

MARTHE NEMEGER <sup>a</sup>

## An Unedited Homily on the Ascension of the Lord Attributed to Demetrios Kydones

**ABSTRACT:** This article presents the first critical edition and translation of Demetrios Kydones' *Homily on the Ascension of the Lord*, based on the manuscript copied by his pupil Manuel Kalekas (Codex Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1879 [*Diktyon* 68508]). This remarkable document is one of four surviving homilies attributed to the polymath, which, like several of his other writings, have remained unpublished until now. The article also contributes to the rediscovery of Kydones' role as a pivotal figure in diplomatic relations between East and West and in the dialogue between the Latin and Orthodox Churches.

**KEYWORDS:** Homily; Byzantine theology; Palaeologan period; Codex Vaticanus graecus 1879; Demetrios Kydones

### INTRODUCTION

Demetrios Kydones (*ca.* 1324–1397) is known for his important role in Byzantine-papal relations and his translations of Latin theological texts, in particular of the works of Thomas Aquinas<sup>1</sup>. A significant oeuvre, consisting of letters, political speeches, religious treatises, and translations is preserved in his name, many of which have been used for biographical or historical research on Kydones and the fourteenth century<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, a considerable portion of his work still remains unexamined, including four homilies that were attributed to him<sup>3</sup>. This article offers the first critical edition and translation of Kydones' *Homily on the Ascension of the Lord* together with a brief contextual analysis.

### LIFE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Kydones was born in 1325 in Thessaloniki, where he received a thorough education in Ancient literature, rhetoric, and theology. When his father died in 1341, few months before the passing of Emperor Andronikos III (*r.* 1328–1341), Demetrios began his political career during a particularly turbulent period. He became a close friend and advisor of John Kantakuzenos (*r.* 1347–1354), whom he supported during the civil war against John V Palaiologos<sup>4</sup>. In 1354 Kantakuzenos abdicated and entered the Mangana Monastery with Kydones, who, however, was soon recalled by John V (*r.* 1341–

<sup>a</sup> Marthe Nemegeer: Ghent University, Blandijnberg 2, BE, Ghent; marthe.nemegeer@ugent.be

<sup>1</sup> For the life of Demetrios Kydones as reconstructed from his letters, see Demetrios Kydones, ed. R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance* (*StT* 186, 208). Vatican 1956; R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Les recueils de lettres de Démétrius Cydonès* (*StT* 131). Rome 1947; and Demetrios Kydones, transl. F. TINNEFELD, *Briefe*. Stuttgart 1981–2003. In addition, see T. GANCHOU, *Démétrius Kydonès, les frères Chrysobergès et la Crète (1397–1401): De nouveaux documents*, in: *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)*, ed. C. A. Maltézou – P. Schreiner. Venice 2002, 435–493; F. KIANKA, *Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas*. *Byz* 52 (1982) 264–286; F. KIANKA, *Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Gydone*. *The International History Review* 7:2 (1985) 175–213; F. KIANKA, *Kydones and Italy*. *DOP* 49 (1995) 99–110; J. R. RYDER, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*. Leiden – Boston 2010.

<sup>2</sup> See Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe* I 1 63–74 for an overview of his oeuvre with manuscripts, scholarly publications, and editions.

<sup>3</sup> His *Homily on the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin* is discussed by M. JUGIE, *Le discours de Démétrius Cydonès sur l'Annonciation et sa doctrine sur l'Immaculée Conception*. *EO* 17 (1914) 97–106, where he also expresses the intention to publish an edition in Graffin's *Patrologia orientalis*. However, if it has indeed been published, I was not able to locate it.

<sup>4</sup> Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe* I 13–14.

1391) to resume his office as *mesazon*. He accompanied John V on an embassy to Rome to negotiate ecclesiastical unity with the papacy in exchange for military support against the Ottomans. Despite Kydones' fluency in Latin and understanding of the Catholic faith, their mission failed, leading to a deterioration in his relationship with the Emperor<sup>5</sup>. Upon returning to Constantinople, Kydones requested that he be allowed to resign and spent a brief period on Lesbos in 1373, before partially resuming his former duties as *mesazon*. He was able to keep his position during the coup of Andronikos IV (*r.* 1376–1379) in 1376, but his influence at court quickly faded and he eventually accepted Pope Gregory's offer to travel to Italy. The trip was postponed, however, after the death of Pope Gregory. When John V entered Constantinople with the help of the Turks, Kydones assisted him in regaining the support of the citizens of Thessaloniki. He was also involved in negotiations with the Turks, the Genoese, and Francesco Gattilusio in Lesbos between 1379 and 1382, but his efforts proved unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Manuel II Palaeologos (*r.* 1391–1425) had taken control of Thessaloniki, which had been besieged by Ottoman Turks since 1383. Kydones offered Manuel help in negotiating military support with the pope, but Manuel did not accept. Only in 1386/87, when the promised assistance did not come, did Manuel turn to Kydones who advised him to come to Constantinople and make peace with John V. Manuel, however, went to Lesbos where he was refused entrance to Mytilene, and then to Brussa to negotiate with sultan Murad<sup>6</sup>. He finally came to Constantinople in 1387. Kydones had been looking forward to his friend's return, but was kept at a distance by his enemies at court. After Manuel had left, Kydones renewed his plans to travel to Italy, but remained in the city for a few more years during which his relationship with John V further deteriorated and his political influence waned. At last, in 1390, Kydones went to Venice, but could not reach Rome and returned to Constantinople by 1391. However, the situation in the city became gradually more precarious and Kydones left for good in 1397. After a short visit to Venice first, he travelled to Crete, where he died shortly after<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> For Demetrios Kydones' Latin studies and translations from Latin texts, see P. C. ATHANASOPOULOS, Augustinian Sources of Demetrios Kydones' Unedited De Spiritus Sancti Processione ad amicum: Preliminary Remarks, in: *Contra Latinos et adversus Graecos. The Separation between Rome and Constantinople from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Bucossi – A. Calia (*OLA* 286), Leuven 2020, 411–430; P. C. ATHANASOPOULOS, The Greek and Latin Background to the Thomistic Scriptural Quotations in Gennadios Scholarios, *Compendium of Summa Theologiae Ia IIae*, in: *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. R. Ceulemans – B. Crostini (*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 20). Uppsala 2021, 165–185; M. H. BLANCHET, The two Byzantine Translations of Thomas Aquinas' *De rationibus fidei*: Remarks in View of their ongoing *editio princeps*, in: *Never the Twain Shall Meet? Latins and Greeks Learning from Each Other in Byzantium*, ed. D. Searby (*BA – Series Philosophica* 2). Berlin 2018, 115–129; J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, The *Sitz im Leben* of Demetrios Kydones' Translation of pseudo-Augustine's Soliloquia. Remarks on a Recent Edition. *Quaestio* 6 (2006), 191–258; D. KALAMAKĒS, Anthologion ek tōn ergōn Augustinu Ippōnos exellēnisthen hypo Dēmētriu tu Kydōnē. Athens 1996; J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, Byzantine Translations of Latin Philosophical Texts, in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy II*, ed. R. Pasnau – C. Van Dyke. Cambridge 2010, 822–826; J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS – Ch. DENDRINOS (eds.), *Thomas Latinus – Thomas Graecus: O Thōmas Aquinatēs kai ē proslēpsē tu sto Byzantio*. Thomas Aquinas and His Reception in Byzantium, Athens 2021; J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, Scholarios' *Inserta Thomistica* in His *Compendium of Demetrios Kydones' Translation of Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae, Ia. A Re-edition and its Textual Setting*, in: *Le monde byzantine du xiii<sup>e</sup> au xve siècle. Anciennes ou Nouvelles formes d'impérialité (TM 25.1)*, ed. M.-H. Blanchet – R. Estangüi Gómez. Paris 2021, 803–826; A. GLYCOFRYDI-LEONTSINI, Demetrios Kydones as a Translator of Latin Texts, in: *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Ch. Dendrinis – J. Harris – E. Harvalia-Crook – J. Herrin. Ashgate 2003, 175–185; Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, Briefe I 11–12; 68–72; three articles in: *Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World: Contexts, Authors, and Texts*, ed. P. Athanasopoulos. Berlin 2022; V. PASIOURTIDES, Demetrios Kydones' Translation of Five Excerpts from Julianus Pomerius' (Ps.-Prosperus' and Ps.-Augustine's) *De vita contemplativa (CPL 998)*, Bk. I: Re-edition and Historical Context, 173–188; C. WRIGHT, Choices and Changes of Language in Demetrios Kydones' Translation of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae, Ia*, 189–212; A. ZALOUMIS, Demetrios Kydones' Greek Rendering of Aristoteles Latinus in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae, IIa IIae*, qu. 47 ("De Providentia") in Light of the Sources of Aquinas' Text, 213–262.

<sup>6</sup> Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD I 40.

<sup>7</sup> His death is first attested in the letters from Manuel Kalekas: *Ep.* 38 and 40 to Maximos Chrysoberges, both dated to 1397–1398, and *Ep.* 48 to Manuel Chrysoloras (see Manuel Kalekas, ed. R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas (ST 152)*. Vatican 1950, 123–125, 129, 221–225, 234–237; Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, Briefe, I 1 48–49). Kalekas

## DATE AND FUNCTION OF THE HOMILY ON THE ASCENSION OF THE LORD

Unlike Kydones' political speeches, his homilies provide little evidence for precise dating. The *Homily for the Ascension* is mentioned in a letter dated by Tinnefeld to 1386/87<sup>8</sup>. According to Tinnefeld's estimates, Kydones wrote it shortly before his *Homily for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (ca. 1387–1389) and some time after his *Homily for St. Lawrence* (ca. 1379–1382)<sup>9</sup>. His *Homily for the Pentecost* cannot be dated. Taken together, these chronological indications suggest that the *Homily for the Ascension* was composed between 1383 and 1386.

Overall, Kydones seems to have written his homilies during the period ca. 1379–1389, except for the *Homily for the Pentecost*, which remains undated. During these years, as his political influence waned, it is plausible that his homilies served both as a response to the political instability surrounding him and as a form of literary retreat from the ongoing turmoil.

In his letters concerning the *Homily for St. Lawrence* and the *Homily for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, Kydones indicates that these works were not composed for a specific occasion, but rather as expressions of gratitude for the intercession of the respective saints. There are no similar statements regarding the *Homily on the Ascension*, which is mentioned in letter 343 only to request that the addressee, once again an unidentified friend, return it<sup>10</sup>. In contrast to the other two homilies, it remains unknown why this acquaintance possessed the text and why Kydones had composed it. However, since he designates this *Homily* as *φλοαρία* and two of his other homilies are certainly not intended for public delivery, it seems unlikely that the *Homily on the Ascension* was meant for such a purpose<sup>11</sup>. The text itself also offers no evidence to the contrary.

## HOMILY ON THE ASCENSION OF THE LORD

Kydones begins his speech with an expression of the impossibility and necessity of thanking the Lord for his gifts to mankind, which ultimately led to the establishment of 'the present feast' (1–3). He then briefly relates the events from *Genesis*: God's creation of Man and Paradise, Man's disobedience, and the Fall. The text describes ways in which God saved man from sin by creating laws, sending prophets, and above all, by letting His Own Son come to the aid of Man (4). By comparing Christ to a king who takes refuge in a poor man's home, Kydones explains how profoundly Christ humbled himself to live among human beings and how this brings them honour (5). He then introduces the topic of Christ's Resurrection and its salvific power (6–7), describing how it was initially met with disbelief because it contradicts the laws of nature and is similar to other prophets' ascensions (8–10). Kydones compares the Ascension of Jesus to Elijah's and argues that the former is a

---

also composed an epitaph for his mentor, see G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (StT 56)*. Vatican 1931, 110–111.

<sup>8</sup> The letter itself is undated, but its position in the manuscripts provides a basis for estimating a relative timeframe (Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe I 64*, IV 160–161; Demetrios Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance II 278–281*). The principal manuscripts for these letters are Kydones' autograph Vat. gr. 101, f. 127<sup>r</sup> (*Diktyon 66732*) and its apograph by Manuel Kalekas, Urb. gr. 133, 197<sup>v</sup> (*Diktyon 66600*). For the chronological association between adjacent letters, see Demetrios Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance I*, xii.

<sup>9</sup> Dating is based on Kydones' letters, see Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe I 1 64*. See letters 256 and 213 (Demetrios Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance II 161, 92*; Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe II 209–211, III 105–106*) for the cover letters of his *Homily for Saint Lawrence* to Helena Kantakuzene and Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaëtōs. For the *Homily on the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin*, see letter 384 (Demetrios Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance II, 334–335*; Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe IV, 169–172*) to an unidentified friend. Additionally, see also F. KIANKA, *The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina. DOP 46 (1992) 155–164*.

<sup>10</sup> Demetrios Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance II 281*; Demetrios Kydones, transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe IV 160–161*.

<sup>11</sup> TINNEFELD, *Briefe IV 160* notes that Kydones' 'extremely negative' judgement of his text is striking, even by comparison to his usual expressions of modesty.

powerful proof of Christ's divinity as He was not taken up by chariot of fire, but ascended on His own powers (10–12)<sup>12</sup>. The text then goes on to explore the divine nature of Christ in greater depth and how Christ ascended above the heavens to be seated at the right-hand side of God from where they judge and rule together (13–14). Seated at the right-hand side of the Father, Christ receives the power to judge and shares these gifts not only with His apostles, but with all who showed faith in Him. In fact, this is how His Incarnation and Ascension brought great honour to human nature (15–20). To foster their faith, it was necessary that Christ stayed with His disciples for a short period after His Resurrection, but also that He would depart again. For true faith is believing in the invisible rather than in what is visible, so that it could not be rewarded as long as He lived among men (21–22). And yet, Kydones continues, Christ did not leave man without hope and the promise of better things to come. According to Kydones, even the departure of Christ served to strengthen the love of His followers, for desire grows with distance (23–24). Kydones briefly expands on the love of Christ and how He remained present among humans even after His Ascension (25–28). Through the Ascension and the unity of Christ's divine and human natures, Christ interceded on behalf of humanity before the Father and delivers mankind from sin and death. Moreover, Christ secured this freedom and made sure justice was exacted for the evils that were done. Even when He had returned to the Father, Christ did not stop caring for humans but kept sharing His gifts from the Father (29–34). In his conclusion, Kydones recapitulates the benefits mankind received thanks to Jesus' sacrifice and how they will reap the fruits of this by living a life of virtue. In this way, they will face God, the judge, with confidence and receive rewards for a good life (35–37).

Kydones clearly explains the events leading to and surrounding Christ's Passion, Ascension, Resurrection, and their meaning by referring to citations from scripture. His tone is mildly instructive, though more prominently positive and celebratory.

#### STYLISTIC DISCUSSION

Demetrios Kydones' prose can appear heavy to the modern reader: long periods, verbosity, and a fondness for every type of rhetorical figure. His extremely classical style would merit a dedicated monographic study. For the present, I must content myself with referring to the excellent observations (with further bibliography) offered by ROLLO 2021<sup>13</sup>. The style of the homily is consistent with Kydones' typical manner, although at times it becomes, at the very least, idiosyncratic. The following passage serves as an example of Kydones' style:

#### *Example 1*

(a) Καλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρότερον· καὶ τῆς θείας σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄξια· Θεὸς πάντα μὲν τὸν κόσμον ἐκ μηδενὸς δι' ἀγαθότητα μόνην δημιουργήσας, τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ κάλλιστον ἀποφίνας τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων δοῦς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εἰκάσθαι παράδειγμα· καὶ παράδεισον μὲν ἐξελὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς κατοίκησιν· χωρίον τῆ τε τοῦ νείμαντος φιλοτιμία· καὶ τῆ τοῦ λαβόντος ἀξία προσῆκον· δοῦς δὲ ἐντολὴν δυναμένην αὐτῷ τά τε δοθέντα τηρῆσαι· καὶ μείζονα προσθεῖναι ταύτην φυλάξαντι· πάλιν δ' αὐτὴν παραβάντι καὶ τῶν τῷ Θεῷ δοκούντων τὴν οὐ καλὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντι· καὶ τῶν τοσοῦτων δωρεῶν τὴν ἀχαριστίαν ὥσπερ ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδόντι, οὐχ ὁ δίκαιον ὀργιζόμενος οὐδ' ἐξαλείψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς· (Il. 45–54)

<sup>12</sup> For the comparison between the Ascension of Jesus and the Ascension of Elijah (LXX, 4 Reg. 22), see also H. F. STANDER, A Homily of Nestorius on the Ascension of Christ: Text, Translation and a Commentary. *Acta Patristica et Byzantina*, 6.1 (1995) 130–146 (139) with further references.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. A. ROLLO, La lingua greca nel Medioevo bizantino. *Periptero* 13–14 (2021) 18–29, 19–20.

For what preceded was also good, and worthy of both divine wisdom and power. God created the entire universe out of nothing solely out of goodness and made man the most beautiful of all beings in it and granted to him alone, of all beings, to be formed after the divine example; and He chose Paradise for him as a dwelling—a place befitting the generosity of the Giver and the dignity of the recipient—and gave him a command that enabled him to preserve the things that had been given and to add greater things to him who kept this command; but if in return, man transgressed this command and preferred sinful pleasure over the decree of God and gave ingratitude for such great gifts, as if repaying Him, God did not become angry—as was His right—nor did He wipe man, whom He created, from the face of the earth.

(b) ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν φιλανθρώπως τὴν κακίαν κολάζων· καὶ τοῖς ἀσθητοτέροις νουθετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφων τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα· νῦν δὲ διαλλαττόμενος· καὶ δουλείας μακρᾶς ἀπαλλάττων· καὶ νόμον διδούς καὶ προφήτας πέμπων· ἅμα μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων ἐλέγχους· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν δεόντων τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι· καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ὃ μὴ δ' ἔστιν ἄνευ φρίκης ἀκοῦσαι· ὡς ἡ νόσος οὐκ ἐνεδίδου μὴ δ' ἦν ἐφ' ὅπερ ἂν χεῖρον *προεληλύθει*· αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦκων ἡμῖν· καὶ ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνατρέψας· καὶ γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπος ὁ Θεός· (ll. 54–61)

But now, He punishes wickedness in a benevolent manner and rebukes the harshest and turns towards Himself the one who is unwilling; now He reconciles and frees from long-lasting slavery, establishes laws, and sends prophets—simultaneously as refutations of sinners, and as teachers of what is required of sinners. And finally—and this cannot be heard without awe, since the illness would not yield and was not confined to what had already worsened—, He came to us of His own free will and took upon Himself the care of our evils and God became Man for the sake of men.

(c) Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις μέχρι νῦν ἀνεγνώστον· καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας οὐ μόνον ἀπαλλάξας ἤδη κειμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν προσθεῖς ἀπειθήσασι, ἦν οὐκ ἂν τις ὑπακούσασι *ἔδωκεν*· (ll. 61–64)

This is exactly what remained incomprehensible to both angels and men until now, that He not only freed from death and sin those who were already buried, but also bestowed an honour upon unbelievers, which He did not grant the obedient.

In this passage, Kydones describes the sin of man and God's gracious response, as he instead of inflicting severe punishment, mercifully directed humanity back to the path of righteousness. In the Greek text, the underlined participles are attributed to the subject *Θεός* and linked through *καί* and *δέ*. The sequence of participles is interrupted a first time by the apposition of *χωρίον* to *κατοίκησιν* and again when four participles appear in a singular masculine dative (highlighted in bold), referring to 'man' mentioned a few lines earlier. The sentence then continues in Example 1b with nominative participles, however no main verb follows. Example 1c concludes the enumeration with an elliptical statement (*ἀνεγνώστον* <έστιν>), again followed by participles in the masculine nominative. Thus, this elaborate paragraph is built primarily on participial constructions, with finite verbs occurring only in the relative and comparative clauses (in italics).

This passage, with its complex syntactic structures, is typical of Kydones' style throughout the *Homily*. While the syntax of such sentences is challenging to analyse, their meaning remains clear. Kydones also uses multiple strategies to structure and clarify his thought, such as the parallelisms *νῦν μὲν...*, *νῦν δὲ, ἅμα μὲν...*, *ἅμα δὲ*, the function words *οὐ μόνον...* *ἀλλὰ καί*, or the comparison *ὡς ἡ νόσος...* Other stylistic devices frequently employed by Kydones include rhetorical questions, anaphora (Example 2), and oxymora (Example 3), whose rhetorical power is well suited to a doxological passage.

*Example 2*

Τί τοῖνυν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου χάριν ἀνθρώπου σεμνότερον; Τί δὲ ἐντιμότερον; Τί δὲ θειότερον; Τὸ γὰρ Θεῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθ' ἐν πρόσωπον ἐνωθῆναι, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ μέγιστος κόσμος· τοῦτο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἡμῖν αὖξει καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπέκεινα· τοῦτο σεμνύνει· τοῦτο μετεωρίζει τὸ φρόνημα, οὐκ ἔων λοιπὸν εἰς γῆν νεύειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ βίου κηλίσι μαιίνεσθαι· ἐνθυμουμένους τὸν τοσοῦτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄρα ντα φύσιν· (ll. 320–325)

And what now, by his grace, is holier than man? What is more honourable? More divine? For the unification of man with God in one person is the greatest harmony for the community of men. This will increase our position of honour even above that of the angels. This exalts. This raises our spirit not allowing it to fall further towards earth and to be tainted by the stains of life, those who consider how much he elevates our nature in himself.

*Example 3*

ζῶν ὁ νεκρός· ὁ προσβραχὺ τῇ φθορᾷ δουλεύσας, ἀθάνατος· ἀπαθὴς ὁ παθὼν ἀνασχόμενος· ὁ ταπεινωθεὶς ἐν ὕψει, ὁ ἄδοξος τῆς δόξης εἶναι Κύριος ἐπιστεύθη, ὁ ἔνοχος θανάτου, τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξουσίαν δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· (ll. 116–119)

the dead man is alive; He who was briefly a slave to death, immortal; He who suffered, freed from suffering; He who was humbled is exalted; the inglorious is believed to be the Lord of Glory; He who was sentenced to death, receives authority from the Father in heaven and on earth.

However, the coherence and rhetorical strength of the message do not appear to be obscured by any bold syntactic choices or verbosity. My translation, which should essentially be regarded as a first form of commentary on the text, strives to replicate in English the effects of the Greek structure without compromising the natural flow of English. This tightrope act of fidelity between the two languages is no small task, and the excuse that English is not my mother tongue doesn't hold—after all, Atticized Greek was not Kydones' native language either. The translation of Bible quotations are based on the King James' Bible. I hope that the shifts and compromises will be judged with indulgence.

## MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The *Homily* is preserved in two manuscripts:

Città del Vaticano, BAV, Vaticanus graecus 1879, ff. 98<sup>r</sup>–109<sup>v</sup> (*Diktyon* 68508) (V) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 90, ff. 131<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>r</sup> (*Diktyon* 47377) (O)<sup>14</sup>.

## CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, BAV, VATICANUS GRAECUS 1879 (V)

V is a fourteenth-century miscellaneous codex consisting of seven parts. The first part contains the *Homily*, alongside other writings by Demetrius Kydones and by his close friend and pupil, Manuel Kalekas. Kalekas is also the copyist of most texts, including the *Homily* (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>; 45<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>)<sup>15</sup>. In

<sup>14</sup> A thorough palaeographic and codicological description is found in P. CANART, *Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962*. Vatican 1970, 449–466 and H. O. COXE, *Catalogue of Greek manuscripts in Bodleian Library's collections*. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853 (*Bodleian Library quarto catalogues* 1). Oxford 1969, 154–155, respectively.

<sup>15</sup> Knowledge about Kalekas' life is scant and almost entirely based on his own letters: Manuel Kalekas, ed. R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance* (*StT* 186, 208). Vatican 1950; see also *RGK* II 346, III 413. Kalekas' *Ep.* 5 (ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance* 108–109) and Kydones *Ep.* 437 (ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance* II 397; Transl. TINNEFELD, *Briefe* IV 281–282, dated 1391–1396), refers to Kalekas' copying activity. It is not specified which work Kalekas is copying at that time, though Loenertz and Tinnefeld (Demetrius Kydones, ed. LOENERTZ, *Correspondance* 22 and transl. TINNEFELD *Briefe* I 1, 47; IV, 281–283) agree that the reference is to his copy of Kydones' correspondence, based on the autograph Vat. gr. 101 and preserved in Urb. gr. 133. Kalekas' hand in V differs in some respects to his known manuscripts, but a detailed examination leaves no

addition, two other unidentified scribes copied two of Kydones' letters (41<sup>r</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>; 130<sup>r</sup>–134<sup>r</sup>), while his *Apology II* (ff. 136<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>) was copied by Demetrius himself<sup>16</sup>.

The text of the *Homily* is written in a cursive hand and contains twenty-four corrections, all of which are recorded in the apparatus criticus. Ten of these corrections concern changes of form, such as an incorrect word form or an erroneous spelling: *τὴν* (l. 15, f. 98<sup>r</sup>, l. 15); *πάντα* (l. 180, f. 101<sup>r</sup> l. 17); *θείας* (l. 196, f. 101<sup>v</sup> l. 6); *λεχθέντων* (l. 305, f. 103<sup>v</sup> l. 8); *ἔλεγχος* (l. 359, f. 104<sup>v</sup> l. 8); *ὕμᾱς* (l. 388, f. 105<sup>r</sup> l. 11); *αἱ διορθωμένον* (l. 437, f. 106<sup>r</sup> l. 7); *γινόμεθα* (l. 492, f. 107<sup>r</sup> l. 10); *φόβος* (l. 495, f. 107<sup>r</sup> l. 13).

In seven cases, the word order has been altered. These corrections are indicated in one of two ways: either by placing *α*, *β* (and occasionally *γ*) above the affected words, or by deleting a word, by striking it through, and re-inserting it in the proper position: *ἀξία* deleted after *νείμαντος*, added after *λαβόντος* (l. 49, f. 98<sup>v</sup> l. 22; a case of *saut du même au même*); *τῆ οἰκουμένη μάρτυρας*] *ex μάρτυρας τῆ οἰκουμένη* (l. 114–115, f. 100<sup>r</sup> l. 7); *θεωρεῖτέ με*] *ex με θεωρεῖτε* (l. 365, f. 104<sup>v</sup> l. 15); *ἀναληφθεῖς ὁ Σωτήρ*] *ex ὁ Σωτήρ ἀναληφθεῖς* (l. 402–403, f. 105<sup>r</sup> l. 26); *λόγον σῶζειν*] *ex σῶζειν λόγον* (l. 453, f. 106<sup>r</sup> l. 24); *λόγοις* deleted after *εἶη*, added after *πειρᾶσθαι* (l. 496, f. 107<sup>r</sup> l. 14); *γε* deleted after *αἰ*, added after *μενεῖ* (l. 534, f. 108<sup>r</sup> l. 1).

There are seven instances in which Kalekas introduces marginal or interlinear additions: *τοὺς πονηροὺς* (l. 83, f. 99<sup>v</sup> l. 3); *ὄτε* (l. 201, f. 101<sup>v</sup> l. 12); *ἀξίαν* (l. 271, f. 102<sup>v</sup> l. 28); *κατὰ χάριν* (l. 296, f. 103<sup>r</sup> l. 26); *φησί* (l. 331, f. 104<sup>r</sup> l. 7); *ἄν* (l. 347, f. 104<sup>r</sup> l. 23); *κρείττω* (l. 517, f. 107<sup>v</sup> l. 10). Conversely, there is one case in which he deletes a word: *ὁμῖν* (l. 395, f. 105<sup>r</sup> l. 19). The corrected text in V is also the text we find in O.

Marginal additions in the manuscript are consistently linked to the text by means of a four dot reference sign. This particular sign is rarely employed by Kalekas, who more commonly uses two or three dots or a cross (see Vat. gr. 1879, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>). Given the unknown circumstances surrounding the composition of this part of the manuscript, the fact that its quires were produced at different times, and the presence of an autograph by Kydones (ff. 136<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>), I considered the possibility that Kydones himself revised the text, as he also intervened in Kalekas' copies of his letters in Urb. gr. 133. However, the four-dot reference sign is not found in his corrections or other autographs (see Vat. gr. 101, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>–107<sup>v</sup>, ff. 109<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup>; Vat. gr. 1879, ff. 136<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>). Kydones uses two underlined dots, a red dot, or a cross. The handwriting of the corrections aligns more closely with that of Kalekas than with that of Kydones, there is insufficient evidence to attribute these corrections to anyone other than Kalekas himself.

V has few palaeographic or orthographic peculiarities. There is one instance where iotacism may have occurred when V writes *Σεραφεῖμ* instead of *Σεραφίμ* (l. 586, f. 108<sup>v</sup>, l. 28)<sup>17</sup>. Both spellings are attested: LSJ has *Σεραφεῖμ* and Lampe's Patristic Lexicon *Σεραφίμ*<sup>18</sup>. In the TLG, *Σεραφεῖμ* occurs 342 times, while *Σεραφίμ* renders 1390 search results. In Kydones' oeuvre, there are two references to the Seraphim, one in his translation of the anonymous *Soliloquia, sive Monologia* and a second in his translation of Fulgentius' *De fide ad Petrum*<sup>19</sup>. The *Soliloquia* has been preserved in a large

doubt that it is indeed Kalekas who copied the Homily. This conclusion agrees with MERCATI, Notizie 97, Kalekas, ed. LOENERTZ 3–9, and CANART, Vatican Graeci 453.

<sup>16</sup> The letters are to Constantine Asanes (ed. M. CANDAL, Demetrio Cidonio y el problema trinitario palamítico. *OCP* 28 (1962) 75–120) and one to a friend on the death of his brother Prochoros (ed. MERCATI, Notizie 346–355). The *Apology* was edited in MERCATI, Notizie 403–425. The second of the unknown scribes was identified by Mercati as the copyist of Vat. gr. 486, ff. 60<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>r</sup> (*Diktyon* 67117) (G. MERCATI, Opere minori [*StT* 79]. Vatican 1937, 73).

<sup>17</sup> O has the same reading.

<sup>18</sup> G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961, 1230.

<sup>19</sup> See Fulgentius 6.4 (ed. A. KOLTSIU-NIKETA, Fulgentiu, Pros Petron peri pisteōs, hermēneuthen para Dēmētriu tu Kydōnē [*Philosophikē kai Theologikē Bibliothēkē* 40]. Thessalonica 1999); Ps.-Augustinus 31.122 (ed. A. KOLTSIU-NIKETA, Dēmētriu Kydōnē, tu pseudoaugustineiu *Soliloquia* [*Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini* 11]. Athens 2005]). Koltsiu-Niketa printed *Σεραφεῖμ* in the *Soliloquia* and *Σεραφίμ* in the *De fide ad Petrum*.

number of copies, whereas the *De fide* is still available in Kydones' autograph Vat. gr. 1096 (ff. 199<sup>v</sup>–221<sup>v</sup>). In this manuscript, he wrote *σεραφίμ* (201<sup>r</sup>)<sup>20</sup>. However, this sole occurrence of *σεραφίμ* in an autograph of Kydones should not be taken as proof that this is the spelling he consistently used. As *Σεραφείμ* is the spelling used in both V and O, I preserved it in the edition. Two additional orthographic anomalies are discussed in the section on the differences between V and O (examples 24 and 34).

On f. 98<sup>r</sup>, l. 27, we encounter *γάννυται* (l. 27). This verb, meaning 'be happy', is in LSJ written with one *ν*, but with two in both V and O, as quoted above. This alternative spelling is also acknowledged in LSJ and *γάννυται* appears 62 times in the TLG, whereas *γάννυται* occurs only 58 times. Again, because of the agreement between the manuscripts and the frequent occurrence of *γάννυται* with two *ν* in the corpus, the spelling found in the manuscripts is preserved.

Also, V has one case of vowel quantity confusion, writing *τῶν θησαυρὸν* instead of *τὸν θησαυρὸν* (ll. 464–465). It seems impossible to justify the reading of V (which is somewhat surprising, since Kalekas was certainly an excellent copyist—even in comparison with Damilas—and a fine connoisseur of the Greek language, as evidenced by his authorship of a grammar book)<sup>21</sup>. Perhaps here the adage *aliquando dormitavit Homerus* also applies? In this case, O preserves the correct reading. As the editor, I can do nothing but disregard V and follow O. A preview of the next paragraph on the divergences between V and O: I myself—though I do not know Greek as well as Kalekas or Damilas—might perhaps have silently corrected V's *τῶν* to *τὸν* in my own copy of the *Homily*. This is to say that O's superior reading here does not demonstrate that O drew on a source better than V.

In line with common Byzantine scribal practice, manuscript V consistently writes certain adverbial expressions as a single word<sup>22</sup>. These are: *προσκαιρόν* (l. 107, f. 99<sup>v</sup> l. 28; l. 287, f. 103<sup>r</sup> l. 16; l. 403, f. 105<sup>r</sup> l. 27; l. 533, f. 107<sup>v</sup> l. 28; l. 546, f. 108<sup>r</sup> l. 13), *τηναρχήν* (l. 113, f. 100<sup>r</sup> l. 6), *προσβραχύ* (l. 116, f. 100<sup>r</sup> l. 8; l. 348, f. 104<sup>r</sup> l. 24), *κατατοῦτο* (l. 134, f. 100<sup>r</sup> l. 26), *προσολίγον* (l. 145, f. 100<sup>v</sup> ll. 8–9; l. 341, 104<sup>r</sup> l. 17), *μεταμικρόν* (l. 138, f. 100<sup>v</sup> l. 2), *διαταῦτα* (l. 181, f. 101<sup>r</sup> l. 18; l. 348, f. 104<sup>r</sup> l. 24), *διατοῦτο* (l. 253, f. 102<sup>v</sup> l. 8; l. 484, 107<sup>r</sup> l. 2; l. 535, f. 108<sup>r</sup> l. 2), *τουλοιποῦ* (l. 453, f. 106<sup>r</sup> l. 24), and *καταζίαν* (l. 578, f. 108<sup>v</sup> l. 19). I retain this spelling in my edition. As a matter of fact, this *modus scribendi* is also increasingly accepted by modern editors of Byzantine texts. One need only think of forms such as *μεταταῦτα* and *διατοῦτο*, to name just a few examples.

V also shows some typically Byzantine features in accentuation, especially regarding enclitics. The particle *δέ*, for example, can be treated as an enclitic when elided (*δ'*), in which case a preceding acute does not turn into a gravis (e.g. *ἐπεὶ δ'*, l. 15, f. 98<sup>r</sup> l. 15; *αὐτόν δ'*, l. 128, f. 100<sup>r</sup> l. 20; l. 452, f. 106<sup>r</sup> l. 23). In V, we also find cases such as *ἄλλού του* (l. 10, f. 98<sup>r</sup> l. 10), *μέγά τι* (l. 216, f. 101<sup>v</sup> l. 28), *ὡσπέρ τι* (l. 72, f. 99<sup>r</sup> l. 19; l. 250, f. 102<sup>v</sup> l. 6), and *ἄλλό τι* (l. 97, f. 99<sup>v</sup> l. 17)<sup>23</sup>. This accentuation reflects the then common pronunciation and forms no hindrance to understanding the text, and so it is left unchanged in the edition.

<sup>20</sup> MERCATI, Notizie 162.

<sup>21</sup> F. NOUSIA, Manuel Calecas' *Grammar: Its Use and Contribution to the Learning of Greek in Western Europe*, in: *Making and Rethinking the Renaissance: Between Greek and Latin in 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Century Europe*, ed. G. Abbamonte – S. Harrison. Berlin – Boston 2019, 51–66.

<sup>22</sup> M. HINTERBERGER, *Outrageous Spelling, Impossible Forms*, in: *Correctness in Comparison. Negotiating Linguistic Norms in Greek from the Imperial Roman until the Later Byzantine Period (I–XV c. AD)*, edd. K. Bentein – A. M. Cuomo (*Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 26). Turnhout 2025, 101–102; A. RIEHLE, *Die Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos: Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung (BA 43)*. Berlin – Boston 2023, 149–151.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J. NORET, *L'accentuation Byzantine: En quoi et pourquoi elle diffère de l'accentuation «savante» actuelle, parfois absurde*, in: *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. M. Hinterberger (*Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 9). Turnhout 2014, 141.

## OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, BAROCCI 90

The second witness, O, is a fifteenth-century manuscript copied by Antonios Damilas, a scribe working on Crete<sup>24</sup>. It contains Bessarion's *Treatise on the Eucharist*, several works attributed to Kydones' name and one letter by Michael Apostolis and is the only manuscript that preserves all four of Kydones' homilies together.

The text of the *Homily* is corrected in several places. There are three changes of form: *κάκεινοις* (l. 66, f. 132<sup>r</sup>, l. 20); *οὐκέτι* (l. 113, f. 133<sup>r</sup>, l. 14); *ὀπαγόμεθα* (l. 517, f. 141<sup>r</sup> l. 2) and six additions: *ἡμεῖς* (l. 71, f. 132<sup>r</sup> l. 24); *ἀμφιβολίας* (l. 147, f. 133<sup>v</sup> l. 24); *αὐτῆς* (l. 226, f. 135<sup>r</sup> l. 29); *τοῦ* (l. 278, f. 136<sup>r</sup>, l. 27); *τὸν κόσμον ... ἐλέγξει* (ll. 360–364, f. 138<sup>r</sup>, at the top of the page); *καὶ βασιλείαν* (l. 581, f. 142<sup>r</sup> l. 24). Furthermore, there is one instance in which O replaces a word: *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ex παρ' ἑαυτοῦ* (l. 475, margin of f. 140<sup>r</sup>, l. 9). O's original version *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ* was different from the text of V, but its correction into *ἀφ'*, by way of a marginal addition, resolved this difference. Marginal corrections are indicated in the text using one of the following symbols: two (ff. 132<sup>r</sup>, 136<sup>r</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>) or three (f. 135<sup>r</sup>) vertically aligned dots, three dots arranged in a triangular shape (f. 140<sup>r</sup>), or a cross with a dot in each quadrant (f. 138<sup>r</sup>).

With regard to word division, it should be noted that O separates most adverbial clauses that V and other Byzantine manuscripts tend to write as a single unit. O is fairly consistent in this practice, however there are two exceptions. *Προσκαιρόν* is written as one word, except in its first occurrence where *πρὸς καιρὸν* (l. 107, f. 133<sup>r</sup> l. 8) is written with an accent on the preposition but not on the noun. It is therefore unclear whether O intended to write this as one word or as two. The second exception is *προσολίγον* (l. 145, f. 133<sup>v</sup> l. 21; l. 341, f. 137<sup>v</sup> l. 10), which is once written separately, and once together.

O sometimes differs from V in accentuation. There is no encliticization of *δέ* in elided form (*ἐπεὶ δ'*, l. 15, f. 131<sup>r</sup> l. 17; *αὐτὸν δ'*, l. 128, f. 133<sup>v</sup> l. 3; l. 452, f. 139<sup>v</sup> l. 12). The previously mentioned enclitic forms are written in O as: *ἄλλοῦ του* (l. 10, f. 132<sup>v</sup> l. 27); *μεγά τι* (ut vid.) (l. 216, f. 135<sup>r</sup> l. 17); *ὥσπερ τι* with one accent (l. 72, f. 132<sup>r</sup> l. 30), but *ὥσπερ τι* with an enclitic accent (l. 250, f. 135<sup>v</sup> l. 27); *ἄλλο τι* (l. 97), however, became *ἄλλ' ὅτι* in O (f. 132<sup>v</sup>, l. 27). In addition, some accentuation differences in O affect the meaning of the text, for example:

- 1. **65** τις V (f. 99<sup>r</sup> l. 11)] τίς O (f. 132<sup>r</sup> l. 19)
- 1. **92** ἡ V (f. 99<sup>v</sup> l. 11)] ἦ (/ἦ?) O (f. 132<sup>v</sup> l. 20)
- 1. **260** ἦν V (f. 102<sup>v</sup> l. 16)] ἦν O (f. 136<sup>r</sup> l. 7)

In all these cases, the reading of V should be regarded as the preferred text.

## DIFFERENCES BETWEEN V AND O

Below I list all the cases in which V differs from O. The variants are presented neutrally and are followed by my assessment (*questionable* or *inconclusive*) which refers to the usefulness of the variant in establishing the text. Where appropriate, this assessment is followed by a brief comment. I will draw together the implications of these variants at the end of the list.

1. **1. 30** ἐπιλαθέσθαι V] ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι O  
Questionable.
2. **1. 39** *post* ἡμῶν, προσλαβὼν *non habet* V] *προσλαβὼν habet* O  
Questionable.  
*προσλαβὼν*, lacking in the direct object, refers to the assumption of the human nature, and looks like an explanation. It also breaks the symmetry of the phrase *ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* ("from us, on behalf of us").

<sup>24</sup> For Damilas, see *RGK* I 22, II 30, III 34.

- 3 **I. 40** ἀντ'(ι) V] ὑπ'(ὸ) O.  
Better O, but problematic.  
With ἀντί, the sentence makes good sense (“for all the things accomplished in His stead to our benefit”). Yet, considering the theological point that Christ performs works for our advantage, one would rather expect here the agentive complement. In the printed text I follow the reading of V, treating it as the lectio *difficilior*; however, the reading of O has its own appeal, especially if one entertains the possibility of textual corruption. Given Kydones’ characteristically verbose style, one might indeed hypothesize an original formulation such as: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· <ἀντ’ ἡμῶν>· ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (“on our behalf, instead of us, by Him”).
- 4 **I. 50** δοθέντα τηρῆσαι V] δοθέντα· δοθέντα τηρῆσαι O.  
Better V.
- 5 **I. 60** post ἐαυτῶ, τὴν *non habet* V] *habet* O  
Better V: O has twice the article τὴν for the same object, though in different places: καὶ ἐαυτῶ (τὴν O) τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν (τὴν VO) ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνατρέψας “and [He] took upon Himself the care of our evils”.
- 6 **I. 61** ἀνατρέψας V] ἐπιτρέψας O  
Better V. In the phrase τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνατρέψας, it is plausible that O mechanically repeated ἐπί.
- 7 **I. 65** τις V] τίς O  
Better V.
- 8 **I. 65** σεμνύνασθαι V] σεμνύνεσθαι O  
Better V, given the gnomic nature of the sentence.
- 9 **I. 76** πλουσιωτάτους V] πλουσίους O  
Questionable/better V.
- 10 **I. 78** κοινωνῆ V] κοινωνοῖ O  
Questionable/better O, due to a possible itacistic error of V.
- 11 **I. 81** post Χριστός, τὰ πεινωθεῖς (*pro ταπεινωθεῖς non habet* V] *habet* O)  
Questionable: ταπεινωθεῖς in O may have been inserted under the influence of the following ταπεινώσεως. Alternatively, its presence could be part of the original design of the sentence, thereby creating a parallel structure. While the presence of ταπεινωθεῖς would create a parallel structure, its probable origin in O suggests that it should not be adopted into the text
- 12 **I. 92** ἦ V] ἦ O  
Better V.
- 13 **I. 92** τὲ *habet* V] *non habet* O  
Questionable/better V.
- 14 **I. 97** ἄλλό τι V] ἄλλ’ ὃ τι O  
Better V.
- 15 **I. 110** μὲν καταλύει V] καταλύει μὲν O  
Better V.
- 16 **I. 125** δὲ *habet* V] *non habet* O  
Better V.
- 17 **I. 137** λογισμοῖς παλαίειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις V] τοῖς ἐναντίοις παλαίειν λογισμοῖς O  
Inconclusive.
- 18 **I. 165** κάκεινη V] κάκεινης O  
Better V.
- 19 **I. 167** τ’ (ε) *postea a V<sup>1</sup> additum] non habet* O  
Questionable.
- 20 **I. 167/168** Μωυσεῖ V] Μωυσῆ O  
Inconclusive.
- 21 **I. 175** γινομένοις V] γενομένοις O  
Better V.

22 I. 187 λαμπηδόνι V] λαμπηδόνη O

Better V.

23 I. 191 υιετὸς V] υετὸς O

Better O.

24 I. 192 *post* ὦν, ἡμῶν *non habet* V] ἡμῶν *habet* O

Questionable/Better O. See the underlying passage from Paul's *Ephesians* 2:14: *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν* ("for he is our peace"), from which the omission in V may have arisen through homoeoteleuton. However, nor in this case are we dealing with a smoking gun: indeed, O may have added *ἡμῶν* after recognizing the quotation, by an act of conjecture.

25 I. 200 τόπον τοῦτον V] τοῦτον τόπον O

Better V.

26 I. 210 τούτου V] τούτους O

Better O: Theologically, in fact, it cannot refer to God (see *Θεῶ* I. 207). This reading is again inconclusive because in V, the omission of -ς, seems rather to be due to mechanical causes.

27 I. 227 ὁ *habet* V] *non habet* O

Better V. See ll. 195, 220, 250, 255, 258, 259.

28 I. 254 δὲ V] γὰρ O

Better V.

29 I. 261 δόξαν εἶχε V] εἶχε δόξαν O

Inconclusive. the source of this citation is *Jo.* 17:5: *καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῶ τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί* ("And now, glorify me Father, with the glory form you which I had with You before the world existed").

30 I. 268 ἐκάθισε V] ἐκάθησε O

Better V.

31 I. 273 νεκροὺς ἡμᾶς V] ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς O

Inconclusive/Better O? It is however a quotation.

31 I. 306 ὑπὸ V] ὑπὲρ O

Better O.

32 I. 308 τοι V] τι O

Inconclusive/Better O?

O has *τι*, the adverbial form of *μήτις* and therefore corresponds to most Bible editions. The version of V, the particle *τοι*, is found in Ps-Chrysostom's *In secundum domini adventum* and early editions of Chrysostom's homilies, but was replaced in later editions<sup>25</sup>. The variant *τοι* is also not recorded in the critical apparatuses of Nestle-Aland and Merk. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ascertain Kydones' intention.

33 I. 314 παρὰ V] ὑπὲρ O

Better O. The sentence requires the meaning "on behalf of", rather than "at the hands of". This emphasizes more clearly that the Passion and Death of Christ occurred voluntarily, that is, He allowed men to inflict upon Him the sufferings mentioned in the passage, rather than simply enduring them. Moreover, it highlights that the fruits of Christ's Passion and Death are applied to humanity, or, more precisely, that Christ suffered//paid the debt of justice on their behalf. The version of V is possibly influenced by the preceding clause *παρὰ τοῦ Πατρός*.

The phrase ὧν ἠνέσχετο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ("what He endured on behalf of men") appears twice in Kabasilas' oeuvre<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> PG 59, 626; H. COMMELINUS, Tu en hagiois ontos patros hēmōn Iōannu tu Chrysostomu archiepiskopu Kōnstantinupoleōs Hermēneia eis tas tu hagiū Paulu epistolas. Heidelberg 1596, 329, 461.

<sup>26</sup> Nicolas Cabasilas, II 79 (ed. M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, La Vie en Christ I–II [Livres I–VII] [SC 355, 361]. Paris 1989–1900, 204); Nicolas Cabasilas, I 17 (ed. A. ANGELOPOULOS, Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaetos, hē zōē kai to ergon autu [Analecta Vlatadon 5]. Thessalonica 1970, 115).

- 34 I. 335 τὴν V] τοῖς O  
Questionable/ better O (see also *τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσι* “those who believe in Him” [ll. 104–105]). Not even in this case are we faced with a smoking gun, since it is an error (a slip) that can be easily corrected.
- 35 I. 342 ἐποίει V] ἐποίη O  
Better V.
- 36 I. 353 τῷ V] τὸ O  
Better V.
- 37 I. 357 δοκιμασθεῖσαν V] δοκιμασθῆσαν O  
Better V.
- 38 I. 369 μακαρισμένου V] μακαρισμοῦ O  
Better O.
- 39 I. 395 μεῖσθε V] δραμεῖσθε O  
Better O. In V, Kalekas wrote *ὕμῖν μεῖσθε*, afterwards deleting *ὕμῖν* with a line. Maybe Kalekas was confused after deleting *ὕμῖν* and forgot to write *δρα-*. The phrase *εἰς κενὸν δραμεῖσθε* (“to run in vane”) is based on the letters of Paul, who writes: *εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον* (*Gal.* 2.2) and *εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον* (*Phil.* 2.16).  
For the purposes of the *constitutio textus*, this trivial error (in quotation) in V is inconclusive.
- 40 I. 397 ὑμῖν V] ἡμῖν O  
Better V.
- 41 I. 401 τι *habet* V] *non habet* O  
Better V/inconclusive.
- 42 I. 408 ὁρᾶν αὐτοῖς V] αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν O  
Inconclusive.
- 43 I. 412 δὴ τοῦτον V] τοῦτον δὴ O  
Inconclusive.
- 44 I. 415 πεινῶντα V] πινῶντα O  
Better V.
- 45 I. 417 ἐπειθε V] ἐπιθε O  
Better V.
- 46 I. 433 ἄπερ V] ἄτε O  
Better V. The mistake of O, for the purpose of *constitutio textus*, is inconclusive.
- 47 I. 436 τὰς V] τοὺς O  
Better V.
- 48 I. 453 post ἡδονήν, τελέου *non habet* V] τελέου *habet* O  
Questionable.
- 49 I. 464 τὸν *habet* V] *non habet* O  
Better V.
- 50 I. 464 τῶν V] τὸν O  
Better O.
- 51 I. 468 ἐρωμένων V] ὀρωμένων O  
Inconclusive/better O.  
The context requires ὀρωμένων to draw a contrast between what is seen and what is not seen. The version of V is the result of the repetition of the ligature *έρ* in the sequence *έρωμένων έρωτος*.
- 52 I. 470 μόνοις V] μόνον O  
Better V.
- 53 I. 472 ὑψηλὰ V] ὑψηλότερα O  
Inconclusive.
- 54 I. 472–473 μεταθεῖναι V] μεταθῆναι O  
Better V.

55 I. 479 ἐθέλοι V] ἐθέλη O

Inconclusive/better V.

56 I. 485 συστέλλει μορφήν V] μορφήν συστέλλει O

Inconclusive.

The clause *καὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου συστέλλει μορφήν* refers to *Phil. 2:7: ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφήν δούλου λαβών ...* (“but He emptied Himself, after He took upon Him the form of a servant ...”). O’s word order does bring the cited parts together, however the original order was the reversed one (*μορφήν δούλου* instead of *δούλου μορφήν*).

57 I. 487 ἄν<sup>2</sup> habet V] non habet O

Better V (error by O in copying the sequence ἄν ἄνθρωπος).

58 I. 506 δι’ ὃ V] διὸ O

Inconclusive.

59 I. 532 οὐχ V] οὐδ’ O

Better V.

60 I. 537 μὴ habet V] non habet O

Better V.

61 I. 543 δὴ habet V] non habet O

Inconclusive (unless it is Kalekas’ habit to actively and autonomously add particles to Kydones’ text).

62 I. 558 προτέρας V] πρότερον O

Inconclusive.

63 I. 587 τὰ habet V] non habet O

Better V.

64 I. 594 πείσει V] πείση O

Better V.

65 II. 596–597 *post* σπουδάζωμεν, ἀεὶ μετὰ παρρησίας προσερχώμεθα θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος *non habet* V] ἀεὶ ... χάριτος *habet* O

Better O. Even if it is a quotation from *Heb. 4.16*, and thus perhaps a scribe like Damilas might have added this theological locus on his own initiative, it is more plausible to note that V may have forgotten it, confused by the preceding sentence, which also begins with *ἀεὶ*. Should this be the case, we can at least rule out that O used V as the exemplar for his copy.

Problematic/Better O?

The text added by O is a quotation from *Heb. 4.16*. Here too we are dealing with a problematic case. Its absence in V can be explained as an omission caused by the preceding sentence, which also begins with *ἀεὶ*. This would mean that the phrase was present in the exemplar of V, which O knew; and therefore, since O was familiar with the exemplar of V, his readings may be considered worthy of attention. Yet three elements must be taken into account: (1) to my knowledge, V does not omit any other portions of text that are instead found in O; (2) Damilas is a scribe whose linguistic sensitivity and theological knowledge would have enabled him to add a Scriptural quotation appropriate to the context; (3) all of V’s corrections are adopted in O.

66 I. 600 Σωτήρα V] Πατέρα O

Certainly better in O, though inconclusive since *Σωτήρα* in V may more easily be interpreted as a mistake due to distraction.

67 I. 605 *Post* μετασηματίζοντα, ταῦτα δὲ ἔσται *non habet* V] ταῦτα δὲ ἔσται *habet* O

Inconclusive/ better O.

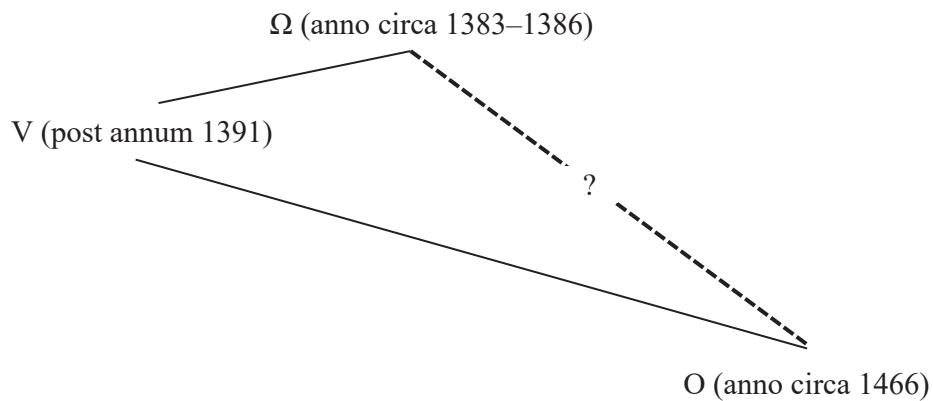
68 I. 618 *Post* αἰώνων, ἀμὴν *non habet* V] ἀμὴν *habet* O

Questionable/ better O.

All other Homilies by Kydones end in *ἀμήν*. As Damilas also copied those in O, this copy's ending in *ἀμήν* does not necessarily indicate that O's exemplar wrote it; Damilas may have added it for analogy.

\* \*

The list is rather discouraging because it does not record any clear and unquestionable separative error (despite nos. 3 and 66). The cases judged “Problematic” or “Questionable,” or the cases in which O offers a “more natural” reading, are instances in which Damilas may have altered the text of V *ope ingenii*. Indeed, O is better than V in (very rare) cases of itacism (even though, as we have seen, O differs from V by a great many itacisms), in some cases of carelessness/ distraction (such as nos. 40 and 67, for example). O also seems to suggest better solutions in quotations (for which the suspicion is strong and legitimate that O felt authorized to change the text of a quotation on the basis of his own knowledge). To the best of my knowledge, considering this list and the remarks made in the description of the two manuscripts, I see O as descending (directly) from V, and I find the hypothesis of contamination (i.e. that O also knew V's exemplar) highly doubtful. So, I would represent the relationship between the two manuscripts as follows:



## EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

Given all these considerations, I am persuaded to print the text of V and to follow O whenever V proves unsatisfactory. In doubtful cases, I exercise my editorial judgment and offer at least a tentative textual hypothesis (as in no. 3). In addition, manuscript V was copied by the author's close friend and assistant, Manuel Kalekas, who was responsible for copying Kydones' autograph of his letters as well. Kalekas' close familiarity with Kydones' scribal habits, together with the author's trust in him as a conscientious and accurate copyist, renders V a uniquely authoritative witness to the text. My edition therefore preserves the accentuation, word division, and punctuation of V. This reflects the increasingly common and widely shared practice among editors of Byzantine texts when dealing with authorial autographs or with copies—such as in this case—produced by scribes closely connected to the author<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless, some adjustments to orthography—such as the insertion of the *iota subscriptum* and the capitalization of names and references to persons of the Trinity—were made for the reader's convenience.

A few comments on the punctuation of V are in order. There are four punctuation marks in V:<sup>28</sup> the *teleia* (upper dot [·]), signifying the end of the sentence and the completion of the *διάνοια*; the *hypostigmē* (low dot [·]) to indicate that what follows is the main clause and necessary to complete the *διάνοια*; the *mesē* (middle dot [·]), used in enumerations or series of syntactically independent clauses that form one thought; and the *hypodiastolē* (comma [,]) to visually indicate that two elements belong together syntactically<sup>29</sup>. Considering Kalekas' proximity to Kydones and the crucial role of punctuation as a hermeneutical tool, Kalekas' punctuation has been preserved, with two exceptions, which, however, concern only the graphic rendering of punctuation marks. (1) The *hypostigmē*, which is easily confused with a modern full stop, is represented by a comma and consequently has the same form of the *hypodiastolē*. Their distinctive functions are no longer graphically differentiated, as a single sign (the comma) now represents both the *hypodiastolē* and the *hypostigmē*. (2) Unlike in V, I use the question mark (α;) in all direct questions, including those in which other markers are present (such as interrogative pronouns).

The positive *apparatus criticus* includes corrections in manuscript V, original forms where accentuation was adapted, and some variations from O, as explained above. The *apparatus locorum comparandorum* gives an account of quotations and almost *verbatim* allusions from Scripture. These are cited following the abbreviations of LAMPE 1961.

## Sigla

V	Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1879 ( <i>Diktyon</i> 68508)
V <sup>1</sup>	Vaticanus graecus 1879, manus Calecae
V <sup>1ac</sup>	Vaticanus graecus 1879, manus Calecae ante correctionem
V <sup>1pc</sup>	Vaticanus graecus 1879, manus Calecae post correctionem
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 90 ( <i>Diktyon</i> 47377)

<sup>27</sup> The literature on this topic is vast, and scholarship has made great strides since M. REIL, *Zur Akzentuation griechischer Handschriften*. *BZ* 192 (1910) 476–529. Particularly inspiring were: E. V. MALTESE, *Per l'edizione di autografi bizantini*, in: *Problemi di ecdotica e esegesi di testi bizantini e grecomedievali*, ed. R. Romano. *Atti della seconda Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio dell'AISB Salerno*, 6–7 maggio 1992. Napoli 1993, 81–94; E. V. MALTESE, *Ortografia d'autore e regole dell'editore: gli autografi bizantini*, in: *L'edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*. Cremona, 4–8 ottobre 1992, ed. R. Borghi – P. Zappalà. Lucca 1995, 261–286; J. NORET, *Notes de ponctuation et d'accentuation byzantines*. *Byz* 65.1 (1995) 69–88; C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Per una punteggiatura non anacronistica, e più efficace, dei testi greci*. *BollGrott* 51 (1997); *Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno I* 129–144; R. TOCCI, *Theodori Scutariotae Chronica (CFHB 46)*. Berlin – Boston, 2015; A. M. CUOMO, *Ioannis Canani De Constantinopolitana Obsidione Relatio: With English Translation, Introduction, and Notes of John Kananos' Account of the Siege of Constantinople in 1422*. Berlin 2016, XL–LII; RIEHLE, *Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos*.

<sup>28</sup> The punctuation system using the *τελεία*, *μέση*, and *ὑποστιγμή* is based on Dionysios Thrax 4 (ed. G. UHLIG, *Ars Grammatica*. Leipzig 1883, 7–8).

<sup>29</sup> Of these symbols, the *hypodiastolē* is not discussed by Dionysios.

## &lt;Λόγος εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ&gt;

- V98r / O131r 1 (1) Τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγοις· δι' ὧν τὰς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν δωρεὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριτας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἄδομεν· οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιχειροῦμεν ὡς ἄξιόν τι τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶ πεπραγμένων ἐροῦντες· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ μόνον λογίσασθαι, ἀπονοίας τὲ ἅμα καὶ βλασφημίας τῆς γε χειρίστης ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀφοσιούμενοι 5 τοῦτο τολμῶμεν· καὶ νομίζομεν ὅσα δρᾶν ἂν ὡς ἀληθεῖ Θεῷ καὶ τοῦ παντός τοῦδε δημιουργῶ καὶ συνεχεῖ καὶ προστάτη, ἔργοις τὲ τὴν δυνατὴν λατρείαν προσφέρωμεν· καὶ λόγοις τοῖς εὐφημοτάτοις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἀνυμνῶμεν, ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπαίνους δεξάμενοι· ἔπειθ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν εὐλογωτάτων ὥσπερ ἄλλοῦ του τῶν ὄντων 10 ἡμῖν, οὕτω δὴ τούτῳ λόγῳ γε ὄντι· καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀπάρχεσθαι
- (2) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς, οὐ τὸ πρὸς ἀξίαν ζητοῦμεν, πῶς γὰρ οἱ γε τὸ πολλοστὸν εἰσφέροντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός; ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ τοῦ χρέους δίκαιον ἐννοοῦντες, αἰσχιστον ἠγούμεθα τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἀπολειφθῆναι· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, 15 ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι· τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἔργοις ἀμοιβὴν τῶν ἀμηχάνων εἰσενεγκεῖν· λείπεται λόγοις μόνον ἀνταναπληροῦν τὴν χάριν ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπῆρξεν ἡμῖν· οὐς εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος αὐταρκέσαι πεπεισμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πρὸς δύναμιν εἰρησθαι· μετὰ τῆς 20 μεγαλοψύχου τὴν προαίρεσιν χήρας καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης ὀβολῶν· ὁ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσεται· καὶ παρρησίας ὁ ἀγαθὸς μεταδώσει· ἐπεὶ καὶ οὗτος τρόπος αὐτῷ· τὴν γνώμην τῶν εἰσφερόντων πρὸ τῶν διδομένων σκοπεῖν·
- (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαίως ὠθεῖ· ἔστι μέντοι καὶ ἄλλη τοῖς λόγοις ἀνάγκη, δι' ἣν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἡμῖν ἔνεστι σιωπᾶν· 25 ἔνδοθεν ὄντος τοῦ κέντρου· | καὶ οὐκ ἐξωθεν ἡμᾶς ἠσυχάζειν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐπέιγοντος· λάλον γὰρ τι πράγμα ἢ ἡδονή· καὶ οἷον μὴ τοῖς τοῦ λόγου νόμοις εἴκειν αἰεὶ, ὅταν τῷ μέγεθος ἀγαθῶν καὶ πλῆθος παρῆ· τότε γὰρ τὸν λόγον βιαζομένη· καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ χαλινὸν ἀποπτύουσα, προεκπηδᾷ καὶ γάννυται καὶ 30 σκιρτᾷ· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς τὸ πάθος ὑμνεῖ· καὶ | τὴν περιουσίαν ἀνακηρύττει· καὶ μέτρον αὐτῇ τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, οὐδέν· αὕτη τοίνυν νῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς κατασχοῦσα, πείθει τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀσθενείας ἐπιλαθέσθαι· καὶ ὡς τοῦ παντός ἀποδέομεν οὐχ ὅσον μόνον εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅσον ἐννοῆσαι περὶ ὧν εὖ 35 πεπόνθαμεν, πρὸς μόνους δὲ τὰς τοῦ Δεσπότης χάριτας κεχηγῆναι· χαίροντας καὶ σκιρτῶντας καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πάθους κοινωνίαν ἅπαντας ἔλκοντας· τοῦ μὲν γενναῖον τι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι προσῆκον εἰπεῖν· ἅπαξ ἀπεγνωκότας, τοῦ δ' ὅπως εἰπόντες τί τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδομένοις ἡδονὴν ἐνδειξόμεθα, τούτου μόνον φροντίζοντας· ἀληθῶς γὰρ οὐδέν οὕτω μέγα τῶν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ δεδορημένων ἡμῖν· ὡς 40 τὸ νῦν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην καλέσαν ἡμᾶς· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ πρότερον συγκαταβάς ἡμᾶς οὐ συγκατεβίβασεν· οὕτω νῦν ὑψωθείς οὐ συνύψωσεν· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν κένωσιν ἐξ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἠνέσχετο χείρονος· τοῦτο νῦν ὑπὲρ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μετεωρίσας, ἡμᾶς ἐν τούτῳ τετίμηκε· καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατορθωθείσι πᾶσιν· ὡσπὲρ τινα σφραγίδα χρυσοῦν τὴν νῦν ἐπέθηκεν ἑορτήν· ἦν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι μυστηρίων μυστήριον προσειπῶν· πρὸς γὰρ ταύτην τὰ φθάσαντα πάντα ἀνάγεται· καὶ αὕτη τῆς τε ἐκείνου θεότητος λαμπρὰ μαρτυρία· καὶ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀγαθότητος ἐνδειξις καὶ τῆς μακαριότητος πέρας·

18–19 μετὰ ... ὀβολῶν] *Mc.* 12.41–44 | 39 κένωσιν] *Phil.* 2.7

**Titulum** non habent VO | 15 τὴν V<sup>1pc</sup>] *ex* τοῖς *ut vid.* V<sup>1ac</sup> | 27 γάννυται] *sic* VO | 30 ἐπιλαθέσθαι V] ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι O | 39 post ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup>, προσλαβῶν *habet* O] προσλαβῶν *non habet* V | 40 ἀντ' V] ὑπ' O

## TRANSLATION

## &lt;HOMILY ON THE ASCENSION OF THE LORD&gt;

(1) We begin our speech for our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, in which we praise His gifts and grace for the community during public gatherings and feasts, not in such way that we would say is worthy of His deeds for us, for this mere thought would be a sign of madness and blasphemy. However, asking forgiveness first, we attempt this and believe we are acting piously if we would offer to the true God and creator of everything, the eternal one and protector, our powerful worship with deeds, and if we praise His power and magnificence with the most fair-sounding words. Just as we received from Him words of praise for Him by nature and since these are, as it were, among the most eloquent things of anything we possess, so too does our present speech exist. And now let us begin our speech.

(2) In offering the first fruits, we do not seek what is in proportion to worth, for how could those, who offer only a small part on behalf of the whole? No, bearing only the righteousness of our duty in mind, we consider it the most shameful of possible things to be neglected. Apart from this, it is a necessity also for the prosperous to recompense their benefactors; and since here it is necessary to bring a compensation of impossible things with deeds, only words remain to balance the grace of what He began for us. Even if we are convinced that these words are not sufficient in proportion to the magnitude of His gift, still we believe that by speaking according to our ability, *after the example of the intention of the magnanimous widow and her obols*, the Philanthropist will praise us too and the Good one will give us a share of the boldness of speech, since it is His habit to look at the intention of those who give, rather than at what is given<sup>30</sup>.

(3) These things, then, proceeding from justice, necessarily impel us toward speech. And yet there is another necessity for our words, because of which we cannot keep silence, even if we wanted to; being in our midst and not allowing us to remain silent, but urging us toward speech, for pleasure is a loquacious thing and such that it does not always yield to the laws of reason whenever a great magnitude and abundance of goods is present to someone. For in that moment, forcing the word and spitting out its bit, pleasure leaps up and rejoices and darts about; and it sings of the Passion with a loud voice and announces the superabundance, and it has no measure over what is said or done. This joy, which has now seized us as well, persuades us, on the one hand, to forget our own weakness; and on the other, since we fall short of everything—not only in speaking, but even in grasping the good things we have received—to stand with open mouths before the favors of the Lord alone, rejoicing and exulting, and drawing everyone into the communion of the Passion; on the one hand, having despaired of saying anything noble and worthy of the occasion, and on the other hand, caring only for this: that, by saying something, we might show our gratitude for what has been given to us. For truly, nothing among the gifts bestowed on us by Christ is so great as this, that He has now called us to this feast. For not as He formerly descended and did not bring us down with Him, so is He now exalted and does He lift us up with Himself. But He, who through His *self-emptying* endured the worst from us and for us, now lifted this above the heavens and honoured us in this<sup>31</sup>. And on everything that was established for us in His place, He put the present celebration as a kind of golden seal, which someone could call the mystery of mysteries without sinning. For everything that preceded led to this feast and it is a clear testimony to His divinity and a demonstration of His goodness towards us and, in short, of His blessedness.

<sup>30</sup> *Mc.* 12.41–44.

<sup>31</sup> *Phil.* 2.7.

- 45 (4) Καλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρότερον· καὶ τῆς θείας σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄξια·  
Θεὸς πάντα μὲν τὸν κόσμον ἐκ μηδενὸς δι' ἀγαθότητα μόνην δημιουργήσας, τῶν  
δ' ἐν αὐτῷ κάλλιστον ἀποφήνας τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων δούς  
πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εἰκάσθαι παράδειγμα· καὶ παράδεισον μὲν ἐξελὼν αὐτῷ πρὸς κατοί-  
O132r κησιν· χωρίον τῇ τε τοῦ νεύμαντος | φιλοτιμία· καὶ τῇ τοῦ λαβόντος ἄξια προσῆ-  
50 κον· δούς δὲ ἐντολὴν δυναμένην αὐτῷ τὰ τε δοθέντα τηρῆσαι· καὶ μείζονα προσ-  
θεῖναι αὐτὴν φυλάξαντι· πάλιν δ' αὐτὴν παραβάντι καὶ τῶν τῷ Θεῷ δοκούντων  
τὴν οὐ καλὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντι· καὶ τῶν τοσοῦτων δωρεῶν τὴν ἀχαριστίαν  
ὥσπερ ἀμοιβὴν ἀντιδόντι, οὐχ ὁ δίκαιον ὀργιζόμενος οὐδ' ἐξαλείψας τὸν ἄνθρω-  
V99r πον ὃν ἐποίησεν ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς· ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν φιλανθρώπως | τὴν κακίαν  
55 κολάζων· καὶ τοῖς αὐστηροτέροις νοθετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφων τὸν οὐκ  
ἐθέλοντα· νῦν δὲ διαλλαττόμενος· καὶ δουλείας μακρᾶς ἀπαλλάττων· καὶ νόμον  
διδούς καὶ προφήτας πέμπων· ἅμα μὲν τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων ἐλέγχους· ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
διδασκάλους τῶν δεόντων τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι· καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον καὶ ὁ μὴ δ' ἔστιν  
ἄνευ φρίκης ἀκοῦσαι· ὡς ἡ νόσος οὐκ ἐνεδίδου μὴ δ' ἦν ἐφ' ὅπερ ἂν χειρὸν  
60 προεληλύθει· αὐτὸς αὐτεπάγγελτος ἦκων ἡμῖν· καὶ ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων κακῶν  
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνατρέψας· καὶ γενόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπος ὁ Θεός·  
(5) Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις μέχρι νῦν ἀνευνόητον· καὶ τοῦ  
θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας οὐ μόνον ἀπαλλάξας ἤδη κειμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν  
προσθεῖς ἀπειθήσασιν, ἦν οὐκ ἂν τις ὑπακούσασιν ἔδωκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλων ἐπε-  
65 λάβετο· οὐδ' ἔχει τις ἐκείνων σεμνύνασθαι ὡς ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ὄφθη καὶ τοῖς  
ἀγγέλοις συναναστράφη· εἰς ἐκείνων γενόμενος· κάκεινοις ἑαυτὸν ἀναμίξας·  
ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαβόμενος· ἡμῖν μόνους ταύτης τῆς παρρησίας μετέ-  
δωκεν· ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὃν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον προσερού-  
μεν· τὸ μὲν, προόντα καὶ ὑπερόντα· τὸ δὲ, καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐξ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
70 ὕστερον γεγονότα· ὃ πόσον Θεὸς κατέβη· ὃ πόσον βροτὸς ἀνέβη· ὃ τῆς προτέρας  
ἀτιμίας ἦν ἡμεῖς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς ἠτιμάσαμεν· ὃ τῆς ὕστερον τιμῆς ἦν προῖκα παρὰ  
Θεοῦ τετιμήμεθα· καίτοι δίκην ὀφείλοντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσχάτην· ἥς ὡσπερ τι γέρας  
αὐτὸς ὀφείλων ἡμῖν· τὴν νοερὰν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν πᾶσαν φύσιν παραδραμών· τὴν  
ἡμετέραν ἀνθειλετο ταπεινότητα· ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις βασιλεὺς ἐκ παντοδαπῶν ἀν-  
O132v θρώπων | συνειλεγμένη πόλει παραγενόμενος καὶ ξενίαν ζητῶν· τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ  
πλουσιωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντας παραδράμοι· ἀπορωτάτου δὲ τινος  
φαῦλον δωμάτιον εἰσελθὼν ἀναπαύοιτο· καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πένητος χρῶτο καὶ τρα-  
πέζης καὶ ἄλῶν αὐτῷ κοινωνοῖ καὶ ὅλως ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου πτωχείαν με-  
ταρρυθμίζοι· τότε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ πένητι, τίς ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀμ-  
80 φισβητήσειεν, οὕτω λαμπρῶς προκριθῆντι τῶν ἄλλων; πρὸς τοσαύτην ἡμᾶς ὁ  
Χριστὸς ἀνεβίβασε δόξαν | τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως παρ' ἡμῶν προσλαβόμενος·  
V99v ὡσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἄρκοῦν τὸ τοσοῦτον κενωθῆναι τὸν ὑπερπλήρη καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ  
μορφὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ δούλου γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐνδειξιν τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς πονηροὺς  
ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὄνειδῶν καὶ ὕβρεων καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ πληγῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολε-

47 ἄνθρωπον] *Gen.* 1.27 | 48 παράδεισον] *Gen.* 2.8 | 50 ἐντολὴν] *Gen.* 2.15 | 53–54 ἐξαλείψας ...  
γῆς] *Gen.* 6.7 | 64–65 οὐ ... ἐπελάβετο] *Heb.* 2.16 | 67 ἀλλὰ ... ἐπιλαβόμενος] *Heb.* 2.16 | 81 τὸ ...  
ταπεινώσεως] *Phil.* 3.21 | 83 μορφὴν ... δούλου] *Phil.* 2.7 | 84 ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ] *Ep.Col.* 1.13

49 *post* νεύμαντος, *scripserat* ἄξια *sed postea linea deletit* V<sup>1</sup> | 50 δοθέντα τηρῆσαι V ] δοθέντα  
δοθέντα τηρῆσαι O | 60 *post* ἑαυτῷ, τὴν *habet* O ] *non habet* V | 61 ἀνατρέψας V ] ἐπιτρέψας O | 65  
τις V ] τίς O | σεμνύνασθαι V ] σεμνύνεσθαι O | 76 πλουσιωτάτους V ] πλουσίους O | 78 κοινωνοῖ  
O ] κοινωνῆ V | 81 *post* Χριστὸς, τὰ πεινωθεῖς (*pro* ταπεινωθεῖς) *habet* O ] *non habet* V | 83 τοὺς  
πονηροὺς VO] *postea in exteriore marg. addidit* V<sup>1pc</sup>

(4) For what preceded was also good, and worthy of both divine wisdom and power. God created the entire universe out of nothing solely out of goodness and made *man* the most beautiful of all beings in it and granted to him alone, of all beings, to be formed after the divine example; and He chose *Paradise* for him as a dwelling—a place befitting the generosity of the Giver and the dignity of the recipient—and gave him a *command* that enabled him to preserve the things that had been given and to add greater things to him who kept this command; but if in return, man transgressed this command and preferred sinful pleasure over the decree of God and gave ingratitude for such great gifts, as if repaying Him, God did not become angry—as was His right—nor *did He wipe man, whom He created, from the face of the earth*<sup>32</sup>. But now, He punishes wickedness in a benevolent manner and rebukes the harshest and turns towards Himself the one who is unwilling; now, He reconciles and frees from long-lasting slavery, establishes laws, and sends prophets, simultaneously as refutations of sinners, and as teachers of what is required of sinners. And finally—and this cannot be heard without awe, since the illness would not yield and was not confined to what had already worsened —, He came to us of His own free will and took upon Himself the care of our evils and God became Man for the sake of men.

(5) This is exactly what was incomprehensible to both angels and men until now, that He not only freed those who were already buried from death and sin, but also bestowed honour upon the disobedient, an honour which one would not have granted the obedient. *For He did not come to aid angels, nor can any of them boast that God appeared in the heavens and lived among the angels, having become one of them and mingled among them*<sup>33</sup>. *But having come to aid the seed of Abraham*, He shared the boldness of speech only with us, so that we have Him among us, whom we address as one and the same, God and man: ‘God’ for His previous and superior being; ‘man’, for what He later became, through us, from us, and in accordance with us<sup>34</sup>. O how far God descended, o how high man ascended! O the former dishonour we brought upon ourselves, o the final honour by which we were freely honoured by God! Although we were owing Him the last judgment, instead of which He—as if owing us some gift of honour, passing over the noetic nature that is all around Him—assumed our lowliness. Like a king who arrived in a city of diverse people, seeking hospitality, would pass by the wealthiest of the city and those who were standing out above the others, but stop when he entered the humble cottage of a very poor person. And he would use resources of the poor man and share his table and salt with him and completely adapt himself to his poverty. Then of that poor man, who among the citizens could doubt his honour and glory, when he is so clearly preferred above the others? To such glory did Christ elevate us when He assumed *the vile body* from us<sup>35</sup>. And as if it did not suffice, so great an emptying of the Supremely Full and that the form of God came into the *form of the slave*, as a demonstration of *His love* for us, wicked people, He also endured reproaches and insults and dishonour and humiliation and injuries for the sake of His enemies and by enduring

<sup>32</sup> *Gen.* 1.27, 2.8, 2.15, 6.7.

<sup>33</sup> *Heb.* 2.16.

<sup>34</sup> *Heb.* 2.16.

<sup>35</sup> *Phil.* 3.21.

- 85 μίων ἠνέσχετο· καὶ τελευτῶν *μέχρι θανάτου· θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ* τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀνεξικακίαν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐξέτεινεν· τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσιν οὐ μόνον ὡσπέρ τισι φαρμάκοις τὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν οἰκουροῦσαν κακίαν ἐξαναλίσκων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμὴν τοῖς ὑβρισταῖς διὰ τούτων ἐπινοῶν· εἰ τοσοῦτου φαίνοιτο τιμώμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν· ὡς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· καὶ σταυροῦ καὶ *τῆς ἐντεῦθεν αἰσχύνῃς καταφρονῆσαι*
- 90 (6) Θαυμαστά μὲν οὖν ὅπερ ἔφην καὶ ταῦτα· καὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφία καὶ ἀγαθότητι προσήκοντα παραβάλλεσθαι· ἀλλ’ ἐν τούτοις εἰ καὶ λαμπροῖς τεκμηρίοις ἢ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος Θεοῦ δόξα τὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια διεφαίνετο, οὐκ ὀλίγα μέντοι καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας ἀναμειγμένα τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει· τὴν ταύτης περιφάνειαν συνεκάλυπτεν· ἔδει γὰρ *μέχρι τινὸς λανθάνειν τὸ χρόνους*
- 95 *αἰωνίοις σεσηγημένον μυστήριον*· τοῦτο τῶν τῆς οἰκονομίας λόγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀπαιτούτων· ὥστε *μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ τάφου καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφραγίδων, οὐθ’ ὅ τὰ παράδοξα δράσας Θεός, ἄλλο τι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους πλὴν ἀνθρωπος ψιλὸς ἐνομίσθη· καὶ οὗτος ἐπιτήδειος παθεῖν τὰ ἐπενεχθέντα, ὃ πόσον Θεός ἠνέσχετο τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγνωμοσύνης, οὐθ’ ἡμῖν διὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνου θάνατον*
- O133r 100 *ἐδόκει τι τιμῆς προσγενέσθαι· ἔτι γὰρ ἐφαινόμεθα τῆς προτέρας | ταπεινότητος καὶ εὐτελείας ἐχόμενοι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐδόξαμεν δόξης εἰληφθαι, ἔτι τοῦ δοξάζειν μέλλοντος ἀδοξίας ἀνεχομένου;*
- (7) Ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ τὸ πάθος, λαμπρότερα τε ἅμα καὶ φρικωδέστερα· μαρτυρίαν μὲν ἔχοντα τῆς τοῦ σαρκωθέντος θεότητος ἐναργῆ· μεγάλην δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς εἰς
- 105 αὐτὸν πιστεύουσι φέροντα δόξαν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ οἱ προσληφθέντες ἡμεῖς ἐτιμώμεθα· ἡμῖν τε τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γινομένων ἐδίδου δρέπεσθαι τοὺς καρπούς· ἐπεὶ γὰρ *οὐκ ἦν τὴν αὐτοζωὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου κρατεῖσθαι* εἰ καὶ τοῦτον αὐτῇ προσκαιρὸν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας | ζωῆς συνεχώρησεν· οὐδὲ ἔδει *διαφθορᾶ δοθῆναι τὸν ὄσιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*· ἀνίσταται μὲν ὁ τῶς δόξας πεσεῖν· ζωοποιεῖ δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν
- V100r 110 ὁ τοῦτον οἰκήσας Θεός· καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνου μὲν καταλύει τοῦ θανάτου τὸ δεσμοτήριον· μοχλοῦς δὲ σιδηροῦς καὶ χαλκᾶς πύλας συντριβεί· ὑφ’ ὧν τῆς ἄνω πορείας ὁ ἀνθρωπος εἶργετο· συνανίστησι δὲ πάντα· ὅσοι τοῦτον ἀναστάντα πιστεύοντες οὐκέτι *νεκροῖς ἔργοις* προσέχουσι, δι’ ἃ καὶ θνήσκειν ἀνθρωπος τηναρχὴν κατεκρίθη· ἐμφανίζεται δὲ καθαρῶς τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ οὐς ἐβούλετο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ μάρτυρας τοῦ τοσοῦτου μυστηρίου χειροτονῆσαι· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ πρότερον πάντα ἀνάπαλιν· ζῶν, ὁ νεκρός· ὁ προσβραχὺ τῇ φθορᾷ δουλεύσας, ἀθάνατος· ἀπαθής, ὁ παθῶν ἀνασχόμενος· ὁ ταπεινωθεὶς ἐν ὕψει· ὁ ἀδοξος τῆς δόξης εἶναι Κύριος ἐπιστεύθη· ὁ ἔνοχος θανάτου· τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐξουσίαν, δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· πάντα πρὸς τὸ λαμπρότερον καὶ θεοειδέστερον μετημείβετο·
- 120 (8) Ὅμως εἰ καὶ κρεῖττω πάσης ἀντιλογίας ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θεότητος ἀναστὰς ἐξήνεγκεν ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ’ ἢ συμπεφυκυῖα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀσθένεια, ἔτι ταῖς διανοαῖς ἠνώχλει· καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν λῆρος ἐνομίσθη τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἀναστάσεως εὐαγγέλια· τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν οἱ μὲν, *ὀφθέντα προσεκύουν· οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν*, ἄλλος δὲ μόνῃ τῇ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῶν *δακτύλων* ἀφῆ, τὴν πίστιν ἐπέτρεψεν· καὶ
- O133v 125 *τροφῆς δὲ τῷ ἀναστάντι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀρώντων πίστιν ἐδέησεν—οὐχ ἴν’ ἐνδεία | καταλίπτον ὑπερείση τὸ σῶμα· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἤδη φθορᾶς ἀπάσης ἐκεῖνο γενόμενον· τῶν τὴν φθορὰν εἰργόντων οὐκ ἐδεῖτο βοηθημάτων· ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῖς εἰωθόσι*

85 *μέχρι ... σταυροῦ*] *Phil.* 2.8 | 89 *τῆς ... καταφρονῆσαι*] *Heb.* 12.2 | 94–95 *χρόνους μυστήριον*] *Rom.* 16.25 | 107 *οὐκ ἦν ... κρατεῖσθαι*] *Ac.* 2.24 | 108–109 *διαφθορᾶ ... Θεοῦ*] *Ps.* 16.10 | 113 *νεκροῖς ἔργοις*] *Heb.* 6.1, 9.14 | 118 *ἐνοχος θανάτου*] *Mt.* 26.67 | ἐν ... *ἐξουσίαν*] *Mt.* 28.18 | 123 *ὀφθέντα ... ἐδίστασαν*] *Mt.* 28.16–17 | 124 *δακτύλων*] *Jo.* 20.24–29

92 ἢ V] ἢ O | 103 *τὲ habet V*] *non habet O* | ἄλλο τι V] ἀλλ’ ὅ τι O | 110 μὲν καταλύει V] καταλύει μὲν O | 114–115 τῇ οἰκουμένῃ μάρτυρας V<sup>1pc</sup>O] μάρτυρας τῇ οἰκουμένῃ V<sup>1ac</sup> | 125 *δὲ habet V*] *non habet O*

unto death, even the death of the cross, He extended His forbearance and love to us<sup>36</sup>. Through His sufferings, as if they were some remedy, He not only destroyed the evil that was lurking in our souls, but also conceived honour for the insolent, if it might appear that our race is being so honored, for His own sake, and to despise both the cross and the *shame that comes with it*<sup>37</sup>.

(6) Wonderful, then, was what I said, and also what follows, which can only fittingly be compared to the wisdom and goodness of God. However, among these things, even if the glory and majesty of the incarnate God were revealed in radiant signs, not a few elements of human weakness, mingled with divine power, nevertheless concealed its conspicuousness. For it was necessary that the *mystery, which was kept secret since the world began*, be hidden until now: that of the teaching of the economy, proclaimed on behalf of all<sup>38</sup>. So that until His death, His grave and the seals upon it, neither the miracle-working God is seen by the crowd as anything other than a poor man, and one willing to suffer what comes upon him—oh how God has endured human ignorance—nor we decide to assume any honour through His death. In fact, we still appear to retain our former insignificance and simplicity, for how could we presume to gain glory, while He who is destined to be extolled still bears dishonour?

(7) But what followed the Passion was at once more brilliant and more awe-inspiring. On the one hand, it was a convincing proof of the incarnate deity, on the other it brought great glory also to us who believe in Him. For we, who were taken up in Him, were honoured, and He granted us to reap the fruits of what had happened in Him. In fact, since it was impossible that the self-existent life *be holden of death*, even if it was allowed that death temporarily came upon it on behalf of our life, still *the Holy of God should not be given to death*<sup>39</sup>. On the one hand, He who had intended to fall, stands up, on the other, God breathes life into the temple He inhabits and through Him destroys the prison of death and shatters the iron bars and bronze gates, through which man's ascent had been barred; and He raises all together, as many as, believing that He has risen, no longer attend to *dead works*, by which man had originally been condemned to die; and He appears clearly to His friends, whom He wished to appoint as witnesses of so great a mystery to the world<sup>40</sup>. And immediately all that preceded was reversed: the dead man is alive; He who was briefly a slave to death, immortal; He who suffered, freed from suffering; He who was humbled is exalted; the inglorious is believed to be the Lord of Glory; *He who was sentenced to death*, receives authority from the Father *in heaven and on earth*<sup>41</sup>. Everything was transformed into something more brilliant and divine.

(8) Nevertheless, even if the arisen Christ brings forward a proof of His own divinity stronger than any counter-argument, the innate weakness of humans still troubled their minds. For at first, the first good tidings of the resurrection were considered nonsense. Of His disciples, *some worshipped Him* whom they had seen, *but others doubted* and another entrusted faith only to the touch of his hand and fingers<sup>42</sup>. But He who had risen required sustenance for the faith of those who saw Him, not in order that the body, falling because of a deficiency, might lean on it—for having become already more powerful than any destruction, it did not need any help to prevent its downfall—but in order that He might teach with the usual signs of life that it was no apparition, but He Himself, the

<sup>36</sup> *Phil.* 2.7; *Ep.Col.* 1.13; *Phil.* 2.8.

<sup>37</sup> *Heb.* 12.2.

<sup>38</sup> *Rom.* 16.25.

<sup>39</sup> *Ac.* 2.24; *Ps.* 16.10.

<sup>40</sup> *Heb.* 6.1, 9.14.

<sup>41</sup> *Mt.* 26.67; 28.18.

<sup>42</sup> *Mt.* 28.16–17; *Jo.* 20.24–29.

130 τοῦ ζῆν τεκμηρίοις· οὐ φάσμα· αὐτόν δ' αὐτοῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀληθῶς ὀράσθαι διδάξει· καὶ ὁ πολὺν ἂν θόρυβον καὶ κόνιν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἤγειρε λογισμοῖς, τοῦτ' ἦν, τὸ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσιν αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν καινὸν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι· καὶ προσῆκον τῇ τοσαύτῃ μεταβολῇ·

V100v (9) Τοῦτο γὰρ εἰ καὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἀναβιῶναι λαμπρὸς ἔλεγχος ἦν· ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ περαιτέρω τοὺς ὀρώντας προῆγεν· οὐδ' ἦν τι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἰσχυρὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀρωμένοις· ἐδόκει γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὁ Χριστὸς πολλοῖς, τῶν ἀναβεβιωκότων κατα-  
135 τοῦτ' ἐξισοῦσθαι· οἱ τοῦ βίου μέχρι τινὸς ἀπολαύσαντες, ἔσχατον πάλιν τοῖς τοῦ θανάτου δικτύοις ἐνέπεσον, ὥστ' εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς πρὸς τὰ φθάσαντα τὰ τόθ' ὀρώ-  
μενα | κρίνοντας, λογισμοῖς παλαίειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις· καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀναστά-  
σεως, οὐ τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν· ἀλλ' οἴεσθαι καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πάλιν μεταμικρὸν  
140 τελευτήσαντα τὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως πείσεσθαι· καὶ ὅλως τῇ τῶν ὑπερφυῶν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ πίστει, πολλὰ ἂν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς συντρόφου ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἀγνοί-  
ας, εὐρέθη κωλύματα·

O134r (10) Ἀλλὰ νῦν πᾶσα μὲν διανοιῶν ἀπορία, πᾶσα δὲ λογισμῶν ἀδηλία, πᾶν δὲ ἐκ γῆς καὶ τῶν γηϊνῶν ὑφορμοῦν καὶ τῇ πίστει προσιστάμενον ἐκκεχώρηκεν· ὁ γὰρ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ὥσπερ νέφη τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσθενείας ἐκδύ, ὧν  
145 προσολίγον διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀσθενῶν σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο, ἐνέλαμψε μὲν ταῖς διανοί-  
αις φῶς γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας αὐταῖς ἐναστράψας· ἐνέλαμψε δὲ καὶ ταῖς αἰσθή-  
σεσιν αὐταῖς δεῖξας τὰ τότε ὀρώμενα· ὡς μηδὲν μὴ δ' ἴχνος ἀμφιβολίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἔτι λείπεσθαι· αὐταῖς γὰρ ταῖς ὄψεσι τῶν ὀρώντων τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπέτρεψε μαρτυρίαν· τίς γὰρ οὕτω τυφλὸς καὶ ὀφθαλ-  
150 μους καὶ διάνοια· ὡς μήτε τούτοις ὄρᾶν τὴν θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποις πορείαν· μήτ' ἐκ ταύτης διανοεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος δύναμι-  
θεῖαν ἄντικρυς οὖσαν· καὶ τοὺς τῆς φύσεως ὄρους ἐκβαίνουσας; δι' ἧς τὸ κάτω πεφυκὸς μένειν, πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω τόπον ἐκουφίζετο σῶμα· καὶ ἡ φυσικὴ τῶν στοιχείων ἐξηλλάττετο τάξις; οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀναλαμβάνομενος ἤρετο· ἴν'  
155 οὕτως ἄλλῳ τῷ παρ' ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἂν τὸ σῶμα βιαζομένῳ τὴν ἄνοδον ἐκείνην ἐξείη λογίσασθαι·

V101r (11) Τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πρότερον περὶ τὸν Ἥλιαν συμβάν· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἄρμα πυρὸς καὶ ἵπποι πυρὸς ἐωρῶντο· καὶ πολὺ περὶ τὸ νοούμενον παρὰ τῶν σωματικῶν εἰκό-  
160 νων τὸ πλάσμα, ὑφ' ὧν ἀναφερόμενος ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀνιῶν ὁ ἠνίοχος λέγεται· ὀχήμασιν γὰρ ἐβοηθεῖτο πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πορείαν· ὅτι μὴ δ' οἴκοθεν εἶχε τὴν τὸ σῶμα κουφίζουσαν δύναμιν, οὗ τὸναντίον ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπεδείκνυτο· οὐδενὸς ἐξωθεν πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐκείνην δεόμενος· ἡ γὰρ ὑπολαβοῦσα τὸν Δεσπότην τότε  
165 νεφέλη οὐκ ὀχήματος χρεῖαν παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ· οὐδέ τι πρὸς τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς | ἄνοδον αὐτῷ συνετέλει· ἢ γε μὴ δ' ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τούτων οὐ τῶν ὑψηλο-  
τάτων κορυφὰς ἐξικνεῖται· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν κάκεινη τῆς τούτου θεότητος σαφῆς μαρτυρία ἐπεὶ καὶ Δαυὶδ νέφει τιθέναι τὴν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνεῖ· καὶ  
170 πρότερον αὐτὸς τ' ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τῷ Μωυσεῖ χρηματίζων ἐν νεφέλῃ κατήει· καὶ νῦν ἀνιῶν· νεφέλην παρέδειξεν· ἴν' ἑαυτὸν δεῖξη τὸν καὶ Μωυσεῖ πρότερον καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις φαινόμενον· ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἥλιαν οὐχ ἄρμα μόνον καὶ ἵπποι παράδοξοι πυρὸς ἐωρῶντο· ἀλλὰ καὶ συσσεισμὸς ἐν τῇ φορᾷ καὶ ταραχὴ περὶ

144 δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος] *Mal.* 3.20 | 146 φῶς γνώσεως] *Os.* 10.12 | 157–158 ἄρμα ... πυρὸς] 4 *Reg.* 2.11; *Ecclus.* 48.9 | 163 νεφέλη] *Ac.* 1.9 | 166 νέφει ... αὐτοῦ] *Ps.* 104.3 | 167 ἐπὶ ... κατήει] *Ex.* 33.7–10, 40.34–35 | 170 συσσεισμὸς] 3 *Reg.* 19.11

137 λογισμοῖς παλαίειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις V] τοῖς ἐναντίοις παλαίειν λογισμοῖς O | 165 κάκεινη V] κάκεινης O | 167 τ' (ε) *postea a V<sup>1</sup> additum*] *non habet* O (an recte?) | 168 Μωυσεῖ V] Μωυσῆ O

teacher, was truly seen by them. And what would have stirred much confusion and dust in their reckonings was the fact that He showed Himself again in the ordinary and displayed nothing new that was fitting for such a great transformation.

(9) In fact, even if it was a clear evidence of His resurrection, this still did not bring those who had seen Him further, nor was there anything certain about the future in what was seen, for in this way, Christ seemed to be made equal, in this respect, to many of the resurrected. Those who enjoyed life up to that point would eventually fall into the nets of death again, so that it was reasonable that they who judged what was then seen in view of what happened first, would wrestle with opposing reasonings and did not have a true opinion about that resurrection; but believed that Christ, who died again after a short time, would obey the laws of nature. In general, many objections to the truth of the supernatural and to faith could be found in nature and in the ignorance that is inherent in the senses.

(10) But now every lack of understanding, every uncertainty in reasoning, every suspicion arising from the earth or earthly matters that hinder understanding have ceded. For the *sun of righteousness* dispelled the frailties of the flesh—which He endured for a short time for the salvation of the sick—like clouds<sup>43</sup>. The *light of knowledge* and wisdom shone upon our thoughts, having radiated in them on the one hand, and shone upon the senses, on the other hand, when it revealed what was then seen, so that nothing, no trace of doubt about His divinity is left among *men*<sup>44</sup>. For proof thereof was yielded to the gazes of those who saw Him. For who would be so blind, both in sight and thought, that he fails to see with his eyes that miraculous and for humans impossible journey, nor understands through his mind the power of the one that is ascending, which is wholly divine and exceeds the limits of nature? The power through which the body that was created to stay low was elevated to the highest place and through which the natural order of the elements is reversed? For He who was not taken up by other things, was elevated so that in this way, someone other than Him would be allowed to ascent as if his body were forced.

(11) This, indeed, is what happened earlier to Elijah. For there, *a chariot of fire and horses of fire* were seen and much about the intelligible form was perceived through the bodily images by which he was lifted up<sup>45</sup>. Yet, the one who ascended was not called the charioteer; for he was assisted by chariots in his upward journey, since he did not possess from his own nature the strength to lift up his body, in contrast to whom Christ demonstrated the opposite by needing nothing external for that upward journey. For since a *cloud* took up the Lord at that time, He did not need a chariot, nor did anything else contribute to His heavenly ascension, which does not, indeed reach beyond the mountains and of those not even their highest peaks<sup>46</sup>. So this, rather, was yet another clear proof of His divinity as David also sang that God *made the clouds His chariot*<sup>47</sup>. In the past, when *He descended to the tent on a cloud, revealing Himself to Moses*, as well as now, when He is ascending, He reveals a cloud in order to show that He appeared to Moses before as now to the Apostles<sup>48</sup>. However, around Elijah too, not only a chariot and miraculous horses of fire appeared, but there was also an *earthquake* in the rush and upheaval in the heaven and there was absolutely nothing without terror and signs<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> *Mal.* 3.20.

<sup>44</sup> *Os.* 10.12.

<sup>45</sup> *4 Reg.* 2.11; *Ecclus.* 48.9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ac.* 1.9.

<sup>47</sup> *Ps.* 104.3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ex.* 33.7–10; 40.34–35.

<sup>49</sup> *3 Reg.* 19.11.

τὸν ἀέρα συνέπιπτεν· καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἦν ἄνευ δείματος καὶ συμβόλων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
τύποις μὲν καὶ συμβόλοις οὐ δέδοται χώρα· ἀληθῆ γὰρ ἐχρῆν εἶναι πάντα τὰ παρ'  
αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οἰκονομούμενα· καὶ ὡς περ πρότερον τὴν φαντασίαν, ἐκ τοῦ  
οὐρανοῦ κατιῶν οὐ προσήκατο, οὕτως οὐδὲ νῦν φαντάσματός τι παραμίζει τοῖς  
175 τότε γινομένοις ἠνέσχετο· ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ μὲν προφήτῃ τότε ἐκείνῳ ἔτι τῷ νόμῳ  
καὶ τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν ἐπ' οὐρανίων λατρεύοντι, εἰκότως τύπων καὶ φαντασμάτων ἐδέη-  
σεν, οἷς πολλοῖς ὁ νόμος τότε ἐχρῆτο· τῷ δὲ δεσπότη τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν μυσ-  
180 ταιολογῶντι, | τίς ἦν χρεια τῶν ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ μιμημάτων; χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, καὶ  
μάτην ἂν τὰ σύμβολα παρεδείκνυτο· αὐτοῦ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι μέλλοντος παρόντος  
καὶ φαινομένου· ἐφ' ὃν πάντα ἀνήγε τα σύμβολα·  
(12) Διαταῦτα Ἡλίας μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ τῶν πυρίνων ἵππων ἀνελαμ-  
βάνετο μόνον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἄνοδον συνετέλει τῷ ἀνιόντι· εἰ γὰρ καὶ  
ἀνειληφθαι γέγραπται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πρότερον ἀπὸ στόματος διαλεγόμενος, ἀναβαί-  
185 νειν ἔφησε πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων Πατέρα· καὶ ὁ ψαλμὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπινίκιον  
πλέκων αὐτῷ, ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ φησὶ καὶ φωνῇ σάλπιγγος αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι· καὶ πάλιν  
εἰς τὸ ὕψος ἀναβάνα, αἰχμαλωσίαν αἰχμαλωτεῦσθαι· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σεισμῷ γῆς ἢ  
βροντῶν ἤχῳ ἢ ἀστραπῶν λαμπηδόνι ἐκπλήττειν ἡξίου τοὺς μαθητάς· φρικωδεσ-  
τέραν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄνοδον ἐργαζόμενος· ὡς ἂν τις τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐνδεικνύ-  
190 μενος, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ γαλήνην τῷ τε παντὶ καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀρώντων ψυχαῖς ἐμ-  
ποιῶν· τὸ τοσοῦτον θαῦμα ἐπέβαινε· εὐκυῖαν τῇ καθόδῳ τὴν ἄνοδον | ἐργα-  
ζόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον τότε κατέβη, καὶ νῦν οὐδένα φόβον ἢ τα-  
ραχὴν ἐπισυρόμενος ἀναβαίνει· εἰρήνην γὰρ ὧν καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀνα-  
βαίνων Θεόν, πῶς ἂν τοὺς μαθητάς οὖς ἠγάπησεν εἰς ἀγωνίαν καθίστη, καὶ ταῦτα  
καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰρήνην εὐαγγελιουμένους τῇ οἰκουμένη μέλλων ἐκπέμπει; αὐτὸς  
195 τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἀνεβίβαζεν οἰκεία δυνάμει· ὁ προσλαβὼν Θεὸς ὃν προσέλαβεν  
ἄνθρωπον· τῆς μὲν θείας καὶ ἀκινήτου φύσεως κουφίζούσης τὸ πεφυκὸς κινεῖσθαι  
καὶ φέρεσθαι σῶμα, ἧς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν καὶ σώματα καὶ τόπους μετατιθέναι·  
τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας εἰς τὸν ἄνω τόπον ἀρπαζομένης· ἔδει γὰρ διὰ τῆς  
ἀναστάσεως τὴν φθορὰν αὐτὴν ἐκτιναξαμένην τὸν τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως  
200 τόπον τοῦτον ἀπολιπεῖν· καὶ πρὸς τὸν πάσης τοιαύτης μεταβολῆς καθαρεύοντα  
χῶρον ὡς αὐτῇ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖον μετοικισθῆναι, ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ὅτε ἀναβαίνων Θεὸς  
καὶ ὁ ἀναλαμβανόμενος ἄνθρωπος, οὐχ ὡς ἢ τῇ τῶν φύσεων διαιρέσει συνδιαι-  
205 ρουμένων καὶ τῶν προσώπων ἢ τῇ τοῦ προσώπου μονάδι καὶ τῶν φύσεων ἀνα-  
κεκραμένων· ἀλλ' ὥστε τῆς διαφορᾶς τούτων μενούσης τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποτελεῖσθαι  
Χριστόν·  
(13) Τίς ἂν οὖν περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἀξιόσειεν ἔτι διστάζειν, ὀρῶν αὐτὸν  
οἰκεία δυνάμει μετὰ δόξης καὶ ἐξουσίας Θεῶ πρεπούσης εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνερχό-  
μενον μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους; πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτους ἀνήλθεν, οὗ  
τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ὁ Προφήτης ὑπεραρθῆναι καὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνυμεῖ· καὶ τὴν  
210 ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ τούτους καλύψαι; εἰ δὲ καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι λάμπουσιν ὡς ἥλιος, ποίαν χρῆ  
νομίζειν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος ἀπορρέουσαν αἴγλην; καὶ μὴν ταῖς  
λαμπρότησι τῶν σωμάτων ἀνάλογον καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἔχειν εἰκός· τίς τοίνυν ὀκ-

183–184 ἀναβαίνειν ... Πατέρα] *Jo.* 20.17 | 185 ἀλαλαγμῷ ... σάλπιγγος] *Ps.* 46.6 | 186 εἰς ...  
αἰχμαλωτεῦσθαι] *Ps.* 68.19 | 191 ὡς ... πόκον] *Ps.* 72.6 | 192 εἰρήνη ... ὧν] *Eph.* 2.14 | 209  
μεγαλοπρέπειαν ... οὐρανῶν] *Ps.* 8.2 | 209–210 τὴν ... καλύψαι] *Od.* 4.3 | 210 οἱ ... ἥλιος] *Mt.* 13.43

175 γινομένοις V] γενομένοις O | 180 πάντα V<sup>1pc</sup>O] τὰ V<sup>1ac</sup> | 187 λαμπηδόνι V] λαμπηδόνη O | 191  
ὑετὸς O] υἰετὸς V | 192 post ὧν, ἡμῶν *habet* O (an recte?) | 196 θείας, θ *ex corr.* V<sup>1pc</sup> | 200 τόπον  
τοῦτον V] τοῦτον τόπον O | 201 ὅτε VO] *postea s.l. addidit* V<sup>1</sup> | 208 τούτους<sup>2</sup> O] τούτου V

But here, no place is given to types and signs, for it was necessary that everything ordered according to this truth must be true and just as it was previously not fitting that a vision came down from heaven, so it was now not accepted that something illusionary be mixed with the events of that time. Especially for the prophet of that moment who was still serving that law and the image of Those in heaven, there was a similar necessity for signs and visions, of which the law then used many. But for the Lord who initiated true worship, what need was there for imitations in the Old Testament? Without these, therefore, the symbols would have been shown in vain, as He intended to make Himself known, present and visible, to whom all symbols led.

(12) For this reason, Elijah was taken up by only a chariot and horses of fire, but here, nothing contributed to the ascension of the ascending one. For even if it is written that He was taken up, He said earlier, speaking from memory, that *He would ascend to the Father of Him and His friends* and the Psalm, which composes a victory song for Him, that *He is gone up with a shout and with the sound of a trumpet*, and also that *He, ascending on high, led captivity captive*<sup>50</sup>. Not by an earthquake, nor by a thunderclap or a flash of lightning could He be swept away from His disciples while He made an ascent rather terrifying to them, like someone who is showing his power, but bringing peace and tranquillity to everyone and to the souls of those who are watching. Such a great miracle He accomplished as He was completing the ascent that resembled a downfall, for *He then came down like rain upon the mown grass* and now He ascends without dragging anguish or confusion behind Him<sup>51</sup>. For *being peace* and ascending to the God of peace, how could He bring fear to the disciples He loves, when, moreover, He is intending to send them out into the world to proclaim the Good News<sup>52</sup>? Thus, He lifted Himself on His own power, God who took on human nature lifted man whom he assumed. He is, on the one hand, of divine and immobile nature, lifting the body that was born to be moved and carried, which exists for deciding to change both bodies and places; on the other hand, of human essence which is snatched away to a higher place. For it was necessary that through the resurrection this death that was banished left this place of death and birth for the place that was free from every such change, so that it moved somewhere fitting that death.

(13) He is the same, when God is ascending and man is taken up, it is not like a separation of natures, that were divided together, and the Persons or a unity of His Person and mixed natures, but so that, while the difference between them persisted, one and the same Christ was made. Then who could still doubt His divinity, seeing that He ascended to the heavens, or rather above them, on His own strength with a glory and power fit for God? For how could He not rise above it, of whom the Prophet sings that His *glory* was set above the heavens and that *His virtue covered them*<sup>53</sup>. And even though *the righteous will shine like the sun*, how should they think the brilliance is, which flows down from the Lord's body<sup>54</sup>? And even corresponding to the brilliance, it is fitting that they also

<sup>50</sup> *Jo.* 20.17; *Ps* 46.6; *Ps.* 68.19.

<sup>51</sup> *Ps.* 72.6.

<sup>52</sup> *Eph.* 2.14.

<sup>53</sup> *Ps.* 8.2; *Od.* 4.3.

<sup>54</sup> *Mt.* 13.43

- νήσει τὸ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς καὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φωτίζοντος σῶμα θαρρούντως ἀποφίνασθαι ὑπὲρ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς τούτων αὐτῶν οὐρανοὺς ὑπερῆρθαι; ὥστε
- 215 πᾶσαν ἔννοιαν τόπου, ταπεινότεραν τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας εὐρίσκεσθαι
- V102r (14) Καίτοι τί τις ἂν ἐκεῖνο λέγων πάντων τόπων ὑπεριδρῦσθαι, μέγα τι καὶ αὐτῷ προσῆκον οἶοιτο λέγειν; | σαφῶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕψος διδάσκει· ὡς ἄρα οὐ τῆς αἰσθητῆς κτίσεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς νοουμένης τὴν ἄκραν κατείληφεν, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ καθ' ἓν πρόσωπον ἠνωμένον· καὶ
- 220 παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξίαν κληρωσάμενον ταύτην· καθίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰσάγει ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς· ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρα πάντας ἀπλῶς καὶ τόπους καὶ χρόνους καὶ αἰῶνας κατόπιν ἀφήσιν· τοῦτο δὲ ἱκανὸν πείσαι καὶ τὸν
- 225 ἀναισχυρότατον, τοῖς αὐτοῖς τιμᾶν τὸν Υἱὸν οἷς περ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα· εἶτε γὰρ τὸ παντελῶς ἀκίνητον διὰ τῆς καθέδρας δηλοῦται, πῶς ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκινήσιας καὶ βάσεως κοινωνῶν τῷ Θεῷ οὐ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας αὐτῷ κοινωνήσει; | καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ ὢν ἀκίνητος μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθεδεῖται· πάντα κινῶν καὶ μεταβάλλων ὡς βούλεται· εἶτε τὴν ἀξίαν ἡμῶν ἢ καθέδρα σημαίνει, τίς ἀξιώτερος τούτου κοινωνὸς
- O135v τῷ Πατρὶ τῆς ἀξίας; ἥς οὐκ ἀρετῆς κρίσις καὶ βάσανος τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἠγήσατο; ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη τὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Υἱὸν διεβίβασεν· καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τούτου τερπῶν δέδωκεν ἀπολαύειν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ τελεία τερπνότης, ἦν καὶ Δαυὶδ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ καθιδρῦει· τερπνότης γὰρ φησιν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου
- 230 εἰς τέλος· καὶ ταύτης ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Υἱῷ εἰς κόρον δέδωκεν ἀπολαύειν· ἵν' ἢ μετὰ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς ἄκρας τοῦ Πατρὸς τερπνότητος καὶ μακαριότητος κληρονόμος
- (15) Τί δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ καθῆσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένοιτ' ἂν οικειότερον; ἄμφω γὰρ παρὰ τῆς Γραφῆς περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διδασκόμεθα· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν ἐξουσίαν ἢ δεξιᾷ καθέδρα δηλοῖ, οὐκ ἄδηλον τίτι τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν
- 240 ἐξουσίαν δέδωκεν ὁ Πατὴρ· εἰ γὰρ ἐν σοφίᾳ πάντα ἐποίησε· καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖ, δηλὸν ὡς ὃ σοφίαν εἶναι Θεοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀπονενέμηται, οὗτος καὶ κριτὴς καθεδεῖται, καὶ τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν πᾶσι διανομεύς· καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν γὰρ τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ κρίνειν ἐξήρηται, καθ' ἃ καὶ νομοθετοῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ δίκαια γράφουσιν οἱ τῶν πόλεων νομοθέται, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῖς τούτοις
- V102v 245 προέχουσι, τὸν τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπονέμομεν θρόνον· | ὡς διὰ τούτων δυνησομένοις ὀρθὰς καὶ δίκαιας ἐκφέρειν τὰς ψήφους ὁ δὲ Παῦλος καὶ ἐτέρωθεν τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν ἐξουσίαν ἀποδίδωσι τῷ Υἱῷ· ζῶν γὰρ φησιν ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐνεργῆς· καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας· Ἐσχατον γὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν κριτηρίων ὁ λόγος· καὶ τούτῳ πάντα παρεξετάζοντες, τοῦ προσήκοντος τυγχάνειν
- 250 οἰόμεθα· ὥστ' εἰκότως ἂν τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγῳ τὸ κρίνειν ὡσπερ τι γέρας ἐξαιρεθεῖν
- (16) Ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπισφραγίζεται πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς δεδόσθαι λέγων αὐτῷ· καὶ διατοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν ἔχει καθέδραν οἷόν τις βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ συνεδρεύων καὶ κοινῇ τὰς ψήφους ἐκφέρων· | ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἴδια τοῦ Υἱοῦ
- O136r 255 καὶ αἰώνια καὶ μετὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς δεδόμενα, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ

213 ἀληθινοῦ φωτὸς] *Joh* 1.9 | 220–221 καθίσαντα ... ὑψηλοῖς] *Heb.* 1.3 | 221–223 ὑπεράνω ... μέλλοντι] *Eph.* 1.21 | 223 ἐκ δεξιῶν] *Ps.* 109.1; *Mc.* 16.19 | 233–234 τερπνότης ... τέλος] *Ps.* 16.11 | 240 εἰ ... ἐποίησε] *Ps.* 104.24 | 240–241 τὴν οἰκουμένην ... κρινεῖ] *Ps.* 9.9, 96.13, 98.9; *Ac.* 17.31 | 247–248 ζῶν ... καρδίας] *Heb.* 4.12 | 252–253 πᾶσαν ... αὐτῷ] *Jo.* 5.22

227 ὁ habet V] non habet O | 254 δὲ V] γὰρ O

have the places. Now who would doubt that the body *of true light* that illuminates every man shines powerfully above the heavens and in turn raises them above the heavens<sup>55</sup>? So that any idea of a place is found more lowly than His realm.

(14) And yet, why would anyone who says that it is established above all places mean to say that it is something great and fitting for him? For Paul clearly teaches us that height: namely how He has taken hold of the highest place, not only of the visible creation, but also of everything that can be conceived. As a result, through this reasoning, He is united according to one Person and hence inherited that honour. For He introduces Him who *sits down on the right hand of the Majesty on high far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come*<sup>56</sup>. For the *right-hand throne* simply leaves behind all places and times and ages<sup>57</sup>. This is sufficient to convince even the most brazen person that the Son honours in the same ways as the Father. For either the completely immutable is revealed through the throne—how could He who shares the same immutability and order as God not also be partaker of the same essence as Him and, being always the same and immutable, will He not sit with God, moving and transforming all things as He wills?; or the throne reveals us His dignity. Who could be more worthy than Him to partake in the Father's dignity, which is not guided by the assessment of virtue and examination of virtuous actions? But the force of nature carries over what is from the Father to the Son and grants to enjoy the pleasures at His right hand. For there lies the perfect delight, which David, too, placed the right hand of God. For *at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore*<sup>58</sup>. Of this the Father bestowed on the Son to enjoy to the full, so that, along with the paternal essence and height (of excellence), He might become partaker of the Father's delight and bliss too.

(15) And what would be more proper for the right hand of God than to sit at the right hand of God? Indeed, we learn both things about the Son from Scripture: if the right-hand throne signifies the power to judge, it is not unclear to whom the Father gave the power to judge. For *if in wisdom he made them all and judges the world in righteousness*, it is clear that the one to whom it is granted to possess the wisdom and justice of God will also take His place as judge, and as distributor to all according to their value<sup>59</sup>. Because to judge with wisdom and righteousness has been taken away from us following what the lawgivers of the cities have determined by law and ordained just for others and we grant the seat of the judges to those who excel in these things, so that they may be able to issue just and righteous decrees. Paul likewise, in another passage, ascribes the authority to judge to the Son: *For the word of God is quick, and powerful and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart*<sup>60</sup>. Since at the end, the Word of the judgement is with us. And because of this, examining everything, we think we will receive what is fit, so that the power to judge would rightly be given as a gift of honour to the Word of God.

(16) He also confirms this Himself when he says that *all judgment was given to Him* by the Father and He therefore has the seat on the right side, like a king who reigns together with a king and jointly delivers his judgments<sup>61</sup>. And these things, even if they are proper to the Son and eternal and naturally given to Him by the Father, they are also granted in time to the worthy. Yet, let it be said again that

<sup>55</sup> *Joh.* 1.9.

<sup>56</sup> *Heb.* 1.3; *Eph.* 1.21.

<sup>57</sup> *Ps.* 109.1; *Mc.* 16.19.

<sup>58</sup> *Ps.* 16.11.

<sup>59</sup> *Ps.* 104.24, 9.9, 96.13, 98.9; *Ac.* 17.31.

<sup>60</sup> *Heb.* 4.12.

<sup>61</sup> *Jo.* 5.22.

- ὡς ὑπὸ χρόνον ἀξιώσαντι γενέσθαι, ἐκ νέου λέγοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ προόντι καὶ πρὸ Ἑωσφόρου ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντι, τὸ ὄνομα σαρκωθέντι νῦν ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντι τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα κεχάρισται ὁ Πατήρ· ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶχε φύσει πρὸ τῆς σαρκὸς, τοῦτο καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ συναφθεὶς, ὡς εἶς ὢν πάλιν ἐν τῇ
- 260 σαρκὶ χάριν λαμβάνει· καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ δόξαν εἶχε, ταύτη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος ἰὼν αἰτεῖ δοξασθῆναι· καίτοι περίεργον δόξειεν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὅπερ ἔχει· ἀλλ' οἶμαι οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς δόξης ὁ τελειότατος Λόγος ἐδεῖτο· ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀδόξου φύσεως ἦν προσέλαβεν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινώσας, τῆς δόξης ἔλεγε δεῖσθαι· ἐνὸς μὲν οὖν αἱ φωναί· τὴν δὲ χάριν μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ Λόγος
- 265 δίδωσι τῷ προσλήμματι, ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ διδοὺς καὶ δεχόμενος· τὸ μὲν, ὡς ὁ πάντα παρέχων Θεός· τὸ δὲ, ὡς ὁ πάντα λαμβάνων ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ βελτιῶν· καὶ ἐκάθητο τοίνυν αἰεὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· ὁ ὢν αἰεὶ εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς ἐκάθισε νῦν καὶ ἔκρινεν ὡς Λόγος αἰεὶ· καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὕστερον τὴν κρίσιν λαμβάνει· ἐκεῖνα διὰ τὴν προαιώνιον φύσιν· ταῦτα διὰ τὴν φιλόανθρωπον κέ-
- 270 νωσιν·
- (17) Ἀναβὰς τοίνυν, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς καθέδρας ἀξίαν ἐπραγματεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ὀλισθήσασαν | ἀνύψωσε φύσιν· Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ νεκροὺς ἡμᾶς ὄντας τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησεν ἑαυτῷ· ἐξάλειψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον καὶ προσηλώσας αὐτῷ τῷ σταυρῷ· νῦν δὲ, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἄρκοῦν
- 275 διηλλάχθαι τῇ μεγίστῃ τιμῇ τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας, καὶ ἠτιμωμένους ἐτίμησεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἔκπτωτον φύσιν καὶ τῇ δικαίως κατακριθείσῃ τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τῆς υἰότητος τὴν πολεμίαν ἔλαβε κοινῶν· τούτων οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ θεότητος ἀληθεστέρα γένοιτ' ἂν μαρτυρία, οὔτε τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγαθότητος καὶ τιμῆς σαφέστερον δεῖγμα· οὐχ οὔτω μέγεθος οὐρανοῦ
- Ο136v 280 κάλλος τε καὶ πλῆθος ἀστέρων καὶ στοιχείων καὶ ὠρῶν εὐάρμοστος κράσις, | τῇ τούτων ἐναντιότητι μὴ κωλυμένη· καὶ ἡ θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἐν γενέσει πάντων μετὰ ταυτότητος συνεχῆς ἑτερότης, τῆς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Λόγου σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἔνδειξιν ἔχει, ὡς τὸ τὸν τούτων πάντων τεχνίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου ζώου καὶ εὐτελοῦς, καταμίξαι· καὶ ὅπερ ἦν μείναντα ὅπερ ἐκεῖνο
- 285 γενέσθαι τὲ καὶ κληθῆναι· καὶ ἐν ἐξ ἄμφοιν συστήσασθαι κράμα, εἰς ταυτὸν τὰς ἐπ' ἄπειρον διεστῶσας φύσεις ἀσυγχύτως συναγαγόντα· καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἄπειρον καὶ πεπερασμένον πρόσκαιρον καὶ αἰώνιον, ὄρατον καὶ ἀόρατον, ὄντα καὶ γενόμενον, καὶ ὅλως τὰ ἐναντιώτατα δεῖξαι· καὶ ὁ πᾶσαν ἐκπλήττει διάνοιαν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς τὴν γῆν μετεωρίσαι καὶ συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, τῷ πλάστῃ τὸ
- 290 πλάσμα· τῷ Θεῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνασχέσθαι· Ὁ γὰρ εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν πρωτότοκον τῆς κτίσεως εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, πᾶσιν ἀγγέλοις προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτάττει· καὶ βούλεται τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡσπερ ἑαυτὸν παρὰ πάντων τιμᾶσθαι·
- (18) Τούτων δὴ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων, ὁ αἰεὶ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς πάντα ἔχων, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ, μετέ-
- 295 δωκε καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν· καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὄντων αὐτῷ, τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας κατὰ χάριν ἔλαβε κοινῶν· ὁ μὲν γε φύσει Θεός, ἠθέλησε δὲ κάκεινους ὡς ἐφικτόν γενέσθαι τὲ καὶ κληθῆναι τέκνα Θεοῦ· καὶ Θεοῦ μιμήματα

257 πρὸ ... γαστρὸς] *Ps.* 110.3 | 258 τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα] *Phil.* 2.9 | 260–261 ἦν ... εἶχε] *Jo.* 17.5 | 267 ἐκάθητο ... Πατρός] *Apos.* 3.21 | εἰς τὸν κόλπον] *Jo.* 1.18 | 273 νεκροὺς ... συνεζωοποίησεν] *Eph.* 2.5, *Ep.Col.* 2.13 | 273–274 ἐξάλειψας ... σταυρῷ] *Ep.Col.* 2.14 | 290–291 εἰσαγαγὼν ... αὐτὸν] *Ps.* 97.7; *Heb.* 1.6 | 297 τέκνα Θεοῦ] *Jo.* 1.12, 3.2

261 δόξαν εἶχε V] εἶχε δόξαν O | 268 ἐκάθισε V] ἐκάθησε O | 271 ἀξίαν VO] *postea in exteriori margine addidit V*<sup>1</sup> | 273 νεκροὺς ἡμᾶς V] ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς O (an recte?) | 296 κατὰ χάριν VO] *postea in exteriori margine addidit V*<sup>1</sup>

they were born with Him. For surely the Father did not show favours to the pre-existing one, born from the *womb of the morning*, who was now incarnate in name as to one who does not have *the name which is above every name*<sup>62</sup>. But everything He had by nature before the flesh, He also has after He was joined to the flesh, so that—being one—He receives the grace again in the flesh. And the same *acquired from the Father the glory that existed before the world*, with which He returned to the Passion and asks to be praised<sup>63</sup>. And indeed, it would seem strange if He asks for something He already has, but I think the most perfect Word did not ask the glory for himself, but He who had degraded himself, said that the glory was necessary for the inglorious nature which He had assumed. So the voices were of one, but the Word did grace to the assumed nature together with the Father, while the same was giving and receiving: the first as God who always grants, the second as human who always receives and improves us in Himself. So now, *He is always seated with the father*, being *always at His heart*<sup>64</sup>. The same who ascended now sat down and judged forever as Word and the same receives judgement at the end, the former because of His eternal nature, the latter through His human-loving humiliation.

(17) Now, having ascended, He did not aspire for Himself the dignity of the right-hand seat, but lifted the nature that had slipped towards ruin. For previously He *quicken*ed us, *even when we were dead in sins, together with Him, He blotted out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us and nailed it to the cross*<sup>65</sup>. Now however, as if it did not suffice that He reconciled at the highest price those who had come into conflict, He honoured those who had been dishonoured, and seated the abject nature next to Him and granted the power to judge to that justly condemned nature and accepted this hostile nature as related to His being the Son. There can be no truer evidence of Christ's power and divinity than these things, nor a clearer sign of His goodness and honour for us. Not even the greatness of the sky and the beauty and multitude of the stars and the harmonious union of elements and seasons is like the unhindered contrariety of those things. And the wonderful continuous otherness of everything in the creation along with their unity is an indication of the wisdom and power of the Creator, the Word, such as the fact that the creator of all these things mixed His own nature with that of man, that small and inferior being; and that exactly happened and was named whatever He was expecting; and that out of two, one mixture was brought into being, while He brought the natures which were infinitely distant from each other without confusion together into the same; and that He Himself exhibits wholly and completely the greatest oppositions, infinite and finite, temporal and eternal, visible and invisible, being and becoming; and, which stuns every understanding, that He hath exalted the earth above the heavens and from the creation worshipped the creation together with the Creator; that He holds man up before God. For He who *brought the firstborn of creation into the world commanded all the angels to worship Him*, and He wanted the Son of man to be honoured above all like Him<sup>66</sup>.

(18) Of these advantages, He, who always possessed everything from the Father and with the Father, but later also as man received these things from Him, gave a share to us for whom He became human; and He received those who believed in Him as partakers of the things He had by nature. He may have been God in nature, yet He desired that they too should, to the extent possible, become and be called *children of God* and Gods, imitations of His own Sonness and divinity, as many as through

<sup>62</sup> Ps. 110.3; Phil. 2.9.

<sup>63</sup> Jo. 17.5.

<sup>64</sup> Apoc. 3.21; Jo. 1.18.

<sup>65</sup> Eph. 2.5; Ep.Col. 2.13–14.

<sup>66</sup> Ps. 97.7; Heb. 1.6.

- V103v 300 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ υἰότητος καὶ θεότητος, ὅσοι δι' | ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας βλέποντας ζῆν τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τῇ ἐξαρχῆς εἰκόνι προσέθηκαν· τοὺς αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ τοῦ κρίνεσθαι μόνον καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν ἐξουσίαν κεχάρισται· τοὺς γὰρ ἀποστόλους μέλλοντι κρίνειν ἑαυτῷ παρακαθισάμενος, ψήφου κυρίους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἠθέλησεν εἶναι
- 305 (19) Οἶμαι δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μόνον ἐξελεῖν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνοις τὴν τοῦ κρίνειν ἐξουσίαν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ κεχαρίσθαι ὡσπερ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνοις τότε λεχθέντων, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς ἐποίησε κληρονόμους· καὶ ὁ γε Παῦλος ὕστερον ὡσπερ ὑπὲρ πάντων μεγαλαυχούμενος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἢ βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ | ἀγγέλων τοὺς πιστοὺς καθίζει κριτάς· οὐκ οἶδατε γὰρ φησιν ὅτι ἀγγέλους κρινοῦμεν, μὴ τοι γε βιωτικά· καὶ ταύτης ἡμῖν ἐνέχυρον τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ ἀναβάς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενος ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ νῦν μὲν μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίνων πάντα καὶ διακρίνων, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τέλος ἐπιθήσων τῇ ψήφῳ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν στεφανώσων· τῶν δὲ καταψηφιούμενος κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διάστασιν ἢ ἐγγύτητα· καὶ ἐπεὶ ὡσπερ Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ταῦτα δυνάμενος· κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ὁμογενέσι καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἣν ἔλαβε παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, μισθὸν τῆς ὑπακοῆς καὶ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠνέσχετο· καὶ πάλιν οὗτος ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς τιμῆς ἀντιδίδωσι τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπακοήν, ἀναβάς γὰρ εἰς ὕψος, ἠχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν· ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολεμίου πρότερον αἰχμαλωτισθέντας, παραδοὺς πάντας βασιλείαν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ· οἷς καὶ ἔδωκε δόματα ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ οἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε· καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη
- 315 (20) Τί τοίνυν διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνου χάριν ἀνθρώπου σεμνότερον; τί δὲ ἐντιμότερον; τί δὲ θειώτερον; τὸ γὰρ Θεῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καθ' ἐν πρόσωπον ἐνωθῆναι, τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ μέγιστος κόσμος· τοῦτο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἡμῖν αὖξει καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπέκεινα· τοῦτο σεμνύνει· τοῦτο μετεωρίζει τὸ φρόνημα, οὐκ ἔδῳ λοιπὸν εἰς γῆν νεύειν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ βίου κηλίσιν μιαίνεσθαι· ἐνθυμουμένοις τὸν τοσοῦτον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄραντα φύσιν· | εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἀγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα· καὶ εἰ ἡ ρίζα καὶ οἱ κλάδοι· προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ εἰ ἡ κεφαλὴ, καὶ τὰ μέλη· νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐλπίσι τὰ ἀγαθά, τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν· τότε δὲ τούτων εἰς κόρον ἀπολαύσομεθα· ὅτε δι' ἀρετῆς εἰς τὸν οὐράνιον βίον ἀνυψωθέντες, ἀρπαγῶμεν ἐν νεφέλαις εἰς ἀπάντησιν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἀέρα· καὶ οὕτω πάντοτε σὺν Κυρίῳ ἐσόμεθα
- 325 ἠγάπησε γὰρ ὁ Φιλάνθρωπος τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὸ συνεῖναι τούτοις διαπαντός, ὡσπερ τινα χάριν ἤτησε παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς· ἵνα φησὶ θεωρῶσι | τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἦν τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἑαυτῷ βελτιούντος· τὸ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον θεωρεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν, αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν αὐτὸς ἀπεφάνητο· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον τελοίη Θεός, ταύτην τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύουσιν χάριν διδούς
- 330 (21) Τὰ δὲ νῦν, ἔδει τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως δόξαν ἄλλην μείζω καὶ λαμπροτέραν διαδέξασθαι δόξαν· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὁ καὶ πρότερον ἔφην, οὐκ ἦν εἰκὸς τὸ φθορᾶς
- O137r 335

299 καθ' ὁμοίωσιν] *Gen.* 1.26 | 306 κληρονόμους] *Rom.* 8.17 | 308 οὐκ οἶδατε ... βιωτικά] 1 *Cor.* 6.3, *sed* τοι *pro* τι *V* | 309 ὁ ἀναβάς] *Eph.* 4.10 | 309–310 καθήμενος ... Θεοῦ] *Mc.* 16.19 | 316 ἀναβάς ... αἰχμαλωσίαν] *Ps.* 68.19; *Eph.* 4.8 | 317–318 παραδοὺς ... Πατρὶ] 1 *Cor.* 15.24 | 318–319 ἔδωκε ... ἀνέβη] *Ps.* 68.19; *Is.* 64.3; 68.16; 1 *Cor.* 2.9; *Eph.* 4.8 | 325–326 εἰ ... κλάδοι] *Rom.* 11.16 | 327 ἐν ... ἀγαθά] *Catena in ep. ad Romanos* p. 255; cf. *Chrys. In ep. ad Romanos*, v. 60, p. 532 | 327 τῇ ... ἐσώθημεν] *Rom.* 8.24 | 328–329 ἀρπαγῶμεν ... ἐσόμεθα] 1 *Thess.* 4.17 | 331–332 ἵνα ... μοι] *Jo.* 17.24 | 333 θεωρεῖν καὶ γινώσκειν] *Jo.* 14.17

305 λεχθέντων] e corr. V<sup>1</sup> | 306 ὑπὲρ O] ὑπὸ V | 308 τοι V] τι O (cf. *supra*) | 314 παρὰ V] ὑπὲρ O | 331 φησὶ *postea s.l. addidit* V<sup>1</sup> | 335 τοῖς O] τὴν V

virtue and by a life of looking at Him, attained the life *according to the likeness* of the image of the beginning<sup>67</sup>. The same people, He not only freed from judgement and accusations, but He also bestowed on them the power to judge, for He placed the apostles next to Himself, who was destined to pass judgement, and He wanted them to have power over the judgement.

(19) However, I think that he did not choose this gift of honour only for the apostles, but that in their presence He also bestowed it on all who obeyed Him, as well as on those who had at that time been chosen from many others, and He made the others *heirs* one by one<sup>68</sup>. Think also of what Paul later said, as if he was praised by all, that He seated the believers not only as judges of men or of things pertaining to this life, but also of angels. For he says: ‘Do you not know that we will judge angels? How much more things that pertain to this life?’<sup>69</sup> Of this honour, *He who ascended to the heavens* and is *seated at the right hand of God* is a pledge for us<sup>70</sup>. In this moment, too, He is judging everything with Him and deciding. Soon, however, He will put an end to the judgment, crowning some and condemning others according to their distance or proximity to Him. And since, as God from God, so too a man from man, the one who is capable of these things, He also allows His peers to share in the honour He received from the Father, a reward for His obedience and for what He endured on behalf of men. In turn, He gives our obedience to the Father in exchange for that honour, for *When He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive*<sup>71</sup>, and *He handed us*, who were previously captured by the common enemy, *all to the God, the Father, as a kingdom*<sup>72</sup>. He also gave us *gifts which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man*<sup>73</sup>.

(20) And what now, by His grace, is holier than man? What is more honourable? More divine? For the unification of man with God in one person is the greatest harmony for the community of men. This will increase our position of honour even above that of the angels. This exalts. This raises our spirit not allowing it to fall further towards earth and to be tainted by the stains of life, those who consider how much He elevates our nature in Himself. For *if the firstfruit be holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches*<sup>74</sup>. I will add that if the head is holy, so are the limbs. *So now the good is in hope, for we are saved by hope*<sup>75</sup>. But then, we will enjoy these things to the full, when, elevated to heavenly life by virtue, *we will be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord*<sup>76</sup>. For the Benevolent loved the company of those who believed in Him and asked as a favour from the Father to be with them constantly, *that*, He says *they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me*<sup>77</sup>. He did not, however, show this in Himself, but by improving His friends in Himself, because He revealed *that to see and know Him is this eternal life*<sup>78</sup>. But God would fulfil these things at a later time, by giving this grace to those who believe in Him.

(21) For now, however, the glory of the Resurrection needed to succeed another greater and more magnificent glory. For first, what I also said before, it was not reasonable for the body that had

<sup>67</sup> *Jo.* 1.12, 3.2; *Gen.* 1.26.

<sup>68</sup> *Rom.* 8.17.

<sup>69</sup> *1 Cor.* 6.3.

<sup>70</sup> *Eph.* 4.10; *Mc.* 16.19.

<sup>71</sup> *Ps.* 68.19; *Eph.* 4.8.

<sup>72</sup> *1 Cor.* 15.24.

<sup>73</sup> *Ps.* 68.19; *Is.* 64.3; 68.16; *1 Cor.* 2.9; *Eph.* 4.8.

<sup>74</sup> *Rom.* 11.16.

<sup>75</sup> *Catena in ep. ad Romanos* p. 255; cf. *Chrys. In ep. ad Romanos*, v. 60, p. 532; *Rom.* 8.24.

<sup>76</sup> *1 Thess.* 4.17.

<sup>77</sup> *Jo.* 17.24.

<sup>78</sup> *Jo.* 14.17.

- καὶ γενέσεως ἤδη κρεῖττον γενόμενον σῶμα τὸν ἐνταῦθα τόπον οἰκεῖν, ὃς τῇ παντοδαπῇ τῶν ὄντων μεταβολῇ συγκεκλήρωται· ὥστ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν πάσης τοιαύτης μεταβολῆς ἀπηλλαγμένον τόπον καταλαβεῖν· τὸ μέλλον ἀνώλεθρον ἔσσεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ καὶ προσολίγον μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῆς γῆϊνης ταύτης χώρας καὶ ταπεινῆς ἀνασχέσθαι, ἢ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξις ἀναγκαῖαν ἐποίει· ἦν καὶ ταῖς προσρήσεσι καὶ ταῖς πυκναῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς τῶν δισταζόντων χερσὶ ψηλαφηθῆσόμενον, καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, βεβαίαν καὶ πόρρω παντὸς πλάσματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔδειξεν οὕσαν· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ μικρὸν ἀμφιβολίας ἔλιπε ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς, ἐνοχλοῦν, ἅπαντα ἄν ἔρρει· καὶ λόγος ἂν ἄλλως ἔδοξε καὶ σκηνὴ πᾶν, ὃ παρὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ὠκονομήθη μυστήριον· διαταῦτα προσβραχὺ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν διατριβὴν ἀναγκαῖαν ἐνόμισε καὶ τότε τῷ δεδοξασμένῳ σώματι τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπληροῦτο·
- 340  
345  
350  
V104v  
355  
O138r  
360  
365  
370  
375  
V105r
- (22) Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν οἷς ὁ Χριστὸς πάντα ἐποίει, διδασκαλία σαφῆς καὶ ὑπόσχεσις ἦν τὸ γενόμενον, ὡς ἄρα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φθορὰν διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀποτιναξάμενοι, | τὸν οὐρανὸν οἰκήσομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτῷ πληρώσομεν, δι' αἰῶνος συνόντες αὐτῷ· ἔπειτα τῷ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀναληφθῆναι, μείζους ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἐποίει μισθούς· μᾶλλον δ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἦν ταύτης μισθός, ὀρωμένον καὶ παρόντος εἰς ὃν ἔδει πιστεύειν· εἰ γὰρ ἡ πίστις κατὰ Παῦλον τῶν μὴ βλεπομένων ἐστίν, δηλὸν ὡς ἐχρῆν τῶν ὄψεων διαστήναι τὸν πιστεῦσθαι μέλλοντα· ὥστε τῶν οὐχ ὀρώντων μὲν πιστευόντων δὲ δοκιμασθεῖσαν τὴν πίστιν, αὐτὴν τὴν βεβαιότεραν φανῆναι· καὶ τοῖς πιστεύουσι τοὺς μισθοὺς πολλαπλασιάσαι· ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐχ ὀρώντων πίστις ἔλεγχος ἐγένετο τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀπιστούντων περιφανῆς· ὁ γὰρ Παράκλητος φησὶν ἐλέγξει | τὸν κόσμον περὶ ἀμαρτίας ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουσι εἰς ἐμέ· ἦν γὰρ ἂν ὁ κόσμος ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀπιστίας πρόφασιν εἴποι, ὡς χαλεπὸν τοῖς οὐχ ὀρωμένοις πιστεύειν· ταύτην αὐτοὶ μὴ βλέποντες μὲν πιστεύοντες δὲ, λαμπρῶς ἀναιρήσετε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἡμῖν λογισθήσεται· προστίθησι γὰρ ὅτι καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης ὁ Παράκλητος ἐλέγξει τὸν κόσμον· ὅτι ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα μου πορεύομαι καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με· τὸ γὰρ ἐμὲ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἀναχωρήσαντα οὐκέτι θεωρητὸν ὑμῖν εἶναι· ὑφ' ὑμῶν δ' οὐχ ἦττον ἢ παρόντα τὸν οὕτω διαστάντα πιστεῦσθαι, ὑμῖν μὲν δικαιοσύνην μαρτυρεῖ· ἐκείνων δὲ τοῦναντίον ἅπαν κατηγορεῖ· εἰ δὲ καὶ Θωμᾶς ὀνειδίζεται ὡς μετὰ τὸ ἑωρακέναι πιστεύσας μακαρισμοῦ δὲ ἄξιοι τοῦναντίον οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες, πῶς οὐ καὶ ταύτη διαστήναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐγένετο, τοιαύτης ἐκ τοῦ διαστήναι μακαριότητος μελλόντων κληρονομεῖν; καὶ μὲν ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδος τοῖς ἐλπίζουσι κέρδος προσγίνεται, ἐδήλωσεν ὁ παραινῶν ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ Κύριον καὶ μακάριον καλῶν τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἠλπικότα· καὶ Ἐνώς δὲ διὰ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν ἐλπίδα ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀξιολόγου τετύχηκε μνήμης·
- (23) Εἰ τοίνυν ἢ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς ἔλκει· καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς γῆς ἀφιστῶσα, ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ θησαυροὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κουφίζει, χάριν καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου τῷ ἀναληφθέντι εἰδῶμεν, τῇ ἀναλήψει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ταῖς χρηστοτέραις τῶν ἐλπίδων μετεωρίσαντι | καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνυψοῦντι

355–356 τῶν μὴ βλεπομένων] 2 Cor. 4.18 | 360–361 ὁ Παράκλητος ... ἐμέ] Jo. 16.7–9 | 363 εἰς δικαιοσύνην .. λογισθήσεται] Gen. 15.6; Rom. 4.3, 4.5 | 364–365 περὶ δικαιοσύνης ... θεωρεῖτέ με] Jo. 16.10 | 368 Θωμᾶς] Jo. 20.24–29 | 368 μακαρισμοῦ ... πιστεύσαντες] Jo. 20.29 | 372 ἐλπίζειν ... Κύριον] Ps. 112.7 | 373 Ἐνώς] Gen. 4.26, 5.6–11

347 ἄν<sup>2</sup> VO] *postea s.l. addidit* V<sup>1</sup> | 350 ἐποίει V] ἐποίησεν O | 353 τῷ V] τὸ O | 357 δοκιμασθεῖσαν V] δοκιμασθήσαν O | 359 ἔλεγχος, γ *postea. s.l. addidit* V<sup>1</sup> | 365 θεωρεῖτέ με VO] με θεωρεῖτε *scripserat, sed postea* με *linea delevit et in loco praesente iterum scripsit* V<sup>1</sup> | 369 μακαρισμοῦ O] μακαρισμένου V

already become stronger than death and birth to inhabit that place there, which had been inherited along with a manifold change of beings, so that it was necessary to inhabit a place that was freed from any such change, that the future might be indestructible. For even a short stay in this earthly and humble place after the Resurrection, made the demonstration of the Resurrection necessary, of which He showed His pupils through addresses and numerous lectures and the sharing of meals, and by permitting Himself to be touched by the hands of the doubtful and many other signs, that it was steady and far from any delusion. For if any doubt, however small, remained in their souls, troubling them, everything would have flown away, and the Word and stage would have seemed entirely different, which is managed by truth as the secret. For this reason, He considered spending time on earth and with His disciples for a short time necessary, and then He fulfilled what was fitting with the glorified body.

(22) At the same time, the event was a clear lesson to us, for whom Christ did everything, and a promise that we too, after we shook off death through the resurrection, will inhabit heaven with Him. And we will fulfil His wish, being with Him for all eternity. Then, by being lifted up in this way, He made the reward of faith greater for us. Or rather, there would not have been a reward for it if He, in whom must be believed, was seen and present. Because if according to Paul, faith is of the *things which are not seen*, then clearly it is necessary to separate Him, in whom is to be put faith, from sight, so that the glorified faith of those who do not see but believe appears more steadfast and the reward for believers is increased<sup>79</sup>. At the same time, the faith of those who do not see becomes a clear counter-argument to the unbelievers after them. For the *Comforter*, he says, *will reprove the world of sin, because they believe not on me*<sup>80</sup>. Since the world might use that sin as a pretext for their lack of faith, because it is difficult to believe in what is not seen. You, however, who do not see but believe, will brilliantly remove that sin. The same *will be reckoned to us towards righteousness*, for he adds *of righteousness*, too, *the Comforter will reprove the world, because I go to my Father and ye see me no more*<sup>81</sup>, for the saying ‘while I am ascending to the Father, I will no longer be visible to you’, does not mean that you should believe less in Him when he is so far away than when He was present, because it confirms righteousness for you. Them, on the other hand, it accuses of the exact opposite. If even Thomas is reproached for having believed only after he had seen, while, on the contrary, *those who have not seen and yet believed are accounted worthy of blessedness*, how could it not have been necessary that Christ should, by such a distance, stand apart from us, who were destined to inherit such a blessedness from this separation<sup>82</sup>? And how great is the benefit that comes to the hopeful from their hope in God, is clearly shown by Him who exhorts *to put our hope in the Lord* and calls blessed the one who puts their hope in Him<sup>83</sup>. *Enos*, too, obtained an honourable mention in the list of old men because of his hope in God<sup>84</sup>.

(23) So now, if our hope in the Lord draws us to Him, keeping our mind away from the earth, and lifts people to Heaven and the treasures therein, we shall see the grace that was given for this to Him who ascended and with His Ascension raised our souls with the most beneficial of hopes and lifts us

---

<sup>79</sup> 2 Cor. 4.18.

<sup>80</sup> Jo. 16.7–9.

<sup>81</sup> Gen. 15.6; Rom. 4.3, 4.5; Jo. 16.10.

<sup>82</sup> Jo. 20.24–29.

<sup>83</sup> Ps. 112.7.

<sup>84</sup> Gen. 4.26, 5.6–11.

καὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐραστὰς ἡμᾶς καθιστῶντι ἢ γὰρ ἐλπίς ὡσπερ καὶ ἡ πίστις οὐ φαι-  
 380 νομένων πραγμάτων ἐστίν· ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδῶς, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῶν μαθητῶν  
 λύπην προκατελάμβανεν, εἰς καλὸν αὐτοῖς τελευτήσῃν προλέγων τὸν χωρισμόν·  
 ἐὰν γὰρ ἀπέλθω φησὶν, ἐτοιμάσω ὑμῖν τόπον· καὶ πάλιν ἔρχομαι καὶ παραλήψομαι  
 ὑμᾶς πρὸς ἐμαυτόν· ἵνα ὅπου εἶμι ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε· ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐδὲν μεῖζον  
 νῦν, ὅτι μὴ δὲ τῆς μονῆς ἐκείνης μακαριώτερον· ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἠτοιμάσατο  
 385 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡμῖν ἔστησε καὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐκούφισε, τὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος πέρας  
 μονὴν ὀνομάσας· ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖ πάσης μὲν κινήσεως πάσης δὲ ἐφέσεως ἰσταμένης·  
 οὐκέτι φησὶ μεταπίπτοντες καὶ πλανώμενοι ζητήσετε τάγαθόν· οὐδ' ἐλπίδες ἐξ' ἐλπί-  
 δων ὑμᾶς διαδέζονται· ἀεὶ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ κεχηνότας· οὐδέποτε δ' αὐτοῦ δυνησο-  
 μένους λαβέσθαι· ὡς ἂν ἄπειρον ἀνύειν κατακριθέντας· τοῦτο γὰρ οὔτε τελείους  
 390 πώποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποδείξει· ἀεὶ τοῦ τέλους ἀτυχεῖς γινομένους, καὶ προσέτι χαλεπῆς  
 οἰ38v ὀδύνης ὑμῖν αἴτιον ἔσται· ἀεὶ μὲν ἔγγιον τοῦ ποθομένου νομίζουσι γίνεσθαι· ἀεὶ  
 δὲ τῷ ἴσῳ διεστηκόσιν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εὐφρανεῖ τὸ μέσον ληφθέν, ὅσον τὸ ἔσ-  
 χατον ἀεὶ φεῦγον ὑμᾶς ἀνιάσει· ἐπεὶ μὴ δὲ τῶν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πορείᾳ συμβαινόντων ἢ  
 ἐξαρχῆς ἦν ὑμῖν ἔφεσις· ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐκείνου μόνου καὶ ἄκρου, οὗ τίς ἀτυχήσας  
 395 μάταιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν τοσοῦτον οἰήσεται δρόμον· οὐ τοίνυν εἰς κενὸν δρα-  
 μεῖσθε, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄπειρον ἐπιθυμήσετε ἢ ἀπατήσεσθε· ἀλλὰ τῶν περὶ τάγαθόν πάν-  
 των φανταζομένων ἢ νοουμένων νῦν, τόθ' ὑμῖν περιαιρεθέντων, αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 τάγαθόν ὄψεσθέ τε καὶ ἀπολαύσεσθε· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αἰῶνος μενεῖτε· ἐπὶ μηδὲν  
 ἕτερον ἐλκομένης ὑμῖν λοιπὸν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, εὐδαίμονες ἐμοῦ μῦσται καὶ θεωροί·  
 400 καὶ τῆς παρ' ἐμοὶ μακαριότητος ἐμπορούμενοι· ἦν ὑμᾶς λοιπὸν οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρή-  
 σεται· ὅτι μὴ δ' ἐμέ τι δυνησεται διαστήσαι τῶν φίλων·

(24) Ἄλλ' οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνεπτέρωσεν ἀναληφθεὶς ὁ Σω-  
 405 τήρ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγιστον τῇ προσκαιρὸν ἀποδημίᾳ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀγάπης πῦρ λαμπρῶς  
 V105v ἀνήψεν ἡμῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἡ διάστασις τῶν | ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τετρωμένων αὐ-  
 ξει τὸ φίλτρον· ἢ δὲ συνεχῆς τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ὀμιλία, κἂν ὑπεροψίαν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἤδη  
 κεκορεσμένοις ἐντέκοι· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἴσως ἐγγινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεχῶς  
 εἰς αὐτὸν ὄραν εἰδῶς ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ τὴν καταληψομένην αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀθυμίαν οὐκ  
 ἀγνοῶν ὅταν εἰς αὐτὸν ὄραν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐξῆ, προύλεγεν ἡμέρας ἐλεύσεσθαι· ὅτ'  
 ἐπιθυμήσουσι μὲν ἰδεῖν μίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὐκ ὄψονται δέ·  
 410 ὑπὲρ προσθήκης τοίνυν τοῦ φίλτρον ὁ σωματικὸς οὗτος χωρισμὸς ὠκονόμηται·  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸ συνοικεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν, κἂν ταῖς πράξεσι κἂν ταῖς λοιπαῖς  
 ὀμιλίαις τὸν κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτον τρόπον καὶ νομισμένον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδὲν  
 ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπειθε περὶ ἐκείνου φαντάζεσθαι· ἕνα δὲ τινα τῶν σπουδαίων  
 ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς νομίζειν παρεῖναι· ἢ δ' ἐκ μέσων αὐτῶν παράδοξος ἀρπαγὴ καὶ τὸ  
 415 πρὸς οὐρανὸν ὄραν ἀνιόντα τὸν ὀλίγω πρότερον ὑπνοῦντα καὶ πεινῶντα καὶ τῇ  
 καθέδρᾳ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας ἀναπαύοντα πόνον, καὶ πάντων ἀνεχόμενον οἷς  
 O139r πάντες | ἐνέχονται, σαφῶς αὐτοὺς ἔπειθε τοῖς ταπεινοῖς λογισμοῖς λοιπὸν μὴ προσέ-  
 χειν· ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνοδὸν πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι πορείαν· ἠνάγκαζέ  
 τε μεμνησθαι ὡς ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶη Θεός, ὃν συνεχῶς ἴδιον ἐκάλει Πατέρα· καὶ παρ'

382–383 ἐὰν ... ἦτε] *Jo.* 14.3 | 387–388 οὐκέτι ... τάγαθόν *et* ἐλπίδες ... διαδέζονται] *harum duarum sententiarum fontes non inveni* | 395–396 εἰς κενὸν δραμεῖσθε] *Gal.* 2.2 | 408–409 ὅτ' ἐπιθυμήσουσι ... ὄψονται δέ] *Lc.* 17.22 | 419 ὁ ... πάντων] *Eph.* 4.6

388 ὑμᾶς VO] *ex* ἡμᾶς V<sup>1</sup> | 396 εἰς κενὸν δραμεῖσθε O] εἰς κενὸν μεῖσθε V, *ubi post* κενὸν, ὑμῖν *scripserat, sed postea linea deleuit* V<sup>1</sup> | 397 ὑμῖν V] ἡμῖν O | 401 τι *habet* V] *non habet* O | 402–403 ἀναληφθεὶς ὁ Σωτήρ VO] *scripserat* ὁ Σωτήρ ἀναληφθεὶς *sed postea ordinem immutavit a et β s.l. addens* V<sup>1</sup> | 408 ὄραν αὐτοῖς V] αὐτοῖς ὄραν O | 412 δὴ τοῦτον] τοῦτον δὴ O | 415 πεινῶντα V] πινῶντα O | 417 ἔπειθε V] ἔπειθε O

up to Him and establishes us as lovers of the unseen. For hope, like faith, does not belong to the visible things. Knowing this Himself, He prevented the disciples' grief at His departure by saying in advance that the separation would end in something good for them: *If I go, he says, and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also*<sup>85</sup>. Now there is nothing greater than that hope, because there is nothing more blissful than her alone, which He who was taken up prepared for us. At the same time, He instils hope in us and eases our suffering, having named the end of hope a place of rest, because there all movement and striving would halt. *When you are no longer changing and wandering, he says, you will seek the good.* And one hope after another will not relieve you, who are always gaping at this good, but will never be able to seize it, as if condemned to accomplish the infinite. For this will demonstrate that you, too, are never finished, always missing the end and this will moreover be the cause of intense suffering for you, because on the one hand, you think you are closer to whom you desire, but on the other, you always remain at the same distance, since the taken midway is not as encouraging as the extreme path, always fleeing, is distressing you. Since your initial pursuit was not to participate in the midway, but to that one and extreme, which someone who does not have it would wrongly believe to be such a great path for him. Therefore, you shall not *run in vain*, nor will you desire the infinite or be deceived, but now that everything about the good has been presented and apprehended, after it had once been taken away from you, you will see and praise the good for its own and you will abide in it for eternity<sup>86</sup>. While your desire is drawn to nothing else, you are my fortunate initiates and spectators filled with my beatitude, which, otherwise, no one will take away from you, because nothing will be able to separate me from my friends.

(24) However, not only through good hope did the Saviour who was taken up lift us up, but He also and most importantly, through His temporary departure, brilliantly lit for us the fire of love, for nothing increases the affection of those who are mutually wounded as much as separation. But the constant communion with the desired may even bring contempt to those who are satiated, which could indeed have happened to the disciples because of their constantly seeing Him, as Christ knew, and because He was not ignorant of the despondency that would beset them when they would no longer be able to look upon Him, He said beforehand: *When you shall desire to see one of the days of the Son of man, you shall not see it*<sup>87</sup>. For the sake of an increase in desire, then, this physical separation was maintained. Especially the living together of Christ with them, in actions as well as remaining communions, convinced them not to transgress that shared and customary manner, and also to not envisage Him above the multitude, but to think that He is present among them as one of the good men. And the miraculous seizure from their midst and the sight of Him ascending towards heaven, who moments before was sleeping and starving, and through His throne ended the pain of the journey and endured all the things in which everyone is caught up, clearly convinced them not to pay attention to corrupt reasonings, but to believe that the Ascension towards the heavens is the journey to God. It also forces them to remember that *above all is God*, whom He continuously calls His Father and to whom He predicted that He would ascend, so that, what Peter was taught earlier

---

<sup>85</sup> *Jo.* 14.3.

<sup>86</sup> *Gal.* 2.2.

<sup>87</sup> *Lc.* 17.22.

- 420 ὃν ἀναβήσεσθαι προύλεγεν· ὥσθ' ὁ πρότερον ὁ Πέτρος ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐδιδάσ-  
κετο, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς ὕστερον ὀρῶσι τὸν διδάσκαλον ἀναλαμβάνομενον δῆλον ἐγίνε-  
το· οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδ' οἷς ἑώρων ἀπιστεῖν οἷοί τε ἦσαν· καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς συνέ-  
βαινε τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἀνάγκην εἶχον αὐτὸν ἐρωτᾶν *ποῦ*  
*ὑπάγει*; σαφῶς γὰρ ἑώρων πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνιόντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὄψεως διδασ-  
425 κόμενοι·
- (25) Πόσῃν τοίνυν εἰκὸς αὐτοῖς ἀγάπην περὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐγγενέσθαι μεμνη-  
μένους μὲν τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν ὁ ἀψευδὴς αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε· μεμνημένους δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης  
ἣν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρότερον ἠγαπήθησαν καὶ ὡς δι' αὐτὴν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ὑποσχέσεων  
ἀμελήσει· ἀλλὰ καὶ μεμνήσεται καὶ τελέσει Θεὸς ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ τὸν παν-  
τοδύναμον Θεὸν ἀφικνούμενος ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν φιλεῖν τὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε· καὶ διὰ τὴν  
V106r πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν | ἀγάπην ἔτοιμον εἶναι πάντ' αὐτοῖς χαριεῖσθαι· τότε γὰρ πάντα  
ἄθρόα· τὰ τε εἰρημένα τὰ τε πεπραγμένα παρὰ Χριστοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν μνήμην εἰσήει-  
τὰ *ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον* γλυκέα τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης προχέομενα λόγια· ἅπερ κοινῇ  
δημηγορῶν καὶ ἅπερ ἰδίᾳ τούτους παραινῶν ἐποιεῖτο· τὰ θαύματα οἷς τοὺς δεομέ-  
435 νους ἐδεξιοῦτο· αἱ παντοδαπαὶ τῶν προσιόντων εὐεργεσίαι· τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπηρεά-  
ζοντας ἀνεξίκακον· αἱ σοφαὶ καὶ ἄφουκτοι πρὸς τὰς κακούργους ἐρωτήσεις καὶ δο-  
λερὰς ἀποκρίσεις· αἱ διορθωμένοι μεθ' ἡμερότητος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιτιμήσεις·  
ἢ γονέων πάντων φιλοστοργίαν νικῶσα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιμέλεια· ὁ βίος λάμπων ὑπὲρ  
τὸν ἥλιον· καὶ οἷος θεοσεβείας πάσης εἶναι κανὼν·
- 440 (26) Τίς τοίνυν εἰ μὴ λίθος εἰ μὴ σίδηρος οὐκ ἂν πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἀγαθὸν ἐξεχύθη;  
τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνῳ πάντα δεσμὸν ῥήξας ἠθέλησε συναποδημησαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν  
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν σωμάτων συζυγίαν αὐτοὺς τότε δυσχεραίνειν νομίζω· ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
O139v οὐκ | εἰκόντων οὐδὲ συνεπαιρομένων αὐταῖς πρὸς τὰ ἄνω· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατεχόν-  
των καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀναγκαζόντων ὀρᾶν τὸν ἐρώμενον· ᾧ συνεῖναι κεφάλαιον πάσης  
445 εὐδαιμονίας· ὃ ποία τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκείνην ἔξεστι παραβάλλειν; τί  
γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἡδονῆς λόγον γένοιτο μεῖζον, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο προσγίνοιτο τοῦ τὸν  
φίλον ὀρᾶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ τῇ θεῖᾳ τιμώμενον δόξῃ; ἀρκεῖ  
γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῆς τιμῆς ἣ τετίμηται φᾶναι· τούτου γὰρ καὶ μόνου οὐκ ἂν μεῖ-  
ζον ἐκείνους οἶμαι ζητήσαι· εἰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔδει προσθεῖναι· τὸ δὲ καὶ δω-  
450 ρεῶν πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἀναμένειν· καὶ δωρεῶν ἅς παρα-  
στήσαι λόγος ἀδυνατεῖ· ποίας τὰς ἐκείνων ψυχὰς οὐκ ἂν ἐπλήρωσεν εὐφοροσύνης;  
καίτοι οὐ μόνως μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς προσεδόκων, αὐτόν δ' ὄψεσθαι τούτοις ἀπείρητο  
τουλοιποῦ, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν μὴ δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον σφάζειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν  
χάριν σαίνειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ φίλου χωρισμὸν λύπης αἴτιον γίνεσθαι·
- 455 (27) Ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ εὐεργέτης ἕτερον τρόπον παρῆν· ἄλλος  
γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ Πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ· *τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας* ὃν ἐπηγγείλατο πέμψειν  
V106v Παράκλητον, *ἵνα μετ' αὐτῶν μένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν ὁ μὲν κόσμος λαβεῖν | οὐκ*  
*ἠδύνατο*· αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μένοντα ἔμελλον ἔχειν· ὅς ἀγάπῃ ὧν  
καὶ δι' οὗ ἢ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πιστῶν καρδίαις ἐκκέχρται, μεγάλην  
460 τότε ταῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ψυχαῖς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἀγάπην καὶ νῦν ταῖς τῶν πιστῶν  
καρδίαις ἐνίησιν· ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτούς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀναληφθέντα

423–424 *ποῦ ὑπάγει*] *Jo.* 13.36 | 433 *ὑπὲρ ... κηρίον*] *Pss.* 19.11, 119.103 | 456 τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας] *Jo.* 15.26, 16.13 | 457–458 *ἵνα ... ἠδύνατο*] *Jo.* 14.16–17

434 ἅπερ V] ἅτε O | 436 τὰς V] τοὺς O | 437 αἱ διορθωμένου, *scripserat* διω- (*ut vid.*) *sed postea* ω *delevit, correctionem autem non perfecit* ο *scribens* V<sup>1pc</sup> | 453 *post* ἡδονὴν, *τελέου habet* O | λόγον σφάζειν *scripserat* σφάζειν λόγον, *sed postea ordinem immutavit* α *et β addens* V<sup>1pc</sup> | 458 μένοντα *ex* μέλλοντα *ut vid.* V<sup>1</sup>

from the Apocalypse, would become apparent to those who later saw their Master be taken up<sup>88</sup>. For they could not disbelieve those things they had seen and at that moment, what had been said by Christ came to pass for them, because it was no longer necessary to ask him *Whither goest thou?*, as they, educated by their sight, clearly saw God ascending<sup>89</sup>.

(25) Now how much love was fitting to be born in them? They who remember on the one hand the words which the Trustworthy spoke to them, and on the other the love with which they had previously been loved by Him, and how, because of that love, they neglected none of their promises. But He will also remember and fulfil them, who is both Himself God and arrived at the side of the almighty God, whom He claimed loved them, too, and through His love for the Son was ready to forgive them completely. For at that moment everything came close together, what was said and done by Christ entered their memory; the words that flowed sweeter than honey and honeycomb from His mouth, the very words which He proclaimed to them in public, and the very words which He exhorted to them in private, He fulfilled.; the miracles with which He welcomed those in need; the good deeds of all sorts for those who approached, the forbearance towards those who threatened Him, the wise and inescapable answers towards mischievous and deceitful questions, the admonition towards His confidants to improve their civility, the concern for them that surpasses the love of any parent, the life that shines stronger than the sun, and how much of a guideline His for any worship of God<sup>90</sup>.

(26) Who would not be overjoyed at such a great love, unless he is made of stone or iron? And who would not want to move away with Him, after every bond has been broken? I think, then, that they were at that time displeased even by the union of bodies—bodies which neither suited the souls nor were raised on high together with those souls, but were holding them fast on earth and forcing them to look from afar at the beloved, with whom living together is the pinnacle of happiness. Which things of man can be compared to that pleasure? For what could be a greater reason for pleasure, even if nothing else could happen other than seeing our Friend ascending above the heavens and being honoured with divine glory? For it is enough that so much is revealed about the honour with which He is glorified. In fact, I do not think that they can ask anything greater than this alone, even if it were necessary that they add everything of themselves and that both the multitude and magnitude of the gifts remain after the Ascension—gifts which speech could not describe—which of their souls would it not have filled with joy? And indeed, they were not expecting gifts alone, but it would be refused that He be seen by them any further, so that henceforth pleasure would no longer preserve its own value, but grace spreads and the separation from their Friend would become a cause of pain.

(27) However, through His good deeds, the Benefactor himself was also present in another way, for as the other He was His Spirit, *the Spirit of truth*, that was commanded to send the Comforter, *that He may abide with them forever, whom the world cannot receive*<sup>91</sup>. But they received Him and were about to hold Him who was staying among them, who—being love and through whom the love for God was poured into the hearts of believers— stirred up a fierce love for Christ, then in the souls of His disciples and now in the hearts of believers, a love which drew them away from there and

---

<sup>88</sup> *Eph.* 4.6.

<sup>89</sup> *Jo.* 13.36.

<sup>90</sup> *Pss.* 19.11, 119.103.

<sup>91</sup> *Jo.* 15.26, 16.13, 14.16–17.

- διαβιβάζουσαν· και την μνήμην εκείνω προσκολλῶσαν· και την ένταῦθα διατριβήν,  
 ὡσπερ εἰρκτήν τινα πείθουσαν δυσχεραίνειν· ἐπιθυμεῖν τε μετὰ Παύλου ἀναλῦσαι  
 και σὺν Χριστῷ εἶναι· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τὴν τῶν πλουτούντων εἶναι καρδίαν, ὅπου τὸν  
 465 *θησαυρὸν* ἔχουσι ἀποκείμενον· και Παῦλος βοᾷ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖν τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖν· ὅπου  
*Χριστός* ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς καθήμενος· μέγα τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως  
 γέγονε κέρδος· και γὰρ και τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῖν αὖξει μισθούς· και τὴν ἐλπίδα  
 O140r πᾶσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν μεταφέρει· και | τοῦ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐρω-  
 τος κἂν ὀπωσοῦν ἢ ταῦτα σεμνὰ, τὸν τῶν ἀοράτων προτιμᾶν παραινεῖ· ἐκείνον μὲν  
 470 δεικνῦσα μόνοις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς συμπλεκόμενον· τοῦτον δε τῆς νοεῖας και ἀπαθοῦς  
 ὄντα μοίρας· και τὸν μὲν γε νηπίων· τὸν δὲ, πάθος ὄντα τελείων·  
 (28) Διὸ και ὁ Χριστὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ταπεινότερων ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ με-  
 ταθεῖναι βουλόμενος· ἔλεγεν, ἐὰν ἐγὼ μὴ ἀπέλθω, ὁ Παράκλητος οὐκ ἐλεύσεται πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς, οὐχ ὅτι τότε παρὼν τοῖς μαθηταῖς οὐκ ἠδύνατο δοῦναι· και ἔδει πρῶτον αὐτὸν  
 475 ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἵν' ὅπερ οὐκ εἶχεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο πείσας ἐκείνον και  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, οὕτω τοῖς φίλοις χαρίσῃται· πῶς γὰρ ἂν τοῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ πάντα τὰ  
 τοῦ Πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ λέγων εἶναι; ἄνωθεν γὰρ μετὰ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας και τὰ ἐκεί-  
 νης πάντα και αὐτὸν λαβὼν τὸν Παράκλητον, ἐπίσης τῷ Πατρὶ τοῦτον ἔχει και συ-  
 νόνη και ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προϊόντα· και οἷς ἂν ἐθέλοι παρ' αὐτοῦ και χορηγούμενον  
 480 και διδόμενον· οὐδενὸς οὕτε χρόνου οὕτε τόπου τὴν χάριν δυναμένου κωλύσαι·  
 ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἂν διὰ πάντων ἴσος ἦν τῷ Πατρὶ· τὰ μὲν ὡσπερ ἐκείνος δυνάμενος,  
 τῶν δὲ δι' ἀσθενεῖαν ἀπολιμπανόμενος· οὐ τοίνυν τὸ μὴ παρὼν δοῦναι τὸν Παρά-  
 κλητον, | ἀδυναμία τινὶ λογιστέον· ἀλλ' ἦν τοὺς μαθητὰς συνεθίζοντος τῶν ὀρωμέ-  
 νων τὰ ἀόρατα προτιμᾶν· και διατοῦτο ἀφαιρεῖ τούτων τὸ ὀρώμενον κάλλος ἵνα τῆς  
 485 ἀοράτου καλλονῆς ἐρᾶν αὐτοὺς πείσῃ· και τὴν τοῦ δούλου συστέλλει μορφήν, ἵν'  
 αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μορφήν ὑποδείξῃ· ὁ και τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην ἡμῖν πολλα-  
 πλασιάζει· ἥς μείζον οὕτ' ἂν ἄνθρωπος εἰσενέγκαι Θεῷ, οὕτ' ἂν αὐτὸς λυσιτελέσ-  
 τερον αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ λάβοι δῶρον· αὕτη γὰρ μόνη Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους συνά-  
 φεια· ἥς τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, οὐδενὸς δεῖ λοιπόν·  
 490 (29) Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ένταῦθα τῷ ἀναληφθέντι πιστεύσαντας περιμένει  
 τῶν μὲν εἰκόνων τοῖς παραδείγμασι τῇ δὲ θεωρίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑποχωρησάσης· οὐχ  
 οἷς δὲ εἶπον μόνον βελτίους ὑπὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου γινόμεθα ἀλλὰ και ἕτερον ἡμῖν  
 O140v έντευθεν μέγα προσγίνεται κέρδος· και ὁ | μόνον ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παρὰ Θεοῦ διδό-  
 μενα συντηρεῖ, τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀντὶ τείχους γινόμενον· ὅσον γὰρ ἢ πρὸς  
 495 Θεὸν εὐλάβεια και ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγνὸς φόβος ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς ἀναγκαῖ-  
 ον, παρέλκον ἂν εἴη πειρᾶσθαι λόγοις ἀποδεικνύναι, τούτου παρὰ τε γονέων και  
 συγγενῶν και φίλων και πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν τυποῦν ἡμᾶς βουλομένων, ὡσπερ τινος  
 πρώτου μαθήματος, ἡμῖν παραδιδόμενον· και τοῦτο εὐλόγως· εἰ γὰρ τὸ τοῖς μείζοσι  
 τοὺς ἐλάττους ὑπέικειν και τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους και τὰ παραγγέλματα δεδιέναι και  
 500 πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις βούλεσθαι ζῆν, τοῖς μὲν καθέκαστον γίνεται σωτηρία, τὸ  
 δὲ ὅλον κάλλιστόν τε ἅμα και διαρκέστατον ἀποφαίνει ὡσπερ ἀλύτῳ δεσμῷ τῇ  
 τάξει συνεχόμενον και μὴ ἐώμενον διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν λυθῆναι·  
 (30) Εἰ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας αἰδῶς και εὐλάβεια τὸ  
 πᾶν σώζει, πόσον ἂν τις φόβου και εὐλαβείας εἰσενεγκῶν τῷ Θεῷ τὸ προσῆκον

464–465 ἐκεῖ ... *θησαυρὸν*] *Mt.* 6.22; *Lc.* 12.34 | 465–466 τὰ ἄνω ... καθήμενος] *Ep. Col.* 3.1–2 | 473–474 ἐὰν ... ὑμᾶς] *Jo.* 16.7 | 485 δούλου ... μορφήν] *Phil.* 2.7

464 τὸν O] τῶν V | 468 ὀρωμένων O] ἐρωμένων V | 487 ἂν *habet* V] *non habet* O | 492 γινόμεθα] *ex* γινόμενα *ut vid.* V<sup>1</sup> | 495 φόβος, β *ex corr.* V<sup>1</sup> | *post* εἴη, *scripserat* λόγοις *sed postea linea delevit* V<sup>1</sup>

transferred them to Him who was taken up, and which made the memory to Him stuck and persuaded them to be displeased at the time spent there, as something that should be avoided, and to desire to dissolve after Paul's example and be with Christ. For it is necessary that *the heart of the rich is there, where they keep the treasure buried*<sup>92</sup>. Paul, too, shouts to *seek those things which are above, set your affection on things above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God*<sup>93</sup>. So there was a great gain for us from the Ascension, for it will multiply the rewards of faith for us and also transfer all hope from men to God and advise us to prefer the desire for the invisible above that for the visible, however noble these things may be, by showing that the first kind is intertwined only with the sensible, while the other belongs to an intellectual and insensible destiny; and that the first is of the childlike, while the other, which is the Passion, of the perfect.

(28) Wherefore Christ, who wanted to change the place of His disciples from the lowest to the high place, said: *If I do not go away, the Comforter will not come unto you*, because He could not give while He was present among His disciples<sup>94</sup>. It was necessary for Him to ascend to His Father first so that, having convinced the Father of what He did not have of Himself, and having received it from the Father, He would so give it to His friends. For how could He have said this, who says that everything from His Father is His own? For since He had received from above along with the Fatherly essence also everything that belongs to it and the Comforter Himself, He had this equally with the Father, while being with Him and arising from Him. And for them, He would want what was provided and given by Him, while nothing, neither time nor place, could prevent the grace, for otherwise, He would not be equal with the Father in everything, being able to do some things like Him, but leaving others undone because of weakness. Accordingly, the in-absence-giving of the Comforter should not be considered an inability, but as being from Him Who is making His disciples accustomed to prefer the invisible to the visible and for this reason takes away the visible beauty from them, that He might persuade them to love the invisible beauty. And he removed the *form of the servant*, that he might show them the form of God<sup>95</sup>. This also multiplied our love for Him, than which no man could offer a greater thing to God, nor He Himself receive anything more useful as a gift from God. For only this love is the connection between God and men. Those who reach it, lack nothing else.

(29) So this waits at that place for those who believe in Him who was taken up there, while faith withdraws from the images with examples, but yields to intellectual understanding. And not only because of what I said did we become better through the mystery, but another great benefit befell us from it and the only thing that preserves everything given by God, having become like walls around our benefits. For such a great necessity are the reverence for God and the holy fear of Him, that it would be drawing us aside to try and demonstrate it in words, while this was passed on to us as a first lesson by parents and relatives and friends and simply all who wanted to form us. And this is reasonable because if the inferior give way to superiors and their customs, and fear their commands, and want to live to appear good to them, salvation will happen for each and show the universe as the most beautiful and at the same time most lasting, kept in order as by an unbreakable bond and not allowed to be dissolved by disorder.

(30) Now if among men, awe and reverence for rulers save everything, how much fear and reverence would one think fit when bringing it to God, to whom neither law nor necessity nor fate allotted

<sup>92</sup> Mt. 6.22; Lc. 12.34.

<sup>93</sup> Ep.Col. 3.1–2.

<sup>94</sup> Jo. 16.7.

<sup>95</sup> Phil. 2.7.

505 ἀποδοῦναι νομίζοιτο, ᾧ τὸ ἄρχειν οὐ νόμος ἢ χρεία ἢ τύχη τις ἔνειμεν, μόνη δ' ἢ φύσις ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἡγεῖσθαι; διὸ καὶ μόνος οὗτος κυρίως ἂν καλοῖτο δεσπότης, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσα δεσποτεία καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ δύναμις ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ οὗτος πάσαις ἀρχαῖς νόμους τίθησι, | ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐδενὸς οὐδαμῆ δεῖται, οὐδέ τι τούτῳ παρ' ἐκείνων προσγίνεται· δι' ὃ καὶ δουλεύειν ἂν ὀπωσοῦν ὑποπεύοιτο· ὁ μικροῦ πᾶσι τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἄρχειν συμβαίνει· ἢ πλεον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀεὶ δέ τι προσδεομένοις τῶν ἀρχομένων· καὶ οὕτως οὐ πάντῃ τὴν δουλείαν ἐκφεύγουσιν τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι τῷ δουλεύειν συνέζευκται· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐσίας· καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς αἴτιος ὢν, οὐδενὸς δεῖται τῶν αὐτοῦ ποιημάτων· ὡσθ', ὅπερ ἔφην, τούτῳ μόνῳ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸ τῆς δεσποτείας χρῆμα προσήκει· ὡς ἂν πάντων μὲν ἀπλῶς ἀφαιμένῳ· πᾶσι δὲ ἀγαθὰ πάντα νέμοντι· ἀπείρω δὲ ἀξία | πάντων ὑπερανωκισμένῳ· εἰς τοῦτον τοίνυν τὸν λυσιτελεῖν καὶ πάσης ἐλευθερίας κρείττω ζυγὸν ὑπαγόμεθα· τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν μυστήριον ἐννοοῦντες· μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἔτι διατρίβοντα τὸν Δεσπότην, ἢ τῆς φύσεως κοινότης οὐκ ἀρκούντως ἂν ἐκείνον ἡμῖν ὑπεδείκνυ· οὐδέ τι τοῦ ὀρωμένου πλεον φαντάζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ συνεχῶρει· ὥστε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀγάπην ἡμῶν καὶ τιμὴν, πολὺ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐλαβείας κεχωρίσθαι συνέβαινε· ἦν γὰρ τῇ πρὸς διδασκάλους ἢ γονέας ἢ ἄλλως προήκοντας ἐοικυῖα·

(31) Νῦν δὲ ἡ παράδοξος ἄνοδος· καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐρανίων πυλῶν ἄρσις· καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς δόξης ἔνδοξος εἰσοδος· καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀγγέλων βοαὶ καὶ κρότοι καὶ ὕμνοι, μεθ' ὧν παρέπεμπον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἡ ἐκδεξιῶν καθέδρα· καὶ τὸ παρὰ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐπίσης τῷ Πατρὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ἅπαντα ταῦτα τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνίστησι λογισμούς· καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἴστησι· καὶ πείθει συνάδειν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐπινικίους· καὶ ὡς ἀληθῆ Θεὸν εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν, ὃν πρότερον ἄνθρωπον ψιλὸν ἐνομίζομεν· διὸ καὶ Παῦλος Χριστὸν εἰ καὶ πρὶν ἀναληφθῆναι κατὰ σάρκα ἐγίνωσκεν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς ἀποθέμενος λογισμούς, παραινεῖ σαρκὸς μὲν καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἐννοιῶν οὐ πολὺν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι· οὐδὲ μέχρι τούτου τὸν κενωθέντα λόγον νοεῖν· οὐχ ὡς πρότερον μὲν διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν σαρκὸς προσκαιρὸν ἀνασχόμενον· ὕστερον δ' ὡσπερ ἐφόλκιόν τι ταύτην ἀποθέμενον ἢ ἀποθησόμενον· μένει γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ μενεῖ γε μετὰ τῆς θεότητος ἄνθρωπος· καὶ διατοῦτο τὴν σάρκα φορῶν, ἣν ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἔργων ὑπηρετὴν γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι πρὸ μὲν τῆς ἀναλήψεως ἦν τις χώρα περὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς λογισμοῖς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαυμαστῆς οὐσης τυφλότητος, εἴ τις μὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ὑψηλὰς | ἐννοίας καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ἀνατρέχει· ἡλικὸν τοίνυν τὸ νῦν ἡμῖν χαρισθὲν, τὸ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητα καὶ δύναμιν ἐπιγινῶναι·

540 (32) Τοῦτο γὰρ εὐλάβειαν ἡμῖν ἐμποιῆσαν καὶ ἐκπληξιν, ἐν φόβῳ τούτῳ δουλεύειν καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι παρασκευάσει· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἡμέτερον πάθος· καὶ ᾧ βελτίους ὑπὸ τοῦ μυστηρίου γινόμεθα· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας τὰ θαυμαστά δὴ ταῦτα καὶ μεγάλα διαπραξάμενος, ἐτέρῳ μείζονι τῷ νῦνπραχθέντι τὰ φθάσαντα πάντα ἐπεσφραγίσαστο· τὴν γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ γένους καὶ τὸν πρὸς Θεὸν πόλεμον ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ κατακρίνας· καὶ ταύτην ὑπὲρ καταλλαγῆς θυσίαν ἀγνωστάτην προσενεγκῶν, ἦν προσκαιρὸν μὲν θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς γεύσασθαι

526 τῷ ... προσκυνεῖσθαι] *Jo.* 4.21 | 527 μετὰ ... ἀγγέλων] *Mt.* 16.27, *Mc.* 8.38 | 530 κατὰ σάρκα ἐγίνωσκεν] 2 *Cor.* 5.16 | 540–541 ἐν φόβῳ ... ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι] *Ps.* 2.11

505 νόμος O] *vix leg.* V | 509 δι' ὃ V] διὸ O | 517 καὶ πάσης ἐλευθερίας κρείττω ζυγὸν ὑπαγόμεθα O] καὶ κρείττω πάσης ἐλευθερίας κρείττω ζυγὸν V. κρείττω<sup>1</sup> *postea in exteriore margine addidit, sed κρείττω<sup>1</sup> non delevit V<sup>1pc</sup>* | 534 *post* ἀεὶ, *scripserat γε, ubi γ ex corr., sed postea linea delevit V<sup>1pc</sup>* | 537 μὴ *habet V] non habet O* | 543 δὴ *habet V] non habet O*

the power to rule, but only His nature was sufficient for Him to rule over all things? Wherefore He alone could properly be called ‘Lord’, not only because all dominion and authority and power took their beginning from Him and He establishes laws on all principles, but also because He does not need anyone of those who are ruled, nor does He receive anything from them, because of which He might be suspected of being a slave. This happened a little later to all who seemed to rule, because—to a greater or lesser extent—they always depend on those being ruled. And in this way, they by no means escape slavery, because ‘depending on’ goes hand in hand with ‘being a slave’. He, however, being responsible for the essence of the principles and power and actions and simply of everything, does not depend on anything of His making, so that as I have already said, according to truth, power belongs to Him alone, because He simply renounced everything, distributes all good to everyone, and surpasses all with infinite worth. So under this useful yoke, stronger than any freedom, we are brought when we understand the mystery of the Ascension. For when the Lord was still dwelling among us, the correspondence of nature did not reveal Him sufficiently to us, and nothing more than what was seen was allowed to be imagined about Him, so that our love and honour for Him turned out to be far removed from the appropriate reverence, because it resembled that towards teachers or parents or those who are first in another way.

(31) Now the miraculous ascent and the removal of the heavenly gates and the glorious entrance to the glory of the kingdom and the shouting and applause of the angels and the hymns with which they send Him to His Father, and the seat at the right-hand side, and everyone’s *worship of Him as of His Father*<sup>96</sup>; all these things stir up our arguments and place us *with the angels* and persuade us to sing songs of praise together with them and to honour and worship Him, whom we previously mistook for a simple man, as a true God<sup>97</sup>. That is also why Paul, even though he recognised Christ *according to the flesh* even before He was taken up, now after the Ascension, when he has put aside the base reasonings, advises not to give great value to the flesh and bodily ideas, and not to think of the Word that was made humble until then. Not, as if He temporarily took on the flesh because of economy, and later cast it off or will cast it off like some garment, for He remains and will always remain a human being with divinity<sup>98</sup>. And because of this He keeps wearing the flesh He wanted for Himself to become a servant of man-loving deeds. However, since before the Ascension, there was room for base reasonings concerning Him, after it, the blindness is miraculous, if someone does not rise to high and marvellous thoughts. So great, then, is what is now bestowed upon us, namely to witness the divinity and power of Christ, for this, bringing us joy and bewilderment, will prepare us to *serve Him with fear, and rejoice with trembling*<sup>99</sup>.

(32) And this is our Passion and the thing because of which we become better through the mystery, but He too, having fulfilled those truly wonderful and great deeds on behalf of the salvation of men, sealed all previous thing by that other greater deed, that was now accomplished. For having condemned the sin of our race and the war against God in the same flesh, and having offered for atonement that most holy sacrifice, to which He had assented to taste of death and destruction for a short

---

<sup>96</sup> *Jo.* 4.21.

<sup>97</sup> *Mt.* 16.27; *Mc.* 8.38.

<sup>98</sup> *2 Cor.* 5.16.

<sup>99</sup> *Ps.* 2.11.

συνεχώρησεν, ἀνέστησε δὲ πάλιν, οὐκέτι λοιπὸν ἀποθανομένην ἴν' ἑαυτῷ τὰς τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων ἐλπίδας ἐγείρη καὶ δείξῃ πᾶσιν ὡς οἱ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς δυσχερείας αὐτῷ κοινωνήσαντες, μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φθορὰν ἐκδύντες, καὶ τὰ σύντροφα καὶ οἷς συνέζησαν σώματα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντες, ἀθάνατοι ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἄφθαρτοι ἀφθάρτῳ δι' αἰῶνος τούτῳ συνέσονται

550 (33) Ταῦτα πάντα ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δυνάμει θεότητος ἐπιτελεσάμενος, ἐπανῆκε μὲν ὡσπὲρ τις ἀριστεὺς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς νίκαις τὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἀρρήτῳ βίᾳ καταστρεψάμενος, ὃν καὶ δήσας τὰ ἐκείνου διήρπασε σκευὴ οἷς ἐν τοῖς δοκοῦσιν αὐτῷ κατε-  
555 χρήτο· οὓς καὶ ὄργῆς ὄντας *σκευή, σκευή ἐλέους* εἰργάσατο· καὶ ταύτην *αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀναβάς εἰς τὸ ὕψος*, ὡσπὲρ τινα λείαν προσήγαγε τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐλευθερώσας τοὺς τέως ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ὡσπερ αἰχμαλώτους κατεχομένους· οἷς καὶ δέδωκε *δόματα*, ἀντὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας τοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος χαρίσμασι κοσμήσας μάλα λαμπρῶς

560 (34) Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατορθωμένων αὐτῷ· ἀπαλλαγὴ τελεία τῆς ἀπηνούς τυραννίδος· | καὶ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς ἐκπεσοῦσιν ἐπάνοδος· ἐφεξῆς δὲ καὶ ὅπως | ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερία μέχρι παντὸς παραμεινοί· καὶ δίκην δυναίμεθα λαβεῖν ὧν ἡδίκημεθα, προνοεῖ· καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἰς τοῦτο συνεργὸν φέρων δίδωσι· καὶ τειχος καὶ ὄπλα τὴν αὐτοῦ παρέχεται δύναμιν· ταύτην παν-  
565 ταχόθεν τοὺς ἀνασωθέντας ἀσφαλιζόμενος· *ἐμφανίζεται* γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἴν' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτὸν καταιδέσῃ· ὁ φιλόανθρωπος Υἱὸς τὸν ὁμοίως φιλόανθρωπον Πατέρα· ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου σταυρὸν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγάπης ἡμῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπακοὴν προβαλλόμενος· καὶ νῦν *καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὕψηλοις*· οὐκ ἐπιλανθάνων τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπιζόντων· οὐδὲ τὴν ἐξαρχῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς κατέλυσε προθυμίαν· ἀλλ' ἐντυγχάνει μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῷ Θεῷ· ἐπακούει δὲ τῶν δεομένων ὡς εἷς Θεὸς μετὰ τοῦ Πατρός· ἅπαξ γὰρ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μεσίτης ἀξιώσας γενέσθαι καὶ διπλὸς ἀνασχόμενος ὁ ἀπλούστατος, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς φύσεσι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῖν χρήται· προσάγων μὲν ὡς ἐξ' ἡμῶν τὸ ἡμέτερον· προσδεχόμενος δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς· καὶ ὡς μὲν τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἀπόστολος ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἱεουργῶν· καὶ τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς κεκαθαρμένους ἢ καθαιρομένους προσάγων· ὡς δὲ Θεὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου θυσίας δεχόμενος· καὶ τοῖς αἰτήμασιν ἐπινεύων· καὶ τὸ καταξίαν νέμων ἐκάστω·

570 (35) Ὡ πόθεν ποῦ ἡμᾶς ἀνήγαγεν ὁ Χριστός; ἀπὸ βαράθρων εἰς οὐρανόν; ἀπὸ θανάτου εἰς ζωὴν; ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς; ἀπὸ δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν; ἀπὸ πικρᾶς τυραννίδος ἐπὶ βασιλείαν· καὶ *βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον*, ἧς δι' αὐτοῦ γινόμεθα κληρονόμοι· ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμους ἐποίησατο τοὺς ἐχθρούς· πάντα ἡμῖν αὐτὸς τὰγαθὰ γέγονεν ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων κακῶν· τί τοίνυν ἡμῶν εὐτυχέστερον τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευόντων; τί δὲ μακαριώτερον; τί δὲ ἐντιμότερον;  
585 θαρρούντως ἂν εἴπομεν ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος δεσπότης ἀγγέλων· ἔστι Θεὸς σύννομος καὶ φίλος ἀνθρώπων· ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὃ *τὰ Σεραφείμ* λειτουργίαν εἰσφέρει· | ἔστι Θεὸς ἀνθρώποις διακονήσας· ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος· οὗ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τὰ Χερουβὶμ συγκαλύπτεται· ἔστι Θεὸς, οὗ τὴν δόξαν ἄνθρωπος ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ κατοπτεύει προσώπῳ· ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὃ πᾶσα τῶν ἀγγέλων ἢ τάξις δουλεύει· ἔστιν ἡμῖν

555 ὄργῆς ... ἐλέους] *Rom.* 9.22–23 | 555–556 αἰχμαλωσίαν ... ὕψος] *Ps.* 68.19; *Eph.* 4.8 | 557 δόματα] *Ps.* 68.19 | 565–566 ἐμφανίζεται ... Θεοῦ] *Heb.* 9.24 | 568–569 καθήμενος ... ὕψηλοις] *Heb.* 1.3 | 581 βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον] *Heb.* 12.28 | 586 τὰ Σεραφείμ] *Is.* 6

558 προτέρας V] πρότερον O | 560 ἡμῶν κατορθωμένων O] ἡμ *non liquet* V | 561 τοῖς O] *non liquet* V | 585 (θαρ)ρούντως ἂν εἴπομεν O] *non liquet* V | 586 τὰ *habet* V] *non habet* O

V108v  
O142r

O142v  
V109r

time, He raised it again when it was no longer destined to die, in order to raise the hope of those who believe in Him for Himself and show to all that those who shared with Him in the passions and trials for virtue and cast off death and assumed the innate things and the bodies with which they lived, will be immortal and indestructible together with Him who is immortal and indestructible, for all eternity.

(33) Having accomplished all this with the unsurpassed power of His divinity, He returned like a champion after many victories, who destroyed the strong one with unspeakable force, He binds him and strips off the equipment he used in his plans and which, being *vessels of wrath*, He turned into *vessels of mercy*<sup>100</sup>. And this *captivity* He brought like some kind of booty to the Father, *when He ascended up on high* and freed those who had until then been held as prisoners of the devil, to whom He also gave *gifts*, when He adorned them very brilliantly with the gifts of the Spirit in place of the previous disorder<sup>101</sup>.

(34) This then is the first of what He accomplished on our behalf: complete deliverance from cruel tyranny and the return to the fatherland for those who had fallen. But thereupon He also took care that freedom would stay with us forever and we could exact justice for the evil done to us. And again, He gave Him to us, leading to that cooperation, and He provided a wall and weapons for His strength, securing this on all sides for those who had been saved. For *He appears in the presence of God on our behalf*, that He might revere Him on our behalf, the man-loving Son in the presence of the equally man-loving Father, putting forward instead of supplication the cross for the world and His sufferings and the obedience arising from our love for Him<sup>102</sup>. Even now, sitting at *the right-hand side of the Majesty on high*, without forgetting those who believed in Him, He did not abandon His initial benevolence for us<sup>103</sup>. But on the one hand, He meets God as human on our behalf, on the other, He obeys the duties as being one God with the Father. For at once, having been able to become the mediator of God and men and having endured the double nature, being the most simple one, He used both natures for our benefit. He is bringing what is ours as one from among us and receiving what is from us on our behalf, and as the high priest and apostle of our salvation, He is always serving our salvation and bringing before God those who are purified or are being purified. But as a God, He is receiving the sacrifices on our behalf, and granting requests, and granting to each according to their merit.

(35) O from where does Christ lead us up, and to where? From abysses to heaven? From death to life? From darkness to light? From slavery to freedom? From bitter tyranny to a kingdom, an *unshakable kingdom* of which we become heirs through Him<sup>104</sup>? He makes His enemies brothers and joint-heirs. Everything good He has become for us, in place of the former evil. What could then be more fortunate than us who believe in Him? What more blessed? What more honoured? We could boldly say that man is lord of angels. God is lawful and friend of men. He is a man to whom the *Seraphim* offer their service<sup>105</sup>. He is God who served men. He is a man before whose gaze the Cherubim cover themselves. He is God, whose glory man beholds with his face veiled. He is a man

<sup>100</sup> *Rom.* 9.22–23.

<sup>101</sup> *Ps.* 68.19; *Eph.* 4.8; *Ps.* 68.19.

<sup>102</sup> *Heb.* 9.24.

<sup>103</sup> *Heb.* 1.3.

<sup>104</sup> *Heb.* 12.28.

<sup>105</sup> *Is.* 6.

590 ἀδελφὸς καὶ φίλος· ἐκεῖνος τοῦτο γὰρ ἤξιώσε καλέσαι τοὺς δούλους· ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐξ  
 ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος ἐν δεξιᾷ καθήμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐκεῖνος ἀεὶ ἡμῶν ὡς Θεὸς εἰσακούει·  
 ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀεὶ τῷ Πατρὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐντυγχάνει· Θεὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· τίς καθ’  
 ἡμῶν; τί ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐκ αἰτήσῃ ὁ πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ θησαυροὺς ἀνοίξας ἡμῖν; τί  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν Πατέρα οὐ πείσει; ὁ ἀγαπητὸς Υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ,  
 595 μέγα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀξίωμα δέδοται· μεγάλη παρρησία μεγάλη  
 τιμὴ· ταύτης ἐχώμεθα, ἀεὶ ταύτην αὖξιν σπουδάζωμεν· ἀεὶ μετὰ παρρησίας προσ-  
 ερχόμεθα θρόνῳ τῆς χάριτος·

(36) Ἔσται δὲ τοῦτο, ἂν τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν γηϊνῶν φροντίδων ἀπανιστάμενοι· εἰς  
 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ καθήμενον ἀποβλέπωμεν· ὃν ἐκεῖσε προπεπόμφαμεν ὑπὲρ  
 600 ἡμῶν πρεσβευτήν· μᾶλλον δ’ ὃς αὐτεπάγγελτος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα  
 πρεσβείαν ὑπέστη· πρόδρομος εἰς τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εἰσελθῶν· καὶ  
 πρόσφατον ἡμῖν ὁδὸν καὶ ζῶσαν τεμῶν· μᾶλλον δ’ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα γενό-  
 μενος· δι’ ἧς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πάλιν τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καταστήσωμεν· ὃν πάλιν  
 ἐκεῖθεν καὶ Σωτῆρα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα· τὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν σῶμα εἰς τὴν δόξαν  
 605 τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ μετασηματίζοντα· ταῦτα δε ἔσται· ἂν ὥσπερ μέλη πρὸς τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν ἡμῶν ἐπειγώμεθα· καὶ ταύτη βουλώμεθα δι’ ἔργων ἀξίων συνάπτεσθαι·  
 ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀμπέλῳ κλήματα μένωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν τῆς ρίζης ἀπολαύομεν ἀγα-  
 θῶν·

(37) Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρετῆς ἀμελήσαντες, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἐκμηθώμενοι, βληθῶμεν δὲ  
 610 ἔξω· καὶ ξηρανθῶμεν· καὶ δαπάνη πυρὸς μηδέποτε σβεννυμένου γενώμεθα· ἂν τὴν  
 ἀξίαν ἡμῶν ἐννοῶμεν καὶ ὅσον ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ τετιμήμεθα· ταῦτα γὰρ λογιζόμενοι·  
 O143r οὐκ ἀνεξόμεθα τοσαύτης τιμῆς προδοταί γενέσθαι· ἀλλ’ αἰδούμενοι | ταύτην· νῦν  
 μὲν ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσομεν· οὐκ ἔργων φαυλότητι τῆς δωρεᾶς  
 αἰσχύνοντες μέγεθος· μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον, καὶ μετὰ παρρησίας ὑπαντήσομεν τῷ  
 V109v 615 κριτῇ· φιλοτίμους | παρ’ αὐτοῦ δεχόμενοι τοῦ καλοῦ βίου τὰς ἀμοιβάς· ὅτι αὐτῷ  
 πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ αὐτοῦ· Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ  
 παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι· νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας  
 τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν·+

591 ἐν ... Θεοῦ] *Ep.Col.* 3.1 | 592 ὑπερ ... ἐντυγχάνει] *Rom.* 8.34 | 592–593 Θεὸς ... ἡμῶν] *Rom.* 8.31  
 | 594 ὁ ἀγαπητὸς Υἱὸς] *Mt.* 3.17 | ὁ ὢν ... κόλπον] *Jo.* 1.18 | 596–597 ἀεὶ ... χάριτος] *Heb.* 4.16 | 601  
 πρόδρομος ... εἰσελθῶν] *Heb.* 6.20 | 602 πρόσφατον ... ζῶσαν] *Heb.* 10.20 | 604–605 ταπεινώσεως ...  
 μετασηματίζοντα] *Phil.* 3.21 | 606 κεφαλὴν] *Eph.* 4.15 | 613 ὡς ... περιπατήσομεν] *Rom.* 13.13

594 πείσει V] πείσει O | 596–597 ἀεὶ ... χάριτος] *habet* O, *non habet* V | 600 Πατέρα O] Σωτῆρα V |  
 603 πάλιν<sup>2</sup>] *post* πάλιν<sup>2</sup>, *scripserat* καὶ σφ *sed postea linea delevit* V<sup>1pc</sup> | 605 ταῦτα δε ἔσται] *habet* O,  
*non habet* V | 612–613 (αἰ)δούμενοι ταύτην νῦν μὲν O] *non liquet* V | 613 οὐκ ἔργων φαυλότητι O] *non*  
*liquet* V | 614 δὲ ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ παρ(ρησίας) O] *non liquet* V | 618 *post* αἰώνων, ἀμήν *habet* O] *non*  
*habet* V

whom the entire order of angels serve as slaves; He is a brother and friend to us. For He is able to name slaves. To us He is a human from among us, *seated at the right-hand side of God*. As a God, He always listens to us, as a human, *He always faces God on our behalf*<sup>106</sup>. *If God be for us, who can be against us*<sup>107</sup>? What has He, who opened all His treasures for us, not asked on our behalf? Of what will He not persuade the Father for our sake? *The beloved Son who is in His bosom* was given as a great gift to men in heavens, a great freedom of speech, a great honour<sup>108</sup>. Let us hold on to it, let us always strive to increase it. *Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace*<sup>109</sup>.

(36) This will come to pass, when we—having departed from the earth and earthly thoughts—turn our gaze to heaven and to Him who is seated there, whom we have sent ahead as our ambassador. But rather willingly, He took on the *embassy* to the Saviour on our behalf, rushing to the Holy of Holies *for us and cutting a new and living way*<sup>110</sup>. And much more, He Himself became the straight path for us, through which we may again reach the truth and life in Him, whom we eagerly await as Saviour from there again. That he *changes our vile body to His glorious body* just as we would rush like members towards the Head and desire to be joined to It through worthy deeds<sup>111</sup>. Just as we would remain in Him like branches in a vineyard and rejoice in the good of the root.

(37) But we, if we have not been unconcerned about virtue and cut out from there, will never be cast out and wither and become the remnants of an extinguished fire. We will keep our value in mind and be greatly honoured in Christ. For considering these things, we shall not endure to become betrayers of such honour, but we will regard it. Now, let us walk *honestly, as in the day*, without feeling ashamed at the greatness of His gift because of the poorness of our deeds<sup>112</sup>. And a little later, we will also meet the judge with confidence, when we receive honourable rewards for our good life from Him. For to Him belong all glory, honour, and worship, together with the unoriginated Father, and the all-holy, good, and life-bringing Spirit. Now and ever and unto the ages of ages, amen.

<sup>106</sup> *Ep.Col.* 3.1; *Rom.* 8.34.

<sup>107</sup> *Rom.* 8.31.

<sup>108</sup> *Mt.* 3.17; *Jo.* 1.18.

<sup>109</sup> *Heb.* 4.16.

<sup>110</sup> *Heb.* 6.20, 10.20.

<sup>111</sup> *Phil.* 3.21; *Eph.* 4.15.

<sup>112</sup> *Rom.* 13.13.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## MANUSCRIPTS

- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. gr. 133 (*Diktyon* 66600).  
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 101 (*Diktyon* 66732).  
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 486 (*Diktyon* 67117).  
 Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1879 (*Diktyon* 68508).  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 90 (*Diktyon* 47377).

## PRINTED TEXTS

- Ps-Chrysostom, In secundum Domini adventum. *PG* 59, 619–628.  
 Demetrios Kydones, Epistula ad Asanem Constantinum, ed. M. CANDAL, Demetrio Cidonio y el problema trinitario palamítico. *OCP* 28 (1962) 75–120.  
 Demetrios Kydones, Epistulae, ed. R.-J. LOENERTZ, Correspondance (*StT* 186, 208). Vatican 1956; transl. F. TINNEFELD, Briefe (4 vols.). Stuttgart 1981–2003.  
 Demetrios Kydones, Paraphrasis Ps.-Augustini Soliloquiorum, ed. A. KOLTSIU-NIKETA, Dēmētriu Kudōnē, tu pseudoaugustineiu *Soliloquia* (*Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini* 11). Athens 2005.  
 Demetrios Kydones, Paraphrasis Fulgentii De fide ad Petrum, ed. A. KOLTSIU-NIKETA, Fulgentiu, Pros Petron peri pisteōs, hermēneuthen para Dēmētriu tu Kudōnē (*Philosophikē kai Theologikē Bibliothēkē* 40). Thessalonica 1999.  
 Dio Chrysostomus, ed. H. COMMELINUS, Tu en hagiois ontos patros hēmōn Iōannu tu Chrysostomu archiepiskopu Kōnstantinupoleōs Hermēneia eis tas tu hagiū Paulu epistolas. Heidelberg 1596.  
 Dionysios Thrax, Ars Grammatica, ed. G. UHLIG, Ars Grammatica. Leipzig 1883.  
 Nicolas Cabasilas, Vita in Christo, ed. M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, La Vie en Christ (Livres I–VII), vols. 1–2 (*SC* 355, 361). Paris 1989–1900.  
 Nicolas Cabasilas, Orationes, ed. A. ANGELOPOULOS, Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaetos, hē zōē kai to ergon autu (*Analecta Vlatadon* 5). Thessalonica 1970.  
 Manuel Kalekas, Epistulae, ed. R.-J. LOENERTZ, Correspondance de Manuel Calécas (*StT* 152). Vatican 1950.  
 Theodoros Skutariotes, Chronica, ed. R. TOCCI, Theodori Scutariotae Chronica (*CFHB* 46). Berlin – Boston, 2015.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- P. C. ATHANASOPOULOS, Augustinian Sources of Demetrios Kydones' Unedited *De Spiritus Sancti Processione ad amicum*: Preliminary Remarks, in: *Contra Latinos et adversus Graecos*. The Separation between Rome and Constantinople from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century, ed. A. Bucossi – A. Calia (*OLA* 286). Leuven 2020, 411–430.  
 P. C. ATHANASOPOULOS, The Greek and Latin Background to the Thomistic Scriptural Quotations in Gennadios Scholarios, *Compendium of Summa Theologiae* Ia IIae, in: *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and their Readers*, ed. R. Ceulemans – B. Crostini (*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 20). Uppsala 2021, 165–185.  
 P. C. ATHANASOPOULOS (ed.), Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World: Contexts, Authors, and Texts (*BA – Series Philosophica* 4). Berlin – Boston 2022.  
 M. H. BLANCHET, The two Byzantine Translations of Thomas Aquinas' *De rationibus fidei*: Remarks in View of their on-going editio princeps, in: *Never the Twain Shall Meet? Latins and Greeks Learning from Each Other in Byzantium*, ed. D. Searby (*BA – Series Philosophica* 2). Berlin 2018, 115–129.  
 P. CANART, Codices Vaticani Graeci: Codices 1745–1962. Vatican 1970.  
 A. M. CUOMO (ed.), Ioannis Canani De Constantinopolitana Obsidione Relatio: A Critical Edition, with English Translation, Introduction, and Notes of John Kananos' Account of the Siege of Constantinople in 1422 (*BA* 30). Boston – Berlin 2016.  
 H. O. COXE, Catalogue of Greek manuscripts in Bodleian Library's collections. Reprinted with corrections from the edition of 1853 (*Bodleian Library quarto catalogues* 1). Oxford 1969.  
 J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, The *Sitz im Leben* of Demetrius Cydones' Translation of pseudo-Augustine's *Soliloquia*: Remarks on a Recent Edition. *Quaestio* 6 (2006) 191–258.  
 J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, Byzantine Translations of Latin Philosophical Texts, in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Philosophy* II, ed. R. Pasnau – C. Van Dyke. Cambridge 2010, 822–826.  
 J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS – CH. DENDRINOS (edd.), Thomas Latinus – Thomas Graecus: O Thōmas Akyinatēs kai ē proslēpsē tu sto Byzantio. Thomas Aquinas and His Reception in Byzantium. Athens 2021.  
 J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, Scholarios' *Inserta Thomistica* in His *Compendium* of Demetrios Kydones' Translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, Ia. A Re-edition and its Textual Setting, in: *Le monde byzantine du xiii au xve siècle. Anciennes ou Nouvelles forms d'impérialité* (*TM* 25, 1). ed. M.-H. Blanchet – R. Estangüi Gómez, Paris 2021, 803–826.

- T. GANCHOU, Dēmētrios Kydōnēs, les frères Chrysobergēs et la Crète (1397–1401). De nouveaux documents, in: *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)*, ed. C. A. Maltézou – P. Schreiner. Venice 2002, 435–493.
- A. GLYCOFRYDI-LEONTSINI, Demetrius Cydones as a Translator of Latin Texts, in: C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin (ed.), *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*. Aldershot 2003, 175–185.
- M. HINTERBERGER, Outrageous Spelling, Impossible Forms, in: *Correctness in Comparison: Negotiating Linguistic Norms in Greek from the Imperial Roman until the Later Byzantine Period (I–XV c. AD)*, edd. K. Bentein – A. M. Cuomo (*Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 26). Turnhout 2025. (in print).
- M. JUGIE, Le discours de Dēmētrios Cydonēs sur l’Annonciation et sa doctrine sur l’Immaculée Conception. *EO* 17 (1914) 97–106.
- D. KALAMAKĒS, Anthologion ek tōn ergōn Augustinu Ippōnos exellēnisthen hypo Dēmētriu tu Kydōnē. Athens 1996.
- F. KIANKA, Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas. *Byz* 52 (1982) 264–286.
- F. KIANKA, Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones. *The International History Review* 7.2 (1985) 175–213.
- F. KIANKA, The Letters of Demetrios Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina. *DOP* 46 (1992) 155–164.
- F. KIANKA, Kydones and Italy. *DOP* 49 (1995) 99–110.
- G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961.
- R.-J. LOENERTZ, Les recueils des lettres de Dēmētrios Cydonēs (*StT* 131). Vatican 1947.
- E. V. MALTESE, Per l’edizione di autografi bizantini, in: *Problemi di ecdotica e esegesi di testi bizantini e grecomedievali*, ed. R. Romano. Atti della seconda Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio dell’AISB Salerno, 6–7 maggio 1992. Naples 1993, 81–94.
- E. V. MALTESE, Ortografia d’autore e regole dell’editore: gli autografi bizantini, in: *L’edizione critica tra testo musicale e testo letterario*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Cremona, 4–8 ottobre 1992, ed. R. Borghi and P. Zappalà. Lucca 1995, 261–286.
- C. M. MAZZUCCHI, Per una punteggiatura non anacronistica, e più efficace, dei testi greci, in: *Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno I–III*. *BollGrott*, 51–53 (1997) I 129–144.
- G. MERCATI, *Opere minori (StT 79)*. Vatican 1937.
- G. MERCATI, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (StT 56)*. Vatican 1931.
- F. NOUSIA, Manuel Calecas’ *Grammar*: Its Use and Contribution to the Learning of Greek in Western Europe, in: *Making and Rethinking the Renaissance: Between Greek and Latin in 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Century Europe*, ed. G. Abbamonte – S. Harrison. Berlin – Boston 2019, 51–66.
- J. NORET, Notes de ponctuation et d’accentuation byzantines. *Byz* 65.1 (1995) 69–88.
- J. NORET, L’accentuation Byzantine: En quoi et pourquoi elle diffère de l’accentuation «savante» actuelle, parfois absurde, in: *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. M. Hinterberger (*Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization* 9). Turnhout 2014.
- V. PASIOURTIDES, Demetrios Kydones’ Translation of Five Excerpts from Julianus Pomerius’ (Ps.-Prosperus’ and Ps.-Augustine’s) *De vita contemplativa (CPL 998)*, Bk. I: Re-edition and Historical Context, in: *Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World: Contexts, Authors, and Texts*, ed. P. Athanasopoulos. Berlin 2022, 173–188.
- M. REIL, Zur Akzentuation griechischer Handschriften. *BZ* 19 (1910) 476–529.
- A. ROLLO, La lingua greca nel Medioevo bizantino. *Periptero* 13–14 (2021) 18–29.
- A. RIEHLE (ed.), *Die Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos: Einleitung, Edition, Übersetzung (BA 43)*. Berlin – Boston 2023.
- J. R. RYDER, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*. Leiden 2010.
- H. F. STANDER, A Homily of Nestorius on the Ascension of Christ: Text, Translation and a Commentary. *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 6.1 (1985) 130–146.
- C. WRIGHT, Choices and Changes of Language in Demetrios Kydones’s Translation of Thomas Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae*, Ia, in: *Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World: Contexts, Authors, and Texts*, ed. P. Athanasopoulos. Berlin 2022, 189–212.
- A. ZALOUMIS, Demetrios Kydones’ Greek Rendering of Aristoteles Latinus in Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Theologiae*, IIa IIae, qu. 47 (“De Providentia”) in Light of the Sources of Aquinas’ Text, in: *Translation Activity in the Late Byzantine World: Contexts, Authors, and Texts*, ed. P. Athanasopoulos. Berlin 2022, 213–262.