seminal reasons', 345–346; not endorsing some of the pagan Origen's statements, 346; appl. the imagery of Genesis about 'skin-tunics', 348–349; influenced by Alexandrian Christianity, 352; pupil of Orion, 352–353; influence on Cassian, 353; 354; appl. the term *μετουσίαι*, 356–357; appl. the terminology that is exclusive to Gregory of Nyssa and Didymus, 359; the divinity is a Triad, 359; ref. to the 'concepts of the Father', 359; Cassian's phraseology about is 'inward war' is akin to P., 360; liabilities to Christian literature, 360; liability to Christian lore on *διόκησις και πρόνοια*, 361; appl. the adjective *ἀνεκφοίτητος*, 361; his interaction with Christian literature, 361; on *δύναμις ἐνεργητική*, 363; time proper is an 'active force' (*δύναμις ἐνεργητική*), 363; the sole pagan appl. the term *ἡ θεοφανία*, 365; on *ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς*, 364; appl. the expression *ἀρχική τριάς*, 365; appl. the adjective *ἐκφαντορικός*, 366; appl. the expression *κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον*, 368–369; appl. the notion of 'division of intelligible things', 370; his liabilities to Didymus prob. via Egypt, 370; appl. the expression *κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον*, 376; correspondance with Cassian's language, 396.
- Procopius of Caesarea, historian, 197.
- Procopius of Gaza, 80; 84; 85; 281; 326; 360; 361–362.
- Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, 58; 59.
- prosopon*, 254.
- Prosper of Aquitaine, 53; 56; 59; 93; 112; 122; 123.
- psalmody, 32; 33.
- Pseudo-Caesarius, 3; 15; 21; 22; 24; 26; 29; 31; 63; 70; 74; 87; 142; 173; 178; 266; 290; 296; 302; 303; 306; sustaining primeval incorporeal creation, 293; denouncing the idea of pre-existent souls, 303; mind is the 'eye' and 'ruler' of the soul, 313; mind is different from the soul, 313–314; banning definition of 'virtue', 314; the divine nature which is 'without limit', 314; wrote following Gregory of Nyssa, 315; sustaining 'incorporeal minds', 316–318; followed Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite on 'incorporeal minds', 319; on *ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς*, 363–364; appl. the term *ἡ θεοφανία*, 365.
- Pseudo-Clement of Rome, 63; pseudepigrapha actually written by Cassian, 399.
- Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite, 13; 21; 26; 170; 178; 200; 225; 281; sustaining 'incorporeal minds', 318; 319; appl. Proclus' language, 319; God's power or providence, not God himself, present throughout the universe, 327; appl. a language characteristically akin to that of Cassian, 332;

- Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite (*cont.*), at points influenced by Didymus rather than by Neoplatonists, 349–350; appl. the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος, 361; following Proclus' notion of ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς, 364–365; appl. the adjective ἐκφαντορικός, 366; appl. σκοπὸς καὶ ὄρος, 382; relation with Cassian, 396.
- Pseudo-Justin, some of his works are Cassian's, 20; 38; 39; 216; 341; 376; 382; akin to Pseudo-Caesarius (=Cassian), 290; a product of Akoimetan sentiment, 283; following Origen's doctrine of creation, 341.
- Pseudo-Macarius, 29; 155; 161; 162; 169; 177; 290; 299; relation with Cassian, 321; appl. the notion of 'participation in the Spirit', 355–356; appl. the notion of 'inward war', 360; affinity with Cassian's writings, 378; parallel language with Cassian, 381.
- Pythagoras, being attributed the doctrine of spheroid bodies, 275–276; Pythagorean doctrine, 283; Pythagoreans, 174; 175.
- Rabbi Joseph, 90.
- Rabbi Josua ben Levi, 90.
- Rabbi Meyasha, 90.
- Restoration, 70; 268; 301; 320.
- Roman citizenship, 230.
- Roman Empire, 61; 231–234.
- Roman Mesopotamia, 26.
- Romania, 152; 221; 227.
- Romans, 26; 150; 158; 178; 232–238; 353.
- Rufinus, 153.
- Rule of Benedict, 214; 215; 217–218; 400.
- Rule of the Master, *Regula Magistri*, 218; 219.
- Rum, 234.
- Sabas, Cassian was his spiritual son, 3; 9; 74; 81; 321; 394 death of S., 37; 74; 77; 78; 79; 116; 133; 257; 272; 287; visited Constantinople in 511–512, 30; his *typicon* followed by the monastery of Studios, 32; an exemplary to Theodore Studites, 34; Cassian was the fourth successor of S., 45; appointed leader of all isolated Palestinian monks, 67; meeting of S. with Theodosius the Coenobiarch, 68; S. accompanied by Leontius in 531, 73; S.'s successor was Gelasius, 73; disowned Leontius, 74; 75; Cassian returning with S. to Palestine, 74; S.'s successors, 78–79; Life of S. written after 553, 79–80; 263; 273; S. funded by Justinian, 83–84; S. visited regularly by anchorite John, 132; S. advised about successor of the New Laura, 133; S. styled 'citizen of heavens', 188; S. was from Cappadocia, 211; Cassian's body was interred next to that of S., 81; 214; 403; hymn in honour to S., 226; S. repelled both Origen and Theodore of Mopsuestia, 260; 271; 286; S. advised Justinian on anti-heretical combat, 271; 286; S. detested Origenism, 321; S. recounting anecdotes to Cassian about Cappadocia, 331.
- Sabbatius, monk, 76; 77; 274.
- Sallust, Latin author, 97.
- Sallustius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 67.
- Samaritans, 83; 84; 249.
- Saracenes, 73.
- Scetis of Doupiani, 1.
- Scetis, 1; 50; 66; 74; 88; 131; 135; 139; 140; 141; 145; 221; 229; 416.
- Scythia Minor, 50; 57; 229; 230.
- Scythia, 49; 50; 56; 97; 152; 207; 221; 228; 229.
- Scythians, 235; 236; 237.
- Scythopolis (Beth Sean), 3; 14; 28; 29; 45; 50; 61; 62; 79; 81; 82; 87; 97; 110; 121; 127; 129; 132; 145; 152; 214; 222; (Beth Sean), 236; 394.
- Seltzuk Turks, 109.

- Semi-Pelagianism, 53; 59; 92; 212; 213; 214.
- Serenus, a Monophysite saint, 138.
- Severian Monophysites, 69; 383.
- Severianus of Gabala, 177; 178; 352; 376.
- Severus of Antioch, 4; 17; 30; 32; 84; 138; 164; 254; 257; 293; 365.
- Sextus Empiricus, 380.
- Silvanus, the son of Sarapion, 138.
- Simmias, 142.
- Simplicius, 3; 6; 7; 11–13; 17; 24; 26; 35; 198; 203; 205; 244–246; his commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion* heavily influenced by Christian mindset, 11; 246; 372; 374; 375; appl. the term ἀπεράτωτος literally, 315; on the universal cohesive power; 326; did not use the adjective ἀνεκφοίτητος, 362; quoting Proclus on ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς, 364; his destination after decamping from Persia, 367; appl. the expression προχειρῶς ἀκούειν, 367; appl. the adjective ἀσυντρόχαστος, 367–368; appl. the expression κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, 368–369; treating the notion of 'division of intelligible things' reluctantly, 370; appl. the expression τὴν ῥαδίαν μετάπτωσιν, 372; on sth 'firmly established in the soul', 372–373; appl. the term προσασχολεῖσθαι, 374; appl. the term προσασχολεῖσθαι, 374; appl. the term συνδιαγωγή, 374; appl. the term προσασχολεῖσθαι once, 375; appl. the expression ἀπαράλειπτος γνῶσις, 376; appl. the expression λύεται οὖν ἡ ζήτησις, 376; appl. πλατύτερον εἶρηται, 386; correspondance with Cassian's language, 396.
- skin-tunics (Gen. 3, 21), 290–291; Platonic exegesis employed by Gregory of Nazianzus and other Christians, 293–294; 296–299; denoting mortality, 295–296; altrentative exegeses, 296; not among the 'Origenist' doctrines, condemned by Theodore of Scythopolis, 300; Platonic exegesis dismissed by Origen, 300; Platonic exegesis endorsed by Proclus, 348.
- Socrates Scholasticus, 71; 125; 144; excoriating Origen's detractors, 295.
- Socrates, the Greek philosopher, 145; 277.
- Sophocles, 17.
- Sophronius of Damascus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 232; 233.
- Sophronius the Armenian, anti-Origenist of the Great Laura, 267; head of the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch, 280.
- Sophronius, pupil of John Moschus, 14; 67; 109; 144; 187.
- Soranus of Ephesus, 171.
- soul, s. craving the Logos, 161; 378; tumultuous impulses of the s., 167; the 'abode' of the s., 170; the souls as 'acropolis', 171; mind is the 'eye' of the s., 173; s. clothed with an aerial body, 175; most perfect s., 177; the s. 'soul bound up with the wreath of righteousness', 180; hypostasis and substance of the s., 181–182; mental impressions arising in the s., 199; s. identified with human personality, 243; s. and body is a single entity, 243; pre-existence of the s., 263; 300–303; 320; the s. has the same shape as the body, 275; 283; sphere-like s., 276; doctrines of the s., 283; s. becoming mind, 284–285; s. having previously been mind, 303; 317; the s. clothed with a 'tunic', 290–299, (Proclus), 348–349; s. associated with 'cold', 303–312; mind holding priority over the s., 312–314; mind cannot exist apart from the s., 314; Stoic view of the s., 326; false doctrines arise in the soul during youth (Origen), 336;

- soul (*cont.*), tripartite soul, 337; powers of the s., 337–338; the soul is a concurrence of ‘reasons’ (*logoi*) (Origen), 339; the s. is incorporeal, 342; the Stoic s. ‘made a product of the earth’ acc. to Neoplatonists, 343; seminal reasons as formative powers of the s., 344; the disorderly impulses of the s., 533; the s. ‘firmly established within’ a man, 372–373; ruling power of the soul (hegemonicon), 377; a malpracticing s. forfeits wisdom, 397; daemons are unable to permeate human s., 438; only the Holy Trinity can permeate the human s., 439.
- Sousakim, 135.
- Sozomenus, historian, 71; 93; 94; 124; 132; 144; 193.
- Sozomenus, monk of the Great Laura, 261; 263.
- Speusippus, 17.
- spheroid body, assumed upon resurrection, 275; allegedly, a ‘Manichaeian fraud’, 276; assumed by the resurrected, 278; attr. to Origen, 277–279; 283; acc. to Proclus, 284.
- Stephanus Byzantius, 52; 127.
- Stephanus of Alexandria, medical doctor, 203.
- Stephen the Sabaite of Gaza, 14; 226.
- Stephen, surnamed Gobarus, 299.
- Stephen, the first martyr, 59.
- Stobaeus, 17; 154; 173; on the etymology of ψυχή, 307; reporting the notion of mind being the ‘eye’ and ‘ruler’ of the soul, 313.
- Stoicism, 18; 145; 146; 154; 163; 164; 170; 176; 191; 199; 200; 244; 247; 251; 308; 313; 323; 324; 325; 326; 343; 345; 360; 378; 383; 395. Stoic locution, 145; Stoic view of the Logos, 250; S. in Origen, 313; 326; S. was familiar to Cassian, 325; 377 f.; 395; Stoic view of the soul, 308; Stoic theory of the immanent logos, 323; the Christian Logos being analogous to the universal Stoic logos, 323–334; the notion of ‘seminal reasons’, 343; the notions of ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ διαφορά, 383.
- Stoics, on passion, 146; on universal corporeality, 176; denying the doctrine of tripartite soul’, 337; doctrine of ‘seminal reasons’, 342; criticized by Neoplatonists, 343; criticized by Origen and Plotinus, 345.
- Strabo, 52; 372.
- Strategius, 109–110.
- substance, material s., 20; s. as synonymous with hypostasis, 181; s. of Christian doctrine expounded, 252; incorporeal s., 293; 322; primary s., 301; ‘simple and incorporeal substance’ is only the Trinity, which alone is incorporeal, 321; the fifth material s., 326; individual s., 370; s. of virtue, 384.
- Suetonius, 151.
- Sulpicius Severus, 142.
- Symeon Logothetes, 335.
- Symeon Neotheologus (tenth–eleventh cent.), 362.
- Symeon the Stylite the Elder, 84.
- Symeon, the receiver of the baby Jesus, 226.
- Symmachus, 142.
- Synecletius, 53.
- Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (Pseudo-Athanasius), 20; 236.
- Syria, 2; 13; 14; 25; 52; 82; 120; 152; 222; native region of Cassian, 368.
- Syrianus of Athens, 80; 326; 361.
- Tarsus, 231.
- Tatian, 51.
- Tebenessus, 133.
- Tekoa, 82; 219.
- Terentius, monk, 76; 279.
- tertium quid*, allegedly introduced in Christology by the τετραδίται, 70.

- Tertullian, 298.
 Thace, 21.
 Thalassius, 109.
 Thebae, 50.
 Thebais, 133; 139.
 Themistius, 236; 304; 386.
 Thennesus, 131.
 Theoctistus Studites, 295.
 Theodora, Empress, 44.
 Theodore Anagnostes, 29; 199.
 Theodore Askidas, 22; 23; 32; 70;
 72; 75–77; 116; 133; 139; 257; 258;
 262; 265; 266; 268–272; 287; 300;
 superior of the New Laura, 263;
 subscribed to Justinian's nine
 anathemas against Origen, 267;
 he went on with 'persecuting the
 orthodox', 268; abbot of the New
 Laura, 272; 273; received the first
 see of Caesarea in Cappadocia,
 274; participated in the Local
 Council of Constantinople, 279;
 influence on Cassian's Origenism,
 312; condemned Origen at some
 moment while not ceasing to be
 Origenist, 320; a friend of Cassian's,
 398.
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 3; 7; 10; 17; 19;
 22; 41; 43; 73; 75; 81; 145; 69; 167;
 170; 172; 177–178; 198; 254; 258–
 261; 266; 268; 270–272; 286; appl.
 the expression *κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον*,
 368; condemned by Theodore of
 Scythopolis, 300; appl. the notion
 of 'participation in the Spirit',
 355–356; on 'classification of the
 intelligible things', 371; appl. the
 expression *κατὰ τὸν ἑμὸν ὄρον*, 376;
 inspired Cassian, 395.
 Theodore of Scythopolis, 265; 266; 276;
 300; 316; 320; 321.
 Theodore Studites, 8; 13; 14; 32; 33; 35;
 44; 70; 92; 110; 117; 160; 161; 172; 179;
 180; 192; 193; 209; 225; 234; 281; 283;
 387; 403; sustaining 'incorporeal
 minds', 318; took up the spirit of the
 Akoimetoi, 319; appl. a language
 characteristically akin to that
 of Cassian, 332; appl. the notion
 of 'inward war', 360; prob. appl.
 the expression *ἀρχικὴ τριάς*, 365–
 366; appl. the term *προσασχολεῖν*,
 374; quoting from Cassian, 400;
 mentioning Cassian, 405.
 Theodore, allegedly addressed by
 Gennadius of Marseilles, 54.
 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 3; 67; 10; 12; 15;
 20; 22; 25; 30; 32; 41; 68; 71; 72; 80;
 85; 94; 121; 145; 163; 170–172; 180;
 183; 184; 198; 216; 225; 254; 255;
 259; 272; 283; 293; 295; 297; 382;
 against Cyril of Alexandria, 270;
 the true heir to Origen's textual
 concerns, 287; dismissing 'skin-
 tunics' doctrine as Platonic, 296;
 297; associating 'north' with either
 the devil or the hell, 310; mind
 is the 'ruler' of the soul, 314; ref.
 to the divine providence being
 present throughout, 327; the divine
 providence is present throughout
 the world, 327; ref. to the 'concept
 of the Father', 359; on *δύναμις*
ἐνεργητικῆς, 363; appl. *τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ*
(or, τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ), 371–372; on sth
 'firmly established in the soul', 373;
 appl. the term *προσασχολεῖσθαι*,
 375; virtue is a 'feat' (*κατόρθωμα*),
 379; being aware of the distinction
 between *σκοπὸς* ('intent') and *τέλος*
 ('end'), 381; *πλατύτερον εἴρηται*,
 386–387; not appl. *τοῖς σπουδαίοις*
καὶ καλοῖς, 387; inspired Cassian,
 395; his theology imbues Cassian's
 text, 398; influence on Photius' (?)
Epistulae et Amphilochia, 399.
 Theodosius II, Emperor, 50; 79; 352.
 Theodosius the Coenobiarch, 67; 68;
 80; 81; 188; 210; 262; relating Cap-
 padocian anecdotes to Cassian, 331.
 Theodosius, monk, the Sabaite scribe
 of Codex 573, 2; 394.
 Theodotus of Ancyra, 200; 386.
 Theodotus, a Gnostic, 298.

- Theognostus of Constantinople
(Theognostus Protospatharius), 179.
- Theoktistos, monk, 83.
- Theoleptus of Philadelphia, bishop, 117.
- Theon of Alexandria, 34; 35.
- Theonas, monk at the Nile Delta, 141.
- Theophanes Confessor, 29; 30; 76; 198.
- Theophilus of Alexandria, 144; 145; 291.
- Theophrastus* (title of a work by
Aeneas of Gaza), 175.
- Theophrastus, 17; 173.
- Theotokos Mary, 138.
- Thessaly, 1.
- Thrace, 25; 26; 222; 230; 397.
- Three Chapters, 19; 30; 258; 268–271.
- Thucydides, 43; 136.
- Tiberius II Constantine, Emperor, 139.
- Timocles, an anti-Chalcedonian
Akoimetan monk, 31.
- Timothy, apostle, 253.
- Titus, 253.
- Toura, 289.
- Trajanopolis, 53.
- Trinity, only the T. is incorporeal, 322;
369; incorporeal par excellence, 369;
Cassian made the T. Analogous to the
Stoic Logos, 325; t. Is transcendent
to the world acc. to Origen, 326–
327 acts within the world through
the Logos, 327; origina; T. (Origen),
365; T. alone can permeate the
human soul, acc. To Cassian, 439.
- Turks, 234.
- Unity of Christ with the Father in
terms of 'inhabitation' of Godhead
in the human nature of Christ, 70.
- Valentinianus Emperor, 50.
- Valentinus, the Gnostic, 298.
- Venerius, 59.
- Venice, 66; 112; 218.
- Veroia, 52.
- Victor I, Pope, 71.
- Victor, a Monophysite saint, 138.
- Vigilius Pope, 266; 268; 274.
- Virgil, 97.
- virtue, 'most perfect v.', 12; 183;
psalmody and prayer as v., 33;
monastic v., 7; 64; 68; 133; 145;
146; 170; 182; 187; 194; 215; 262;
438; Castor's v., 74; practical v., 80;
pursuit of v., 86; 328; v. of discretion,
91–92; 438; accomplishment
of v., 119; Aristotelian v. as 'the
mean', 126; 381–384; v. of Athenian
democracy, 136; to be trained
towards v., 184; 195; practical v., 301;
v. is hard to define, 314; v. is 'ever-
unfinished', 314; etymology of v.,
352–353; Stoic v., 378; monasteries
is a workshop of v., 437; 440.
- Vita Antonii* (ascribed to Athanasius),
possibly spurious, 195.
- Vulgate, 211.
- Western monasticism, 152.
- wrath of God, 154.
- Xenophon, 17; appl. the term μετουσία,
356.
- Zacharias of Mytilene, 365.
- Zeno, the universal power decorated
the world, 327.

INDEX OF GREEK TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS

- ἀγαθὴ ὑπακοή, 182.
 ἀγάπη, 153.
 ἀγνός, 153.
 ἀγροίκους καὶ ἰδιώτας, 162; 191.
 ἀγρυπνία, 183.
 ἀδιάδοχος, 24.
 ἀδύνατον παρὰ κακοῖς εὐρεθῆναι
 ἐπιστήμη, οὐδὲ ἐν πράγμασιν
 ἀπ(αι)δεῦτοις μεμετρημένον τι, 396.
 αἰί, 330.
 αἰεὶ κινήτος, 156; 157.
 αἰεκίνητος, 156.
 ἀέριον πνεῦμα, 177.
 ἀέριον σῶμα, 177–176.
 ἀθρόα καταβολή, 340–341.
 αἰ μετουσίαι τοῦ πνεύματος, 355.
 αἰρετή, 352–353.
 αἰρετική, 352–353.
 αἰών, 295.
 ἀκηδία, 155; 199.
 ἀκρότητες ἰσότητες, 384–385.
 ἀκτημοσύνη, 187.
 ἀκύθηρον, 335.
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ὀριγένης καὶ ὁ Ὀριγένειος
 ἐχέτω χορός, 294.
 ἄλλυς, 154; 155.
 ἀμερίστως τὰ μεριστά, 361.
 ἀναβολαί, 153.
 ἀναγνώστης, 208.
 ἀναγωγή, 350.
 ἀναδήσασθαι, 180.
 ἀνεκφοίτητος, 361–362.
 ἀνηγμένος, 350.
 ἀνηγμένως, 349–350.
 ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, 153.
 ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἰδιώτας, 397.
 ἀναχώρησις, 153.
 ἀναψύχειν, bespeaking life; opposite:
 ἀποψύχειν, identified with death;
 306.
 ἀνίσότης, 383.
 ἀντιθέσεις, 154.
 ἀοράτων φύσεων, 293.
 ἀπάθεια, 122; Stoic ideal of ἀ, 146.
 ἀπαραλλαγὴ, 205.
 ἀπαραλείπτος γνώσις, 205; 376.
 ἀπαραμύθητον πένθος, 169.
 ἀπατεῶνων ἀοράτων, 178.
 ἄπερ πλατύτερον εἰρήκαμεν, 385.
 ἀπεράττως, used by Plutarch, 313; 314;
 315.
 ἀποταγὴ πραγμάτων, 162.
 ἀποψύχειν, identified with death;
 opposite: ἀναψύχειν, bespeaking
 life; 306.
 ἀργῶν ἀνθρώπων, 301.
 ἀρετή, 352.
 ἀρετὴν συνίστασθαι, 195.
 ἀρετῶν ἀκρόπολις τις καὶ βασιλῆς, 170.
 ἀρτύνω, 165.
 ἀρτυτός, 165.
 ἀρτύω, 165.
 ἀρχὴ τῆς κοσμογονίας, 340–341.
 ἀρχὴν φθαρτὴν εἰσάγοντος τὴν
 σωματικὴν, 342.
 ἀρχικὴ τριάς, 365–366.
 ἀσυντρόχαστος, 366–368.
 ἀσώματος, 323.
 ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλή τὴν φύσιν, 325.
 ἄτρεπτος, 201; 202.
 ἀτρέπτως, 201.
 ἀυλοτέρου σώματος, 293.
 Αὐξάνων, 81.
 αὐτάρτυτα, 165.
 αὐτὸς τε οὖν δεῖται καταψύξεως καὶ
 πολλῶ μάλλον ἢ καρδία, 304.
 ἀφαντασιάστος, 199; 201.
 ἀφαντασιάστος, 199–202.
 βαρεία, 158.
 Βασάν, 236.
 βεβαίω λογισμῶ, 193; 396.

- βεβαίως διαμένειν, 167.
 Βεθάνη, 236.
 Βηθησάν, 236.
 βιβλιδάριον, 389.
 Βιθσάν, 236.
 βιοθάνατοι, 163; 164.
 βίσεκτον, 202; 203.

 γαστριμαργία, 155; 187.
 Γαυθέντιος, 53.
 γνώσις, 187; 191.
 γνωστική, 190; 375.
 γνωστική ἕξις, 12.
 γνωστικός, 188.
 γύμνωσις πάντων τῶν γηϊνῶν πραγμάτων, 195.

 δερμάτινοι χιτῶνες, 290; 296.
 δεσποτική κοινωνία, 121.
 διαβολικῆς κακουργίας, 185.
 διάθεσις, 153.
 διαίρεσις τῶν νοητῶν, 369.
 διατύπωσις, 197.
 διεγειρόμεθα πρὸς τὸν πόθον αὐτοῦ, 378.
 διήγημα, 108.
 δι' ἣν κτίσιν δεδύνηται καὶ πάσα κτίσις ὑφεστάναι, 340.
 διήκειν, 325.
 διοίκησις καὶ πρόνοια, 163; 360–361; 377.
 διόπερ ἀναγκαῖα ἢ ἀναπνοή, 304.
 δίσεκτον, 203.
 διτταὶ δόξαι, 299.
 διψυχία, 300.
 δοκιμώτατος, 169.
 δύναμις ἐνεργητικῆ, 363.
 δυσαπόβλητος, 202.
 δυσχέρειαν πολλὴν εἶναι, 380.

 ἐγκράτεια, 187.
 ἐγκρατής, 153.
 ἐκπεψις, 292.
 ἔννοια, 358.
 ἔννοια τοῦ πατρός, 359.
 ἔνωσις, 69–70.
 ἔνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν, 69–70.
 ἔνωσις καὶ συνάφεια, 196.

 ἔνωσις καθ' οὐσίαν, 69–70.
 εἰ γὰρ τινές εἰσι καὶ νῦν ὁμολογοῦντες μὲν τὸ ἐκείνου πτώμα, ἀντιποιοῦμενοι δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ, 266.
 εἰ δ' ὅτι παντελῶς ἀνυπαρκτον τὸ ἐν καὶ ἀνυπόστατον, 346.
 εἰ καλῶς ἐλάβομεν τὸ παράδειγμα, 342.
 εἴθε γὰρ καὶ τὸν βαρὺν χιτῶνα τοῦτον ἀπεθέμην, ἵνα λάβω κουφότερον, 291.
 εἰκή, 211; 215; 216.
 εἴκω, 192.
 εἰ λήθην ποιησώμεθα, 163.
 εἴξας, 192.
 εἴξας ἐγὼ τῇ ὑμετέρα κελεύσει, 192.
 εἰς βαθύτατον πτώμα, 163.
 εἰς συγκατάθεσιν ἐπισπάσασθαι δυνάμενον, 291; 295.
 εἰς τὴν νοερὰν διάκρισιν, 371.
 ἐκ μηδενὸς κτίσαντος αὐτάς, 329.
 ἐκ πείρας καὶ ἐπιστήμης, 191.
 ἐκατέρας ὑπερβολῆς, 385.
 ἐκβάλλαι, 199.
 ἐκβαλεῖν, 199.
 ἐκκουσεῖν, 196.
 ἐκπεπτωκέναι τοῦ ἰδίου σκοποῦ καὶ ὄρου, 381.
 ἐκπορεύσιμον, 292.
 ἐκπόρευσις, 293.
 ἐκφαντορικός, 366.
 ἐκφοιτῶ, 361.
 ἐμπαθής, 190.
 ἐν ἀκαρεῖ, 340–341.
 ἐν τῇ τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἐπιστήμῃ, 194.
 ἐν ψυχρῷ γενομένην καὶ στομωθεῖσαν ψυχὴν γενέσθαι λεπτοτέραν ἐν ψυχρῷ γιγνομένην, 308.
 ἐναντίωσις, 383.
 ἐνιδρυμένος τῇ ψυχῇ, 373.
 ἐνοίας τοῦ πατρός, 220; 358–360.
 ἐξατονεῖν, 195.
 ἔξιν ἀστειοτέραν σώματος, 185.
 ἕξις, 12; 308; 375.
 ἐξομαλισμός, 157.
 ἐφ' ἴσης, 272.
 ἐφίσης, 272.
 ἐπάναγκές ἐστιν, 197; 383.
 ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, 347–348.

- ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας, ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἐνεργείας
καὶ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ καὶ νοήσεως, 347.
ἐπέκεινα οὐσίας πρεσβεία τε καὶ δυνάμει,
346.
ἐπέκεινα πάντων, 348.
ἐπὶ στάσιν, 285.
ἐπικίνδυνον καὶ προπετὲς τὸ περὶ
οἰασθήποτε φύσεως ταχέως ὀρίζειν,
191.
ἐπιμόνου μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 163.
ἐπίσης, 272.
ἐπίσταμαι, 285.
ἐπιστήμη, 285.
ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγειν, 357.
ἐπιστημονικῶς λέγειν, 357.
ἐσθότε, 178; 179.
ἔστιν ὅτε, 178.
εὐαγγελικὴ τελειότης, 163.
εὐθύπορα, 284.
εὐκατάμικτος, 161.
εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους ἀνέπεμπον αὐτῶ
καὶ πρὸ καταβολῆς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου,
330.
ἐψύχη, 303.
ἔως ἄρτι, 330.

ζῆν, 304.
ζεῖν, 304.
ζωῆς κυβέρνησις, 185.

ἢ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεωρία πολλαχῶς
λαμβάνεται, 382.
ἡγεμονικόν, 377.
ἢ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκ ψυχροῦ, ἐξ ὕδατος γὰρ, 305.
ἢ διαίρεσις ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
πράγμασι, 370.
ἢ θεοφανία, 365.
ἢ μὲν ζωὴ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει, 305.
ἢ νοῦν μιμουμένη κίνησις, 284.
ἢ ῥῆξοτο ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκινεῖσθαι,
170.
ἢ ποιότης καὶ ἢ διαφορὰ, 383.
ἢ συζυγία τούτων τῶν πνευμάτων, 169.
ἢ τοῦ ἀέρος σφαῖρα, 177.

θεανδρικός, 396.
θεάνθρωπος, 37.
θεοδόχος, 223–226.
θεοδόχος σάρξ, 225.
Θεὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν, 170.
θεοτόκος, 224; 225.
θεοφόρος, 224.
θεωρία, 187–188.
θρασύτης, 187.
θυμός, 154.

ἴδιον δὲ Πατρὸς μὲν, ἢ ἀγεννησία· Υἱοῦ
δέ, ἢ γέννησις· Πνεύματος δέ, ἢ
ἔκπεμψις, 292.
ιδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ, 80.
ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἴρηται, 108.
ἰσχάδια, 165.
ἰσχάδιον, 152.
ἰσόχριστοι, 70; 275.

καθ' ὑπόστασιν κακόν, 396.
καθαρώτατον, 327.
καὶ ἅμα ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἀναπνεόμε-
νον ἀέρα ψυχὴν νομίζουσιν, 307.
καὶ δυσχέρειαν πολλὴν εἶναι, 396.
καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παραδείσου
διαφωνοῦσι τινὲς τῶν Πατέρων καὶ
διδασκάλων, μὴ λέγοντες αὐτὸν
αἰσθητὸν ἀλλὰ νοητὸν, 302.
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων κομψεύονται, 304.
καὶ ὅτι τὸ ἄριστον ὁ νοῦς, 346.
καὶ τοὺς δερματίνους ἀμφιέννυται
χιτώνας, ἴσως τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα,
τὴν θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον, 291.
καὶ χιτῶν γε τὸ σῶμα τῆ ψυχῆ ὃ
ἡμφίεσται, 336.
καὶ ὡς ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶτως ὄν καὶ τὸ
πρῶτως εἶν, 346.
καρδίας συντριμμός, 186.
Κασσιανός, allegedly a Patriarch of
Jerusalem, 51.
κατ' ἐνεργείαν, 195.
κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν ὄρον, 313; 376; 382.
κατὰ διάνοιαν, 195.
κατὰ φύσιν, 247.
καταλλήλως λαμβάνειν, 354.
κατόρθωμα, 377–379.
κίνησιν τε καὶ διάθεσιν, 170; 380–381.
κουκούλλια, 193.

- λίβελλοι, 274.
 λογισμοί, 190.
 λόγος, 108.
 λόγος κατανυκτικός, 118.
 λύεται οὐδ' ἢ ζήτησις, 376.
- Μάζικες, 139.
 Μάξιμος, 51.
 Μάρκος, 51.
 μελέτη, 189; 190.
 Μεθσάμ, 236.
 Μεσοποταμινός, 108.
 μετὰ τοὺς δερματίνους ἐνδυθῆναι
 χιτῶνας, τὴν παχυτέραν σάρκα
 δηλαδὴ καὶ θνητὴν καὶ ἀντίτυπον,
 294.
 μεταπίπτειν ῥαδίως, 372.
 μετουσία, 340; 355–356.
 μετουσία, 356–357.
 μετουσία πνεύματος, 355–356.
 μέτριος, 194.
 μὴ ἀργοί ἐστέ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔρχεσθε εἰς
 τοιαῦτα, 302.
 μὴ νομίσητε δὲ ὅτι, κἀν ἄγιοι, ὅλα τὰ
 βᾶθη τοῦ Θεοῦ γνησίως ἠδυνήθησαν
 καταλαβεῖν, 303.
 μῆνις, 154; 155.
 μιμητὴν ἀγγέλων, 183.
 μοναχικὸν σχῆμα, 196.
 Μονὴ τῶν Βυζαντιῶν, 76.
 μυξάρια, 165.
 μυξάριον, 152.
- νέκρωσις, 296.
 νηπιώδης, 375.
 νηπιώδης ἔξις, 12.
 νόας ὑπάρχοντας καὶ ἀσωμάτους, 316;
 317.
 νοεραὶ δυνάμεις, 293.
 νοεραὶ οὐσίαι, 323.
 νοητὴ φύσις, 323.
 νοῦς, 156; 173; 303; 306; 308; 312; 313.
 νοῦς ἐμπαθής, 166.
- ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα εἴωθεν
 ἐγκλήματα, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα κρίνειν,
 396.
- ὄγκω γὰρ συνυφίσταται τόπος, 336.
 ὁ ἐνδελεχῶν αὐτῇ αἰρετικὸς γίνεται, 301.
 ὁ ἐνδότερος ἡμῶν οἶκος, 166.
 ὁ θεὸς μὲν οὖν πάντη ἔν ἐστι καὶ ἀπλοῦν,
 325.
 ὁ τῶν κακῶν ἀπατεῶν, 185–186.
 οἱ ἀλληγορηταί, 297.
 οἰομένων τι εἶναι, 301.
 ὀμαλίζειν, 158.
 ὀμαλισμός, 157; 158.
 ὀμιλίας ἀργαῖς καὶ ματαίαις, 163.
 ὀμολογίας καὶ ἐξαγορεύσεως, 172.
 ὀμοσχημονάς φησι τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς
 περιέχουσι σώμασιν εἶναι, 275.
 ὀξεῖα, 158.
 Ὁξυπερέντιος ὁ Ἴταλός, 211
 ὅπερ ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐκδίδωσι, 211; 396.
 ὄργῃ, 154.
 ὀρισμός, 380.
 ὄρος, 381–382.
 ὄσιος καὶ ὀμολογητής, 217.
 οὐ γὰρ δεῖ Ῥωμαῖον ἄνδρα νόμον ἀγνοεῖν,
 233.
 οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὸν Θεὸν ἀνενέργητον
 εἶναι ποτε, 329.
 οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἄλλαι ἄλλων εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκεῖ
 νοήσεις, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐταὶ ἑαυτῶν, 359.
 οὐ μετρία ζήτησις, 194.
 οὐ μετρίως, 194.
 οὐρανοπολίτης, 188.
 οὐσία, 153; 181–182; 191; 256.
 οὐσία ἀσώματος καὶ ἀπλή, 323.
 οὗτος τοῖνον ὁ ὄρος, 382.
 οὗτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς αὐτῶ ταῦτα συνομολογή-
 σαιμεν οὗτ' ἂν ὁ Πλάτων ἀποδέξαιτο
 καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμοις συναριθμή-
 σει, 346.
 οὗτ' ἂν τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως
 αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν, 346.
- πάντοτε κτίζεται, 340.
 πάντων ἐπέκεινα ὢν, 348.
 πάντων τῶν ὄντων, 340–341.
 παρ' οὗ γὰρ ἡ οὐσία πᾶν παντί, παρ'
 ἐκείνου καὶ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν κίνησις,
 285.
 παραμονάριος, 84.

- παρά τὴν ψύξιν, 309.
 παρά τῶν μὴ βουλομένων τελείως
 ἐκκόπτειν τὴν ὀργήν, 215.
 παριστάνειν, 281.
 παρίστημι, 62–63.
 παρρησία, 188.
 πάσαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐννοίαις,
 359.
 Πατέρα, δύναμιν, νοῦν, 359.
 Παῦλα, 211.
 πείραν ἔχοντες τοῦ νοητοῦ καὶ ἐνδοτέρου
 πολέμου, 359.
 πένθος καταλιπών, 166.
 περὶ δὲ ἀποκαταστάσεως σαφῶς λέγει ὁ
 αὐτὸς Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης, 302.
 περὶ μὲν τῶν προτέρων ὁ μηνύων οὐδεις,
 301.
 περὶ τούτων οὐδεις ἐμήνυσεν, 301.
 περιέργον, 296.
 περισπωμένη, 158.
 Πέτρος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, 211.
 πλάσις, 398.
 Πλατὺς Λίθος, 1.
 πλατύτερον εἴρηται, 385–387.
 πλεονεξία, 159; 187.
 πνεῦμα τὸ πρῶτον, 325–326.
 πνευματικὰς καὶ οὐρανίους δυνάμεις
 πεποιηκέναί, 330.
 πνευματικὴ τέχνη, 194.
 ποίησις, 398.
 πολὺ κινητός, 156; 157.
 πολυαριθμητός, 166.
 πολυαριθμῶν ἐτών, 166.
 πολυπραγμονοῦσιν, 301.
 Πορφύριος, 323.
 Πούπλιος, 51.
 πρακτικὴ, 154; 375.
 πρακτικὴ ἔξις, 12.
 πράξις, 187–188; 191.
 πραότης, 187.
 πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ταύτης τῆς ὁρατῆς, 329.
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν τυποῦσθαι, 184.
 πρόεις, 293.
 προοδοποιεῖν, 383.
 προορίσας αὐτοὺς υἱοὺς εἶναι μετουσίᾳ
 τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς υἰοθεσίας, 356.
 προσασχολεῖν, 193; 374–375.
 προσασχολεῖσθαι, 193; 374–375.
 προσμονάριος, 84.
 προχείρως ἀκούειν, 367.
 πρωτόκτιστοι, 70.
 πρῶτον αἴτιον, 340.
 Ῥωμαῖοι, 234.
 Ῥώμην λαχόντος πατρίδα, 228.
 σαρκὶ συνδεδεμένος, 179.
 Σκήτις, 221.
 σκοπός, 381.
 σκοπὸς καὶ ὄρος, 382.
 σκοπὸς καὶ τέλος, 381.
 Σουκά, 79.
 σπερματικὸς λόγος, 342.
 Σπήλαιον, 138.
 σπουδαίους καὶ καλοὺς, 387.
 σύγγελος, 262.
 συγκατάθεσις, 377.
 σύγκελλοι, 280.
 Συγκλητία, 53.
 Συγκλητίος, 53.
 συλλήβδην, 340–341.
 Συμεών, 211.
 συμπλέκεσθαι, 329.
 συνάφεια, 15; 168; 196.
 συνδιαγωγή, 193; 373–375.
 συνεισφορά, 169.
 συντόμως εἰπεῖν, 198.
 συντόνῳ ἐγκρατεία, 166.
 συντροχάζειν, 366.
 σφαιροειδῆ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγείρονται
 σώματα, 275.
 σχῆμα, 196.
 σῶμα αἰθέριόν τε καὶ σφαιροειδὲς τῷ
 σχήματι, 277.
 τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων, 216.
 τὰ γένη ἐναντία διαιρέσει ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸς
 ἄλληλα, 371.
 τὰ θεοφάνεια, 365.
 τὰς ἀτάκτους τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμάς, 167; 353.
 τὰς ἀφορμάς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ τὰς
 δυνάμεις, 340–341.
 ταῦτα τοῖνον καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, 282.
 τελειοτάτη ἀρετὴ, 183.

- τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατίται, 71.
 Τεσσαρακοστή, 84.
 τετραδίται, 70; 71; 72.
 τέλος, 381.
 τέχναι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, 378.
 τῆ γυμνώσει καὶ τῆ ἀποταγῆ τῶν
 πραγμάτων, 195.
 τῆ καρδίᾳ πηγῆ οὔση τῆς θερμότητος,
 304.
 τῆ προαιρέσει, 380.
 τῆ σαρκί ταύτῃ συνδεδεμένος, 321.
 τῆ φύσει, 380.
 τὴν ἔνδον ἐνιδρυμένην ψυχὴν, 372.
 τὴν πρῶτην οὐσίαν, 301.
 τὴν ῥαδίαν μετὰπτωσιν, 372.
 τὴν τοῦ σώματος παχύτητα καὶ
 θνητότητα, 294.
 τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἦτοι οὐσίαν, 181; 182.
 τῆς διανοίας λεπτυνομένης, 166.
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν νεύσεως, 354; 396.
 τίκτω, 223.
 τινὸς τριθείτου, 299.
 τις τῶν σοφῶν, 385.
 τὸ ἀμέτρητον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, 170.
 τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, 308.
 τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ τοῦτο σαφῶς, 371.
 τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἐκτεθηλυμένον, 354.
 τὸ ἐν τῆ καρδίᾳ περιψυχθὲν θερμόν, 306.
 τὸ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ, 371–372.
 τὸ ἐφεξῆς δηλοῖ, 371–372.
 τὸ κοινόν, 256.
 τὸ κρύος, 163.
 τὸ ὄν πολλαχῶς λέγεται, 369; 383.
 τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐ γεννᾷ, 15–16.
 τὸ συναμφοτέρον, 291.
 τὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν πλάνην κρατῦναι, 276.
 τοῖς κακίας βόθροις, 166.
 τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ καλοῖς, 387.
 τὸν δὲ θάνατον εἶναι παντελῆ κατὰψυξιν,
 305.
 τὸν δόντα, 168.
 τὸν δῶσαντα, 168.
 τὸν ἔμπυρον τῆς φύσεως βρασμόν, 204.
 τὸν Θεὸν πιστεύομεν πνευματικὰς καὶ
 οὐρανίους δυνάμεις πεποιηκένας, 329.
 τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς διανοίας ταῖς σκοτειναῖς
 παραχαῖς ἐκτυφλοῦντος, 173.
 τὸν χιτῶνα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν σάρκινον, 299.
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, σωματικὰς λέγοντας
 εἶναι τὰς ἀρχάς, 342.
 τοὺς ἤχους ψιλούς εἰσδεχομένων, 281.
 τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν καμάτους, 168.
 τοῦ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἑλληνισμοῦ, 293.
 τοῦ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως ὀνόματος ταυτὶ τὰ
 ὀνόματα προτιμῶν ὡς ἑλληνικώτερα·
 τοῦ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἑλληνισμοῦ
 πεφρόντικεν ὁ θυμαστὸς οὗτος
 πατήρ, 293.
 τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς καταγωγίου, 169–170.
 τοὺς λογιωτέρους, 261.
 τοῦτον τὸν ὄρον παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων
 πατέρων μεμαθήκαμεν, 329.
 τοῦτῳ χρώνται οἱ βουλόμενοι δεῖξαι, 297.
 τρέφει καθολικῶς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ἕξιν, 375.
 τριβουνάλιον, 198.
 τριδύναμος, 337; 338.
 τύπος καὶ σχῆμα, 350; 352.
 τῷ παντὶ διαφοιτᾶν, 323.
 τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, 350; 351.
 τῶν λογισμῶν παραφυλακῆν, 186.
 τῶν πολυπλόκων σχοινίων τῆς κοσμικῆς
 μερίμνης, 168.
 ὑπερκόσμιον φῶς, 363–365.
 ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων, 293.
 ὑπερούσιος, 159.
 ὑπερούσιος ἄρτος, 158.
 ὑπὸν βαρυτάτῳ καταβαπτίσας, 186.
 ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένων, 325.
 ὑπόμνημα, 352–353.
 ὑπόνοια, 380.
 ὑπόστασις, 153; 181–182; 191; 256; 323.
 ὑποτύπωσις περὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ηἰστέας,
 384.
 ὑφεστῶσας ιδέας, 359.
 φαντασία, 199; 200.
 φιλαργυρία, 155; 159; 160.
 φρόνησις, 369.
 φύσις, 256; 308.
 ΧΜΓ, Monophysite acronym, 138.
 χιτῶν, 349.

Χριστοτόκος, 224; 225.

ψευδοδοξίαι, 336.

ψευδωνύμου, 154.

ψιλὸς ἦχος, 281.

ψύχειν, 303.

ψυχή, 290; 303–307; 309; 312–313.

ψυχὴν ἔχει οὐ ψυχθεῖσαν, 308.

ψύχος, 290.

ᾠριγένης, 299.

ᾠριγένους ἐκ τῆς ἐρμηνείας εἰς τὸ
κατὰ πρόγνωσιν Θεοῦ, 356.

ὡς αἰρετικὸν χαρακτηρίζων τὸν ταῦτα
λέγοντα, 301.

ὡς ἐλληνικώτερα, 293.

ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ πλανώμενον, 396.

ὡς καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῖς θείοις δοκεῖ,
293.

ὡς ξένον καὶ ἐξωτικόν, 195.

ὥσπερ τεκτονικῶ κανόνι, 381.

INDEX OF MODERN AUTHORS

- Abel, F.M., 82.
Alardus Gazaetus, 95; 219; 223; 225.
Allison, Robert, 228.
Altens, cardinal, 104; 392.
Amato, Eugenio, 236.
Arnim, Johannes von, 276; 343.
- Bagnall, Roger, 50; 208; 209.
Bees, Nikos, 5.
Blake, R.P., 14.
Bonwetsch, Gottlieb Nathanael, 277.
Bremond, Henri, 122.
Brown, Elisabeth A.R., 90.
- Carcione, F., 268.
Chadwick, Owen, 5; 46; 53; 54; 58;
59; 84; 93–95; 97–98; 105; 106;
119; 120; 122; 140; 214; 216; 218; 230;
400.
Chitty, D.J., 82.
Cholij, Roman, 405.
Chrysos, E., 268.
Constable, Giles, 90.
Cuper, W., 229; 230.
- Czapla, Bruno, 394.
- Diekamp, Franz, 5; 60; 63; 98; 99; 100;
101–102; 104–107; 111–112; 291; 392.
Driscoll, J., 187.
Driver, Steven, 404.
Dyovouniotis, K.J., 54; 219.
- Edwards, Mark, 244; 308; 332.
Eustace, Gerald, 228.
Eustratiadès, S., 226.
Évieux, Pierre, 124.
- Festugière, A.J., 405.
Flusin, B., 257.
Forester, G., 61.
- Galland, André, 101; 149; 221; 151.
Garitte, G., 14; 82.
Gibbon, Edward, 227; 302.
Gibson, Edgar, 63; 64; 113.
Goodrich, Richard, 46; 55–60; 123; 216;
228; 404.
Green, J., 10; 82.
Griffe, E., 404.
Griffith, S.H., 14.
Grumel, Vernace, 13.
Guillaumont, A., 317.
Guy, J.C., 141.
- Hannick, Christian, 226.
Harnack, Adolph, 1; 99.
Hatlie, Peter, 13; 27; 28; 30; 31; 44; 90; 209.
Hirschfeld, Yizhar, 82; 219.
Holum, Kenneth G, 61–62.
Hook, Walter Farquhar, 26; 222.
Howell Palmer, 228.
- Jaeger, W., 171.
Janin, Raymond, 130.
Jordan, Robert, 237; 238.
- Knorr, Uwe W., 21.
Koetschau, P., 277; 324.
Kudlien, F., 171.
- Leyser, Conrand, 56; 404.
Lieberman, S., 90.
Linder, A., 14.
Loseby, Simon, 56.
- Marroù, Henri, 50; 229; 404.
Marsili, S., 122.
Martindale, J.R, 85.
Mauridès, K.Ch., 226.
Mommsen, Theodor, 93.
Montfaucon, Bernard de, 101–105; 107;
392.

- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., 111.
 Paramelle, J., 317.
 Pargoire, Jules, 13.
 Patrich, Joseph, 226; 257; 405.
 Petschenig, M., 45; 94; 100; 101; 104; 112;
 124; 208; 391.
 Praver, J., 14.
 Price, R.M., 405.
- Ramelli, Ilaria, 236; 288.
 Ramsey, Boniface, 404.
 Regnault L., 143; 191.
 Richard, Marcel, 276; 317; 321; 405.
 Richardson, E.C., 53.
 Riedinger, Rudolf, 13; 21; 26; 29; 31; 160;
 290; 318.
 Rousseau, Philip, 404.
 Ryckel, Leuwis de (Dionysius
 Carthusianus), 213–214.
- Sartre, J.P., 147.
 Schottus, Andreas, 393.
 Shakespeare, W., 42.
 Sherrard, Philip, 228.
 Sivan, Hagith, 90–91.
 Stefani, de E.L., 352.
 Stewart, Columba, 123; 217; 229;
 404.
- Tsafir Y., 10; 61; 82.
- Vailhé, S., 13; 82.
- Ware, Kallistos, 228.
 Watts, Edward, 203; 245.
 Wimbush, V.L., 82.
 Wotke, Karl, 63; 99; 101; 104; 107; 392;
 394.

ILLUSTRATIONS

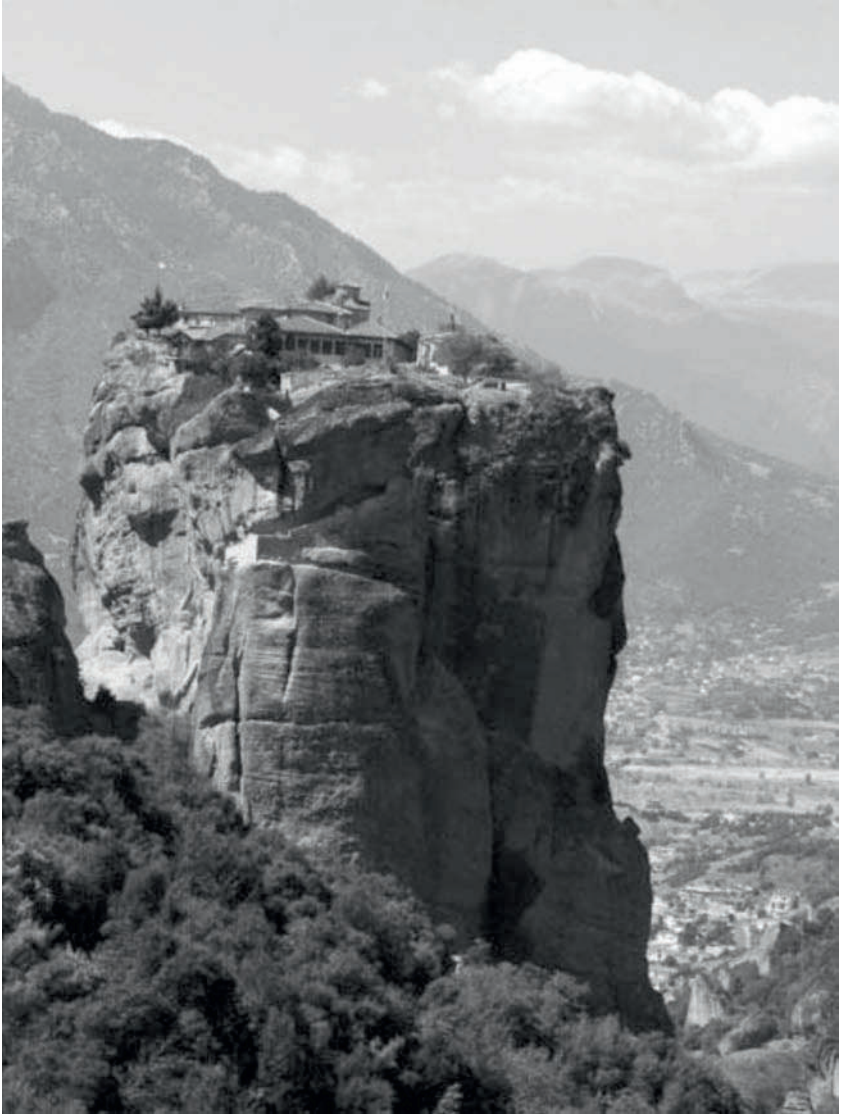


Fig. 1. Meteora monasteries 'in the air', perched on the summits of gigantic rocks: an uninterrupted history of monasticism since the middle of fourteenth century.



Fig. 2. Part of the Judaean desert, where the Great Laura is located. Farther: the Dead Sea. Farther still, the Moab mountains, in present-day Jordan.



Fig. 3. The Great Laura, on the west side of *brook Cedron*.



Fig. 4. The Great Laura from inside (north-east) of *brook Cedron*.



Fig. 5. West side of the Great Laura (main entrance). Since the times of its foundation by St Sabas, in AD 483, the monastery functions without interruption for 1530 years.



Fig. 6. The Great Laura today. The vault of the main church (καθολικόν), where the body of St Sabas is preserved.

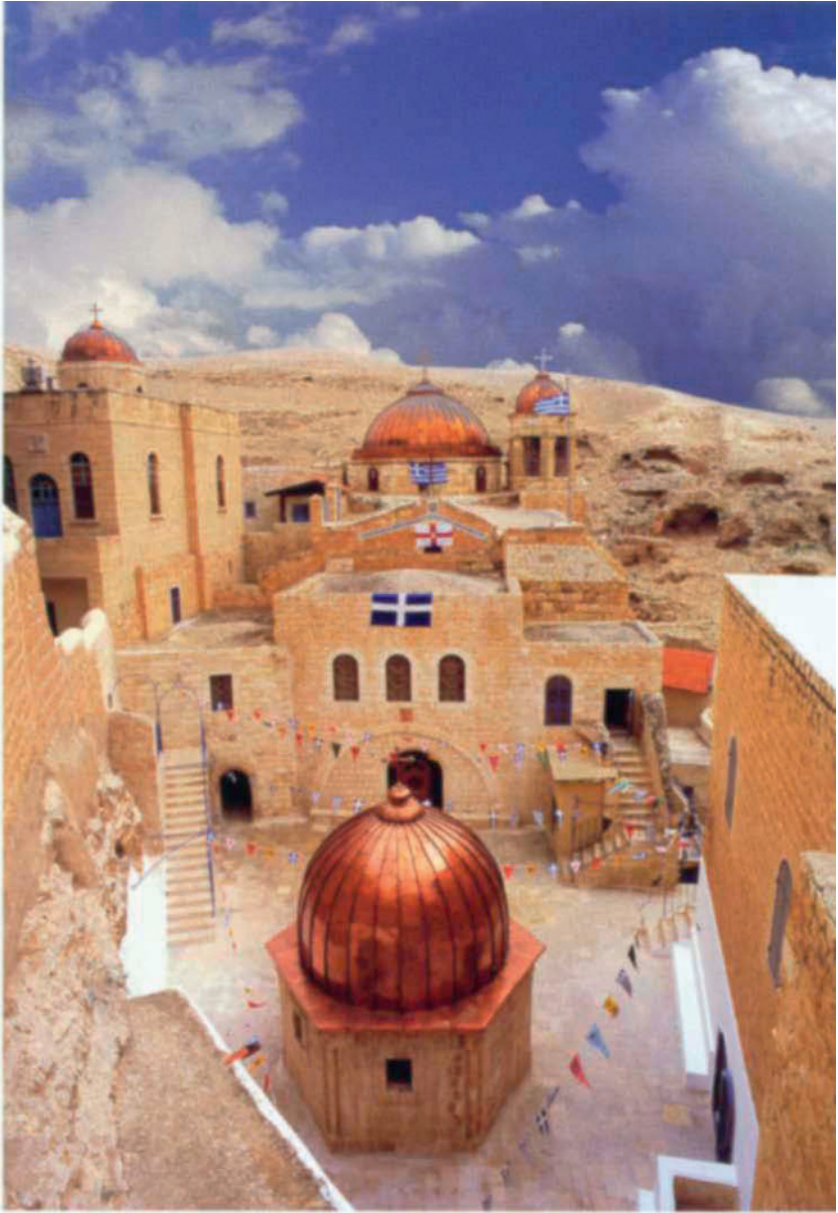


Fig. 7. The Great Laura today. West side of the main church (καθολικόν).



Fig. 8. Codex Metamorphosis 573.



Fig. 9. Codex Metamorphosis 573.



Fig. 10. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 1^r, colophon:
Κασσιανού μοναχού βιβλίον ('The Book of Monk Cassian').

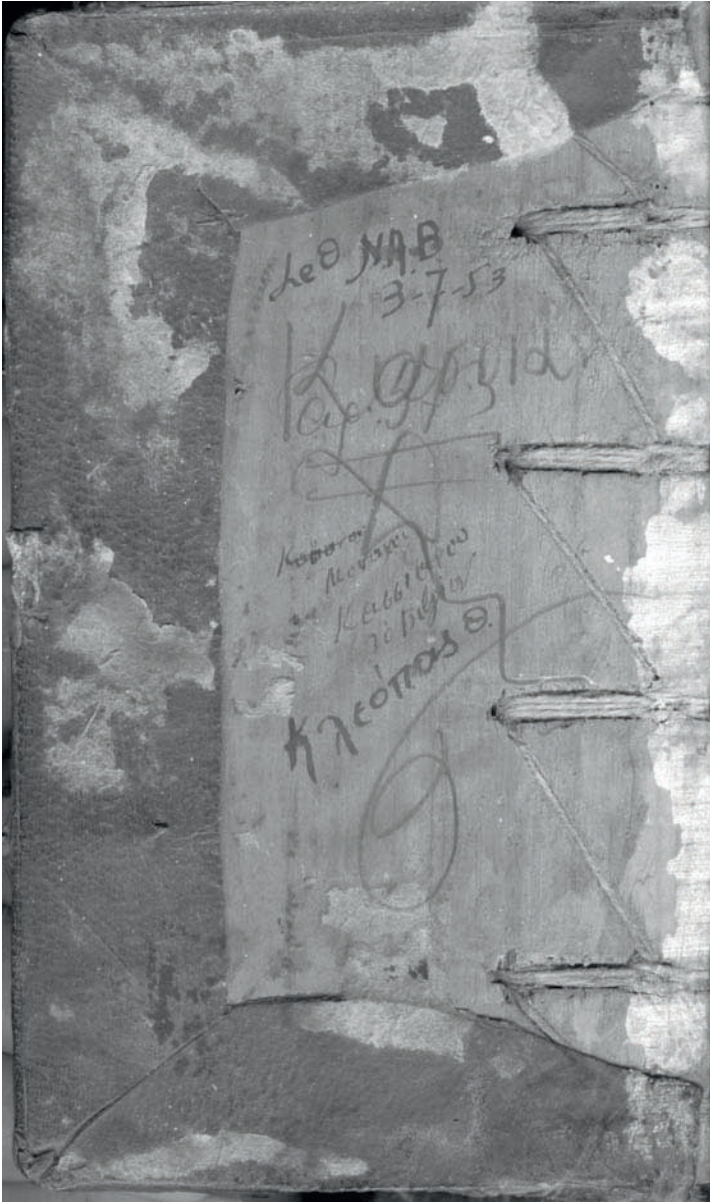


Fig. 11. Codex Metamorphosis 573. Inside face of front cover (wood covered with leather). Different hands of different periods designate this codex as 'The Book of Cassian' (Κασσιανου βιβλιον and Κασσιανου τὸ βιβλιον).

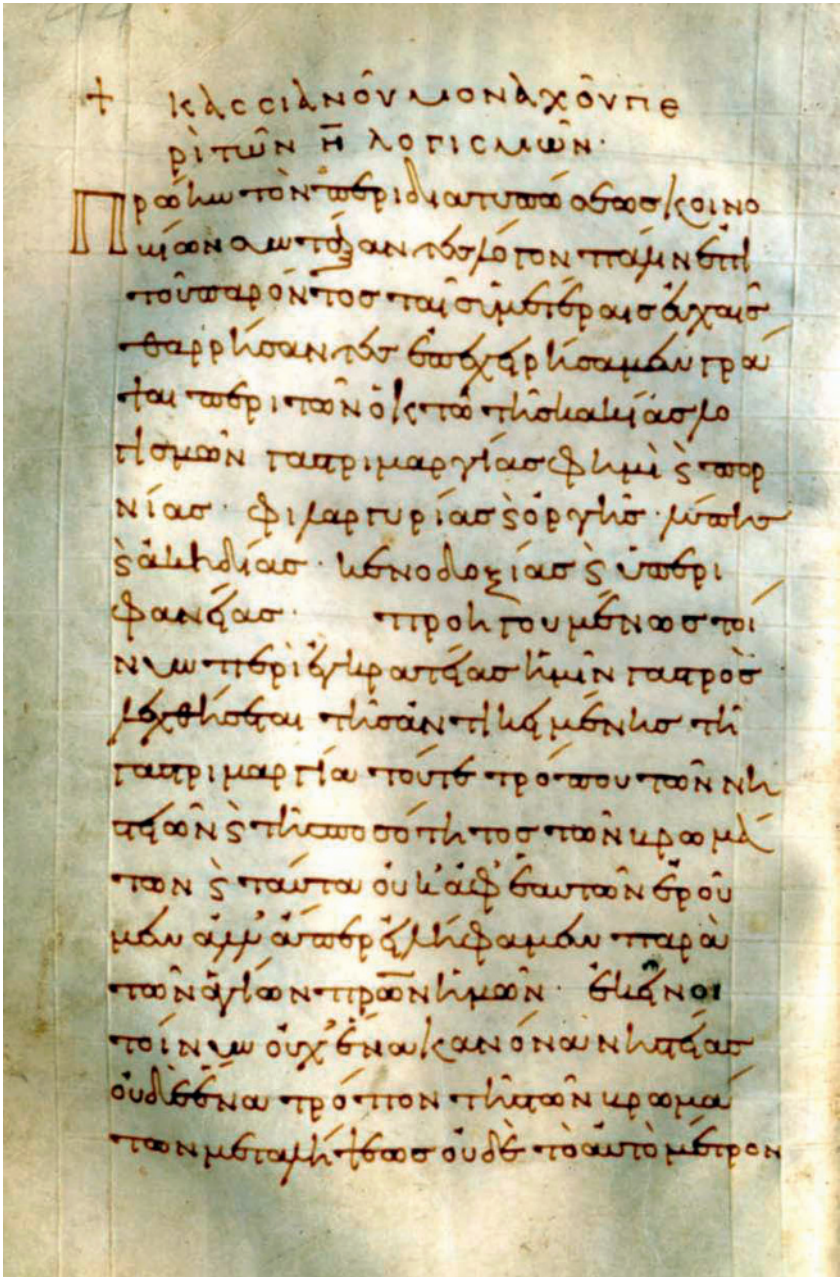
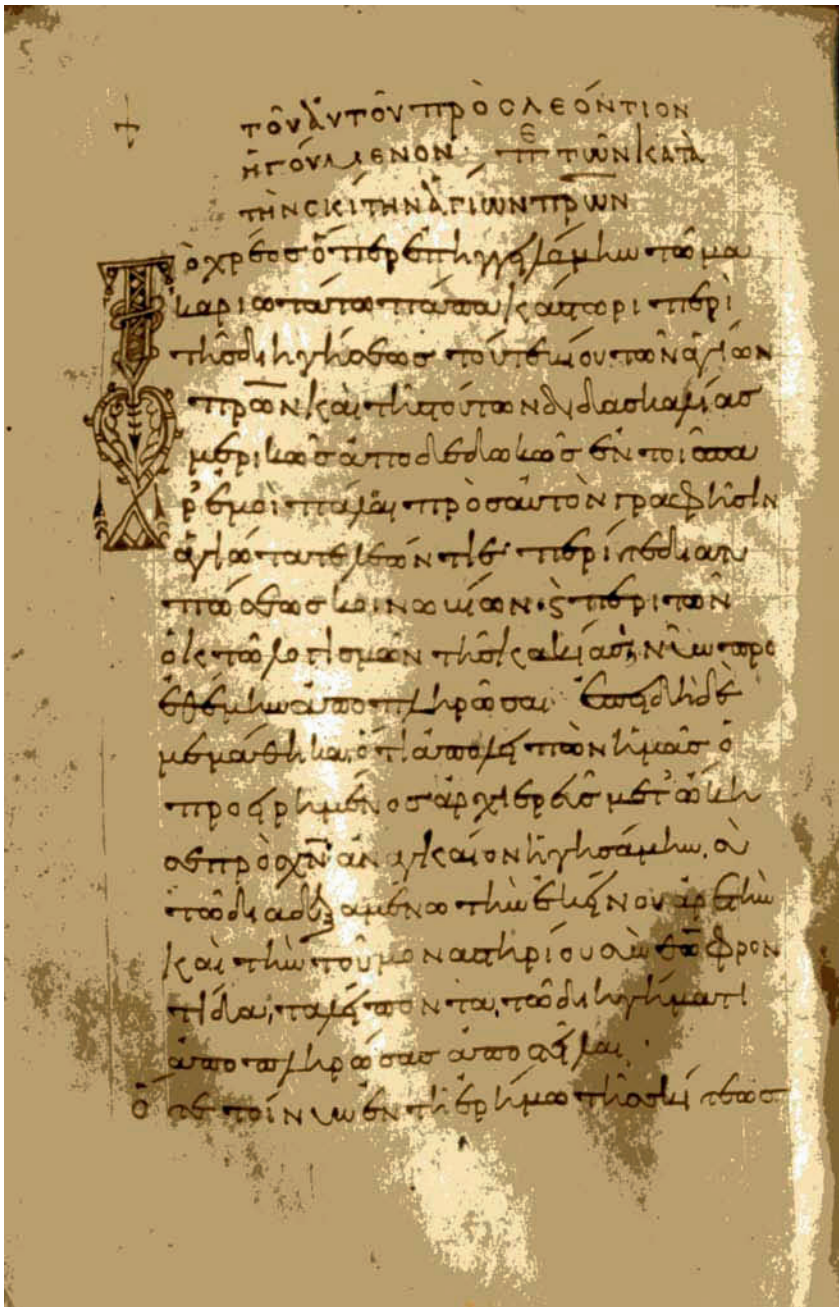


Fig. 12. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 22^v.

Fig. 13. Codex 573, folio 56^v.

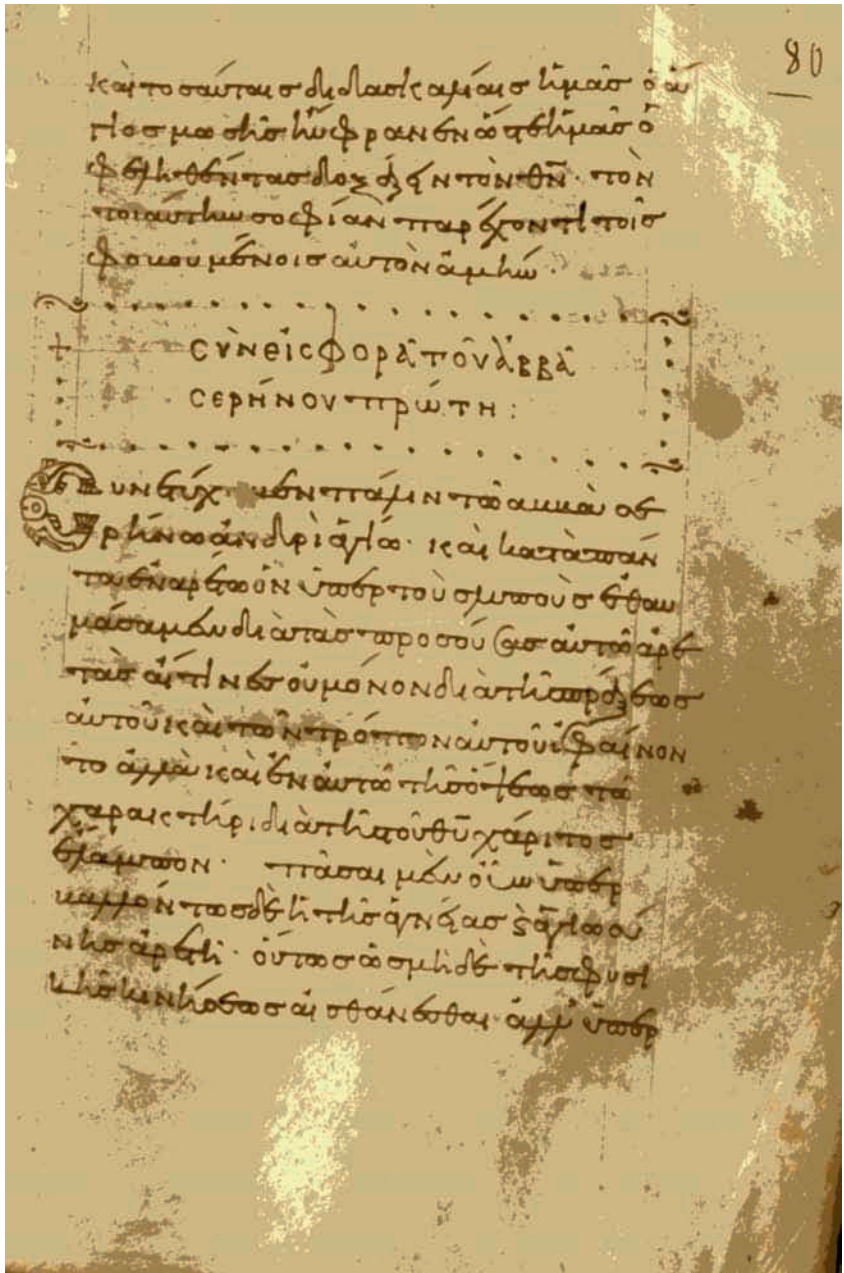


Fig. 14. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 80r.

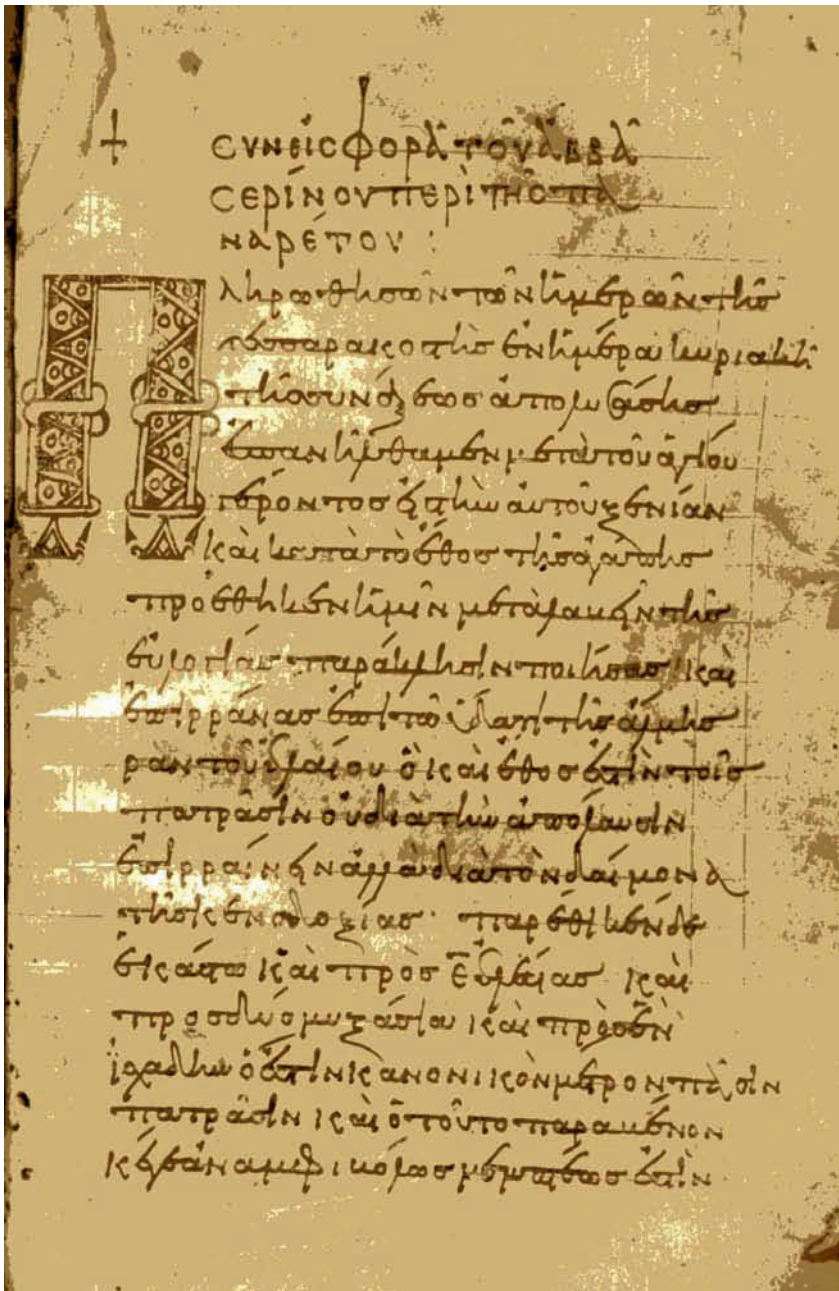


Fig. 15. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 101r.

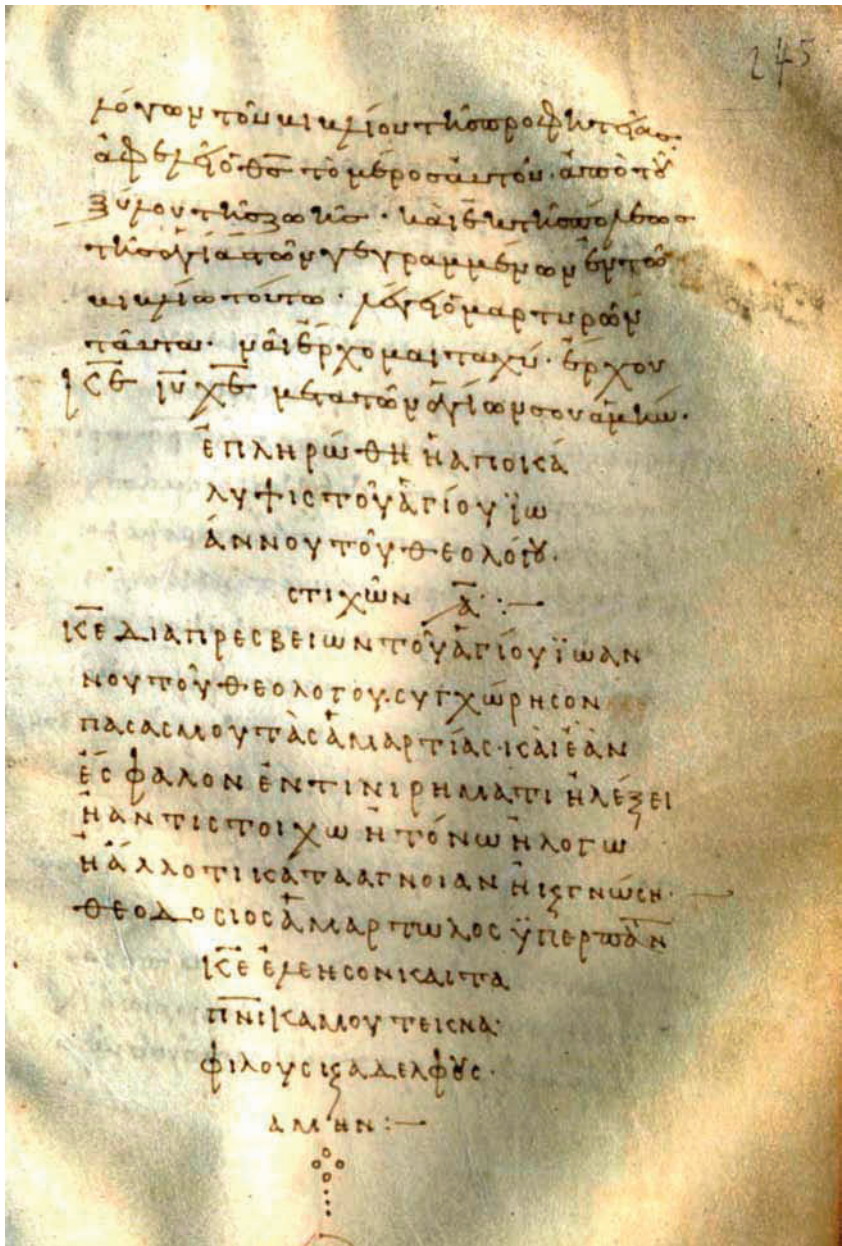


Fig. 16. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 245^r.



Fig. 17. Codex Sabaiticus 76, folio 132r. Antiochus of Palestine (left); St Sabas (middle); Christ (right).

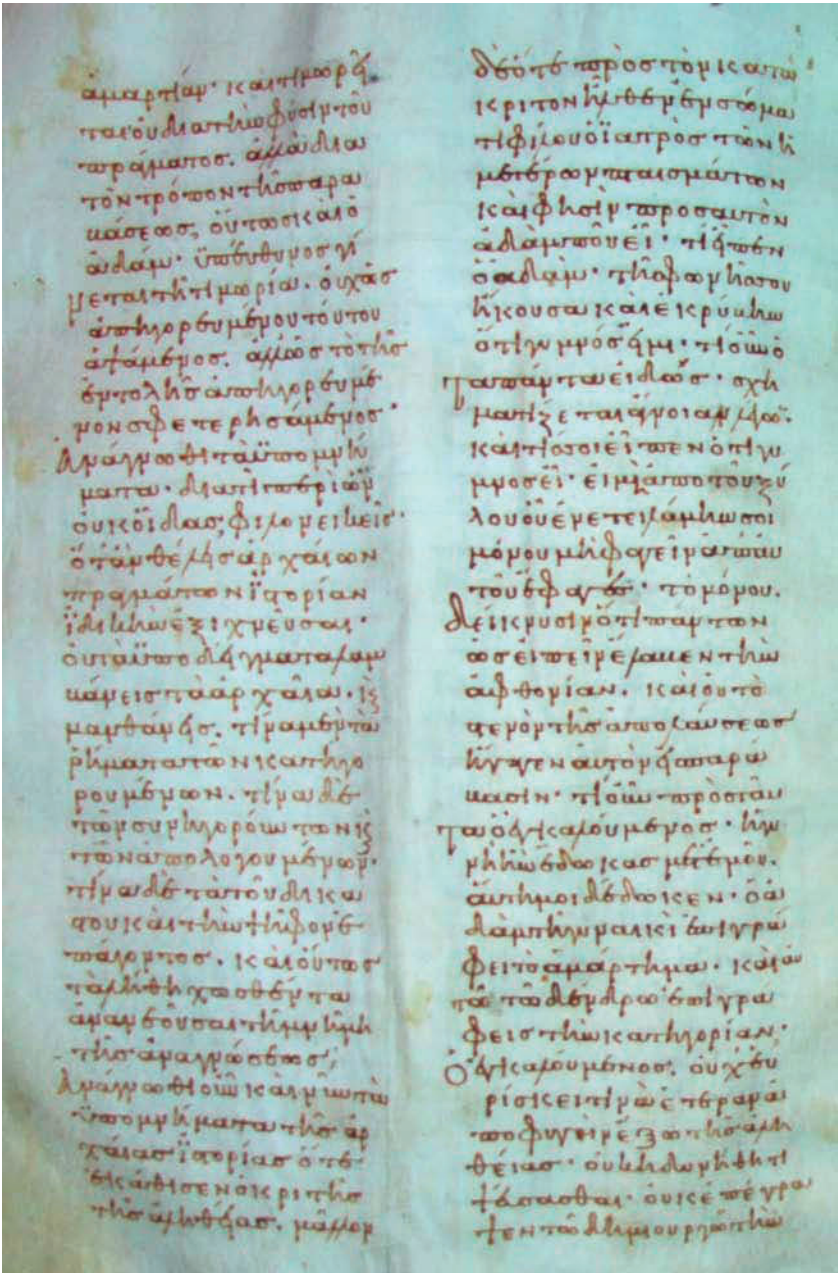


Fig. 19. Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 92v.

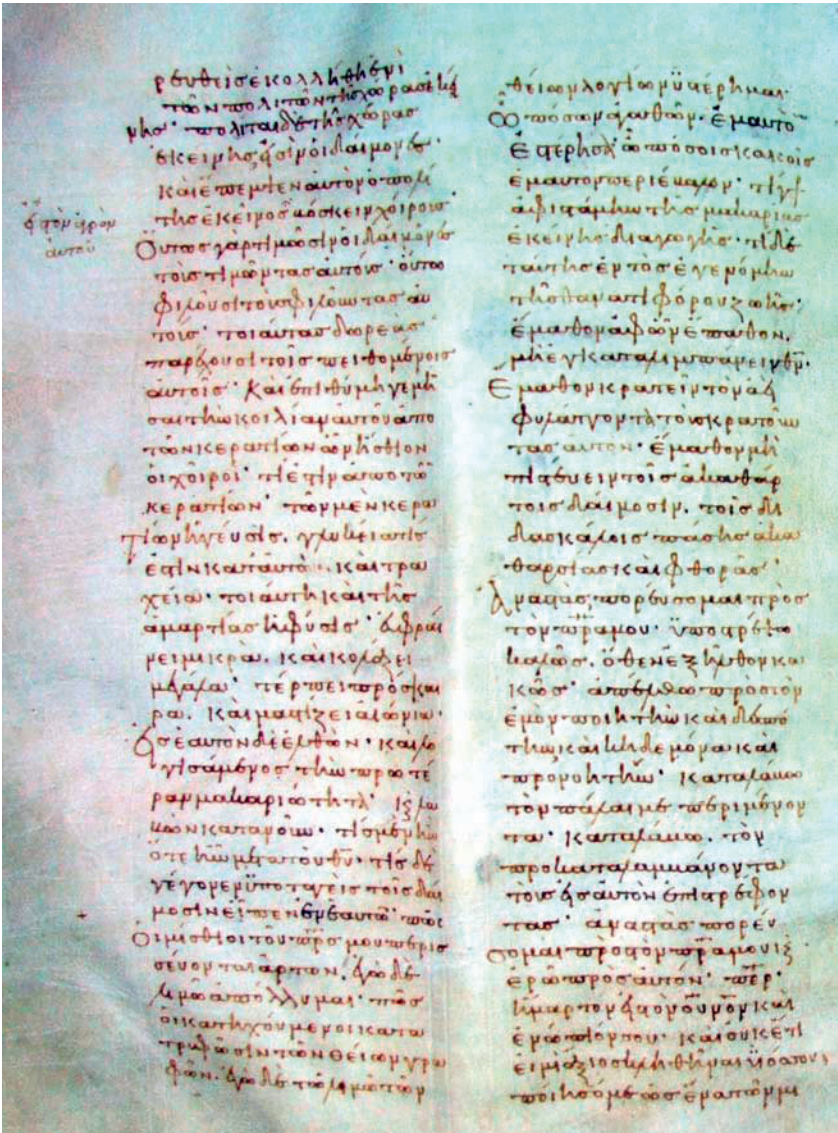


Fig. 21. Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 96v.

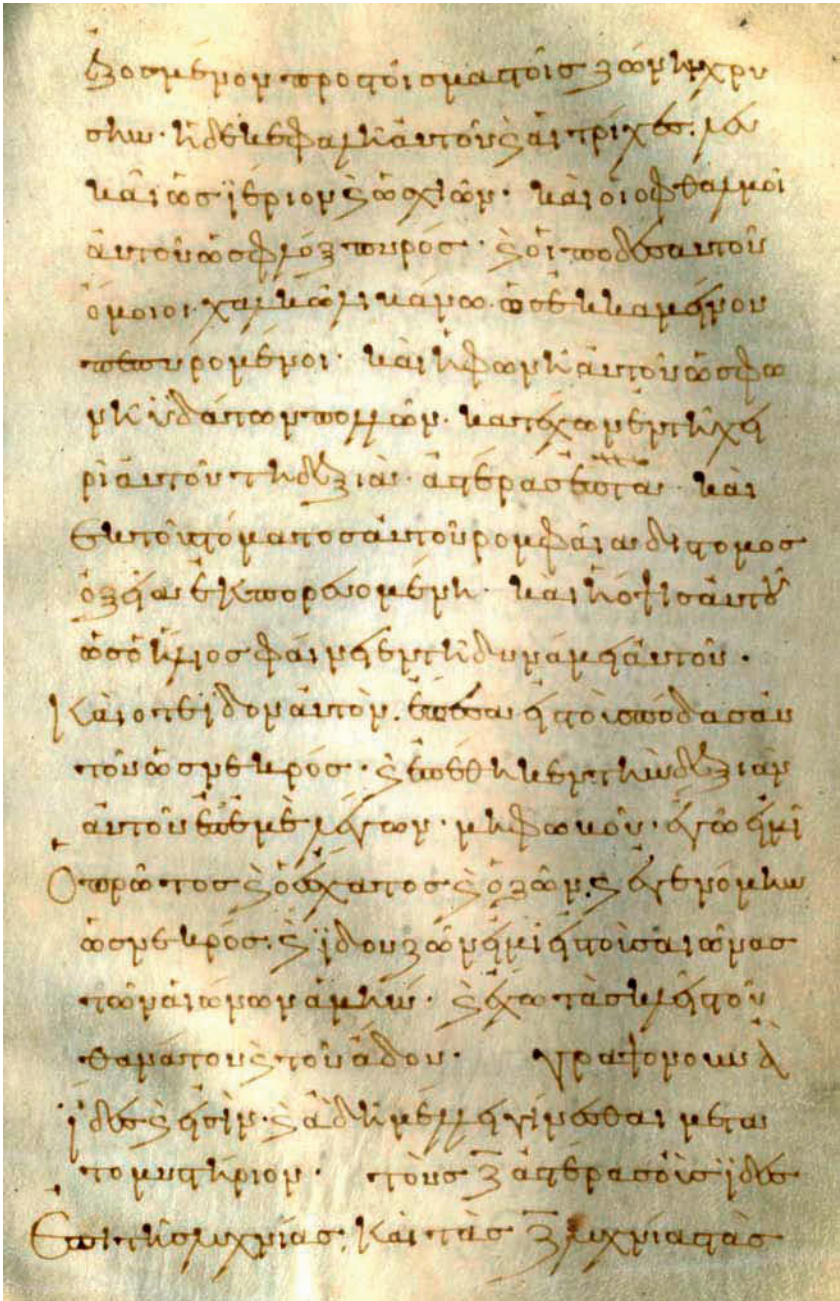


Fig. 22. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 211.

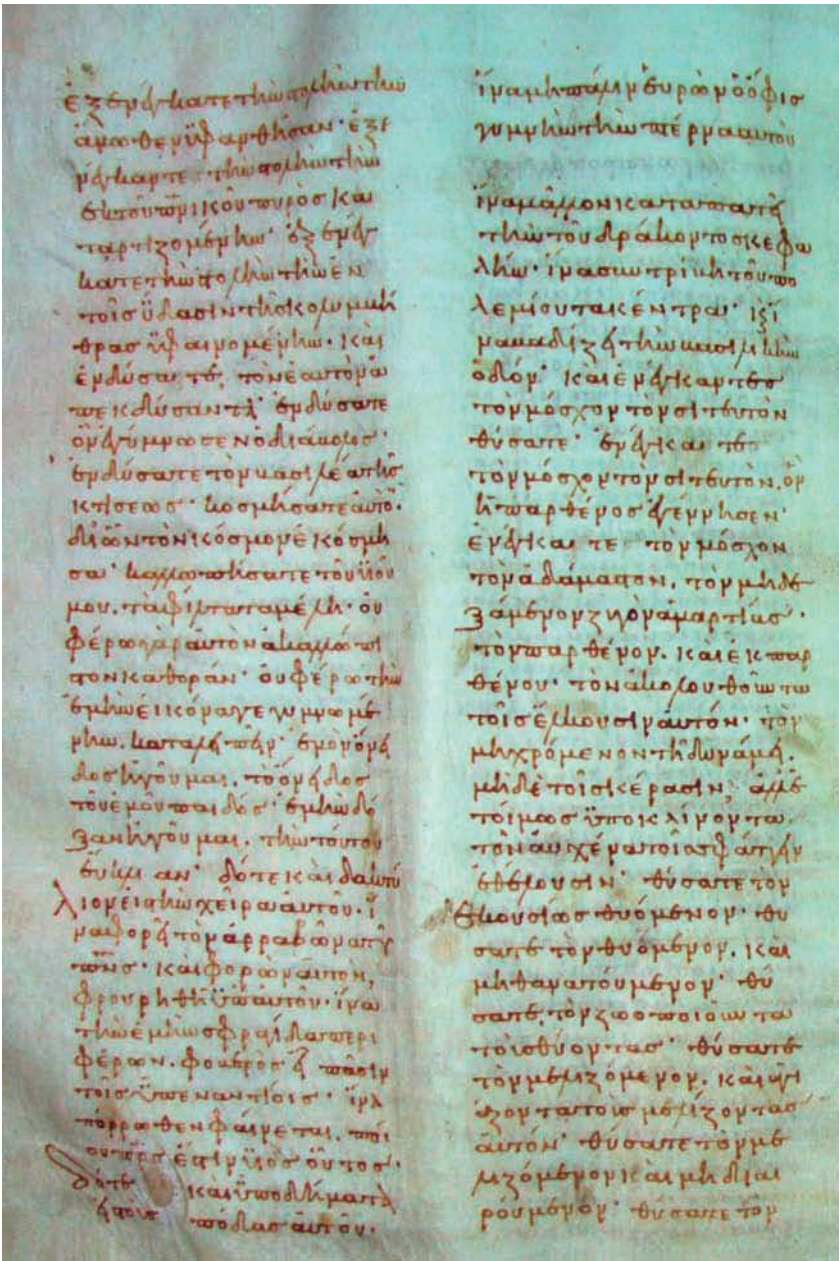


Fig. 23. Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 98r.

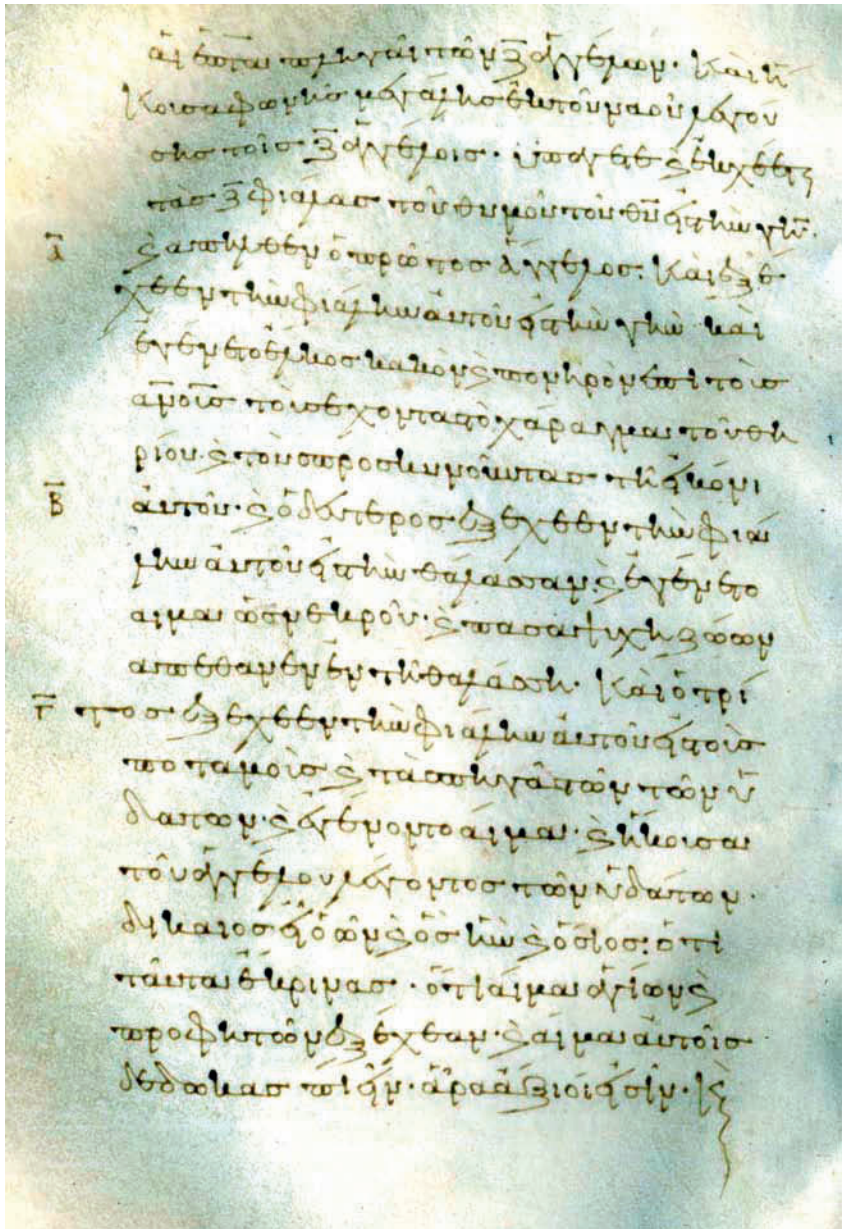


Fig. 24. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 232^v.

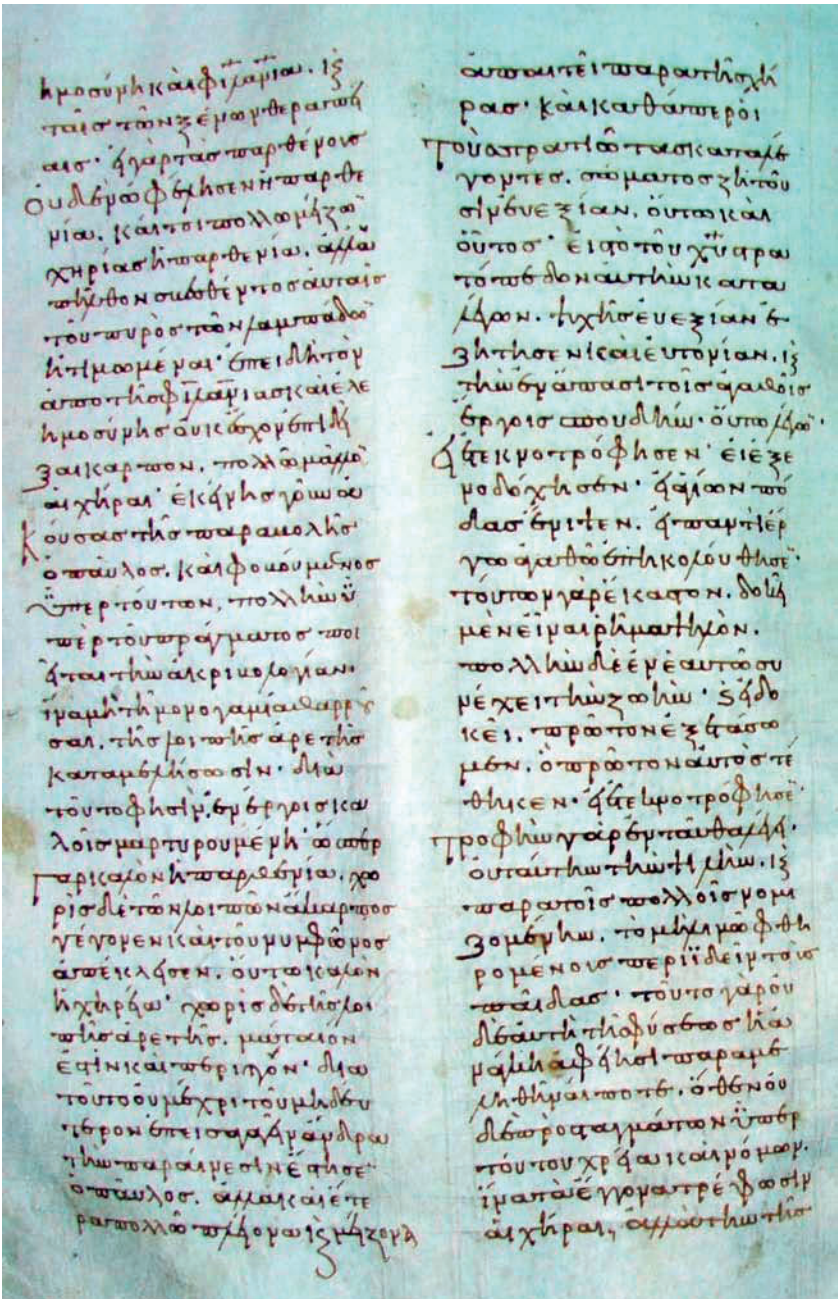


Fig. 25. Codex Sabaiticus 8, folio 113v.

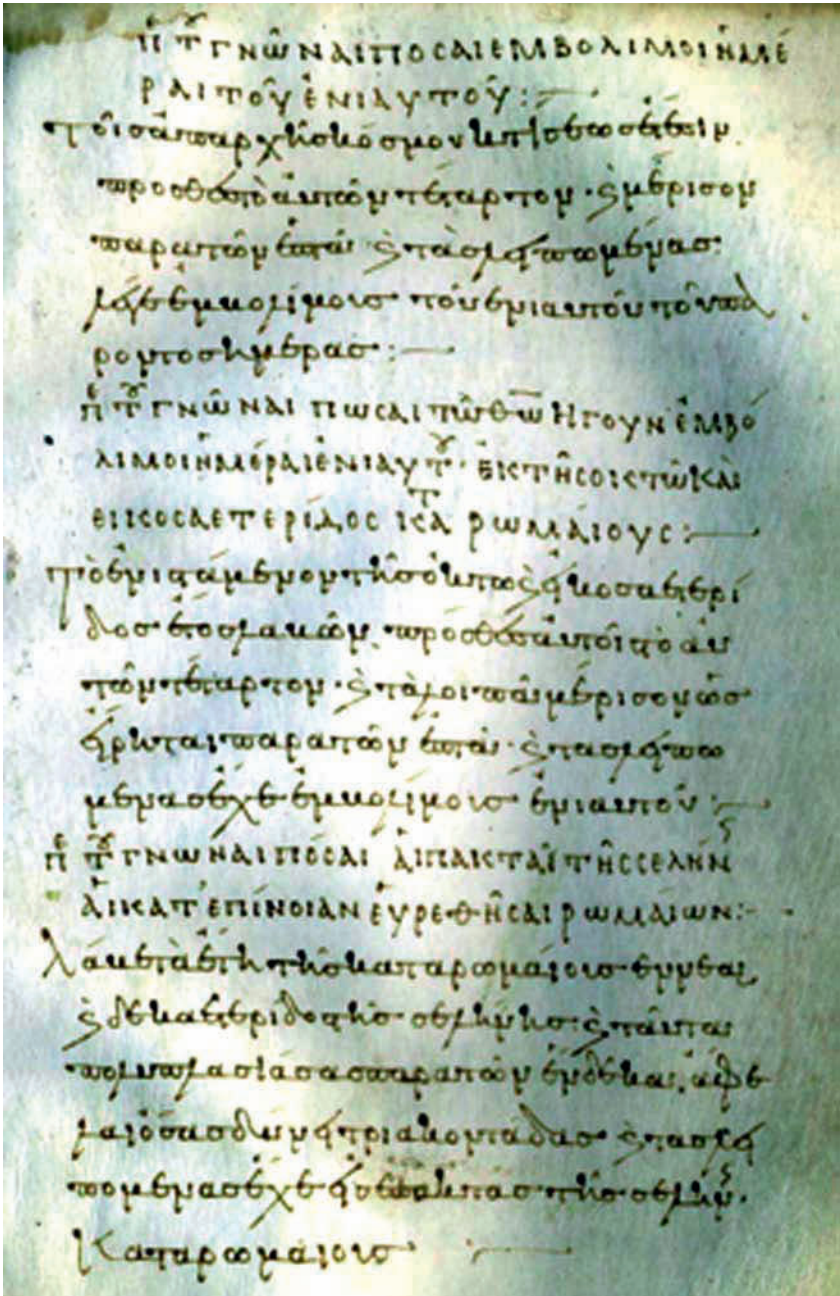


Fig. 26. Metamorphosis, folio 209r. Cassian's mathematical rules for forming the calendar (Appendix III).

^ε ^δ Π Π Γ Ν Ω Η Δ Ι Π Ο Σ Α Σ Ε Χ Ε Ι Ε Π Α Κ Τ Α Σ Η C
 Π Π Α Ρ Ο Ν Τ Ρ Ι Ε Ν Ι Α Υ Π Ψ Ι Σ Δ Α Λ Ε Ζ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ε Ι Σ : —
Ε Π Η Ο Β Υ Ρ Β Α Ι Α Ι Δ Θ Ι Α Σ Τ Ρ Ι Δ Ο Σ Δ Υ Χ Τ Ρ Ω Σ Α
 Ρ Η Ο Σ Γ Α Μ Β Α Ρ Τ Α Α Π Α Ρ Χ Η Σ Ψ Τ Ι Ο Β Α Σ
 Ι Ο Σ Μ Ο Ξ Η Σ Π Α Ι Π Α Μ Β Ρ Ι Σ Α Σ Α Ρ Α Π Τ Ο Υ
 Γ Ο Π Α Ι Π Α Τ Α Γ Γ Ο Ψ Α Μ Β Ρ Α Υ Γ Γ Ρ Α Σ Ι Ε Β Α Ρ Μ Α
 Ξ Η Σ Η Ο Β Υ Ρ Β Α Ι Α Ι Δ Θ Ι Α Σ Τ Ρ Ι Δ Ο Σ Τ Η Ο Σ Θ
 Μ Η Σ Β Η Τ Ο Υ Τ Α Υ Ο Ψ Α Δ Υ Μ Β Ρ Ι Α Μ Ξ Τ Α Σ
 Γ Ο Ψ Α Π Ο Μ Ψ Α Λ Α Σ Τ Α Σ Ο Υ Ψ Α Ρ Α Π Τ Ο Υ Β Ρ Δ Θ
 Ι Α Σ Ξ Π Α Σ Ο Υ Ρ Α Χ Θ Β Ρ Τ Α Μ Β Ρ Ι Σ Ο Υ Ψ Α Ρ Α
 Π Ο Υ Λ Ξ Π Α Ο Γ Γ Ο Ψ Ο Μ Β Ρ Α Σ Ο Χ Θ Ξ Ψ Α Ι Ψ
 Θ Β Η Μ Η Α Τ Ο Ν Ψ Α Ρ Ο Ν Τ Ο Σ Ι Ο : —
^ε ^δ Π Π Π Ω Δ Ε Ι Τ Ι Φ Ι Ζ Ε Ι Ν Ι Κ Α Ι Υ Ρ Ι Σ Κ Ε Ι Ν Τ Η Ν Ε Π Α Υ
 Ζ Η Σ Ι Ν Τ Η Σ Η Μ Ε Ρ Α Σ Τ Ο Υ Σ Ι Σ Ε Κ Τ Ο Υ Τ Η Ν
 Δ Ι Α Τ Ε Κ Α Ρ Ψ Η Ν Ε Τ Ψ Η Ν Ε Μ Π Ι Π Τ Ο Υ Σ Α Ν : —
 Λ Α Μ Β Α Τ Ο Υ Β Ρ Ι Α Π Ε Ψ Η Μ Β Ρ Ι Α Σ Ο Ψ Α Σ Δ Τ Π
 Ξ Π Α Ι Π Α Σ Δ Ι Ψ Χ Ο Σ Α Σ Ψ Φ Ι Ψ Ψ Α Ρ Α Π Τ Ο Υ Ψ Ο Τ Α Ι
 Ξ Α Ρ Η Ο Θ Θ Φ Θ Ι Α Ψ Θ Β Υ Ρ Ι Α Π Ξ Ψ Β Ρ Ι Τ Ο Ψ Ο Ν
 Ο Α Σ Ο Ψ Ρ Α Σ Ψ Ψ Ψ Θ Δ Ι Α Τ Α Σ Α Ρ Ο Υ Β Ρ Ι Α Π Ξ
 Ψ Ο Α Ψ Δ Ψ Τ Ψ Ψ Τ Ο Ψ Η Ψ Θ Β Ι Α Ψ Ν Ψ Μ Β Ρ Ε Ρ Μ Ι Α Ψ
^ε ^δ Π Π Τ Ρ Ι Α Κ Ο Σ Τ Η Σ Η Μ Ε Ρ Α Σ Τ Φ Ε Γ Γ Ε Ν Η Ο Υ Χ Ε Σ
 Ε Π Α Κ Τ Η Ν Ο Ψ Τ Ε Λ Ε Ψ Τ Ο Ν : —
 Χ Ρ Ψ Ψ Γ Ψ Μ Ο Σ Ι Ψ Γ Ψ Ψ Θ Β Ι Α Ψ Ψ Β Υ Ρ Β Α Ι Α Ι Δ Θ Ι Α

Fig. 27. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 209^v.
 Cassian's mathematical rules for forming
 the calendar, scribed by monk Theodosius.

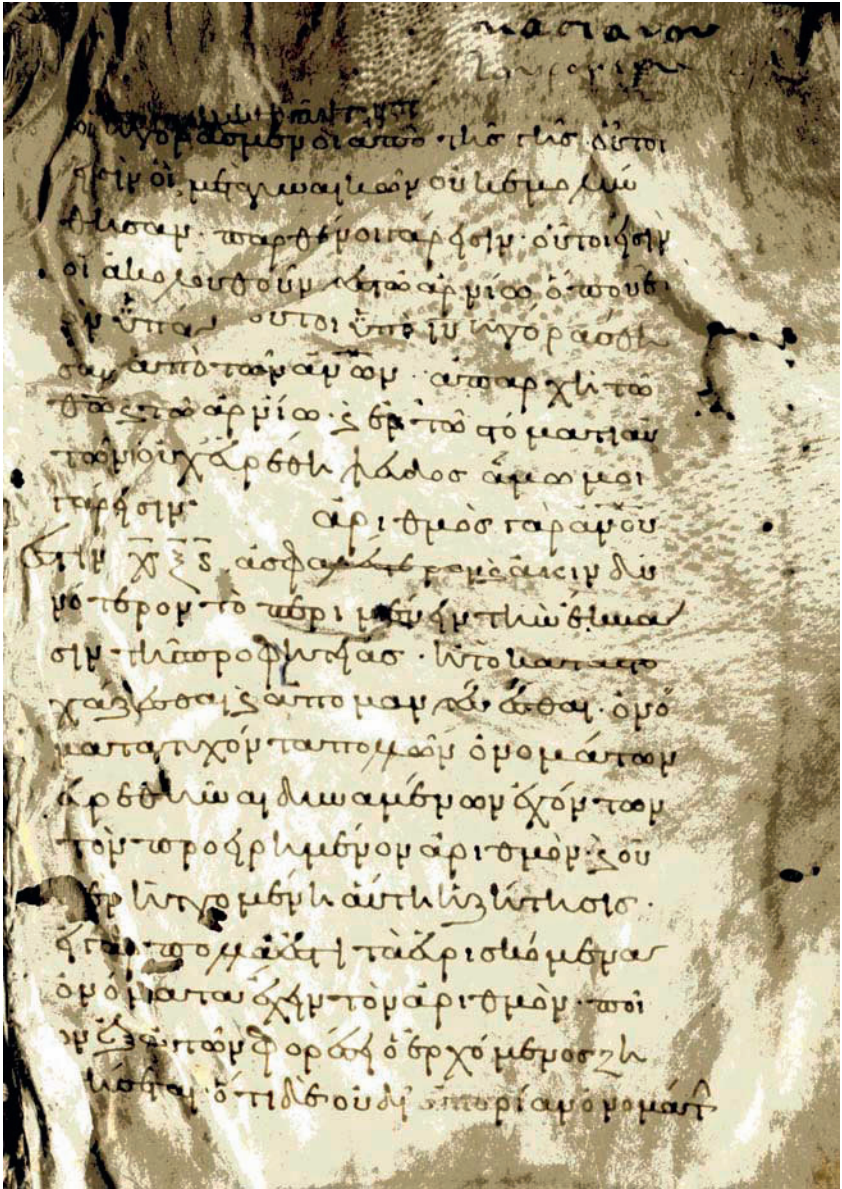


Fig. 28. Codex Metamorphosis 573, folio 290^r. This is the last page of the *Scholia in Apocalypsin*, and the last folio of the Codex that is written (290^v is blank). A later (and informed) hand wrote on top margin (Κασσιανου του Ρωμου του [abbr. for μο(ναχο)δ]): “By monk Cassian the Roman”.