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The *Library* and the *Mystagogia*. Genetic Pathways Compared

ABSTRACT: The article focuses on the similarities in the genesis of Photius' *Library* and *Mystagogia*: after recalling the results of the most recent studies on the first and proposing some new hypotheses on the nature and origin of its chapters, it analyses the structure of the *Mystagogia*, showing that this work derives from the transcription of a composite dossier-prototype prepared by Photius from very heterogeneous sources. Some similarities in the contents of the two works suggest using the same set of materials to compose some sections of both, at different times in the scholar's life. This reconstruction seems to confirm the late dating of the *Library* (proposed in previous works) and implies a radically new dating for some parts of the *Mystagogia*, which will be the subject of a further contribution.

KEYWORDS: Textual Genetics; Codicology; Philology; Manuscriptology; Archetype/Prototype; *Schedaria*

INTRODUCTION*

The *Library* and the *Mystagogia* (from now on *Bibl.* and *Myst.*) by Photius of Constantinople seem not to share much: they deal with different themes (the first is probably the earliest Western example of the literary-review genre¹, the second is a polemical treaty on the *Filioque*); though both inhomogeneous, they are characterized by different styles (apart from the quotations, the *Bibl.* is, in general, less rhetorically elaborated than the *Myst.*); their structures are different (independent chapters *vs* an apparently unitary text). According to the traditional view, they also belong to different periods of Photius' life: the *Bibl.* to his youth, the *Myst.* to old age. Finally, following some manuscripts, the latter is not even by Photius². Margherita Losacco noted some years ago that they are the only two works by the author endowed not only with a prologue but also with an epilogue³. This detail implies another analogy: since the preface of the *Bibl.* comes in the form of a letter written by Photius to his brother Tarasius, to whom the epilogue is also addressed, Warren Treadgold correctly claimed that in a way “the *Bibliotheca* is not only composed in the form of a gigantic

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¹ J. SCHAMP, Photios abrégiateur, in *Condensing texts-condensed texts*, ed. M. Horster – Ch. Reitz. Stuttgart 2010, 649–734: 665; J. SCHAMP, Le projet pédagogique de Photios, in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the international conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009*, ed. P. Van Deun – C. Macé. Leuven – Walpole 2011, 57–75: 67. N.G. WILSON, Fozio, Biblioteca. Milan 1992, 15, noted that the chapters of the *Bibl.* are not reviews in the modern sense of the word.

² The manuscripts Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), Pal. Gr. 216 (*Diktyon* 65948), Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2412 (585) (*Diktyon* 9729), and Athènes, Ethnikè Bibliothékè tês Hellados (EBE) Metochion tou Panagiotou Taphou (MIIT), 145 (*Diktyon* 6542), attribute the *Myst.* to Metrophanes (PmbZ 4986, 25088), archbishop of Smyrna, an Ignatian who was deposed by Photius. Following P. LEMERLE, L'histoire des pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques, *TM* 5 (1973) 1–147: 39, this is the fruit of a deliberate falsification. See also P. VAN DEUN, La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs œuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (ix^e–x^e siècle). *Byz* 78 (2008) 346–367: 364, and V. POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia del Santo Spirito. Rome 2018, XXV–XXVI. This attribution is not always rejected: A. SIECIENSKI, The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy. New York 2010, 102, 254 n. 109.

³ M. LOSACCO, Photius, la Bibliothèque, et au-delà: l'état de la recherche, l'usage des classiques et les préfaces du corpus, in *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin [...] quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, ed. B. Flusin – J.-C. Cheynet. Paris 2017 (= *TM* 21/2), 235–308: 286–287.

letter; it really is one”⁴. In its turn, in one of its oldest manuscripts, the *Myst.* is introduced by an epistolary inscription, and, as we shall see, its first and last paragraphs look like the beginning and end of a letter⁵. Finally, the oldest preserved manuscripts of both texts were copied during Photius’ life or shortly after⁶.

This article aims to demonstrate the similarities in the genesis of the two works: after recalling the results of the most recent studies on the *Bibl.* and proposing some new hypotheses on the nature and origin of its chapters, it will focus on the structure of the *Myst.* to demonstrate that it stems from a composite dossier-prototype set up by Photius himself. Some analogies in the contents of the two works suggest the use of the same materials to compose some sections of both. This reconstruction supports the late dating of the *Bibl.* and a radically new dating for some parts of the *Myst.*, on which I will focus in a further contribution⁷.

THE LIBRARY

THE LIBRARY REDATED

The *Bibl.* has long been referred to the youth of Photius based on the literal interpretation of the letter to Tarasius that opens it in its most ancient manuscript (*A*): Photius claims to have composed the work at his brother’s request just before leaving on an embassy “to the Assyrians”, who have been generally identified with the Arabs ([...] τῷ τε κοινῷ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ βασιλείῳ ψήφῳ πρεσβεύειν ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ Ἀσσυρίους αἰρεθέντας [...]: “[...] having been chosen by the whole embassy and by the imperial vote to be sent on a mission to the Assyrians [...]).⁸ Since neither the head of the imperial chancellery nor *a fortiori* the patriarch would personally participate in such a diplomatic mission, the latter had to have taken place during Photius’ youth. But there is no evidence whatsoever of his participation in such an embassy to the East, and a recent attempt to identify him with the head of a Byzantine mission to Al-Andalus in 839/840 seems problematic⁹. Based on the

⁴ W.T. TREADGOLD, Photius and the Reading Public for Classical Philology in Byzantium, in: Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, ed. M. Mullet – R. Scott. Birmingham 1981, 123–126: 124; IDEM, The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius. Washington, D.C., 1980, 16, 20; IDEM, Photius before his Patriarchate. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002) 1–17: 9.

⁵ Vat. gr. 2195, p. 271: + Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ προσκυνητοῦ Πνεύματος. Φώτιος ἐλέφ Θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης :~ Τῷ ὁσιωτάτῳ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ † Βέδαι^{πὸ λων} † ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν. (“On the holy and life-giving and venerable Spirit. Photius bishop of Constantinople new Rome by the grace of God, greets in the Lord the most holy and reverend bishop † Bede^{Polōn} †”). See F. RONCONI, Notes sur les plus anciens manuscrits de la *Mystagogie* de Photius, u.p. in *Segno e Testo*, and IDEM, On the nature and date of Photius’ *Mystagogia*, and on the identities of its addressees, in preparation.

⁶ On the most ancient codex of the *Bibl.*, see F. RONCONI, L’automne du Patriarche. Photios, la Bibliothèque et le Marc. Gr. 450, in Proceedings of the Madrid Workshop The Transmission of Byzantine Texts: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung. Philosophy, Historiography, Law, Rhetoric. Thursday, 2 February 2012 – Saturday, 4 February 2012, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, ed. J. Signes Codoñer – I. Pérez Martín. Madrid 2014, 93–130. In a further contribution I will focus on the most ancient manuscripts of the *Myst.*: RONCONI, Notes sur les plus anciens manuscrits de la *Mystagogie*.

⁷ RONCONI, On the nature and date of Photius’ *Mystagogia*.

⁸ Phot., *Ep. ad Tarasium* (3 BIANCHI – SCHIANO).

⁹ J. SYPIANSKI, Photius entre l’Assyrie et al-Andalus, in: La diplomatie byzantine, de l’Empire romain aux confins de l’Europe (Ve–XVe s.), ed. N. Drocourt – É. Malamut. Leiden 2020, 61–112. The identification is based on a correction of the name mentioned three times in the Arabic text, which is, according to Sypiansky’s reading, “*qrtiūs* (ou *qrtbūs*)” et une fois *fritiūs* avec des signes critiques qui en feraient soit *Fartayūs*, soit *Furtiūs*. He proposes the correction “*Fütius*” (“*Qartiyūs*”: 80–81). The diplomat in question, who is referred to as the head of the embassy (Photius would have been between 19 and 29 years old at the time) is referred to as an interpreter, whereas there is no evidence of Photius’ knowing Arabic. It should also be noted that the sources that testify to Photius’ relations with Arab emirs have an interest in extolling them: this is particularly the case with Elias, the ambassador of the patriarch of Jerusalem at the Photian council of 879–880 (J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Venetiis 1771, XVII, col. 484) and Nicholas Mystikos in a letter to an emir (probably of Crete: A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II. La dynastie macédonienne (867–

idea, held by some scholars¹⁰, that the embassy of the letter was, in fact, a fiction, in 2013 I noted that in the tenth and last praxis of the Acts of the Constantinopolitan council that excommunicated Photius in 869/870, the participants mentioned the biblical character of Ephrem as the *alter ego* of the deposed patriarch: quoting loosely from the prophet Oseas (7:11), they stated that Ephrem went to the Assyrians (*in Assyrios ibat*)¹¹. Moreover, in a letter written soon after the council, Photius focused on its nature, noting the role played by the Ishmaelite ambassadors, and above all by the pope's legates, whom he considers the leaders of the council (κορυφαίους καὶ ἐξάρχους). The synod ended with a vote (ψηφός [psēphos]) in which the emperor participated¹². The first sentence of the letter to Tarasius can then be interpreted as a sarcastic metaphor referring to the council (“[...] having been chosen by the whole embassy [i.e., the council, which was dominated by the Roman ambassadors] and by the imperial vote, to be sent on a mission ‘to the Assyrians’ [i.e., into exile, by virtue of my identification with Ephrem [...]]”¹³). This interpretation implies that the letter to Tarasius and the original core of the *Bibl.* were composed shortly after the last section of the council (February 870), and just before Photius' exile, when he was relegated to the monastery of Skepē without his books but with his notes (*schedaria*)¹⁴. There he wrote many epistles and a part of the *Amph.*: it comes then as no surprise that, in those hours of loneliness and distress, he also composed—at Tarasius' request, as he claims in the prefatory letter and the epilogue—some short reviews of books, based on his memory and notes¹⁵. Nevertheless, these summaries are but a minimal part of the actual *Bibl.*, since, once received by Tarasius, they started being merged with other materials of different kinds, produced by Photius and the members of his circle through the years, especially in the framework of the scholar's pedagogical activity¹⁶.

THE NATURE OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE BIBL.

Some forty years ago, Thomas Hägg and Warren Treadgold proposed two slightly different classifications of the chapters of the *Bibl.*, both based on their nature¹⁷. Hägg distinguished three types of chapters (“Kurzreferat”, “analytisches Referat” and “Exzerpte”), and Treadgold went even further,

859). II, Extraits des sources arabes, trad. Marius Canard, Bruxelles 1968, 401–402). Photius' letters and *Amph.*, on the contrary, testify of polemical relations with the Arabs (see e.g. epp. 2 [40–53 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK I] and 297 [163–166 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK III], and *Amph.* 316 [122–124 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK VI.1]).

¹⁰ For a comprehensive presentation of the critical positions taken by the scholars over the centuries, see L. CANFORA, *Thesaurus Insignis, non liber*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio XI–LXIV.

¹¹ *Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi quae Constantinopoli congregata est Anastasio bibliothecario interprete*, Actio X, ed. C. LEONARDI – A. PLACANICA. Firenze 2012, 345, 995–996. On the whole issue, see F. RONCONI, *The Patriarch and the Assyrians: New Evidence for the Date of Photius' Library*. *Segno e Testo* 11 (2013) 387–395.

¹² Phot., Ep. 118 (155–158 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK I). See F. RONCONI, *Pour la datation de la Bibliothèque de Photius. La Myriobiblos, le Patriarche et Rome*, in *Byzanz und das Abendland II. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2014, 135–153.

¹³ See also, for another metaphoric interpretation of the passage, CANFORA, *Thesaurus*. The fact that according to the Septuagint, Ephrem did not go to the Assyrians is irrelevant, since Photius is not quoting the Septuagint, he is referring to the conciliar canon which excommunicated him, and which explicitly states that Ephrem *in Assyrios ibat*. Be that as it may, Canfora is right in linking the letter to Tarasius to Photius' first deposition. C.M. MAZZUCCHI, *Restauro e interpretazione dell'epistola a Tarasio*. *Aevum* 95 (2021) 441–464: 461 n. 64, criticizes Canfora's hypothesis (but also his textual reconstruction of the corrupted parts of the letter and its Italian translation) and seems to believe that Photius actually went on an embassy.

¹⁴ This is what he states himself: Phot., Ep. 98 and Phot., *Amph.* 148, on which see below.

¹⁵ On the political and “identitarian” value of common readings in the milieu of Photius, see below.

¹⁶ On the Photian circle, see now CANFORA, *Thesaurus* XIV–XX, and below.

¹⁷ Th. HÄGG, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpieren in der Bibliothek*. Uppsala 1975, 195–204. The researcher rightly noted that there are mixed chapters (on which see *infra*), and that some chapters were dictated. However, rather than attributing this diversity to the genesis of the work, he attributed it to Photius' choice (p. 204).

adding seven subcategories¹⁸. Though the latter's classification looks fundamentally correct to me, thanks to the studies conducted in the last decades, another one can be proposed, which focuses not only on the *nature* of the chapters but especially on their *genesis*. This new classification implies five main groups¹⁹:

(1) 'type a' chapters: the summaries (ὑποθέσεις [hypotheses]) composed in captivity by Photius for Tarasius, with the sole aid of his memory and his notes²⁰, shortly after February 870. These are the shortest chapters of the actual *Bibl.*, and are generally found in the first part of the work: they are quite generic and omit details that Photius did not remember and had not noted on his *schedaria*. Some examples: in ch. 17, he claims that the Acts of the fourth ecumenical council consist of fifteen sections (*praxeis*), but he is unable to specify the corresponding number of books, contenting himself in claiming that they occupied "some books" (ἐν βιβλίῳ μὲν διαφόροις²¹); in chs. 19 and 20, the number of sections of the sixth and seventh ecumenical councils—whose accounts barely occupy some lines—is omitted: the copyists of *A* and *M* (the two oldest manuscripts of the *Bibl.*, on whose relationship see below), left some blanks in its place; a *locus fenestratus* is also found, in *A* and *M*, corresponding to the number of books constituting a work by John Philoponos commented in ch. 21; in ch. 68 blanks were left corresponding to the indication of the number of authors and works mentioned in the last four books of the text of the historian Cephallion²², etc.;

(2) 'type b' chapters: produced in the framework of the bibliographic research conducted through the years by Photius and his assistants in different libraries and collections. This includes three subcategories: type b₁ chapters, i.e. notes on texts that had not yet been read, but whose mention had been found in other works²³. For instance, ch. 137 concerns the *Apologeticon* (or *Apologia I*) by Eunomius, a work against which Basil of Caesarea composed his *Contra Eunomium*. The heretic replied in his turn with the *Apologia apologiae* or *Apologia II*, to which ch. 138 is devoted. To the latter, Gregory of Nyssa replied in turn with his *Contra Eunomium*, to which chs. 6 and 7 of

¹⁸ TREADGOLD, The Nature 180, distinguished "I. descriptions probably composed from memory: imprecise references", "II. descriptions probably composed referring back to the original text (or possibly to notes on it)" (consisting of four subcategories: "A. precise references; B. references by parts; C. precise summaries; D. epitomes") and "III. descriptions probably copied by Photius' secretary from reading notes taken before the *Bibl.* was compiled" (also split into sub-categories: "A. epitomes with introductions added by Photius for the *Bibl.*; B. epitomes without such introductions; C. excerpts, also without such introductions").

¹⁹ I do not take into account cases such as those of ch. 124 (141 BIANCHI – SCHIANO), which consists, in *A*, only of the verb ἀνεγνώσθη [anegnōsthē, i.e. "it was read"], to which a later hand has added τοῦ αὐτοῦ ("by the same"), thus connecting it with Epiphanius of Salamis, which is discussed in the previous chapter. According to TREADGOLD, The Nature 72, such cases are the consequence of a "lapse of memory". But see next note.

²⁰ Photius claims to have worked based on his μνήμη in the epistle to Tarasius and in the epilogue (3 and 953 BIANCHI – SCHIANO), as well as, for example, in ch. 189, where he speaks of παλαιὰν μνήμην ἀναγνωσμάτων ("ancient memory of the readings" 260 BIANCHI – SCHIANO). This does not imply (as HÄGG, Photios 15–124 has pointed out) that the work is in its entirety the product of Photius' prodigious memory, as seems to believe N.G. WILSON, The Composition of Photius' Bibliotheca. *GRBS* 9 (1968) 451–455; IDEM, Photius' Bibliotheca. A Supplementary Note. *GRBS* 12 (1971) 559–560; IDEM, Scholars of Byzantium, London 1996, 96 (but see L.D. REYNOLDS – N.G. WILSON, D'Homère à Érasme. La transmission des classiques grecs et latins. Nouvelle édition de la traduction de Cl. Bertrand et P. Petitmengin, revue, mise à jour et augmentée à partir de la 4e édition anglaise par L.-A. Sanchi et Au. Cohen-Skali. Paris 2021, 58). On the interpretation of μνήμη as "aide-memoire", see CANFORA, Thesaurus XXIX, who identifies such supports with the *schedaria* that Photius mentions in *Amph.* 148, on which see below and F. RONCONI, Écrire par schédê, schédia, schédiasmata et schédaria. *Genesis* 55 (2022) 57–67.

²¹ 19 BIANCHI – SCHIANO.

²² A blank was also left in *A*, in ch. 78 (on the historiographer Malchus' work), corresponding with a word considered particularly significant (103 BIANCHI – SCHIANO). In this case, it is possible that the prototype was unreadable for the copyist. On the importance of the blanks in *A* and *M*, see below.

²³ The existence of chapters concerning books that had not been read is confirmed by ch. 268 on Lycurgus (867 BIANCHI – SCHIANO). See J. SCHAMP, Les Vies des dix orateurs attiques. Fribourg 2000, 204–206; IDEM, Photios abrégiateur 661. In any case, this is an anomalous chapter, which does not open with the verb ἀνεγνώσθη and features a double numbering in *A* (it was, then, probably not intended as an autonomous chapter, but as an appendix to the previous one).

the *Bibl.* are consecrated. This text by Gregory is also mentioned in ch. 138, together with two other anti-Eunomian works by a certain Sophronius and Theodore of Mopsuestia²⁴: these two texts are addressed in chs. 4 and 5, which are not coincidentally contiguous with the aforementioned chs. 6 and 7. In short, Photius wrote chs. 137–138—the first of which even omits the title of the text reviewed—on the sole basis of the many confutations of the two Eunomian works that he had read (it should be noted that both texts were condemned to destruction centuries before Photius)²⁵. The same might apply to some other chapters, like for instance the quite polemical ch. 21 on the lost *Bodily resurrection* by John Philoponos²⁶; type b₂ chapters: more or less detailed summaries of specific parts of certain works, often enriched with literal quotations, e.g. ch. 244, which contains heavily cut and abbreviated excerpts from books 31–34, 36–38, and 40 of the *Bibliotheca Historica* by Diodorus of Sicily, coordinated by connecting phrases due to the excerptor²⁷; type b₃ chapters: rough extracts. This is, for instance, the case of ch. 275, containing passages from treatises by two Jerusalem patriarchs (Hesychius and Modestus), probably found in a miscellaneous manuscript²⁸;

(3) ‘type c chapters’, produced in the framework of Photius’ pedagogical activity (on which see below). This group seems to include in its turn three subcategories: ‘type c₁’ chapters: transcriptions of notes produced by Photius as *pro-memoria* to hold his seminars; ‘type c₂’ chapters: transcriptions of notes written down during the seminars by some of Photius’ students; ‘type c₃’ chapters: precise transcriptions of certain seminars, written down, perhaps in tachygraphy, by some secretaries. Chapters c_{1–3} are not easy to distinguish and generally include a mixture of quotations, summaries, and commentaries, often all introduced by ὅτι (*hoti*)²⁹. For instance, ch. 177 stages an imaginary and somehow ironic dialogue between Photius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (probably a rhetorical expedient for didactic purposes):

“Theodore himself rightly rejects these things and at times strikes out quite well and strongly the absurdity and blasphemy of these opinions [...]. Not always, however: on the contrary, we saw that in many points he harbors the heresy of Nestorius and that he even suggests that of Origen concerning the final judgment [...]. There is another thing that I do not consider to be in line with the dogmas of truth, and which is repeated many times although it is not recognized by the Church of God: that there are two remissions of sins [...]. So far it is great, and everybody is left open-mouthed waiting for the conclusion. Speak then: what more? We're all ears. What is this

²⁴ 177 BIANCHI – SCHIANO.

²⁵ See RONCONI, Il Moveable Feast 208–211, and the notes to these chapters in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 1043–1044. The two chapters are characterized by the same metaphor: both Eunomian works are represented as an abortive fetus destroyed by the orthodox authors.

²⁶ B. LOURIÉ, John Philoponus on the Bodily Resurrection. *Scrinium* 9 (2013) 79–88.

²⁷ Y. VERNIÈRE – F. CHAMOUX – P. BERTRAC, Diodore de Sicile, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Livre I. Paris 1993, CXXXIII. The text is so heavily altered that it has been speculated that Photius (or a member of his circle) had access not to the original work of Diodorus, but to “un choix assorti” of passages from the last ten books: SCHAMP, Photios abrégiateur 660. See also CORCELLA, Nuovi frammenti 170–171 et n. 42, 198. A similar picture can be drawn for the treatment of certain texts by Flavius Josephus in the *Bibl.*: see F. RONCONI, Les sources des Excerpta constantiniens à la lumière de celles de la Bibliothèque de Photius. Quelques réflexions, u. p. in Le destin d’un manuscrit. Du vice et de la vertu: de Constantinople à Tours, via Chypre, 14–15 octobre 2021, Tours, ed. M.-F. Auzépy – A.-M. Cheny – Ph. Trélat (with further bibliography). The *Bibliotheca historica* by Diodorus of Sicily is also reviewed in ch. 70, which summarized the entirety of its forty books, drawing all information, as it seems, from the preface of book I: SCHAMP, Photios abrégiateur 659; P. GOUKOWSKY, Diodore de Sicile, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Fragments des Livres XXVII–XXXII. Paris 2012, XXXV–XXXVI.

²⁸ In this chapter, the only Photian intervention seems to consist in the lines specifying that one of the speeches by Hesychius is very prolix and lacking in interest: BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 893.

²⁹ See also HÄGG, Photios 31 and 201; TREADGOLD, The Nature 89 n. 32.

‘complete remission of sins’? That after the resurrection, he says, we will sin no more. At what point did you disappoint our hopes!”³⁰

In some chapters, the verb ἀναγινώσκειν (*anagignōskein*) is associated with the emphatic use of the personal pronouns ἔγωγε (*egōge*), μοι (*moi*) etc. (ch. 67 [on the historiographer Sergios, who might be Photius’ father]³¹; 97 [Phlegon of Tralles]; 201 [Diadochus of Photice]); in some other chapters, some bibliographical discoveries are presented as strictly personal (219 [Oribasius]: εἶδον ἔγωγε [“I myself saw”]; ch. 171 [Eustratios]: εὗρον ἐν τῷδε τῷ βιβλίῳ [“I found in this book”])³². While such chapters probably stem from the transcription of Photius’ seminars (types c₂ or c₃), ch. 225 is perhaps the transcription of some of his notes (type c₁). It consists of a series of extracts from the first book of a work by the Alexandrian patriarch Eulogius: of these quotations, only the incipit (sometimes preceded by ἀπὸ τοῦ [*apo tou*, i.e. “from”]) and the explicit (which follows formulas meaning “up to”, such as μέχρι τοῦ [*mechri tou*] / ἕως τοῦ [*eōs tou*]) are given, so that the chapter is partially incomprehensible in its present form. It seems then that, in preparing his seminar, the scholar contented himself with noting the references of the passages that would be read in the classroom directly from the manuscript³³. A note meticulously prepared by Photius for didactic purposes is probably ch. 222, which consists of a rich review of the lost work by a certain Job, and might be the λόγος (*logos*, i.e. “discourse”) that he claims to have devoted to this very text in *Amph.* 79;

(4) ‘type d’ chapters: supplementary material probably composed by Photius after his return from exile, in c. 873³⁴: five chapters on theological themes contain twenty-six invocations to a reader/listener, addressed with formulas such as σὺ δέ μοι σκόπει (“look at this”) or σὺ δέ μοι συνδιασκόπει (“look at this with me”), which are quite rare in the rest of the *Bibl.* and recur identically in some letters, in an *Amph.* and in the *Myst.* These five codices—which are almost contiguous—are among the longest of the *Bibl.* and share a common structure: they contain an introduction, a meticulous analysis of the contents chapter by chapter (sometimes with extensive quotations), and a final evaluation³⁵;

(5) type e chapters: mixed chapters, in which rough extracts (type b₃) or summaries (type b₂ or c) have been joined to potentially autonomous reviews or bibliographical notes (type a or b₁). This is the case, for instance, of ch. 3 (on the historiographical work of Nonnosos) and chs. 63–65 (on Procopius’, Theophanes’ of Byzantium, and Theophylact Simocatta’s *Histories*), in which, after a potentially autonomous generic section, extracts alternate with summaries. The case of ch. 63 is

³⁰ Ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος οὗτος εὖ μὲν ποιεῖ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτά, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄριστα αὐτῶν καὶ σὺν ἰσχύϊ τὸ ἀλλόκοτον καὶ βλάσφημον τῶν ὑπολήψεων ἐπιρρατίζει [...]. Οὐκ αἰεὶ δέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε Νεστορίου αἵρεσιν ὠδίνων ἡμῖν ἐν πολλοῖς ὥπται, καὶ τὴν Ὠριγένους κατὰ γε τὸ τέλος ὑποφωνεῖν τῆς κολάσεως [...]. Ἐτι δὲ κάκεῖνο οὐκ ἐγκρίνω ἔγωγε τοῖς τῆς ἀληθείας δόγμασι, περιέργως τε εἰρημένον καὶ οὐδὲ γνώριμον τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ δύο ἀφέσεις ἁμαρτιῶν εἶναι λέγειν [...]. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μέχρι τούτου ὡς σεμνὰ καὶ κεχηγμένα μόνον οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἅπαντας κατασκευάζοντα. Εἰπέ δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τί τοῦτο; ὀρθὰ γάρ σοι παρεχόμεθα τὰ ὅσα. Τίς ἢ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσις ἢ παντελὴς ἐκείνη; οὐκέτι, φησί, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἁμαρτησόμεθα. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ἐξ οἶων ἡμᾶς κατέσπασας τῶν ἐλπίδων (218–219 BIANCHI – SCHIANO).

³¹ See at least the notes to this chapter in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 997.

³² See also ch. 77, on which, see the observations by L. CANFORA in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 1010, n. 3 to ch. 77.

³³ On this chapter, see also J. SCHAMP, Photios historien des lettres. La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques. Paris 1987, 122–124.

³⁴ These chapters occupy an average of 30.2 pages each in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio, compared to the average length of all the chapters in the *Bibl.* which is 3.36 pages. For identical invocations to a reader/listener in some of Photius’ epistles (that the editors attribute to a late period in his life), *Amphilochia* and *Myst.*, see F. RONCONI, Il Moveable Feast del Patriarca. Note e ipotesi sulla genesi della Bibliotheca di Fozio, in: Nel segno del testo. Edizioni, materiali e studi per Oronzo Pecere, ed. L. Del Corso – F. De Vivo – A. Stramaglia. Firenze 2015, 203–238: 226–227.

³⁵ Ch. 222: Job the Monk’s *On the Incarnation*; ch. 223: Diodorus of Tarsus, *Against the Destiny*; chs. 225 and 230: Eulogius of Alexandria’s *Against Severus and Theodosius* and other works; ch. 229: four texts by Ephrem of Antioch. See in general RONCONI, Il Moveable Feast and below.

especially instructive: after the first part, the reader finds a summary (enriched with literal quotations) of the first book and the first nineteen chapters of the second book of *De bello Persico*³⁶. A similar configuration is also present in chs. 72 on Ctesias, 80 on Olympiodorus³⁷, 92 on Arrian, 96 on a work by George of Alexandria concerning John Chrysostom, and 190 on the *New Histories* of Ptolemy Chennos.

THE *BIBL.* AND PHOTIUS' TEACHING ACTIVITY

This classification presupposes a close relationship between the genesis of the *Bibl.* and Photius' pedagogical activity, whose characteristics are worth evoking³⁸. The scholar explicitly recalls his seminars in some *Amph.*³⁹ and in a letter he wrote to Pope Nicholas I in 861⁴⁰, and implicitly in the letter to Tarasius, in ch. 165 of the *Bibl.*, and in some other epistles⁴¹. His seminars are also hinted at by some anti-photian documents and texts, like the acts of the aforementioned Constantinopolitan council of 869–870 and the *Vita Ignatii* by Nicetas David of Paphlagonia, according to which his acolytes gathered with him around books and “answered each other in reading and dialoguing” (τῶν ἀμοιβαίων ἀναγνωστῶν καὶ συνομιλητῶν⁴²).

Photius' seminars, insofar as they can be reconstructed on the basis of these sources, are reminiscent of the ones held in some late-antique philosophical schools⁴³. For instance, in Plotinus', books were read aloud in the presence of the teacher (in *Bibl.* 165, Photius mentions the fact that texts were read “in my presence”, κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν); the reading was sometimes interrupted

³⁶ The second section of this chapter ends abruptly and, in *A*, is followed by a three-column *agraphon*. On the *agrapha* in *A* and *M*, see below. On this chapter, see also HÄGG, Photios 184–194.

³⁷ This chapter has been the object of many analyses and interpretations, for which I content myself with referring to DE CICCIO 2016, 1012 n. 1, and CANFORA, Thesaurus XX.

³⁸ On this relationship, see also CANFORA, Thesaurus, *passim*.

³⁹ *Amph.* 77 (101, 212–214 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V): ἐτι ταῖς διαλεκτικαῖς ἐνασχολουμένων ἡμῶν μελέταις, ἥνικα καὶ πολλοὺς παῖδας ὠδίνοντες οἱ λόγοι εἰς φῶς ἀπέτικτον τῆς πολλοῖς χρόνοις δι' ἐπινοίας ἀνδρῶν παρανόμων ἐναποσβεσθείσης θεωρίας: “(at the time when) we could still devote ourselves to our dialectical exercises, when our pregnant speeches gave birth to many offspring in the light of the Sun, whereas for a long time now, thanks to the designs of outlawed men, research has been put aside.” *Amph.* 78 (104, 97–102 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V): καὶ γὰρ πάλαι ποτὲ κατὰ τὰς διαλεκτικὰς συγγυμνασίας, τὰς τοπικὰς μεθόδους ἀναπτύσσοντός μου τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μάλιστα συζητούντων ἦσθα, ἱκανῶς ἔχων λόγος περὶ τούτου τοῦ ζητήματος κατεβλήθη, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ γεγραμμένον ἔχειν τηρικαῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξεδόθη: “Once, in the course of common dialectical exercises—when I was expounding the methods of commonplaces to my hearers and you were not one of the many, but one of my most intimate collaborators—I had dealt extensively with this subject, on which a text had also been written, available to those who wanted it.” On these passages, see J. SCHAMP – B. KINDT, Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani Bibliotheca. Turnhout 2003, XXIV–XXV, and on Photius' didactical activity, see also SCHAMP, Le projet pédagogique.

⁴⁰ Phot., ep. 290 (49–81 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK III), on which see at least CANFORA, Thesaurus XIV–XVI. It should be noted that Photius wrote it in response to the pope's complaint that he had been consecrated patriarch despite being a layman, wanting to be *magister* before being a *discipulus*. Therefore, Photius' statements concerning the existence of three teaching cycles culminating in the study of religious texts should be interpreted with caution.

⁴¹ Ch. 165: τούτους οἶμαι τοὺς λόγους μόνους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Ἰμερίου, περὶ ποῦ ο' ὄντας, κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν τὴν σὴν φιλοπονίαν ἀνεγνώκηναι (196 BIANCHI – SCHIANO: “These I believe to be the only speeches of the sophist Imerius, some seventy, that you have laboriously read in our presence”). On the contradiction between this passage and the letter to Tarasius, see TREADGOLD, *The Nature* 22; SCHAMP, Photios abrégiateur 651–652.

⁴² NICETAS DAVID, *Vita Ignatii* 48.22–23 (ed. David Nicetas, *The life of Patriarch Ignatius*. Greek text and translation by A. Smithies with notes by J.M. Duffy. Washington, D.C. 2013, 68). For the passage of the council of 869–870, see L. CANFORA, Le ‘cercle des lecteurs’ autour de Photios: une source contemporaine. *REB* 56 (1998) 269–273, and IDEM, Thesaurus XV.

⁴³ See in general Ph. HOFFMANN, Bibliothèques et formes du livre à la fin de l'Antiquité. Le témoignage de la littérature néoplatonicienne des Ve et VIe siècles, in: I Manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4–10 ottobre 1998), ed. G. Prato. Firenze 2000, 601–632.

by Plotinus and by some members of the audience in order to comment and debate⁴⁴ (let us recall Nicetas David's words); the philosopher's notes circulated among his students, though they were orthographically incorrect and often difficult to decipher because of his cursive script⁴⁵: notes by Photius or dictated by him to a secretary might have circulated among his students, later merging into the *Bibl.* (chapters of type c₁)⁴⁶. Porphyry mentions some treatises written down during Plotinus' seminars, which were circulated among the philosopher's students⁴⁷: in *Amph.* 77, referring to his lessons in dialectics, Photius claims that "our discourses (*logoi*) gave rise to many offspring"⁴⁸ and in *Amph.* 78 he states that "in the past, during the exercises in dialectics [...], a text was composed and made available to anyone who wanted it"⁴⁹. Some of these treatises were probably reproduced in the *Bibl.* (it is the case of the aforementioned ch. 222), while some others, composed exclusively by his students or assistants, were not: this is probably the case for a very short text *Περὶ χρόνου* ("On time")⁵⁰, preserved on the last folio of Marc. gr. Z 258 (= 668)⁵¹. The title attributes it to Zacharias, a member of Photius' circle and probably one of his assistants, whom the patriarch appointed bishop of Chalcedon, and called τέκνον (*teknon*, i.e. "son") in some of his letters⁵². Since Photius treats the same theme in similar terms in *Amph.* 137–147⁵³, Zacharias' text (which begins with ὅτι [*hoti*], as do several chapters of the *Bibl.*: see *supra*) may be linked to a cycle of Photius' seminars on the subject of time. This may not be the only example of a text produced in the context of Photius' teaching activity and not included in the *Bibl.*: Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos' ms Oxon. Bod. Barocci 142, (13th–14th c.) contains some extracts from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Philostorgius (ff. 243r–261r)⁵⁴, collected under the title ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ιστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομή ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου ("Epitome of the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of Philostorgius from the voice of Patriarch Photius")⁵⁵. Even if the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς (*apo phōnēs*) partially lost its original value over time, in the Middle Ages often indicating no more than the authorship of a text⁵⁶, this epitome seems to stem from the transcription of one or more of

⁴⁴ PORPHYRIUS, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 13–14 (18, 10–19, 19 ed. P. HENRY – H.-R. SCHWYZER, *Plotini Opera*, Porphyrii Vita Plotini. Paris – Bruxelles 1951, vol. 1).

⁴⁵ PORPHYRIUS, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 8, 19–20 (24, 1–30, 104 HENRY – SCHWYZER).

⁴⁶ On the importance (and consequences) of dictation in the realization of the *Bibl.*, see HÄGG, Photios 64–67, 195–200.

⁴⁷ PORPHYRIUS, *Vita Plotini*, chs. 3–4 (5, 43–7, 68 HENRY – SCHWYZER).

⁴⁸ *Amph.* 77 (101, 212–214 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V), on which see *supra*.

⁴⁹ *Amph.* 78 (104, 97–102 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V), on which see *supra*.

⁵⁰ K. OEHLER, Zacharias von Chalkedon über die Zeit. *BZ* 50 (1957), 30–38.

⁵¹ F. 324v. The text is also found in two *recentiores*: Vat. Ott. gr. 45 (*Diktyon* 65286) and København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Fabr. 88 8° (*Diktyon* 37122). The *Marcianus* belongs to the so-called "philosophical collection": see F. RONCONI, La collection brisée. Pour une étude des milieux socioculturels liés à la « collection philosophique », in *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international*, Paris, 5–7 juin 2008, ed. Paolo Odorico. Paris 2011, 137–166: 155. Concerning the second manuscript, see at least D. HARLFINGER, *Die Textgeschichte der Pseudo-Aristotelischen Schrift Peri atomōn grammōn*. Amsterdam 1971, 194, n. 3.

⁵² On Zacharias, see PmbZ 8635. The letters in question are Phot., epp. 107 and 108 (147–148 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK I).

⁵³ OEHLER, Zacharias von Chalkedon 37–38.

⁵⁴ Ch. 40 of the *Bibl.* is also devoted to the same text. See in general n. 1 to this chapter (by M. Losacco) in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 973–974 n. 1.

⁵⁵ TREADGOLD, *The Nature* 39 and 98; RONCONI, *Il Moveable Feast* 252.

⁵⁶ M. RICHARD, *apo phōnēs*. *Byz* 20 (1950) 191–222 (followed among others by TREADGOLD, *The Nature* 39 n. 6). But see Ch. DU FRESNE MONSIEUR DU-CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*. Louvain 1688, II, col. 1717. E.I. ARGOV, Giving the Heretic a Voice: Philostorgius of Borissus and Greek Ecclesiastical Historiography. *Athenaeum* 89 (2001) 497–524, attributes to the formula its literal meaning to deny Photian authorship: he is then not entirely wrong when he states (520–523) that the epitome could be due to an individual related to the patriarch, provided that this is understood as one of his listeners. Be that as it may, it is not true that the title of the epitome, in red in the *Baroccianus* "[...] appears to be an addition by a later hand." For other proofs concerning Photian authorship of this chapter see A. BALDINI, Eunapio, Olimpodoro, Filostorgio: indizi sulle "responsabilità" del patriarca Fozio, in: *Philostorge et l'historiographie de l'Antiquité tardive / Philostorg im Kontext der spätantiken Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. D. Meyer. Stuttgart 2011, 41–64: 43–45. The *Baroccianus* also contains (e.g. on ff. 212r, 225r, 236v) summaries and extracts from various works put together by Xan-

Photius' seminars (type c2 or c3 chapters)⁵⁷: in fact, the extracts are not faithfully copied and some comments, probably made by Photius, are interspersed with them. All these materials are introduced by ὅτι (*hoti*): it seems then that the compiler was not copying from a manuscript containing the text, but rather writing down a seminar he was attending by noting the passages of the work that were being read, the summaries of some sections which were being resumed orally, and the comments by Photius (and possibly by some other participants)⁵⁸. This epitome was, then, probably a note which was not included in the *Bibl.* and was preserved in a later manuscript. This seems to also be the case for some extracts from works by Artemidorus preserved in two manuscripts *recentiores* and those from Longinus, Aelius Aristides, and Diodorus of Sicily preserved in Laur. Plut. 58.24 (*Diktyon* 16443): in the last case, the quotations are interrupted by brief explanations and comments that sometimes match *ad litteram* works and epistles by Photius⁵⁹.

In addition to participating in the scholar's seminars, some of his assistants supported him in his bibliographical research by producing notes, summaries, and extracts that also merged into the *Bibl.* (type b chapters): several of Photius' letters mention the exchange of notes and manuscripts, and the debates on literary, rhetorical, and grammatical issues that bound the scholar to his (ancient) students⁶⁰.

THE GENESIS OF THE BIBL. AND ITS MOST ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS

It has long been noted that chs. 1–233 generally look like book reviews, usually containing a series of standardized information (name of the author, dedicatee, description of the content, general evaluation), while chs. 234–280 mostly consist of excerpts, introduced by formulas like ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ (“has been read from”) and ὅτι (*hoti*), and are much longer than the previous ones. Following our reconstruction, the first part of the *Bibl.* mainly contains chapters of type a–b₁ and the second chapters of type b₂–d. Nevertheless, the distinction is not that clear-cut. For example, chs. 259–268, which constitute a well-studied group of chapters on Attic orators⁶¹, do not consist of extracts, though they belong to the second part of the *Bibl.*, and in the first part of the work many extracts and quotations are found, generally associated with mixed chapters (type e), which, as I said, are

thopoulos, introduced by the formula *apo phones*. This manuscript, partly written by Xanthopoulos himself, is important for the genesis of the *Historia ecclesiastica*: see, Ch. GASTGEBER, Xanthopuliana: Das Arbeitsexemplar Codex Oxford BL, Barocci 142 – Der Computist Xanthopulos, in: *Anekdotia Byzantina. Studien zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*. Festschrift für Albrecht Berger anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstags, ed. I. Grimm-Stadelmann, A. Riehle, R. Tocci, M.M. Vučetić (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 41). Berlin – Boston 2023, 137–157: 137–152.

⁵⁷ TREADGOLD, The Nature 39 considered it as the transcription of some of Photius' personal annotations (our type c₁).

⁵⁸ The epitome of Philostorgius mixes passages from this author with information taken from other sources: BALDINI, Eunapio 52. On the whole issue, with further bibliographical references, see the notes to this ch. in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio 973.

⁵⁹ C. SCHIANO, Artemidoro sul Nilo (fr. 90 Stiehle): falsificazione umanistica o prodotto dell'officina di Fozio? *Byz* 90 (2020) 271–308; A. CORCELLA, Nuovi frammenti della ‘Biblioteca Storica’ di Diodoro Siculo. *Quaderni di Storia* 89 (2019) 147–203, 198–199 n. 99. For Longinus, see *ibid.* 150 and n. 4, 153–155 and nn. 14 and 15, 157 n. 19; for Aelius Aristides, see 155–157 and nn. 17 and 18; for Diodorus, see 194–196. See also HÄGG, Photios 86–89 (on Photian adaptations of the original texts for stylistic and rhythmic reasons). The *Laurentianus* presents *agrapha* (e.g. on f. 82r, after an excerpt from Diodorus Siculus: see CORCELLA, Nuovi frammenti 164), like *A* and *M*, and has a rich system of tachygraphic signs that may have been incorrectly reproduced from the model (*ibid.* 178): the *schedaria* (on which see *infra*) were probably often copied in cursive and abbreviated scripts. See also, on Photius' materials scattered in other manuscripts, S. MICUNCO, Dallo *schedarion* al codice: sulla tradizione manoscritta della *Biblioteca*, in BIANCHI – SCHIANO, Fozio LXV–LXXXV: LXV and n. 1 p. LXXVIII, and the contribution of C. Schiano in this volume.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the epistolary exchanges with Zacharias: Phot., epp. 107 (147–148 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK I), 108 (148 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK I), 179 (68 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK II), 221 (131–134 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK II) et 223 (135 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK II).

⁶¹ SCHAMP, Les Vies.

the fruit of the juxtaposition of materials of different kinds⁶². This complex situation can be better understood by analysing ms *A*: not only has it been referred on solid palaeographic grounds to the second half of the ninth and the very beginning of the tenth century⁶³, but it was realized in the Photian milieu⁶⁴. Not by chance, in *A*, the two parts of the *Bibl.* correspond to two independent groups of quires, written by two teams of copyists, who, as I said, left more or less extensive blanks at the end of some chapters⁶⁵ and inside some others. These *agrapha* (but not the codicological bipartition) are also found in the other key manuscript of the *Bibl.*, *M*, copied between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century⁶⁶. The relationship between the two *codices* has recently been reconsidered, in a way that helps to reconstruct the genesis of the *Bibl.*: by merging the notes written by Photius during his captivity with some other materials (as I said), the dossier-prototype was set up in the milieu of Tarasius, and precociously copied into the first part of *A* by two copyists. At the beginning of the manuscript, starting from f. 1v to f. 4v, a *pinax* corresponding to the chapters contained at the time in the copy (and in the dossier-prototype) was also set up. The first folio recto of the manuscript was left blank⁶⁷. After some time, other notes and extracts were added to the end of the dossier-prototype, and again after Photius' return from exile, around 873, some further notes were added. The second part of the dossier was also copied (by the second group of copyists) in *A*, which thus acquired a further, less organized section (chs. 234–279). The *pinax* was also implemented. This multi-phased work did not succeed in saving all Photian materials: the epitome of Philostorgius' *Ecclesiastical History* and other notes—which were probably preserved in the archives of some of Photius' students—were not included in the prototype, and were copied independently in later manuscripts, not in *A* or *M*⁶⁸. The letter to Tarasius was also copied (with some modifications) on the first folio recto of *A*, which had been left blank. At the end of the manuscript the last chapter (280) was added, whose beginning contains a formula that partially overlaps the epilogue. Two details are worth noting: the chapter was added in *A* after its completion, while the epilogue never was. In fact, the manuscript has lost its last quire, but the addition of the last chapter is demonstrated by the addition of its title at the end of the *pinax*, and by its presence in a later copy of *A*⁶⁹. Conversely, there is no trace of the epilogue in the *pinax* of *A* nor in its copy. The absence of the epilogue is meaningful since it partially contradicts the letter to Tarasius

⁶² Concerning these mixed chapters, it should be noted that the “coupling operation” was not systematic, as proven by doublets, i.e. two (in one case three) chapters concerning the same work, and generally different in nature: one found in the first part of the *Bibl.* and consisting of a “book-review”, and the other, in the second part, including extracts or partial summaries: see TREADGOLD, *The Nature* 41 and n. 13; SCHAMP, *Photios historien des lettres* 97f; SCHAMP, *Photios abrégiateur* 658–659. Eulogius' *Contra Navatos* is the object of chs. 182, 208 and 280: see *ibid.* 655, 727–729; RONCONI, *Il Moveable* 217 and n. 125. Sometimes two concurrent chapters are found in the first part of the *Bibl.*: for example, chs. 49 and 169 both contain a brief evaluation of Cyril of Alexandria's *Against Nestorius* and partially contradict each other concerning its style (judged positively in the first, “modest” in the second).

⁶³ G. CAVALLI, *Per le mani e la datazione del codice Ven. Mar. gr. 450. Quaderni di storia* 49 (1999) 157–162; RONCONI, *L'autunno du Patriarche* 97–100; MICUNCO, *Dallo schedarion LXXV*. Against this datation, MAZZUCCHI, *Restauro e interpretazione*, attributes the whole manuscript to the beginning of the tenth century, but the palaeographic criteria he proposes do not seem convincing to me.

⁶⁴ RONCONI, *L'autunno du Patriarche* 109–112. On the *pinax*, see M.R. ACQUAFREDDA, *Un documento inesplorato: il pinax della Biblioteca di Fozio*. Bari 2015, and B. TRONO, *Per la storia del testo della Biblioteca di Fozio. Pinax e note redazionali. Segno e testo* 18 (2020) 123–185.

⁶⁵ Some chapters present *agrapha* (in *A* and sometimes in *M*) not in their final part, but in the middle: chs. 72, 92, 244, 265, 271, 277. For a complete list of the *agrapha* in both manuscripts, see MICUNCO, *Dallo schedarion LXX–LXXII*.

⁶⁶ M. LOSACCO, *Ancora sui testimoni della Biblioteca foziana: sulle mani del Marc. gr. 451. Segno e testo* 12 (2014) 223–269; MICUNCO, *Dallo schedarion LXVII–LXVIII*.

⁶⁷ See RONCONI, *L'autunno du Patriarche* 112–114.

⁶⁸ RONCONI, *Il Moveable Feast*.

⁶⁹ On the addition of the title of ch. 280 at the end of the *pinax* of *A*, see RONCONI, *L'autunno du Patriarche* 124–125. The late copy of *A* is Paris. gr. 1266 (*Diktyon* 50875), on which, see MICUNCO, *Dallo schedarion LXVIII–LXX*. The formula is not found in *M*.

about the very nature of the *Bibl.*⁷⁰: according to the epistle, the work only concerns the books read in the absence of Tarasius⁷¹, whereas the epilogue mentions all the books read by Photius from the very beginning, with some exceptions⁷². The epilogue was, then, probably added to the dossier-prototype after the last modification of *A*: not by chance, it is found in *M* (copied, as I said, some two centuries after *A*), which also contains chs. 185 and 279, absent in *A*. The two manuscripts have long been believed to descend independently from a common model (that is the prototype)⁷³, but recent studies seem to imply that *M* stems from *A* itself *via* a lost intermediate manuscript whose copyist(s) also had access to the prototype. Be that as it may, it is sure that the prototype continued to “evolve” after the transcription of *A*⁷⁴.

THE PROTOTYPE, A DOSSIER MADE OF *SCHEDĒ* AND *SCHEDARIA*

In *Amph.* 148 (written during the captivity in Skepē, and then, following our reconstruction, almost contemporary with the composition of the notes sent to Tarasius), Photius states that his books had been taken from him and that he only had at his disposal his *σχεδάρια* (*schedaria*)⁷⁵. This is a technical word designating a precise type of transitional medium: a booklet or a folder containing loose sheets, called *σχέδη* (*schedē*). Working by *schedē* and *schedaria* was a widespread literate habit between at least the 4th and 15th centuries, rooted in the scholarly practices of antiquity⁷⁶. The fact that the *Bibl.* is derived from the transcription of a prototype consisting of *schedē* and *schedaria* is implied by some facts. The first is the presence of groups of consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and generally characterized by intertextual references, that are generally retrograde: for

⁷⁰ RONCONI, Il Moveable Feast 229. On the epilogue see CANFORA, Thesaurus XLIII–LVII.

⁷¹ Τοσαῦτα γάρ, οἶμαι, τῆς σῆς οὐ τυχόντα παρουσίας ἀναγνωσθῆναι συνέπεσεν (3 BIANCHI – SCHIANO: “this is, I think, the number of books I happened to read in your absence”). On ch. 165 see *supra*.

⁷² Ἄ μὲν οὖν φιλολογούμενοις ἡμῖν καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἔλθειν συνηνέχθη, χωρὶς ὧν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ μελέτη τέχνας φιλεῖ καὶ ἐπιστήμας ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀφ’ οὗπερ τις αἴσθησις ἡμῖν ἀμυγέπη καὶ κρίσις λόγων ἐνεφύη μέχρι τῆς παρούσης τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ὡς ἐν τύπῳ συνεκδόσεως [...] (953 Bianchi – Schiano: “The books I happened to come across, from the time when some perception and discernment arose in me until the present summary publication of the readings I have done, with the exclusion of those whose in-depth study concerns the trades and sciences, applying myself in solitude to cultivate memory [...]). On this contradiction, see RONCONI, L’automne du Patriarche 122–125 and CANFORA, Thesaurus XLV–XLVI.

⁷³ See A. SEVERYNS, Recherche sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus. Première partie. Le Codex 239 de Photius. Tome I. Etude paléographique et critique. Liège – Paris 1938, proposes a two-branch stemma characterized by the proliferation of lost intermediate manuscripts (see on this aspect MICUNCO, Dallo schedarion LXXIII, LXXXIV n. 89, and MAZZUCCHI, Restauro e interpretazione 460). This led H. ERBSE, Rev. of Photius, Bibliothèque. Tome 1: Codices 1–84, ed. R. Henry. *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 608–618: 613 to propose a simplified version. The latter was, taken up by HÄGG, Photios 44 and by D. MARCOTTE, Les mines d’or des Ptolémées: d’Agatharchide aux archives de Photios. *Journal des savants* s.n. (2017) 3–49 (who nevertheless does not quote Erbse, but refers to Severyns). Both versions of the stemma appear untenable in the light of recent research on the transmission of the scholies of Arethas, on the genesis of the *Bibl.* and on the date and nature of manuscript A: for Arethas, see G. RUSSO, Contestazione e conservazione. Luciano nell’esegesi di Areta. Berlin – Boston 2012, 107–110.

⁷⁴ See MICUNCO, Dallo schedarion LXXIII–LXXIV; P. ISÉPY, Die Überlieferung der “Bibliothek” des Photios und die Frage nach dem Archetypus, in Lachmanns Erbe. Editionsmethoden in klassischer Philologie und germanistischer Mediävistik, ed. A. Kathrin Bleuler – O. Primavesi. Berlin 2022, 321–62; P. ISÉPY – O. PRIMAVESI, Oliver, Helladios und Hesychios. Neues zum Text der Bibliothek des Photios (Cod. 279). *ZPE* 192 (2014) 121–142; P. ISÉPY, Towards a New Text of Helladius. Neglected manuscript evidence on Photius’ “Bibliothek”. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 163 (2020) 189–230; LOSACCO, Photius 258; P. ISÉPY, A preliminary Text of Photius’ Bibliotheca c. 278 [279] – the Chrestomatheiai of Helladius of Antinoupolis. *ZPE* 220 (2021) 97–117; RONCONI, Les sources.

⁷⁵ CANFORA, Thesaurus XVII–XX.

⁷⁶ RONCONI, Écrire par schédē.

instance, chs. 186–190 all concern, with one exception, paradoxographical texts⁷⁷, thus constituting a coherent group, in which the preceding chapters are referred to by the following ones and never vice versa. The *schedarion* was then implemented gradually: *schedē* concerning the different texts were added over time, and each time, reference was made to the previous *schedē*. They could move within the *schedarion* (proof of the fact that the *schedaria* were often folders, and the *schedē* loose sheets): let us take the case of another *schedarion*, corresponding to chs. 62–67, all dealing with Christian historical texts, sequenced according to their period of composition⁷⁸. The chapter which precedes this group (ch. 61, on Aeschines' works) ends with a note about a term (*margaros*) which is not found in the chapter itself nor in the surviving texts of Aeschines. The note explicitly refers to Praxagoras' work (reviewed in ch. 62), and Procopius', reviewed in ch. 63⁷⁹, where the term *margaros* is found. Then, the lexicographical note that is now found at the end of ch. 61, was written on a *schedos* originally placed after ch. 63, but which moved to the beginning of the "historiographical *schedarion*" of chs. 62–67. When all these materials were transcribed into *A*, the note was reproduced before ch. 62, that is at the end of ch. 61⁸⁰. A similar phenomenon probably occurs in the case of the "mixed" ch. 223, concerning a lost work by Diodorus of Tarsus (*Against Astronomers, Astrologers and Destiny*). It consists of 1184 lines in the printed edition and probably constituted a *schedarion* in itself, containing three independent media: the first was a *schedos* containing a brief review (16 lines); the second (15 lines) another *schedos* containing a résumé of the ch. 51 of Diodorus' text, focusing on the heresy of a gnostic philosopher named Bardesanes; the third and last (1153 lines, i.e. 97% of the chapter) was probably a quire containing a summary of the work⁸¹, rich in syntactical inconsistencies, errors, and incomprehensible sentences⁸². In this summary, ch. 51 (on the heresy of Bardesanes) is presented a second time, in more detail but without any reference to the first résumé. This probably implies that the chapter was originally a folder containing two loose sheets and a quire⁸³.

The *schedē* did not just move within the *schedarion* they belonged to, but also, more generally, within the dossier-prototype: the chapter on Proclus' *Chrestomatia* is numbered 239 in *M*, 234 in *A*, and 238 in the *pinax* of *A*⁸⁴. Finally, some *schedē* were added or subtracted from the prototype: ch. 202 is found in *A*, not in *M* (the corresponding *schedos* was then subtracted from the prototype after *A* was copied), and ch. 185 and 279 are found in *M*, not in *A* (the corresponding *schedē* were then probably added to the prototype before *M* was copied).

⁷⁷ Photius' interest in paradoxical and fantastic tales is made evident by the fact that in his review of many (especially historical) works, he emphasizes such elements (perhaps in order to use them for didactic or rhetorical purposes). On the possible reasons for this interest, see the article by C. Schiano in this volume.

⁷⁸ Ch. 62: Praxagoras, 4th c.; ch. 63: Procopius, 6th c.; ch. 64: Theophanes of Byzantium, 6th c.; ch. 65: Theophilactus 6th–7th c.; ch. 66: Nicephorus, 8th–9th c.; ch. 67: Sergius, 9th c.

⁷⁹ On ch. 62, see SCHAMP, Photios historien des lettres 168–170.

⁸⁰ I would like to draw the reader's attention to some chapter sequences that, due to the coherence of their content, intertextual references, or other specific reasons, could be derived from the transcription of *schedaria*: chs. 4–7, 9–13, 15–20, 21–24, 27–31, 52–55, 63–67, 73–94 (?), 103–105, 109–111, 114–121 (?), 122–124, 128–131, 132–135, 137–138, 139–140, 141–144, 145–158 (?), 183–184, 186–190, 191–201 (?), 202–207, 216–221 (?), 222–230 (?), 252–258, 259–268, 269–277 (on chs. 269–275 as deriving from a *schedarion*, see *infra*, and TRONO *Per la storia, passim* and especially 133–144 (with previous bibliography in n. 49).

⁸¹ With the exception of Chapters IV and V.

⁸² RONCONI, *Il Moveable Feast* 214–215.

⁸³ Another instructive case regarding the dynamics of reading and studying in the photian *entourage*, but probably also the mobility of the *schedē* and the *schedaria*, is that of the chapters of the *Bibl.* that are devoted to the novelists, which are thematically but not physically contiguous: N. BIANCHI, *Sequenze di lettura nella Biblioteca di Fozio: i capitoli sui romanzi*, in: *Storie di testi e tradizione classica per Luciano Canfora*, ed. R. Otranto – P.M. Pinto. Roma 2018, 1–11.

⁸⁴ ACQUAFREDDA, *Un documento inesplorato* 34–38. On the different position of the chapter on Proclus in *A* and *M*, see also the complex reconstruction by TRONO, *Per la storia* 144–147.

THE MULTIPLE USES OF SCHEDĒ AND SCHEDARIA: THE ARCHIVES OF PHOTIUS

In *Amph.* 158, Photius answers a question (“For what reason did the Lord choose Mary Magdalene, from whom he cast out seven demons?”) by way of a hidden quotation. The same quotation is contained in ch. 275 of the *Bibl.*, where the scholar specifies that it comes from a lost homily by Modestos, patriarch of Jerusalem⁸⁵. This chapter of the *Bibl.* also contains other extracts from other homilies by the same author and by another patriarch of Jerusalem, Hesychios. *Amph.* 158 and the corresponding part of *Bibl.* 275 might stem from the same model, which might have been a *schedos* belonging to a thematic (homiletic) *schedarion*: while only one *schedos* was probably transcribed in *Amph.* 158, the whole *schedarion* seems to have been copied in the *Bibl.*⁸⁶. This reconstruction is confirmed by another, more complex case: twenty-four extracts and paraphrases from as many texts attributed to John Chrysostom are found both in *Bibl.* 277 and in *Amph.* 159–170⁸⁷. In the first, they are subdivided into fifteen blocks, each endowed with a title (the chapter is then probably the copy of a *schedarion* consisting of fifteen *schedē*):

<i>sched.</i>	Edition ⁸⁸	Progressive numbering in the <i>Bibl.</i>	Title of the texts following the <i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Amph.</i> (number and title)
1	901 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (516a 31–517a 6 BEKKER)	1	Ps.-Chrysost., <i>First homily on the Holy Spirit</i> Ἀνεγνώσθη τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἐκ τῆς περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος πρώτης ὁμιλίας (≈ PG 52, col. 825)	159 Τί ἐστι τὸ ‘ἐγὼ ἀπ’ ἐμαντοῦ οὐ λαλῶ’;
2	902 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (517a 7–28 BEKKER)	2–4	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), <i>The Christ is the Rising Sun + On the words ‘He ascended and descended’ + The Holy Spirit is all-powerful</i> Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνατολή, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀνέβη καὶ κατέβη, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον παντοκράτωρ ἐστίν (?)	160 Πῶς βραχίονα κυρίου ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης τὴν οἰκονομίαν διαλαμβάνει;
3	902–908 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (517a 29–520b 3 BEKKER)	5	(Severian of Gabala), <i>On the incarnation (and the fact that angels are assigned to each region)</i> Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὅτι ἐκάστῳ κλίματι ἐφεστήκασιν ἄγγελοι (CPG 4204)	161–163 Τί δηλοῖ, ‘ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας’ καὶ ἐξῆς; Τί ἐστι ‘πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως’; Τί ἐστι δέησις καὶ τί προσευχή;
4	908–911 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (520b 4–522a 3 BEKKER)	6–8	Ps.-Chrysost., <i>On the Old and New Testaments + On the priest’s habit + On penitence</i> Ἐκ τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης εἰς ὁ νομοθέτης· καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔνδυμα τοῦ ἱερέως· καὶ περὶ μετανοίας (≈ PG 56, col. 400–406)	164–165 ‘Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ’ καὶ ἐξῆς Ch. 165 has no title and continues the previous one

⁸⁵ CPG 7872, BHG 1162a. See Á.I. CHACÓN, *Uno schedarion*, due rielaborazioni. Fozio, Epistola 94 e Biblioteca 186, 131b.32–40. *JÖB* 71 (2022) 259–268.

⁸⁶ TRONO, *Per la storia* 134–135, has reconstructed a homiletic *schedarion* that, in her view, included chs. 269–275 (first part, containing Hesychios). She cautiously proposes that the section on Modestus was added in a space initially left blank at the end of the same *schedarion*. This would explain the fact that the *pinax* only records the first homily (by Hesychios). It is, however, also possible (perhaps more probable) that the section on Modestus’ homilies was written on an independent *schedos*, such as the one containing the other homiletic extracts found in chapters 276–277.

⁸⁷ The attribution of some of these texts to Chrysostomus is *sub iudice*, some of them are apocryphal, and at least one is by Severian of Gabala: K.-H. UTHEMANN, Severian von Gabala in Photios’ Bibliothek und Amphilochia: Überlegungen zu den Dubia Severiani. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 61–86.

⁸⁸ For the sake of precision, I also give the reference to Bekker’s edition.

<i>sched.</i>	Edition⁸⁸	Progressive numbering in the <i>Bibl.</i>	Title of the texts following the <i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Amph.</i> (number and title)
5	911 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (522a 4–522a 22 BEKKER)	9	Ps.-Chrysost., <i>May my grace suffice you</i> Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τό «Ἀρκεῖοι ἡ χάρις μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμις μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται» (≈ PG 59, col. 513–514)	166 Πῶς πρεσβευτῆς ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς παρὰ τοῦ πατρός;
6	911–913 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (522a 23–523a 2 BEKKER)	10	Ps.-Chrysost., <i>On the words of the Apostle “If you are in Christ”</i> etc. Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ρῆτόν τοῦ ἀποστόλου «Εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ νῦν κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καὶ νῦν τὰ πάντα» (≈ PG 64, col. 29)	167 Εἰς τὸ ρῆτόν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· ‘εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ νῦν κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καὶ νῦν τὰ πάντα.’
7	913 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (523a 3–523a 13 BEKKER)	11–12	<i>After the kalends + On those who get drunk</i> Ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ τὰς καλάνδας καὶ ἐξῆς· καὶ κατὰ μεθυόντων (?)	–
8	913 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (523a 14–523a 32 BEKKER)	13	<i>On the words of the Apostle “Concerning those who have died”</i> etc. Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ ρῆτόν τοῦ ἀποστόλου· «Περὶ δὲ τῶν κεκοιμημένων οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἵνα μὴ λυπῆσθε ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ» καὶ ἐξῆς (CPG 4921)	168 Διὰ τί ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὅταν περὶ Χριστοῦ διαλέγεται, θάνατον καλεῖ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον, ὅταν δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν, κοίμησιν;
9	913–914 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (523a 33–523b 10 BEKKER)	14	<i>On penitence</i> Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ τοῦ περὶ μετανοίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (≈ PG 49, col. 338 et PG 63, col. 835)	–
10	914–915 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (523b 11–524a 20 BEKKER)	15	<i>Isaiah’s vision on Judea and Jerusalem</i> Ὅρασις ἣν εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας κατὰ Ἰουδαίας καὶ κατὰ Ἱερουσαλήμ (CPG 4631)	169 Διὰ τί ἀφείς τὴν ὄρασιν Ἡσαΐας περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς διαλαμβάνει;
11	915 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (524a 21–524b 15 BEKKER)	16–19	Ps.-Chrysost., <i>On the prodigal son + On penitence + On the tree of the knowledge of good and evil + On the thief</i> Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἄσωτον, καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ξύλον γνωστὸν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν ληστήν (PG 59, col. 629–630; col. 630; col. 634)	170 Τίς ἡ παραβολὴ τοῦ τὴν πατρικὴν οὐσίαν λαβόντος καὶ εἰς χώραν ἀποδημήσαντος μακράν;
12	916 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (524b 16–524b 28 BEKKER)	20	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), <i>Exhortation to penitence</i> Ἐκ τοῦ παραινετικοῦ λόγου περὶ μετανοίας (?)	–
13	916 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (524b 29–525a 8 BEKKER)	21–22	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), <i>On the earthquake + On Lazarus and the rich man</i> Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν σεισμόν καὶ εἰς τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ εἰς τὸν πλούσιον (PG 48, col. 1029–1030?)	–
14	916 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (525a 9–17 BEKKER)	23	(Ps.-Chrysost.?), <i>On not grieving too much for the dead</i> Ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸ μὴ οὕτω σφοδρῶς θρηνεῖν τοὺς τελευτώντας (?)	–

15	916–917 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (525a 18–30 BEKKER)	24	(Ps.-Chrysost.), <i>Letter to bishop Kyriakos</i> Ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Κυριακὸν ἐπιστολῇ (PG 52, col. 685)	–
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Diagram I: Correspondence between *Bibl.* 277 and *Amph.* 159–170.

While in the case of *Amph.* 158 and *Bibl.* 252, the portion of text in common is too small to prove that they derive from the same model, in this case, this is confirmed by the fact that they share some common errors and each present some separative errors⁸⁹. *Diagram I* shows that in *Amph.*, the contents of some sections/*schedē* are split into consecutive chapters, while those of other sections are omitted. Three hypotheses are therefore possible: (1) the original *schedarion* was deliberately copied in full in *Bibl.* 277 and only partially in *Amph.* (like in the previous case); (2) the original *schedarion*, first used in *Amph.*, was enriched with additional *schedē* and then copied into *Bibl.* 277; (3) the original *schedarion*, used first in *Bibl.* 277, lost some *schedē* before being copied into *Amph.* 158–170⁹⁰. Since the respective dating of the two works is uncertain, it seems impossible to choose one of the three hypotheses.

Such correspondences do not concern exclusively the *Bibl.* and the *Amph.*, but also the letters by Photius: the text of about eighty of them is almost the same as that of as many chapters of the *Amph.* (pl. 1), and it is worth noting that many of them date from the years between Photius' appointment to the patriarchate (December 858) and the end of his second exile (c. 873)⁹¹.

Chapters of the <i>Amph.</i>	Epistles
81–121	145, 147, 151–152, 155–157, 161–167, 176–178, 180–182, 187, 192, 196, 203, 205, 208–211, 213–214, 216, 219, 228, 241, 246–250 and 253
131–136	254–258 and 265
171–173	30–31 and 33
193–222	34–38, 44, 51, 55, 59, 62–65, 73, 75–78, 103, 125, 127, 129, 132–134, 137–139, 144, 135

Plate. 1: Correspondences between *Amph.* and Photius' *Letters* (based on 128–130 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V, and 5–6 LAOURDAS – WESTERINK VI.2)

To sum up, in Photius' milieu at least three *repertoires*/dossiers existed: the collection of the minutes of his letters; a collection of *schedē* and *schedaria* on books (consisting of reviews and extracts), later giving birth to the *Bibl.*; a repertory/archive on various issues following the questions-answers model (*Amph.*). All these repertoires seem to have consisted of dossiers containing *schedē* and *schedaria* that could migrate from one to another, or simply be copied and thus duplicated.

⁸⁹ For instance, for common errors, see (all references are given following the *Amph.* ed. LAOURDAS – WESTERINK V): 160.32 om. ἐκοῦσα, 167.21 πρόσχες; for separative errors in *Amph.*, see 160.37 κλήματα, 160.87 βαάλ, 168.7 λέγει pro ὀνομάζει, 170.4 σωτήρος; for separative errors in *Bibl.*, see 159.14 πλάνων (*ante corr.*), 159.21 αὐτῶν, 160.1 φησιν add., 161.42 καὶ om., 162.4 ἡ om., 162.14 καὶ om., 165.46 λέγητε, 164.9 οὖν om., 166.12 διειλέχθη, 167.16 θεοποιῆς, 167.18 τοῦ om., 167.31 ἡ om., 167.31 δέ om.

⁹⁰ Be that as it may, at the end of the section devoted to text 3, both in *Bibl.* 277 and in *Amph.* 163, is found a note by Photius which was then without any doubt already on the *schedos*.

⁹¹ It can be stated that these texts first existed as epistles, and only later became *Amph.*: in the oldest manuscript of the latter, which dates from just a few generations after Photius, the same hand that wrote the text wrote in the margin of some chapters the names of the previous recipients. See also Chacón, *Uno schedarion*.

But Photius also produced another dossier, in which, over the years, he collected different materials on what became, from the 860s onwards, a major theological issue: the procession of the Holy Spirit.

THE MYSTAGOGIA

THE MYSTAGOGIA IS NOT A UNITARY TEXT

An insidious text due to the complexity of its theme, the *Myst.* (“initiation into the understanding of the Divine”) is also difficult to read because of the incoherence of its structure and the plurality of tones and arguments it uses to demonstrate the illegitimacy of the *Filioque*⁹². Its apparently unitary nature, suggested—but not imposed, as we shall see—by the manuscript tradition, was established by the *editio princeps* published in 1857 by Joseph Adam Gustav Hergenröther⁹³, as the first step towards a monumental monography on Photius⁹⁴. Before him, Leo Allacci and Angelo Mai had recognized the importance of this text, which they too considered unitary, though in the 13th c., in order to support the union promoted by Emperor Michael VIII, another patriarch of Constantinople, John XI Bekkos (r. 1275–1282), refuted its different sections as independent blocks⁹⁵.

Conversely, the heterogeneous nature of the *Myst.* is evident from the first paragraphs⁹⁶: after praising the “research magnificent and dear to God” and the “love of God” of the anonymous addressee in § 1 (τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα / τοῦ σοῦ θεοῦ ἔρωτος)⁹⁷, in § 2 the author blames his “madness”, his “ungodly effort” and his “voluntary sickness” (τῆς σῆς [...] παρανοίας / τὴν σὴν [...] δυσσεβῆ σπουδὴν / ἡ ἐκούσιος [...] νόσος⁹⁸). Similar abrupt switches are found throughout the text, and the author sometimes addresses a single person, and sometimes a group of heretics. Such phenomena are coupled with inconsistencies in content, two of which are worth noting: a rhetorical question in § 5 implies that no holy Father ever said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son (Τίς εἶπε τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ περιώνυμων πατέρων ἡμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι; [“Who among our holy and renowned Fathers said that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?”]⁹⁹), but §§ 67–89 explain why some holy Fathers did. Also, in § 5, the author mentions the councils that deliberated on the Creed, ignoring the one of 879/880, which also did, and was gathered by Photius himself¹⁰⁰: this council is mentioned in some detail in § 89.

⁹² The bibliography on the subject is extensive. I content myself with referring to POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia* XXI–XXIII, for a quick bibliographical review.

⁹³ J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photii Constantinopolitani Liber de spiritus sancti Mystagogia*. Regensburg 1857. Hergenröther (1824–1890) was a professor of theology from Würzburg, later to become a cardinal and the leader of ultramontanism, and thus one of the main theorists of papal infallibility.

⁹⁴ J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel. Sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*. Regensburg 1867–1869.

⁹⁵ HERGENRÖTHER, *Photii Constantinopolitani Liber VI–VII*. On the refutation by Bekkos see POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia* XLI and n. 132–134 and SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque* 138–140.

⁹⁶ See also T. KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics: Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*. Kalamazoo 2008, 77–78. On her analysis, see *infra*.

⁹⁷ 4, 2–3 and 5 POLIDORI. The numbers of the paragraphs used in the available editions, in modern studies and in this article, are those by Hergenröther, who followed the numbering of Vat. Gr. 1923: HERGENRÖTHER, *Photii Constantinopolitani Liber XIV–XV*.

⁹⁸ 4, 7–12 POLIDORI.

⁹⁹ 6, 6–7 POLIDORI.

¹⁰⁰ G.D. DRAGAS, *The Eighth Ecumenical Council: Constantinople IV (879/880) and the Condemnation of the Filioque Addition and Doctrine*. *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 44 (1999) 357–69; E. MORINI, *Il Filioque nella crisi foziana e negli avvenimenti del 1054*, in *Il Filioque. A mille anni dal suo inserimento nel credo a Roma (1014–2014)*, ed. M. Gagliardi. Città del Vaticano 2015, 39–63.

The first comprehensive critique of the “unitarist” interpretation of the *Myst.* was formulated only in 2008 by Tia Kolbaba¹⁰¹, who identified four main parameters allowing, in her view, three independent sections to be identified, deriving from three different sources¹⁰². The first parameter in order of importance consists, from her point of view, of the discrepancies regarding the number of addressees and the tones used:

“some chapters are addressed to the opponent/Filioquist; others to an ally [...]; some paragraphs are addressed to the ‘you’ of the preface or someone like him—that is to another Greek who wants to [...] refute the Latins [...]. Written for ‘us’, the text discusses ‘them’ [...]. In contrast, other sections [...] are addressed to a Latin ‘you’, the imagined opponent who teaches double procession of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁰³

The not-unitary nature of the text is confirmed, according to Kolbaba, by the differences in the argumentative methods (“some chapters deal entirely with definitions of Trinitarian and Christological terms, and with proving that the filioquist position is untenable [...]; others deal entirely with exegesis [...]”¹⁰⁴) and vocabulary (the term *μυσταγωγέω* [*mystagōgeō*] and derivatives are present in some paragraphs and not in others¹⁰⁵). Kolbaba also proposes a last parameter that she judges less important¹⁰⁶: the inconsistent numbering of paragraphs in the main manuscripts, which is discontinuous and does not correspond to their actual position¹⁰⁷.

Though Kolbaba’s attempt was not convincing (in fact scholars go on considering the *Myst.* as unitary¹⁰⁸), she was fundamentally right in believing that the text is composed of genetically independent parts, even if these parts are not the ones she imagined, and even if, to prove it, the starting point should be what she considered the last and less important factor¹⁰⁹.

THE NUMBERING OF THE CHAPTERS

Valerio Polidori’s recent edition of the *Myst.* contains a synoptic table illustrating the way the chapters are numbered in the main manuscripts (pl. 2)¹¹⁰.

Four phenomena can be noted: (1) the first and last paragraphs are unnumbered in all manuscripts; (2) three sets of currently discontinuous paragraphs (2–20, 31–48, 61–64) are provided with continuous numbering, (from ‘1’ to ‘43’: α–κ, κα–λη and λθ–μγ), implying that they were originally an uninterrupted sequence; (3) this sequence is currently interrupted by two groups of paragraphs: 21–30, which are unnumbered in our manuscripts, and 49–60, whose numbering starts

¹⁰¹ KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 76–103.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 82–87: source 1 = §§ 2, 5, 20–30, 48–59, 65–89; source 2 = §§ 3–4; source 3 = §§ 31–37.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 77–78.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 77.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 77 and 80.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 80–81 and Appendix 2 (whose indications are mostly erroneous: see also the following note).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 77: “after establishing some rough divisions of the text, based on these criteria, we will see that those divisions often correspond to a difference of opinion in the manuscripts about how to divide the text and number its chapters”. Following Kolbaba, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 80, the most important are Vat. Pal. Gr. 216 (“because it is the earliest manuscript (c. 9ex–10in)”, Paris. gr. 1228 (“because it is also relatively early (c. 11) and seems to reflect an early tradition”) and Vat. Gr. 1923 from the 13th c. (“because Hergenröther used it for his edition”): she overlooks Vat. Gr. 2195 (*Diktyon* 68826), which is instead fundamental, except for mentioning it (by attributing it to the 14th century) and claiming that Hergenröther followed its numbering: on the contrary, he followed the numbering of Vat. Gr. 1923 (*Diktyon* 68552).

¹⁰⁸ KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 76–79, 82–87.

¹⁰⁹ POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia* XXIV, also mentions two addressees.

¹¹⁰ However, Hergenröther’s edition has also preserved in the margins, in Greek characters, the original numbering of the manuscripts he used. A few corrections to the table in POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia* LXVIII–LXX: in § 5, the numerals β–ζ do not concern the numbering of the paragraphs, but the councils enumerated in the text. The paragraphs numbered 66 to 69 in the *PG* are erroneously given as κς–κθ, instead of ξς–ξθ.

again from α; (4) the final part of the work is made up of two groups of paragraphs: 67[= κζ in the Pl. 2]–84, numbered from α to κ, and 85–95, unnumbered.

Since these inconsistencies are found in both branches of Polidori's *stemma codicum*, they stem from the prototype of the *Myst*.¹¹¹

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
α					?		
β	α			α	?	α	
γ	β		α	β	?	β	α
δ	γ		β	γ	?	γ	β ε γ
ε	δ	β–ζ	δ	δ	?	δ	δ*
ς	ε	ε	γ*	ε	?	ε	ε*
ζ	ς		δ	ς	?	ς	ς
η	ζ	ζ	ε	ζ	?	ζ	ζ*
θ	η	η	ς	η	?	η	η
ι					?		
ια	θ, ι, ια	θ, ι, ια	ζ	θ, ι, ια	?	θ, ι, ια	θ
ιβ	ιβ	ιβ	η	ιβ	?	ιβ	ι
ιγ	ιγ	ιγ		ιγ	?	ιγ	
ιδ	ιδ	ιδ	θ	ιδ	?	ιδ	ια*
ιε	ιε	ιε	ι	ιε	?	ιε	ιβ
ις	ις	ις	ια	ις	?	ις	(ιγ)
ιζ	ιζ	ιζ	ιβ*	ιζ	?	ιζ	
ιη	ιη	ιη	ιγ	ιη	?	ιη	ιδ
ιθ	ιθ	ιθ	ιδ	ιθ	?	ιθ	
κ	κ	κ		κ	?	κ	
κα					?		
κβ					?		
κγ					?		
κδ					?		
κε					?		
κς					?		
κζ					?		
κη					?		
κθ					?		
λ					?		
λα	κα	κα	ιε*	κα	?	κα	ις*
λβ	κβ	κβ	ις	κβ	?	κβ	ιζ
λγ	κγ	κγ	ιζ	κγ	?	κγ	ιη
λδ	κδ	κδ	ιη	κδ	?	κδ	ιθ
λε	κε	κε	ιθ	κε	κε	κε	κ
λς	κς	κς	κ	κς	κς	κς	κα
λζ	κζ	[κζ]	κα	κζ	κζ	κζ	κβ
λη	κη	κη	κβ	κη	κη	κη	κγ
λθ	κθ	[κθ]	κγ	κθ	κθ	κθ	κδ
μ	λ	[λ]	–	λ	λ	λ	κε
μα	λα	[λα]		λα	λα	λα	κς
μβ	λβ	λβ	–	λβ	[λβ]	λβ	κζ

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
μγ	λγ	λγ		λγ	[λγ]	λγ	
μδ	λδ	λδ		λδ	?	λδ	κη
με	λε	λε	–	λε	?	λε	κθ
μς	λς	λς		λς	?	λς	λ*
μζ	λζ	λζ	–	λζ	?	λζ	
μη	λη			λη	?	λη	
μθ	α	α		α	?	α	
ν	β	β		β	?	β	
να	γ, δ	γ, δ		γ, δ	?	γ, δ	λα*
νβ	ε	ε		ε	?	ε	
νγ	ς	ς		ς	?	ς	
νδ	ζ	ζ		ζ	?	ζ	
νε	η	η	–	η	?	η	
νς	θ, ι	θ, ι	–*	[θ], ι	?	θ, ι	
νζ	ια*	ια*		ια*	?	ια*	
νη	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	?	ιβ	
νθ					?		
ξ	ιγ				?	ιγ	
ξα	λθ	λθ*	–*	λθ*	?	λθ*	λθ
ξβ	μ	μ	–*	μ	?	μ	
ξγ	μα	μα		μα	?	μα	
ξδ	μβ, μγ	μβ	–*	μβ, μγ	?	μβ, μγ	λγ
ξε					?		
κς			–*		?		–*
κζ	α	α		α	?	α	
κη	β, γ	β, γ		β, γ	?	β, γ	
κθ	δ	δ		δ	?	δ	
ο	ε	ε		ε	?	ε	
οα	ς	ς		ς	?	ς	
οβ	ζ	ζ		ζ	?	ζ	
ογ	η	η		η	?	η	
οδ	θ	θ		θ	nm	θ	
οε	ι	ι		ι	nm	ι	
ος	ια	ια		ια	nm	ια	
οζ	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	ιβ*	ιβ	
οη	ιγ, ιδ, ιε	ιγ, ιδ, ιε		ιγ, ιδ, ιε	?	ιγ, ιδ, ιε	
οθ	ις	ις		ις	?	ις	
π					?		
πα					?		
πβ					?		
πγ	ιθ	ιθ		ιθ	?	ιθ	
πδ	spazio	κ		κ	?	κ	
πε					?		
πς					?		

PG	A	P	N	B	K	F	Ma
πζ						?	
πη						?	
πθ						?	
ρ						?	
ρα						?	
ρβ						?	
ργ						?	
ρδ						?	
ρε				α–ς		?	
ρς						?	

A = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 2195

P = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Palat. gr. 216

F = Paris, BnF, gr. 1228

B = Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vat. gr. 1923

K = Istanbul, Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē, Panaghia 64

N = Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, 2412

Ma = Venezia, BNM, gr. Z. 167

Plate 2: Synoptic table illustrating the way the chapters are numbered in the main manuscripts of the *Mystagogia* (based on POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mystagogia* LXVIII–LXX)

¹¹¹ POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia* XXV and XLVI, is the only one who has attempted to build a *stemma codicum* of the work. It implies an archetype, but he presents it as a mere “working hypothesis” based on a conjectural lesson (*ibid.* XLV).

THE CONTENTS

These phenomena suggest distinguishing, within the *Myst.*, five sections framed by an opening and a closing paragraph. This is confirmed by the analysis of the contents, which in any case implies that the boundaries of the sections are not as clear-cut as the numberings seem to suggest (given the complexity of our reconstruction, the reader should keep pl. 3 in mind when reading what follows).

	PG	A	P	N	B	
1	α					
2b	β	α		α	β	Trans. 1
3	γ	β		α	β	
4	δ	γ		β	γ	
5	ε	δ		γ	δ	
6	ζ	ε	ε	γ*	ε	
7	η	ζ		δ	ζ	
8	θ	η	η	ε	η	
9	ι			ζ		
10	ια	θ, ι, ια	θ, ι, ια	η	θ, ι, ια	
11	ιβ	ιβ	ιβ	η	ιβ	
12	ιγ	ιγ	ιγ	ιγ	ιγ	
13	ιδ	ιδ	ιδ	θ	ιδ	
14	ιε	ιε	ιε	ι	ιε	
15	ις	ις	ις	ια	ις	
16	ιζ	ιζ	ιζ	ιβ*	ιζ	
17	ιη	ιη	ιη	ιγ	ιη	
18	ιθ	ιθ	ιθ	ιδ	ιθ	
19	κ	κ	κ	κ		
20	κα					
21	κβ					
22	κγ					
23	κδ					
24	κε					
25	κς					
26	κζ					
27	κη					
28	κθ					
29	λ					
30	λα	κα	κα	ιε*	κα	
31	λβ	κβ	κβ	ις	κβ	
32	λγ	κγ	κγ	ιζ	κγ	
33	λδ	κδ	κδ	ιη	κδ	
34	λε	κε	κε	ιθ	κε	
35	λς	κς	κς	κ	κς	
36	λζ	κζ	[κζ]	κα	κζ	
37	λη	κη	κη	κβ	κη	
38	λθ	κθ	[κθ]	κγ	κθ	
39	μ	λ	[λ]	—	λ	
40	μα	λα	[λα]		λα	
41	μβ	λβ	λβ	—	λβ	
42	μγ	λγ	λγ		λγ	
43	μδ	λδ	λδ		λδ	
44	με	λε	λε	—	λε	
45						
46a						

	PG	A	P	N	B	
46b	μς	λς	λς		λς	
47	μζ	λζ	λζ	—	λζ	Trans. 2
48	μη	λη			λη	
49	μθ	α	α		α	
50	ν	β	β		β	
51	να	γ, δ	γ, δ		γ, δ	
52	νβ	ε	ε		ε	
53	νγ	ζ	ζ		ζ	
54	νδ	η	η		η	
55	νε	θ, ι	θ, ι	—	[θ], ι	
56	νς	ια*	ια*		ια*	
57	νζ	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	
58	νη					
59	νθ					
60	ξ	ιγ				Appendix
61	ξα	λβ	λβ*	—	λβ*	
62	ξβ	μ	μ	—	μ	
63	ξγ	μα	μα	—	μα	
64	ξδ	μβ, μγ	μβ	—	μβ, μγ	
65	ξε					
66	ξς			—		
67	ξζ	α	α		α	Trans. 3
68	ξη	β, γ	β, γ		β, γ	
69	ξθ	δ	δ		δ	
70	ο	ε	ε		ε	
71	οα	ς	ς		ς	
72	οβ	ζ	ζ		ζ	
73	ογ	η	η		η	
74	οδ	θ	θ		θ	
75	οε	ι	ι		ι	
76	ος	ια	ια		ια	
77	οζ	ιβ	ιβ		ιβ	
78	οη	ιγ, ιδ, ιε	ιγ, ιδ, ιε		ιγ, ιδ, ιε	
79	οθ	ις	ις		ις	
80	π					
81	πα					
82	πβ					
83	πγ	ιθ	ιθ		ιθ	
84	πδ	spazio	κ		κ	

	PG	A	P	N	B	
85	πε					
86	πς					
87	πζ					
88	πη					
89	πθ					
90	ρ					
91	ρα					
92	ρβ					
93	ργ					
94	ρδ					
95	ρε					
96	ρς					

Plate 3: The sections of the *Myst.* (partially based on Polidori, Fozio, La Mystagogia LXVIII–LXX)

The addressee of the first and last paragraphs is clearly an ally: he is an honourable, orthodox man, who asked Photius for some information about the *Filioque*. The *Myst.* is Photius' response, as is clear from his own words:

§ 1 (4, 1–5 POLIDORI): Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἔλεγκοι πολυστίχοις ἐσπαρμένοι λόγοις, δι' ὧν ἡ ὀφρὺς κατασπᾶται τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικία κατέχειν φιλονεικούντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα σύνοννίς τινα τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν ἐξητήσατο γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας προνοίας εὐμενὲς ἡμῖν ὁρώσης οὐκ ἀνάξιον τοῦ σοῦ θείου ἔρωτος οὐδὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ πέρας ἐπιτεθήσεται.

“Disseminated in many long texts, there are the arguments with which the arrogance of those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice can be brought down. But since your search, magnificent and dear to God, has required a synopsis of the arguments and an outline of them

(which is pleasing to divine providence), you will see that this objective is not unworthy of your love of God nor will your request be ignored.”

The passage from this initial frame to the first section of the *Myst.* is made possible by a transitional sentence, which constitutes the first part of § 2:

§ 2 (4, 1–6 POLIDORI): Ἐστὶν οὖν κατ’αὐτῶν ὃξὺν καὶ ἄφυκτον βέλος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ θηρίον ἅπαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλώπεκα καταβροντῶσά τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζουσα φωνή. Τίς αὕτη; τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἢ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ· καὶ σὺ τελεστήν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς, δι’ οὗ τελεσθήσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ συντελεσθήσῃ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ μυθολογεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα προέρχεσθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ;

“Against them there is first of all a sharp and inescapable dart, that strikes down like a roaring thunderbolt every fox and annihilates every ferocious beast: a saying of the Lord. Which one? ‘The Spirit proceeds from the Father’. The Son teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and you go looking for another catechist through whom to perfect, or rather bring to perfection the impiety and create the myth that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?”¹¹²

The formula κατ’αὐτῶν (*kat’ auton*, i.e. “against them”) refers to “those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice”, mentioned in § 1. Since, as is clear, the latter was added *a posteriori* (with the final paragraph), the first sentence of § 2 must have been added later. The original incipit of the first section has then to be found further on in § 2, and can be identified thanks to the redundancy τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἢ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ. Here, then, is the stratigraphy of this part of the *Myst.*:

Frame	§ 1. Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ἔλεγχοι πολυστίχοις ἐσπαρμένοι λόγοις, δι’ ὧν ἡ ὀφρὺς κατασπᾶται τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχειν φιλονεικούντων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ σὸν μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ θεοφιλέστατον σπούδασμα συνοψῖν τινα τῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν ἐξητήσατο γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας προνοίας εὐμενὲς ἡμῖν ὁρώσης οὐκ ἀνάξιον τοῦ σοῦ θεοῦ ἔρωτος οὐδὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τὸ πέρας ἐπιτεθῆσεται. “Disseminated in many long texts, there are the arguments with which the arrogance of those who contend to overwhelm truth with injustice can be brought down. But since your search, magnificent and dear to God, has required a synopsis of the arguments and an outline of them (which is pleasing to divine providence), you will see that this objective is not unworthy of your love of God nor will your request be ignored”.
Transition	§ 2(a). Ἐστὶν οὖν κατ’αὐτῶν ὃξὺν καὶ ἄφυκτον βέλος καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡ κυριακὴ καὶ θηρίον ἅπαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀλώπεκα καταβροντῶσά τε καὶ ἐξαφανίζουσα φωνή. Τίς αὕτη; τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἢ λέγουσα ἐκπορεύεσθαι. “Against them there is first of all a dart, sharp and inescapable, that strikes down like a roaring thunderbolt every fox and annihilates every ferocious beast, a saying of the Lord. Which one? The Spirit proceeds from the Father”
Beginning of section 1	§ 2(b). Ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα μυσταγωγεῖ· καὶ σὺ τελεστήν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς, δι’ οὗ τελεσθήσῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ συντελεσθήσῃ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ μυθολογεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα προέρχεσθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ; etc. “The Son teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and you go looking for another catechist through whom to perfect, or rather bring to perfection the impiety and create the myth that the Spirit proceeds from the Son?” etc.

Section 1 included then—following the numberings in the manuscripts—the §§ 2b–19, 31–46a and 61–64, whose original unity is demonstrated by some further circumstances. In all these paragraphs, Photius addresses the same person, who nevertheless is not the addressee of § 1, nor another.

¹¹² (4, 1–6 POLIDORI).

er ally (as Kolbaba believed¹¹³), but a man guilty of “seeking another catechist” (σὺ τελεστήν ἄλλον ἐπιζητεῖς¹¹⁴) and suffering from some kind of mental illness consisting in being ready to leave orthodoxy in order to embrace heresy¹¹⁵. This man is a victim, since his madness is due to the action of unspecified, unscrupulous heretics¹¹⁶. A cure is still possible¹¹⁷, and to this end, Photius deploys a series of “speculative arguments” (λογισμοί [*logismoi*]) and “reasoning” (*phrontis*) in the form of a “parallel-ordered exposition” (εἰς παράταξιν [*eis parataxin*]) to demonstrate the groundlessness of the *Filioque* to which the addressee is likely to adhere¹¹⁸. Paragraphs 3 and 4 thus contain a “logical sequence” (ὁ τῆς ἀκολουθίας [...] λόγος), followed by an authoritative counter-argument (§ 5: no Father has ever spoken of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son and all the councils have ignored or denied it). The discourse then continues with a purely logical course (§§ 6–10) based on two types of formal procedure: on the one hand, the author formulates a series of rhetorical questions that outline the Truth through the opposition to the ideas attributed to the enemies¹¹⁹; on the other hand, he emphasises the paradoxical nature of these ideas by means of hypothetical periods¹²⁰. A similar strategy based on formal logic is, not by chance, found again from § 31 onwards and up to the first part of § 46, where the author still refers to an interlocutor who can save himself from his madness by means of reasoning (φροντίς [*phrontis*]: note the recurrence of the term)¹²¹. The tone, rhetorical procedures and addressee are evidently also the same in §§ 61–64, whose spirit is equally firm but conciliatory. Section 1 as a whole thus consists—if one reads its paragraphs continuously, as indicated by the progressive numbering in the main manuscripts—in a long demonstration of the natures and essences of the persons of the Trinity, as well as of their relations. It entails very few scriptural quotations and is based on a logical strategy and on what can be called “externalization of guilt”: the addressee is not the perpetrator of the heresy, but the victim of the heretics (plural), whose identity is not made explicit and whose arguments the author seems not to know in detail: all he knows is their overall assumption, that is the *Filioque*. He not only ignores the *auctoritates* adduced by his opponents but believes that there are none (let us

¹¹³ KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 79: “chapters 3–4 and 6–19 [...] are addressed to an ally and they speak consistently of ‘their impiety and their rebellion against God’.”

¹¹⁴ § 2b (4, 4 POLIDORI).

¹¹⁵ § 2b (4, 6–9 POLIDORI): Εἰ τοῦ κοινοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ δημιουργοῦ καὶ νομοθέτου τὰ δόγματα τῆς σῆς ἡτῆσθαι παρανοίας ὁρμὴν οὐκ ἐπιτήξας ἀναλαβεῖν, τί ἂν τις ἕτερον ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν, δι’ οὗ τὴν σὴν κατακράτος ἀπελέγξει δυσσεβῆ σπουδὴν; (“If you were not afraid to indulge the impulse to subject the teachings of the common Saviour, Creator, and Lawgiver to your madness, what else could be found to forcefully refute your ungodly zeal?”).

¹¹⁶ § 13 (12, 2 POLIDORI): οἱ δυσσεβεῖν θρασυνθέντες (“those who dare to blaspheme”) / § 18 (16, 6 POLIDORI): τοὺς πάντα τολμητάς (“those who dare everything”).

¹¹⁷ § 2: 4, 13 POLIDORI (ἱάμα [*iama*], cure); §§ 2, 31: 4, 11 and 32, 2 POLIDORI (θεραπεία [*therapeia*], therapy); § 3: 32, 3 POLIDORI (φάρμακον [*pharmakon*], medicine).

¹¹⁸ § 2 (4, 18 POLIDORI).

¹¹⁹ § 7 (8, 16–18 POLIDORI): Τί δὴποτε προσλαμβάνον, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσχεν ἐκπορευόμενον τοῦ Πατρός; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τι λαβεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὃ προσεῖληφε, πῶς οὐχὶ χωρὶς τῆς προσλήψεως ἀτελές; etc. (“What obtains [the Spirit] that has not proceeded from the Father? If it is possible that it took something and say what it took, how, without any acquisition, would it have been non imperfect?” etc.). See also §§ 9 and 11.

¹²⁰ See for instance § 15: Εἰ δ’ αἴτιος ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φύσεως, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τῆς ὑποστάσεως, ὁ δὲ λόγος τῆς πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως οὐδενὶ μέχρι νῦν περιορίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὑπόστασιν δεδυσσέβηται [...] (12, 1–14, 3 POLIDORI: “If in fact the Father is the cause of those who are from Him not by reason of nature but by reason of hypostasis, the reason of the hypostasis of the Father has never been desecrated by anyone who has so far dared impiously to think that it was also the hypostasis of the Son”). SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque* 101. On the use of logic in *Myst.*, see Ch. ERISMANN, *Theological Dispute, Logical Arguments: On Photios’ use of syllogisms against the Filioque in the Mystagogia*, in: *Contra Latinos et Adversus Graecos: The separation between Rome and Constantinople from the 9th to the 15th century*, ed. A. Bucossi – A. Calia. Leuven 2020, 89–104.

¹²¹ § 31 (32, 1–4 POLIDORI).

remember the rhetorical question in § 5: Τίς εἶπε τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ περιωνύμων πατέρων ἡμῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι;¹²²).

Nevertheless, as I said, the boundaries of the sections are less clear-cut than the numbering of the paragraphs suggests. For example, the first caesura in content (excluding the one between § 1 and § 2b) does not fall between §§ 20 and 21, as the numbering suggests, but at the end of § 19, as confirmed by Bekkos, who, as I noted, cut up the *Myst.* in order to refute its different parts¹²³. In fact, §§ 19b–20 clearly constitute a transition, in which the enemy is introduced and in which Photius starts to address him directly. From this point onwards then, the addressee is no longer a victim, but the heretic himself, whom the author attacks with violence¹²⁴. Moreover, there is a radical change in rhetorical strategy, which is no longer based on logic, but on the refutation of the heretic's faulty interpretation of a series of passages from the Gospel of St John: this section ends with § 30¹²⁵.

Also §§ 46–48, constitute a sort of transition. Not only does their numbering not precisely coincide with the caesura of content (which instead, once again, coincides with Bekkos' *découpage*), but there is another change of addressee: in the first part of § 46, the author addresses some readers (in the plural), who might belong to the same "group" as the addressee of section 1 (the victim), since they can still be saved¹²⁶. But starting from § 47, Photius once again addresses a heretic (the same as in section 2?¹²⁷). Paragraph 48, which is not numbered in some of the oldest manuscripts, clearly serves to introduce the following section, and the tone remains harsh¹²⁸. It is not by chance then, that §§ 49–58 (section 3) share some similarities with section 2, especially since they focus on the scriptural analysis of Pauline, Johannine and biblical passages, aimed at dismantling the precise assertions of an unidentified *anthropos* (§ 49), whose "evil machination of absolute madness" (τὸ τῆς ἀπονοίας καὶ παρανοίας [...] κακομήχανον: § 57) is evoked, and whose sophisms are insisted upon (συκοφαντία [*sykophantia*]: § 49; κατασοφίζεσθαι [*katasophizesthai*]: § 57). Nevertheless, although not without accusations of falsification (παραχαράττεις [*paracharatteis*]¹²⁹), subversion (ἀναστρέψεις [*anastrepseis*]¹³⁰) and perversion (διαστροφήν [*diastrophēn*]¹³¹), Photius attributes to this enemy a form of σοφία [*sophia*]¹³².

¹²² 6, 1–2 POLIDORI.

¹²³ 18, 7 POLIDORI.

¹²⁴ § 20: "your tongue is outrageous in daring everything" (ἡ σὴ γλῶσσα πάντα τολμᾷν ἐστὶν ἀσελγῆς [...]: 18, 5 POLIDORI); "how could your absurd babbling [...] not be rightly condemned?" (πῶς οὐχὶ τὴν σὴν ἔκθεσμον διαφωνίαν [...] οὐχ ἑάλως δίκην ὀφείλων: 18, 14–16 POLIDORI).

¹²⁵ The author continues to address a single interlocutor (using the second person singular, not plural), *pace* KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 79.

¹²⁶ "For this and similar arguments, it is good that you, even if very belatedly, become aware of the blasphemies, adhere to the thought of the Catholic and Apostolic Church against this multifaceted superstition [...]." (Διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, κἂν ὁπὲ γοῦν ἀναλαβεῖν ὑμᾶς προσήκει συναίσθησιν τῶν ἡσεβημένων, καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀντὶ τῆς πολυπλανοῦς δεισιδαιμονίας συνελθεῖν τῷ φρονήματι [...]: 40, 1–2 POLIDORI).

¹²⁷ "From which principle did you then bring forth this impious myth? For not only the Son is transformed by you into a procreator of the Spirit, but the Spirit himself is sectioned and split so that he begets the Son and procreates himself." (ἐκ τίνος ἂν ἀφορμῆς ἐξώρμας μυθολογεῖν τὸ δυσσέβημα; Οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰς προβολέα τοῦ Πνεύματος ὁ Υἱὸς ἂν σοι μετεβάλλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰς τε τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γέννησιν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν προβολὴν ἐτέμνετό τε καὶ κατεμερίζετο: 42, 4–7 POLIDORI).

¹²⁸ "Beware not to deprive the master of the world of the honours proper to old masters, and not to defame the Guide to piety, instead of behaving with respect and devotion." (Οὔτως ὅπως ἔγνωσ τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλον τῶν διδασκαλικῶν γερῶν μὴ ἀποστερεῖν, ὅπως τὸν πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὁδηγὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγειν καὶ σεβάσματος ἐπιρρήτῳ γνώμῃ δυσφημεῖς: 44, 14–16 POLIDORI).

¹²⁹ § 51 (46, 1–2 POLIDORI).

¹³⁰ § 52 (46, 2 POLIDORI).

¹³¹ § 50 (46, 4 POLIDORI).

¹³² § 55 (50, 5 POLIDORI).

The following two paragraphs (§§ 59 and 60) constitute a kind of appendix to section 3: unnumbered in the most ancient manuscripts, they continue to attack a heretical interlocutor by developing the specific theme of *χρίσματα* [*chrismata*] and their relation to the Holy Spirit.

Bekkos splits § 65 into two parts, corresponding to what is effectively a caesura in content and tone. At the beginning of § 65, Photius resumes the frontal attack against the impious heretic, revives the theme of his sophisms (*sophismata*) with an obvious echo from § 57, and evokes his “abuse of quotations” (τῶν χρήσεων τὴν παράσχησιν). But in the second part of the paragraph and in §§ 66–67, the interlocutor is no longer a heretic, nor an individual misled by heretics, but a group of people (Photius uses the third person plural), and the tone is rather pedagogical¹³³. Moreover, in these few paragraphs, Photius introduces the theme that dominates the following section, namely the reason why some Western Fathers—namely Ambrosius, Augustine and Jerome, “their Fathers” (αὐτῶν τοὺς πατέρας)¹³⁴—seem to have adopted the *Filioque*. In fact, with § 68 a new section (section 4) opens, which continues until § 84: the counterpart is once again a Latin heretic, author of at least one text in which the Western Fathers mentioned above are quoted and which has had an enormous resonance¹³⁵. Against this heresiarch, Photius is particularly vehement, and the fact that he switches sometimes from the singular to the plural is due to the latter’s position of absolute prominence among the heretics. Photius refers several times to his enemy’s sophistry (§ 69: σοφισμάτων [*sophismatōn*], § 76: σοφισμα [*sophisma*]) and the overall strategy is not only to cast doubt on the philological quality of the texts he quotes (§ 71), but also and above all to evoke the principle of οἰκονομία [*oikonomia*], according to which the Fathers may have made unorthodox statements, in specific situations, to the greater benefit of the Church. This leads him to first mention the errors of a number of Western and Eastern Fathers (like Clement of Rome, Leon, Paschasius, Lucentius, Boniface¹³⁶, Basil the Great, Dionysius, Clement, Pamphilus, Theognostus, Pierius, Irenaeus of Lyon, Hippolytus and Methodius of Patara: see below¹³⁷), then to produce a kind of counter-florilegium of patristic passages against the *Filioque*. In this framework, he strategically quotes some popes: Vigil (§ 82), Agatho (§ 83), and especially the duo Gregory the Great/Zacharias (Gregory’s translator). Gregory is the only Western Father that Photius quotes *verbatim* (via Zacharias’ translation). At this point, a redundancy implies another caesura: the last paragraph of this section, § 84, is consecrated to the two popes, and, in an obviously incongruous way, in § 85, after some lines consecrated to two biblical passages, Photius introduces Gregory and Zacharias again, as if he had not mentioned them a few lines earlier. This redundancy implies that with § 85 we enter a new section (section 5), consistently with the numbering of the manuscripts (which stops after § 84, numbered 20, i.e. ‘κ’). The last section, still directed against a dangerous heresiarch, focuses on scriptural passages and on recent popes who stood against the *Filioque*. Finally, § 96, as I said, is addressed to the same addressee as § 1: “Here are these ὑποτυπώσεις [*hypotyposeis*], as you have requested, you who are for me the most reverent and indefatigable seeker of the truth [...]”¹³⁸.

¹³³ § 65: “To what extent is it necessary to waste time following what has already been illustrated in detail? It is rather necessary to see if anything new has been produced by them in order to spread their useless doctrine” (Ἀλλὰ μέχρι τίνος δεῖ σχολάζειν τοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἤδη καὶ πολυμερῶς ἀποδεδειγμένοις, δέον καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον αὐτοῖς προκομίζεται τῆς κακοσχόλου γνώμης διασκορπίσαι: 60, 5–7 POLIDORI).

¹³⁴ § 65 (62, 11–12 POLIDORI).

¹³⁵ § 70: “[...] making the world your theatre, you trumpet all around as much as your zeal and impudence are capable of, how your ‘Fathers’ behave improperly.” ([...] ὅσα γε τῇ σῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἀναισχυντίᾳ τὴν οἰκουμένην θέατρον καθίζων μέγα μὲν σαλπίζεις, ὥς οἱ σοὶ πατέρες ἐνασχημονοῦσιν: 68, 12–14 POLIDORI).

¹³⁶ §§ 78, 79.

¹³⁷ §§ 77, 79.

¹³⁸ Τὰς μὲν οὖν ὑποτυπώσεις ταύτας, ὥσπερ ἤτησας, ἔχεις, ἀνδρῶν ἐμοὶ σεβασμιώτατε καὶ φιλομαθέστατε (104, 1–2 POLIDORI).

THE PROTOTYPICAL DOSSIER

The delimitation of these sections, which are thus more numerous than the two or three identified so far by scholars¹³⁹, is then made possible by the joint analysis of codicological fossils (the incoherent numbering of paragraphs found in the main manuscripts), contents, and the testimony of Bekkos¹⁴⁰. To recapitulate (see pl. 3): §§ 1 and 96, which form the framework enclosing the different sections, are addressed to an esteemed man, interested in the *Filioque* from an orthodox point of view; section 1 (a–c) is addressed to an individual who is not a fanatic filioquist and who, ready to fall (or recently fallen) into error due to the action of the perfidious Latins, can still be saved (this explains the alternation, in this section, between “you”, the victim, and “them”, the heretics¹⁴¹); sections 2 and 3 are addressed to one or two different learned heretic(s), probably a polemicist and (a) theologian, author(s) of one or more documents containing, among other things, a series of biblical and patristic quotations. Sections 4 and 5 were probably written thinking of a similar addressee.

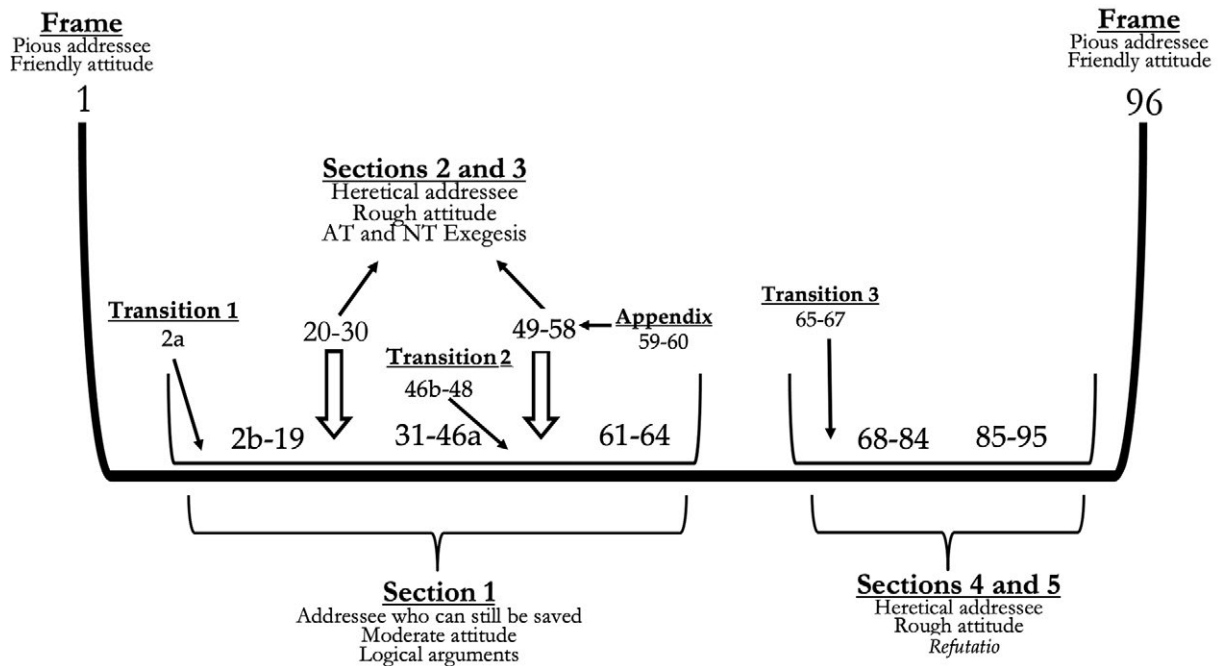
The different sections present two very divergent dialectical methods: section 1 (a–c) is based on logical demonstration, that is to say, the author attacks the *Filioque* on the sole basis of logic since he ignores the patristic and scriptural authorities adduced by the Latins and their theological arguments. Sections 2, 3, 4, and 5 share, with some nuances, the violent tone and meticulous pedantry of the *refutatio*: they presuppose the reading of one or more texts (in translation maybe) by one or more filioquists. The “transitions” are evidently written *a posteriori* to ensure the (in any case incomplete) integration of the different parts.

If we try to “translate” this stratigraphy in material terms, we are obliged to admit that the *Myst.* was originally a dossier, to which an accompanying note was prefixed (§ 1), and a final note was added (§ 96). It is no coincidence that this structure is reminiscent of that of the prototype of the *Bibl.*, and can be represented as in pl. 4.

¹³⁹ See *supra* and POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXIV and XXX–XXXI, XXXIII–XXXIV, on whose reconstruction (which is the best ever proposed up to date) see *infra*.

¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the almost perfect correspondence between this caesura, based on paragraphic and philological factors, and the purely content-based one, proposed for example by P. GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter*. Berlin – New York 2002, 278, is remarkable: “I. Einleitung (c. 1). Hauptteil I: Argumente aus der Schrift und aus der theologischen Vernunft 1. Theologische Reflexion I: Die pneumatomachische Häresie der Gegner (cc. 2–19) Biblische Reflexion I: Empfangen vs. Hervorgehen – Joh 16, 14 (cc. 20–30) 2. Theologische Reflexion II: Das orthodoxe Konzept der Trinität (cc. 31–47) Biblische Reflexion II: Der Geist des Sohnes – Gal 4, 6 (cc. 48–56) 3. Theologische Reflexion III: Gaben und trinitarische Stellung des Geistes (cc. 57–65) III. Hauptteil II: Argumente aus der Tradition 1. Das Zeugnis der Väter und der Umgang mit ihren Irrtümern (cc. 66–77) 2. Das Zeugnis der römischen Päpste bis zur Gegenwart (cc. 78–89) IV. Zusammenfassung: Die Absurdität eines doppelten Hervorgangs (cc. 90–94) V. Schluß (cc. 95f.).”

¹⁴¹ § 31 and § 48. This alternation has led KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics* 79–80, into confusion.

Plate 4: Schematic representation of the prototype of the *Myst.*

According to this reconstruction, the dossier consisted of two major blocks (section 1a–c and sections 4+5), the first of which was redesigned in depth, first because its beginning was readapted thanks to an introductory sentence (transition 1), then because the insertion of two exegetical sections (sections 2 and 3, the second of which has an appendix) entailed the writing of a further transition. The second part (sections 4 and 5) also entailed the composition of a few introductory paragraphs (transition 3). Some philological details seem to confirm this reconstruction, pointing to a watershed in the passage from § 67 to § 68¹⁴².

The transcription of this composite dossier into a codex crystallized the fluidity of the model, fixing the succession of the (genetically independent) units, some of which were endowed with an autonomous numbering of the paragraphs: these numberings were copied in the main manuscripts, just like fossils¹⁴³. The dating of each section and the identification of the addressees will be the subject of a further article¹⁴⁴.

¹⁴² In fact, a whole group of *recentiores* (depending on Marc. Gr. Z. 167, c. 14th c.) interrupts the text abruptly towards the end of § 67 and, starting from it, the distribution of variants in manuscripts seems to imply a caesura: POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XLIV–XLV. Though based on different assumptions, this reconstruction is not entirely incompatible with the one proposed by Polidori (XXXV), who nevertheless considers as a unitary “Urtext” a portion of the *Myst.* corresponding (though not precisely) to our Sections 1+4+5 (whereas in our view these three sections have a different genesis). He also incorporates § 1 into this “Urtext” (while at the same time considering it among the “elementi del redattore secondario [Metrophane?]”), to which he also attributes §§ 95–96 (whereas for us §§ 1 and 96 constitute a frame, i.e. the introductory note and the concluding note of the dossier, which in any case are not to be attributed to Metrophanes); he defines the sequences of §§ 21–29 and 49–59 (which roughly correspond to our sections 2 and 3) as “inserti secondari”, but without distinguishing our “transition 2” nor our “appendix” to section 3. Finally, he considers “elementi del redattore primario (Fozio?)” §§ 30–31a (which in my reconstruction are parts of different sections), 48 (which is part of “transition 2”, together with §§ 46b–47), 60 (which for us is part of the “appendix”, together with § 59), 65–67 (corresponding to our “transition 3”).

¹⁴³ Some circumstances regarding its later indirect transmission might militate in favour of the fact that the *Myst.* was a dossier (although this is a fragile argument): apart from the caesuras (which we have mentioned) in Bekkos’ *refutatio*, one can evoke the fact that even before him, Hugo Etherianus seems to mention only the paragraphs relating to sections 1 and 2,

TWO WORKS IN DIALOGUE?

The fact that some chapters of the *Bibl.* devote attention to the theme of the Holy Spirit, and sometimes of its procession, although this is marginal in the works reviewed, might constitute an element to date them, since the first known allusions by Photius to the question of the *Filioque* dates back to the second half of the 860s (it is found in the letter to the Eastern Patriarchs dated 867, but on which further investigation is necessary). Among these chapters, one could mention ch. 8 (where the procession of the Holy Spirit is evoked in the summary of book 1 of Origen's *De principiis*¹⁴⁵) and 222 (in the summary of book 6 of a work by the monk Job). However, more interesting are some close similarities between *Bibl.* and *Myst.*, which might suggest the use of the same materials (*schedaria*). Let us start with *Myst.* 75, in which Photius focuses on the Fathers who, while generally orthodox, made some heterodox statements:

Παρά πόσοις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν μακαρίων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἔνεστι τοιαῦτα εὐρεῖν. Ἐννόει μοι τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερέα Κλήμεντα [...], τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονύσιον ἐξ ἀντιπνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Σαβέλλιον μικροῦ τῷ Ἀρείῳ χεῖρα προτείνοντα· τὸν ἐν ἱερομάρτυσι λάμποντα τῶν πατέρων τὸν μέγαν Μεθόδιον [...]. Ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ Πάνταϊνον καὶ Κλήμεντα, Πιέριόν τε καὶ Πάμφιλον καὶ Θεόγνωστον [...]· μεθ' ὧν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Δύσεως παρατρέχοντες· Εἰρηναῖόν τε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐφορείαν τῶν Λουγδούνων δεξάμενον· καὶ Ἰππόλυτον τὸν αὐτοῦ μαθητὴν καὶ ἐν ἀρχιερεῦσι μάρτυρα· ἄνδρας θαυμασίους μὲν ἐν πολλοῖς, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ τῆς ἀκριβείας λόγους αὐτῶν ἐνίου οὐκ ἀναστέλλοντας κατασύρεσθαι¹⁴⁶.

“Similar cases can be found among many others of our blessed and holy Fathers. I am thinking of the bishop of Rome Clement [...], of Dionysius of Alexandria, who in a dispute with Sabellius almost stretched out his hand to Arius, of the great Methodius of Patara who shines among the hieromartyrs [...]. I guess I will leave out Pantenus and Clement, Pierius, Pamphilus, and Theognostus [...]. Along with them we also count those from the West: Irenaeus, bishop of God, who held the first place over the saints of Lyons, and his disciple Hippolytus, martyr among bishops: wonderful men in many ways, although sometimes some of their discourses did not avoid departing from correct doctrine.”

Ch. 109 of the *Bibl.* is consecrated to Clement, and in it Pantenus is quoted, who is mentioned again, with Dionysius and Pamphilus, in ch. 117. It is worth noting that most of the other authors quoted in this passage are treated, in the same sequence, in the four chapters which follow ch. 117: Pamphilus (with Eusebius) is dealt with in ch. 118 (where Clement and Pantenus are also mentioned), Pierius in ch. 119, Irenaeus of Lyons in ch. 120 and Hippolytus in ch. 121. Theognostus of Alexandria is dealt with in ch. 106, in which Photius develops the same apologetic approach he uses in this section of the *Myst.*: the impieties uttered by Theognostus are due either to a bad influence by some heretic (i.e. Origen), or to an excess of rhetoric, or to *oikonomia*, i.e. the intention to adapt the discourse to the readers' comprehension abilities. In this same perspective, in *Myst.* 75, Photius explains the dangerous tendency of Dionysius of Alexandria “to hold out his hand to Arius and Sabellius” (τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονύσιον ἐξ ἀντιπνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν Σαβέλλιον μικροῦ τῷ Ἀρείῳ χεῖρα προτείνοντα¹⁴⁷). This same argument is applied to Origen in the aforementioned ch.

which he quotes in disorder: see the list in POLIDORI, Fozio, La Mistagogia XXXIV no. 106, which strangely states instead that he quotes “the Mystagogy in its present order and draws from all its constituent elements.”

¹⁴⁴ RONCONI, On the nature and date of Photius' Mystagogia.

¹⁴⁵ 17 BIANCHI – SCHIANO: (...) τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεποιηθῆαι λέγων, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ (“[...] he claims that the Son was created by the Father, and the Spirit by the Son”). See n. 2 on p. 962 BIANCHI – SCHIANO (by L. Bossina).

¹⁴⁶ 72, 1–74, 17 POLIDORI.

¹⁴⁷ 72, 4–5 POLIDORI.

117 (“the anonymous treatise against Origen says, moreover, that he did not profess any doctrinal error concerning the Trinity, but to oppose the heresy of Sabellius [...], he was dragged into the opposite direction so as to appear even to have embraced the Arian heresy beforehand”¹⁴⁸). Now, *Bibl.* 232 deals with this very subject in detail, and allows us to discover that Photius also found this type of argument in a text by Gobar, who mentioned Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrhus:

“Ὅτι Βασίλειος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον Ἀλεξανδρείας οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχεται, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν οἷς τὸ Ἀρειανῶν ἔθνος ἐπερείδεται. Ἀπολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὡς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖ γνώμη, μάχη δὲ τῇ πρὸς Σαβέλλιον εἰς τὴν ἀντίθετον κατὰ τοὺς λόγους περιτραπῆναι δυσφημίαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὐκ εὐαγεῖς αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι φωνάς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς Διονυσίου ὑπεραπολογεῖται· «Τὰ γὰρ Ἀρείου, φησί, Διονύσιος οὔτε ἐφρόνησέ ποτε, οὔτε ἠγνόησε τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οὔτε γὰρ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἐπισκόπων ἐπ’ ἀσεβείᾳ κατεγνώσθη οὔτε τὰς ἀρειανικὰς φωνὰς ἐφθέγγετο ὡς δογματίζων». Ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεοδώρητος τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰρημένου Διονυσίου λογισμοὺς ἀποδίδωσιν¹⁴⁹.

“St Basil disagrees with St Dionysius of Alexandria on many points, but especially on the fact that he supports the Arian sect. However, he justifies him by saying that it was not with a sacrilegious spirit, but out of hostility against Sabellius that he ended up slipping in his speeches towards the opposite heresy. Moreover, he also uttered affirmations on the Spirit that were not immaculate. But also Athanasius the Great expresses himself in defence of the same Dionysius: “Dionysius—he claims—never shared the thought of Arius, nor did he ever ignore the truth: in fact, he was never accused of impiety by the other bishops, nor did he ever utter any Arian teachings in doctrine.” Theodoret also expresses the same arguments in defence of the aforementioned Dionysius.”

This same text by Gobar also focused on Hippolytus, Irenaeus, and Clement¹⁵⁰.

Another interesting parallelism exists between *Bibl.* 230 (concerning some works by Eulogius) and *Myst.* 37:

Bibl. 230 (486 BIANCHI – SCHIANO)	Myst. 37 (36, 1–6 POLIDORI)¹⁵¹
[...] Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ Πατρός, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔχον τὸν Πατέρα, δι’ Υἱοῦ δὲ εἰς κτίσιν ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῶν δεχομένων ἐρχόμενον, οὐ καθ’ ὕφεσιν γνωσκομένης τῆς γεννήσεως, οὐ κατὰ τομὴν θεωρουμένης τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως. Εἰ γὰρ τις δοίη ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τετράδα καὶ πεντάδα καὶ ἐπ’ ἄπειρον τὴν πρόδον ρυῖναι κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων μύθους συγκατασκευάσειεν.	Ἔτι δὲ εἰ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς γεγέννηται, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεται, τίς ἡ καινοτομία τοῦ Πνεύματος, μὴ καὶ ἕτερόν τι αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ὡς συνάγεσθαι κατὰ τὴν θεοβλαβῆ γνώμην μὴ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ τέσσαρας τὰς ὑποστάσεις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρους, τῆς τετάρτης αὐτοῖς ἄλλην πάλιν προβαλλούσης, κάκεινης ἐτέραν, μέχρις ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ὑπερελάσῃσι πολυθεΐας;

¹⁴⁸ 166 BIANCHI – SCHIANO: Φησὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὠριγένους μὴδὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ δόξαν ἐσφάλθαι περὶ τῆς Τριάδος, ἀντιφερόμενον δὲ τῇ αἵρέσει Σαβελλίου εἰς μέγα κακοῦ ἡρμένη τότε, καὶ τὴν τῶν προσώπων Τριάδα ἐναργεστάτην καὶ πολλοῖς τρόποις διαφέρουσαν ἀγωνιζόμενον παραστήσαι, πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος καὶ εἰς τοῦναντίον ἀπενεχθῆναι, ἐξ οὗ δόξαι καὶ τῷ ἀρειανῷ ἀρρωστήματι προεαλωκέναι. Concerning the interest of Photius for Origen and Origenism, see the article by C. Schiano in this volume.

¹⁴⁹ 508 BIANCHI – SCHIANO.

¹⁵⁰ In addition to chapter 109, Clement is the subject of chapters 110–113 (of which chs. 112–113 are devoted to the so-called Pseudoclementines). It is worth noting that only in *Myst.* § 75 and not in *Bibl.* 112–113, Photius provides a title of the work (Κλημέντια) that is also attested by the direct tradition (Paris. gr. 930, 10th century): see F. STANLEY JONES, Photius’s Witness to the Pseudo-Clementines, in *Pseudoclementina Elchsaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana*. Collected Studies by F. Stanley Jones. Leuven – Paris – Walpole 2012, 345–355.

¹⁵¹ The question is also mentioned in *Myst.* 11.

Bibl. 230 (486 BIANCHI – SCHIANO)	Myst. 37 (36, 1–6 POLIDORI) ¹⁵¹
“[...] the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and has the Father as his beginning, and through the Son penetrates Creation to benefit those who receive him, and the generation does not imply an inferiority, nor does the procession postulate a detachment. For if this were admitted, it would cause a flow of emanations that, as in the babbles of the pagans, would extend to the tetrad, to the pentad, to infinity.”	“And if the Son was generated by the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, how to avoid a new division of the Spirit, so that some other thing proceeds from him, and that not three, but four hypostases, or rather infinite hypostases, may be established according to such a foolish understanding, with another emanating from the fourth, and another from the latter, to the point of going beyond the polytheism of the pagans?”

Another passage of this same chapter of the *Bibl.* is reminiscent of *Myst.* 47 concerning the fact that the emanation of the Spirit takes nothing away from the Father.

Even more interesting is the comparison between *Bibl.* 252 (on a *Life of Gregory the Great*) and *Myst.* 84, since it allows us to detect, beyond some trivial lexical parallelisms (*Bibl.* 252: τοῦ θεαρέστου βίου Γρηγορίου, ὃς ἱεροπρεπῶς ἀρχιερατεύσας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας¹⁵²: “of the God-pleasing Life of Gregory, who hieratically led the Church of the Romans”; *Myst.* 84: τοὺς ἀρχιερέας Ῥώμης, Γρηγόριόν τε καὶ Ζαχαρίαν¹⁵³: “the guides of Rome, Gregory and Zacharias”), the same indication (maybe erroneous) concerning the time that elapsed between the composition of the *Dialogues* and their translation into Greek¹⁵⁴, and the information—to my knowledge not confirmed by other sources—according to which Zacharias also translated other works by Gregory¹⁵⁵.

CONCLUSION

The *Bibl.* and the *Myst.* have more in common than meets the eye at first glance. First of all, they both stem from materials enclosed by a dedicatory frame (a letter), thus constituting two dossiers that had similar structures. This illustrates how Photius and his circle worked (especially since the epistolary and the *Amphilochia* also stem from dossiers). These “objects” included *schedē* and *schedaria*, excerpts and summaries, minutes of letters, notes taken during Photius’ seminars, etc., and they constituted Photius’ multiple archives, a treasure built up during his maturity, especially towards the end of his first patriarchate, a crucial time, when the scholar realized that the enormous work of reading, extracting, composing and archiving ancient pagan, heretic and Christian texts constituted an extraordinary “cultural capital”¹⁵⁶, a useful tool to consolidate and legitimize his political influence, especially in times of trouble. All these dossiers were the result of a multi-stage compositional process that lasted between the 860s and the end of Photius’ life. Their complex genesis was partially due to the involvement of Photius in the turbulent political events that characterized the empire and the patriarchate in the 9th century.

The fact that Photius’ literary production and the reading of classical texts went hand in hand with his theological reflection and ecclesiastical action should come as no surprise and is ummed

¹⁵² This is the incipit of the chapter found in *M*, which is different from the one found in *A* (= 814 BIANCHI – SCHIANO). Taking into account the lexical proximity between the incipit in *M* and the *Myst.*, the difference between the two manuscripts is probably due to a reworking of the chapter in the corresponding *schedos* in the period between the transcription of *A* and of the model of *M* (on the stemmatic relationship between the two manuscripts, see *supra*).

¹⁵³ 84, 1–4 POLIDORI.

¹⁵⁴ 815 BIANCHI – SCHIANO and 84, 7–8 POLIDORI.

¹⁵⁵ 815 BIANCHI – SCHIANO and 84, 12–14 POLIDORI.

¹⁵⁶ On the concept of “cultural capital”, see P. BOURDIEU, *Les trois états du capital culturel. Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 30 (1979) 3–6: 3, et P. BOURDIEU, *Sociologie générale, Cours au Collège de France* (1983–1986). Paris 2016, vol. 2, 247–257.

up perfectly by Anastasius the Librarian, who had met Photius in Constantinople and sympathized with his opponents: in a famous passage, he claims to have spoken with the “apostle of the Slavs”, Constantine-Cyril (an ancient member of Photius’ circle who later spent some times in Rome) about the “heresy of the two souls”, one of the main accusations brought against Photius at the council of 869–870. In Anastasius’ words, the heresy was nothing but a hoax based on *sylllogismi philosophorum*, and it was aimed at throwing into confusion the Ignatians, who were poorly educated¹⁵⁷. Whatever the reliability of this information, it implies that, if not in reality, in the imagination of 9th-century people, in Rome and Constantinople, the study of ancient texts was considered capable of disrupting the social order and shaking up the political equilibrium. For this reason, Basil gathered Photius’ documents and archives and, on November 8 869, had them publicly burned, so that, as Pope Adrian II wrote, “nothing remains of them in anyone’s house, absolutely nothing, not even an iota, not even an accent” (*nec superesse apud quemlibet ex his omnibus saltem unum iota, vel unum apicem*¹⁵⁸). Fortunately, some of these archives were saved, and—as in the case of the *Bibl.* and the *Myst.*—went on being enriched.

¹⁵⁷ *Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi, Praefatio* (12–13, 186–194 LEONARDI – PLACANICA). On this passage, see the article of C. Erismann in this volume.

¹⁵⁸ *Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi, Actio I* (42, 308–309 LEONARDI – PLACANICA). See F. RONCONI, *Nec supersit apud quemlibet saltem unus iota, vel unus apex. L’autodafé d’où naquit la Bibliothèque de Photius*, in: *Byzanz und das Abendland III. Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, ed. E. Juhász. Budapest 2015, 31–52: 47–50; M. LOSACCO, ‘Tous les livres confluaient vers lui, telles les eaux d’un fleuve’: notes sur la bibliothèque de Photius. *MEG* 17 (2017) 107–135: 132–135.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A = Marc. gr. Z. 450

M = Marc. gr. Z. 451

Amph. = Photius of Constantinople, *Amphilochia* (cited—like the *Letters*—following the text printed in L.G. WESTERINK – V. LAOURDAS, *Photius, Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I–VI.2. Leipzig 1983–1988).

Bibl. = Photius of Constantinople, *Library* (cited following the text printed in N. BIANCHI – C. SCHIANO, Fozio, Biblioteca. Pisa 2016).

Myst. = Photius of Constantinople, *Mystagogia* (cited following the text printed in V. POLIDORI, Fozio, *La Mistagogia del Santo Spirito*. Roma 2018).

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