THE WORKS OF GREGORY THE SINAITE*

BY

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B) The text

Saint Gregory the Sinaite’s works have been published and re-published, translated and retranslated, but no critical edition has ever been attempted. Yet such an edition is undoubtedly called for. Not only does our present text contain incorrect titles and doubtful readings; it is not even the full text.

It is not my intention to try to present a revised text based on the available manuscripts. What I am offering here, as in the previous section, consists of «preliminary notes» originally intended as «contributions» to a full critical edition, over which (as mentioned in my preface) I had begun to collaborate with Dr. H.-V. Beyer. Being an able scholar, endowed by his professional position with every facility for the collection and deciphering of the necessary microfilms, Dr. Beyer

* Continuation. See Theologia Vols 52, 4 (p. 631-681) St Gregory the Sinaite: Discourse on the Transfiguration; 53, 1 (p. 30-62), St Gregory of Sinai’s life story and spiritual profile; and 53, 2 (p. 417-429), The works of Gregory the Sinaite, A) Structure and titles of the works, with summary outline of their contents.

140. Readers approaching the medium of English have had so far to make do with what is after all only an English translation of a free Russian version of an uncritical text, curtailed for purposes of edification. Theophan the Recluse, retired Bishop of Tambov and Vladimir, who brought out his Russian translation in 1877, took certain liberties with St Gregory’s full Greek text. This started a faulty tradition which has reflected itself in the English version based on his Russian by E. Kadlooukovskka and G. E. H. Palmer, Writings from the Philokalia (London 1951), which, while giving the whole of Kephaleia A', 1-137, omits all of B' and Γ' and the first kephalain of A' and reproduces certain cautionary remarks by Theophan. The same authors produced a further volume entitled Early Fathers from the Philokalia (London 1954) from which St. Gregory of Sinai is omitted altogether. Jean Gouillard’s Petite Philocalie de la Prière du Coeur (Paris 1953) has the advantage of translating into French directly from the Greek original, but it too is far from complete where Gregory is concerned; it gives, for example, only seven extracts from Kephaleia A'. Similar remarks apply to the Kleine Philokalie brought out by Matthias Dietz S. J. (Zürich 1976).

All these publications, however imperfect their coverage, have of course fulfilled a valuable function in stimulating Western interest in the mystical writers of the Orthodox East and providing earnest seekers with some practical initiation into the methods of prayer practised there. But it is time a more complete and critical textual basis was laid down.
will, I presume, have no difficulty in soon producing such a critical
text himself, since a volume by him entitled *Leben und Werke Gregors
don Sinai* has been announced as a coming contribution to the learned
series *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*.

A new and improved English version of the *Philokalia* is now in
course of publication, based directly on the Greek original, but it is
having to trust to *Notaras’s* and *Nikodemos’s* text wherever no-
ting better exists for the time being. It is much to be hoped that be-
fore this new English *Philokalia* reaches St Gregory of Sinai in one of
its future volumes, Dr Beyer will have provided the translators
with a complete, correct and reliable Greek text based on the best man-
uscripts. But in any case I trust that both the new editors and he
will take into account what I have written in the previous section about
the titles of Gregory’s works and will include in their versions the proem
of Κεφαλαία Δ’ to Niphon the «vigil-keeper».

And I now also pass on to them and to Dr Beyer the follow-
ing supplement to Κεφαλαία Γ’, 8, to which my attention has been
drawn by its appearance in two Oxford codices. As their text is clearly
incomplete, I have collated it with one other manuscript in Paris, Cod.
Coislin. 378, which seems to represent the full text. Other mss. which

141. *The Philokalia. The complete text compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy
Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, translated from the Greek and edited by G.
E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware... Vol. I (London 1979), Vol. II (1981). What would be even better, of course, would be a
critical Greek text, with apparatus and biblical and patristic references on one page,
and a modern translation with explanatory notes on the other. But such editions are
unfortunately very costly nowadays and the reading public for them is shrinking.

142. May I say, however, that I hope he will abstain from debasing this
purely objective and technical task by adulterating its product with quotations from
Karl Marx, John Locke, Kant and other philosophers and by injec-
tions of his own neo-Barlaamite views on the human psychological origin of the
Divine Light, the «Messalianism» of Gregory the Sinaiite, the unorthodoxy of
Gregory Palamas, the «eternal memory» of Gregory and Akin-
dynos, and so on.

143. See their mention below; and also (in respect of watermarks and dating)
note 120, above. But since H and B are mutually interdependent, they cannot
together carry more weight than a single ms., where a choice between variants has
to be made.

144. For the Coislin ms., which is also of the 14th-15th century, see R.
Devreese, *Le Fonds Coislin (Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des Manuscrits
may be found to confirm this version are Vindob. theol. gr. 201\textsuperscript{145} and Vatic. Ottobon. gr. 650 (15th cent.). It is definitely supported as a whole by Vatic. gr. 1746.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{145} Cf. note 129, above. At the time of writing, H\textsuperscript{u}n\textsuperscript{g}e\textsuperscript{r} and K\textsuperscript{r}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{n}, in their revised and very detailed catalogue of the Vienna mss., have not, unfortunately, yet reached theol. gr. 201, so that one only has V\textsuperscript{o}\textsuperscript{n} N\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{s}\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{i}'s, dated 1690, to go by. It mentions a series of 35 kephalai!

\textsuperscript{146} P. Ca\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{r}t's excellent catalogue of the \textit{Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745-1962} (Vol I, Rome 1970) shows that in Cod. 1746 \textit{Kep\dot{\nu}\kappa\alpha\varsigma} \Delta' begins with the unedited proem and differs somewhat from the \textit{Philokalia} in its x. 15, while \textit{Kep\dot{\nu}\kappa\alpha\varsigma} \Gamma' appears to agree substantially with the whole of the additional text supplied by Coislin. 378. He points to the close resemblance to all the above of the text in Ottob. gr. 450; but the Ottoboniani have been too sketchily catalogued by F\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{r}\textsuperscript{o}\textsuperscript{n} and B\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{t}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{g}\textsuperscript{l}\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{n}i (Rome 1898) to enable one to do much more than refer to Ca\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{r}t's witness.
Κεφάλαιο Δ' (Είδησις Α') Αφιβής), συνέχεια του κεφ. 1',
κατά χειρόγραφά τινα.

Cod. Bodleian. Holkham gr. 31, 14-15ου αἰώνος, φ. 407v-409r (=H)
Cod. Bodleian. Baroc. gr. 213, 14-15ου αἰώνος, φ. 326r-327r (=B)
Cod. Parisin. Coislin. 378, 14-15ου αἰώνος, φ. 7v-8r (=P)

1' Ἑνέργεια πλάνης ... ἀνάπτεται τὴν σύγκρασιν τῆς σαρκοῦς,
αἰτίαν λαμβάνονσα ... τὴν ψυχήν ... πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλλειψιν, ἵνα τῇ ἑξεῖ
φ. 7ρ ἡσυχασθῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὴν χάριν κατὰ μικρῶν ἐκδιώξῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ
(P) λειτουργοῦσα μοιχεία, καίον καὶ φλογίζων αὐτὸ τὰ μέλη τῇ ἡσυχασθεὶς.
5 καὶ δοκεῖ θείαν εἶναι χάριν καὶ παράκλησιν, τὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν καὶ θερ-

μαννοῦσαν τὸν θυγάτηρ ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἠμαρτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πλάνης καὶ

ἡσυχασθείας, φλογεῖ δὲν ἑνέργειαν. Τούτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κλήμακος εἰδὼς,

ἡμῶν ὑπὸ ποτε καὶ φησιν’ συνεργὸν νέκτημα ὑσπόρον τὴν ἔξωθεν πύ-

ροσάν, ὦτοι καὶ τὴν τῆς φυσικῆς ἐπιθυμίας κίνησιν κοινωνόν, πρὸς τὴν

10 οἰκεῖαν ἑνέργειαν τῆς πλάνης ἐξάγετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

(α'). Δεῖ δὲ γυμνοσκείν, ὅτι δὲ πλάνη ἡ κακίας τῆς ἠμαρτίας

ἐστὶν, ἢς ἑνέργεια τῆς ἠμαρτίας τὸ φιλόδονον πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐμφυλοχω-

ροῦν πρὸς τὸ ἐπαθηματικὸν τῆς σαρκοῦς διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν βρομοτάτων.
Πῦρ δὲ ἄν ὁ Κόρων, εἴδοτον ότι πυρὶ ἐστὶν ὁ δαίμων· οὐκ ἔτι, ἀλλά

15 κατὰ παρατροπὴν, διὰ τῆς ἠμαρτίας τῆς θείαν δέχεσθαι ἁπλότασας,

φ. 8v τὴν ποιήσαν ποὺς φέλον τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ ἦμων ἠμαρτία

ψυχῆ ποὺς κατὰ στέρησιν θείαν. Ὁ δαίμων, κατὰ φύσιν όν ἐξά-

πετεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ ψυχῆίς τῆς ἡσυχασθείας ψυχῆ, τὰς ἐπιθυ-

1-3. Βλ. Φιλοκαλίδα (ἐν 'Αθήναις c.1776) Α’, 70 (PG 150, 1312) 8-9 ἐξωθεν

πόρωσις' πηθ. Ἰωάννου Σιναίτου, Κλήμαξ ΙΒ', τγ' (PG 88, 904Α) 16 Ψάλ. 103

(104), 4' ὁ ποιών· τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ ποὺς φέλον

5 δοξεῖ Ρ δοξῆ Η 6 οὐκ Ρ 7-10 Τούτῳ γὰρ ... τὸν ἄνθρωπον παραλ. Ρ

11 α'. προσθήκη συντάκτου | πρὸ Δεῖ δὲ προστ. ἐπικεφαλίδα Περὶ τοῦ τί ἐστιν

πλάνη Η "ΕΤΙ περί πλάνης Ρ | δὲ παραλ. Ρ 13 ἐπιθυμητικὸν ΗΒΡ 14 δαίμων

15 διὰ τὴν ἠμαρτίαν ᾧ τὴν θείαν ψυχήν ΧΒ 16 ποὺς φέλον τοὺς με-

τόχους αὐτῆς Ρ 16-18 παραλ. καὶ ἦμων ... τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ρ 18 μετά τῇ

προστ. οὖν Ρ
Kephalia IV (Precise Notice), continuation of Ch. 10 in some manuscripts.

Ch. 10. The influence of delusion ... stirs up the commingling tendency of the flesh, taking as its purpose... to attract the soul to itself, in order that the man, beset by feelings of sensuality, may gradually expel grace from himself; and it imperceptibly debauches him, burning and inflaming his limbs with voluptuousness; and this seems to him to be grace and consolation, acting on him and warming his mind in an unknowable way, and not the fiery influence of sin, or rather of delusion and lust. For St John of the Ladder, realising this, raised questions about it and he says: «I have acquired as helpmate the burning which comes from without»; and thus too the man acquires as partner the movement of natural desire, (tending) to fasten him onto the specific influence of delusion.

11. Now it behoves us to know that delusion is the flaring up of sin, while the influence of sin is the spirit of sensuality, which tends to haunt the affectibility of the flesh because of the pleasures of food. And since the Lord is fire, it is clear that the demon is cold: not cold by nature, but by perversion, having lost through sin that divine warmth which «maketh its ministers a flaming fire»; while our own sinning too is cold owing to deprivation of God. The demon then, though fire by nature, fastens onto the man and chills him with lascivious moistness, arousing...

147. For scriptural and patristic quotations calling for no particular comment, see references in footnotes to the Greek text.

148. This must be a reference to (though not indeed a literal quotation from) the passage in kep. 83 of Klimax XV — the lengthy Discourse on Chastity, — where John the Sinaite, after a long series of questions as to how human nature can possibly be overcome, hears nature's reply, which includes the sentence; «It is my boast that I have love in me as mother; and on the one hand I have my mother as cure of and overall relief from the burning which comes from without; but on the other, previous relief and acts performed give birth to opportunities for the flame from within to burn and evil thoughts to be set in motion».

The passage, which gives a somewhat distorted interpretation, may not be the work of Gregory, but only a scholiast's gloss. It is absent from the Coislin manuscript.

149. Note the nominative absolute instead of the genitive δνος του Κυριου. A similar construction appears at the end of this same sentence (δυσκε ιεχθα οσο). We have already noticed two other such instances in the Discourse on the Transfiguration (378-379 and 382-384).
μίας ἐνεργεῖας καὶ εὐπαράδεκτον τὴν ἥδονήν ποιοῖν, κατὰ μίμησιν δὴ ἴσον ἦσπερ ἀπόλολε, τὴν αἰσχρουρίαν ἀπόλαυσαν διήνεκὴν κεκτημένος. Μάχης οὖν δύο τινῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐνεργείας γίνεται, τῆς πλάνης καὶ τῆς χάριτος, διὰ τὸ θέλημα· οὐ κοινωνία δὲ, ἀλλ’ ὀπίσθεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐν βορβόρῳ λάμπων οὐ μέγιτον οὐδὲ βλάπτεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξαιρεῖ τὸν βόρβορον, οὔτε καὶ ἡ χάρις ἁμωγῇ ἐστὶ ταύτης καὶ ἱχαρτος, τήκε δὲ ταῦτα μάλιστα, ἀλλ’ ἀφαίνεσαι τελείως οὐ βουλετᾶτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι δοκίμων τῆς ἡμῶν ἐφ’ άμφοτ’ ὄντης. Θέλει γὰρ μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν προαιρεθεὶσας κατὰ μορφὴν ἐκμείνουσα ταύτην ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἵνα νομίμως ἐν τῷ κατάνοι τῆς διανοικίας ἡμῶν τὸν ἁγίων τὸν καλὸν ἀγιοπάθεις στεφανοθῆτον, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄλλθινοι μάρτυρες, σὺχ Ἐλληνας, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκνεύσαστες. Τάς μὲν προσβολὰς ὡς πυκνότατα καθ’ ὀρθῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀκάτοστα, τὴν κάμπον δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς ἤδυσαθείας ἐκκαλούσα, τοὺς ὄπωρον αὐτί δαίμονας διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν ἔτωμάζονα κολάζει καὶ βαζόμεν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας εἰδολον, ἤγιον τὴν προσβολήν, θύσαι καὶ κάψαι καὶ κοινωνήσαι τὸν νοῦν, (ἢ πλάνη ένεργεῖ). Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τεκμηρία αὐτῆς καθορίζεται ἐν τῷ ἐνεργείᾳ· η ἀκέφαλος δὲ ἀκατάνοετος, ἐν τω δὲ καὶ τὸ δε’ ἥλιος δάκρυν, ἢ ἐφάραξ, ο’ τύφος, ἢ γαστρομαγία, ἢ πολιορκία, ἢ ὁλυνομία, τὸ φαντάται καὶ καναγόθη, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἠγάζεσθαι ἀνώμαλος κλέμνη· βάρος ψυχῆς, Ἰ. 8ής χαύνωσις μελῶν, κάθυγος ἡδότης, κίνησις καὶ γαυρία σώματος, // 40 λογισμῶν εἰλόνας ἐν περαικλη συμάτων. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡλπίτης, ο’ θάλα σίν πρόσωπον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ στυγνόι ν κακοιμημένοι τῇ φλογῇ τῆς ἡδυσαθείας εἰσὶ πάντοτε. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας Μακάριος ἦρι-
his desires and making pleasure seductive, in imitation indeed of the pleasure he himself has lost, having obtained shamelessness as his constant enjoyment. So a fight for the will takes place between two things, delusion and grace. However, they do not mingle with one another. But just as the sun shining on mud is not mixed with it or harmed, but even dries up the mud, so too grace remains unmixed with delusion and undefiled, indeed it melts it away; yet it does not choose to destroy it entirely, since it is a means of testing our critical balance as between both. For it wishes, with the aid of our own deliberate choice, gradually to lessen the latter influence altogether in the course of the struggle, so that having fought the good fight according to the rules in the stadium of the mind, we may be crowned victors and be veritable martyrs, who have defeated not the Greeks but Satan himself. (Delusion acts) by kindling temptations like fires within us at all hours, by stoking up the furnace of the flesh with lasciviousness, and by providing its servants the demons with thoughts with which to torment us and force us to sacrifice our mind to the idol of concupiscence (that is, to the temptation) and bend it and make it participate therein. And the following are the signs of delusion observable during its activity: impenitent hard-heartedness, yet capped in some with tears of material origin; elation, conceit, gluttony, talkativeness, heedlessness; ostentation and boasting; irregular warmth while (the influence is) in action; heaviness of soul, slackness of limbs, over-wet sweetness, movement and prancing of the body, thought-images representing entanglement of bodies. There is no cheerfulness in such persons, no flourishing of the countenance, but always they are sullen and consumed with the burning flame of sensuality. Now these are things which Makarios the Great also hinted at in what he

150. Προσβολή (approach, attack), in ascetic literature, takes on the special meaning of ‘temptation’.

151. Τοῦ τῶν ἕσχαστος (while at work) refers here not to the hesychast’s manual labour, but to the action of delusion in his soul. The verb more commonly used by St Gregory is ἔφεσθαι, and the whole subject of this group of kēphalai, as the title and sub-title rightly bring out, is how to recognise the different action (influence, ‘energy’) of grace and of its counterfeit, delusion.

152. Here the two Oxford mss. break off, while the Paris one continues. St Gregory himself is praised in Kallistos’ Life for his cheerfulness and the brightness of his face.
ξάτο λέγων δαν γὰρ ἀproperθήκησι εἰκατέρας τὰ τεκμήρια, τέλος φησὶ, ὅτι ὁξυός ἕμως ἐστὶ τῷ οὐν καὶ ἡ πικρίς τῇ θρίασι, ἡ γενέσις δὲ δια-κρίνει ἀμφότερα· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων σημείων ἐκάστην νοησάς καὶ εὑρέθη εὖ εἴη τῷ βουλομένῳ.

(γ'). Ἡδὸν τοῖνυν εἰρηταί περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης τεκμηρίων, ὡσπον ἡμῖν κατά δόξαν ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλάνης ἰκανόν. Περὶ δὲ τῆς μέσης ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς τελευτήτος ὡς χρεία λόγων πολλῶν,

(αὐτὴ) γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς Θεὸν διδασκαλον ἔχεις κατὰ τὸν τῆς Κλήμακος. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἄφθονος, καὶ φιλόσοφος εἶη, προσφυγόντι ταῦτα, ἔνα μὴ δὲ ἀπατητάς εἰς κρημῶν ἀπογνώσεως ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλοις ὑπήρ. Ἔγώ γὰρ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἠμέτρεαν καὶ πρὸς ἀφέλειαν πολλῶν, ὅπως ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα συγκεφάδμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπακοὴν τῶν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἐνεκτησάτων ἐποίησα.

(γ'). Ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαίς ταῖς σαῖς κἀκεῖ παράσχει εὑρέθη τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπόμενα, Πάτερ, καὶ ἔχοις αὐτοῖς καὶ γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις. (ἥσιόμην) γὰρ «ἠγώ» φησιν ὁ τῆς Κλήμακος ἀπειραζόμενος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, χαρὰν ἄλογον καὶ ἀσκοῦντα καὶ παράκλησιν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπα-τηλῶς ἐμποιοῦτα· καὶ ἔδοκον δὲ ὑποκόνδιος καθότι καὶ οὐ φθοράν κατέχειν· καὶ πάλιν «σκόπει» φησὶ «τὴν ἐπιδημοῦσαν ἡδύτητα, μήπος ἐκ πικρῶν ιατρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιβούλον, συνεκεφάδην».

50 Ἰωάννου Σιναίτου, Κλήμαξ KH', εξ' πειρ. Ιχ' (ΡΓ 88, 1140C)
56 εὐχαίς ταῖς σαῖς διδασκαλίας, τοῦ Αγίου Σ. (βλ. κεφ. α')
58-61 Ἰωάννου Σιναίτου, Κλήμαξ ΙΕ', λέ' (ΡΓ 88, 888D)
61-62 τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Κλήμαξ ΚΖ', με' (ΡΓ 88, 1116C)

45 νοηθαί P 47 ἀρχῆς P 48 ἱκανῶν P 49 τελευτητος P 50 αὐτή P
45 νοηθαί P 51 καθότι P 52 ὑπόμνησι P 53 ὑπόμνησι P / οὐχ P
58 Κλήμακος P 60 ἐδοκοῦν P
said; for having enumerated the signs of both, he finally declares that vinegar resembles wine and endive is like lettuce, but taste distinguishes both;153 for whoever wishes to is able to perceive and identify each through the aforesaid signs.

12. So now we have dealt, to the best of our power, with the beginning and with the signs thereof,154 and also we have said enough concerning delusion. But about the middle phase of (divine) action and about its perfection,155 there is no need to say much, for «this by itself has God as its teacher» according to the author of the Ladder. Yet no one without experience, though he be a philosopher,156 shall touch upon these matters, lest owing to disbelief he thrust himself over a precipice of despair. For as for me, I have written the above as a reminder to us and for the benefit of many, not on my own initiative; nay, I have only acted in obedience to those who asked for it from the heart.

13. May God, by thy prayers, grant that I too may find the path which thou hast toiled over, Father,157 in very deed and in writing and speech. For John of the Ladder says: «I, being tempted, have experienced this wolf, deceitfully instilling irrational joy and tears and consolation in the soul; and childish as I was, I thought I was reaping fruit and not corruption.» And again he says: «Scrutinise the sweetness that settles on thee, lest it turn out to have been concocted by bitter, or rather by treacherous physicians».

153. The reference is to the third paragraph of the 8th Macarian Homily: «Endive looks like lettuce, but one is sweet and the other, for all its likeness, is bitter» St Gregory has himself added the comparison between vinegar and wine. This same passage turns up again, almost word for word, but without reference to Makarios, right at the end of Κεφάλαια Β'. The notion of discernment by taste is also mentioned in Κεφάλαια Δ', 4, where Gregory refers to «Scriptures>, i.e. apparently to Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 36 (37), 23-24.

154. This sentence demonstrates the authenticity of the text, being a reference back to the initial chapters of this letter to Longinos, where Gregory complains that many who have set out on the path to enlightenment fail, through negligence, to make progress, ἄφοκληρον μόνον ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἱν ἔρωοι. He then goes on (κ. 8') to describe the τεκμήριον τῆς ἀρχῆς (the signs characteristic of the initial phase).

155. The middle phase (ἡ μεσότης τοῦ φυτευμοῦ) and the perfection (ἡ τελειώτης) have also been mentioned in κ. 8', which then ends with the explanation that beginners receive the action of grace (ἡ ἐνέργεια), those half-way on receive the enlightenment (φωτισμὸς) and the perfect achieve purification and resurrection.

156. May this perhaps be an allusion to Varlaam of Calabria, the philosopher who started the hesychast controversy?

157. The Father is Longinos, to whom this whole treatise is addressed as a let-
The above text, of which one can hardly dispute the authenticity owing to the similarity of its doctrine and terminology to those of our author's known chapters, neatly rounds off the letter to St Gregory's disciple Longinos. It definitely supplies its ending, for it is immediately followed in the Coislin manuscript by quite other matter beginning with the 9th chapter of Κεφάλαια Α'. 'Ορῶ δὲ κάγω ὃς μικρὸν ἔγνωκός (sic) ἀπὸ πείρας, ἵττε καθήκης...

Ware had suggested that «a systematic examination of the manuscripts may well reveal other works by Gregory of Sinai.» I do not think further works than what is published here are likely to come to light, but certainly the gaps in the text of those already known need filling in. The palaeographical labour required should not be very great, for Gregory's writings are not at all common in the surviving manuscripts. The following is an attempt to plan out the terrain to be covered. Though probably sufficient for all practical purposes, it does leave aside what appear to be only excerpts. Figuring in compilations (mostly late) drawn from a selection of ascetic writers — the so-called ξιλογαί, — such extracts are usually brief and unsatisfactory for the establishment of a critical text. But there might possibly be one or two exceptions.

To begin with the Greek-speaking world, one looks in vain for any of this author's works in the catalogues of most of the best-known collections: the National Library, the Benaki and Byzantine Museums, the Philosophical and Theological Faculties of Athens University, the Greek Patriarchal Libraries of Constantinople and Alexandria, or those of Mt Patmos, Cyprus and Khalké. Indeed, a close examination reveals nothing except a few manuscripts on Mt Athos — generally covering...
only Κεφάλαια Γ', Δ' and E' (the only complete collection of all five sets of chapters dates from 1734!) — and one each in Jerusalem,141 Constantinople,142 Mt Sinai143 and the Meteorai,144 though owing to the great dispersion and incomplete and uncoordinated cataloguing of the manuscripts in minor collections which still prevails in Greece, something may easily escape notice.

If this is all that comes to light on Greek terrain, it can be no surprise to find that there is very little indeed in the rest of the world. In Italy, two early Vatican manuscripts including Κεφ. Γ', Δ' and E' exist,145 but there is nothing at St Mark's in Venice, at the Laurentiana in Florence or the Ambrosiana in Milan, at the National Libraries of Turin and Naples or in any of the 70 odd lesser Italian libraries (a few of them in Rome) containing Greek manuscripts. In France, the Bibliothèque Nationale has two manuscripts covering only Γ' and Δ', but outside Paris, in provincial centres such as Strasbourg, there is nothing.146 Similarly, in the British Isles there are four good manuscripts at the Bodleian in Oxford,147 but they cover mainly Κεφ. Δ. and E'.

(with Arkadios Vatopedinos, Cambridge, Mass. 1920), Lavra (with Spyridon Lavriothes, ibid. 1925) and Kaukallavia (with Evloghios Kourila, Paris 1930). Several supplementary descriptions of mss. overlooked by Lampros, particularly at Iviron, Pantokrator, Dionysiou, Xeropotamou and Sta.vronikita have appeared since his day. I have not been able to consult them all, but my impression is that for the purposes of this study they can have little to add to the coverage provided as above.

162. Ibid. Vols IV-V. (Μετώπρευς Παναγιώτος Τάφου και Κωνσταντινοπόλεως).
163. V. Gardthausen, Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaicorum (Oxford 1886). V. Beneševich's Catalogus codicum ... (Petrograd 1911, 1917) followed, but is incomplete and does not confirm data quoted here from Gardthausen.
while there is nothing at all in the British Museum, at Cambridge, Dublin, Glasgow or elsewhere. Vienna provides one codex with Κεφ. Γ'-Ε' in it; but there is nothing at Munich or elsewhere in Germany or Austria, nothing in the Netherlands or Belgium, Poland, Switzerland or Scandinavia, the U.S.A. or Canada. In Spain, Madrid and Salamanca contribute nothing, while the Escorial supplies just three kaphalaia of series A'. In Russia, there is nothing at Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev or Odessa; but Moscow does hold the 16th century copy of Kallistos’ Life on which Pomjakovski based his published text, and possesses two other manuscripts of the same century, one of them covering A' and the other some further kaphalaia. At Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia, Ankara and in the rest of the Balkans one draws a blank too. It is rather a meagre haul, especially where Κεφάλαια Α' and B' are concerned. One wishes it were possible to ascertain from what source Makarios Notaras, former Bishop of Corinth, and his copyist derived the not quite complete text of Gregory’s five works which he handed over to Nikodemus of Athos in about 1779-80 for inclusion in the first edition of the Philokalia. He is said by PaisiiVelichkovskiy to have worked mainly on texts belonging to Vatopedi, and Tachiaos has indicated Cod. 605 of that monastery’s library as probable source of the bulk of his material. But dating from the 13th century, it did not of course include Gregory of Sinai. There seems to be no manuscript on the Holy Mountain to-day, which could provide an answer to this question.

P. A. Syrkū has suggested that the Saint’s works enjoyed

168. Daniel de Nessel, Catalogus codicum mss. graecorum... Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindoboniensis (Vienna 1690). From 1950 onwards a much improved catalogue has been in course of publication by H. Hunger and O. Krasten, but it appears not to have yet reached Theol. gr. 201.


170. The Moscow Patriarchal Library, later that of the Holy Synod, is now housed as a separate unit at the State Historical Museum of Moscow. Archimandrite Vladimir’s Catalogue (in Russian, Moscow 1894) is still valid.

171. The only other copies I know of are on Mt Athos in Cod. Lavras 1553 (A 63) of the 18th century (a.d. 1752), ff. 1-9 and 14-116, Panteleim. 173 (5680) of the 16th, ff. 63r-124r, and Iviron 557 (4677) of the 18th, § 3.


173. Ibid., 210-211.

174. P. A. Syrkū (Sircu) K istorii ispravleni s knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke,
greater popularity and diffusion in Slavonic translation than in their original Greek. If that were to prove true, the translated versions might possibly help to solve any textual problems left outstanding by the penury of the Greek sources. But to investigate this would require a long labour of love by a real specialist. Various stages in the development of Slavonic would have to be taken into account, beginning with its late mediaeval Bulgarian and Serbian forms and ending with Russian Church Slavonic of the new periods.

I end this section by giving, in tabulated form, the positive data collected. It is not claimed that the list is quite exhaustive, but it is unlikely that anything else will turn up which can materially alter the picture. Demotic Greek versions and mere excerpts from εὐαγγελία are ignored. The reader is reminded (see the first part of this section, p. 429) that the five sets of Gregory’s Κεφάλαια are being designated here by the Greek capitals Α’,Β’,Γ’,Δ’, and Ε’, followed by the numbers of the κεφαλαία themselves, in cases where the Philokalia prints such numbers. Where a set is only partially represented or there is some doubt, the asterisk corresponding to it is given in brackets. Where the full ending of Γ’ (edited above on p. 705) or the proem to Δ’ (see p. 422) are known to be included, an asterisk figures in the columns headed, respectively, by the minuscules γ’ and 8’. Regarding Dionysiu 442, see note 136, above. The date given for Koutloum. 14 is putative only, but obviously λαμπροστί description («12th cent.») cannot apply.

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(To be continued)