

THE WORKS OF GREGORY THE SINAITE

BY
DAVID BALFOUR

A) Structure and titles of the works, with summary outline of their contents.

Saint Gregory of Sinai's published works, i.e. those included by Nikodemos Hagioreites and Makarios Notaras, former Bishop of Corinth, in 1782 in their *Philokalia*,¹¹² and from there republished and translated, consist of five series of «chapters» (κεφάλαια, capita), which are usually quoted under the following Greek headings or — by those who still follow the incongruous habit of quoting the works of the Greek Fathers by Latin titles — under their Latin equivalents adopted from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 150:

- 1) The 137 Κεφάλαια πάνυ ὠφέλιμα (Most beneficial chapters) or Capita;
- 2) the 7 Ἔτερα κεφάλαια (Other chapters) or Capita alia;
- 3) the 10 chapters Περί ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς (On hesychia and prayer) or De quiete et oratione;
- 4) The 15 chapters Περί ἡσυχίας καὶ τῶν δύο τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς (On hesychia and the two manners of prayer) or De quietudine et duobus orationis modis;

112. Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν (Anthology of the ascetic Fathers). First published in Venice in 1782 and in Church Slavonic translation, somewhat abridged, in Moscow in 1793. Second Greek edition, Athens 1893; third, Athens 1957-1963, with the addition of a valuable index; fourth, Athens 1974-1976, being a photostatic reproduction of the third. Originally in four volumes, but in five since 1963; Gregory's works have always been in the fourth. Texts in PG 150 copied from the Venice edition.

For the manuscript tradition lying at the base a) of the Greek *Philokalia*, see A. E. TACHIAS, *De la Philokalia au Dobrotoljubie*, in *Cyrrillomethodianum V* (Salonica 1981) 208-213, and b) of the Slavonic version (*Dobrotoljubie*), see the text and bibliography of that author's study *Mount Athos and the Slavic literatures*, *ibid.* IV (1977). It went through seven editions from 1822 to 1902, followed from 1877 onwards by editions of a Russian version by Theophan the Recluse, a retired bishop.

5) The 7 or 8 chapters *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι* (On how to sit) or *Quomodo oporteat sedere*.

The purpose of this section is to analyse the above titles and the sub-titles which accompany most of them, and to examine the structure of the works which they serve to introduce; to show that they are none of them really authoritative and most of them unsatisfactory; and to propose an alternative way of referring to the works. The doctrine embodied in these 177 *kephalaia* will be studied in a further section.

1) The title «Most beneficial chapters», which heads the first and longest set of *κεφάλαια*,¹¹³ can clearly not be attributed to St Gregory himself. The expression *πάνυ ὠφέλιμα* (in Slavonic, *zelo poleznya*) is a piece of self-praise in which he would not have indulged; this is simply the sort of gloss often written into the margins and titles of manuscripts by mediaeval scribes on their own initiative. The single word «Chapters» would be perfectly appropriate as a title, probably attributable to the author himself. But it applies equally to the remaining four works, and as a matter of fact the full title, not usually quoted, is *Κεφάλαια δι' ἀκροστιχίδος πάνυ ὠφέλιμα* (Most beneficial chapters in acrostic); so perhaps one should call these «The acrostic chapters» (*Κεφάλαια δι' ἀκροστιχίδος*). The initial letters of the first word of each chapter form in fact an acrostic of the following lengthy sub-title: *Λόγοι διάφοροι περὶ ἐντολῶν, δογμάτων, ἀπειλῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ λογισμῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ ἀρετῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς ὧν ἡ ἀκροστιχὶς ἦδε* (Various discourses concerning commandments, dogmas, threats and promises, and besides also concerning he-sychia and prayer: of which this is the acrostic). In the Greek that adds up to 136 letters, yet there are 137 *κεφάλαια*; this is because the word *ἐπαγγελιῶν* is mis-spelt *ἐπαγγελειῶν*, which adds on one more letter. The acrostic is a rough guide to the subject matter: e.g., the seven chap-

113. The literary device of imparting doctrine through a series of brief *kephalaia*, each more or less independent of its neighbours, goes back to at least the 4th century (Evagrius Pontikos) and was much used by the ascetic Fathers. Outstanding examples were St John of the Ladder and St Maximos the Confessor, both of whom have influenced St Gregory.

St Theodosios of Trnovo, Gregory's Bulgarian disciple, translated his master's chapters into Old Church Slavonic. To what extent his version may have influenced the Moscow edition of 1793 merits investigation.

ters corresponding to the word ἀπειλῶν (threats) deal with punishment for sin, while those whose initials compose the phrase περι ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς (concerning hesychia and prayer) come nearest to describing the contemplative life as such.

These 137 «most beneficial chapters» are a series of statements on various spiritual topics, framed in the traditional manner. Their sole heading is a number, and they consist of anything from 15 to 500 words each, with an average of nearly 100. As the extensive sub-title shows, the subjects dealt with are many and various and on the whole of theological and ascetic rather than of mystical nature.

2) The 7 «Other chapters» (Ἔτερα κεφάλαια) are a kind of supplement to the preceding 137. The first three concern assimilation to Christ; then come three under the sub-titles «Concerning passionate change» (Περὶ τῆς ἐμπαθοῦς ἀλλοιώσεως), «good change» (τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἀλλοιώσεως) and «temptations during sleep» (τῶν καθ' ὕπνου πειρασμῶν); the seventh enumerates seven ways of «receiving alms».

The title *Other chapters* is unexceptionable, though hardly likely to be derived from the author himself. The same may be said of the subtitles. But why only three, when there are seven chapters; and are those three adequately supported by manuscript evidence and not just the scholia of one copyist?

3) The 10 kephalaia introduced by the heading: Εἰδησις ἀκριβῆς περι ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς and continuing ἔτι δὲ καὶ περι τῶν τεκμηρίων τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς πλάνης· καὶ τίς ἡ διαφορά τῆς θερμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας· καὶ ὅτι χωρὶς ὁδηγοῦ, εὐχερῶς συνεισέρχεται ἡ πλάνη. (Precise information on hesychia and prayer; and besides also concerning the signs of grace and of delusion, and on what difference there is in the warmth and in the action;¹¹⁴ and that without a guide,¹¹⁵ error easily creeps in). Now

114. By «action» (ἐνεργεῖα) St Gregory means the effect of spiritual influences, good or evil, on the soul of the contemplative. Various kinds of «warmth» (θερμῆ) and of «action» are described in no 7 to 10 of this set of chapters as varieties of mystical experience.

115. Actually, there is no mention at all of a guide throughout the printed text of these 10 chapters. This goes to confirm how undesirable it is that such headings should be quoted as official titles of works, as though attributable to the author himself. They are often just the superficial jottings of rather irresponsible scribes.

this is obviously a summary of contents — and a bad one, at that — rather than a proper overall title. It would not help much to call this set of chapters the *Εἰδησις ἀκριβῆς* or «The Treatise»,¹¹⁶ adding perhaps *περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς*. For the opening lines make it clear that this is a letter addressed to a certain Longinos.¹¹⁷ It might in fact be apt to call it «The ten chapters to Longinos» (*Κεφάλαια ι' πρὸς Λογγῖνον*).

With this work we enter the sphere of mystical theology proper: it is a treatise on hesychia, on the practice of the Jesus-Prayer, or «psycho-technical and continual invocation of the Lord Jesus».¹¹⁸

4) The collection, often quoted, of 15 *kephalaia* on the Hesychast method of prayer, which has been repeatedly printed ever since 1782 under the heading *Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς* (Concerning the contemplative life and about the two ways of praying). Actually, as is confirmed by the Slavonic version of 1793, only the first two words *περὶ ἡσυχίας*, if any, can be taken as overall title, because the latter part of the above description fits the first chapter only; it is its heading, just as most of the remaining chapters each have their own particular heading. As in the previous case, the reader is being tricked into quoting a sub-title as though it covered all the 15 *κεφάλαια* of the set. And once again, we are helped out by the fact that

116. For one thing, the same word *εἰδησις* (=knowledge; information, notice) is used in most manuscripts to describe the next group of chapters too. This one is an *ἀκριβῆς εἰδησις*, the other is an *εἰδησις μικρά*.

117. «Longinos» was the traditional name of the Roman centurion in command at the Crucifixion (Matth. 27,54). He later became, according to tradition, a Christian and was martyred in Cappadocia. His feast is on October 16. His name was sometimes given to monks. The addressee in this case is almost certainly identical with one of Gregory's disciples called Longinos who is briefly mentioned in Ch. 17 of Kallistos' *Life of Gregory*, though why he is called here *σημειοφόρος* («wonder-worker» in Byzantine ascetic parlance) one can only guess. Abba Λογγῖνος ὁ σημειοφόρος was a famous miracle-worker of the 4th/5th century in Alexandria. Is Gregory indulging in pious pleasantries? Is he serious? Or is this some scribe's interpolation?

118. *Ἐπιστημονικὴ καὶ συνεχὴς ἐπίκλησις τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*. The full formula is: *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Ἰησὺ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν* (Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner). In various forms this «Jesus Prayer», though by no means established everywhere, is uninterruptedly witnessed to in Byzantine ascetic literature from the 6th century onwards.

this group of chapters too is really a didactic epistle. Who exactly was the addressee is not quite clear, since there are various versions; but that which names a certain Niphon seems the most reliable, since the others are garbled to a greater or lesser extent. One may therefore adopt it provisionally, pending the production of a critical text based on all available manuscripts. It runs as follows: «Letter and brief notice concerning hesychia, in 16 chapters, most necessary, from the well-known monk Gregory the Sinaïte to the most devout vigil-keeper Father Niphon, he having been urged by the latter in virtue of his name».¹¹⁹ This title is immediately followed by a proem or «preamble», which has remained unedited; it gives the number of the *kephalaia* as 16, not 15, presumably because this proem is itself the first of them. The text given below is based on the following five manuscripts, all of them of the late 14th or early 15th century,¹²⁰ except the last (15/16th):¹²¹

119. As Niphon is called ὁ γρηγορῶν, he will no doubt be a Hesychast renowned for his night vigils. There is also a slight play on words here. By its derivation, Gregory's name is cognate with «vigilance». The recipient has therefore used it as a basis for his request that the Sinaïte should write him something on prayer and guarding of the heart. This Niphon may possibly be the man who became Abbot of a monastery of Mt Athos and later its Πρωτος. Accused of Messalianism for supplying the needs of Bogomile beggars, he was supported by Kallistos, Philotheos, Palamas and Cantacuzene and vindicated by a series of ecclesiastical tribunals, ending in 1351 (Gregoras, *Hist.* XXIX, 25 [PG 149, 226]; Cantacuzene, *Hist.* IV, 2 [Bonn ed. 108-114]).

120. H. O. COXE, in his Bodleian Library catalogue of Greek manuscripts (Oxford 1853), attributed Baroc. gr. 213 (B₂) to the 16th century. But the Holkham ms. (H), said to be an exact *copy* of it in G. L. Marriott's edition (p. 7) of *Macarii Anecdota* (*Harvard Theological Studies* V, 1918), which is based on B₂, is attributed by Seymour de Ricci in his Holkham Hall Handlist (Oxford 1932, no 55) to the 14th and by Ruth Barbour to the 15th (see her *Summary description of the Greek mss. from the Library at Holkham Hall* in *The Bodleian Library Record* VI, 5 [1960]). This is confirmed by the many watermarks in H showing a pair of scales of the type listed by C. M. BRIQUET (*Les Filigranes*, Amsterdam 1968) under nos 2394-2413, — a mark found on Italian paper between the years 1375 and 1434. Indeed, B₂ itself can be confidently assigned to the 14th or early 15th century in view of an Italian watermark on its ff. 222 to 230: Briquet's group 7345-7379 (fruit with two leaves and three long stalks joined to a ring) running from a.d. 1336 to 1427. The contents of B₂ and H are entirely identical, but which copied which is not really clear. Baroc. gr. 81, catalogued as of the 15th century, would be better described as of the late 14th or early 15th, since its watermarks are probably referable to Briquet's nos 3840-3843 and 3847 («deux clefs croisées»), Italian marks in use from 1358 to 1429.

121. I wish to thank the staff of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Salonica for help over decyphering their microfilm of A.

A = Cod. Iviron (Athos 4626) § 21, f.204^v (last 8 lines).

B₁, B₂ = Codd. Bodleian. Baroc. gr. 81, f.169^r and 213, f. 320^v.

H = Cod. Bodleian. Holkham gr. 31, f.401^r.

P = Paris, Bibl. Nat., Supplément gr. 64, f.119^r.

Προοίμιον. Ἴδου κατὰ τὴν κέλευσίν σου, ὀσιώτατε, προσταχθεὶς ἐποίησα, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἢ λόγων ἐμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ταῦτα συγγραφεμένων πατέρων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑπακοῆς τῆς σῆς τὸν καρπὸν δρεπόμενος. Μὴ θαυμάσης· ὁ γὰρ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα τοῦ ὄνου Θεός, καὶ 5 δι' ὄναγρου κηρύξας καὶ δι' ἐλάφου λαλήσας καὶ δι' ἵππου ἐλέγξας, ἵνα δείξῃ ἑαυτὸν εἰς πάντα δυνάμενον, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἐκ λιθίνης καρδίας λόγον ὠφελείας ὀμβρίσει τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ταπεινῶς ἐκζητοῦσιν αὐτόν; Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ νοῦς νωθρός, τιμιώτατε πάτερ, καὶ ζοφερά ἡ καρδιά ἐκ παθῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς δυνατὸς καθαρῆσαι αὐτὴν πάλιν, εὐχαῖς 10 ἀγίων, ἀμήν.

Περὶ τῶν τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς. Δύο τρόποι εἰσὶν ἐνώσεως...¹²²

1. προοίμιον παραλ. B₁B₂HP 2 ἐμῶν: ἐλῶν A 3 πατέρων τῶν ταῦτα συγγραφεμένων AP | δὲ εἰ καὶ B₁B₂HP 4 εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀνοίξας AP | ὄναγρων P 6 παραλ. ὠφελείας A | ὀμβρήσει A 7 ταπεινός P | αὐτόν ἐκζητοῦσι B₂H 8 τιμιώτι P | παραλ. πάτερ A 9 αὐτὴν πάλιν: πάνυ αὐτὰ A πάλυ αὐτὰ P.

Translation: «Proem. Behold, O most devout one, enjoined by thee I have acted according to thy command, culling the fruit not from my own deeds or words, but from God and from the Fathers who wrote these things, and particularly from my obedience to thee. Be not astonished; for what wonder that God, who opened the mouth of the ass and preached through the onager and spoke through the deer and rebuked through the horse to show himself capable of all things, should draw from a stony heart to bedew with beneficial speech those who are faithful and who humbly seek Him? For though the mind be sluggish, O most worthy Father, and the heart have been darkened by passions, yet God is capable of purifying it again, by the prayers of saints, amen».

«About the ways of praying. There are two modes of union...» (and so on, as in *Philokalia* IV, 71 ff.).

Such is the Preamble. Its text is clear and is not likely to be unsettled by any significant variants, though the above is, of course, only

122. From here on, the 15 published *kephalaia* begin. «About the ways of praying» is thus clearly just the sub-title of the first of them.

a collation of such manuscripts as happen to be available at the time of writing.¹²³ But the case of the title is very different. Here, where manuscript catalogues enable one to broaden the basis of enquiry without much difficulty, one does run up against a disconcerting variety of versions. That of which a translation was given on a previous page, as being probably the most authentic, figures in *Iviron* 506. (=A, above) of the 14-15th cent. and runs as follows:

Ἐπιστολὴ καὶ εἰδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σιναΐτου ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν γρηγοροῦντα ὀσιώτατον Νίφωνα, κατ' ἐπώνυμον προτραπέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν κεφαλαίοις ιστ', ἀναγκαίαν πάνυ. This mention of Niphon is supported by Paris. Supplément gr. 64 (15th cent), though it uses somewhat different words (Γρηγορίου Σιναΐτου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον Νίφωνα τὸν ἡσυχά(σαν)τα ἐν τοῖς βουλευτήροις,) ¹²⁴ and by Κῶδιξ Μετεώρων (Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως) 197 of the 14th, f. 213^v (see N. A. Bees' posthumously published catalogue, Vol. I, Academy of Athens 1967) which has precisely the same title, omitting only the words ἐπιστολὴ καὶ, ἐκείνου and ἀναγκαία πάνυ and numbering the kephalaia as 15, not 16. But to illustrate the extraordinary diversity and unreliability of these «titles», I list below such other variants as I have come across. A full review of all extant manuscripts containing this work of Gregory's would no doubt reveal the existence of others; and the same is probably true to some extent of the titles and sub-headings of this author's other *opuscula*, and indeed of many works of the «neptic» Fathers included in the *Philokalia*:

Bodleian. Baroc. gr. 81 (15th c.): Εἰδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου πρὸς τὸν γρηγοροῦντα κατ' ἐπώνυμον κύρ Ἰωακείμ, προτραπεῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν κεφαλαίοις ιε'.¹²⁵

Bodleian. Holkham gr. 31 and Baroc. gr. 213 (both 14/15th c.):

123. Another ms. apparently containing the same text is Cod. 465 (14th c.) of Gardthausen's *Catalogue* of Mt Sinai (Oxford 1886).

124. But whether this should be translated as «who used to practice hesychia in the council chambers» or «in the deliberations», is not clear. And what is implied by either rendering? Is the controversy mentioned in n. 119 meant?

125. This formula, compared with the preceding one, is garbled and therefore less acceptable, being probably a corruption of the other, though the emergence of the alternative name *Ioakeim* is indeed intriguing. But τὸν γρηγοροῦντα κατ' ἐπώνυμον κύρ Ἰωακείμ is meaningless and the nominative προτραπεῖς has nothing to attach itself to; whereas Γρηγορίου... κατ' ἐπώνυμον προτραπέντος («of Gregory... who had been urged to write in virtue of his name») is grammatically perfect.

Εἶδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου πρὸς τινὰ ἀδελφόν, μετὰ πίστεως αἰτήσαντα, προτραπείς παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἐν κεφαλαίοις ιε'.¹²⁶

Vatic. gr. 1746 (15th c.): Εἶδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ πρὸς τινὰ ἀδελφόν, ἐν κεφαλαίοις ιε'.

Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Μετόχ. Παναγ. Τάφου) 264 (15ου αἰῶν.): Εἶδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σιναΐτου πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐπώνυμον ἀδελφόν¹²⁷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρους Σινᾶ, αἰτήσαντα περὶ πίστεως.

Vatic. Ottobon. gr. 459 (15th c.): Εἶδησις μικρὰ καὶ ... περὶ τῆς ... προσευχῆς.¹²⁸

Vindob. theol. gr. 201¹²⁹ (16th c.?): Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Σιναΐτου εἶδησις περὶ ἡσυχίας.

Paris Coislin. 378 (15th c.): Μέθοδος προκοπῆς εὐκολος καὶ ταχεῖα περὶ νήψεως καὶ προσευχῆς καὶ προσοχῆς, καὶ πῶς χρῆ ταῦτα μετέρχεσθαι. As can be seen, one has to choose between formulae making the recipient 1) Niphon, 2) Joakeim, 3) «a certain brother», 4) «the brother of the same name» (?) at Mt Sinai, and finally, 5) a completely different title, proclaiming this to be «an easy and speedy method of progress, concerning sobriety and prayer and attentiveness and how to practise them». One constant in most of these versions is the expression εἶδησις μικρὰ περὶ ἡσυχίας, which may probably be taken as St Gregory's own description of this «brief notice».

Some idea of its contents can be conveyed by quoting the sub-headings¹³⁰ which introduce the 15 kephalaia:

α'. Περὶ τῶν (δύο) τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς. Concerning the (two) ways of praying.

126. Once more we have the unattached nominative προτραπείς. The expression μετὰ πίστεως αἰτήσαντα crops up again in Bodleian. Baroc. gr. 59 (15th c.), à propos of the recipient, in the title of the last of Gregory's sets of chapters. There must have been some cross-fertilisation between titles. Note also, below, the variant αἰτήσαντα περὶ πίστεως.

127. Judging by standard dictionaries, there is really no such adjective as κατεπώνυμος. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη IV) could have corrected this to κατ' ἐπώνυμον. The meaning seems to be that Gregory of Sinai wrote these chapters at the request of another Gregory of Sinai!

128. The incompleteness of this description in Feron and Battaglia's catalogue (Rome 1893) is tantalising.

129. Unfortunately Hunger and Kresten's new catalogue has not yet reached this number; otherwise one would have more detail on the ms.

130. No attempt is made here to supply a critical version of them. Enough has been said to demonstrate how such titles differ from one ms. to another. Some mss. omit them altogether. They are quoted below from the *Philokalia*.

β'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐνεργεῖν τὴν προσευχὴν. Concerning how one must perform the (Jesus) Prayer.

γ'. Περὶ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς. Concerning breathing.

δ'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ψάλλειν. Concerning how one must chant.

ε'. Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν ψαλλόντων. Concerning disagreement of those who (prefer to) chant.¹³¹

ς'-θ'. Ἀντίρρησις αὐτοῦ. His rebuttal¹³² (four chapters).

ι'. Περὶ πλάνης. Concerning illusion.

ια'. Περὶ ἀναγνώσεως. Concerning reading.

ιβ'-ιε'. Four chapters without headings, on monastic virtues.

5) The last work in the collection is a treatise in 7 unnumbered¹³³ chapters, generally quoted as Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι (On how to sit). Once more, however, this is not an overall title — there is none — but simply the sub-title of the first chapter; moreover, its sense is missed if it is not quoted in full, viz. α'. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι τὸν ἡσυχάζοντα εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ μὴ ταχέως ἀνίστασθαι (Concerning how the Hesychast must sit down to the [Jesus] Prayer and not be quick to rise again, — i.e., on persistence in prayer). The technique of the Hesychast is here described in detail, as can be seen from the other sub-headings which follow it in the *Philokalia*: Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ λέγειν τὴν εὐχὴν — κρατεῖν τὸν νοῦν — διώκειν τοὺς λογισμοὺς — ψάλλειν (Concerning how one must say the prayer — control one's mind — drive away thoughts — chant). But this last κεφάλαιον is really two: its second half should be headed Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τρέφεσθαι (Concerning how one must take nourishment) or Περὶ τῆς τροφῆς (Concerning food). This is witnessed to by several manuscripts,¹³⁴ by the Slavonic version¹³⁵ and by a version of this whole treatise in demotic Greek¹³⁶ appended, without

131. I. e. how some mistrust the Hesychast method of prayer, as providing too rapid a short cut. and prefer «psalmody» (recitation of liturgical matter).

132. Refutation of such mistrust: oral prayer can often be practised *alongside* mental. (The sub-heading is obviously by a scribe, not by the author).

133. Unnumbered, that is, in the Greek editions and in most Greek mss. But Païsy Velichkovsky, editor of the Slavonic edition, numbers them 1 to 7, leaving the final question and answer without a number.

134. E. g. Bodl. Baroc. gr. 59 (15th c.) and Ivron 557 (Athos 4677 — 18th c.).

135. *Kako podobaz piatisja*. This is numbered there as chapter 6.

136. This «common Greek» translation also intercalates a long section Περὶ ἡσυχίας between those on breathing and on chanting; but it turns out to be made up of the following «Most beneficial chapters»: 99, 101, 103, 104, 108, 106. Their

explanation, towards the end of the *Philokalia* and now occupying pp. 90-103 of its Vol. V (see p. 97: Πῶς πρέπει τινὰς νὰ τρώγη). After that there is a section Περὶ πλάνης, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ὑποθέσεων (Concerning illusion, including many matters); and finally, a question and answer on what to do if the devil disguises himself as an angel of light. Were the chapters numbered, this might count as the 8th.

These 7 or 8 chapters are a brief but substantial treatise on the contemplative life, addressed in a very personal manner to a monk who is unnamed, but undoubtedly a real individual. Its tone is remarkably friendly and warm, and though it is outright in its demands and recommendations, it treats the addressee with respect and encouragement.

Such then are the five «works» of St Gregory of Sinai, to which has now been added his Discourse on the Transfiguration. It is worth noting that both the *editio princeps* of 1782 and subsequent Greek editions and Paisy Velichkovsky's Slavonic version (Moscow 1793) cover the whole collection with the description Κεφάλαια πάνυ ὠφέλιμα (*Glavy zelo poleznyja*, Most beneficial chapters) by printing it at the top of each and every page. True, that title does apply to well over half of the material, so that the error, if any, would be slight; but perhaps there is more in this than typographical licence. We have seen that item 3 of the collection consists of *kephalaia* written for Longinos, and item 4 *kephalaia* written for Niphon (or Ioakeim); so it would be no surprise if the remaining chapters were also composed for some spiritual friend or disciple. And in fact, in Ch. XV of his *Life* of the Sinaïte, Patriarch Kallistos puts us on the track of such a one. For when Gregory and his disciples first built themselves hermitage cells in the Paroria (see p. 53, above), a monk called Amirales was already installed there a short distance away with his own disciples, among whom was a certain Luke who had been Gregory's pupil on Mt Athos. This Luke took

insertion here would seem to have a long tradition behind it, for I have found this group of κεφάλαια on ff. 269v-271v of Cod. Dionysiou 442 (Athos 3967-15th c.), where it occupies, this time in pure Greek, precisely the same place in this series of headings (Lampros' catalogue deals inaccurately with this badly damaged and often unreadable ms). But the fact that the *Most beneficial chapters* form an acrostic seems to exclude the possibility that some of them belonged originally to any other work by the same author.

a sudden dislike to Gregory, attempted to attack him with a sword and had to be physically restrained by Amiraes' group. Gregory remained perfectly calm, nourishing no resentment or desire for revenge. He is said even to have been grateful for what had happened; indeed, for Luke's benefit «he diligently wrote up to 150 ascetic chapters, full of practical and contemplative precepts».¹³⁷ And this, the Slavonic version adds, led Luke to repent, so that he became his disciple again and turned out a proper monk. But «after a while», Amiraes himself became envious and obstreperous, so that Gregory left his neighbourhood for Mount Katakekryomene.

Now the «Most beneficial chapters», which number 137, plus the 7 «Other chapters» and the 7 or 8 chapters of item 5, the Treatise *περὶ ἡσυχίας*, add up to 151 or 152: so taken together, they might well be described as about 150 (or, literally, «up to 50 additional to 100»). Thus there may be some justification for bringing them all under the one global designation of «most beneficial». We need not hastily conclude, however, that they were all rapidly improvised under the difficult circumstances of Saint Gregory's first brief sojourn in the Paroria; for these *κεφάλαια* amount to nearly 20,000 words of closely written Greek. Probably the saint had been writing such things for years, and on this occasion handed Luke a copy of his collection, adding a few chapters for the latter's particular benefit. These may perhaps have been the 7 «Other chapters» («Ἔτερα κεφάλαια»); for the last set of 7 (8) chapters on the contemplative life seem slightly inappropriate to the case of Luke, who appears to have been inexperienced and probably young, whereas this last treatise is addressed to an elderly man (see *Philokalia* IV, 84, 16), whom Gregory sees as «living in the midst of the weak», apparently in a cenobitic monastery (*ibid.* 82, 33-35), but whom he encourages to aim high as a Hesychast. It is regrettable that we cannot identify either group of chapters as «Πρὸς Λουκᾶν», as that would have neatly rounded off a system of designation by addressee (Longinos, Niphon, Luke).

In view of the variable and arbitrary character of the titles, it is proposed that these sets of Chapters should simply be designated by numbering them from I to V, followed by the number of the *κεφάλαια* within each of them. Alternatively, if they must be described in words, these should be proper overall titles, if possible emanating from the

137. Ἐνεκα τῆς ὠφελείας ἐκείνου καὶ νηπτικά συνεγράψατο καὶ φιλοπονίας κεφάλαια μέχρι πενήντα πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν, πράξεως καὶ θεωρίας ἀνάπλεα.

author himself, and not simply the headings of the first of their component chapters. Thus we will have:

Κεφάλαια, Α', 1-137	= Κεφάλαια δι' ἀκροστιχίδος. ¹³⁸
Κεφάλαια, Β', 1-7	= Ἔτερα κεφάλαια.
Κεφάλαια, Γ', 1-10	= Εἴδησις ἀκριβῆς πρὸς Λογγίνον περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς.
Κεφάλαια, Δ', 1-15	= Εἴδησις μικρὰ πρὸς Νίφωνα περὶ ἡσυχίας.
Κεφάλαια, Ε', 1-8 ¹³⁹	= (Περὶ ἡσυχίας).

The first method seems far preferable owing to its clarity and succinctness, and in order to exemplify this, numbers alone will be used as references in the rest of this study. It is noticeable how often the description «on hesychia» figures in the titles. All the more reason for abandoning them, and calling these works «The Chapters of Saint Gregory of Sinai, series I, series II, series III, series IV and series V».

(To be continued)

138. The words πάνυ ὠφέλιμα (most beneficial) cannot be attributed to the author. Being only a laudatory gloss by a scribe, they should be omitted from the title.

139. Numbering the paragraphs as they stand in the *Philokalia*, but counting that beginning περὶ τῆς γαστρὸς as κεφ. ζ' (chapter 6) under the subheading περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ τρέφεσθαι (or περὶ τροφῆς, concerning food), and the final question on the demon as chapter 8.