

# GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

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Note: The order in which the works are here listed is based on a division into three categories: A. *Epistolae*, B. *Opera ascetica, dogmatica et exegetica*, and C. *Orationes*. Each category includes in alphabetical order those works assigned to that group in the Leiden edition of the *Opera omnia*. Works not at present scheduled for publication are assigned on the basis of content. Titles of works and orthography conform to the usage of the Leiden edition, but there are several exceptions. The spelling *Epistola(e)* is used; *In sanctum Pascha* I–V and *De pauperibus amandis* I and II are employed in order to facilitate recognition.

The listing includes all works assigned to Gregory in the Latin tradition before 1600 A.D.; for a discussion of authenticity, see the introduction to each work.

Appendix I lists lost works, Appendix II spurious works not attributed to Gregory in the Latin tradition before 1600 A.D., Appendix III late Latin translations, and Appendix IV vernacular translations.

A. <i>Epistolae</i> .	45
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I. *Epistola* I.

Translation.

1. Johannes Levenklaius.

II. *Epistola* II.

Translations.

1. Anonymus A.
2. Anonymus B.
3. Petrus Molineus.

Commentaries.

- a. Petrus Molineus.
- b. Jacobus Gretserus.

- III. *Epistola* III. 53  
 Translation.  
 1. Isaacus Casaubonus.  
 Commentaries.  
 a. Isaacus Casaubonus.  
 b. Jacobus Gretserus.
- IV. *Epistolae* IV–XX.  
 No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.
- V. *Epistola* XXI. 55  
 Translations.  
 1. Wolfgangus Musculus.  
 2. Janus Cornarius.
- VI. *Epistolae* XXII–XXV.  
 No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.
- VII. *Epistolae* XXVI–XXVIII.  
 No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.  
*Epistolae* XXIX–XXX. See B. XII.
- VIII. *Epistola ad Philippum*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Anonymus.
- B. *Opera ascetica, dogmatica et exegetica.* 57
- I. *Ad Ablabium, Quod non sint tres dii*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
*De anima*. See article Nemesius Emesenus, to appear in CTC, vol. VI.
- II. *De anima per capita disputatio ad Tatianum*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Gerardus Vossius.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Gerardus Vossius.

III. *De anima et resurrectione, Dialogus cum Macrina.*

65

Translations.

1. Petrus Balbus.
2. Anonymus (s. XVI).
3. Danielus Augentius.
4. Laurentius Sifanus.

IV. *Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium.*

Translation.

1. Fronto Ducaeus.

Doubtful Translation.

2. Auxerre 27 (s. IX).

V. *Adversus Arium et Sabellium.*

No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.

VI. *De beatitudinibus.*

Translations.

1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Petrus Galesinius.

VII. *In Canticum Canticorum, Commentarius.*

Translations.

1. Johannes Levvenklaius.
2. Gentianus Hervetus.

Doubtful Translation.

3. Johannes Livineius.

Commentary.

- a. Fronto Ducaeus.

VIII. *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos.*

Translations.

1. Johannes Cono.
2. Wolfgangus Musculus.
3. Janus Cornarius.
4. Godefridus Tilmannus.
5. Laurentius Sifanus.

IX. *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae.*

86

Translations.

1. Gentianus Hervetus.
2. Franciscus Turrianus.

Commentary.

- a. Fronto Ducaeus.

X. *Epistola canonica ad Letoium.*

89

Translations.

1. Gentianus Hervetus.
2. Revisions of Hervetus' translation by Petrus Galesius and William Beveridge.
3. Jacobus Cuiacius (partial).
4. Maximus Margunius.

Commentary of Theodorus Balsamon on the *Epistola canonica.*

Translation.

1. Gentianus Hervetus.

XI. *Contra Eunomium Libri.*

Translations.

1. Nicolaus Gulonius and Johannes a Sancto Francisco (Gulonius).
2. Jacobus Gretserus.

XII. *Ad Eustathium, De sancta Trinitate.*

Translations.

1. Wolfgangus Musculus.
2. Janus Cornarius.
3. Godefridus Tilmannus.
4. Laurentius Sifanus.

Doubtful Translation.

5. Anonymus.

XIII. *Contra fatum.*

104

Translation.

1. Anonymus (J. Gretserus?).

Doubtful Translation.

2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

XIV. *Ad Graecos, ex communibus notionibus.*

Translation.

1. Federicus Morellus.

XV. *In Hexaameron, Apologia.*

Translations.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Laurentius Sifanus.

Doubtful translation.

3. Anonymus.



- XVI. *De iis qui baptismum differunt.* 110  
Translation.  
1. Gentianus Hervetus.
- XVII. *De infantibus praemature abreptis.*  
Translation.  
1. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XVIII. *In inscriptiones Psalmorum.*  
Translations.  
1. Johannes Vaz Motta Lusitanus.  
2. Maximus Margunius.  
3. Jacobus Gretserus.  
Commentary.  
a. Johannes Vaz Motta Lusitanus.
- XIX. *De instituto christiano.* 118  
Translation.  
1. Federicus Morellus.  
*Libri octo de philosophia (De natura hominis).* See article on  
Nemesius Emesenus to appear in CTC vol. VI.
- XX. *Adversus Macedonianos, De Spiritu Sancto.*  
No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.
- XXI. *Contra Manichaeos, decem syllogismi.*  
Translation.  
1. Fronto Ducaeus.  
*De natura hominis.* See article Nemesius Emesenus  
to appear in CTC, vol. VI.
- XXII. *De opificio hominis.* 120  
Translations.  
1. Dionysius Exiguus.  
2. Johannes Scotus Eriugena.  
3. Johannes Cono (*Summaria capitum* only).  
4. Anonymus (s. XVI).  
5. Ambrosius Ferrarius.  
6. Johannes Levvenklaius.  
Commentaries.  
a. Johannes Levvenklaius.  
b. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXIII. *Oratio catechetica.*

134

## Translations.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus (Chapter 37 and selected passages).
2. Constantinus Palaeocappa (Chapter 37 only).
3. Gentianus Hervetus.
4. Petrus Morellus.
5. Anonymus (Chapter 37 only, lost).

## Commentary.

- a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXIV. *De oratione Dominica.*

## Translations.

1. Athanasius Chalceopylus.
2. Petrus Galesinius.
3. Laurentius Sifanus.

XXV. *De perfectione ad Olympium.*

## Translations.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Maximus Margunius.

## Doubtful Translations.

3. Anonymus 1580.
4. Petrus Morellus.

## Commentary.

- a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXVI. *De professione christiana ad Harmonium.*

149

## Translations.

1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Maximus Margunius.

## Doubtful Translations.

3. Petrus Zinus (1570).
4. Anonymus 1580.
5. Petrus Morellus.

XXVII. *De Pythonissa (engastrimytho) ad Theodosium.*

## Translation.

1. Fronto Ducaeus.

## Commentary.

- a. Fronto Ducaeus.

- XXVIII. *De eo: Quid sit ad imaginem Dei et ad similitudinem.* 151  
 Translation.  
 1. Fronto Ducaeus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus.
- XXIX. *In sextum Psalmum.*  
 Translation.  
 1. Jacobus Nogueras.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 Doubtful Translation.  
 3. Maximus Margunius.
- XXX. *Ad Simplicium, de fide.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XXXI. *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos.*  
 Translation.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XXXII. *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas.* 157  
 Translations.  
 1. Franciscus Turrianus.  
 2. Fronto Ducaeus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus.
- XXXIII. *In illud: Tunc et ipse Filius . . .*  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Gentianus Hervetus.  
 3. Revision of Hervetus' version by Fronto Ducaeus.
- XXXIV. *In verba: Faciamus hominem, Oratio I.*  
*In hominis procreationem, Oratio II.*  
*De paradiso, Oratio III.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Johannes Heliars.  
 2. Wolfgang Musculus.  
 3. Janus Cornarius.  
 4. Godefridus Tilmannus.  
 5. Ioachimus Perionius.

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6. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

7. Victorinus Strigelius.

Doubtful Translation.

8. Johannes Levvenklaius.

Commentary.

a. Antonius Possevinus.

XXXV. *De virginitate.*

175

Translations.

1. Petrus Galesinius.

2. Johannes Livineius.

Doubtful Translation.

3. Johannes Lionicus.

Commentaries.

a. Johannes Livineius.

b. Jacobus Billius.

c. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXXVI. *Vita sanctae Macrinae.*

Translations.

1. Petrus Balbus.

2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

XXXVII. *De vita Moysis.*

Translations.

1. Georgius Trapezuntius.

2. Revision of Trapezuntius' version by Fronto Ducaeus.

Doubtful Translations.

3. Johannes Oecolampadius.

4. Johannes Levvenklaius.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.

C. *Orationes.*

187

I. *In Abraham et Isaac.*

Translation.

1. Achilles Staius.

II. *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam (In mulierem peccatricem).*

Translation.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

- III. *In ascensionem Christi (De assumptione)*. 189  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.  
*In baptismum Christi*. See C. VII.
- IV. *In Basilium fratrem*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 Doubtful Translation.  
 3. Georgius Trapezuntius.  
*De beneficentia*. See C. XXI.  
*In Christi resurrectionem* I–V. See C. XXIV–XXVIII.
- V. *De deitate adversus Evagrium (In suam ordinationem)*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Fronto Ducaeus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus.
- VI. *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti et de fide Abrahami*. 193  
 Translations.  
 1. Joachimus Camerarius.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 3. Adamus Theodorus Siberus (*De Abrahamo* only).  
 Doubtful Translation.  
 4. Gentianus Hervetus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Joachim Camerarius.
- VII. *In diem luminum (In baptismum Christi)*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus.
- VIII. *In diem natalem*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 3. Joachimus Camerarius.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.

IX. *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt.*

202

Translations.

1. Anonymus A.
2. Gentianus Hervetus.
3. Guilelmus Sirletus (?).
4. Anonymus B.

X. *In sanctum Ephraem Syrum.*

Translations.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Gerardus Vossius.

Commentary.

a. Gerardus Vossius.

Later *Vitae* based on Nyssenus' *Vita*.

a. Symeon Metaphrastes.

Translation.

1. Gentianus Hervetus.
- b. Anonymus.

Translation.

1. Gerardus Vossius.

XI. *In Flacillam imperatricem, Oratio funebris.*

208

Translations.

1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XII. *Contra fornicarios.*

Translation.

1. Gentianus Hervetus.

*In luciferam sanctam Domini resurrectionem. See C.XXVIII.*

XIII. *In Meletium episcopum, oratio funebris.*

Translations.

1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.

- XIV. *De mortuis*. 211  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XV. *De occursu Domini*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 1a. The revision of Fronto Ducaeus.  
 2. Gentianus Hervetus.
- In sanctum et salutiferum Pascha*. See C.XXVII.
- XVI. *De pauperibus amandis I (De beneficentia)*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
- XVII. *De pauperibus amandis II (Quatenus uni ex his fecistis)*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 2. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XVIII. *In Pentecosten (sive De Spiritu sancto)*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
- XIX. *In SS Petrum et Paulum*.  
 Translation. 218  
 1. Jacobus Gretserus.
- XX. *In principium ieiuniorum*.  
 Translation.  
 1. Jacobus Gretserus.
- XXI. *In Pulcheriam, oratio consolatoria*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
- XXII. *In quadraginta martyres, orationes I a and I b*.  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

- XXIII. *In quadraginta martyres, oratio II.* 222  
 Translation.  
 1. Jacobus Gretserus.  
*Quatenus uni ex his fecistis.* See C.XVII.  
*De Spiritu sancto.* See C.XVIII.
- XXIV. *In sanctum Pascha I. De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi spatio.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 Commentaries.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus  
 b. Jacobus Gretserus.
- XXV. *In sanctum Pascha II, Quod nullo modo contrarii inter se sint Evangelistae.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 Doubtful Translations.  
 2. Johannes Picus.  
 3. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.  
 Commentary.  
 a. Fronto Ducaeus.
- XXVI. *In sanctum Pascha III. In Christi resurrectionem.* 227  
 Translation.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.
- XXVII. *In sanctum Pascha IV. De sancto et salutari festo Paschae.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Laurentius Sifanus.  
 2. Joachimus Camerarius.  
 3. Henricus Oelschlegelius.  
 Commentaries.  
 a. Joachim Camerarius.  
 b. Fronto Ducaeus.
- XXVIII. *In sanctum Pascha V. In luciferam sanctam Domini resurrectionem.*  
 Translations.  
 1. Fronto Ducaeus.  
 2. Federicus Morellus.



*De sancto et salutifero festo Paschae.* See C.XXVII.

XXIX. *In sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem.* 232

Translations.

1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Joachim Camerarius.
3. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

Commentaries.

- a. Joachimus Camerarius.
- b. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXX. *In sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem, laudatio altera.*  
No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.

*In suam ordinationem.* See C. V.

XXXI. *De sancto Theodoro martyre.*

Translations.

1. Jacobus Nogueras (partial).
2. Laurentius Sifanus.
3. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

Commentary.

- a. Jacobus Gretserus.

*De tridui inter mortem et resurrectionem Domini nostri  
Iesu Christi spatio.* See C.XXXIV.

XXXII. *Contra usurarios (foeneratores).*

Translation.

1. Jacobus Gretserus.

XXXIII. *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*

Translations.

1. Petrus Subdiaconus (Natthineus)
2. Gentianus Hervetus.
3. Laurentius Sifanus.
4. Gerardus Vossius.

Commentary.

- a. Gerardus Vossius.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS.

1. Johannes Carolus Bovius.

*Appendix I.* Lost Works of Gregory of Nyssa. 242

*Appendix II.* Spurious Works not attributed to Gregory in the Latin  
tradition before 1600 A.D. 243

*Appendix III.* Late Latin Translations and Editions. 245

*Appendix IV.* Vernacular Translations. 247

## FORTUNA\*

Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394) was one of the three great Cappadocians whose thought

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and activity dominated the fourth century Christian world. His later influence was pervasive in Greek, Syrian and other eastern circles and was also important in the Latin

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West. In his own day, Gregory's dogmatic writings had the greatest impact as he supported the orthodox Nicene position against heretical factions, but in the course of subsequent centuries, Gregory's influence in the field of mystical theology was more enduring and of greater importance.

Gregory was born around 335 in Annesis, Cappadocia. His family was an influential and prosperous one. His grandmother, Macrina, had been a pupil of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and his father Basil was a rhetor. Gregory was one of ten children including St. Macrina, St. Basil of Caesarea, St. Peter of Sebaste and Naucratus, a hermit.

Gregory was early destined for the church, but he admired Libanius and preferred the study of rhetoric. His intention was to become a rhetor like his father. He resisted his brother Basil's encouragement to enter the monastic life and married Theosebia (d.c. 385). Later he did enter the church, and in 371 was chosen Bishop of Nyssa. In 376 Valens, the pro-Arian emperor, managed to have Gregory accused of financial irregularity and banished from Nyssa; the real reason was Gregory's espousal of the orthodox principles of Nicaea. When the Arian faction lost power, Gregory was able to return (378).

On January 1, 379 Basil died and Gregory became heir to his brother's vast ecclesiastical, monastic and theological involvements. Gregory's greatest period of activity was between 379 and 385. In 379 he attended the Synod of Antioch which dealt with the heretical theories of the incarnation advanced by Apollinaris of Laodicea and his followers. At the request of the same Synod, he toured a large area of the Pontus, looking into the problems of the churches there. In 380, against his will he was chosen Bishop of Sebaste. In 381, he figured prominently at the Council of Constantinople at which the anti-Arian Creed was put into final form. He was present at the Synod of Constantinople in 394. After this nothing is heard of him; it must be assumed that he died shortly thereafter.

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

Gregory was closely associated with many important figures of his day. The influence of his brother Basil on him was great. Gregory Nazianzen addressed to him nine letters and one oration.<sup>1</sup> It was to Nazianzen and Jerome that Gregory read, at the Council of Constantinople (381) selections from his *Contra Eunomium*.<sup>2</sup> At the same gathering Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium in Cappadocia (d.c. 394) was also present; Gregory addressed his long *Epistola XXV* to him. Cyril of Jerusalem attended the Council also; Gregory at times seems to echo his views, especially those in parts of the *Catacheses mystagogicae*. His other Cappadocian contemporary, Asterius of Amasea (d.c. 410) was quite obviously familiar with a number of Gregory's works since he quotes him verbatim on several occasions.<sup>3</sup> It is just possible that Gregory had correspondence with Isidore of Pelusium (c. 360-435) whose letters date from c. 393-394. Isidore's *Epistola I* may show acquaintance with *De vita Moysis* (Lib. I.CXXV *De angelo qui Moysi occurrit*).<sup>4</sup>

In his own writings Gregory made use of the works of a Syrian contemporary, Ephraem (306-373), and he undoubtedly read them in the already available Greek translations. He does not mention Ephraem by name but he quotes him in *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*, *In diem natalem* and elsewhere. On the other hand debate continues on the relationship of Gregory to his older contemporary, Macarius of Egypt (c. 300- c. 390). The controversy centers on Gregory's *De instituto christiano* and on the question as

1. However see R. Weijenborg, "Some evidence of inauthenticity for 'Discourse XI' in honor of Gregory of Nyssa," a paper delivered at the Oxford Patristic Conference, 1979, to be published in *Symposium*.

2. *De viris illustribus* 128.

3. See C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I-XIV*, Leiden, 1970, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

4. L. de Tillemont, *Mémoires*, IX. 593.

to which author borrowed from the other.<sup>5</sup> In the same field of asceticism, Evagrius Ponticus (346–399) has been pointed out by W. Jaeger as the most likely intermediary “between Gregory and the Syrian church, (one) who conveyed the mystic asceticism of the Cappadocian School to the near east.”<sup>6</sup> Lastly it must be mentioned that there is no evidence of any connection between Gregory of Nyssa and Nemesius of Emesa, author of *De natura hominis*, a treatise often attributed to Gregory until the mid-sixteenth century. See the article on Nemesius Emesenus to appear in CTC, vol VI.

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA’S WRITINGS

Gregory left a large body of writings which included a number of dogmatic works. Most of them were evoked by contemporary controversies involving the Apollinarists, Arians, Sabellians and other heretical groups. His longest work, *Contra Eunomium*, belongs to this class. Another, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*, is considered the most important of all writings against Apollinaris, and preserves large segments of the now lost original work of the heretic. Gregory also composed a number of exegetical works including his most popular treatise, the *De opificio hominis*. Finally Gregory is the author of a number of ascetic writings, including *De virginitate*, a product of his earlier years, and the *De vita Moysis* written late in life. In addition to these formal treatises, we also possess thirty-one letters and over twenty-five orations. There are in addition fragments of a number of lost works, including one letter (see Appendix I).

There also exist a number of *opera dubia et spuria*. Where these were generally accepted as Gregory’s and translated into Latin under his name before c. 1600 A.D., they are treated

in the following article along with the genuine works; the question of authenticity and possible attribution to another author is discussed in each case in the introduction to the work. Other spurious works, which are attributed to Gregory in one or more Greek manuscripts but which were never generally accepted as his and which have now in most cases been shown to be by another author, are listed in Appendix II.

#### EARLY COLLECTIONS OF GREGORY’S WORKS

The large number of extant Greek manuscripts testifies to the continuing interest in Gregory of Nyssa in his own and subsequent times. Only a small number of works known to be his has failed to survive. Jaeger in 1953 mentioned more than 1200 extant Greek manuscripts, and today the list has grown measurably.<sup>7</sup>

There was apparently no original or invariable fixed order or selection of works included in the early collections. We know that by s. X–XII the contents in manuscripts containing Gregory’s works were assembled from various available sources which themselves differed in their contents. A few treatises seem to have been paired from earliest times; e.g. *In Canticum* and *In Ecclesiasten*; *De beatitudinibus* and *De oratione Dominica*; *De perfectione ad Olympium* and *De professione ad Harmonium*, etc. A number of manuscripts contain works in an order conforming to the liturgical year and resemble menaia.

It is impossible to break down the total number (over 1200) of manuscripts of Nysseus’ works by centuries until research for all volumes of the Leiden edition is completed. A few manuscripts date from s. VIII–IX; a modest number come from s. IX–X. One of these, the now lost Codex Arsenii (911 a.d.) is still of great importance through its many

5. See bibliography below p. 118, on *De instituto christiano*.

6. W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, Chapter 4, pp. 208–230, esp. p. 230; L. Bouyer, *A History of Christian Spirituality*, N.Y., 1978, 1:351–352.

7. H. Hörner, “Über Genese und derzeitigen Stand der grossen Edition der Werke Gregors von Nyssa,” *Chevetogne*, p. 18 sqq., esp. p. 30 and n. 1.

extant descendants; they reflect a relatively early state of the text.<sup>8</sup> There are numerous manuscript representatives of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries; and as might be expected, a large group were copied during s. XIV–XVI. Many of these were destined for use in the theological debates in the latter part of this period.

Several manuscripts deserve special attention. Montepessulanus 122 (s. XVI) was used by J. Livineius for his translations. More importantly, Fronto Ducaeus, the great editor and annotator of Nyssenus' works, also used it. Today scholars consider that it is probably the often-mentioned "codex Morelli".<sup>9</sup>

Another manuscript preserves the work of an epitomator of some of Gregory's writings—Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII). It is the final portion of what was originally a very large codex whose first part has perished. It contains abridged versions of five works of Nyssenus (*Contra fatum*, *De instituto christiano*, *Contra fornicarios*, *Adversus Graecos ex communibus notionibus*, *Ad Eustathium de sancta trinitate*) and the complete text of eight other works. James McDonough has demonstrated in the preface to his critical edition of *Contra fatum* that the scribe of the manuscript was not himself the epitomator. That individual attempted to present Gregory's arguments without embellishment. He shortened descriptions; he omitted passages with which Gregory illustrated his points. But he achieved continuity of thought by rearranging words and phrases and adding

some of his own.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, there exists a papyrus fragment (s. VII) of a passage from *De vita Moysis*.<sup>11</sup>

There are numerous quotations in the Greek *Catena*e from Gregory's works; they are important for the establishment of an accurate text. The *Catena* of Procopius (s. VI) and the *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi* (s. VII) are particularly valuable in this regard because of the number and length of quotations. The *Catena trium Patrum* is also important.<sup>12</sup>

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA'S INFLUENCE IN LATER GREEK CIRCLES.

The influence of Gregory's dogmatic works which addressed the theological problems of the age continued to persist long beyond his lifetime.

In connection with the main topics discussed at the Council of Ephesus (437) we find the *Contra anthropomorphitas* of Ps. Cyril of Alexandria dealing with the problem of why the incarnation took place precisely when it did. The arguments set forth in Chapter XXIV are so similar in content and order to Gregory's that one must conclude that the anonymous author used Gregory's *In diem natalem*.<sup>13</sup>

8. O. Lendle in his edition of *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem* provides an exhaustive treatment of the manuscript tradition in "Rekonstruktion der Variantenträger," pp. 124 sq. For the codex Arsenii in particular see "Die Verwandten des Cd. Arsenii" on p. 185 sqq.

9. See comment by editors of the Leiden series: P. Alexander, GNO V:270 sq.; J.P. Cavarnos, GNO VIII.1:233–234; E. Gebhardt, GNO IX:153, 175, 189–90; F. Mueller, GNO III.1 xxxi; A. Spira GNO IX: 352 sq.

10. See W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, pp. 2–3; and in GNO VIII.1:36–38. This writer is indebted to H. Hörner and J.A. McDonough for a copy of the portion of the tentative preface to GNO III.2.1 in which this manuscript is discussed at length. The reader should consult the forthcoming edition.

11. Papyr. Berol. graec. 5863. See H. Musurillo, GNO VII.1:v.

12. See M. Geerard, CPG IV (1980), especially the sections on *In Canticum* and *In Ecclesiasten* pp. 222 sq. and 227 sq. Authors represented in individual *Catena*e are listed. See also P. Alexander, GNO V:262 sq.; *Dict. de Spiritualité* V:475–512; K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byz. Lit.* I.206 sqq.

13. See Vulcanius' *Notae* reprinted in PG 76: 1121–1124 and Bardenhewer IV:55.

Around the same time the historian Socrates (c. 380–439) refers to several works of Nyssenus. Theodoretus (393–466) too quotes Gregory many times; his use testifies to the circulation of the works and the esteem in which they were held. Leontius of Byzantium (485–542) also quoted Gregory as did Procopius of Gaza (d. 538) who used him with far more frequency than he did some better known authors. Severus of Antioch (d. 538) mentioned Gregory by name when he quoted from the *In diem natalem*.<sup>14</sup> Recent studies point to the influence of the Abraham pericope in *De deitate filii* in the fifth century poet, Romanus the Melode.<sup>15</sup>

The relationship of the sixth-century mystical writer, ps. Dionysius Areopagita, to Gregory of Nyssa has been the subject of much speculation in recent years. Whereas in the past the debt of ps. Dionysius to Proclus was emphasized, there is a tendency today to point to the possibility of significant influence on him by Gregory's mystical writings. J. Quasten expresses the view of many, "There is no doubt that he (Nyssenus) played a very prominent part in founding and developing Christian mysticism. He is the link between Philo and the Alexandrians through Plotinus to Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus Confessor and Byzantine mysticism."<sup>16</sup>

The anonymous author who compiled the *Erotapokriseis* under the name of Caesarius, brother of Nazianzen, probably lived in the sixth century. His many quotations from Gregory of Nyssa, especially from *De officio hominis* and *De vita Moysis*, testify to an early form of the text.<sup>17</sup>

14. G. Mercati, *Opere minori* III, Rome, 1937, pp. 341–344.

15. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes* (Sources Chrétiennes 99) Paris, 1964, Introduction, p. 132.

16. Quasten III:291. See also L. Bouyer, *Christian Spirituality*, London, 1968, I:395–421.

17. M. Van Esbroeck is preparing a critical edition. The text is available in *PG* 38:852–1189. R. Riedinger's study is valuable: "Neue Quellen zu den *Erotapokriseis* des Ps. Kaisarios," *Jhrb. d.*

Again in the sixth century the Emperor Justinian in his *Edicts* quoted from the *Contra Eunomium*.<sup>18</sup>

Maximus Confessor (580–662) was well acquainted with the works of Gregory.<sup>19</sup> He has many direct quotations and uses Gregory's arguments in his own writings. Maximus wrote *Apologia pro S. Nysseno ad diagnoscendum in eius sermonibus esse, quod ultima status animarum immutatio bene sit futura*.<sup>20</sup> Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733) not much later defended Gregory against the charge of Origenism;<sup>21</sup> the accusation continued to persist even though the Fifth Ecumenical Council had condemned Origen but not Nyssenus. Anastasius of Sinai (625–700) quoted at length from Gregory's works both in the *Hodegos* and in the *Quaestiones*.

John of Damascus (c. 699–753) was particularly fond of quoting Gregory of Nyssa. His writings, especially the third section, *De fide orthodoxa*, of his monumental *Fons scientiae*, contain many long passages from Gregory's works. John's writings enjoyed great popularity in western as well as eastern church circles. John also quoted as Gregory's work a large segment of Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*. It has been customary to say that he attributed the treatise to Gregory, but it can only be said with certainty that he never mentions the author. On the other hand, in his quotations from the genuine writings of Gregory he at times names him; at others he does not.<sup>22</sup>

*Oesterreich. Byzantinisch. Gesellsch.* 1970, pp. 153–184.

18. See Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. Byz. Lit.* I:57; W. Jaeger, *GNO* II:lvii.

19. See L. Bouyer, *op. cit.* I:433 sq. and II:550.

20. Published in J. B. Caraccioli's editio princeps of seven letters of Nyssenus, Florence, 1731.

21. In his *Ἀνταποδοτικὸς ἢ ἀνόθευτος* now lost and known only through Photius' mention of it in his *Bibl. cod.* 233.

22. E. Gilson, *La philosophie au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1947, p. 92. For lists of passages quoted see B. Kotter's critical edition of *De fide orthodoxa*,

Gregory's influence may also be seen in the ascription to him of works not his own. Such was the case with a work quoted at the seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, *Inventio imaginis in Camulianis*; its content was in the tradition of many other miraculous image legends. Perhaps first a tale in Syriac, it soon took the form of a short oration and appeared in a Greek version purporting to be a sermon delivered by Gregory of Nyssa in 392. The attribution to Gregory in this instance was undoubtedly a conscious effort to enhance the credibility of the legend.<sup>23</sup>

In other instances the content seemed to reflect material with which Nyssenius often dealt, and so a scribe or a reader in a marginal note attached his name to the work of an anonymous or unfamiliar writer. Thus Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) included numerous passages from a treatise *De cognitione Dei* in his *Panoplia Dogmatica* (translated into Latin in 1555 by P.F. Zinus). *De cognitione Dei* was attributed in his sources to Nyssenius ("cuius auctor esse fertur Gregorius Nyssae pontifex"), but Euthymius' statement indicates some doubt. Studies by H.I. Bell in this century demonstrate that the passages were from a treatise *Theognosia*, written certainly after s. IV and possibly emanating from the

circle of Theodore the Studite (759–826). The passages are printed among fragments of Gregory of Nyssa by J.P. Migne, PG 46:1111–1126.<sup>23a</sup>

The monk Meletius of Tiberiopolis may have lived in the ninth century.<sup>24</sup> He does not himself name his sources, but the anonymous author of the preface to his *Synopsis* names Gregory of Nyssa, and Meletius does indeed quote from him.<sup>25</sup> The greater part of his treatise was based on the Nemesius treatise which the writer of the preface believed was Nyssenius'.

Photius (s. IX): Patriarch of Constantinople, was certainly familiar with Gregory's works and discussed his style; in particular he knew the *Contra Eunomium*.<sup>26</sup>

Michael Psellus (1018–1079) wrote brief scholia on some works of Nyssenius and also compiled the *Expositio in Canticum canticorum, per paraphrasin collecta*, which includes selections from Maximus Confessor, Nyssenius and Nilus. Though it was obviously impossible for Gregory of Nyssa to have made the collection; it was nevertheless attributed to him by some. Psellus also wrote an encomium on the two Gregories.<sup>27</sup>

*Patristische Texte und Studien*, Berlin-N.Y. 1973, p. 255 and E. Buytaert's edition of the Latin version of Burgundio, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., Louvain and Paderborn, 1955, Index and pp. 421–422.

23. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig, 1899, especially comments on pp. 9–12\*\* and 18\*\* sqq. and Chapter III pp. 40–60, "Die Gruppe des Bildes von Kamuliana". Dobschütz gives the Greek text from Vat. Reg. gr. 49 (a. d. 1574) on pp. 12\*\*–18\*\*. See also Melioranskij, "Consideration of the 'Discovery of the image not-made-by-hand of Kamuliana' attributed to Gregory of Nyssa," *Journal Ministerstvo narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, Vol. 337 (1901) pp. 23–27, with the Greek text edited from Mosq. 197 (s. IX–X) on pp. 27–33. Melioranskij mentions the Slavic translation dating from 1552 (p.24). J. Gretser mentions the work in Ch. XII *De imaginibus non manufactis*; see his *Op. om.* Vol. XV (1741) p. 196.

23a. J. Daniélou, *Enc. Catt.* VI.1101. H.I. Bell, "Sermons by the Author of the *Theognosia* attributed to Gregory of Nyssa," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 26 (1925) 364–373; F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des Gregor von Nyssa*, Münster, 1896, I.209; K. Hansmann, "Ein neuentdeckter Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium," *Forsch. zur christl. Lit. und Dogmengesch.* 16.4–5, Paderborn, 1930; W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, Leiden 1965, p. 82, n. 5 and the same, "Der neuentdeckte Kommentar zum Johannesevangelium und Dionysios Areopagites," *Sitzungsber. Berliner Ak., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Berlin, 1930, 569–94.

24. But see M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta . . . di Nemesio*, Milan, 1981, p. 132 sq. for another view.

25. For list of passages see G. Helmreich, *Studien zu Meletios in Abhdlg. d. könig. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1918, pp.60–61.

26. W. Jaeger, GNO II:xvii–xviii.

27. Krumbacher, *op. cit.* I:433–444.

Euthymius Zigabenus, acquaintance of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) quoted extensively from Gregory in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*. His contemporary Johannes Zonaras (fl. 1110) wrote scholia on the *Epistola ad Letoium*.<sup>28</sup> Quotations from Nyssenus appear in his *Epistola 10*. Later in the same century Theodore Balsamon (c. 1140–c. 1195), a canonist of the Eastern church, wrote a detailed commentary on the *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*. It was often printed alternately with sections of Gregory's work.<sup>29</sup> The *Synopsis* falsely attributed to Alexius Aristenus (s. XII) also commented on the same work of Gregory.<sup>30</sup>

Even so late a work as the *In SS Petrum et Paulum*, which is without doubt the work of Maximus Planudes (1260–1310), was assigned to Nyssenus by Jacob Gretser, who translated a large portion of it and published it in 1620.

Cardinal Bessarion (1395–1472), former archbishop of Nicaea and later adherent of the Latin church, commented on a portion of *Oratio catechetica*. Bessarion's large library contained a copy of *Contra Eunomium* with notes in his own hand.<sup>31</sup>

28. The Greek text between chapters of the *Epistola* is published in Rhalles and Potles, *Syntagma*, Athens 1852–1859, Vol. IV (1854) pp. 295–330. Information supplied by S. Kuttner of Boalt School of Law, University of California at Berkeley.

29. See below under *Epistola ad Letoium* pp. 89, 94–5.

30. Translation of the *Synopsis* for Gregory of Nyssa's letter appears in Beveridge, *Synodikon* Vol. II part I (after p. 888, unnumbered signatures), fol. Cc (i) vi–vii. No scholia on the letter have been edited. Information supplied by S. Kuttner, as above, Note 28.

31. See CTC II.306; Krumbacher, *op. cit.* I.117. See also W. Jaeger, GNO II:XLIX and for *Oratio catechetica*, L. Mohler's edition of Bessarion's *De sacramento Eucharistiae*, in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters, Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann . . . gewidmet* (Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters, Supplementband III, pt. 2) Münster, 1935, 1373–1411, at 1394–95.

A phenomenon of the fourteenth century in the East as well as in the West was the appearance of exponents of mystical theology. Two eastern representatives of this group were indebted to Gregory of Nyssa, both directly and by way of Maximus Confessor. Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) promoted a theological viewpoint which struck a happy mean between the extreme hesychasts of Mt. Athos and the nominalists, since he agreed with Nyssenus that man could have direct knowledge of God's "energies" but never of his "essence". Moreover he emphasized as did Nyssenus, that in order to achieve knowledge even of the "energies" there was a need for the church and its sacramental system. Nicolaus Cabasilas (d. 1371) expounded much the same doctrine.<sup>32</sup>

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN TRADITIONS

The earliest translations of Gregory of Nyssa's writings, as in the case of the majority of Greek patristic authors, were those into Syriac. As mentioned above Gregory was familiar with the work of Ephraem Syrus (c. 306–373), but it is unlikely that Ephraem who died soon after the beginning of Gregory's literary career, knew any of Nyssenus' works. On the other hand as mentioned above, another Syrian contemporary, Evagrius Ponticus (346–399) has been considered the link between the Cappadocian School and the Syrian Church.

A glance at lists of works translated into

32. *Dict. de la Spiritualité* VI.1007. See also J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique* pp. 6, 20, 25, 272; G. Habra, "The Patristic Sources of Gregory Palamas on the Divine Energies," *Eastern Church Quarterly* 12 (1958) pp. 294–303; J. Meyendorff, *Défense des saints hésychastes*, Louvain, 1959, p. 156; and *St. Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality*, N.Y., 1974, pp. 40–47.

33. M. Geerard, CPG II pp. 209–230 in most cases lists existing Syriac versions under each work.



Syriac<sup>33</sup> reveals no preference for any particular type of writing; representatives of all categories appear. These versions assume great importance for establishing the text of Nyssenius because of their antiquity and because they usually offer literal rendering of the Greek original.

Extant Syriac manuscripts bear very early dates. The best known is probably Vat. syr. 106; H. Langerbeck, an early co-worker with W. Jaeger on the critical edition of Gregory's works and a competent Semiticist, believed that this manuscript dated from the end of s.V or beginning of s.VI.<sup>34</sup> More recently A. Van Landschoot suggests that the manuscript itself may go back only to s. X, but that it is a copy of a far older original.<sup>35</sup> Its contents testify to the works read at this early period: *In Canticum*, *De beatitudinibus*, *De oratione Dominica* (*Oratio I* is the only one of the works in the manuscript edited to date),<sup>36</sup> *De opificio hominis* and *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas*. A number of other manuscripts of works and of *catenae* bear very early dates.

These Syriac versions were generally the source of the Arabic translations of a large number of Gregory's works.<sup>37</sup> The earliest are dated s. IX–X, for example, an epitome of the *Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi*; but interest in translating Gregory, stemming from interest in his writings in Arabic speaking circles, lasted into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many versions, as in the case of those in Syriac, were anonymous. But a few

translators' names are known. For example, Abdallah ibn al-Fadl (s. XI) made a translation of *In Hexaemeron*. Though the early translators used Greek sources, later ones turned to Latin exemplars; e.g. Raphael Turki in 1763 translated *In Canticum* and *In Ecclesiasten* and in 1764 *De beatitudinibus* and *De oratione Dominica* from the Latin into Arabic; he may have used the 1638 Paris edition of Gregory's works, and we know that the anonymous 1718 translator of *In inscriptions Psalmorum* did this. A large number of spurious works were assigned to Gregory of Nyssa by Arabic scholars.<sup>38</sup>

Georgian translations exist of many of Nyssenius' works, including one of *Vita Macrinae*. Likewise there are some Armenian translations, including several of *In Meletium*. A few works are extant in Coptic versions. But the Ethiopic *Anaphora* going under the name of Gregory of Nyssa is clearly a spurious work of late origin.<sup>39</sup>

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE SLAVIC TRADITION

The fortuna of Gregory of Nyssa's works in Slavic speaking areas has received comparatively little attention to date. That Gregory was revered along with Basil and Nazianzen is well known. The number of Greek manuscripts preserved even today in Russia testifies to the interest through the centuries in Nyssenius. Until 1237 Metropolitans of Russia were generally Greek and hence naturally brought with them their heritage of the earlier Fathers including Nyssenius. That

A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Lit.*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 79–80 gives additional information. Ebedjesu (s. XIII) also provides a list of works of Gregory preserved in Syriac; it is reprinted in J. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient. Clementino-Vaticana I* (Rome, 1719) pp. 21–22.

34. GNO VI:LXI–LXII.

35. See P. Levine, *Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol.* 63 (1958) 482.

36. Zingerle and Moesinger, *Monumenta Syriaca*, Innsbruck, 1969, I, pp. 111–116.

37. W. Kutsch in *Orientalia VI* (1937) p. 72.

38. See G. Graf, *Gesch. der christlichen arabischen Literatur in Stud. e Testi* 118 (1944) Vol. I pp. 332–335 and also 297–302; Vol. II, p. 52 sqq., esp. p. 56.

39. Geerard CPG II under individual works, lists Georgian and Armenian translations. On the Ethiopic *Anaphora* see O. Löfgren and S. Euringer, *Orientalia Christiana* 85 pp. 65 sq. with text, comment, and German translation.

more translations into Slavonic are not extant is a witness not so much of the absence of such versions as to the thoroughness of the Mongol destruction wrought later in the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> One of the earliest preserved Slavonic translations is a passage from *Oratio catechetica* in Sviatoslav's Izbornik of 1073.<sup>41</sup> In the mid-sixteenth century Makarios (1482–1563) who became Metropolitan of Moscow in 1542, compiled a Slavonic menaion which included translations of a number of works of Gregory of Nyssa. Makarios himself had been influential in putting Ivan IV (the Terrible) on the throne; he also promoted the first Russian press and his menaion, *Minei Chetii*, was widely used.<sup>42</sup>

Between 1859 and 1873 a Russian translation of the *Opera omnia* was published.<sup>43</sup> Even in Soviet Russia Gregory has not been forgotten; some of his works were the subject of a Leningrad dissertation in 1968.<sup>44</sup>

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE LATE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL LATIN TRADITION

Gregory of Nyssa's name first appears in Latin literature in a passage of Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, Ch. 128 where Jerome describes how he and Nazianzen listened to readings from the *Contra Eunomium* by its author Nyssenus. It does not appear that Jerome was acquainted with any other works of Gregory.

40. T. Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 1975, p. 90.

41. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven, 1973, p. 282.

42. Makarios' *Minei Chetij* was published in part in St. Petersburg, 1868–1917, though the project came to a halt after the volumes covering only six months were completed. M. Geerard, CPG II usually mentions translations under individual works.

43. First edition, Moscow, 1859; second edition Moscow, 1861–1872.

44. Written by J. Trubicyn for the Leningrad Academy of Culture.

The extent to which Rufinus (345–410) knew and used Gregory's works has been disputed. F. Diekamp thinks he probably knew and made use of *Oratio catechetica*.<sup>45</sup> A. Galland believed that Rufinus was familiar with Gregory's form of the Creed attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus and incorporated by Nyssenus in his life of that father.<sup>46</sup> Scholars through the years have discussed whether Augustine could have known or read Nyssenus' writings. Bardenhewer and Courcelle think it possible that he knew some Greek and hence could have read Gregory;<sup>47</sup> Rütting agrees. Altaner and K. Adam are negative on the issue.<sup>48</sup> Discussion continues today.<sup>49</sup>

John Cassian (c. 360–435) and St. Benedict (c. 480–550) were possibly both acquainted with the *De instituto christiano* according to arguments presented by A. Kemmer and A. de Vogüé.<sup>50</sup>

The first known translation into Latin of a complete work of Gregory of Nyssa appeared in the sixth century. Dionysius Exiguus (c. 475–c. 550), best known for his establishment of the system of dating time from the birth of Christ, translated the *De opificio hominis* at the request of the Abbot Eugippius of Luculla. His Latin version remained the only widely

45. See F. Diekamp, "Rufinus' Kirchengeschichte und Gelasius," in *Analecta Patristica* 117, Rome, 1938, p. 27 and n. 1.

46. A. Galland, reprinted in *PG* 10:966, "Rufinus eandem Gregorianam (i.e. Thaumaturgam) Expositionem ex Nysseno, ut quidem puto, desumptam suae versioni Eusebiae Historiae inseruit."

47. Bardenhewer 4:487; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek sources*, Cambridge 1969, p. 203 and n. 42 leaves room for doubt.

48. B. Altaner, "Augustinus und Gregor von Nazianz, Gregor von Nyssa," *Rev. Bénédictine* 61 (1951) pp. 54–62. K. Adam, *Eucharistielehre*, p. 43.

49. See M.-B. von Stritzky "Beobachtungen zur Verbindung zwischen Gregor von Nyssa und Augustin," *Vig. Chr.* 28 (1974) pp. 176–185.

50. A. Kemmer, "Gregorius Nyssenus estne inter fontes Jo. Cassiani numerandus?," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955) pp. 451–466.

circulated one until the publication of Levenklaius' translation in 1567.

A little later in the same century Facundus of Hermiae (fl. 540–550) included a Latin translation of passages from Nyssenius' *Contra Eunomium* in Chapter IV of his *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* which he composed at Constantinople between 546 and 551 and presented to the emperor Justinian. Facundus still quotes the *Contra Eunomium* according to the original order of the books, though this was disturbed shortly after his time and not restored until the present century.<sup>51</sup> Today some doubt has been voiced as to whether Facundus was skilled enough in Greek to have made the version himself.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the passages in Facundus' work, a number of single quotations are preserved from the same century. In a florilegium compiled by a Scythian monk (c. 519–520) there are two passages from the *Oratio catechetica* and one from *Ad Ablabium*. This last is quoted by Pope John II (c. 533) in his *Epistola* 3.<sup>53</sup> Liberatus, archdeacon of Carthage (c. 533) in his *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, quotes from the *De beatitudinibus* and refers to the now lost *Libri septem in supremum caput Matthaei*. Isidore of Seville (560–636) knew works of both Nazianzen and Nyssenius, but he confused the authors' names and identities. The same uncertainty is seen in Alcuin and even in Eriugena.<sup>54</sup> Isidore and Alcuin may merely have read excerpts in a florilegium. The anonymous Latin translator of *Epistola ad Philippum* may have lived as early as s. VII; the earliest manuscript however dates from s. IX–X and has a connection with Bobbio.<sup>55</sup>

51. For his quotations see: PL 67:805–809. See W. Jaeger, GNO II: xii and note, and pp. 152–159, and his *Gregor von Nyssa's Lehre vom Hl. Geist*, pp. 78–84.

52. See N.M. Haring, *Med. Stud.* 12 (1950), pp. 1–19.

53. See Mansi, AC, X.1075 or Schwartz, AC IV.2, pp. 98–100.

54. Alcuin: see PL 101:745. Eriugena: see M. Cappuyns, *J.S. Érigène*, Paris, 1933, p. 176 sq.

55. See below, p. 157 and also G. Mercati, *Studi*

Passages from Gregory's writings, as was the case with other authors, often became well known because they were quoted by the author of a work that enjoyed wide popularity and circulation. Such was the case with many quotations from Gregory and others incorporated by John of Damascus, especially in his *De fide orthodoxa*. We know that Latin translations of this treatise became available in s. XII; in the small portion surviving of a twelfth century translation a section appears to be based on Gregory's *Oratio catechetica*.

Some quotations reached a more limited group; for example, in the proceedings of the Sixth General Council (680 a.d.) Chapters 31 and 32 of Gregory's *Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium* were quoted in their entirety. In the editions of the proceedings there are two different Latin translations of these chapters; their readership was certainly confined to canonists and dogmatic theologians.<sup>56</sup>

The Carolingian *restauratio* of the ninth century gives evidence of a wider knowledge and use of Gregory's works. Of peculiar interest is the knowledge of patristic writers shown by Dungalus Reclusus of St. Denis. He went from Paris to Pavia where in 827 he issued a treatise at the request of the emperor, Louis the Pious, the *Responsa adversus Claudium Taurinensem* in which he supported his arguments with quotations from the Fathers including Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>57</sup> Though he might have obtained his quotations from florilegia, several of which he himself had

*e Testi* 75 (1938) p. 186, n.l.

56. The translations are found in editions of the *Acta Conciliorum*; e.g. ed. of Paris, 1714, ed. Hardouin, Vol. III:1207–1210 and III:1540–1543. On Walch's suggestion that one of the translators was Anastasius Bibliothecarius see his *Ketzerhistoria* IX:14; it has won no credence.

57. *Hist. litt. de la France* IV:497; Manitius, *Gesch. d. latein. Lit. des Mittelalters* I:370–374; Traube, "O Roma nobilis" in *Abhdlg. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., Philol. Kl.* 19 (1872) 299–395, passim. M. Esposito has a valuable study in "Notes and Studies," *Journal of Theological Studies* 33

compiled, the fact remains that he considered Nyssenius well enough known to be useful in substantiating his arguments.

A few years later the century's most illustrious scholar-philosopher, Johannes Scotus Eriugena, translated the *De opificio hominis*. More important for the *Fortuna* of Gregory of Nyssa's treatise is the fact that many passages of Eriugena's translation were included in his *De divisione naturae* which enjoyed wide circulation and tremendous popularity despite its eventual condemnation. The *De opificio* was not the only work of Gregory known to Eriugena; his *Commentary on the Prologue to St. John* shows acquaintance with others.<sup>58</sup>

Petrus Subdiaconus of Naples (s. X), who wrote many lives of saints, also paraphrased Nyssenius' *De vita s. Gregorii Thaumaturgi*.

In the twelfth century the demand for Latin versions of Greek authors increased as a result of the greater contact with eastern culture brought about by the Crusades and the cultural interests of the Norman court in southern Italy and Sicily; but there is no extant translation of a major work of Nyssenius from this period. He was however far from unknown.

Whether or not Bernard of Clairvaux personally read any translations of Gregory of Nyssa's works is questionable, but there was a copy of Dionysius Exiguus' version of *De opificio hominis* at Clairvaux in Bernard's time (today Troyes 483). It has recently been argued that Bernard changed his interpretation of 'the image and likeness' of God in man under the influence of Gregory, but the question continues to be debated.<sup>59</sup>

(1932) pp. 119–131. The *Responsa* is found in *PL* 105:457–530. The writer is indebted to P. Teodoro Alonzo Turienzo of Biblioteca de El Escorial for a copy of a florilegium attributed to Dungalus; quotations from "Gregorius" are from Gregory the Great.

58. See below p. 126 and General Bibliography for literature. For other use of Nyssenius by Eriugena see *Sources Chrétiennes* 151, ed. E. Jeuneau and Index for specific passages.

59. J. Daniélou, "St. Bernard et les Pères grecs," *Analecta Ord. Cister.* 9 (1953) pp. 52–55;

Bernard's close friend, William of St. Thierry (1085–1148) had as a youth spent some time at the school of Anselm at Laon where he met Abelard and where the memory of Eriugena who had taught there several hundred years earlier was still fresh. William entered the monastic life and was elected abbot of the Benedictine foundation of St. Thierry in 1119. He wrote a treatise for his monks, *De natura corporis et animae*. The second book of this work, *Physica animae*, contains many quotations from Nyssenius' *De opificio hominis* in the Latin of Eriugena.<sup>60</sup> *De opificio hominis* was not the only one of Nyssenius' works known to William. He mentions passages from the *De anima et resurrectione* and *Oratio catechetica* as well as from the Ps. Nyssenius-Nemesius *De natura hominis*.<sup>61</sup>

M. Standaert, "La doctrine de l'image . . ." in *Ephémèr. Théol. Lovanien.* 23 (1947) pp. 88–91, and 125–126 n. 245. Standaert has doubts regarding any influence by Nyssenius on Bernard. R. Roques in *Dict. de Spir.* VI:1885 quoted by E. Boissard in "St. Bernard et le Pseudo-Aréopagite" in *Rev. d'Ascétique et de Myst.* 35 (1959) p. 214 sq.; E. Gilson, "Maxime, Érigène et St. Bernard" in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters* III.1:188–195, Münster, 1935 and *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*, pp. 17, 25, 29–30.

60. The tabulations of J.-M. Déchanet, *op. cit.* pp. 71–74, show the correspondence clearly. William's text is available in *PL* 180:595–726, esp. 717 sq. See also O. Brooke, "The Trinitarian Aspect of the Ascent of the Soul to God in the Theology of William of St. Thierry," *Rech. de Théol. Anc. et Méd.* 26 (1959) pp. 85–127, esp. 89–91, 121; M. Canévet in *Dict. de Spiritualité* VI:1008.

61. B. McGinn has made a study of William's sources. See Introduction to *Three Treatises on Man, A Cistercian Anthology*, Cistercian Fathers Series, No. 24, 1977. J.-M. Déchanet, "Aux sources de la spiritualité de Guillaume de St. Thierry" in *Collect. Ord. Cister. Reform.* 5 (1938–1939) 187–198, 262–278; J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Âge* I:186–187 and *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 22 (1932) pp. 178–205, 257–279; A. Fiske, *William of St. Thierry and Friendship*, Cîteaux, 1961, pp. 5–27.

Isaac of Stella (fl. 1145) also shows knowledge of Gregory's ideas, perhaps by way of Eriugena. Passages in the *Epistola de anima* reflect this influence.<sup>62</sup> Moreover those trained in the school of Gilbert de la Porrée (c. 1080–1154)<sup>63</sup> realized the importance of having Latin translations of writings of Greek Fathers, often so that their statements could be used to support certain western theological positions. Thus Hugh Etherian of Pisa who had been educated in Poitiers, eventually went to Constantinople where among other things he compiled at the request of Hugh of Honau, a *Liber de differentia naturae et personae* made up of passages from the Fathers. It contains a number of quotations from Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*, *Ad Ablabium*, *Ad Simplicium de fide*, *Ad Graecos* and also the disputed passage from the third sermon on the *Oratio Dominica (De haeresibus Graecorum)*, Lib III, ch. iii, PL 202, 281 C sq.).<sup>64</sup>

Burgundio of Pisa (d. 1194) a lawyer and a friend of Frederick Barbarossa, made Latin versions of a number of Greek texts including the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius which he assigned to Nyssenius.<sup>65</sup>

After the considerable twelfth century inter-

est in Gregory, little new material was made available in the following two centuries. However between 1232 and 1256, Nicholas of Dyrrachium translated a number of passages into Latin. Nicholas, who was fluent in both Greek and Latin, had written in Greek a *Libellus de Spiritu sancto* in which he used quotations from the Fathers, including Gregory of Nyssa. Nicholas probably translated his own Greek text into Latin, but only one manuscript survives.<sup>66</sup>

Of the scholastic philosophers Alexander of Hales (c. 1180–1245) quoted Gregory's *Epistola III (PG 46:1022 C–D)* but attributed the passage to Chrysostom, a fact which seems to indicate that Alexander was quoting indirectly, by way of another author or a florilegium, not from the letter itself.

Albertus Magnus (c. 1193–1280) quoted Gregory of Nyssa many times, referring to him as Nixenus or Nicenus and often confusing him with Nemesius of Emesa.<sup>67</sup> Albert's most famous pupil Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) quoted *De opificio hominis*; the language is almost exactly the same as that of Dionysius Exiguus' version (*PL 67:374 = Sum. Theol. I. Q. 93, Art. 5, Ob. 2*). He also quoted from *De occurso Domini* and *In sanctum Pascha I* and attributed to Gregory a number of passages which he quoted from Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*.<sup>68</sup> This was natural since he probably had at hand Burgundio's translation of Nemesius which named Nyssenius as author of the treatise.

62. B. McGinn, *The Golden Chain*, (Cistercian Studies, No. 15, Spencer, Mass., 1972) passim; E. Gilson, *Philosophie au Moyen Âge*, p. 302 and in *Rev. de Théol. Anc. et Méd.* 4 (1932) 134–159.

63. M.D. Chenu, "Le dernier avatar de la théologie orientale en Occident au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer*, (Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, ser. 3, vol. 26), Louvain, 1947, pp. 159–81. See also N.M. Haring, "The Porretans and the Greek Fathers," *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962) 181–209.

64. R. Lechat, "La patristique grecque chez un théologien latin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Hugues Ethérien," *Mélanges offerts à Charles Moeller*, Louvain, 1914, pp. 484–507; A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'hist. doctrinale et littér. du MA* 19 (1952) 67–134; N.M. Haring, "Liber de differentia naturae et personae by Hugh Etherian, etc.," *Med. Stud.* 24 (1962) p. 1 sq.

65. See article 'Nemesius Emesenus' in CTC VI.

66. Vat. lat. 808, fols. 47–65; text in P.A. Uccelli, *S. Thomae Aquinatis . . . In Isaiam Accedit Anonymi Liber de fide sanctae Trinitatis*, Rome, 1880; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* IV.385. See also A. Dondaine in *Divus Thomas III*, Vol. 28 (1950), pp. 315–33.

67. Passages are conveniently listed in the footnotes to the new edition (incomplete) of Albert's works edited by Clemens Stroick.

68. See R. Deferrari et al. *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas* (1948) p. 474; J.E. Sandys, *A Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, I.583 sq. See also C. Dozois, "Sources patristiques chez s. Thomas d'Aquin" in *Rev. de l'Univ. d'Ottawa* 33 (1963) 28–48, 145–167.

The flowering of fourteenth century mysticism raises the question of the degree of indebtedness of those involved in the movement directly to Nyssenius as opposed to their being wholly influenced by Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus the Confessor. Although some continue to adhere to the latter view, many follow Quasten's conclusion: "Although he (Nyssenius) was later wholly overshadowed by the authority of Pseudo-Dionysius and although Western medieval writers such as Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, William of Paris, St. Bonaventure, Dionysius the Carthusian and John Gerson made commentaries on the *Theologia mystica* of the 'disciple of St. Paul' rather than on the treatises of St. Gregory, nevertheless they are all in a large degree indirectly indebted to the bishop of Nyssa."<sup>69</sup>

Nicholas of Cusa's (c. 1401–1464) negative theology has affinity with Gregory of Nyssa's treatment of the same subject. In recent times consideration has been given to the possibility of a very real debt to Nyssenius rather than to Pseudo-Dionysius alone.<sup>70</sup> Moreover Nicholas knew personally both Petrus Balbus<sup>71</sup> who translated into Latin two of Gregory's works and Dionysius the Carthusian (1402–1471) whose voluminous writings contain numerous quotations from the Cappadocian father.<sup>72</sup>

69. J. Quasten, *op. cit.* p. 291 and Bibliography.

70. See J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et Théologie Mystique*, Paris, 1944, pp. 133, n.l.; 282, n.l.; M. de Gandillac, *La philosophie de Nicolas de Cusa*, Paris, 1941 and (German) Düsseldorf, 1953, pp. 265–313; Duclow, "Gregory of Nyssa and Nicholas of Cusa, Infinity, Anthropology and the Via Negativa," *Downside Review*, April, 1974, Vol. 92, no. 307, pp. 102–108; E. Vansteenberghe, *Autour de la docte ignorance, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters* XIV, 2–4, Münster 1935.

71. See P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, New York, 1979, pp. 160–161 and notes 59–62.

72. Dionysius usually paraphrases Nyssenius as he does other authors to whom he refers. For example, see his *Opera omnia*, Vol. XI:521c–522a,

#### GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE RENAISSANCE AND LATER

The middle of the fifteenth century saw the beginning of a period of extensive translating activity during which Latin versions were produced in an uninterrupted stream for well over two hundred years. Petrus Balbus (1399–1479) and Georgius Trapezuntius (1395–1484) stand at the head of the new translators. Unfortunately Balbus' effort did not survive. But Trapezuntius in 1446 produced the first Latin version of a work of Gregory of Nyssa to be printed under his own name.<sup>73</sup> It was so well received that no other Latin version now exists, if indeed one was ever made.

A little later Johannes Cono (1453–1513) revised Burgundio of Pisa's Latin translation of Nemesius' *De natura hominis*, attributing it to Gregory as had Burgundio. In addition he made a translation of *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos* which he assigned to Basil as was common at the time. It became the first work of Nyssenius to be printed even though not under his name.<sup>74</sup> At the time of his death Cono had begun work on a translation of *De opificio hominis*, but had progressed only as far as the *Summaria capitum*.

Athanasius Chalceopylus Constantinopolitanus (d. 1497), Bishop of Gerace in southern Italy, translated Gregory's *De oratione Dominica*, including the disputed passage in the third homily concerning the Holy Spirit, c. 1464–71. His version has not yet been printed. Athanasius attended the first, or Ferrara, session of the Council of Florence (1438–1439) whose purpose was to effect the reunion of eastern and western christendom. The *De oratione Dominica* was quoted dur-

where he paraphrases *In Ecclesiasten* IV (PG 44:671 f.) and Vol. XII: 94b where he uses *De pauperibus amandis* I (PG 46:459c f.). A number of references assigned in the Tournai edition to Nyssenius are in fact to Nemesius, *De natura hominis*.

73. The translation was first printed in Vienna in 1517.

74. In Strasbourg in 1512.

ing the proceedings of the Council by Andreas of Rhodes.<sup>75</sup>

In 1536 the first Greek edition of a work of Nyssenus, the *De officio hominis*, was printed in Venice in a volume also containing nine orations of Gregory Nazianzen.<sup>76</sup> Other Greek editions of individual works began to appear around the middle of the century. In 1587, David Hoeschelius brought out the Greek text of seven treatises in Augsburg. In 1593, in Leiden, he published five more. In 1596, Fronto Ducaeus had printed in Paris the first bilingual edition containing more than one work; there were eight treatises and two fragments. He omitted the Greek text where Hoeschelius had previously printed it and in two other cases.

Meanwhile the first Latin edition of more than one work came out in Cologne in 1537, prepared by Johannes Antonianus Noviomagus, a Dominican scholar; it was dedicated to Count Reinhard, deacon of Cologne and canon of Mainz and Trier. It contained three works of Gregory of Nyssa, one of which it attributed to Basil. It also contained the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius and attributed it to Nyssenus under the title *Libri octo de philosophia*. Antonianus had no Greek text at hand; so he corrected according to his own judgment, what he considered were errors in the translation.<sup>77</sup>

The most prolific Latin translators of Gregory's writings in the sixteenth century were Petrus Franciscus Zinus of Verona and Laurentius Sifanus of Prunfeld. Zinus published the first of a score of Latin versions in 1550. Moreover as translator of Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, he made available in Latin many long passages and one entire treatise. One of his versions was in-

cluded in the *Breviarium Romanum* where it remained as late as the 1911 revision. Zinus' translations were usually although not exclusively the ones chosen for inclusion in Aloisius Lipomanus (Lippomano), *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae (Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum)*, Venice 1551–1560. This collection made by one of the presidents of Trent and later bishop of Bergamo, consisted mainly of hagiographic material. It enjoyed wide circulation and subsequently underwent many expanded revisions, the most noteworthy of which was that of Laurentius Surius in 1570–1575.<sup>78</sup> The first edition and/or one or more of its revisions contain translations of nine works of Gregory of Nyssa. Two of these do not appear elsewhere in print.

Laurentius Sifanus translated thirty works of Gregory of Nyssa which appeared in collected Latin editions in 1562 and in 1571. Two more of his translations were published in 1568. His patrons were members of the well known Fugger family, and his versions found their way into all later *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenus.

The sixteenth century came to a close without seeing the publication of a Greek or Latin edition containing all of Gregory's writings, although the 1573 Latin edition came close to that ideal. Two Jesuit scholars whose lives spanned the last half of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth centuries came on the scene at this point, Fronton du Duc (1558–1624) and Jacob Gretser (1562–1625). Ducaeus was the more productive and better scholar of the two; his work remained minimally touched by the theological polemics of the day. Though he was responsible for only a few Latin translations, he was an annotator and editor of greatest importance. In addition to the small bilingual edition of

75. *Apparatus super decretum Florentinum Unionis Graecorum*, Vol. V, p. 125, l. 26 sq. (= PG 44:1160 B), ed. I. de Torquemada, Rome, 1492.

76. The Greek text of several works of Nyssenus which were at that time considered to be the work of Basil, was published in Hagenau in 1528.

77. See C. Gesner, *BU*, p. 284.1 and Praefatio to the 1537 edition p. 122 below.

78. F.H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and L.H. Hill of St. Vincent's College Library, Latrobe kindly examined the 1551–1560 and 1570–1575 editions in their respective libraries and provided information on the contents. L.W. Riley of the University of Pennsylvania Library provided information from the first volume, 1551, at PU.

1596, previously mentioned, he was responsible for the 1599 reprint of that edition and the 1605 (Latin only) collection of 62 genuine and spurious works. Ducaeus' efforts along with those of the brothers Federicus and Claudius Morellus, editors and printers, resulted in the publication of the bilingual editio Morelliana in 1615 and its augmented reprint by Aegidius Morellus in 1638. Ducaeus' *Notae* on both the Greek and Latin text are still valuable. They were first printed in 1605 and revised, in some cases, in 1615.

Gretser, like Ducaeus, translated only a few treatises himself, but he edited a number and commented on still others. He was the editor of the *Appendix* to the 1615 edition, published in 1618; he published other works, some spurious, of Nyssenus in 1617 and 1620. The 1638 edition of Gregory's works which incorporated the additional material Gretser had made available by 1618, still largely reflected the work of the two Jesuit scholars, by then deceased. Indeed the same may be said of the Greek text and Latin version which appeared in J.P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* in the nineteenth century, although a few items were added and a few omitted.

Late in the seventeenth century another Jesuit scholar, Petrus Possinus (Pierre Pousines) (1609–1686) from Laure who taught in Toulouse and Montpellier before going to Rome to teach biblical studies, stated that he had ready to publish a more complete (integrius) text of Nyssenus' *In Ecclesiasten*.<sup>79</sup> He stated that he worked from a Roman manuscript; it was probably Vat. Ottob. gr. 56 (s. XVI) which contains in addition to the eight genuine homilies a ninth, spurious, one carrying the commentary from Ecclesiastes III.13 to XII.4. The ninth homily is not Gregory of Nyssa's work, and Possinus seems never to have published his work.<sup>80</sup>

Knowledge of Nyssenus was spread not only by the numerous translations of entire

works but by compiled and translated florilegia such as that of Daniello Barbaro (1514–1570)<sup>81</sup> whose Latin version of *Aurea in quinquaginta davidicos Psalmos doctorum graecorum catena*, was published in Venice in 1569. It contained numerous passages from Gregory's *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*. In the next century (1643) Balthasar Corderius compiled *Expositio Patrum graecorum in Psalmos in paraphrasin et catenam digesta, Latinitate donata et annotationibus illustrata* in which passages from Nyssenus appeared.

The proliferation of Latin translations of Gregory's works in the second half of the sixteenth century was certainly in some measure due to the theological conflicts of the age and the desire of proponents of both sides to adduce for their support the testimony of patristic writers. Gregory's translators represented both Catholic and Protestant scholars. A large number of the translators were in one way or another connected with the Council of Trent (1545–1547; 1551–1552; 1562–1563), and particularly with the circle of Gulielmo Sirleto and Marcello Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II. These men and others were vitally interested in procuring Greek texts of works of the Fathers and having Latin translations made available.<sup>82</sup> Gentianus Hervetus who translated eleven works of Gregory and Petrus Franciscus Zinus who made versions of a score, moved in this circle. So did other translators who worked with one or two treatises such as Ambrosius Ferrarius, Johannes Vaz Motta Lusitanus, Franciscus Turrianus, Gerardus Vossius and Johannes Carolus Bovius, Bishop of Ostuni. Claudius de Sainctes<sup>83</sup> and Antonius Augustinus<sup>84</sup> moved into the same circle as editors. A little

81. See CTC III.408.

82. G. Buschbell, *Conc. Trident.*, Vol. X, pp. 951 sqq., 994–997; Chevetogne p. 30, n.1; Jaeger GNO II:LII–LIII. See CTC III:423–424 (on Sirleto).

83. See Hoefler: 42–1016–1017; Michaud 39:507–508.

84. See Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, I, pp. 97–102; Hoefler 3:725–726; Michaud 5:63.

79. In the Prologue to his *Thesaurus Asceticus*, Paris, 1684.

80. See P.J. Alexander, GNO V, Praefatio pp. 236–238.



later Petavius (Denis Petau, 1583–1652) the well known theologian quoted many passages from Nyssen's works in his *De theologicis dogmatibus*; the translations are his own.

In the last half of the sixteenth century there are interesting examples of how Gregory of Nyssa's writings were used by opposing sides in the theological controversies of the time. *Epistola II* and to a much lesser extent *Epistola III*, were employed by both Catholics and Protestants, each group claiming that Gregory's authority supported its own position. The debate which was destined to last through most of the next century, began with the publication in 1551 of the Greek text and an anonymous Latin translation of *Epistola II*, *De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma*.<sup>85</sup> The issue, from today's point of view a relatively minor one, centered around the value of pilgrimages especially to the Holy Land. However at a period not far removed from the onset of the Reformation when pilgrimages were an explosive issue, the intense interest in the opinion of a fourth-century church father on the subject is understandable. The many Greek manuscripts from the sixteenth century which preserve *Epistola II* testify to the desire for copies at this period.<sup>86</sup> It was not so much the appearance in print in 1551 of the Greek text and Latin translation, as it was the reprinting of that translation in the widely read *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* (M. Flacius Illyricus) in 1562 which sparked what was to become a very bitter theological debate, often in unedifying language, involving outstanding personalities of the age. The commentary associated with the edition of the letter in the *Centuriae* is brief; it declared that Gregory criticized (reprehendit) pilgrimages; and the negative attitude of Flacius' followers toward them is well known.<sup>87</sup>

85. See below p. 47 for this translation.

86. See G. Pasquali, GNO VIII.2:xxx.

87. *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* IV. cap. X (ed. Basel, 1562, pp. 936–938). The brief comment immediately precedes the text.

In 1575 in Venice, a Spaniard, Gaspar Loarte, who spent most of his life in Italy, published a treatise in Italian in which he defended against its detractors the practice of making pilgrimages.<sup>88</sup> A short time later (1586–1593) Robert Bellarmine wrote his *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*; the volume of discussion was sufficient to prompt him, in the section, *De peregrinationibus*, to devote space to *Epistola II*.<sup>89</sup> He offered several suggestions: 1) Either the letter was not really the work of Nyssen; or, 2) if he was the author, then he merely cautioned against participation in pilgrimages by monks and other pious persons. Caesar Baronius, as might be expected, took up the issue in his answer to the *Centuriae*, the *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607).<sup>90</sup> He proclaimed *Epistola II* "genuinum Gregorii partum;" its author simply advised against pilgrimages for religious and one did not need to employ any "tergiversatio" such as disclaiming Gregory's authorship or saying that he forbade all pilgrimages, in order to interpret his words correctly.

About this time a Calvinist, Robert Stephanus (Estienne), nephew of the famous Robert, entered the debate by declaring in the preface to his French translation of *Epistola II* that Gregory believed pilgrimages to be a source of physical and spiritual peril for all persons.<sup>91</sup> His remarks were soon chal-

88. *Trattato delle sante peregrinationi*, Venice ap. Dom. et Io. Bapt. Guerra; there is a French translation by Eliphus Poirel, Nancy, 1614 and a Latin version by Io. Gelderman, Cologne, 1619.

89. R. Bellarminus, *Disputat. de controversiis*, Liber III, cap. VIII, ed. of Paris 1870, pp. 295–298.

90. C. Baronius, *Annales Eccles.* IV (an. 386) (ed. Lucca, 1739) pp. 610–611.

91. J. Gretser had not seen a copy (1608). In more recent times Maittaire and Renouard have been unable to locate a copy; neither has the recent writer on the letter. P. Canart (see below p.49). A. Lheritier of La Salle des Catalogues of Bibliothèque Nationale has located no copy. However Richeome was never accused of falsifying his quotations from the work in his commentary on it;

lenged by Louis Richeome<sup>92</sup> (1604) whose zeal in defending the Catholic position led him to accept only the first suggestion of Bellarmine and to exaggerate its implications. He believed that the Greek text of 1551 was probably a forgery made by the Protestants, and not at all a fourth-century original work. His extreme view won little following. Nevertheless a Latin version of his work was published in Cologne in 1619, along with one of Loarte's earlier treatise.<sup>93</sup>

Though the Lutheran Centuriators may have initiated the debate, followers of Calvin such as Stephanus were largely responsible for continuing it on the Protestant side. Rudolph Hospinian and Lambert Daneau, both militant Calvinists, published vigorous Protestant interpretations of the letter.

Then in 1605 Pierre du Moulin (Petrus Molineus) published his own Latin version of *Epistola II* along with *Notae* and his two treatises *De peregrinationibus* and *De altari-bus*, and he dedicated his effort to Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the well known Protestant scholar. Molineus put out an en-

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and since his opponents were eager to discredit him they certainly would have done so had the work not actually existed. The chances that Richeome could have got hold of a hand written copy are few. Moreover, P. Moulin (1605) also mentions the translation. It is very possible in view of the bitterness of the debate that all copies of the printing were destroyed.

92. L. Richeome, *Défence des pélerinages contre le traducteur d'une lettre prétendue de S. Grégoire de Nisse sur les Pèlerinages de Hierusalem* . . . , Paris, chez L. Sonnius, 1604 and Arras, chez G. de la Rivière, 1605; and in *Op. om.* of Richeome, I:895–928.

93. *Defensio Peregrinationum contra Translatorem cuiusdam Epistolae Gregorio Nysseno falso ascriptae, Hierosolymitanas supra Peregrinationes: per R.P. Ludovicum Richeomum, S.I. Theologum et Opusculum de Sacris Peregrinationibus atque Indulgentiis a R.P. Caspare Loarte S.I. Theologo Italice conscriptum, Omnia nunc primum Latinitate donata per Fr. Ioannem Gelderman Cartusiae Coloniensis Professum, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1619.*

larged edition in 1606 which contained the Greek text and Latin version of 1551 in addition to his own translation and essays of 1605. Soon (1608) Jacob Gretser, the Jesuit, published a refutation of Molineus' arguments, together with bitter attacks on Scaliger, in a work entitled *Notae super notas Molinei*.<sup>94</sup> Gretser's first writing on the subject of pilgrimages was *De peregrinationibus* in four books<sup>95</sup> written in 1606. In Book I, cap. X he discussed Nyssenus' *Epistola II*. Book III, cap. III–IV are a defense of Bellarmine's statements about pilgrimages; Book III, cap. VI–VIII oppose the opinions of Lutherans, Calvinists and Hospinians (the extremists among the Calvinists). In 1608 Gretser wrote another work on the subject, *Examen Tractatus de peregrinationibus a P. Molineo editi*.<sup>96</sup>

*Epistola III* had not figured prominently in the debate until in 1606 Isaac Casaubon brought out an edition of the Greek text along with his own Latin translation.<sup>97</sup> It was reprinted again in 1607 in Hanau, and the Greek text alone was published in Helmstedt in the same year. In *Epistola III*, written several years before *Epistola II*, Gregory did not remark so much on the merits of pilgrimages as on the sad state of affairs the traveler could find in the Holy Land. However, Casaubon's *Notae*, included in the edition made it clear that he supported the Protestant interpretation of the pilgrimage question. In 1608 Casaubon's volume drew a response from Jacob Gretser who published *Correctiones notarum Casauboni*, challenging his views as expressed in the *Notae*.<sup>98</sup> Gretser however took a more kindly view of Casaubon than of Molineus, calling the former a "learned man" and his notes "erudite" though doctrinally mistaken in some respects; indeed Molineus seems to receive more criticism in the *Correctiones* than does Casaubon; Scaliger is again harshly treated under the name "Burdo".

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94. See below p.52

95. Ingolstadt, apud A. Sartorium, 1606.

96. Ingolstadt, apud A. Sartorium, 1608.

97. See below, p. 53.

98. See below, p. 54.

The discussion of Gregory's opinion regarding pilgrimages was still enough of an issue in 1619 to warrant the translation into Latin and publication, as mentioned above, of Loarte's and Richeome's works on the subject. As late as 1670 Johannes Henricus Heidegger wrote *Dissertatio de peregrinationibus religiosis*<sup>99</sup> which he published along with Molineus' version of *Epistola II* and the Greek text.

Another writing of Gregory provoked heated discussion—Chapter 37 of his *Oratio catechetica* in which Gregory set forth his eucharistic doctrine. The controversial subject matter explains why the chapter appears separately in several manuscripts and was at times translated separately. Nyssenius' point of view was opposed, among others, by two Calvinists, H. Blondel and Edmund Albertin (1595–1652). Albertin wrote *De sacramento Eucharistiae* in which he strongly criticized Gregory's statements in Chapter 37. For use of Chapter 37 by the Catholic side, see pp. 134, 136 below.

Several of Nyssenius' works were still being used as textbooks around 1600. Adam Siber<sup>100</sup> included his own translation of the *De Abrahamo* section of Gregory's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* in his *Dialexeon*, a selection of models for students; though in this case he actually delivered the little oration. A little later H. Oelschlegel incorporated Camerarius' Greek text and Latin version of 1564 of *In sanctum Pascha IV* in a textbook which contained his own translation, paraphrase, and much other material and aids for study.<sup>101</sup> There were probably other efforts of the same type which have failed to survive.

Another group of individuals familiar with Gregory of Nyssa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the canonists. The *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* came out in Genti-  
anus Hervetus' Latin translation in 1561 in a

collection of Canons. In 1583 and again in 1584 Antonio Agustín published Pedro Galés' revision of Hervetus' version. Meanwhile Jacques Cujas (Cuiacius) sometimes called the father of the modern study of law, made his own Latin version of Chapter 5 of *Ad Letoium* for inclusion in his 1566 edition of *Basilikon liber LX* where it appears as a comment. Cujas is credited with reviving interest in *Basilikon Libri*. In the seventeenth century Charles Annibal Fabrot (1580–1659), a celebrated legal authority of the day, made another Latin translation of *Basilikon Libri*, including of course the passage from *Ad Letoium*; this work was published in 1647. In 1672 William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, published his revision of Hervetus' version of *Ad Letoium* and of the accompanying *Scholia* of Balsamon in *Synodikon sive Pandectae Canonum SS Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Graeca receptorum . . .*, a bilingual edition. Beveridge also translated into Latin the *Synopsis* of the *Syntagma canonum* wrongly attributed to Alexius Aristenus; only the *Scholia* are his. The portion of the *Synopsis* comments on Nyssenius, *Ad Letoium*.<sup>102</sup>

Vernacular translations<sup>103</sup> of Gregory's works began to appear around the middle of the sixteenth century. Gentian Hervet's French version of Chapter 37 of *Oratio catechetica* was published in a collection of writings on the same subject in 1561. More French translations of Gregory's works came out at this early stage than those in any other European language. However in 1566 the first German version, of *De pauperibus amandis I* and *II* appeared. Several Italian translations were published in the 1570's. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced relatively few vernacular versions, but a sizeable

99. *Dissertatio de peregrinationibus religiosis*, Zurich, 1670.

100. See below p. 196.

101. See below p. 228 sq.

102. See p. 95 sq. below. This writer is indebted to Stephan Kuttner of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law, Boalt Law School, University of California, Berkeley for much of the content of this paragraph.

103. See Appendix IV for a complete listing of vernacular translations.

number came from scholars of the nineteenth century. By far the greatest number come from the present century and represent many languages in addition to the three mentioned: Dutch, English, Hungarian, Roumanian, Russian, and Spanish as well as modern Greek.

Though the writings of Gregory of Nyssa were widely read and studied, they did not attract as many commentators as did, for example, Basil or Nazianzen. One of the reasons for this may have been that Nyssenius is more difficult to comprehend because of his heavy emphasis on mystical and philosophic concepts. Further, with a few glaring exceptions, his writings did not deal with topics controversial in late medieval and early modern times; the Arian, Apollinarist and other heresies had long since ceased to provoke discussion.

However even in the mid-seventeenth century there were at least three French commentators or annotators writing in Latin on one or more of Nyssenius' works. François Combefis (1605–1679) whose work survives in manuscript form was one of these.<sup>104</sup> Jean Cotelier (1627–1686) wrote notes to selections from Gregorius Nicaenus (sic) in his own hand;<sup>105</sup> and in a Marseilles manuscript an anonymous writer analyzes quotations from patristic writers, including some from Gregory of Nyssa.<sup>106</sup>

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni, librarian of the Vatican, made a number of additional works available. In 1698 he published the Greek text and his own Latin version of a number of works in *Collectanea monumentorum veterum Ecclesiae Patrum* using manuscripts which he discovered in the Vatican Library. These included: *Epistolae IV–XVIII*, *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium*; the Greek text of *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* which until then had been available only in the Latin of Sifanus. Zaccagni printed his

own translation of this treatise as he did for *In sanctum Stephanum II* and *In Pentecosten*, bypassing Petrus Zinus' 1553 translation of the latter and adding the Greek text.

Early in the eighteenth century (1731) Giambattista Caraccioli, a professor of philosophy from Pisa, edited the Greek text and his own Latin translation of *Epistolae XIX–XXV*. To this he added Maximus Confessor's *Apologia pro Gregorio Nysseno*. He also emended the faulty Greek text of Zaccagni's edition of *Epistolae IV–XVIII*, using Laur. Med., plut. LXXXVI, 13 (s. XIII).

Later in the same century Andreas Galland (1709–1779) reprinted portions of Zaccagni's and Caraccioli's work in his *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* (1765–1781). Galland also included several spurious works: *Epistola ad Evagrium monachum De divinitate*, *De anima ad Tatianum*, *Expositio Cantici canticorum paraphrastica*, as well as some fragments previously unavailable in print.

Early in the nineteenth century (1833) Angelo Mai, like Zaccagni librarian of the Vatican, published the Greek text of two previously unedited works, *Adversus Arium et Sabellium* and *Adversus Macedonianos*, in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*. In 1847 he reprinted the Greek text along with his own Latin translation, in the *Patrum nova bibliotheca*.

The Gregorian corpus continued to grow even in the twentieth century. In 1938, Giovanni Mercati, yet another Vatican librarian, published the early Latin translation of the *Epistola ad Philippum*; the Greek text is lost except for fragments.

Today no one edition of Nyssenius' works exists which incorporates all of the genuine writings and no spurious ones. J.P. Migne's nineteenth century editions are the nearest approach to such a collection, but the Greek text, largely derived from the *Opera omnia* edition of 1638, is universally acknowledged to be of poor quality. Efforts were made to produce a critical edition as early as the late eighteenth century when the Maurists led by François Mesnage began work on such a project; the French Revolution put an end to their hopes. Some scholars in the nineteenth

104. *Cat. des Mss conservées aux Archives nat. de Paris*, p. 349, N. 2290.

105. *Cat. gén Dept. France*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 390.

106. *Cat. gén Dept. France*, Vol. XV, pp. 68–69.

century set out to publish complete editions, but death intervened. Harold Forbes, a Scotsman, published only two fascicles of the first volume of his projected edition, and Franciscus Oehler of Halle managed to put out only a single volume of the edition he had hoped to publish. Some treatises were edited over a period of years in Germany by J.B. Krabinger.

In the twentieth century the Greek text of a number of works, together with introductions, notes, and French translations, appeared in the *Sources Chrétiennes*; more volumes are projected. But it was Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf of Berlin who in 1908 embarked on the project of producing a critical edition of the *Opera omnia*. Wilamowitz soon involved other scholars in his enterprise, including Werner Jaeger of Berlin and Giorgio Pasquali of Florence.<sup>107</sup> In 1921 the first volumes of the proposed edition appeared, the two containing the *Contra Eunomium*. In 1925 Pasquali's first edition of the *Epistolae* came out. Work continued under Jaeger's direction at the Institute for Classical Studies at Harvard, and following his untimely death, was carried on by Hermann Langerbeck of Berlin. Today work continues under the overall editorship of Hadwig Hörner of Frankfurt a/M, with the assistance of H. Dörrie for Vol. X. Efforts are centralized and coordinated at the Forschungsstelle Gregor von Nyssa at the Westphalian Universität in Münster. To date ten volumes, including one Supplementband, have been published. Thirty-six genuine and three spurious works as well as thirty letters are available in this edition. The prefaces offer valuable information on the history of the text, though the amount of information given regarding editions and translations varies with the individual editor. Besides critical editions of the remaining works, an *Index Gregorianus* and an exhaustive bibliography are planned. The Leiden edition will not only represent the

culmination of the scholarly work of preceding generations; one may hope that it will also serve as the portal to a new era in the *Fortuna* of Gregory of Nyssa.

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Earlier *Opera omnia* editions. These editions regularly contain Latin translations along with the Greek text. For fuller descriptions, see below under *Composite Editions*, p. 37-44.

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107. For Wilamowitz' own account of the beginning of the project, see his *My Recollections 1848-1914*, tr. by G.C. Richards, London, 1930 p. 369.

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VIII. GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE  
WEST IN THE FIFTEENTH  
AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

A. Auer, "Manetti und Pico della Mirandola: De hominis dignitate." *Vitae et Veritati, Festschrift Karl Adam*, 1956, pp.



83-102; G. Bushbell, *Conc. Trident. Epistolarum Pars prima.*, Vol. XII (correspondence of Sirleto and Cervini) Fribourg, 1915; Ugo da Como, *Umanisti del secolo XVI: Pier Francesco Zini, suoi amici e congiunti nei ricordi di Lonato*, Bologna, 1928; A. Horowitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, Leipzig, 1886 (description of circumstances of the 1512 edition of Nyssenius (sc. Nemesius); P.O. Kristeller, *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, Duke Univ., 1974 (p. 138 on A. Ferrarius); *Renaissance Concepts of Man*, New York, 1972, p. 92 sq.; the same, *Renaissance Thought. The Classic Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, New York, 1961, esp. p. 80 sq.; the same, *Humanismus und Renaissance*, Vol. I, Munich, 1974, pp. 77 and 165; the same, "A Latin Translation of Gemistos Plethon's *De fato*," in *Nicolò Cusano agli inizi del mondo moderno*, Florence, 1970, pp. 175-93.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the regular CTC abbreviations, the following special ones are used through the present article.

- Aldama J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris, 1965.  
 Ceillier R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1737.  
 Chevetogne *Écriture et Culture Philosophique dans la Pensée de Grégoire de Nysse, Actes du Colloque de Chevetogne, 22-26 Septembre 1969* (ed. M. Harl), Leiden, 1971.  
 CPG M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Turnhout. Vol. II, 1974; Vol. III, 1979; Vol. IV, 1980.  
 Ehrhard A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1937-1952.  
 GNO *Gregorii Nysseni Opera omnia auxilio aliorum virorum doctorum edenda curavit*. W. Jaeger†, H. Langerbeck†, H. Hörner, Berlin 1921, 1925; Leiden 1958 sq.

- PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne, Vols. 44-46, Paris 1858, 1863; Turnhout 1959.  
 PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris.  
 PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau, Paris.

#### COMPOSITE EDITIONS

(photo) 1512, mense Maio, Argentorati (Strasbourg): ex officina Matthiae Schurerii. It contains *Libri octo de philosophia (De natura hominis)* of Nemesius Emesenus, here attributed to Nyssenius and *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos* attributed to Basil of Caesarea. The final pages (LIX<sup>v</sup> and LX) contain a translation of the *Summaria capitulum* of Nyssenius, *De opificio hominis*. The volume also contains three works of Nazianzen including *Oratio 11, In laudem Gregorii Nysseni*. All are translated by Johannes Cono except for two letters of Nazianzen, which were translated by Beatus Rhenanus. Panzer VI.55.249; Maittaire II.227; Hoffmann 2.187; NUC. BN; (DFo; NNUT).

(\*) 1513, sabbato post Pentecosten, Parisiis (Paris): in aedibus Ascensianis. Contents as in 1512 edition. Renouard, Badius 2.477. BN.

(photo) 1537, mense martio, Coloniae (Cologne): ex officina Melchioris Novesiani. Adams G-1116; Hoffmann 2.187. The volume was edited by J. Antonianus Noviomagus and contains *De opificio hominis (de creatioe hominis)* translated by Dionysius Exiguus, the *De Vita Moysis* translated by Georgius Trapezuntius, the *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*, attributed to Basil of Caesarea and translated by J. Cono, the *Libri octo de philosophia* of Nemesius (see above) in Cono's revision of Burgundio of Pisa's translation and two orations of Nazianzen one of which is *In laudem Gregorii Nysseni*. A photocopy of pertinent pages was supplied by F.H. Stubbings, Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. BN; Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(\*) 1537, Coloniae (Cologne). As above, but according to the BN Catalogue, "Un autre ed. dont le titre porte, au lieu de la

marque de M. Novesianus, celle d'Arnold Birkman." BN.

(photo) 1540, Basileae (Basel): ex off. Hervagiana. Basilius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*. The edition contains Wolfgang Musculus' translation of *Epistola XXI, De differentiae essentiae et hypostaseos, Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate* and *In verba: Faciamus hominem*, all here attributed to Basil. A copy of the *Ad Lectorem* portion of the edition was provided by F.H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Adams B-335; DK 12.6486. BL; BN; Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(photo) 1540, Basileae (Basel): ex off. Frobeniana. Basilius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*. Contains Janus Cornarius' translation of *Epistola XXI, De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos, Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate* and *In verba: Faciamus hominem*, attributed to Basil. Copies were supplied by both The Newberry Library (courtesy of A.J. Amodeo) and the University of Illinois at Urbana. Adams B-336; BL; BN; (ICN; IU).

(photo) 1547, Parisiis (Paris): ex off. C. Guillard. Basilius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*. This edition contains Godefridus Tilmannus' translation of *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos, Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate* and *In verba: Faciamus hominem*; Nyssenius, Ep. XXI in the translation of Musculus. W. S. Hutton, Assistant Librarian of Pembroke College, kindly inspected the edition, supplied a copy of the dedicatory letter and checked my typescript of the 1569 *incipit's* and *explicit's* with those of this edition; the two editions exhibit no differences in the passages here quoted. Adams B-337; DK 12.6487. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

(\*) 1547, Parisiis (Paris): apud Io. de Roygnum. Basilius, *Opera omnia*. Another edition containing Tilmann's translation of the above mentioned works. DK 12.6488

(\*) 1548, Venetiis (Venice): ad signum Spei. Contains J. Cornarius' translation of same works as in 1540. Adams B-338. NUC. (CtY).

(photo) 1550, Patavii (Padua): Jacobus Fabrianus. Contains Zinus' translation of *De pauperibus amandis* I and II and the oration of Nazianzen on the same subject. Photos

were supplied by Harriet Jameson of MiU. Maittaire 3.586; NUC. (MiU).

(\*) 1550, Parisiis (Paris): ex off. C. Guillard. Contains Tilmann's translation of the works attributed to Basil as in the 1547 edition. Adams B-339; DK 12.6490. Cambridge, Christ's College.

(photo) 1550, Lutetiae (Paris): apud Vasosanum. Contains Zinus' translation of the two orations *De pauperibus amandis* and Nazianzen's sermon on the same subject. Photos were supplied by Elizabeth Teleky of Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. Hoffman 2.188; Maittaire 3.586; Gesner, *Appendix*, p. 44; NUC. BN; (ICU; there is no copy at MiU as listed in NUC).

(micro) 1551, Coloniae (Cologne): ex off. M. Novesiani. Contains the same works as the 1537 edition. The copy at MB was in the hands of John Leverett, President of Harvard in 1688 according to John Alden, sometime Librarian of MB. NUC. (MB; NcD).

(\*) 1552, Basileae (Basel): per H. Frobenium et N. Episcopium. Contains J. Cornarius' translation of the same works attributed to Basil as in his 1540 edition. Adams B-340; NUC (MB; MH-AH).

(photo) 1552, Paris: ap. M. de Guingant. Contains J. Perionius' translation of Basil's nine genuine and two spurious homilies *In Hexameron*. DK 12.6664. BL.

(\*) 1552, Parisiis (Paris): ap. Perier. Contains the same translations of Perionius as the above edition. DK 12.6665.

(micro) 1553, Venetiis (Venice): in aed. P. Manuti Aldi filii. Contains Zinus translation of *In Hexameron*; *In verba: Faciamus* (2 homilies); *In diem natalem*; *In ascensionem*; *In Pentecosten*; *Adversus eos qui durius et acerbius alios iudicant (Adhortatio ad poenitentiam; In mulierem peccatricem)*; *De perfectione*; *De mortuis*; *De pauperibus amandis* I and II; also *De anima ad Tatianum* attributed to Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Renouard, *Annales*, I.293; Hoffmann 2.188. NUC. BL; BN; (ICN; MH).

(\*) 1555, Basel. *Orthodoxographa*, ed. J. Herholdt. Contains *De pauperibus amandis* I and II in Zinus' translation. NUC. BL; (ICU).

(photo) 1555, Venetiis (Venice): ap. H. Sco-

tum. *Panoplia dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus. Contains a number of passages from Nyssen's works, including the entire *Ad Simplicium de fide* and Chapter 37 of *Oratio catechetica*. Zinus is the translator. Copies of portions of the text were supplied by T.P. Halton of DCU and W.S. Hutton of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Adams E-1121; NUC. (DCU).

(\*) 1556, Parisiis (Paris): ap. F. Barptol. Honorati. Another edition of the preceding. Adams E-1122. Cambridge, University Library.

(\*) 1556, Parisiis (Paris): ap. S.B. Honorati. Another edition of the same. Adams E-1123. Cambridge, Emmanuel College.

(\*) 1556, Lugduni (Lyon): ap. haer. Iac. Iuntae. Another edition of the same. Adams E-1124. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College.

(photo) 1562, Basileae (Basel): ap. N. Episcopium iun. Contains L. Sifanus' translation of thirty works: *De professione*; *De oratione Dominica*; *De beatitudinibus*; *In diem natalem*; *In s. Stephanum protomartyrem*; *In sextum Psalmum*; *In s. Pascha IV*; *De assumptione (ascensione)*; *Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate*; *Ad Ablabium*; *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*; *Ad Simplicium de fide*; *In illud: Quando sibi subiecerit omnia*; *De mortuis*; *De infantibus praemature abreptis*; *In s. Pascha I*; *In s. Pascha II*; *In s. Pascha III*; *In s. Pascha IV* (duplicate); *De assumptione* (duplicate); *De pauperibus amandis*; *De anima et resurrectione*; *In Hexameron*; *Adversus Iudaeos*; *In diem luminum*; *In s. Basilium*; *In XL martyres, orationes duae*; *In Pulcheriam*; *In Placillam*; *In s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum*; *In s. Theodorum*; *In s. Meletium*. Also included are: Dionysius Exiguus' translation of *De officio hominis*; G. Trapezuntius' version of *De vita Moysis* and Johannes Cono's revision of Burgundio of Pisa's translation of the Ps. Nyssen (sc. Nemesius) *De natura hominis* under the title *Libri octo de philosophia*. Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.187. Adams G-1111. NUC.BL; BN; (DCU; ICN; MH). The copy in BL contains the handwritten notes of Thomas Carlyle. The copy at DCU was inspected by the late Bernard Peebles who

provided much information and a number of copies. F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh have supplied much information as well as copies from the copy at MH.

(\*) 1562, Febr., Basileae (Basel): exc. N. Episcopus F. sibi et haer. Arnold Birckmanni. Another edition. Adams G-1112. Cambridge, Peterhouse.

(micro) 1563, Romae (Rome): ap. P. Manutium, Aldi F., *Conciones quinque de oratione Domini. Conciones octo de beata vita comparanda*. Translation of Petrus Galesinius. Renouard, *Annales*, I, 340; Hoffmann 2.188; Adams G-1122. NUC.BL; BN; (CtY). Cambridge, University Library.

(photo) 1564, Lipsiae (Leipzig): in off. Voegelia. J. Camerarius' translation of *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* and *Oratio IV in s. Pascha*. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.185; Adams G-1126; NUC.BN; (CtY). Photos were supplied by Trevor Kaye of Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

(photo) 1564, Lipsiae (Leipzig): in off. Voegelia. J. Camerarius' translation of *In diem natalem* and *In s. Stephanum I*. (Gr.-Lat.) Adams G-1127. NUC. BN; (NNUT—this copy reported missing). Photos were supplied by Trevor Kaye of Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

(micro) 1565, Basileae (Basel): apud Oporinum et Hervagianum. Basilius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*. Contains W. Musculus' translation of same works attributed to Basil as in 1540 edition above. Adams B-341; DK 12.6492; NUC. (DFo; IEN; NCH). A micro. of portions of *In verba: Faciamus* was obtained from DFo; F.K. Lorenz of Hamilton College kindly provided information on the other works as well as copies.

(\*) 1566, Paris: in off. C. Guillard. Another edition of Basil's *Opera* containing G. Tilmann's translation of the same works as in the 1547 edition. DK 12.6494.

(\*) 1566, Paris: ap. S. Nivelles (ed. Gillot). Contains G. Tilmann's version of the works attributed to Basil in his 1547 edition. NUC. (NNC; NNUT).

(\*) 1566, Basileae (Basel): per A. et A. Frobenios. Basilius, *Opera omnia*. J. Cornarius' translation of same works as in his 1540

edition. Adams B-342. DK 12.6493; NUC. BL; BN; (MH).

(photo) 1566, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Contains Victorinus Strigel's translation of Basil's nine homilies, *In Hexaemeron* plus the two spurious treatises *In verba: Faciamus hominem* which he attributed to Basil. Hoffmann i.416; DK 12.6666; NUC. (CtY-D; ICU). The copy at Yale is bound with Nyssen's *Epistolae* II and III. Information was provided by Sem Sutter of Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

(\*) 1566, Paris: ap. Io. de Roygni. G. Tilmann's version of the works attributed to Basil in his 1547 edition. DK. 12.6496; NUC. BN; (NNC; NNUT).

(\*) 1568, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ap. P. Nutium. Basilus, *Opera omnia*, (ed. J. Gillot). G. Tilmann's translation of same works as in his 1547 edition. DK 12.6497; NUC. (ICU).

(photo) 1568, Coloniae (Cologne): ap. haer. A. Birckmanni. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains the *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* and *De occursu Domini* in the translation of L. Sifanus along with works of Theophylactus of Achrida and others. BM; Adams T-599. The copy listed in the BL was destroyed in the last war according to Dennis E. Rhodes of the BL. D.J. McKitterick of Cambridge University Library kindly provided copies of the text. Cambridge, University Library.

(\*) 1568, Basileae (Basel): ap. Frobenios. Basilus, *Opera omnia*. Cornarius' translation of the same works as in his 1540 edition. NUC. (ODW).

(micro) 1569, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ap. Ph. Nutium (ed. J. Gillot). G. Tilmann's translation of the same works attributed to Basil as in his 1547 edition. Adams B-343; DK. 12.6498; NUC. (NNUT; CU micro).

(\*) 1569, Basileae (Basel): ex off. Oporini. W. Musculus' translation of the same works attributed to Basil as in his 1547 edition. DK 12.6499.

(\*) 1569, Basileae (Basel): *Orthodoxographia*. Revision of 1555 edition by J.J. Grynaeus. Contains *De pauperibus amandis* I and II in Zinus' translation. Hoffmann 2.189. BL.

(\*) 1570 Antverpiae (Antwerp): ap. Ph. Nutium. W. Musculus' translation of the same works attributed to Basil as in his 1540 edition. DK 12.6500.

(micro) 1571, Basileae (Basel): per Eusebium Episcopium et Nicolai fratris haer. Contains all of the works translated by L. Sifanus in the 1562 edition plus J. Levvenklaius' versions of *De opificio hominis*, *In Canticum canticorum* and *Epistola I Ad Flavianum*, G-1113; NUC.BL; (CtY, MH; NjP). The copy at CtY was inspected by F.E. Cranz.

(micro) 1573, Parisiis (Paris): ap. S. Nivelium. Contains the same works as the 1571 edition plus some additional works. In a number of cases Zinus' translation was substituted for that of Sifanus: *De pauperibus amandis I*, *De mortuis*, *In diem natalem*, *In Hexaemeron*, *In sanctum Pascha I*, *In ascensionem*. The following were added: Zinus' translations of *In verba: Faciamus*, *De perfectione ad Olympium*, *In mulierem peccatricem (Adhortatio ad poenitentiam)*, *De pauperibus amandis I*, *In Pentecosten*; Gentianus Hervetus' translations of *In Ecclesiasten*, *Oratio catechetica*, *In Canticum canticorum*, Chapters I-XI (XII-XV remained in Levvenklaius' version), *De iis qui baptismum differunt*, *Contra fornicarios* and Petrus Galesinius' version of *De virginitate*. The editor of the volume and author of the preface remain unknown, although Sonnius or Nivelie may have been responsible. This edition formed the basis of all subsequent *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssen. Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.187. BL; BN; Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Emanuele II, Rome.

(micro) 1573, Parisiis (Paris): ap. M. Sonnium. Contains the same works as the above. Copies at Trinity College, Dublin and Bibl. Vitt. Emanuele, Rome. M. Pollard of Trinity, Dublin kindly provided further film and information on additional works.

(micro) 1574, Venetiis (Venice): ap. B. Zalterium. *Aurea ac divina quaedam trium sanctitate . . . praestantium Gregoriorum, Neo-caesariensis, Nysseni et Nazianzeni opera*. Contains Zinus' translation of: the same twelve works as in the 1553 edition plus: *In sanctum Pascha I*, *In s. Stephanum proto-*

*martyrem, In XL martyres, In s. Theodorum, In Pulcheriam, In Flacillam, In B. Macrinam, In s. Ephraem, In s. Basilium, In s. Meletium*, with works of Nazianzen and Thaumaturgus. Hoffmann 2.188. BN.

(\*) 1575, Venetiis (Venice): apud F. Rampezetum. Another reprint of the 1555 edition of Euthymius' *Panoplia Dogmatica*.

(micro) 1585, Venetiis (Venice): ap. Lorium de Loriis. Contains M. Margunius' translation of *Quid sibi velit atque exposcat nomen Christianorum (De professione ad Harmonium)* and *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*. E. Legrand, *Bibl. Hellénique* II.222-223. BN; Gennadius Library, Athens. J.A. McDonough inspected the copy at the BN and provided information.

(micro and photo) 1596, Ingolstadt: ex typ. D. Sartorii. (Gr.-Lat.). The editor was Fronto Ducaeus; the author of the preface is unknown. Contains F. Ducaeus' translations of *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinarium; In illud: Quid sit ad imaginem Dei . . .; De Pythonissa ad Theodosium; De deitate adversus Evagrium (In suam ordinationem); Contra Manicheos; Fragmenta adversus Apolinarium (from Antirrheticus); In s. Pascha V*; and an anonymous translation, perhaps J. Gretser's, of *Contra fatum* and *Contra usurarios*. The Greek text was included in the case of works where it had not appeared before: *In illud: Quid sit; De Pythonissa; De deitate adversus Evagrium; Contra Manicheos; In s. Pascha V* and the *Fragmenta* from *Antirrheticus*. Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.184; Adams G-1124. BN; Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. Copies of *Contra fatum* and *In s. Pascha V* were kindly supplied by F.H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(\*) 1599, Ingolstadt: ap. D. Sartorium. (Gr.-Lat.) A reprint of the above 1596 edition. Sommervogel, Vol. III. 235; Gebhardt GNO IX.190. H. Hörner, Editor in chief of the GNO series, states that she has been unable to locate a copy.

(\*) 1603, Paris: ap. L. Sonnum. Contains G. Tilmann's translation of the same works attributed to Basil as in his 1547 edition. NUC. BL; (PPULC).

(photo) 1604, Moguntiae (Mainz): ap. Bal-

thasarum Lippum. (Gr.-Lat.). In Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *Opera omnia*. Hoffmann 2.187; 191. NUC. BN; (MH; NNG). Contains Gerardus Vossius' translations of *De anima ad Tatianum* and *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*. The copy at MH was examined by F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh, both of whom provided information.

(photo) 1605, Parisiis (Paris): apud M. Sonnum. The editor was Fronto Ducaeus. The preface, however is not his but a revision of 1573, and may have originated with the printers, Nivelles or Sonnius. Vol. I. contains the same works in the same order as the 1573 Paris edition. Vol. II contains the works published in F. Ducaeus' 1596 edition. The translators are the same as those of the previous two editions with one exception: *In s. Pascha V* is here printed in the version of F. Morellus. Vol. II contains in addition: *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* translated by J. Gretser; *Vita et Encomium S. P. N. Ephraem Syri* in G. Vossius' translation; *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* in Hervetus' translation and the two orations of Nyssenus from Sifanus' 1568 Cologne volume, *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* and *De occurso Domini*. Fronto Ducaeus' *Notae* were first published here. They appeared in all subsequent *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenus although with slight changes and additions. I am indebted to members of the staff of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of Johns Hopkins University who have generously devoted time to examining the edition for specific information and have also provided many copies, including the *Notae*. NUC. BL; (MdJH).

(\*) 1605, Parisiis (Paris): ap. M. Orry. Mentioned only by A. Spira in GNO IX.413 who states that he was able to locate only one copy, location unspecified.

(photo) 1606, Parisiis (Paris): ex typ. R. Stephani. (Gr.-Lat.) *Epistola II*, Greek text, Latin versions of the Anonymus 1551 and of P. Molineus along with his *Notae* and treatises *De peregrinationibus* and *De altaribus*. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estienne*, I.199; Hoffmann 2.186; Maittaire III.848. NUC. BL; BN; (MH). The copy at MH was examined, information and copies provided

by both F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh.

(photo) 1606, Parisiis (Paris): ex typ. R. Stephani. (Gr.-Lat.) *Epistola* III translated by Isaac Casaubon along with the Greek text and his *Notae* which constitute a commentary. Renouard, *Annales* I.199; Hoffmann 2.186; Maittaire III.849. NUC. BN; (DLC).

(\*) 1607 Hanoviae (Hanau): ap. C. Mar-nium et haer. (Gr.-Lat.). *Epistola* II, Greek text, P. Molineus' translation, his notes and treatises *De peregrinationibus* and *De altari-bus*. Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.186; NUC. BL; BN: (CtY; ICU; MH). The copy at MH was examined by F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh.

(\*) 1607 Hanoviae (Hanau): ap. C. Mar-nium et haer. (Gr.-Lat.). *Epistola* III, Greek text, I. Casaubon's translation and notes. Hoffmann 2.186; NUC. BN; (CtY; ICU).

(\*) 1608, Ingolstadt: ex typ. A. Sartorii. Contains J. Gretser's three commentaries on *Epistolae* II and III. *Notae in notas Petri Molinei Calvinistae super epistolam Nysseno adscriptam; Examen Tractatus de Peregrinationibus ab eodem Molineo editi; Correctio-nes Notarum in Epistolam Nysseni ad Eu-stathiam*, etc. The treatises were not printed separately as sometimes stated. Sommervogel III.1779. NUC. BL; (MH).

(photo) 1615, Parisiis (Paris): apud M. Son-nium (Gr.-Lat.) ed. C. Morellus. Contains the same works in the same Latin versions as the 1605 Paris edition. In addition it contains: *Epistola* II in an anonymous version; *Epistola* III translated by Isaac Casaubon; *De anima* (i.e. Ch. 2 and 3 of Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*) translated by F. Morellus; *De instituto christiano* and *Adver-sus Graecos ex communibus notionibus* also translated by F. Morellus; *Libri XII contra Eunomium*, translated by N. and J. Gulo-nius. The Table of Contents lists the two treatises *In verba: Faciamus hominem* and *De procreatione hominis* as translated by J. Lev-venklaius, but the versions are those of P.F. Zinus. The *Notae* of F. Ducaeus are appended and in some cases slightly emended. J. Gret-ser's treatises on *Epistolae* II and III are included as well as Levvenklaius' notes on *De opificio hominis*. The Greek text is printed for all the works in this edition with the

exception of: *De iis qui baptismum differunt; Testimonia adversus Iudaeos; Vita Macrinae; Adhortatio ad poenitentiam; De pauperibus amandis I; In XL martyres II; In Pente-costen; Contra usurarios; Contra fornicarios*. NUC. BN; (MH). The copy at MH was inspected by both F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh both of whom transmitted much essential information.

(\*) 1615, Parisiis (Paris): apud C. Morel-lum (Gr.-Lat.). Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2. 184. No copy was located.

(\*) 1615, Parisiis (Paris): ex off. Nivelliana, ap. S. Cramoisy (Gr.-Lat.). Another edition of the works published apud M. Sonnum (above). BN.

1616, Antverpiae (Antwerp): in off. H. Aerts-sii, (DK 12.6502 ed. A. Schott. NUC. BN; (CtY; CU). Contains G. Tilmann's transla-tion of same works as in his 1547 edition.

(\*) 1617, Coloniae (Cologne): ap. H. Hier-at, ed. A. Schott. (CtY; IU). Contains Til-mann's translation of the same works as in his 1547 edition. DK 12.6503; NUC. BN; (CtY; IU).

(photo) 1617 Coloniae (Cologne): sumpti-bus A. Hierat, ed. A reprint of the Latin por-tion only of the 1615 Paris edition of Nysse-nus' *Opera omnia*. NUC (DCU). A photo-copy of selected portions was provided by the late Bernard Peebles of DCU.

(\*) 1617, Ingolstadt: ap. E. Angermariam. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains J. Gretser's Greek text and Latin version of *In principium ieiuni-orem*, Hervetus' translation of *Contra forni-carios*, Zinus' translation of *De pauperibus amandis* II (*De beneficentia*) along with Gret-ser's version of works of Anastasius of Sinai. BN.

(photo) 1618, Parisiis (Paris): Vol. I sumpti-bus C. Morelli (Gr.-Lat.). Contains works of Basilius Magnus including those now as-signed to Gregorius Nyssenus: *Epistola XXI; De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos; Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate* but not *In verba: Faciamus*. *Epistola XXI* was trans-lated by W. Musculus; the others by G. Tilmann.

Vol. II of this edition was published in Paris in the same year by M. Sonnius and

contains the *Appendix* to the Paris 1615 edition of Nyssenens' works; it was edited by J. Gretser. It includes: the two introductory *Epistolae*, *Summaria capitum* and *Liber I* of *Contra Eunomium*, *In principium ieiuniorum*; *Oratio II* (vulgo *III*) in *XL martyres*; and *Contra usurarios*, all translated by J. Gretser; *De pauperibus amandis I* (*De beneficentia*); *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam* and *Vita Macrinae*, translated by P.F. Zinus; *De iis qui baptismum differunt* and *Contra fornicarios*, translated by G. Hervetus. This volume contains the *editio princeps* of the Greek text of the newly discovered portions of *Contra Eunomium*; of *De iis qui baptismum differunt*; *Vita Macrinae*; *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam*; *In XL martyres II*; *Contra usurarios*. NUC. BN (CtY; CtY-D; ICU; MB). F.E. Cranz kindly inspected the copy at CtY-D and transmitted information.

(\*) 1618, Parisiis (Paris): ex officina S. Nivelliana, sumptibus S. Cramoisy. This edition consists of three volumes one of which contains the *Appendix* to the 1615 edition of Nyssenens. BN. The BN catalogue (Vol. 8, p. 443) lists the volume containing the *Appendix* as published by M. Sonnius.

(\*) 1618, Parisiis (Paris): sumptibus C. Morelli. NUC. (CtY; ICU; IU). Another edition of the above.

(\*) 1622, Parisiis (Paris): ap. M. Sonnum. An enlarged reprint of the 1604, Mainz edition of Thaumaturgus' works. NUC. (CtY; MH; NjPT).

(micro) 1626, Dresdae (Dresden): ap. W. Seiffertum. (Gr.-Lat.). *In sanctum et salutiferum Pascha Versione et Paraphrasi Latina*, etc. Contains H. Oelschlegel's exhaustive treatment of *In s. Pascha IV*, including the Greek text, Camerarius' previous version, his own version and paraphrase and detailed analysis. NUC. (CtY).

1638, Parisiis (Paris): sumptibus Aegidii Morelli. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains the same works as the 1615 Paris edition augmented by the Greek texts and Latin translations first published in 1617 and 1618 (Introductory letters, *Periochae* and Book I; *In principium ieiuniorum* and *In XL martyres II* (vulgo *III*) translated by Gretser and *Vita Macrinae* trans-

lated by Zinus). *In SS Petrum et Paulum*, published in 1620 was not included. Ducaeus' *Notae* of 1605 with the revisions of 1615 and Gretser's additions of 1618 were included. Graesse 2.148; Hoffmann 2.184; NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

(\*) 1638, Parisiis: sumptibus Aegidii Morelli. (Gr.-Lat.). Basilius, *Opera omnia*. Translations of G. Tilmann of same works attributed to Basil as in his 1547 edition except for *In verba: Faciamus*, now included among Nyssenens' works. NUC. BL; (CtY; ICU; MH).

(\*) 1638, Parisiis (Paris): sumptibus S. Cramoisy. Another edition of the above. NUC; (MBat)

1732, Venetiis (Venice): *Opera Ephraem Syri*, Vol. I, ed. J.S. and S.E. Assemani. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains G. Vossius' translation of Nyssenens' *Vita* of Ephraem Syrus and of the two other Greek lives based on it. NUC. BL; BN; (CU; DCU-H; MH).

(micro) 1734-1741, Ratisponae (Regensburg): sumptibus I.C. Peez et. F. Bader. (Gr.-Lat.). J. Gretser, *Opera omnia*. Vol. IV (1734) contains Gretser's commentaries on *Epistolae II* and III. Vol. XIV (1740) contains reprints of the editions Gretser published in 1617, 1618 and 1620. NUC. (CtY; MH; CU [micro]).

(photo) 1765-1781, Venetiis (Venice): *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Graecorum* (ed. A. Gallandi). (Gr.-Lat.) Vol. III contains Vossius' text and translation of *Vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*. Vol. VI (1770) contains L.A. Zaccagni's text and version (1698) of *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarem*; *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*; *Oratio II in s. Stephanum protomartyrem*; *In Pentecosten*; and *Epistolae IV-XVIII*; Gianbattista Caraccioli's text and version of *Epistolae XIX-XXV* plus his revisions of Zaccagni's previous work; G. Vossius' translation of *De anima disputatio ad Tatianum* which Galland attributes here to Nyssenens; Zinus' previously published (1624) translation of the compilation *Expositio Cantici canticorum paraphrastica* and a number of fragments including the famous passage in the third homily *De oratione Dominica*. Vol. XI (1776) contains F. Combeffis' 1648 translation of *In s. Pascha II*

which he believed was the work of Hesychius of Jerusalem. F.E. Cranz kindly provided information on the copy at NjPt. A.J. Amodeo provided information on Vol. XI from the copy at ICN. NUC. BL; BN; (ICN; NjPT; NN).

(photo) 1780–1796, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg): *Analysis operum SS Patrum*, ed. P.D. Schram. Vol. XIV (1791) contains the Latin epitomes made by Schram from the translations in the 1638 Paris edition. In the works examined the original text is preserved to a large extent, with the omission of passages producing the epitome. Vol. XII (1789) contains Basil's works including those attributed to Nyssenus. I am indebted to L.H. Hill of St. Vincent's College Library for information on and copies of portions of Schram's work. NUC. BL; (PLat).

(1835) Munich. Gregorius Nyssenus, *Oratio catechetica*, ed. J.G. Krabinger. *Oratio catechetica* and *In Meletium*. Krabinger stated that his Latin version is made up partly from Hervetus' and partly from Morellus' translations. Information and selected pages were provided by Judith Malamut of the Reference Department of Sterling Library, Yale. NUC. BN; (CtY).

(\*) 1850, Athenis (Athens): typis Karampine and Bapha. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains reprints of the editions of Molineus and Casaubon of *Epistolae* II and III. Mentioned by Pasquali in GNO VIII.2; a copy is in Bibl. Vaticana.

1858, Paris: Petit-Montrouge. *Patrologia Graeca*, Vols. 44–46. Contains the same works in the same Latin translations, sometimes with slight revisions, as the 1638 edition but with the following changes: Omitted because Jacques Paul Migne, the editor, did not consider them to be Gregory of Nyssa's work: *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*; *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam*; *In principium ieiuniorum*; *Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate*. Added: *Antirrheticus adversus Apollinarium* in the translation of Laurentius A. Zacagnius (Lorenzo Zaccagni); *Adversus Arium et Sabelium* and *Adversus Macedonianos de Spiritu sancto* in the Latin of Angelo Mai; *Epistolae* IV–XVIII translated by L.A. Zacagnius and *Epistolae* XIX–XXV translated by J. Carac-

ciolus (Giambattista Caraccioli). Also included were the spurious *Epistola ad Evagrium monachum* (No. XXVI) and seven *Fragmenta*, not including the two from *Antirrheticus* previously translated by Ducaeus since the entire *Antirrheticus* was now available. The *Notae* of Ducaeus and *Commentaries* of Gretser on *Epistolae* II and III were also included. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU; MH).

1863, Paris: In *Patrologia Graeca*, Vols. 44–46, ed. J.P. Migne. (Gr.-Lat.). Another edition of the foregoing. NUC. (MB; NcU). The copy at the University of San Francisco was used.

1959, Turnhout: ap. Brepols. (Gr.-Lat.) Another edition of the 1858 printing. The Table of Contents contains the notes of O. Rousseau on individual works. NUC 1963–67. (MdU).

#### DOUBTFUL COMPOSITE EDITIONS

1550, Venetiis (Venice): ap. Aldi filios. The orations *De pauperibus amandis* I and II in Zinus' translation and Nazianzen's *De pauperibus amandis*. Mentioned by Fabricius IX.107. A. Renouard, *Annales*, I.259 says that he has found no evidence for the existence of such an edition.

1554, Venetiis (Venice): P. Manutius. The orations *De pauperibus amandis* I and II along with Nazianzen's oration on the same subject. The BM Catalogue, Vol. 91, p. 810 and CTC II.155 both list this edition. However the BM Catalogue, Vol. 91, p. 789 lists the same item (3125. a. 40) as published in 1553. No evidence has been found for the existence of this edition.

1565, Roma (Rome): ap. P. Manutium. *De beatitudinibus* and *De oratione Dominica* in P. Galesinius' translation. Mentioned by Fabricius IX.107. This is probably an error for 1563 since there is no evidence for a 1565 printing.

1586, Coloniae (Cologne): *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* and *De occursu Domini* (Gr.-Lat.). Translation of Sifanus. Mentioned by Fabricius IX.117, and probably a misprint for 1568.



1591, Augsburg: Fabricius IX.108 n. (dd) mentions this edition. He probably based his statement on Oudin, *Hist. Eccles.* I.600, "Denique (*Ad Letoium* was published) Augustae Vindelicorum ex versione Gentiani Herveti, anno 1591 cum *Oratione de Divinitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*." The orations are in Greek only (Copies at CtY and in Berlin).

1603, Paris: Described as a second, enlarged edition of the Paris 1573 edition of Nyssen's works by Graesse 3.148. There is no evidence for such an edition, and confusion with the 1605 Paris printing may be assumed.

1606, Paris: (Gr.-Lat.). *De perfectione ad Olympium* and *De professione ad Harmonium* in the Latin of Petrus Morellus (Moreau). This edition is mentioned by Ceillier, *Hist. Gen.* VIII.422, but no other evidence for its existence has been located.

1615, Antwerp: ed. A. Schott. NUC describes this edition of the *Opera omnia* of Basil, including the works now ascribed to Nyssen, as being held by CU. The copy at CU is 1616. No other evidence for this edition has been found.

1626, Paris: *Opera omnia* of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, containing the *Vita Thaumaturgi* and *De anima ad Tatianum*. Hoffmann 2.191 mentions this edition after the genuine 1622 edition saying, "Einige führen auch eine Ausgabe von 1626 an." There seems to be no evidence for the existence of such an edition.

### A. EPISTOLAE

The present article treats as *Epistolae* the thirty letters published by G. Pasquali in his critical editions of the Greek text (Berlin 1925 and Leiden, 1959) plus the *Epistola ad Philip-pum*. The *Epistola ad Xenodorum* is not included because only fragments are extant (see Appendix I). *Epistolae IV-XXVIII*, with the exception of *Epistola XXI*, receive mention only since there are no Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 (See Appendix III). *Epistolae XXIX* and *XXX* are considered in connection with *De officio hominis* to which they are prefixed. *Epistola ad Evagrium monachum* is not included; although it

was ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa in some manuscripts and by Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) who quoted it. It was never translated into Latin under the name of Nyssen; yet J.P. Migne included it among Nyssen's works in his *Patrologia* (See Appendix II).

A number of other works of Gregory of Nyssa either contain the word, *Epistola*, in the title (e.g. *Epistola ad Letoium*) or use the literary device of address to an individual (e.g. *Ad Theodosium, de Pythonissa; Ad Eustathium de sancta trinitate*). However these are not true letters and they are treated with the dogmatic works.

*Bibliography:* Primary studies containing information on the thirty letters published by Pasquali are: "Le lettere di Gregorio di Nisa," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 3 (1924) 75-136; and his Prolegomena to GNO VIII.2. On *Epistola I*, see below, p. 46. On *Epistolae XXVI-XXVIII*, see: J. Darrouzes, "Un recueil épistolaire byzantin, le manuscrit de Patmos 706," *Revue des Études Bibliques* 14 (1956) 87-121; P. Maas, "Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Kirchenvätern und Sophisten I, Drei neue Stücke aus der Korrespondenz des G. von Nyssa," *Sitzungsber. Akad. Berlin*, 1912, 988-999; 1112. On *Epistola ad Philip-pum*, see below p. 56-57.

### I. EPISTOLA I, AD FLAVIANUM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris, in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:1000-1009; GNO VIII.2:3-12, *ed. alt.* Leiden, 1959.

*Epistola I, Ad Flavianum*, has appeared in all *opera omnia* editions of Gregory of Nyssa since it was first printed in 1571. Nevertheless the appearance of this letter in various positions in different manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzen's works provoked discussion on its authenticity as a work of Nyssen. Several scholars in this century have argued strongly for Nazianzen's authorship. The fact that the latter father wrote six letters to one Helladius (mentioned early in the letter) with whom he later disagreed, obviously influenced their conclusions. Nevertheless G. Pas-

quali's research has provided convincing proof that Nyssenus was the author.

*Bibliography:* P. Devos, "S. Grégoire de Nazianze et Hellade à Cesarée en Cappadoce," *An. Boll.* 79 (1961) 91-101; E. Honigman, "Trois mémoires posthumes d'histoire et de géographie de l'orient chrétien," *Studia Hagiographica*, 1961; M. Geerard, CPG II, 1974, #3032 (Gregorius Nazianzenus). See especially: Chevetogne, pp. 3, 26 and G. Pasquali, GNO VIII.2:x-xxx.

## TRANSLATION

### I. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUS

Johannes Levvenklaius' dedication-preface to his portion of the 1571 Latin edition of a number of works of Gregory of Nyssa refers to his translation of this letter. He states that he found it in a very old manuscript and made a Latin translation which he wished to add to the other writings to be included in the 1571 edition. His purpose was, according to his own words, to show that the pride and captiousness of theologians was not first born in his own day.

In addition to the version of *Ad Flavianum*, Levvenklaius contributed translations of two major works of Nyssenus to the edition, *In Canticum canticorum* and *De opificio hominis*. Thirty translations by Laurentius Sifanus and one by George Trapezuntius made up the rest of the volume.

*Dedication-Preface* (ed. of Basel, 1571). Ioan. Levvenklaius S.D. Magnificis ac Praestanti dignitate, sapientia, virtute viris Alberto patruo et Matthaео Tidemano cognato, suis longe carissimis. [*Inc.*]: (p. 6) Magna benigni Dei largitas putari debet, qua Germaniam nostram hoc saeculo beavit ut illa metallis aurariis, argentariis, aerariis, ferrariis, plumbariis supra terras caeteras abundet, ac multis quidem in locis, quum homines non admodum prisci, C. Plinius, Cornelius Tacitus et quidam alii memoriae prodiderunt, sua tempestate neminem sibi quid tale de solo tam horrido, inculto, perpetuis squalente fri-

goribus polliceri potuisse. Verum multo maius argumentum est propensae ac paene paternae Dei voluntatis erga nos, quod uberes praeclarissimarum linguarum et omnis generis disciplinarum venas nobis aperuerit. . . . neque dubito gratias agere immortalis deo maximas, quod non modo tam erudito me saeculo nasci voluerit, sed etiam patris et tuam, Alberte patruе, voluntatem excitarit, ut his me venis rerum maximi pretii perscrutandis addiceretis. . . . In hoc quidem tempore XV has Gregorii Nysseni antistitis orationes (sc. *In Canticum canticorum*, hactenus non visas, et latinum in sermonem expositas studio laboreque meo, publici iuris facio. Declaratur per eas sublime carmen illud Solomonicum, quod ceteroqui mera continet aenigmata, et nisi doctum adhibeas interpretem, vel intelligi nequit, vel continere quaedam a sacrarum litterarum maiestate abhorrentia rerum imperitis videtur. . . .

Reperi etiam quodam in antiquissimo codice meo scriptam eiusdem Nysseni epistolam, sane quam pro eo, ac illius viri omnia sunt et esse debent, elegantem ornatamque ad Flavianum, qua intolerandum Helladii fastum quem Andumocinis (loco nomen hoc in Cappadocia) convenerat, placandi hominis causa irati ex rumusculis quibusdam, graviter descripsit. Hanc ipsam quoque latinum in sermonem a me conversam ceteris hisce operibus Nysseni adiciere volui, ut ex ea plerumque theologorum morosam superbiam superbamque morositatem non nostro primum saeculo natam esse quilibet perspicere possit.

Praeterea versum a me superioribus annis eiusdem Nysseni nostri librum longe venustissimum, qui est de hominis opificio, et ad illustrissimum principem Palatinum Rhenum Boiorumque Ducem Christophorum meae erga ipsius excelsitatem observantiae causa missum, cum caeteris coniunxi, ut quaecunque nostro labore atque opera Latinam vestem induissent ordine posita conspicerentur. Simul auctor fui typographo, ut de philosophia libros octo superiori memoria Nysseno falso adscriptos, cum Nemesii sint, quemadmodum Ellebodius eorum interpres abunde docuit, prorsus omitteret.

Vobis autem, viri amplissimi . . . (Expression of gratitude) . . . tu me semper ut filium singulari amore complexus es, tu auctoritate tua praeclarissimarum artium studiis addixisti; tu magistrum mihi dedisti praestanti doctrina et virtute virum, Henricum Henigum, ecclesiarum nunc ditionis Spanhemensis inspectorem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod superest, oro Deum, ut diu vos mihi salvos esse velit quorum in benevolentia multum mihi praesidii positum esse, sane mihi persuadere soleo. a.d. III Kal. Ian. anno a nato ex virgine Iesu Christo Dei Filio. MDLXX.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1571). [Inc.]: (p. 527) Non optimo sunt, vir Dei, res nostrae loco. Nam mala progredientia in iis, qui nos et iniusto et nullis de causis suscepto prosequuntur odio, non iam amplius intra suspitionum et coniecturarum sese limites continent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 350) Verum cum nihil horum sit, non arbitror recte nos facturos, si tantum fastus morbum incuratum negligamus. Neque vero alia potest esse curatio, quam si deprimatur superbia, et inanis ille fastus coerceatur, inflatione tam elata non nihil exspirante. Ut autem id fiat, Deo permittimus cui hanc rem curae futuram non dubitamus.

*Editions:*

1571. See Composite Editions. F.E. Cranz kindly furnished information on the dedication and the text of *Ad Flavianum* from the copy at Yale.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Editions:*

1551, Parisiis: apud Guilelmum Morelium. Fabricius IX.120 mentions such an edition. G. Pasquali, *op. cit.* p. LXXXIII also mentions it, but he adds that he had never seen a copy. Fabricius probably confused *Epistola I* with *Epistola II* which was indeed published in 1551 (See below).

1554. Parisiis: Mentioned by Fabricius and

Pasquali. See 1551 Doubtful Edition, above. There is no evidence of any 1554 printing of *Epistola I*.

1558. Parisiis: Mentioned by Fabricius and Pasquali. See above, 1551.

1570, Basel: Fabricius IX.105; PG 44:17; Langerbeck, GNO VI.lviii refer to such an edition. However there seems to be only the 1571 printing. The date of Levvenklaius' dedication-preface (1570) may have been responsible for suggesting an edition of that year. Dr. B. Schemmel of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg informed me that the 1571 edition is indicated.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.89.

## II. EPISTOLA II, DE IIS QUI ADEUNT HIEROSOLYMA

Editio princeps: 1551, Paris, apud G. Morelium.

Recent editions: PG 46:1009–1016; 1959, Leiden, GNO VIII.2: 13–19 (ed. G. Pasquali).

### TRANSLATIONS

#### I. ANONYMUS A, s. XVI

An unknown individual made a Latin translation of Nyssen's *De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma*, probably not long before its publication along with the Greek text by G. Morel in Paris in 1551. Because Protestants adduced the contents of the letter as support for their views on the value of pilgrimages, and since Catholics for the most part were suspicious of the letter, the likelihood is that the Anonymus came from the circle of the Reformers. The fact that it was reprinted (verbatim with two exceptions which were probably errors) in 1562 in the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* tends to support this thesis. Subsequently the letter was widely read by those on both sides of the theological scene, and a large number of polemical treatises appeared, each supporting the interpretation of its own party. The last came out as late as 1670. (See *Fortuna* p. 31 for details).

A number of Greek manuscripts have the letter addressed κληροτόρι (Ad Censitorem). W. Jaeger and G. Pasquali consider this a proper name, and Baronius earlier suggested further that Censitor may have been an abbot.

Later printings of this translation, beginning in 1606, exhibit some textual variants which are not obvious in the opening sentences. They must not be confused with the version of Anonymus B.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1551). [*Inc.*]: Quia me rogasti, amice, per epistolam, mihi ordine de omnibus tibi respondendum existimavi. Equidem qui semel se altiori vivendi rationi dedicarunt, cum eis praeclare agi censeo, si perpetuo Evangelii voces intueantur ac quemadmodum qui virgula quicquid propositum est dirigunt, eius rectitudine tortuosa quae in manibus habent ad rectitudinem adducunt, . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ac si quod initio fiebat ut spiritus sanctus ignis specie dona singulis impertiret huc usque fieret, omnes oporteret in eo loco esse ubi dona distribuerentur. Sin spiritus ubi vult spirat, ii quoque qui hic sunt ac credunt participes fiunt iuxta fidei analogiam, non iuxta peregrinationem in Hierosolyma susceptam.

*Bibliography*: For bibliography on the text, see *Fortuna*, above, p. 29-31.

*Editions*:

1551, Parisiis (Paris): apud Guilelmum Morelium ad Scholas Conqueretias (Gr.-Lat.). Graesse 3:148; Hoffmann 2:186; Maittaire III. 597; NUC. (C-S = Sutro Branch, California State Library).

(micro) 1562, Basileae (Basel): *Historiae Ecclesiae Christi (Centuriae Magdeburgenses)* (M. Flacius Illyricus). Cent. IV, cap. X contains Anonymus 1551's translation of *Epistola II*. Fabricius IX.120. NUC. BL; BN; (CU).

(\*) 1564, Basileae (Basel): in *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*, as above. BL.

1606. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

(\*) 1624. Basileae (Basel): in *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*, as above. BL.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1757. Nuremberg: in *Centuriae Magde-*

*burgenses*, as above. NUC. BL; (CBPac).

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Editions*:

1550, Paris. Gesner, *BU, Appendix*, p. 44, lists an edition of Nyssen's *De pauperibus amandis* published in Paris in 1550 and follows it with a mention of a Greek-Latin edition of *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt*. He adds, "et alia (editio) de iis qui Hierosolyma adeunt." Since no date for the last work is mentioned, 1550 would seem indicated. However there is no evidence for an edition in that year of *Epistola II* although there is for the other two works.

1554, Paris. Mentioned by Fabricius IX.120 who quotes the Leiden catalogue. However there is no title page and no date appears anywhere in the edition, but the text is that of Anonymus B. See below.

1558, Paris: apud G. Morelium. Graesse 3:148; Hoffmann 2:186; Maittaire III.706. This is also probably the version of Anonymus B. See below.

(?), Venice (?). In Lippomano, *Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum*, Vol. II. Petrus Molineus in the *Notae* to his 1605 edition of *Epistola II* mentions that the language and thought of the letter support Gregorian authorship; then he adds: Sed et Aloisius Lippomano (sic) Methonensis Episcopus de vitis sanctorum, tomo altero, Epistolam hanc recitat ascribitque huic Gregorio. Ceillier, *Hist. Gén.* VIII.442 and Fabricius IX.120 interpret this statement to mean that Lippomano printed the letter. F.H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge examined the 1551 sq. edition held by his library; L.H. Hill examined the 1570 sq. edition held by St. Vincent's College. *Epistola II* does not appear in these editions. I examined the 1568, Louvain edition and the 1617/1618 Cologne edition, but found no evidence of the letter.

## 2. ANONYMUS B, s. XVI (?)

A second anonymous Latin translation of *Epistola II* exists which differs from that of Anonymus A to an extent that excludes its

being a mere revision. Three printed copies of this version have been located. Curiously none has the title page or colophon. In each case the Latin text is preceded by the Greek. In each case also the little book is now bound with works of various other authors. Paul Canart ("Recentissimus, Non Deterrimus" in *Zetesis, Mélanges offerts à E. de Stryker*, Antwerp, 1973, pp. 717-731, esp. pp. 728-729) has deduced from the dates given for the other works in the Leiden copy and their relation to the type used, that the undated Nyssenius letter was probably printed in 1558. When Fabricius and Pasquali referred to a 1558 edition of *Epistola I* they may have had this edition in mind. Since Canart had seen no copy of the 1551 edition of *Epistola II* he assumed that the Leiden copy was of Anonymus A's version. The question of why the title pages were removed from the three extant copies remains a mystery. Did it contain a translator's name or an indication that it was actually the *first* Latin version?

*De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma* (ed. of Paris, 1558?). [*Inc.*]: (p. 11) Quia me rogasti per epistolam ordine ad omnia tibi respondendum existimavi. Equidem qui se sublimi vitae penitus devoverunt, eos oportere censeo perpetuo evangelii verba intueri: ac quemadmodum qui res ad normam dirigunt recta normae linea . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 15) Ac si quod initio fiebat, ut spiritus sanctus sub ignis specie unumquodque donum largiretur, idem adhuc fieret: omnes eo in loco esse ubi dona distribuerentur oporteret. Sed cum spiritus ubicunque vult spiret, qui hic sunt credentes, etiam hi, pro fidei modo, non ex perfectione quae Hierosolyma suscepta sit, divinum munerum participes fiunt.

*Edition:*

(photo) 1558(?) Paris(?): apud Guil. Morelium (?). Gr.-Lat. (A photo of the copy held by the British Library was examined by the writer after E.G. Berry of the University of Manitoba had kindly inspected the text and determined that the version differed from that of Anonymus A. Other copies exist in Leiden, *Cat. Libr. . . . Biblio. Publ. Univ. Lugduno-Batavae*, Leiden 1716, p. 248 (No.

649) and in the Vatican Library, *Miscellanea R.I.V. 277*).

### 3. PETRUS MOLINEUS

Petrus Molineus (Pierre du Moulin), a Calvinist minister and skillful ecclesiastical polemicist, made a Latin translation of Nyssenius' *Epistola II* to which he added his own *Notae*. It was published in 1605 by Robert Stephanus who had made a French version of the controversial letter. Molineus dedicated his effort to the classical scholar and fellow Calvinist, Joseph Scaliger. In his dedicatory letter Molineus indicated that Stephanus' French version had been widely read and sparked bitter controversy between Calvinists and Catholics, especially the Jesuits. Among the latter he makes special mention of Heribert Richeome (who wrote a reply in French to Stephanus' French translation and lengthy introduction) and of Robert Bellarmine. He was familiar with the use of the letter in the version of Anonymus A by the Centuriators of Magdeburg. A year after the first publication, Molineus had a second edition printed which included the Greek text, both his own and the Anonymus' Latin versions, notes and his *Tractatus de peregrinationibus et de altariibus*.

Molineus used for his translation a Greek manuscript belonging to the same family as Taurinensis C I 11, well known to editors of the Greek text of Nyssenius.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1605). Nobilissimo et amplissimo viro Josepho Scaligero Iulii Caesaris F. Petrus Molineus S. [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Amicus noster Rob. Stephanus, vir ingenio terso et veritatis amans, aureolum Gregorii Nysseni libellum de peregrinationibus in Iudaeam vertit Gallice ad Graeci contextus fidem, praefixa praefatiuncula commoda sane ac eleganti. Pupugit Iesuitas libellus, quippe qui peregrinationes non modo ἐκφραζίξει ut inutiles, sed et sugillat ut noxias et periculosas. Homines enim ad rem faciendam non tardi viderunt agi rem Pontificis, et Remp. Romanam, cum vectigalis est populi ignorantia, inde posse plurimum detrimenti capere. (He asks what will happen to the advisability

of making pilgrimages to other popular places if Nyssenius casts doubt on the value of journeys to Jerusalem itself. He continues in a tone characteristic of his *Notae* and anti-pilgrimage writings.) Ne ergo exauthoraretur hoc mercimonium, prodiit quidam ex Iesuitarum pistrino ludimagister, nomen homini Plusiandro, seu Richeomus mavult appellari. Is Stephano mirum quam inepte insultat librumque conatur aut insimilatione falsi eludere, aut argumentis elidere nosque exceptione rei pridem iudicatae summovere. Caeterum totus turget ampullis, et quum planipedes (*sic*) saltet, incedit tamen cothurnatus. Argumenta si quae habet, ad verbum sumpsit ex Bellarmino. Nos putavimus interesse veritatis auctoritatem Libelli non minus vetusti quam venusti asserere a calumniis et quae adversus librum aut rem afferuntur stricto veritatis telo confodere. (He adds that he feels his work is unworthy of Scaliger, but he presents it anyway to one who frequently warned him against the Jesuits—an allusion to Bellarmine's and Richeome's interpretation of *Epistola II*) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 4) Non alibi melius desinunt studia, quam unde debent incipere: Nec aurea vasa Aegypto exportata meliorem in usum convertas quam in instrumentum Tabernaculi, cuius et ipsi pars sumus.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Quandoquidem me rogasti, Amice, per epistolam de omnibus tibi ordine respondendum existimavi. Equidem eos qui se semel consecraverunt sublimes vivendi rationi, pretium operae facere existimo, si semper Evangelii voces respiciant. Ac quemadmodum qui rem subiectam ad amussim exigunt, iuxta amussis rectam lineam, quae prae manibus habent tortuosa ad rectitudinem revocant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 7). Certe si quod ab initio erat duraret ad haec tempora, Spiritu Sancto dispensante in specie ignis singula dona, oporteret omnes ibi esse ubi fieret donorum distributio. Si vero Spiritus quo vult spirat, omnino qui hic crediderunt fiunt participes divini muneris secundum analogiam fidei, non secundum perfectionem Ierosolyma.

The statement, "To the reader", of Robert Stephanus, printer of the second (1606) edi-

tion of Molineus' version of *Epistola II* is of interest.

Typographus Lectori vere Christiano (ed. of Paris, 1606). [*Inc.*]: Si nescis, candide Lector, debetur publicatio gravissimae huius Gregorii Nysseni Epistolae Guill. Morellio, Regio quondam in urbe typographo, viro erudito. Is primus anno Domini MDLI Graece ac Latine eam luce donavit: quod et duo Indices testantur librorum ab ipso publicatorum. Erat ille quidem a primaevae doctrinae assertoribus alienissimus, et, ut verbo dicam, apprime Pontificius, sed homo ingenuus iisque artibus quae ad veritatem obruendam postea sunt inventae parum instructus, repertum in antiquis Codicibus libellum, tanti praesertim Patris, bona fide typis mandavit. Eius editionem ut oculis subiiceremus etiam eorum, qui in illam adhuc non inciderunt, visum est et Latinam versionem retinere quam ipse dedit, non quod eam iudicemus saltem tolerabilem, sed ut pudorem incuteremus cuidam homini levissimo, qui quum eandem Epistolam vernaculo idiomate a nobis e Graeco expressam et in vulgus emissam aegre ferret, ignarus eorum quae diximus, aut se ignarum certo consilio simulans, ausus nuper fidem illius in dubium revocare. Etsi autem in odio veritatis est hic quidem longo tempore confirmatus, existimo tamen, si animo composito hanc editionem legerit, facile ipsum  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\nu\phi\delta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$  et priora opprobria recantaturum. At tu, pie Lector, divinam providentiam et in hoc mecum admirare, quod tam egregium Christianae antiquitatis monumentum ea potissimum aetate, qua ferro et flamma in idem sentientes saeviebatur, ab eo viro primum voluerit publicari, in quem ne tenuissima quidem fraudis suspicio cadebat. Hoc mihi cogita, et Vale.

*Bibliography:* For literature relating to *Epistola II*, see above, Fortuna pp. 29-31.

*Editions:*

(photo) 1605, Lutetiae (Paris): ex typogr. R. Stephani (Gr.-Lat.) NUC. BL; BN; (MH). F.E. Cranz and J.E. Walsh kindly inspected the edition held by Harvard and transmitted information on it.

1606. See Composite Editions.

1607. See Composite Editions.

1670. See Composite Editions. Maria Grossman of Andover-Harvard Theological Library kindly inspected their copy and ascertained that the Latin version included is that of Petrus Molineus. She also provided copies of pertinent pages.

1850, Athens. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Petrus Molineus (Pierre du Moulin) was born of Protestant parents at the chateau of Buhy in France on Oct. 18, 1568. He studied humanities and theology at Paris, Cambridge and Leiden. In 1592 he was appointed professor of philosophy at Leiden. In 1599 he was called to be minister at Charenton. There he quickly gained a reputation as a polemicist for the Protestant faction. In 1615 he was summoned to the court of James I of England who urged him to work for the union of all Protestants. Molineus soon fell into serious difficulties because of his political activities. For a time he returned to France, but before long James I persuaded him to return and write a refutation of Cardinal Du Peron's views. He spent his final years in France, in Sedan, where he died on Mar. 10, 1658 at the age of ninety.

*Works:* Molineus produced over eighty works including the version of Nyssen's *Epistola II*. Among the better known are: *Elementa Logices*; *Défense de la foi catholique contenue au livre du roy Jacques I contre la réponse de Coeffeteau*; *Apologie pour la sainte Cène, contre la presence corporelle et la transsubstantiation*; *De Monarchia temporali pontificis romani liber*; *Iconomachus seu de imaginibus et earum cultu*. For a more complete list of his works, see Hofer, Vol. 36:770 and Cat. of the BN, Vol. 44:604-633.

*Bibliography:* Cioranescu, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 794-801; Grente, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 368; Hofer 36:769-770; Joecher III: 592-596; *Realencycl. für protest. Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. V:56-60.

G. Gory, Pierre du Moulin, Paris, 1883. Molineus' own autobiography was published by Luzac in *Bulletin de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*, VII (1858), p. 170 sq., 333 sq., and 465 sq.

COMMENTARIES

a. PETRUS MOLINEUS

Petrus Molineus wrote *Notae* which constitute a commentary for his 1605 Latin edition of *Epistola II*. Molineus believed that the author claimed pilgrimages were a source of physical and spiritual peril for all persons, regardless of their status in life. Since he himself shared this position he tried to refute the contention of those who like Bellarmine and Richeome argued either that *Epistola II* was not a genuine work of Nyssen, or, if it was his, that he was merely suggesting that monks and nuns should avoid pilgrimages. In the introduction to his *Notae* Molineus argued for the authenticity of the letter, pointing to its language, style and the fact that A. Lippomano "recitat" this letter in Vol. II of his *De probatis vitis sanctorum*. Moreover Casaubon had told Molineus that he had found the epistle in the middle of a collection, not at the end; so it was not appended as an afterthought. Molineus answered the charge that the letter was found in few manuscripts, with the suggestion that monks had destroyed other copies. He did not investigate very carefully since today, according to G. Pasquali (GNO VIII.2, p. xxx) very many manuscripts (*sescentis libris*) are still extant. Molineus concludes his introduction with an extended argument on the dangers of pilgrimages for lay persons as well as for religious. He indicates familiarity with Nyssen's *De professione christiana* and *Vita Macrinae* as well as with the two "pilgrimage" letters. Twelve pages of *Notae* follow the introduction.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*] Introductory remarks (p. 7).

Bellarminus, et qui pennas ei intervulsit Richeomus, hanc epistolam insimulant falsi ut φευδεπίγραφον et negant esse Gregorii Nysseni: idque nullo alio argumento quam quia sic censent: . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 11) Adversus haec quid adversarii obtendant sequens Nota indicabit. [*Inc.*]: first Nota (p. 11). Ἐγὼ τοὺς ἅπαξ ἀνατεθηκότας. Familiar est Greg. Nysseno vitam Christianam ex

Dei praecepto actam appellare . . . / . . . [Expl.]: final Nota: (p. 23) μεγάλα δε τοῖς πολλήν ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τῆς πίστεως (quotation from final sentence of Nyssenus' *De vita Macrinae*. GNO VIII. 1:414.9–10).

*Editions:*

See listing under Molineus' Latin version pp. 50-51, above.

*Biography:*

See above p. 51.

b. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

The controversy raised by conflicting interpretations of *Epistola II* produced several responses from the Jesuit scholar, Jacob Gretser. In 1606 he published *De sacris et religios peregrinationibus* written at the request of Marcus and Christoph Fugger to whom he dedicated it. In it he supported one of R. Bellarmine's suggestions concerning the letter—that perhaps it was not even a genuine work of Nyssenus. Still, if one assumed it were Gregory's, then he had only emphasized that pilgrimages were not essential for salvation nor intended for all types of individuals. In 1608 Gretser published his *Notae super Notas Molinei* which constitute a commentary on the letter since they refute in order of occurrence Molineus' section by section treatment of Nyssenus' text. Soon after, a third treatise, *Examen tractatus Molinei de peregrinationibus* replied to an essay by Molineus dealing with the same subject. Finally, Gretser wrote a treatise against Isaac Casaubon's discussion of Nyssenus, *Epistola III*.

*Praefatio. Notae super Notas Molinei* (ed. of Ratisbon, 1734). [Inc.]: (Vol. IV.2, p. 207) Edidit non ita pridem Graecolatine Petrus Molineus calvinianus minister, sub nomine G.N. Episcopi epistolam περὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα de euntibus Hierosolymam, cum nova versione, additis notis et gemino tractatu, altero de peregrinationibus, altero de altaribus, quasi epistola illa non pridem Graece et Latine vulgata fuerit et quidem Parisiis anno 1551 apud Morellium, si non mentitur Illyricus, qui summam eius transtulit in Catalogum testium veritatis, et integ-

ram in quartam Centuriam, forsitan priusquam Calvinianus iste Eurybates nasceretur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 208) Et scholiastes multa annotat, quae nota egeant etiam atra, ut videbimus. Nunc quod bene vertat rem ipsam aggrediamur.

*Text. [Inc.]:* (p. 208) Calvinista sic exorditur: *Bellarminus et qui pennas ei intervulsit Richeomus, hanc epistolam insimulant falsi, ut ψευδεπίγραφον et negant esse Gregorii Μη ψεύδω*, ait ille apud Homerum. Ne mentiaris, cum possis verum dicere. Nam Bellarminus non negat absolute esse Nysseni; . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 218) Certe, si immediate id non obtinuit, mediate obtinuit per Metropolitanum suum, qui nomine primi pastoris Nyssenum gregem Gregorio pascendum commisit. Haec de Notis Molinei.

*Editions:*

1608. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1734. Ratisbon, in *Op. Om.* J. Gretser. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Jacobus Gretserus (Jacob Gretser or Gretscher) was born in Markdorf in Swabia, Germany on Mar. 27, 1562. He began his education in Innsbruck and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Landsberg on Oct. 24, 1578. Thereafter he studied rhetoric and philosophy at Ingolstadt. By 1581 he had begun to publish poems and philosophical writings. His teaching career began at Fribourg in Switzerland in 1584. In 1586 he returned to Ingolstadt to study under the celebrated Gregory de Valentia (see p. 157 below). He so distinguished himself by his erudition that he was appointed Valentia's successor in 1592. Gretser was a prodigious writer, authoring some 233 works of which some 45 have never been published. He undertook the task of assembling his own writings for publication, but they appeared in print only about a century after his death. A majority of his literary output was of a polemical nature. His violent



opposition to Lutheran and Calvinist sentiments at times clouded his scholarly judgment. His most famous work was undoubtedly his *Defensio* of Robert Bellarmine. He personally collected much material for Henry Canisius' *Antiquae Lectiones* (See below p. 157). In a quite different field he received high praise from Leibnitz for his work on early documents of German history.

His circle of acquaintances included Fronto Ducaeus, Johannes Livineius, Federicus and Claudius Morellus, Andreas Schottus, Gregorius de Valentia and probably Johannes a Sancto Francisco. He was a close confidant of the emperor, Ferdinand II. In character Gretser was a simple, honest, deeply religious man. He died on Jan 28, 1624.

*Works:* Latin translations of a number of genuine works of Gregory of Nyssa: the *Summaria capitum*; introductory letters, and *Book I* of *Contra Eunomium*; *In inscriptions Psalmorum*; *In quadraginta martyres II*; *Contra usurarios* and probably *Contra fatum* (see below p. 104). He also made Latin versions of several spurious works: *In principium ieiuniorum*; *In Petrum et Paulum*. Among Latin translations of other authors were works of Anastasius of Sinai and Leo VI Emperor. Next to his *Defensio* of Cardinal Bellarmine his writings *De sancta cruce* were probably of most importance. His commentaries on *Epistolae II* and *III* of Gregory of Nyssa were but two of his many writings against the Protestants. Most of Gretser's works (except for the 45 mentioned above) were published in *Opera omnia Jacobi Gretseri* in seventeen volumes in Ratisbon between 1734 and 1741 (sumptibus Joannis Conradi Peez et Felicis Bader, Typis Mariae Apolloniae Hanckin).

*Bibliography:* Werner, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 60 (1879) 645-46; *Dict. de Theol. Cath.* VI: 1866-1871; *Enc. Catt.* VI: 1164; *Enc. Illustrada* 26:1303; Hofer 21:955-956; Hurter 3:297-301; Joecher II:1173-1175; Schottenloher 7348-7349 and 54833-37; and works dealing specifically with Jesuits: Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexicon* I:732-734; Sommervogel, III: 1745-1809. Hurter, *op. cit.* pp. 298-301 lists all of Gretser's published works.

H. König, "Jakob Gretser, S.J.," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 77 (1957) 136-70; Th. Kurrus, *Die liturgiewissenschaftlichen Bestrebungen Jakob Gretzers S.J. nach Umfang, Quellen u. Motiven dargestellt*, Theol. Diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1950 (Maschinenschrift). A recent work is U. Herzog, *Jakob Gretzers Udo von Magdeburg, 1598. Edition und Monographie*, Berlin, 1970.

### III. EPISTOLA III, AD EUSTATHIAM, AMBROSIAM ET BASILISSAM.

Editio princeps: 1606, Paris (ed. I. Casaubon).

Recent editions: *PG* 46:1016-1023; *GNO* VIII.2.19-27 (ed. G. Pasquali).

#### TRANSLATION

##### 1. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

Isaac Casaubon made a Latin translation of Epistola III which was published along with his Greek text by his cousin, Robert Stephanus (Estienne) in Paris in 1606. The circumstances of the translation are described by Casaubon in the essay *De auctore huius epistolae* which follows the text and version. He explained that the letter appeared to be a genuine work of Gregory of Nyssa although it had never been published before and was not among the works in one manuscript in the Paris library containing many of his writings. He discussed the matter with his friend, Nicholas le Fèvre de Peirese who then copied the text and sent it to Casaubon; he later used the original manuscript which belonged to Jacob Vulcopius. It was a copy of Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII) (See on this codex, Pasquali, *op. cit.* pp. xlv-xlix and p. 104 below). The copy was left by Casaubon in his will to his nephew, M. Chabane. It is now lost.

Casaubon, like Gretser and to a greater degree than Molineus, was well acquainted with many works of Nyssenius. He refers to *Epistolae I* and *II*, the *Vita Macrinae* and the

*De perfectione* in the essay which accompanies his version of *Epistola III*. Elsewhere he speaks of reading the *De anima et resurrectione*, *In diem natalem* and *In s. Pascha II*.

His Latin version of *Epistola III* was dedicated to the envoy of the Duke of Wurtemberg to the French King.

Casaubon's biographer, M. Pattison, points out that the greater part of the dedicatory letter is a recommendation to concord among Christian groups and hence brought censure on its author at a time when religious controversies were sharp (p. 194).

Casaubon's is the only Latin translation of this letter. His *Notae* constitute a commentary.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1606). Nobilissimo viro, D. Beniamino. a. Buwinkhausen et Walmerod equiti, illustrissimo Duci Wirtembergico a sanctioribus consiliis, et apud Regem Christianissimum oratori, Is. Casaubonus S.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 2). Divinitus olim Graecorum sapientissimus animo meo Socrates dicebat, vir nobilissime, idem esse veritatem et virtutem. Etsi enim rerum naturam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 10v) quantus est qui ipsos publico bono iungit amor. Vale. Lutetiae Parisiorum VIII Id. Iun. MDCVI.

*Text*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 17) Vere ornatissimis et religiosissimis sororibus Eustathiae et Ambrosiae, necnon ornatissimae et honestissimae filiae Basilissae, Gregorius salutem in Domino. Congressus bonorum mihi que ex animo dilectorum et illius ingentis humanitatis nobis a Domino praestitae monumenta quae isthic ostenduntur, maximi gaudii et voluptatis argumento mihi fuerunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 36) neque potiozem putetis doctrinam quae per varias successiones mutavit, sed antiquae fidei regulae congruite, et Deus pacis vobiscum erit, et animo et corpore valentibus. Dominus vos servet incorruptas, sicut optamus.

The text is followed by an essay, "De auctore huius epistolae, eiusque argumento necnon de Gregorii Nysseni legatione in Arabiam et in Palestinam transitu". [*Inc.*]: (p. 37) Epistolae huius inter paucas memorabilis, autorem esse Gregorium Nyssae episcopum, Basilii Magni fratrem, pro certo affirmare

non veremur. (After discussing how he obtained the Greek text of the letter, Casaubon gives a detailed account of Nyssenus' travels at the request of the Synod (See *Fortuna* p. 30).) [*Expl.*]: (p. 52) Accedit quod parum est probabile Gregorium ullam cum iis communionem habuisse, qui pulso Cyrillo parepiscopi et invasores non legitimi episcopi Hierosolymis sederunt.

The *Notae* follow. See below under Commentary.

*Bibliography*: G. Pasquali, GNO VIII. 2, pp. xlv-l, esp. xlix; M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* (ed. 1892), esp. pp. 186, 193-194; 467.

*Editions*:

1606. See Composite Editions.

1607. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1850. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography*:

See CTC II.262.

COMMENTARIES

a. ISAACUS CASAUBONUS

Isaac Casaubon wrote a commentary on Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistola III*, which he entitled *Notae*, but which are in fact a continuous comment on the text. The *Notae* proper are prefaced by a running text on pp. 53-56 after which remarks refer to line and page of the text which precedes it in the volume.

*Commentary* (ed. of Paris, 1606). *Notae In Epistolam Gregorii Nysseni ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam et Basilissam*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 53) Antiqui Patres, quibus cura haec unica dies noctesque animum stimulabat, ut Ecclesiae Domini Iesu opera sua quam maxime posset fieri prodessent . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 56) itaque etiam δογματικὴν propter eam partem iure merito hanc epistolam nuncupaveris. [*Inc.*]: *Notae* proper: (p. 56) Pag. I vers. I. ταῖς

κοσμιωτάταις ἀληθῶς ταῖς εὐσεβεστάταις ἀδελφαῖς. Quaenam hae fuerint mulieres, ad quas epistolam istam mittit Gregorius, mihi compertum non est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Pag. 21. vers. 16. (p. 140) quibus nulla melior κορώνις huic pusillae opellae nostrae queat imponi: 'Ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαπῶντων τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ.

*Editions:*

1606. See Composite Editions.

1607. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.262.

## b. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser wrote *Correctiones Notarum Casauboni in Epistolam Gregorii ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam et Basilissam*, to refute the opinions expressed by Isaac Casaubon in his *Notae* on the letter of Nyssenus. Gretser published this commentary in 1608, but he had already made his own position on the subject of pilgrimages clear in several previous writings (See above p. 30).

*Text* (ed. of Ratisbon, 1734). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. IV.2, p. 231) *Correctiones Notarum Casauboni in Epistolam Gregorii ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam et Basilissam*. Edita est haec epistola primum Parisiis anno MDCVI. Dein anno sequenti recusa in Germania Hanoviae editore et interprete Isaaco Casaubono, viro docto, sed quod dolendum, in castris Calvinianis militante . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (IV.2, p. 238) Alios igitur ex clero id fecisse oportet, pravis opinionibus infectos quales Hierosolymis vixisse nemo mirabitur, qui cogitarit, ex omnibus nationibus eo infinitam turbam etiam clericorum, confluere consuevisse.

*Editions:*

1608. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1734. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 52-53.

## V. EPISTOLA XXI.

Editio princeps (as work of Nyssenus): 1731, Florence in *S.P.N. Gregorii episcopi Nyssae, epistolae septem* (ed. G.B. Caraccioli).

Editio princeps (as work of Basil): Basel, 1532, ed. D. Erasmus.

Recent editions (as work of Nyssenus): 1959, Leiden in GNO VIII.2:73-74 (ed. G. Pasquali).

Recent edition (as work of Basil): 1957, Paris in *Lettres de Saint Basile*, I.40 (ed. Y. Courtonne).

This letter appears in collections of the correspondence of both Gregory of Nyssa and of his brother, Basil. It was first published as a work of Nyssenus in Florence in 1731 by Caraccioli along with letters XIX, XX, XXII-XXV, from a Florence manuscript, Laurentianus LXXXVI, 13 (s. XIII) fols 230-230 v, where it is addressed to Ablabius, a bishop. This manuscript contained only works of Nyssenus except for the final few folia where the scribe, apparently wanting to leave no pages blank, copied the *Epitaphius* of Lysias (Pasquali, *op. cit.* p. liii).

Scholars had noted that this was almost the same text as Basil's *Epistola X* (olim *CLXXV*) which was addressed in the manuscripts to "a widow". Some editors and translators of the Greek text gave her the name Julitta who was the recipient of other letters of Basil, but this has no foundation in the manuscripts.

Then in 1912 Paul Maas made a study of Patmensis Monasterii Sancti Iohannis 706 (s. XI-XII) and assigned the letter to Gregory of Nyssa. Pasquali agreed with Maas that Gregory was probably the real author. He noted that quite apart from the testimony of the two relatively early manuscripts, a more reasonable situation was presented by the manuscripts attributing the text to Gregory since the recipient was a bishop, Ablabius, to whom a young monk was commended. The Basil manuscripts present the unlikely prospect of a bishop's sending the monk to a cloistered widow.

Finally the previous suggestion that Basil

alone used the term *σεμνοπρέπεια* can not stand as evidence for his authorship since G.W.H. Lampe (*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961) cites Gregory Nazianzen, *Ep.* 202 as well as Gregory of Nyssa's *Ep.* XXI, using this word with reference to a bishop.

*Bibliography:*

G. Pasquali, GNO VIII.2:LXVIII-LXXI and "Le lettere di G. di N." p. 99 sq.

TRANSLATIONS

I. WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS

Wolfgangus Musculus translated a number of works of Basil of Caesarea into Latin; among them was *Epistola X (olim CLXXV) Iulittae Liberae*. His work was published in Basel in 1540. For details of his edition, see below under B.VIII. *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*, p. 78.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1565). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. II.123) *Ars quaedam est aucupandi columbas videlicet talis: Ubi unam ceperunt qui capiendis illis student, cicurem illam reddunt et ad humanum convictum assuefaciunt . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: (II.123) *et istam honestatis tuae gravitatem ad sublimem hanc vitam transferri videro, multis personis Deo dignis opus habeo, ut debitas illi gratias agam.*

*Editions:*

1540. See Composite Editions.

1547. See Composite Editions. The writer is indebted to W.S. Hutton of Pembroke College Library, Cambridge for ascertaining that the translation in this edition is Musculus'.

1547. See Composite Editions.

1550. See Composite Editions.

1556. See Composite Editions.

1565. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1603. See Composite Editions.

1616. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

*Bibliography:*

See CTC II. 117.

2. JANUS CORNARIUS

Janus Cornarius made a Latin translation of works of Basil of Caesarea among which was a version of *Epistola X (olim CLXXV), Iulittae Liberae*. His work was published in Basel in 1540. For details of his edition, see below under B. VIII., *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*, p. 78.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1540). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. IV, p. 724) *Ars quaedam est venandi columbas huiusmodi. Quum unius potentes facti fuerint hi qui talia studio habent, mansuefactam hanc et simul cum ipsis cibum capientem . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: (IV, p. 725) *et pudicitiam tuam ad altam vitam transferri multas personas dignas deo rogabo ut debitum ipsi honorem persolvant.*

*Editions:*

1540. See Composite Editions. Frederick Nash of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Library kindly provided a copy of the text from the 1540 edition at Urbana.

1548. See Composite Editions.

1552. See Composite Editions.

1566. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.118.

VIII. *EPISTOLA AD PHILIPPUM*

Only fragments of the Greek text of this letter have survived. John of Damascus (PG 94:1496 C and PG 46:1112) and Leontius of Jerusalem (PG 86.2:1828 B) preserve several quotations. A long passage in Syriac is also an important witness (See G. Bardy, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 11 (1921) pp. 220-222 for this fragment).

TRANSLATION

I. ANONYMUS

The complete letter is preserved in only one Latin translation which is found in three different manuscripts. G. Mercati, discoverer of the letter, and Zaccaria (*Iter litterarium*

*per Italiam*, p. 55), agree that the Carolingian script of the oldest manuscript, Laurentianus San Marco 584, indicates a date of s. IX or at the latest, s. X. Moreover Mercati believed that the Florence manuscript is identical with one formerly at Bobbio and described by Becker in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, p. 66. Mercati felt that it was a copy of another manuscript "molto piu antico", also at Bobbio. If Mercati was correct, the translation must go back to late antiquity.

*Text* (ed. G. Mercati, Rome, 1938). Incipit epistola beati Gregorii episcopi Niseni ad Filippum monachum de Arrianorum opositionibus. [*Inc.*]: Malitia genimen est animae, et quicumque ad eam proclivis se habent omnium bonorum sustinent disceptionem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Intercessionem autem pro nobis facite semper ad eum qui mala dissolvit et salvator est Christus, cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit epistola Beati Gregorii Episcopi Nyseni ad Filippum Monachum de Arrianorum oppositionibus.

*Bibliography*: G. Mercati, *Codici Latini Pico Grimani Pio (Studi e Testi 75 (1938) pp. 187–194*, "Alcuni Mss. Ottoboniani non conosciuti;" Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, p. 66; Zaccaria, *Iter litterarium per Italiam*, p. 55; J.A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. I:409 (on the library of N. Nicoli from which Laur. San Marco 584 came).

#### *Manuscripts:*

(\*) Firenze, Bibl. Laur. Faes. 44, s. XV, misc., fols. 263–264. (Bandini, *Suppl.* II.735 sq.; Mercati, *op. cit.* p. 187 sq.).

(\*) Firenze, Laur. San Marco 584, s. IX-X, misc., fols 57–58. In addition to the letter of Nyssenius the manuscript contains works of Athanasius, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Proclus. (Kristeller, *Iter* I.77; Mercati, *op. cit.* 186 sq.).

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Ottobon. lat. 70, s. XV–XVI, misc., fols 79–80 v (Kristeller, *Iter* II.423; Mercati, *op. cit.* p. 184 sq.).

#### *Edition:*

1938, Vatican City. In *Studi e Testi 75*, ed. G. Mercati, pp. 194–196.

## B. OPERA ASCETICA, DOGMATICA, ET EXEGETICA

### I. AD ABLABIUM, QUOD NON SINT TRES DII

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris, in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 45:116–136; 1958, Leiden, GNO III.1, pp. 36–37, ed. F. Mueller.

The Greek manuscript tradition underlying the text is discussed by F. Mueller in GNO III.1 pp. XXXI–XLIII. The excerpt quoted by Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) (PG 130:85–87) in his *Panoplia Dogmatica* does not occur in the present work. It is printed by Migne (PG 46:1125–1126) among the fragments of Nyssenius. Bardenhewer rightly suggests that it is not from another lost work of Gregory of Nyssa which had the same title, but merely a summary of opinion from this treatise.

#### TRANSLATION

##### I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *Ad Ablabium* and of twenty-nine other works of Gregory of Nyssa during the years preceding the publication of a Latin edition of his works in Basel in 1562. He translated two more at a later date.

Sifanus failed to submit a preface on time; so the printer who identified himself only as "Chalcographus" but who was probably Nicolaus Episcopus, wrote a brief introductory statement, "Lectori", dated Nonis Februarii, 1562. Sifanus' own preface, dated 4 Id Feb. 1562, only five days later, was first printed in 1571. He dedicated his effort to Marcus and Johannes, sons of his benefactor, Anton Fugger, who had died in 1560.

Sifanus described (see below p. 59 for text) how he had conceived the project of translating into Latin works of Gregorius Nyssenius. He had been a tutor in Greek and Latin for members of the Fugger family. He had given them some grammars and the like which he had prepared for the use of his pu-

pils, but in addition wanted to leave a more substantial memorial of his pleasant relationship with the family whose members, though educated, were not proficient in Greek. He immediately faced difficulties as a translator of Nyssenius. He was a lawyer, not a theologian, and so found the technical terminology unfamiliar and difficult. Moreover his single exemplar was in poor condition. He considered abandoning the project, but at that point was offered four codices from the library of John Jacob Fugger. Hieronymus Wolf was curator there from 1551 to 1557. The four new manuscripts were not in much better condition than the first, but they fortunately provided a readable text in most of the places where his first copy failed. He gladly resumed his translating work since he was eager to show gratitude for the generosity of the recently deceased father of the family, Anton Fugger, who had provided far more monetary subsistence than was usual although Sifanus did not request it. For three years he had been able to pursue his studies toward a doctorate in law, presumably while tutoring the young Fugger's. When he undertook the translation project however, he had no time for personal studies, completion of which would have provided a natural source of income. He spent the greater part of several years making the versions, working slowly since it seemed wrong to be careless in such a useful and pious undertaking.

Hadwig Hörner has made a careful study of Sifanus' manuscript sources (in an unpublished paper delivered at the 1976 Leiden Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, entitled "Rezensio der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Gregors Schrift *De infantibus*" the findings of which are incorporated in the preface to her critical edition of that work. I am grateful to Dr. Hörner for providing me with pertinent portions of her paper prior to publication of GNO III.2). This investigation reveals that Par. gr. 586 (s. XVI) must have been Sifanus' primary source. He later supplemented this with Monac. gr. 47 (s. XVI) and three other manuscripts from the Fugger library. In the library at the time were Monac. gr. 370 (s. X) and Monac. gr. 107 (s. XVI), its

close relative. Sifanus translated all of the works found in Par. gr. 586, and none at that time which were not. Moreover in this manuscript alone a passage on purgatory appears copied as a part of the text. Actually it appears elsewhere as a scholion added to free Gregory of charges of Origenism. The scribe who inserted it into the text was Camillus Bartholomaeus de Zanetti, as Hörner has demonstrated. Sifanus, too, copies the passage into the text proper.

Sifanus, deeply concerned with accurate translation of technical theological terms, went into great detail in his prefatory statements to explain how he chose specific Latin terms for certain Greek words. He also translated and incorporated, usually in the margin, scholia which he found in his manuscripts lest he himself be accused of printing unorthodox opinions of Gregory of Nyssa. One example will suffice to indicate his concern. In his version of *De infantibus qui praemature . . .* (ed. 1562, p. 178) he transliterates rather than translates the Greek word *aeoniam*; then in a footnote, he informs the reader, "Ego qui theologus non sum, iudicare non possum (i.e. what the best translation would be). Vellem quidem certe fideliter vertere quod suscepi."

Sifanus gave many details about the 1562 printing in his introductory statement to the 1571 edition, presented "in loco praefationis." He stated that he had received much criticism for having his work printed in Protestant Basel rather than in Catholic Cologne. He explained that this had not been his original plan, but that since the venture was financed by others, he had no choice. He would not have undertaken the project had he not thought it would be printed in Cologne. He blamed Arnold Birckmann for deceiving him in this respect. When questioned about the place of publication, Birckmann had said that he had friends in Basel, and so "facilius et commodius privilegia de indemnitae, ne liber alibi intra certum annorum spatium ederetur, impetrasse posset." Sifanus had also been led to hope that there would be a bilingual edition; here too he was disappointed. In addition the printers were careless, and his

own offer to go to Basel to oversee the work was refused.

In spite of the problems and criticisms surrounding the 1562 edition, Sifanus, at the request of Eusebius Episcopus, son of Nicolaus, the printer of the first edition, prepared a revised edition with an introductory essay "in loco praefationis." This was printed, as already stated, in 1571, not only again in Basel, but with the editorship shared with the Protestant, Johannes Levvenklaius, who contributed a separate preface dealing with his portion of the volume and provided Latin translations of three works not translated by Sifanus.

*Chalcographus. Candido lectori.* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: Cum Gregorii, Nysseni Episcopi, opera excudendo iam absolvissemus, et in eadem Laurentii Sifani, eorum interpretis elegantissimi, praefationem iamdiu nequiquam expectavissemus et instarent iam Francofordienses nundinae, existimavimus tam bonum atque utilem authorem neque ob defectum illius praefationis diutius suppressendum, neque rursum sine ulla omnino praefatione in lucem emittendum. Quamquam maluissemus et praestitisset, eum ipsius interpretis praefatione commendatum prodire in publicum, quippe cum credibile sit interpretem in eo diligentius (ut necesse fuit ad interpretandum) versatum aliqua observasse et demonstraturum fuisse cognitu utilia, quae nos aliis curis et negotiis in horas incidentibus distracti haud ita poterimus . . . (Episcopus went on to say that Nyssenus was among the foremost theologians who dealt with man's Christian duty, and adds an expression of distress that too little attention was paid to this matter in his own day) . . . Sed ne, dum de officio loquor, ipsemet officii mei limites excedam, hoc est, ne in rem theologicam me demergam altius, hic finem faciam et lectores ad ipsum authorem qui ex seipso longe melius quam ex ulla mea commendatione cognoscetur, remittam. De ipso plura si quis volet cognoscere, legat quae de eo scripsit in praefatione sua Ioannes Cono, interpres ipsius librorum octo De Philosophia (i.e. Nemesius, *De natura hominis*) qui ante etiam excusi utcunq̄ fuerunt, (see arti-

cle on Nemesius in CTC VI), nunc vero cum aliis antea impressis recogniti et marginalibus Biblicorum locorum allegatorum annotationibus exornati eduntur. Esset mihi locus, si verbosior esse vellem, et pro meritis possem, commemorandi laudandique D. Sifani, qui hunc scriptorem Latinum nobis reddidit ex Graeco, de quo sane tacere satius duco, quam virtutes ipsius mea infantia obscurare. Ipse lector facile deprehendes, quae eius phraseos sit elegantia et quam sedula in transferendo diligentia paucos (meo iudicio) hoc nostro saeculo invenias, quos cum hoc conferre possis. Interea vale, Lector amicissime, et nostris conatibus faveto. Ex officina nostra. Nonis Februarii, 1562.

*Dedication preface of 4 Id, Feb. 1562* (ed. of Basel, 1571). Amplissimis Nobilibus, Generosis atque Magnificis viris, Marco et Iohanni Fuggeris, clarissimi atque optimi viri Antonii filii, Kirchpergae et Vveissenhorni Baronibus, etc. dominis sibi charissimis et amicis summis Laurentius Sifanus Prunfeldius I.U. Doctor, S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Divi Gregorii episcopi Nysseni, qui magni illius Basilli frater fuit, opuscula theologica nescio qua felicitate, magno certe labore atque diligentia proximis annis in linguam Latinam a me conversa, quorum nomini dedicarem patrociniisque commendarem, vos mihi charissimi atque amplissimi viri potissimum digni et idonei visi estis, idque multis gravissimisque de caussis. Primum enim quoniam in utroque sermone Latino scilicet atque Graeco discendo simul ex exercendo domestica opera mea usi estis, haud alienum me facturum esse putavi si praeter rudimenta linguae Graecae, quae ex diversorum grammaticorum libris a me collecta atque ad captum aetatis vestrae accommodata satis feliciter ac mature me paulatim tradente accepistis, aliquod maius relinquere monumentum quocum vobis vestrae mecum habitae consuetudinis ac familiaritatis perpetuam memoriam relinquerem, tum fortassis aliquod etiam adiumentum hominibus studiosis ac doctis, sed Graecae linguae minus peritis afferrem. Huc accedit quod inchoato iam opere, quum et argumenti difficultate (quippe in aliena versabar professione) et apographi vitio, quo uno in initio duntaxat

utebar, anxius atque perplexus et inter cupiditatem absolvendi desperationemque cum laude perficiendi dubius haerem et ambiguus, pergeremne absolvere, an omitterem inceptum, patris vestri cui nihil denegare debebam, hortatu potissimum ad perseverandum in eo quod ceperam, impulsus sum. Quod quo facilius atque commodius facerem, vos mihi ex bibliotheca clarissimi atque amplissimi viri, domini Iohannis Iacobi Fuggeri, fratris vestri patruelis, quatuor codices confecistis in quibus pleraque quae transferenda susceperam, continebantur. Qui libri quamquam in plerisque locis haud minus vitiosi indiligenterque transcripti erant quam id volumen, quo utebar, tamen, ut fere fit, magna felicitate atque commodo meo accidit, ut in quibus locis meum exemplum mutilum atque depravatum erat, ea loca vel integra atque incorrupta in illis codicibus haberentur, vel si quid desiderabatur, faciliore coniectura quod deesset suppleri ex meo volumine posset, contra ubi illa apographa vitiosa ac mutila erant ibi meum exemplar integrum et sanum esset. Itaque cum haud mediocriter istorum codicum subsidio sublevatus atque adiutus sum, tum magnam eo nomine et vobis et domino Iohanni Iacobo gratiam et habeo et ago. Praeter has causas satis alioqui per sese graves nulla res animum meum magis movit, quam quod intelligo, non modo hoc, verum longe etiam plura pro vestris patrisque superiori anno vita defuncti ingentibus beneficiis me vobis debere. Nam ut taceam, quod liberalissime atque honorificentissime me, dum essem vobiscum, tractavit, quod praeter mercedem, qua omnes fere eos qui suis liberis magistros disciplinae adhibere solent, superavit, magna pecuniae summa me honorifice dimittens donavit, quod praeter mercedem summam omnia mihi non solum ea, quae ad victum atque cultum, verum etiam quae ad studia necessaria sunt benignissime, largissime, liberalissimeque subministrari curavit, quod per totum amplius triennium id, quod non petenti pollicitus erat, supra quam sperare ausus essem, liberalissime magnificentissimeque praestitit, ut ad cursum studiorum meorum conficiendum, et ad honorem doctoratus consequendum sumptus amplissime sup-

peditaret. Ut haec igitur omnia silentio praetermittam, quae maxima in me beneficia collata sunt, nisi vestra patrisque vestri summa liberalitate interea, dum hos libros in linguam Latinam converterem, sustentatus et sublevatus essem, iam pridem inceptum opus relinquere, ac vel ad tenuissimam conditionem descendere coactus essem, quo me ab inopia atque egestate vindicarem. Itaque cum amici me hortarentur ut alicui principi harum regionum hoc opus inscriberem atque dedicarem numquam nec satis pie nec absque ingratitude nota atque offensione putavi me id esse facturum, ut hos labores aliis atque vobis dicarem. . . . Quamquam in hoc opere diligentia mihi nullo nec loco nec tempore, eruditio forsitan atque iudicium acutum multis in locis deficit. Nam postpositis seriis meae professionis studiis, ex quibus procul dubio plus lucri ac quaestus fecissem, maiorem temporis partem aliquot ab hinc annis totus in hoc opere (quod me fateri non pudet) occupatus fui atque laboravi. Nefas enim esse putabam in opere tam sancto, tam pio, tam utili negligentem atque socordem esse. (Sifanus continues with discussion of problems encountered in translating individual works. Passages will be quoted under the works in question. He appends a historical-biographical section and then concludes): Sed sunt sane in memorato libello (*De anima et resurrectione*) loca nonnulla suspecta quae pius quidam et doctus vir cuius nomen editum non est, animadvertit et scholiis appositis (quae in meo omissa extant in apographo domini Iohannis Iacobi) vitium eorum locorum corrigere nititur et emendare. Quae scholia ego quoque postea adieci. Quod reliquum est vos etiam atque etiam rogo, charissimi atque amplissimi viri, ut hoc exiguum munusculum etsi vobis indignum vestrisque erga me meritis longe impar aequi tamen bonique facere, ac tanquam ab animo grato profectum, hilari vultu laetaque fronte accipere et ab invidorum ac malignorum hominum moribus defendere velitis. Hoc si mihi contigerit, abunde satis magnos laborum fructus me percepisse putabo. Bene valete charissimi atque amplissimi viri. Coloniae Agrippinae. 4 Id Feb. 1562.



*Preface of 1570.* Amplissimis, nobilibus, generosis atque magnificis viris Marco et Iohanni Fuggeris, fratribus germanis, Antonii filiis, Kirchpergae et Weissenhorni baronibus et dominis suis charissimis et amicis summis. [*Inc.*]: Quemadmodum scripta divi Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni ante aliquot annos a me in sermonem latinum conversi, ac vestrae clientelae, viri amplissimi, atque patrocinio commendata, negligentia atque socordia correctoris qui editioni praefuit corrupta, depravata atque in multis locis mutilata fuerint, ex iis exemplaribus quae penes vos a me missa atque correcta habetis, videre potuistis. Quae scripta quum Eusebius Episcopus, Nicolai filius, se iterum cum additamento aliquot orationum edere velle mihi significasset ac petiisset, ut sibi darem a me correctum exemplum unde emendatior ac purior noster ille author rursus prodiret in publicum, non potui non ei in hac re morem gerere et obsecundare, ne si quid iterum in eodem opere (quod Deus prohibeat) peccatum fuerit, in me culpa conferatur. Sed quum a me sciscitaretur, utrum novam addere praefationem, an aliquid in priore vel corrigere vel addere vel immutare vel demere vellem, dixi me dispicere ac deliberare velle. Itaque quum recognita priore praefatione, nihil in ea vel mutare vel corrigere vel detrudere vel adiciere operae pretium esse mihi videretur, accidit nuper domi tuae, domine Marce, ut quidam theologi, qui pauca (quod ex sermone eorum apparebat) in eo authore Latino facto legisent, sermonem de illo inferrent et simul multa ex me percontarentur, quae nihil attinet referre. Erant enim (ut curiosorum hominum esse solent) absurda. Quibus ad alia quidem, quae parum ad rem pertinebant, quod visum est respondi. Sed cum ex me quaererent, quur non Coloniae Agrippinae inter Catholicos ubi nec typographi deessent, sed Basileae inter adversarios hoc opus divulgari curassem, et adicerent librum a loco ubi editus esset, suspectum, minus vendibilem et acceptum fuisse, dixi id quod res est, mei arbitrii et in mea potestate non fuisse, qui non meo sed alterius sumptu edendum opus in Latinum sermonem convertissem, ubi id opus divulgandum committeretur. Mihi tamen in hoc

impositum esse, qui non tam facile conversionem operis suscepturus fuisset, si Basileae non Coloniae Agrippinae (quemadmodum mihi promissum erat) et Latine dumtaxat, non etiam adiunctis Graecis hunc authorem editum iri scivissem. Praesertim quum ex Graecis adiunctis (quorum causa passim scholia quoque in margine adieci) industria atque diligentia mea maxime elucere potuisset. Arnoldum vero Birkmannum mihi cum eo hac de re expostulanti, hanc sui excusandi causa rationem protulisse quur in externa urbe librum divulgare curaret, quod per eos socios, quos sibi ascivisset, facilius et commodius privilegia de indemnitate, ne liber alibi intra certum annorum spatium ederetur, impetrasse posset. Praeterea quod suspicarer futurum, id quod evenit, ut editioni praeeset indiligens corrector et multa delicta atque peccata committerentur, quae et ad infamiam meam et ad detrimentum studiosorum emptorum redundarent, me paratum fuisse Basileam proficisci, ut ipse edendi authoris correctioni praeessem, sed eam operam meam tamquam supervacuam et non necessariam non acceptam, sed spretam et repudiatam fuisse. Ac quamquam multa peccata commissa essent in prima editione, nullum tamen eiusmodi delictum vel peccatum esse, quo nostrae Catholicae fidei et orthodoxae religionis dogmata atque sententiae receptae laedi aut labefactari possint. Ac si quid eiusmodi fuisset in Graeco exemplari adiectis scholiis quoque Graecis, quae convertissem, fuisse correctum atque sanatum. Hoc responso cum istis satisfactum esse videretur, paucis post diebus, libraria supellectile mea tandem advecta, incidi in quoddam scriptum meum in quo annotaverim quae primum edito Nysseno nostro, quidam homo non quidem indoctus nec mihi inimicus sed, ut videtur, parum candidus in conversione mea reprehendisset, quae ex illo audita amici ad me detulerant. Ac quae ille quidem reprehendebat, ut ad me delata sunt, subiungam. Haud dissimulasse igitur illum amici dicebant sibi conversionem meam puram quidem ac dilucidam videri. Sed quoniam theologiarum rerum exiguam cognitionem atque peritiam consequutus essem (quod necesse fuit acci-

dere in aliena facultatis atque scientiae tractatione versanti) me minus apte, apposite ac dextre atque adeo contra atque ecclesiae Latinae usus et consuetudo obtineat, vocabulis quibusdam, quibus theologiae orthodoxae fidei et religionis mysteria contineantur, usum esse. Aiebant autem illum dicere perperam me usum dictione Substantiae pro Hypostasis: item vocabulo Effigies pro Imagine; et nescio quae alia nomina me minus scienter usurpasse. His et eiusmodi illum offensum esse documento est, quod librum sibi ab amico allatum vix inspectum ei, qui dono attulerat, reddidit atque reiecit, ut indignum nimirum in quo legendo tempus tereret. Ac non modo ipse librum suspectum habuit, verumtamen (quod compertum habeo) sodalibus et contubernalibus suis cum haud parva nominis mei sugillatione suspectum fecit, et illos ab studio legendi atque cognoscendi avertit ac dehortatus est. Sed non patiar diutius vel illum vel eius similes homines invidos, curiosos et in alienis scriptis reprehendis ingenio suo atque eruditione abutentes et ad culpandum quam ad imitandum alienam industriam promptiores, ubi nullum meum peccatum agnosco, vel errare inscios et imprudentes, vel mihi immerenti obtreclare scientes atque prudentes. Fieri enim potest (quod et in priore praefatione (1562) non dissimulavi) ut multa in hoc opere sint vitia quia multis in locis apographa Graeca quibus usus sum, corrupta, depravata atque mutilata sunt, adeo ut in illis locis coniecturas sequutus non numquam sententiam authoris reddere conatus sim. Multis item in locis ubi exemplaria integra sunt, etsi sententiam authoris expressi, mihi tamen ipse non satisfacio. Quoniam video atque non despero loca illa ab doctioribus elegantius et ornatius converti ac reddi Latine posse. Ad haec multis in locis, ubi author longioribus usus periodis et orationis continuationibus seu comprehensionibus obscurior est, ad humiliter dicendi genus, ut sententiam authoris in iis locis magis perspicuam atque dilucidam redderem, descendi. Quintiam haud dissimulabo unum atque alterum locum esse in quibus singula vocabula praeterieram imprudens, quae post supplevi. Sed in quibus ille me locis reprehendit nullum

meum peccatum, nullam culpam, nullum crimen agnosco. Nam quod ait me minus scienter ac perite usum esse dictione Substantia, sive subsistentia, intelligo in libello de Differentia οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως quum pro οὐσία essentia reddidissem, illum offensum esse, quod servata dictione Graeca ὑποστάσεως, statim et in ipso titulo, et in uno atque altero loco eiusdem libelli adieci, id est Substantiae sive subsistentiae. Ego vero, quamquam Erasmus in principio Epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos pro ὑποστάσεως vertit substantiae, tamen veritus curiosorum et scrupulosorum hominum calumnias et offensiones Graecam dictionem reliqui. Quod et Johannes Cono fecit, qui hunc libellum, quod ego ignorabam, converterat ante aliquot annos (1507). (Sifanus continues at length discussing Latin renditions of technical Greek words, remarking on Quintilian's and Cicero's procedure as well as again on Erasmus' and Cono's . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed nemo nisi si quis Latini sermonis est admodum rudis et imperitus, nescit, in hac significatione verbum remittere usitatius esse, quam dimittere. Haec et eiusmodi qui reprehendunt et carpunt quam sint ad culpandum ac vituperandum proclives atque propensi, quis non videt? Quorum hominum inepta, insulsa atque importuna iudicia etsi ego curare non debeo, tamen siquid forte ad aures vestras delatum fuerit ut in promptu habeatis quod pro defensione mei illis subjiatis, haec ad vos scribere haud ab re alienam esse duxi, Praesertim cum admirabile quiddam mihi in hoc opere usu venerit immerenti, ut utrisque et Catholicis (Agrippinenses meos exceptos volo) et Evangelicis (qui ita se appellant) fuerim suspectus: his quod plura loca, quam putarint, in hoc opere offenderint suis dogmatibus atque institutis contraria atque adversa; illis quod apud adversarios liber editus ac divulgatus sit quod supra a me satis arbitror esse purgatum, nempe, quod me adversante atque invito sit factum. Caeterum quod ad alteros attinet, extat scholion in tractatu *de infantibus qui praemature abripiuntur*, ubi ignis purgatorii mentio fit. Quod a me subditum non esse, nuper Argentinae quibusdam fidem facere non potuissem nisi exemplo Graeco

prolato (quod forte fortuna penes me habebam) indicassem locum, unde illa verbo fere pro verbo reddito converterem. Haec fere in hoc tempore praefationis loco ad novam editionem auctoris adiicere operae pretium esse duxi. Ac confido typographum in hac elaboraturum esse, ut superiora peccata atque delicta resarciantur et corrigantur sicut et ipse coram mihi promisit. Bene valete viri amplissimi. Raptim Angelopoli. 3 Kal. Martias Anno Domini MDLXX. (Angelopoli here probably refers to Ingolstadt although other latinizations were more usual.)

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 118) Vos quidem, qui iuxta internum hominem omni robore vigetis, aequum erat cum adversariis decertare eumque haud gravatim suscipere laborem, ut nos patres praeclaris filiorum sudoribus oblectaremur (hoc enim suggerit lex naturae) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 126) divina autem natura et variationis et divisionis per omnem considerationem expers esse deprehenditur idcirco proprie una deitas, et unus Deus est, et alia omnia Deo convenientia nomina singulariter efferuntur.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.  
 1571. See Composite Editions.  
 1573. See Composite Editions.  
 1605. See Composite Editions.  
 1615. See Composite Editions.  
 1617. See Composite Editions.  
 1638. See Composite Editions.  
 1837. Leipzig. Preface of 1562 reprinted in J.G. Krabinger's edition of *De anima et resurrectione*. NUC. BL; (ICU). A copy of portions of the volume was provided by S.C. Sutter of ICU.

1858. See Composite Editions.  
 1863. See Composite Editions.  
 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Laurentius Sifanus (Gifanus in Graesse and Hoffmann) lived in Prunfeld in the sixteenth century. According to his own testimony, he spent some years in the service of the Anton Fugger family, giving instruction in Greek and Latin, adapting existing grammars to the ability of his pupils. The family was financially supportive of Sifanus' schol-

arly endeavors which enabled him to acquire doctoral status in law as well as to pursue his project of translating the works of Gregory of Nyssa into Latin. He knew Arnold Birckmann the printer, who had provided him with a manuscript of Daniel Augentius' version of one of Nyssenius' treatises, but he felt that Birckmann had misled him to believe that his Latin Nyssenius would be published in Cologne, not in Basel, as was the case. To the Fugger family he owed not only material support, but access to the library of John Jacob Fugger which contained manuscripts of Nyssenius' works.

*Works:* Latin translations of 32 works of Gregory of Nyssa. Two of these were published in 1568 in a volume containing his version of Theophylactus of Achrida's *In Acta Apostolorum*. In addition he translated works of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Timothy of Jerusalem and Amphilochius of Iconium. He also wrote essays in praise of the Greek language, especially that of Isocrates.

*Bibliography:* Jöcher, *Allg. Gelehr. Lex.* IV:573-574; Zedler: Vol. XXXVII.1122; Christian Meyer, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (1878) Vol. VIII.179-84 (for members of the Fugger family); P. Lehmann, *Eine Gesch. der alten Fuggerbibliotheken* (in *Stud. zur Fuggergesch.* 12) Tübingen 1956; O. Hartig, *Die Gründung d. Münchener Hofbibliothek, Abhl. Münch.* 28.3 (1917) p. 366.

## II. DE ANIMA, PER CAPITA DISPUTATIO AD TATIANUM

Editio princeps: 1604, Mainz (ed. G. Vossius).

Recent editions: PG 10:1137-1145; PG 91:353-361.

This small dogmatic treatise on the soul is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa in at least two manuscripts, British Library Royal 16 D.I. (s. XII) which contains only works assigned to Nyssenius, and Vat. Barb. grec. 342 (III.61). However A. Galland was the only scholar to argue for his authorship; he printed the treatise as Nyssenius' in his *Bibliotheca veterum patrum* VI, Venice 1770 and gave his reasons

on p. xiv of the volume. He believed that Tatianus was the Bishop of Myra present at the Council of Constantinople whom Basil, Gregory's brother, had mentioned some time before in a letter to Amphilochius. Galland's arguments did not survive subsequent research. Not only do five Greek manuscripts attribute the work to Gregory Thaumaturgus and four to Maximus Confessor (two others name no author and one merely "Gregory") but investigation has shown that the treatise is a compilation drawing heavily on Nemesius of Emesa (c. 400); although one small section appears to be taken from Thaumaturgus. A Syrian manuscript (BL Add. 14658) lists it as a treatise of Aristotle on the soul said to have been translated from the Greek by Sergius of Reschaina. But J. Lebreton has demonstrated convincingly that *Ad Tatianum* is the work of an anonymous scholar who compiled the treatise between S. V and s. VII.

*Bibliography:* Bardenhewer 3:204 with note, and 2:327-28; Quasten 2:128. See especially J. Lebreton, "Le Traité de l'Âme de S. Grégoire le Thaumaturge," *Bull. de la litt. ecclés.*, 1906, pp. 73-83 and B. Einarson, "On a supposed Pseudo-Aristotelian Treatise on the Soul," *Classical Philology* 27 (1933), pp. 129-130. See also: J. Draeseke, "Zu Gregorius von Neocaesareas Schrift über die Seele," *Zeits. für wiss. Theol.* 1901, pp. 87-100; A. Smith-Lewis, in *Studia sinaitica* I (1894) pp. 19-26; M. Ullmann, "Zur arabischen Überlieferung der *Disputatio ad Tatianum* des Gregorius Thaumaturgus," *Der Islam* LIV (1977) pp. 114-117. On the Syriac tradition see: A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Literatur*, p. 168.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of *De anima ad Tatianum* which he assigned to Gregory Thaumaturgus. It was published in the 1553 volume containing twelve works of Nyssenus and one of Nazianzen. For details see below p. 107.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 180) Iussisti, praeclare Tatiane, ut ad te de anima perspicuum et certum aliquid conscriberem, in eaque re nullis uterer testimoniis scripturarum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 183) Nihil autem aliud est animae dignitatis, nisi ratione omnia facere, qua quidem a sensibus etiam differt. Animam igitur rationis participem demonstravimus.

##### *Editions:*

1553. See Composite Editions.

1575, Paris. in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Vol. VIII.45 sq.

1589, Paris, in *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Vol. III.

##### *Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

##### 2. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerard Vossius made a Latin translation and prepared the Greek text of this treatise; they were printed among the *Dubia* of Gregory Thaumaturgus in 1604. A. Galland reprinted Vossius' version as a work of Gregory of Nyssa in his *Veterum Patrum Bibliotheca*.

*Text* (ed. of Mainz, 1604). [*Inc.*]: (p. 135) Iussisti, praestantissime Tatiane, ut cum efficacibus argumentis sive demonstrationibus sermonem atque disputationem de anima tibi conscriptam [tibi] mitterem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 145) Animam igitur ratione praeditam esse, iam demonstratum est [al. hoc enim a sensibus differre demonstratum est. Anima igitur ratione praedita est].

##### *Editions:*

1604. See Composite Editions. A copy of the incipit and explicit from this edition was supplied by F.E. Cranz.

1622. See Composite Editions.

1655, Brixen. in Barth's edition of Claudianus Mamertus.

1715, Paris. In *Apparatus ad Bibl. Patrum*, ed. N. Nourrius, Vol. II. 734. In this edition only, not in reprints. Hoffmann 2.191.

1781. In Galland's *Bibliotheca Patrum*. See Composite Editions.

##### *Doubtful Edition:*

1626. Doubtful reprint of 1622 edition. Hoffmann 2.191.

*Biography:*

Gerardus Vossius (Gerard De Vos), not to be confused with the more famous Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), a Protestant, was born around the middle of the sixteenth century in the district of Liège at Borchloen, Hasselt or Looz. He is sometimes referred to as Borchlonianus. Vossius entered the church, went to Rome, received the doctorate at the Sapienza and became protonotary apostolic. He went from there to Tongres where he held the title, “doyen de la collégiale de Tongres.” He was a theologian skilled in Greek who won the esteem of Caraffa, Montalti (later Gregory XIII) and Sirleto during the time he was in Rome. As a result he had free access to the great libraries of Italy where he sought out patristic manuscripts. He died at Liège on March 25, 1609.

*Works:* He edited the Greek text and made Latin translations of the works of St. Ephraem Syrus, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, some orations of S. John Chrysostom and of Theodoretus, *Oratio de charitate*. He also edited St. Bernard, *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam, libri V* and the *Gesta et monumenta Gregorii papae IX* and wrote scholia on both. He wrote a commentary and a paraphrase on Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis* from the *De republica*, and also an original work, *Rhetoricae artis methodus per quaestiones*. He was at the time of his death working on editions of the works of Leo the Great and of St. Hilary.

*Bibl: Biograph. Nat. de Belgique* V, pp. 850–851; Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*; Joëcher 4:1716; Michaud 49:543–545; Nicéron 13:144–148.

## COMMENTARY

## a. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius commented on *De anima ad Tatianum* in his *Notae et variae lectiones* which immediately follow the text. They are printed in several editions.

*Text* (ed. of Mainz, 1604). [*Inc.*]: (p. 145) Brevis quidem haec est nostri auctoris de anima disputatio, sed valde erudita, pulchra,

et elegans, omnibusque suis partibus absoluta . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 148) Quae quidem lectio atque interpunctura, etsi nobis haud improbanda videatur, de ea tamen, ut et de aliis sup. adductis, ac postea in hoc opere adducendis penitus iudicandum aliis eruditoribus libenter reliquimus. Et ista de anima hactenus.

*Editions:*

1604. See Composite Editions. F.E. Cranz kindly provided a copy of portions of the *Notae*.

1622. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above.

III. *DE ANIMA ET RESURRECTIONE, DIALOGUS CUM MACRINA*

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:11–160; a new critical edition will appear in GNO III.3.

*Macrinia* is a title sometimes given to this treatise, but it is not to be confused with the *Vita Macrinae*. The Greek text until 1722 was based on one family of manuscripts of mediocre quality. In that year Johann Christoph Wolf published a text using two previously unconsulted fourteenth-century manuscripts, one from the library of Zacharias Conrad of Uffenbach, and the other from Zacharias Hasselmann, a minister from Oldenburg. J.G. Krabinger used additional sources for the text in his 1837 bilingual edition. This text was later incorporated in J.P. Migne's *Patrologia*.

## TRANSLATIONS

## 1. PETRUS BALBUS (lost)

Petrus Balbus made a Latin translation of *De anima et resurrectione* under the title, *De immortalitate animae*, as well as a version of the *Vita Macrinae*.

Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, Vol. IX (Venice, 1721. Repr., N.Y., 1970) p. 468, gives the following

information: Eius (Balbi) autem ingenii monumenta, et versiones unico volumine M.S. reperiuntur in thesauro Ecclesiae Capuanae ut nos monuit eruditus vir, Camillus Pellegrinus, quarum nomenclatura est: Sanctissimi doctoris Gregorii Nysseni *Dialogus cum sorore sua B. Macrina de immortalitate animae*, Latine versus a Petro Balbo, Episcopo Tropejensi ad Pont. Max. Paulum II. *Vita B. Macrinae* per Gregorium Nyssenum Fratrem edita, et per eundem Petrum Balbum Episcopum Tropejensem de Graeco in Latinum versa, ad Reverendis. et humanissimum Praesulem D. Card. Vicentinum. The manuscript is now lost.

The date of the translation can be somewhat narrowed down. The pontificate of Paul II lasted from 1464 to 1471. The bishop of Vicenza (near Venice) from April of 1465 to 1473 was Marcus Barbus, a cousin of Paul II. He was described as "vir eruditus". A date near 1471 seems likely for *De anima et resurrectione*. The second translation may have been made at the same time, or, since it was dedicated to Barbus rather than Paul, possibly between 1471 and 1473, the year Barbus left the see of Vicenza to become patriarch of Aquileia. (See Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, etc., Monasterii, 1912-1913, Vol. II, pp. 15, 42, 63, 73, 92. See also Ughelli, *op. cit.* Vol. V, 1025 sq.; 1062-1064 for Marcus Barbus).

*Manuscript:*

(lost) Formerly in the library of the Cathedral of Capua. See Ughelli, *op. cit.* Vol. IX.468; P.O. Kristeller, "A Latin Translation of Gemistos Plethon's *de fato* by Johannes Sophianos dedicated to Nicholas of Cusa" in *Nicolò Cusano agli Inizi del Mondo Moderno*, Padua, 1970, p. 187. The verification by the Archbishop of Capua of the existence, but subsequent loss of this manuscript was reported by Dottorressa Guerriera Guerrieri in a communication to Paul O. Kristeller.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.139.

## 2. ANONYMUS (s. XVI)

An anonymous Latin version of *De anima*

*et resurrectione* appears in a manuscript, probably an autograph, of the sixteenth century. It also contains an anonymous Latin version of Nyssenus' *De opificio hominis* (see p. 128, below). The same individual may have made both translations. There is no dedicatory letter and no preface.

*Text* (Venezia, Marc. Lat. II.78 (2229) *De anima cum sorore Macrina Dialogus*. [*Inc.*]: Postquam ex humana vita magnus inter sanctos Basilius ad Deum migravit et communis luctus causa ecclesiis est allata, cum adhuc superstes esset soror et magistra . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: vita, virtus, honor, gratia, gloria et si quid aliud huiusmodi in Deo putamus intelligi et ipsius imagine, quae est humana natura, et quotquot meliora intelliguntur vicissim succedant. Finis.

*Manuscript:*

(micro) Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. II.78 (2229) s. XVI, misc., folio numbers not legible. (Kristeller, *Iter* II.217; Valentinelli, Vol. II:13-14, Class. III, no. 22). The microfilm and information of the manuscript were kindly supplied by E. Govi, Direttore della Biblioteca Marciana (in 1975).

## 3. DANIEL AUGENTIUS

Daniel Augentius made a Latin translation of *De anima et resurrectione* which was approved for publication by the faculty of the Sorbonne in July, 1556. It was published in 1557. Augentius dedicated his version to François Olivier, Chancellor of France, of whose son he had been the tutor. His translation was criticized by Laurentius Sifanus, another translator of the same work (See below p. 68), who suggested that Augentius worked from an inadequate manuscript. In 1837 J.G. Krabinger made some use of Augentius' version as well as that of Sifanus as he describes, "modo Sifanum, modo Augentium, prout visum est, duces sequutus; saepius autem ab utroque recedens" (See Krabinger's *Preface* to his edition of 1837, Leipzig, pp. xi-xii. A copy was kindly provided by S.C. Sutter of Joseph Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago).

*Prefatory letter* (ed. of Paris, 1557). Praes-

tantissimo Heroi D. Francisco Olivario, summo Galliarum Cancellario, Danielus Augentius S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Cogitanti mihi saepenumero, Heros sapientissime, quaenam sit causa, quod religio Christiana, quae a Veteris Testamenti Patribus et Prophetis, imo vero a Deo ipso praedicata, a Christo Deo et Dei filio tradita, et ab Apostolis veluti quibusdam legatis toti orbi annunciata, ac miraculis confirmata, innumerabilium martyrum, id est, veritatis et fidei quae in Christo Iesu est testium, sanguine consecrata, tot sanctissimis Conciliorum decretis fulta, tot non minus doctorum quam priorum virorum scriptis praeclaris illustrata, tot gentium et populorum perpetuo multis iam saeculis consensu corroborata, tot hodie seditionibus et sectis exagitetur, ut ubique fere sit miserrima facies, cum iam multi ab unitate Ecclesiae desciverint, permulti de defectione cogitent, nonnulli praecipites ferantur ad impietatem, pauci admodum vixque ades contineantur in officio, duo potissimum veniunt in mentem . . . (Augentius proceeds with a discussion of the religious troubles of the day suggesting that low moral standards and lax discipline and de-emphasis by the Reformers on "bona opera" had contributed to the problem. He then continues). . . . Atque quam impia quidem, confutatu autem facilia sint eorum dogmata, hoc libro aperte demonstrat D. Gregorius Nyssenus armis philosophicis, id est, validis et efficacibus rationibus adversus eos qui animam mortalem esse censent, ita pugnant, ut eos suo, quod aiunt, gladio facile confodiat. Quod quidem adversus impios istos homines vel potius κακοδαίμονας meo quidem iudicio hoc tempore omnino faciendum est nec iis assentiendum qui philosophiam ut Christiano homine penitus indignam aversantur et reiiciunt. Quibus satis fuerit hoc in praesentia respondisse, Origenem, Basilium, Chrysostomum, Nazianzenum, caeterosque theologiae antesignanos in eo studiorum genere ita esse versatos ut excellerent, Aegyptumque ita spoliassent, ut Domini tabernaculum ac templum pulcherrime ornarent, et impium illum Christiani nominis hostem Iulianum Apostatam nulla re alia maiorem Christianae religioni calami-

tatem afferri posse non temere censuisse, quam si cum a caeteris humanioribus disciplinis, tum maxime a philosophia Christiani arcerentur . . . Cum igitur in hoc libro legendo maximam voluptatem cepissem dignumque iudicassem qui in Christianorum manus veniret, ad eum in linguam latinam vertendum aliquot dierum operam contuli, cogitans quam nihil sit homini anima pretiosius nihilque ea doctrina excellentius . . . Accipe ergo Gregorium iam latine loquentem, tibi, ut spero, non iniucundum, caeteris ad quos perveniet non inutilem futurum. Quos interim obtestamur, ut hanc versionem meam qualiscumque est boni consulant, et si interpretis eruditionem forte desiderant, animum saltem iuvandae rei literariae diligant, ac meminerint honestos conatus, etiam cum male cesserint, iure laudari. Scis tu, Heros sapientissime, quid meae postulent rationes, neque ego etiam quantum mea causa velis dubito. Ego vero qui te non ex fortuna, sed ex virtute bonitateque tua pendo, idem qui semel esse coepi, in te semper ero, hoc est, tui observantissimus idque ut tibi persuadeas, vehementer velim. Vale splendidissimum Galliarum lumen, et amplissimum totius orbis terrarum decus, iterumque et saepius vale atque salve etiam atque etiam. Lutetiae, in Regiis scholis Mignonicis. Idibus Quintil. Anno Christi Dei nostri, MDLVII. There follows a poem, Ad lectorem. It expresses the thought that a work long lying in darkness had been brought to light by Augentius' translation and mentions the theme of the treatise.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: Cum e vita humana ad Deum migrasset celeberrimus inter sanctos Basilus et communem luctus occasionem reliquisset ecclesiis, adhuc autem superstes esset soror et magistra, ego quidem ad eam festinabam acceptam in fratre calamitatem cum ea communicaturus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Iis ergo quae sunt huiusmodi per ignis medicinam expurgatis et expiatis in eorum locum succedat unumquodque eorum quae sunt praestantiora nempe incorruptio, vita, virtus, honor, gratia, gloria et si quid aliud coniicimus inspicere in Deo et in eius imagine quae est humana natura. Finis.

*Edition:*

(micro) 1557, Basel: apud Aegidium Gorbinum ad insigne Spei. D. Gregorii Nyssae pontificis magni Basilii fratris, *De immortalitate animae cum sorore Macrina dialogus*, numquam ante hoc neque graece neque latine excusus. Daniele Augentio interprete. Graesse 3.149; NUC. BM; BN: (CLSU).

(photo) 1837, Lipsiae (Leipzig). *S. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni De anima et Resurrectione Dialogus*. ed. J.G. Krabinger (Gr.-Lat.). Krabinger's Latin version is a composite one derived from both Sifanus' and Augentius' previous translations. NUC. (ICU). I am grateful to S.C. Sutter of the University of Chicago's Regenstein Library for providing copies.

*Biography:*

Daniel Augentius (d'Auge or d'Augé) was a native of Villeneuve, according to his contemporary, La Croix du Maine. Archbishop Goujet, however, states that he came from Troyes, but he gives no evidence for that claim. Augentius was the tutor of the son of François Olivier, Chancellor of France until his downfall in 1551. Georges Gritton, one of his students, praises his teaching ability. He spent some time instructing at the college at Boncours. From 1557 until his death in 1595, he held the chair of Greek at the Collège de France. He entered orders, but being in some respects unorthodox, lost favor with such individuals as the prince-duke of Nevers. Much information about his scholarly activity is provided by La Croix du Maine.

*Works:* Numerous works in French on varied subjects including literary themes, funeral and marriage pieces; French translations of Synesius of Cyrene, the *Letters* of Cicero, Macarius of Egypt; Latin translations (in addition to the one work of Nyssenus) of works of Basil of Caesarea and Theodore of Gaza (a. 1398-1476), *Encomium canis*; an annotated edition of Jacopo Sannazzaro's *De morte Christi lamentatio*. A full list of his works appears in La Croix du Maine et du Verdier, *Bibliothèque française* (ed. Paris, 1772) Vol. I, p. 162; Vol. II, p. 438 and in Grente, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 67.

*Bibliography:* Cioranescu, *XVI siècle*, pp. 95-96; *Dict. de Biographie Française*, Vol. IV:488-489 (ed. 1948); *Encic. Illustrada* Vol. VI:105; Grente, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* p. 67; Hofer, Vol. 3:627. See also Du Boulay, *Historia Universitatis* VI:927; Abbé Goujet, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège royal* (1758) Vol. I, p. 488.

## 4. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *De anima et resurrectione*. For date and circumstances, see pp. 57-59 above. Sifanus tells us in his preface that he was acquainted with the Latin version previously made by Daniel Augentius. In 1837 J.G. Krabinger made use of both Sifanus' and of Augentius' versions in preparing his new edition (see above). Comments on the *De anima et resurrectione* from Sifanus' general Preface of 1562 (see above, p. 59): Quod ad *libellum de anima* attinet, postea quam illum converterem, vidi eundem Lutetiae editum et ab Daniele Augentio iuvene, opinor, Gallo translatum. Eum primus attulit ad me Arnoldus Birckmannus, vir eruditione atque iudicio non cum typographis ac librariis, sed cum hominibus doctissimis comparandus. Quem nisi huius rei testem haberem, hoc quod dixi, silentio praetermitterem. Haud displicuerunt autem pleraque ac iudicavi, id quod res est, ab homine docto ea translata esse, sed illum (quod mihi initio acciderat) in eodem libello emendato ac probo apographo caruisse, in quo opere quid ego praestiterim, aliorum hominum ac vestrum (utriusque nostrum collata editione) iudicium esto. Duplicem autem in plurimis locis cepi laborem, ex iis voluminibus, quae vos ad me misistis, ea quae antea transtuleram, sicuti inveneram in primo exemplari depravata ac mutila vel mutare vel corrigere, vel praetermissa ex vestris libris adicere coactus. Multis item in locis ubi utraque probabilis et a proposito non esset aliena, duplicem reddidi lectionem. Ac ut taceam de reliquis ut minimum treis menses totos occupatus sum in corrigendo dialogo de immortalitate animae atque resurrectione mortuorum . . . Sifanus continues with a discussion



of another work.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562) [*Inc.*]: (p. 228) Cum ingens ille vir inter sanctos Basilius ex humana vita ad Deum migrasset, et communis causa luctus Ecclesiis exstitisset, atque etiam nunc soror et magistra vitae superstes esset . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 283) Talibus igitur cura conveniente expurgatis et expiatis, quicquid in meliorem partem intelligitur, invicem et in locum eorum succedet, incorruptibilitas, vita, honor, gratia, potentia, et si quid aliud eiusdem modi vel in ipso Deo vel in imagine eius quae est humana natura cerni coniciamus et existimamus. Ei gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

(\*)1722, Hamburg: in *Anecdota Graeca* (ed. J.C. Wolf) Vol. II:274–330. NUC. BL; BN; (MB).

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography*

See p. 63 above.

#### IV. ANTIRRHETICUS ADVERSUS APOLINARIUM

Editio princeps: in *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiae*, graece et latine, ed. L. Zaccagni, Rome, 1698, Vol. I:121–287.

Recent editions: PG 45:1124–1269; 1958, Leiden, GNO Vol. III.1, pp. 131–287 (ed. F. Mueller).

*Introductory note.* The entire *Antirrheticus* was not translated into Latin until Laurentius Alexander Zaccagnius (Lorenzo Zaccagni) made a version which was published in Rome in 1698.

Earlier, however, parts of the *Antirrheticus* had been translated incidentally as they were cited in other works, and two fragments had

been translated and published separately by Fronto Ducaeus.

Chapters 31 and 32 were quoted in the proceedings of the Sixth General Council (Constantinople III, 680 a.d.). There are two Latin versions of these chapters. The first, appearing in later printed editions opposite the Greek text, was assigned by one scholar to Anastasius Bibliothecarius (s. IX); but this attribution has little support. The version probably goes back to the time of Pope Sergius (687–701) (See N.M. Haring, "The Porretans and the Greek Fathers," *Med. Stud.* 24 (1962) p. 180, and n. 40). The date of the second, more accurate version is not known; it is anonymous and in printed editions follows the text and first version. Readers can find these translations in *Acta Conciliorum*, ed. Mansi, Florence, 1765, Vol. XI:399–403; 805–807; and also in Hardouin's edition, Paris 1714 of the *Acta*. The first translation only appears in Binius' 1644 edition of the Councils.

In 1555 some passages from *Antirrheticus* which had been quoted by Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) appeared in P.F. Zinus' Latin translation of Euthymius' *Panoplia Dogmatica*.

#### TRANSLATION (partial)

##### 1. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Two fragments from *Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium* which Fronto Ducaeus translated appear in all printed collections of Nyssen's works, beginning with the small 1596 edition, until J.P. Migne in 1858 replaced them with Zaccagni's translation of the entire work.

The author of the preface to the 1596 Ingolstadt edition of eight entire works of Nyssen in addition to the two fragments (see below p. 104 on the identity of this author) described how Fronto Ducaeus, the editor of the edition, came upon the fragments in a codex of the Bibliotheca Medicaea containing a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews which was made up of passages

from the Fathers. See below for details.

The passages appear in the 1596 edition, one following the other. The first corresponds to PG 45:1223B–1223C; GNO III.1: 201.25 to 202.13. The second contains the same sentences as does PG 45:1159C–1162A; GNO III.1:155, but the sentences are in transposed order. This order was probably the work of the compiler of the manuscript from which Ducaeus took his Greek copy.

*Dedication* (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1596). Illustrissimo Principi Erico a Lotharingia Nicolai Comitis Vademontani Filio Antonii Lotharingiae Ducis Nepoti Episcopo et Comiti Virduensi Electori Sacri Imperii Rom. Principi. [*Inc.*]: Haec s. Gregorii Nysseni Opuscula ex variis Galliae Bibliothecis eruta et in Academia Lotharingiae Latinitate donata dum eius scholas theologicas assiduitate ac diligentia sua raroque virtutum exemplo cohonestaret, Fronto Ducaeus Presb. Societ. Iesu et in aed. Acad. scripturae interpres nuncupabat et dedicabat. An. Christi MDXCIV, Kal. Octob.

*Preface (Ad Lectorem)*. [*Inc.*]: Habes hic, amice Lector, opuscula nonnulla D. Gregorii Nysseni contra Apollinarem ad Theophilum Episcopum Alexandrinum Latine tantum, quia Graece iam edita est. Meminit eius Synodus V Generalis collatione 5 fol. 530 et 542 edit. Colon. Profertque illum locum *Qui Apollinaris dogmatibus*, etc. usque ad illa verba, *neque praedicari*. Deinde ex duobus diversis eiusdem adversus eundem operibus multa citat Euthymius tit. 13 *Panopliae*; alterum appellat *orationem ad Theophilum Alexandriae Pontificem* cuius loca ab eo prolata in hac epistola reperiuntur, alterum orationem qua confutat Apollinari opinioniones, ex quo item inter caetera locum unum exscribit cuius sententia prope eadem est quae fragmenti alterius ex duobus quae infra tibi exhibemus. Accedit Ioannes Cyparissiotus qui in expositione materiaria eorum, quae de Deo dicuntur, Decad. 6, cap. 6, adducit locum illum non procul ab initio huius epistolae. *Non enim propterea quod in novissimis diebus*, etc. usque ad illa verba, *oblatam esse visionem*. Praeterea Franciscus Turrianus in epistola ad Gregorium de Valentia contra Ubiquistas profert ex hac epistola hunc locum

non procul a fine. *Divinitas enim quod humile fuit*, etc. usque ad illa verba, *Unio declaratur*. Denique haec eadem epistola manuscripta Graece exstat in Bibl. Serenissimi Principis Gulielmi, Bavariae Ducis, etc. et in paucissimis voculis discrepat ab exemplari quo usus est Ducaeus, ut et ab illo quod Lugduni Batavorum prodiit. Secundum locum obtinet libellus in illud Genes. 1, *Creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam* qui ex antiquissimo Codice Bibliothecae Mediceae ac paene consumpto literis fugientibus charta dilabente erutum est. Ac licet in altera ex duabus homiliis quae adiungi solent B. Basilii *orationibus in Hexameron*, sed Nysseni sunt propriae (non enim plures quam novem Suidas Basilio tribuit) de hac quaestione disseruerit Nyssenus, hoc tamen non impedivit quo minus ut verum opus agnosceretur eius, illud de opificio hominis in cuius aliquot capitibus de hoc ipso argumento tractat; sic neque vetabit quidquam quominus hoc tanquam verum eius γέννημα legamus. Praesertim cum notum sit sanctos Patres de eadem materia saepius scribere et dicere fuisse solitos. Nam argumentum de resurrectione nostra et Christi, quoties hic idem D. Gregorius loculentissime et eloquentissime tractavit.

Huic libro succedit *epistola ad Theodosium Episcopum de Pythonissa* et *oratio in sanctam Domini resurrectionem*, de qua materia exstant iam nonnullae latinae conciones inter opera divi Nysseni et oratio in propriam ordinationem quae etiam Venetiis in Bibliotheca Graeci cuiusdam Episcopi asservari fertur (Ven. Marc. gr. 68, s. XII). *Decem syllogismi contra Manichaeos* inveniuntur itidem in Bibliotheca Bavarica. Duo fragmenta alterius operis *contra Apollinarem* desumpta sunt ex codice Bibliothecae Mediceae (These are the fragments considered in this section.) qui continebat expositionem in epistolam ad Hebraeos ex multis Patrum locis contextam. In priori fragmento tractat locum illum cap. 1 ad Hebraeos. *Et cum introducit primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit, et adorent eum omnes Angeli eius* (Heb. 1.6) (See PG 130: 899–902). In posteriori autem illum, *Qui cum sit splendor gloriae et figura substantiae eius*.

Porro Euthymius tit. 13 hoc posterius fragmentum descripsit aliquot verbis omissis. Et huius amplioris et grandioris *contra Apollinarianum*, τῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν λόγων voluminis meminit Nicephorus lib. 11, cap. 19 non autem prioris illius *ad Theophilum*, ut quidam imperite hallucinatur, qui etiam in eadem epistola indocte legit et edidit τὴν σὴν εὐχῶν τελειότητα cum legendum sit τὴν σὴν ἐν χριστῷ τελειότητα ut legit Interpres Synodi quintae, primo loco supra citato utque habet Codex Bavaricus. Ipse etiam Gregorius in fine epistola ita loquitur ζητοῦμεν δε παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἐν χριστῷ τελειότητος. *Libellum de fato* suppeditavit nobis Bibliotheca Bavarica. Citatur is ab Anastasio Nicaeno in *Libro Responsum ad Quaestiones orthodoxorum*, quaest. 18, tom. 1. *Bibliothecae SS. Patrum* fol. 59 et 60 secundae edit. Nec tantum citatur, sed et testimonium satis prolixum inde ab Anastasio describitur. Quia vero Bavaricum exemplar unicum erat, neque id satis correctum, neque nomen continebat eius ad quem Nyssenus hunc libellum misit, ideo probabiliter aliquoties divinandum fuit interpreti, quidnam sibi Gregorius velit, praesertim initio. Ex eodem Bavarico codice deprompsimus *orationem contra faeneratores*. Fragmenta ex *libris contra Eunomium*, quae Ducaeus studiose collegerat, omisimus, quia in Bibliotheca Bavarica Graece exstant integri et quidem duodecim *libri contra Eunomium*, licet Ioannes Cyparissiotus Decad. 10, cap. 4, tredecim libros Nysseni contra Eunomium citet, sed forte liber duodecimus in Codice Bavarico longissimus, non tamen sine lacunis, in aliis exemplaribus distinctus est in duos. Habet eadem Bibliotheca alia eiusdem sancti Patris egregia monumenta nondum typis excusa, ut commentarios in Psalmos Davidis. Sed quia nondum exstitit qui e tenebris educeret, patienter illis careamus. Oportet ex his quae iam publicantur, grato animo fruamur.

*Text.* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (I.105) Itaque nullum nobis est periculum, ne in quaternarium numerum Trinitatis mysterium extendamus, prout inquit Apollinaris, neque Angelos homini in servitutem redigamus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.108) Nam quod invisibile est,

a corpore exprimi nequaquam potest, verum si corpus est hoc ne illud quidem ullo pacto incorporeum existimandum est.

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Fronto Ducaeus (Fronton du Duc) was born in 1558 at Bordeaux where his father was an advisor to the parliament. He entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Verdun on Oct. 12, 1577. From 1578 to 1582, he taught rhetoric at Pont à Mousson after which he filled the same position at the Collège de Clermont in Paris where during the next four years he earned a reputation for great erudition while devoting his efforts to the study of theology, especially to the writings of the scholastics and early church fathers. His first work, published during this period (1580) was, in contrast, a drama in verse dealing with Joan of Arc. Yet his interest in patristic studies became more and more evident. He published an edition of a few works of Chrysostom (1583) which proved to be only the first of a succession of steps toward the great edition begun in 1609 and only completed after his death by others. Following another year of his novitiate, Ducaeus was sent to Pont à Mousson to teach positive theology. In 1594 he was returned to Paris in a like capacity, but the politico-religious situation at the time forced the Jesuits to leave Paris soon after; so Ducaeus returned to his teaching position at Pont à Mousson. In 1595 he received an important assignment; he was asked by Claude Aquaviva to prepare for publication the works of Maldonado. The manuscript on which he and four colleagues worked is still extant. In 1596, the year of his final profession as a Jesuit, Ducaeus brought out a small, bilingual edition of works of Gregory of Nyssa. In 1597 he went to Bordeaux where he taught moral theology and lectured on the scriptures to fellow Jesuits.

The following year he published the first volume of his *Inventaire des fautes*, famous as a criticism of Protestant views on the eucharist, especially those expounded by Duplessis. It was soon reprinted and followed by a second volume and later by a further response to Duplessis.

When in 1604 the Jesuits were permitted to return to Paris, Ducaeus was sent back as librarian of the Collège de Clermont. After Isaac Casaubon proposed to Henry IV the project of publishing the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale, the Jesuits were allotted the task of preparing texts of the Greek fathers. To no one's surprise, Fronto Ducaeus was chosen to head the venture. On it he spent the remaining twenty years of his life. In 1603 he had annotated the Paris edition of works of Basil and also edited and annotated works of John of Damascus. In 1605 he produced the first edition of Nyssenus' works meriting the title *Opera omnia*. In 1608 he edited the works of Athanasius and in 1609 of Jerome. He assisted with the 1615 edition of Nyssenus' works and edited the *Auctarium Ducaeanum* to the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* of M. de la Bigne (1624). He died on Sept. 25, 1624.

Ducaeus was probably the single most influential scholar involved in the study of Gregory of Nyssa before Werner Jaeger. His acquaintances included the great scholars of his day. Though he translated only a few relatively unimportant writings of Nyssenus into Latin, he was the principal scholar responsible for the *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenus' works, beginning with the small 1596 printing and continuing with the Latin edition of 1605, and the bilingual edition of 1615. Claudius and Federicus Morellus, nominally editors of the latter edition, were deeply if not almost wholly dependent on Ducaeus' vast store of knowledge. Even Aegidius Morellus, editor of the 1638 edition, largely copied Ducaeus' former work. His valuable notes on the text (both Greek and Latin) were published in 1605, revised and somewhat enlarged in 1615 and reprinted with a few additions from J. Gretser's studies in 1638 whence they made their way into Migne's *Patrologia*. His

scholarship in an age when religious controversy warped the judgment of many others generally remained above the level of confessional polemics. Even some Protestants expressed their admiration for his work, e.g. Isaac Casaubon.

*Works:* In addition to the above mentioned editions of the works of Gregory of Nyssa and notes on many of them, Ducaeus himself made Latin versions of six complete treatises in addition to the fragments of the *Antirrheticus: Ad Theophilum adversus Apollinarem, Quid sit ad imaginem Dei, In suam ordinationem, Contra Manichaeos, In sanctum Pascha V (In luciferam . . .)* and *De Pythonissa*. He also produced editions of the works of John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, and John of Damascus, wrote a commentary on Pomponius Mela, and edited the supplement (*Auctarium*) for the 1624 *Bibliotheca Patrum*. At the time of his death he was working on editions of the Septuagint, Cyril of Alexandria and the Greek Councils of the church. He also authored a number of writings in French. The most complete lists of Ducaeus' works may be found in Nicéron and Sommervogel.

*Bibliography:* *Dict. de Biographie Française*, Vol. XI:1359-1360; *Dict. de Théologie Cath.*, Vol. VI:930-933; *Dict. Universelle* (Larousse) 3:330-332; Michaud 12:94-95; Nicéron Vol. 38:103 ff. (provides an extensive list of published works); Sommervogel Vol. III:233-249; N. Abram, *Hist. de l'université de Pont à Mousson*; V. Delaporte in *Ét. Rel.* 50 (1890) 225-244. "F. Ducaeus," *Mémoires de l'Acad. de Stanislas* 27 (1930) 12-23; A.-M. Malingrey, "Rôle du Parisinus gr. 657 dans l'établissement du texte des lettres de Jean Chrysostome à Olympias," *Traditio* 23 (1967) 439-41 (discusses Ducaeus as an editor of Chrysostom).

#### DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

##### 2. Alleged Latin version in Auxerre 27.

The *Catalogue Général* of manuscripts in the libraries of the French Departments, Vol. VI, p. 16-17, under Auxerre 27 (s. IX) states: Cet ouvrage paraît être un extrait de l'*Antirrheticus* de Grégoire de Nyse; Migne, *Patr.*

*graeca* XLV, cc. 1123 et suiv.

The treatise contained on folia 71 v–90 r, is not by Gregory of Nyssa, but rather it is the *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* of Ambrose of Milan. Information on the identity of the work was transmitted by Ekkehard Mühlenberg in consultation with Friedhelm Mann.

## VI. DE BEATITUDINIBUS

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris, in G. N. *Op. Om.*

Recent edition: PG 44:1193–1302; J. Callahan is preparing a critical edition for GNO VII.2.

Although each of the eight sections of this treatise bears the title, *Oratio*, the homilies are always included among the exegetical works rather than among the orations. A variant of the title sometimes appears, *De vita beata comparanda*.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation published in 1562 of the eight homilies, *De beatitudinibus*. For date and circumstances, see above, p.57. Although a more reliable Latin version by Petrus Galesinius was published in 1563, Sifanus' was the one to appear in all subsequent editions of Nyssen's works.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1571). [*Inc.*]: (p. 31) *Visis autem turbis ascendit in montem, et cum consedisset, accesserunt ad illum discipuli eius et aperto ore suo, docebat eos, dicens: Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam eorum est regnum coelorum.* (Mt. 5:1–3) Quis igitur in hoc coetu talis est, qui et sermonis discipulus sit, et cum eo a terrenis concavisque ac humilibus cogitationibus et intellectibus ascendat in spiritualem montem altae contemplationis? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 68) quinimo potius etiam laetemur, quoniam per id, quod pellimur ab iis quae in terra habentur in pretio, ad coeleste bonum compellimur, secundum eum, qui promisit beatos

fore eos, qui propter ipsum agitati persecutionemque passi sint, quoniam illorum sit regnum coelorum. Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quoniam ei gloria et imperium est in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

#### *Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See above p. 63.

#### 2. PETRUS GALESINIUS

Petrus Galesinius made a Latin translation of the eight homilies, *De beatitudinibus*, in 1563. They were published in Rome in the same year, along with his Latin version of the five homilies *De oratione Dominica*. The dedication of his work to his close associate, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, follows immediately after the long *Exemplum privilegii*

*Dedication* (ed. of Rome, 1563). Carolo Borromae Cardinali Amplissimo, Petrus Galesinius S.D. [*Inc.*]: *Quamdiu Graecia, Borromae amplissime, in Romana fide et in officio erga Romanum Pontificem pie sancteque permansit, tamdiu illam et incolumem et florentem et beatam plane vidit maiorum nostrorum aetas. Sed cum primum Ioannes quidam obscuro et humili loco natus Constantinopolitarum episcopus factus est, tum suscepta ab eo temere primum cum Pontificibus Romanis sanctissimis viris Gregorio et Pelagio contentione, florentissimae illius provinciae status ex eo tempore ad interitum sensim ruere coepit.* (A long account of papal and Byzantine quarrels takes up the greater part of the eleven page dedication). . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (sig b<sub>4</sub>a) *ad quam rem etsi egregia ista tua natura te valde hortatur, non parum tamen ad eam ipsam valere debet animi mei propensio, quae incredibilis est et prope singularis*

erga Amplitudinem tuam. Vale, optime Cardinalis.

Petrus Galesinius lectori S. [*Inc.*]: (b<sub>4</sub>b) Non sine causa a Romanis pontificibus, sanctissimis viris, Gelasio in primis et Nicolao factum esse legimus, ut decretis promulgatis libros ipsi praescriberent . . . (Galesinius thinks it useful to include a *Vita* of Nysenus which follows.) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quae vero de eius vita litteris tradidi, ea ab Hieronymo, Rufino, Metaphraste, Suida, Zonara ac Nicephoro locupletissimis auctoribus accepi. Vale.

*Vita Gregorii Nyseni* (sic). [*Inc.*]: Multos Gregorios nobis Graecia peperit, in quibus, ut est apud Nicephorum, tres maxime numerantur . . . / . . . b<sub>6</sub>b [*Expl.*]: (at end of list of works) *Libri contra Eunomium*, quos et Hieronymo et Nazianzeno legit.

Ex his Nyseni libris loci multi ab Euthymio monacho desumpti sunt contra haereticos.

*De beatitudinibus* is the second translation in the volume.

*Text. De ratione beatae vitae comparandae.* [*Inc.*]: Concio I: (p. 69) Beati pauperes spiritu quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum (Mt. 5.3) In hoc igitur hominum conventu quis eiusmodi est, qui et hunc Domini sermonem audiat et ab inanibus humilibusque cogitationibus et a terra una cum eo abductus, ad spiritalem altae contemplationis montem ascendit? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Concio VIII: (p. 164) Itaque si vim iniuriasque patimur, ne doleamus, immo vero laetemur quoniam cum ex iis rebus, quae in terris magni fiunt, nos pulsati simus, ad caeleste bonum impellimur, ut affirmat nobis is qui beatos dicit eos qui nomine suo patiuntur, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum munere benigne Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria potentiave sempiternis aetatum saeculis. Amen.

(p. 165) *Lectori S.* Dabimus operam, quantum in nobis erit, ut reliqua Nyseni (sic) scripta atque monumenta, quae magno reip. Christianae damno in tenebris latent, in apertum proferantur, in eo enim maxime his temporibus versamur, ut catholicae doctrinae veritas sanctorum patrum patrocinio suam dignitatem retineat.

*Edition:*

1563. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC III.422.

## VII. IN CANTICUM CANTICORUM, COMMENTARIUS

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. Om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 44:756–1120; 1960, Leiden, GNO VI, (ed. H. Langerbeck). (See A. Wifstrand, "The New Edition of G. of N.'s Commentary on the Song of Solomon," *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1961) 291–298.

Gregory of Nyssa wrote fifteen homilies on the *Canticum Canticorum*, ending his commentary at VI.9. This treatise usually appears among the ascetical-exegetical works, not among the orations, although the fifteen sections were probably delivered as sermons.

The Greek text until Langerbeck's edition of 1960 was based on manuscripts of a single family, all marred by numerous erasures and corrections. The new edition is based on a large number of codices representing various families, both Greek and Syriac.

The Syriac tradition, represented by several manuscripts including Vat. syr. 106, s. V ex. aut s. VI in. according to Langerbeck and Van den Eynde, somewhat later according to Van Landschoot, is of great importance in establishing the text since it antedates extant Greek manuscripts. The content was particularly appealing to eastern spirituality which accounts for the many extant witnesses. The Syriac translator is unknown, and the previous suggestion that he may have been Jacob of Edessa (c. 640–708) has been rejected by modern scholars. In any case his version was read by both orthodox and Monophysite Christians. Two early Jacobite *Catena*e are made up entirely of quotations from the Syriac translation. The later (s. IX) *Catena* of Severus also quotes widely from the version.

The Syriac tradition also preserves the attempt to extend the commentary of Nysenus beyond Can. VI.9. The author is identified with one Symmachus in the brief pre-

face. He apparently had written a commentary on the entire canticle in Greek (see Geerard III (1979) No. 6547). The anonymous scholar who translated Nyssenens' commentary into Syriac was probably the same individual who also translated Symmachus' continuation (VI.9–VIII.14) of the commentary and appended it to the genuine work of Nyssenens. (Van den Eynde had edited the Syriac text along with his own Latin translation.)

There exists a compilation by Michael Psellus (1018–79), *Expositio Cantici Canticorum, per paraphrasin collecta ex SS. Gregorii Nysseni, Nili, et Maximi commentariis*, which is sometimes placed among the writings of Nyssenens; e.g. A. Gallandi, *Bibl. vet. Patrum* (1770) Vol. VI: 645–707 and F. Ducaeus *Auctarium Bibl. Patrum* II.681 sq. The work is merely a collection of quotations from works of the three Fathers mentioned in the title and is accompanied by a verse commentary by Psellus and printed among his works (PG 122:537–686). Petrus Zinus, who made Latin versions of many works of Nyssenens, also translated the compilation of Psellus.

*Bibliography:* Langerbeck's *Praefatio* to GNO VI, pp. VII–LXXXII, is especially valuable. See also: C. Van den Eynde, *La version syriaque du commentaire de Grégoire de Nysse sur le Cantique des Cantiques (Bibliothèque du Muséon 10)* Louvain, 1939; G. Mercati, "Pro Symmacho," *Studi e Testi* 95 (1941) 91–93. For the *Catenae* see Geerard, CPG IV (1980) pp. 222–224.

## TRANSLATIONS

### 1. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUIS

Johannes Levvenklaius made a Latin translation of the fifteen homilies of Gregory of Nyssa on the Song of Songs. It was published in Basel in 1571 along with his version of Nyssenens' *Epistola I* and his previously published (1567) translation of *De opificio hominis*. The other Latin translations of Nyssenens' works in this edition were, with one exception, those of Laurentius Sifanus. Levvenklaius' *Praefatio* is dated 1570, a fact which

probably accounts for the erroneous references to a 1570 edition of *In Canticum* and *Ad Flavianum*. Levvenklaius, like Hervetus, the other Latin translator of *In Canticum*, used for his work a Greek manuscript belonging to the family represented by Leidensis Vulcanianus 6 (s. XII–XIII), characterized by many erasures and corrections. After the 1571 printing, only the last four homilies were again printed in Levvenklaius' translation since Hervetus' version was preferred by the editors where it was available. The preface to the 1573 Paris edition (reprinted with revisions in all later Paris editions) explained: *Homilias autem quindecim in Cantica canticorum meris aenigmatibus plenas partim ex eadem Herveti translatione, quae viris doctis purior et facilius visa est, expressimus; alias nempe quattuor postremas quousque Herveti procedebat exemplar ex interpretatione Leunclavii complevimus.*

Levvenklaius' remarks in his dedicatory letter for his portion of the Basel, 1571 edition illuminate his purpose in translating the *In Canticum Canticorum*.

In hoc quidem tempore XV has Gregorii Nysseni antistitis orationes hactenus non visas et latinum in sermonem expositas studio laboreque meo publici iuris facio. Declaratur per eas sublime carmen illud Solomonicum, quod ceteroqui mera continet aenigmata, et nisi doctum adhibeas interpretem, vel intelligi nequit vel continere quaedam a sacrarum litterarum maiestate abhorrentia rerum imperitis videtur. See above p. 46 for fuller treatment of dedication.

*In Cantici Canticorum Explanationem Prooemium . . .* Gregorius Episcopus Nyssae Pudicissimam Olympiadem in Domino salvere iubet (ed. of Basel, 1571). [*Inc.*]: (p. 322) *Negotium illud de Cantico Canticorum, quod et sanctimoniae vitae et animi tui puritati convenit, in me recepi, tum coram, tum per litteras abs te nobis iniunctum/ . . .* [*Expl.*]: (p. 324) *Quod si et vitae spatium Deus, qui vitae nostrae arbiter est, et pacis opportunitatem suppeditaverit, etiam ea quae reliqua sunt, fortasse percurremus. Nam nunc quidem oratione ac consideratione nostra ad dimidiam usque partem progressi sumus.*

*In Canticum Canticorum quod Solomonis est oratio prima. [Inc.]: (p. 325) Osculetur me suaviis oris sui . . . quam vinum rectitudo te dilexit.*

**Explanatio.**

Quotquot secundum Pauli consilium veterem hominem quasi quendam amictum sordidum una cum actionibus et cupiditatibus eius exuistis, ac lucida Domini vestimenta . . . / . . . [*Expl. Orat. XV*]: (p. 442) donec tandem iis omnibus unum factis, qui ad eandem desiderii metam respiciunt, et nulla in ullo vitiositate superante, omnia Deus in omnibus fiat, quotquot per unitatem inter se in boni societate coalescunt, idque in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria et imperium, una cum experte principii patre, et sancto, bono, vivificante ipsius spiritu, nunc et semper, et saeculis infinitis. Amen.

*Explanationis in Canticum Canticorum Finis.*

**Editions:**

1571, See Composite Editions.

Only the last four homilies *In Canticum* appeared in Levvenklaius' translation in subsequent editions:

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

**Doubtful Edition:**

1570, Basel: This edition is mentioned by Fabricius IX.105; R. Ceillier, *Hist. Gén.*, Vol. VIII.441 who spells the translator's name Hevaclanius, and by Langerbeck, GNO VI p. LVIII. The fact that Levvenklaius' preface to the 1571 edition is dated 1570, probably led to the mention of a 1570 edition. Dr. Bernhard Schemmel of Staatsbibliothek Bamberg has suggested that the reference is to the 1571 edition.

**Biography:**

See CTC II.89.

## 2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of the first eleven homilies of Gregory of Nyssa on the *Canticum Canticorum*, up to οἴματ γὰρ οἴκον = PG 44:1012 D; GNO VI.338.2. The exact date when the version was made is unknown, but it was published in the Paris, 1573 edition of Nyssen's works. Hervetus used a manuscript in very poor condition which obviously contained only eleven of the fifteen homilies on the *Canticum*. Langerbeck has demonstrated that it belonged to the family represented by Leiden's Vulcanianus 6 (s. XII–XIII). The manuscript used by the other Latin translator, Levvenklaius came from the same tradition but contained all of the homilies.

The preface to the 1573 edition appeared in all subsequent opera omnia editions of Gregory of Nyssa's works. It was slightly revised in the successive editions to reflect the changes in content. For example, the 1573 and 1605 prefaces contain a long passage, later omitted, concerning the *Contra Eunomium*, a copy of which had not yet been located. Again, the *De Abrahamo* pericope from *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* was also listed as unavailable in 1573. In the 1605 preface the section was reprinted unchanged although the *De deitate* in the 1605 edition, where it was the final work and probably added late, did indeed contain the *De Abrahamo*.

The author of this preface is unknown. He was not Possevinus as some have suggested, basing their opinion on Fabricius' statement in IX.127 where he says of the 1573 edition "quae editio recensetur a Possevino in apparatus S." Possevinus did in fact 'review' the edition in his *Apparatus Sacer* (1603), and he gives the Table of Contents vol. I, 678; but there is no suggestion that Possevinus himself was connected with the edition.

The author, on the other hand, was certainly not Fronto Ducaeus, who was only eleven years of age when the 1570 privilege for the edition was granted. The 1605 reprint of the preface with only a few slight changes from the 1573, has been ascribed to Ducaeus (SC 160:144). The author might have been S.



Nivelle or M. Sonnius, printers; but there is no real evidence for this.

The reader can find the preface, reflecting the changes up to and including the 1638 edition, in PG 44:55–62.

*De D. Gregorio Episcopo Nysseno et eius operibus, Praefatio.* (ed. of Paris, 1573). [*Inc.*]: Divus Gregorius Nyssensis episcopus, frater germanus D. Basili, ac natu quidem maior (*malim*: minor) ut ex eius scriptis coniciere est (potissimum ex *Hexaameron*, ubi de Basilio loquens praeceptorem semper appellat) fuit eloquentissimus, ut Suidas et plerique veteres tradunt quod et illius scripta declarant abundeque sacrae testantur historiae. . . . (The author goes on to say that since there is no “naturalis et legitimus ordo” of the works he is instituting an artificial one; namely, works relating to the Old Testament first; then those works pertaining to Christian life and belief and then some sermons delivered on various occasions in the Christian year. The author then describes the works briefly, beginning with *In Hexaameron*. At times he comments on the authenticity of a work. He mentions those that are not included because they are lost or unavailable. He ends expressing the hope that other works will be located and published). . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Sed haec quae hic brevi repetita sunt licuit ex ipsius scriptis patrumque historiis collecta in medium proponere ut si quis pervestigandae antiquitatis studiosus huiusmodi librorum thesauros reperiat, eos tandem extrahat et ad publicam utilitatem in apertam lucem emittat.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: *Prooemium* (p. 230) Gratium et acceptum fuit mihi studium de cantico canticorum quod et coram et tuis ad nos exposuisti literis, ut quod honestae tuae vitae et purae animae conveniat ut per convenientem contemplationem aperiatur quae est in verbis occulta philosophia ab ea quae est in promptu dictione in puris ac sinceris sensibus expurgata . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Nunc etiam nobis usque ad dimidium processit liber et contemplatio. Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit nobiscum omnibus in saecula saeculorum.

Oratio I. [*Inc.*]: *Osculetur me osculo oris sui . . . Te dilexit rectitudo.* Quicumque congruenter consilio Pauli veterem hominem

tanquam sordidum aliquod vestimentum exuistis cum eius actionibus et desideriis et lucidas Domini vestes . . . / . . . [*Expl. Or. XI*]: Quod si eam non potest comprehendere, quemadmodum comprehendet eam quae est illis superior naturam? Forte autem etiam alius quispiam in aliam sententiam acceptis eorum quae dicta sunt aenigmatibus non ab eo quod est verisimile remotam faciet contemplationem.

*Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

3. JOHANNES LIVINEIUS

Johannes Livineius stated that he translated into Latin most of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Canticum Canticorum*. This is evident from his *Notae* to the Antwerp, 1574 edition of Nyssen's *De virginitate*. Discussing the title of that work, he compared the usage with that in *In Canticum*: Ita factum video in *Commentariis* auctoris nostri in *Cantica Canticorum*, quae nos nuper cum bona ex parte de Graecis transtulisse, coacti sumus dimittere. Efforts to locate a manuscript of this translation have been fruitless. Livineius' library, on his death, was left to the Jesuit College in Antwerp, but it has not reported any manuscript of the *In Canticum*.

COMMENTARY

a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote *Notae* which constitute commentaries on a number of works of Gregory of Nyssa. The majority of these *Notae* first appeared in Ducaeus' 1605 edition

of Nyssenus' works (See above, p. 41). For the 1615 bilingual edition Ducaeus made some revisions in the 1605 notes and also added some new ones on works not previously dealt with by him, including *In Canticum*. The 1605 text did not reflect the suggestions made in the *Notae*, and these were first implemented in the edition of 1615.

The notes vary in depth of treatment, but in many cases Ducaeus supplied the readings of Greek manuscripts he had at hand and compared Latin translations when several were available. Not infrequently he chose to print his own rendition rather than that of one of the translators. He was particularly concerned about accurate translations of biblical passages, sometimes giving the Hebrew word and several Greek and Latin translations along with a statement of what he considered the merits of each. In only a few cases, though not for the *In Canticum*, the extent of his corrections results in a revised version.

One example from the *Notae* on *In Canticum* will demonstrate his method. Levvenklaius (PG 44:1054 C) translated χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη "Gaude, per gratiam dilecta." Ducaeus, attributing Levvenklaius' choice of words to his Protestant position, emended this to "Gaude, gratia plena." But he also provided his reader with examples of how Erasmus, Beza and Castellio dealt with κεχαριτωμένη and in addition referred to how John Chrysostom and Theodoretus assessed the meaning. Finally he adduced the usage in the book of Sirach and the Vulgate translation of it.

Ducaeus' introduction to his 1615 *Notae* on *In Canticum* describe how the printing process had progressed to the end of the second homily when he acquired another Greek codex and his own words express his desire to protect the text from errors in the manuscripts and inaccurate translations.

*Introduction* (ed. of Paris, apud M. Sonnius, 1615). Coeperat iam excudi Graecus harum homiliarum textus iamque ad finem secundae progressa erat editio eruta ex apographo, cuius copia Claudio Morello civi Parisiensi ac typographo ab amico facta erat,

cum ad manus nostras alterum exemplar nobilissimi viri Francisci Olivarii pervenit multo emendatius atque adeo locupletius eo quem Morellianum appellabimus, hac nota designatum M. ut alterum ista Ol. Siquidem in illo priori undecim tantum repertae sunt priores homiliae, in posteriori omnes quindecim, et omnes fere lacunae ac mendae quibus depravatum fuisse colligimus codicem, quo Hervetus interpres est usus, illum deformant; posterior autem similior fuit ei quem nactum fuisse constat Joann. Leunclavium, cum interpretationem suam Basileae editam anno Christi 1570 adornaret, quam absoluta demum ista sumus adepti, dum has notas ad genuinam lectionem a depravatione codicum et interpretum minus accurata versione asserendam attexeremus. Quia tamen adiunctae margini fuerant apographi variantes lectiones ex Morelliano excerptae, saepe contigit ut operae typographici non Olivarii, sed Morelli exemplar secuti sint, neque delectum earum fuerit ausus corrector facere arbitrii sui, quam ob causam id nobis faciendum erit ut quae potissimum lectio sit amplectenda moneamus.

*Notae*. [*Inc.*]: Primum igitur notandum est in Olivarii codice titulum huic operi dari eiusmodi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (PG 44:1408) *Ferre uterum* . . . Propter timorem tuum in utero accepimus, et peperimus spiritum salutis.

*Editions:*

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71-72.

## VIII. DE DIFFERENTIA ESSENTIAE ET HYPOSTASEOS

Editio princeps: (as work of Basil): 1528, Hagenau in *Basilii, Op. Om.*, ed. V. Obsoepus; and (as work of Gregorius Nyssenus) 1615, Paris, in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: (as work of Basil) *PG* 32:325–340; 1957, Paris, in *Saint Basile, Lettres*, I:81–92, ed. Y. Courtonne.

The title of this treatise appears in several variations: *De differentia ousiae et hypostasis* (or *usiae et hypostasis*), *De differentia substantiae et hypostaseos*. P.J. Fedwick has aptly used the term Commentary to describe it. *De differentia* is found in relatively early collections of Gregory of Nyssa's writings such as Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X) and its later descendants; Vat. gr. 466 (s. XII) and London Royal 16 D I (s. XII). But in the great majority of manuscripts it appears as *Epistola 38 (olim XLIII)* of Basil of Caesarea. Hence a debate about authorship has been carried on for many years. Earlier scholars, following Garnier (*Basil, Op. Om.* 1721, Vol. III, p. 115) who said "Stylus Basilii esse fetum clamitet," assigned it to Basil on the basis of style, the very fact which to others seems to point to Nyssenius as author. Then too mention of a letter by Basil on the same subject at the Council of Chalcedon led some to believe that this particular letter was indicated, and that he was its author. Recently however new investigations have demonstrated that Gregory of Nyssa was the author. Cavallin pointed out that the letter mentioned at Chalcedon need not be this one (p. 73). Hubner also considers Nyssenius the author after a careful analysis of style and vocabulary, and, more questionably, content (pp. 463–490). P.J. Fedwick has demonstrated that internal evidence alone gives the treatise to Nyssenius.

*Bibliography*: A. Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des hl. Basilii*, Lund, 1944 (pp. 71–81; 109–111); P.J. Fedwick, "A commentary of Gregory of Nyssa or the 38th Letter of Basil of Caesarea," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XLIV (1978) pp. 31–51; R. Hübner, "Gregor von Nyssa als Verfasser der sog. Epistola 38 des Basilii" in *Epektasis, Mélanges Patristiques Offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, pp. 463–490, the same, Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu Gregors kl. trinitarischen Schriften . . . *De differentia usiae et hypostaseos* in *Bibliothek der gr. Väter*, Stuttgart, 1977; C. von Schönborn, "La 'Lettre 38 de S. Basile' et le problème

Christologique de l'icônoclisme," *Rev. Sc. Ph. Th.* 60 (1976) 466–450; Chevetogne, p. 207, n. 2.

## TRANSLATIONS

## I. JOHANNES CONO

Johannes Cono Norimontanus in 1507 made a Latin translation of *De differentia* which was first published as a work of Basil in Strasbourg in 1512; the volume contained several other works including the *Libri octo de philosophia*, attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. Neither Cono nor the editor, Beatus Rhenanus, seemed to question either the attribution of *De differentia* to Basil or of the *Libri octo* to Gregory. The latter treatise was in reality Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*. Cono did not call the work an *epistola*, but "libellus sancti Basilii ad Gregorium fratrem."

The dedicatory letter was addressed to Iodocus Gallus (Jost Galtz) a well known Alsatian scholar. It was dated Padua, April 19, 1507. In it Cono told how he went to Padua to attend the lectures on classical authors given by Marcus Musurus, a Greek scholar. He described how he began to translate Basil's letter to his brother, and how in order to devote his time to the project he had to forego some lectures on Aristophanes and Homer among others. He termed the translation his *primitiae*. He also mentioned the difficulty in translating philosophical language. The prefatory letter of another Latin translator, L. Sifanus, also speaks of encountering the same problem and refers to Cono's version.

*Dedicatory letter* (ed. of Strasbourg, 1512). Iodoco Gallo Rubeaquensi Doctori Theologo Sanctique Germani Canonico ac Maioris Ecclesiae Nemetensis Concionatori F. Io. C. Norimontanus S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: (fol. LIIv) In Italiam fato nuper, doctor egregie, Venetaque ad litora veni, ubi Aldum illum Romanum toto orbe famigeratum velut alterum Alanum vidi . . . Venetiis primum ope Aldi Romani et Fabii Columnii docti et humani presbyteri literis his operam navavi. Deinde ut maiori

proventu iisdem et sacras adiicerem ad Patavinum Gymnasium concessi ut illum utriusque linguae praeceptorem M. Musurum Crentensem . . . audirem . . . Seposui interim auscultationes praeceptoris, Aristophanis, Luciani, Homeri, Hesiodi et id genus autorum. Et ex sacrosanctis graecis latina non tam tibi lectu iucunda quam mihi scriptu digna profero, latina inquam mala ex graecis bonis, ut Comicus noster ait, libellum videlicet sancti Basilii ad Gregorium Nyssenum fratrem suum de differentia Usiae et Hypostasis in divinis. . . . haec τὰ προγυμνάσματα veluti tralationis in rebus sacris primitias idoneo sacerdotio tuo lege decretas offero, tenue quidem munus, tum tamen tibi gratum velim, ubi tuo acri fuerit iudicio probatum. . . . Cum igitur τηλικούτος παραφράστης sim, ab ecclesiasticorum priscorum dictione divina tractaturus non discedam, quorum opera et sanctae vitae merito res divinae et ecclesiasticae quasi hereditario iure ad nos pervenerunt. Quemadmodum enim cum de fide agitur non dialecticis sed piscatoribus creditur, ita cum divina tractantur interim posthabendi sunt illi recentes acresque latinae linguae censores quibus nomen virtuosī, humilitatis, spiritualis, devoti, discretionis, frugalis et id genus multa stomachum movent. Adeo enim delicati sunt συλλαβοπευσιλάληται (ut ait Athenaeus) quod etiam latinam structuram ex graeca phrasi emungere curent, quasi idiomata non sint idiomata sed κοινολογίαί. At cum in vocibus id semper licuerit liceatque, ut vel a graeco fonte detorta, vel graeca a nobis recepta in honore sunt vocabula, non ab re Usiae et Hypostasis nomina dudum a sanctis patribus in usum integra assumpta sui nitore salva reliqui, tum quod semel in usum nostrum accepta in sermonem nostrum cum de rebus divinis agitur crebro adveniant, tum quia ad res divinas explicandas maxime sint idonea. Ut enim Boetii verbis utar contra Nestorium et Eutychem (III, ed. Peiper p. 194, 23–28) hypostasis nomine rationalis naturae individuum substantiam Graeci longe signatius vocaverunt . . . (He continues discussing the problems of Latin terminology) . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. LIII) Substantiae autem nomen absolute positum pro usia, id sibi in Graeco

respondente ut priscis illis morem geram noveris accipiendum. Opto tuam reverentiam bene valere cui me etiam commendo, et habita opportunitate literas te velim ad Venetias rescribere ad Fonticum Theutonicorum, quae facile deinde ad Patavium deferentur. Ex Patavio, feriis Cerealibus. Anno MDVII.

*Text. [Inc.]*: (fol. 54 v) Multi usiae communitatem ab hypostasis ratione in divinis scripturis non distinguentes in eandem coincidunt estimationem ut nihil differre usiam et hypostasin dicendum arbitrentur. Quo fit ut indistincte talia accipientibus, sicut unam Usiam sic etiam unam hypostasim dicere perplateat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 58 r) Quapropter hypostasis filii veluti forma et facies sit paternae cognitionis et patris hypostasis in filii forma agnoscitur manente cuique sua proprietate concepta et considerata ad manifestam hypostasium discretionem.

*Editions:*

- 1512. See Composite Editions.
- 1513. See Composite Editions.
- 1537. See Composite Editions.
- 1551. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1507, Patavii (Padua): Panzer VIII p. 223 (under Patavii. No. 1) lists Basilii Magni *de differentia οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως* int. F. Iohanne Conone, Ord. Praedic. As source Panzer quotes Quétif (i.e. *Ordinis Praedicatorum Scriptores*) II.28. No copy has been located, and it is likely that Quétif assumed such an edition from the date of the dedicatory letter cited above; the letter was apparently written in the hope of an early publication, but this failed to occur.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.113. See also Martin Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno*, Heidelberg, 1978; the same, *Johannes Cuno. Ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Eine biographisch-kodikologische Studie. Studien zum Fortw. der Ant.* IX. Heidelberg, Winter 1978; also H.D. Saffrey, "Un Humaniste Dominicain, Jean Cuno de Nuremberg, Précurseur d'Erasmus à Bâle," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 33 (1971) pp. 19–62, esp. pp. 25, 42–45.

## 2. WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS

Wolfgang Musculus made Latin translations of a number of works of Basil of Caesarea, and among them he included *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*, which he considered to be by Basil. The translation appeared in the 1540 edition of Basil published at Basel by Hervagius.

Musculus wrote a long and verbose preface, *Ad Lectorem*, though his remarks about translating are interesting. He emphasized how difficult a task it was for an individual of meagre abilities such as himself to deal with the work of a great man like Basil.

*Ad lectorem* (ed. of Basel, 1540). [*Inc.*]: (page number not evident) Sententiam Agesilai Macedonum regis, optime Lector (qua ille non frustra quoties aliquem vel laudari audiebat vel vituperari, non minus existimabat discendos esse mores eorum qui loquebantur, quam eorum de quibus loquebantur) non hoc solum nomine memorabilem esse iudico, quod plerumque ex affectuum motibus cum praeconia eorum qui moribus nostris arrident, tum vituperia diversorum instituemus, ut vel ex ingenio et qualitate praeconis, qualis sit qui laudatur facillime cognosci queat. . . . Hanc ego optimi auctoris corruptionem non ausim universam ipsis deputare interpretibus, cum sciam, quam nequeat exemplarium puritas transcribendo, maxime per tot annorum curricula, ad posteros illibata transmitti, praesertim ubi notarii sapere volentes quae non intelligunt, suoapte ingenio vel tollunt vel mutant, aut etiam de suo nonnulla adiiciunt, ut non minus decedat auctoris et menti et verbis, quam si hominis cuiuspiam imaginem initio recte formatam, membrorum artis imperitia alio atque alio transpositis aut lineamentis confusis, ita alienam a prototypo reddas, ut iam nihil minus videri possit quam quod initio referebat. Habet id ingenii saeculum hoc, ut more parvulorum nihil servet integrum, cui libenter adscripsero maximam mendarum partem et huius et aliorum bonorum auctorum. Quamquam non negarim, complures esse et interpretum lapsus eosque duplici nomine molestos. Nam invenias qui nimia scrupulositate prope omnia bis redderit, ita

ut paene singulae periodi ingenti molestia, Latina Graecis conferentem afficiant, dum non semel utcunque, sed duplicato redditae, ne sic quidem auctoris mentem expriment. Rursus est, qui nimia securitate vel oscitantia pro multis Graecis Latina rependens, integras etiam sententias intactas reliquerit et de suo pleraque adiecerit, multa confuderit, coniunctaque dividerit et divisa coniunxerit. . . . Meminerit igitur quisque, quemadmodum non hoc est interpretis officium, ut de auctoris scriptis vertendo iudicet, cum id sit non interpretis, sed Commentatoris, non esse illius, ut ea tantum quae placent, vertat, quae displicent, vel reiiciat, vel mutilata reddat: cum non propriae, sed alienae sententiae agat interpretem in quo requiritur, ut non minore fide reddat quae ipse quoque non admodum probat, quam quae putat esse veritati consona. Alioqui si meam sententiam quis roget, ingenue fateor esse nonnulla, de quibus an γνήσια sint, controversi possit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 4) Non dubito si ad vivos hunc virum Dei revocare liceret, quin inter eos qui orbem editis libris replent, non postremo loco haberetur. Et quomodo nullam gratiam merentur, qui scripta illius cum repurgando et vertendo, tum multiplicatis exemplaribus in lucem edendo et spargendo velut regenerant, ac Graecae linguae ignaris aut Graecorum voluminum copia destitutis, contingenda et legenda exponunt? Hoc certe quicquid sit, vel animus et conatus (iuxta Graecorum proverbium ξενίων δὲ θυμὸς ἄριστος) in hoc munere probandus est, quo nihil aliud quaeritur, quam ut publico consulatur. Bene vale in Christo Iesu, servatore nostro. Anno MDXXXIX. Decembris XXIII.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1565). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. II, p. 25) Quoniam multi communionem τῆς οὐσίας in mysticis placitis ac scitis a ratione τῶν ὑποστάσεων non discernentes, in easdem utrinque cogitationes incidunt, arbitranturque nihil referre, sive οὐσίαν, sive ὑποστάσιν dicant. Unde et quibusdam qui talia praeter omnem examinationem simpliciter amplectuntur, placuit, ut quemadmodum una οὐσία ita et una ὑπόστασις dicatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II, p. 30) Quoniam et totus filius in patre manet, et totum vicissim in seipso et patrem

habet, ita ut ὑπόστασις filii, instar formae ac faciei sit paternae cognitionis; et iterum patris ὑπόστασις in forma filii cognoscatur, manente quae in ipsis consideratur utriusque proprietate, ad hoc, ut evidens si τῶν ὑποστάσεων discriminatio.

*Editions:*

1540, Basel, ex officina Hervagiana. See Composite Editions. The writer is indebted to F.H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College, Cambridge for the *Ad Lectorem* portion of this edition.

1565, Basel, ex officina Oporini. See Composite Editions. The writer is indebted to F.K. Lorenz, Reference Librarian of Hamilton College for providing the *incipit* and *explicit* of this work from the 1565 edition in their collection.

1569, Basel. See Composite Editions.

1570. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.117.

### 3. JANUS CORNARIUS

Janus Cornarius (Joannes Hahnpol, Hagenbut) made a Latin translation of a number of works of Basil of Caesarea which were published at Basel in 1540 in an edition containing Latin versions of works found in the Greek editions of 1532 and 1535. Cornarius himself prepared a new Greek edition in 1549 which was published in 1551.

Cornarius dedicated his 1540 work to Albert, cardinal archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, primate of Germany and archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. After extensive remarks lauding Albert's position and character, he devoted the remainder of the *Epistola dedicatoria* to a discussion of two objections which, he thought, might be directed at his versions.

First, some might argue that only a theologian, not a physician like himself, should presume to translate into Latin Greek religious or philosophical treatises. It was a day of specialization, "For today we see professions so highly specialized that it is considered almost a sin to deal with a sphere other than that in which one has been privately engaged

oneself." In defending his work he pointed to Plato, Aristotle and Chrysippus, all of whom had dealt with both philosophy and medicine. The times were rife with conflicts akin to heresies of Basil's day. Cornarius wanted to offer readers of his own day works on these subjects which came from an era nearer apostolic times. He hoped that in spite of the religious disagreements of his day, pious individuals might profit from a reading of Basil's writings.

The second objection which might be raised to his work was that some of the treatises included had already been translated into Latin. Argyropulos had made a version of nine sermons *In Hexameron*. Cornarius included his own version arguing that in this case "latini sermonis copia aliquo modo ampliatur" by subsequent translators, just as after many blows 'ex silice ignis extunditur.'" Then too, Plato, Aristotle and Galen all had many translators. Alexander of Aphrodisias, for example had already had three, and "neque occlusa est via si quis quartum addere velit." Even though Erasmus himself had translated Basil's *De spiritu sancto*, Cornarius wanted to make another version so that all of Basil's works might be read in his (Cornarius') translation.

Finally, some printed translations were so poor, such as Trapezuntius' of Basil's *Contra Eunomium*, that a new, improved version was a necessity. Here Cornarius blamed the copyists, not the earlier translator.

*Epistola dedicatoria* (ed. of Basel, 1540). Reverendiss. in Christo simulque Illustriss. Principi ac Domino, Domino Alberto S.R.E. Tit. S. Petri ad Vincula presbytero Cardinali, Archiepiscopo Moguntunen. et Magdeburgen. administratori ecclesiae Halberstaten. Sacri Romani imperii Archicancellario ac principi electori Germaniae, Marchioni Brandenburg. Stetinen. ac Pomeraniae duci, Cassuborum, Vandalorum ac Rugiae principi, Burggravio Norimbergen. etc. domino suo clementiss. Ianus Cornarius medicus physicus Francoforden. [*Inc.*]: (p. AA2) Multa simul concurrunt ad hoc, Reverendiss. ac Illustriss. princeps Alberte, ut primi et secundi tomi operum divi Basilii Magni a me facta

conversio, nemini alteri quam Reverendiss. ac Illustriss. Celsitudini tuae praeliminari praefatione inscribi debeat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. AA3) Sed paene praeterieram Georgium Trapezuntium, qui libros contra Eunomium convertit, ob quos hinc inde corruptissimos, per librarios velut apparet, eadem mihi necessitates incubuerunt. De hac itaque re tantum dixisse satis fuerit apud celsitudinem tuam, quam velut cui omnibus relatis nominibus haec opera mea debeatur, studiosis nominare volo, ut intelligant C. T. beneficium, si quid fuerit hinc bonae frugis consequuti. Vivat ac valeat C. T. pietatis ac bonis studiis conservandis diu superstes. Francofordae mensis Martii XX. An. Christi MDXL.

*Text:* [Inc.]: (Vol. IV, p. 645) Quandoquidem multi societatem essentiae in mysticis dogmatibus a substantiarum ratione non discernentes, in eadem coincidunt suspiciones, et nihil differre putant essentiam aut substantiam dicere, unde etiam quibusdam citra expansionem talia recipientibus placuit, quemadmodum unam essentiam, ita etiam unam substantiam dicere . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (IV, p. 649) et totus filius in patre manet, et totum habet rursus in seipso patrem. Quare filii substantia velut forma et persona sit cognitionis patris. Et patris substantia in filii forma cognoscitur, manente ipsis proprietate quam speculamur ad evidentem substantiarum discretionem.

*Editions:*

1540, Basel, ex officina Frobeniana. See Composite Editions. The writer is grateful to Frederick Nash, Rare Book Room Librarian, University of Illinois at Urbana, for providing copies of the text here included.

1548, Venice, ad signum Spei. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.118; IV, 176.

#### 4. GODEFRIDUS TILMANNUS

Godefridus Tilmannus, a Carthusian monk of Paris, made a Latin translation of a number of works of Basil of Caesarea. Among them he included *De differentia* as *Epistola XLIII* of Basil. His version which was often reprinted, was first published in 1547 in Paris

by both Guillard and De Roygni.

Tilmann's translation is usually labelled a paraphrase. However he follows the Greek text more closely than that term would imply. His method was to attempt to clarify the meaning of the text for the reader by adding an explanatory word or phrase. This of course resulted in an expanded text. For example, the first sentence of *De differentia* contains 72 words in Tilmann's version, but 49 in Musculus', 40 in Cornarius and only 38 in Cono's. In order that the reader may compare the treatment of the various translators the incipit for *De differentia* is given in a fuller form than usual. Sifanus' sources which attributed the treatise to Gregory of Nyssa exhibit a very different text at this point.

The dedicatory letter for the 1547 edition, written by Ludovicus Miraeus Rosetanus, sheds light on the circumstances surrounding the edition. He chose to dedicate it to Philippe le Bel, abbot of St. Geneviève in Paris because while searching for a dedicatee, he recalled the kindness of Philippe to his mother's brother, Dionysius Tutaeus, whom the abbot had befriended in the monastery of St. Étienne and who had served as his assistant.

Miraeus explained that he had been employed for ten years by the firm of Guillard as a copy and proof reader. Carola Guillard expressed the hope that her firm might produce editions of the tetragon of Greek fathers, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom and Nazianzenus. Miraeus then described the steps taken in the case of Basil. The printer wanted as accurate a text as possible to be prepared from a collation of various "exempla" which here refers to Latin versions as is obvious from the next remark of Miraeus who says he came upon two "exempla"; namely the versions of Cornarius and Musculus.

He dealt with Cornarius first, addressing him as *O medice (Cornari)*. His main objection centered on Cornarius' being a follower of Luther. However he also complained of what he considered the poor quality of his Latin. His vocabulary abounded in what Miraeus considered barbarisms. It irked him "to spend good time badly" reading such literature.

After devoting two printed pages to Cornarius, he turned to Musculus. Miraeus pointed out that the title of Musculus' edition unfortunately indicated an accomplished fact, "opera omnia . . . ita collata . . . ut aliam omnino faciem sumpsisse videantur." Although he granted that Musculus wrote better Latin than did Cornarius, he considered him more undesirable, possibly one feels because Musculus had defected from a Benedictine monastery to the ranks of Luther. Nevertheless some of Miraeus' criticism shows him to be a fine scholar. A good example is found on p. iii v where he discusses the approach to translating the word ἄσπετος. Godefrid Tilmann did a better job, he implied.

Miraeus came across Tilmann when, convinced that a better version of Basil's *Hexameron* was needed, he began to look for an individual who adhered to more meticulous standards of scholarship. He met the prior of the Carthusian monastery in Paris, Ioannes Parcevalus, who recommended Tilmann as one who could complete the task satisfactorily. He first described Tilmann's method as a paraphrase. He says that Tilmann collated Greek manuscripts and removed "supervacanea quaeque" inserted in the text by previous translators and rendered the text more clear by his "paraphrase". Miraeus devotes some space to lauding Tilmann's industry. For many months he gave himself wholly to the work on Basil that the author might be reborn for scholars. Finally near the end of his eight page *Epistola nuncupatoria* Miraeus apologizes for the digressions on previous translators and their heretical leanings. "I started out to speak of Basil and of his works, but I turned to something else, as though that were my task; and possibly it was not without fruit." Even after this he still can not resist one further mention of Musculus (that he might turn from his misguided ways) before remarking on the humility and generosity of the dedicatee who has scarcely been given more than a brief mention in the preceding seven pages. The wide acceptance of Tilmann's translation is evident from its many reprintings.

*Epistola nuncupatoria* (ed. of Paris, 1547). Reverendo in Christo Patri ac D.D. Philippo le Bel regalis coenobii S. Genovefae Academiae Parisiorum tutelaris patronae Abbati circumspectissimo Ludovicus Miraeus Rosetanus salutem. [*Inc.*]: (p. i) Quum ante plusculos ab hinc annos nostra haec officina per excusionem praeli expressisset typis atque evulgasset non vulgarem nec penitentiam librorum farraginem, cuiusmodi sunt qui plurimum facere, verius qui necessario requiri dignoscuntur ad assequendam iuris utriusque prudentiam, visum tandem est fortissimae huic viragini Carolae ex illustri familia Guillardorum oriundae, cui annos plus minus decem ἐπανορθώτης nomine stipendia facio, visum inquam est, in rem fore ecclesiae Dei studiosisque omnibus communem, si parili opera nec dissimili industria uteretur in excudendo tetragono eorum quos solenni nomenclatione Doctorum dignos censuit orbis Christianus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. v v) Tantum est praeter istam singularem tuam modestiam, nemo non novit quam sis in sublevanda pauperum inopia benignus, ut die illo formidabili promerearis securus audire: Esurivi et dedisti mihi manducare, etc. quamquam in adornandis sacris aedibus sis magnificus ac liberalis, omnibus palam est, ut cum Davide concinere ex animo possis, Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis tuae. Accipe igitur fronte hilari tuum tibi consecratum Basilium, memor tui in Christo clientuli Ludovici Miraei, Abbas beneficentissime. D. Iesus te nobis quam diutissime servet incolumem. Kalendis Ianuariis anno a partu virgineo. MDXLVII.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: Cum in mysticis dogmatibus enarrandis plerique sint, qui quod nullo discerniculo distinguunt nomen communius quidem τῆς οὐσίας, id est Essentiae a significativa ratione τῶν ὑποστάσεων, in illiusmodi abeunt suspectas piis cogitationes, ut nihilo differre arbitrentur, dicantne οὐσίαν essentiam, an ὑπόστασιν subsistentiam sive personam, factum hinc est ut non admodum paucis, qui utramque hanc voculam nullo delectu admittunt et inexpense, visum sit quod quemadmodum unam οὐσίαν itidem et unam ὑπόστασιν astruere liceat . . . / . . .



[*Expl.*]: Quoniam et totus Filius in Patre manet, et totum vicissim in seipso Patrem habet, ita ut ὑπόστασις Filii instar formae ac faciei sit paternae cognitionis et contra Patris ὑπόστασις in forma Filii cognoscatur, manente quae in ipsis consideratur utriusque proprietate, ad hoc ut evidens sit τῶν ὑποστάσεων hoc est personarum discreta acceptio.

*Editions:*

1547, Paris, ex officina C. Guillard. See Composite Editions. W.S. Hutton, Librarian of Pembroke College, Cambridge, kindly supplied a copy of the dedicatory letter and checked my typed copy of the text as it appeared in the 1569 edition. The two printings present the same text.

1547. See Composite Editions.

1550. See Composite Editions.

1566. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1603. See Composite Editions.

1616. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Few details are available concerning the life of Godefridus Tilmannus. He made his profession as a Carthusian monk in Paris on March 8, 1523. He was both a theologian and a linguist. He was well versed in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He made many Latin translations from the Greek, including versions of a number of patristic works. In addition he revised the Latin translations others had made earlier. Possevinus called him "vir doctus atque catholicus." Tilmann also authored several independent works and wrote some notes on earlier treatises. He died in Paris on Aug. 15, 1561.

*Works:* In addition to his Latin translations of many works of Basil of Caesarea including those now known to be works of Gregory of Nyssa: George Pachymeres, *Paraphrasis in decem epistolas B. Dionysii Areopagitae*; S. Antiochus monachus, *Homiliae CXXX seu Pandectes Scripturae et eiusdem Exomologesis*; Michael Syncellus of Jerusa-

lem, *Encomium in B. Dionysium Areopagitam*; F. Josephus, *Vita, a seipso scripta; Allegoriae simul et tropologiae in locos utriusque Testamenti selectiores depromptae*; Nectarius, *Oratio una*; B. Io. Chrysostomus, *Orationes sex In Isaiam prophetam, In Psalmos*; S. Io. Damascenus, *Libri III adv. eos qui sanctas imagines traducunt*; S. Theodorus Studita, *De honore sanctis imaginibus exhibendo*; Anastasius Antiochenus, *Orationes quinque*; Theodorus Antiochenus, *Isagoge in quinque libellos Anastasii*; Georgius Alexandrinus, *Vita S. Io. Chrysostomi*; Theodorus Raithuensis, *De incarnatione Domini*; Germanus Constantinopolitanus, *De musica*; Sophronius Hierosolymitanus, *De adoratione S. Crucis*. Tilmann also wrote notes on Chrysostom's *In Psalmos* and on Bede's *Epitome de schematibus et tropis* as well as on Io. Eck's *Enchiridion locorum communium* and an original work, *De essentia Dei*.

*Bibliography:* D. Leon Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides ordinis Carthusiensis*, Monstrolle, 1891, p. 77 (a copy of this page was kindly supplied by Ellen Isenstein of the Boston Public Library); *Dict. Théol Cath.* XV.1:1034 - 1036 where translation of works of Gregory of Nyssa is mentioned, but without titles. One assumes that those at times going under the name of Basil are indicated (*De differentia*; *Ad Eustathium*; *In verba: Faciamus hominem*); Joecher 4:1207 (the spelling here is Tilmann); Petreius, *Bibl. Cartus.* pp. 106-108; Zedler, vol. 44:184.

## 5. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation, published in 1562, of Gregory of Nyssa's *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos*. For date and circumstances, see p. 57, above. Sifanus was familiar with the previous Latin version of Johannes Cono; see p. 79 above. He devoted a large segment of his preface-dedication for his portion of the 1571 edition of Nyssen's works to a discussion of the intricacies of making a good translation, using the problems he faced in *De differentia* as an example. The manuscripts used by Sifanus attributed the treatise to Gregory of

Nyssa (See p. 58 above). The incipit of the work exhibits great differences from that found in manuscripts attributing the work to Basil, as the reader will note.

In the above mentioned preface he stated that he had been criticized for poor choice of words when translating some ecclesiastical terms. He then proceeded to defend his careful approach to the problem, and for several pages he justified his choice of words by adducing the examples of Cicero, in his translations of Plato and Aristotle, as well as of Quintilian.

Comments on the *De differentiae essentiae et hypostaseos* from Sifanus' general preface of 1562 (see above, p. 62).

. . . Aiebant autem illum dicere perperam me usum esse dictione Substantiae pro Hypostasis: item vocabulo Effigies pro Imagine, et nescio quae alia nomina me minus scienter usurpasse . . . Sed in quibus ille me locis reprehendit nullum meum peccatum, nullam culpam, nullum crimen agnosco. Nam quod ait me minus scienter ac perite usum esse dictione Substantia sive subsistentia, intelligo in libello de differentia οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεως quum pro οὐσία essentia reddidissem, illum offensum esse, quod servata dictione Graeca ὑποστάσεως statim et in ipso titulo, et in uno atque altero loco eiusdem libelli adieci, id est, substantiae, sive subsistentiae. Ego vero, quamquam Erasmus in principio Epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos pro ὑποστάσεως vertit substantiae, tamen veritus curiosorum et scrupolosorum hominum calumnias et offensiones Graecam dictionem reliqui. Quod et Johannes Cono fecit, qui hunc libellum, quod ego ignorabam, converterat ante aliquot annos (1507).

*Text.* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 126) Quoniam complures et essentiae verbum et hypostaseon ex mysticis et arcanis decretis atque doctrinis non discernunt sed nihil interesse putant, utrum essentiam an hypostasin quis dicat, quasi in utroque nomine una significatio sit, et ideo duplicis haereseos in contrarium scissae error circa significationem harum vocum principia atque argumenta praebuit, cum Sabellii quidem sectatores, propter communionem essentiae sanctam Trinitatem in

unam hypostasin cogant; . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 131) hypostaseon, id est naturarum subsistentium, sive substantiarum individuarum et personarum discretionem.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See p. 63 above.

## IX. IN ECCLESIASTEN HOMILIAE

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 44:616–753; 1962, Leiden, GNO V:277–442 (ed. Paul Alexander).

Gregory of Nyssa composed eight homilies on the book of Ecclesiastes, ending his commentary with Eccl. III.13. The fact that the earlier commentaries of Dionysius of Alexandria and Origen did not go beyond a point in Ch. III, strengthens the belief that Nyssenius, also, following their example, went no farther, and that continuations in his name beyond that point are spurious. A ninth homily appears following the eight genuine ones in Ottob. 56 (s. XVI) covering III.2 to XII.14 of the biblical book (see above p. 28 and Alexander, *op. cit.* p. 236). Fabricius (IX.105) described a manuscript containing ten homilies possibly to be identified with Coislin. 57 (s. IX–X). The text it attributes to Gregory of Nyssa is spurious and probably the work of Gregory of Agrigentum (See Langerbeck, GNO VI, p. XXXVII). Devreesse, in his article on the *Catena* in the *Supplément du Dictionnaire de la Bible* I:1163, stated that Nyssenius' commentary on Ecclesiastes is continued in the *Catena Trium Patrum*: Les homélies de Grégoire de Nysse, telles qu'on les lit dans Migne ne vont pas au delà de III.13; elles se poursuivent dans la chaîne des

'trois pères.'" The late Paul Alexander who made a study of the quotations attributed to Nyssen in the *Catena Trium Patrum* (see *op. cit.* p. 265), stated in private correspondence that the citations attributed to Gregory of Nyssa beyond Eccl. III.13 are in reality from Gregory Thaumaturgus. New information on the authorship of excerpts in this *catena* has become available as a result of the studies of S. Lucà who is preparing a critical edition.

*Bibliography:* See Alexander's *Praefatio* to his edition pp. 197-275; Chevetogne, p. 41, n. 1; Geerard, *CPG* IV (1980) pp. 227-228; and the article by S. Lucà, "La catena dei tre padri sull'Ecclesiaste," *Studi in onore di A. Ardizzoni*, Rome, 1978, pp. 557-582.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### I. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a translation of the eight homilies, *In Ecclesiasten*, at some time before their publication in Paris in the 1573 edition of many of Nyssen's works. Hervetus had made use of the codex Ambrosianus B 151 sup. (s. XIV), copying its text in the left hand column and making his Latin translation in the right hand one. The result is the still extant codex Rosanboensis 91 (24) (See H. Omont, *Cat. Mss. Dépt. de France* Vol. 2 (1886) p. 68). and Alexander, *op. cit.* 251-252). On folio 3 appears the statement, "Latina haec translatio edita est a Nivellio anno domini 1573." Fronto Ducaeus wrote copious notes on this work which were published in the 1605 edition of Nyssen. His emendations, however, are not sufficiently radical to call the resulting text a new version. (See below pp. 88-89).

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1573). [*Inc.*]: (p. 167) *Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas, dixit ecclesiastes. Quid amplius est homini in omni labore suo, quo laborat sub sole? . . .* [The biblical text is quoted through I.11.]

Nobis exponendus propositus est *Ecclesiastes*, qui magnitudini utilitatis habet parem laborem contemplationis. Nam cum sensa proverbiorum iam mentem prius exercuerint,

quorum obscurae sunt rationes . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 228) Nam sicut homo inquit carnalis in comedendo et bibendo habet vires, ita qui ad bonum aspicit (bonum autem verum est, qui solus est bonus) donum Dei habet in omni labore suo, hoc ipsum ad id quod bonum est semper aspicere. Per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum: cui gloria et potentia in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

#### *Manuscript:*

(\*) Rosanbo, Marquis de Rosanbo, Ms. 91 (42): s. XVI, fols. 66 sq. (Omont, *Cat. Gen. Mss de Fr.* Vol. 2 (1886) p. 68). This is Hervetus' autograph.

#### *Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions.  
1605. See Composite Editions.  
1615. See Composite Editions.  
1617. See Composite Editions.  
1638. See Composite Editions.  
1858. See Composite Editions.  
1863. See Composite Editions.  
1959. See Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

##### 2. FRANCISCUS TURRIANUS (lost)

Franciscus Turrianus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Ecclesiasten* which has apparently been lost. Antonius in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, in the article on Turrianus (Vol. I.487 sq.) mentioned that he made a version of this work and quoted as his source of information the *Commentarius* of Joannes de Pineda on Ecclesiastes, in Ch. XIII (*De libri interpretibus*), *praef. sec.4*.

Pineda (1557-1637) was a native of Seville, a Jesuit, who spent most of his life in that city though he lived for a few years in Madrid and Cordoba. His *Commentarius* is a monumental work made up largely of quotations from biblical and patristic sources, and extending to over 1000 pages. Dennis E. Rhodes of the British Library kindly inspected both the 1619 and 1620 editions of Pineda's work. He found on p. 39 of the 1619, Seville edition and on p. 35 of the 1620, Antwerp edition the following information in Ch. XIII: Verum ut iam ad nostros: Gregorius alter, id est Basilii

Frater, Nyssae Episcopus, si unquam, in huius certe libri enarratione foecundissimus est perinde ac facundissimus, octo illis Orationibus in tria tantum priora capita, quas ex Gentiani translatione Latinas habemus. Ego vero etiam studio et labore nostri Francisci Turriani, viri Graece eruditissimi Latino donatas, nondum publice editas: in quibus quid non movet Gregorius ut ad pietatem hominum animos permoveat penitus! quid non tentat, disserendo, ratiocinando, illustrando, digrediendo, ut ad Ecclesiae explicationem nihil intentatum reliquisse videatur? neque non presse et accurate quia fuse et large.

In addition, James Walsh of Houghton Library, Harvard inspected their copy of the 1619 edition and further reported that in Pineda's commentary each chapter of Ecclesiastes is followed by "Duodenarum interpretationum varietas" which include many excerpts from a *Catena Graecorum Patrum* (possibly the *Catena Trium Patrum?*). A number of these are from Nyssenius. It seems apparent from a study of selected passages kindly supplied by Mr. Walsh that Pineda, for his own commentary, used Hervetus' translation.

*Biography:*

See below p. 188.

COMMENTARY

a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus, editor of the 1605 Latin edition of Nyssenius' works, was not present during the preliminary part of the printing process. He came on the scene late and found that the work had been accelerated and had progressed to the mid point. He described in the introduction to his *Notae* how he had at first planned to add brief notes only to the treatises he himself had translated, but later decided also to include some notes on other works since he found that the printers had not been supplied with better, or at least corrected, copies of earlier translations. He was disturbed at the prospect of an edition filled with errors and inadequacies, and hoped that his notes would be helpful.

For them he used the previous (1587 and 1593) Greek editions which contained only a few works, edited by D. Hoeschel. He also consulted three Greek manuscripts, one from F. Morellus, one from Vulcopius, Abbot of Beaupré, and one from the Bibliotheca regia. Modern scholars agree with Alexander (*op. cit.* 256–259) that the Morellus' manuscript was probably Montepessulanus 122 (s. XVI) which was used by more than one translator of Gregory of Nyssa's works, including Ducaeus himself in 1596 and later in 1615 and so probably also for the 1605 *Notae*. The codex from Bibliotheca Regia was possibly Paris. gr. 1002 (s. XIV). The third manuscript is now lost and was never identified.

For the 1605 edition Ducaeus wrote *Notae* on eighteen works. For the 1615 bilingual edition he revised some of these and also added notes on some works not previously treated. The comments in only a few cases (to be noted where this occurs) resulted in a revised version.

*Notae* on the following works appear in the 1605 edition: *De vita Moysis*; *In Ecclesiasten*; *De perfecta Christiani forma*; *In orationem catechetica*; *De sancto Baptismate*; *De pauperibus amandis II*; *De virginitate*; *In diem natalem*; *In s. Stephanum I*; *In orationem de Resurrectione Christi* (with notes on *In s. Pascha I, II, IV* printed consecutively without distinction); *De fide ad Simplicium*; *In XL martyres*; *In Placillam*; *De s. Meletio*; *Ad Theophilum, adversus Apollinarem*; *Quid sit ad imaginem Dei*; *De Pythonissa*; *In suam ordinationem*. In cases where the *Notae* are very brief, they are not given separate treatment, but merely mentioned.

*In S. Gregorii Nysseni Opera Notae Collectae ex Adversariis Frontonis Ducae Burdegalensis, Societatis Jesu Theologi, in quibus interpretatio Latina recensetur et multa vel a librariis vel ab interpretibus omissa restituuntur.* [*Inc.*]: (The *Notes* are all printed following the last work in Vol. II. The pagination begins again with p. 1). *Introduction* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Sanctissimi huius Gregorii Nysseni Episcopi magnique Basilii fratris operum editionem Latinam hanc novam cum ad umbilicum pene perductam

offendissemus, Lutetiam Parisiorum ante paucos menses ex edicto Christianissimi Regis Francorum et Navarrorum Henrici IV revocati, atque inter eos libros quibus auctior est reddita quosdam a nobis Latinitate donatos brevibus notis illustrandos censuissemus, hac occasione nonnullos etiam alios eadem opera cum Graecis codicibus placuit vel excusis vel manuscriptis conferre. Nam quoniam antequam de melioribus interpretum versionibus moneri potuissent Typographi aut novae interpretationes correctioresque pertexi, haec editio accelerata fuerat, ne tot in locis periodis integris membrisque truncata lacunisque foedata prodirent tanti Ecclesiae Doctoris exemplaria circiter octingenta, faciendum nobis duximus ut κατὰ δεύτερον πλοῦν insigniores varias lectiones et supplementa grandiora sententiarum ex collatione veterum codicum delecta his exaratis αὐτοσχεδίως notis insereremus quae deinceps illis qui vel integram omnium operum interpretationem vel Graecolatinae editionem suscipient, usu fortassis esse poterunt . . . / . . . tertium (manuscriptum) . . . ex Regia bibliotheca nacti sumus, ex quibus M. Morelli codicem, V Vulcopii, R regium compendiariis notis indicabimus.

*Notae on In Ecclesiasten.* [*Inc.*]: (p.2) Con-  
tulimus Latinam hanc interpretationem cum  
codice Graeco manuscripto doctissimi viri  
Federici Morelli Regii Professoris, qui emen-  
dator quibusdam in locis eo fuisse videtur  
quo pia memoriae Gentianus Hervetus Can-  
onicus Rhemensis usus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]:  
(p. 39) Nihil indignum se Deus fecit, ergo nec  
mundus Deo indignus.

*Editions:*

See editions of text of *In Ecclesiasten*  
beginning with the 1605, above p. 87.

## X. EPISTOLA CANONICA AD LETOIUM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op.  
om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 45: 221–236; 1864,  
Rome in *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum Hist.  
et Monumenta* (ed. J. Pitra). Pt. III. A new  
critical edition is planned for the Leiden  
series.

Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* is not a letter in the strict sense and hence is not included among the *Epistolae*. It is a statement to Letoios, Bishop of Melitene (not Mitylene, as in Possevinus and some manuscripts) regarding principles of canon law to be used in the readmission of sinners to the Christian fold. As such, it most frequently appears in collections of canons, but beginning with the 1605 edition it also appears in collections of Nyssen's works. The "liber" containing the work which was mentioned in the correspondence of G. Sirleto and M. Cervini (G. Buschbell, *Conc. Trident. Epist., Pars prima*, Vol. X:943 (Freiburg, 1965) as being in the possession of Cardinal Farnese was a manuscript, not a printed edition.

In many of the editions each chapter is followed by the corresponding scholion of Theodore Balsamon (1140–post 1195).

I wish to acknowledge the generous assistance in connection with the section dealing with *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*, of Stephan Kuttner, Director of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law, Boalt Hall, School of Law, University of California at Berkeley. He brought to my attention the work of Cujas, Galés and Fabrot and provided useful bibliography.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* (*Letoium*). He included it in the third section (*Canones Patrum*) of the 1561 volume *Canones sanctorum Apostolorum, Conciliorum generalium et particularium*. Balsamon's scholia were interspersed with the text. Hervetus used a Greek manuscript belonging to Ioannes Tilius (Jean du Tillet), Bishop of St. Briec, whom he had met at Trent and who had urged him to publish his Latin version. The manuscript contained the *Syntagma canonum* and Balsamon's scholia.

Although a new Latin translation by Maximus Margunius appeared in 1585, Hervetus'

version remained the one preferred for inclusion in collections on a large scale, first by Pedro Galés in 1582 and later by William Beveridge in 1672 (see below, p. 91).

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1561). Ioanni Tilio in primis Reverendo Briocensi Episcopo Gentianus Hervetus S.P.D. [*Inc.*]; Quod Photii patriarchae Constantinopolitani Nomocanon, quod leges et tam conciliorum quam sanctorum patrum complectitur canones quibus apud Graecos ecclesiastica administratur disciplina, a nobis cum Tridenti in concilio essemus Latine versum tanti feceris, ut typis excusum in lucem exire volueris, magnas ago gratias. Mihi quidem certe est persuasum, id obviis, ut aiunt, ulnis ab omnibus excipiendum qui rem Christianam tot hodie seditioibus exagitata salvam esse cupiunt. Nulla est enim eius certior spes salutis quam si ex veteri regula reformetur nimis, proh dolor, dissolutus ordo ecclesiasticus. Quod cum tibi iam ab ineunte aetate pulchre esset exploratum, permultis abhinc annis Graecorum conciliorum librum Pictavi a te inventum excudendum curasti. Qui quidem in hoc Photii Nomocanone totus continetur, sed sunt praeter eum etiam canones patrum, qui multa continent capita quae ad ecclesiasticam pertinent iurisdictionem. Iis autem omnibus magnam affert lucem Theodori Balsamon interpretatio, quae ad Imperatorem leges explicat ecclesiasticas et nihil immittit in canonicis quod non exacte et accurate expendat. Atque in hoc quidem opere laudando non video opus esse ut diutius immorer, cum in eo legendo sit eius utilitas per se omni ex parte se satis ostensura. Orandus est autem Christus, ut quae a maioribus nostris sancto spiritu afflante sunt sanctissime constituta, ea non tam chartis quam animis insideant, et quae ab hominibus atramento imprimuntur, ea dei digito ecclesiae antistitum mentibus infixam moribus exprimentur. Cum autem id ita usu venerit, ut quae olim concilia a te Graece edita, ea nunc a me Latine versa, sed non sine magna accessione, tuo maxime hortatu et impulsu in lucem exeant, te aequi boni consulturum mihi spondeo, si ea felicibus tuis auspiciis in publicum prodeant, et tuo nomini dicata ab omnibus legum et canonum studio-

sis legantur. Vale. Pisciaci, XI Cal. Novembris MDLXI.

*Epistola Canonica Sancti Gregorii Nysseni Episcopi ad Sanctum Letoium Mitylenes (sic) Episcopum. Text [Inc.]*: (p. 63) Unum hoc quoque est eorum quae ad sanctum festum contulerunt (conferunt in Vat. Ottob. lat. 238) si nos intelligamus legitimam et canonicam in iis qui peccarunt oeconomiam ut curetur omnis morbus animae qui per aliquod peccatum accidit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 72) Clarum est autem quod ut symbolum sacerdotale literas accipies munusque hospitale non contemnes, etiam si sit minus quam pro summa tui ingenii bonitate.

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1570, s. XVI, misc., fol. 56v–75. Incomplete (= *PG* 45:222–235), copied by Claude Saumaise, (*Cat Gén.* II.72).

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat. Ottob. lat. 238; s. XVI, misc., fols. 119v–130v; (Kristeller, *Iter* II.413; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico* in *ST* 75, p.14, n. 1).

*Editions:*

1561, Paris: apud Guil. Morelium. In *Canones SS Apostolorum Conciliorum generalium et particularium*, pp. 63–72. NUC. BN; (CU–L).

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1620, Paris: in *Canones SS Apostolorum*, etc. as in 1561, pp. 1036–1059. Hoffmann 2.186; NUC. BN; (CU–L).

(\*) 1624, Paris: in *Bibl. Patr.*, Vol. VII. Hoffmann 2.189; NUC. BN; (DLC).

1638. See Composite Editions.

1671, Paris: in G. Labbé and G. Cossart, *Conciliorum generalium nation., provinc., dioces., cum vitis epistolisque rom. pontif.*, Vol. II p. 1775 sq. NUC. BN; (CU–L; DFo).

(\*) 1672, Paris: in *SS Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera* (ed. J.B. Cotelier) Vol. II:1–182. NUC. (MB).

1759, Florence: in Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . Collectio*, Vol. III pp. 1235–1250. Hoffmann 2.186; NUC. BL; BN; (CU–L).

(\*) 1791, Florence: in A.M. Cigheri, *Sanc-tae catholicae ecclesiae dogmatum et morum*

*ex selectis veterum patrum operibus veritas demonstrata*, Tom. X. NUC. BL; (DCU).

1854, Rome: in J.B. Pitra, *Iuris Ecclesiastici Graec. Hist. et Monumenta*, Vol. II: 619–629. NUC. BL; BN; (CU–L; MH).

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1591, Augsburg: Fabricius (IX.108 n (dd)) mentions such an edition. He probably based his statement on Oudin's remark (Hist. Eccl. I. 600) that the *Ad Letoium* was published "Augustae Vindelicorum ex versione Gentiani Herveti, anno 1591 cum *Oratione de Divinitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*." The orations appear in this edition in Greek only (copies at CtY and in Berlin).

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

## 2. REVISIONS OF GENTIANUS HERVETUS' TRANSLATION

Gentianus Hervetus' Latin translation underwent two revisions. The first in 1582 by Petrus Galesius contained only a few changes. In the second by William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph the changes were more substantial. Beveridge explained the reason in the preface to his 1672 edition of *Synodikon*, a collection of canons. The 1561 edition was Latin only. When a bilingual edition was in preparation in 1620 the editors used a Greek manuscript which differed from Hervetus'. The Latin did not agree well with the Greek. Beveridge arrived at what he considered a better Greek text using three previously unused manuscripts; he revised Hervetus' Latin to fit this text. On Beveridge, see Appendix III.

### PETRUS GALESIIUS

Antonius Augustinus (Agustín) Bishop of Tarragona (1516–1586) and editor of the 1582 and 1584 editions of *Canones Poenitentiales*, stated on p. 209 of the 1584 edition that the Latin translation of Hervetus was modified by Galesius on the basis of a com-

parison with Greek manuscripts. Galesius' changes were not great, and they are underlined in the citation of the text below. He failed to identify further the Greek copies he used. His corrected version appeared in only three printings, without the scholia of Balsamon.

*Praefatio* of Antonius Augustinus (ed. of Venice, 1584). [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Tres paenitentiae sacramenti partes constat esse: contritionem, confessionem et satisfactionem . . . longum est enumerare sed eorum referam nomina qui canones Graecos conscripserunt: Athanasius . . . Gregorii duo, alter cognomento Theologus Nazianzenus, alter Nysaenus (sic) cuius epistolam ad Letoium infra scripsimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 7) Ad extremum id lectores admoneo ut in hoc genere librorum Pauli Apostoli oraculi meminerint: *Omnia probate; quod bonum est, tenete* (I. Thess. 5:21).

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: Unum hoc quoque est eorum, quae ad sanctum festum spectant, ut nos intelligamus legitimam et canonicam in his qui peccarunt *dispositionem quo pacto* curetur omnis morbus animae qui *ex aliquo peccato nascitur* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Clarum est autem quod ut symbolum sacerdotale litteras accipies, *neque munus* hospitale contemnes, etiam si sit minus, *summa* tui ingenii bonitate.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1582, Tarracone (Tarragona): apud P. Mey. in *Canones Poenitentiales et Bedae et Rabani liber poenitentium, cum notis Antonii Augustini*. BL; BN

1584, Venetiis (Venice): apud Felicem Valgrisius. in *Canones Poenitentiales*, etc. as above. Hoffmann 2.189. NUC. BN; (CU–L).

1767, Lucca: in *Opera Omnia Antonii Augustini*, Vol. III:332–336. NUC. (PU).

*Biography:*

Petrus Ioannes Galesius (Pedro Galés) Gotalanus, as he signed himself, was born in 1537 in Ulldecona in Catalonia. He was the son of Juan Galés and Isabel Reyner. At the age of 17, he was studying classical literature, law and philosophy at Saragossa. In 1563 he went to Italy to continue his legal studies, spending time in Rome, Bologna, Asti and Turin, finally going on to Paris. By 1580 he had returned to Barcelona, but stayed only a

short time. In 1582 his name appeared on a list of Calvinists at Geneva. He had long before broken with the Catholic Church, but his views went beyond those of Calvin. While in Geneva he held a professorship of law during the time when Isaac Casaubon was teaching Greek. He married and continued in Geneva for five years. After 1586 he went on to Nîmes, then to Orange (1588–1591) and finally to Castres (1591–1593). In 1593 he was called to Bordeaux to direct the Collège de Guyenne. Shortly thereafter he was arrested at Marmande in the Pyrenees by Pedro Saravia who had been sent by Philip II to assist the governor, of Guyenne. He was charged with heresy and spreading unorthodox doctrines and condemned by the Inquisition. He died in prison in 1593.

Galés was a Hellenist, philosopher and professor of law. In spite of his peripatetic life, he managed to assemble a valuable collection of books and manuscripts for which there is ample testimony in public documents and in the correspondence of acquaintances with whom he shared them. The quality of his scholarship is indicated by a list of his close associates. Antonio Agustín, the erudite Archbishop of Tarragona, respected him, in spite of his known Calvinism. Galés appeared as one of the interlocutors in Agustín's *De emendatione Gratiani*, and Agustín is an important source for details of his life. Andreas Schottus of Antwerp, a Jesuit colleague and friend of Agustín who spent many years in Spain, also knew Galés. He mentions him in his *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* in the entry on Pedro Nuñez who lectured on Aristotle and had many friends among legal scholars.

Galés' name is noticeably absent from Nicolas Antonio's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*. Jacques Cujas who had deep involvements with the Calvinists but never left the Catholic fold, mentions Galés often. Isaac Casaubon, a colleague at Geneva, refers to him frequently. Perhaps the greatest tribute is found in the words of Saravia, who arrested him, in a letter to Idiaquez, secretary to Philip II. He described him as, "uno de los mayores supuestos en letras griegas y latinas que ay en España y aun fuera della; . . .".

*Bibliography:* The most complete treatment appears in A. Morel-Fatio's "L'humaniste hétérodoxe catalan Pedro Galés" in *Études sur l'Espagne*, 4ième série, Paris, 1925, VI:pp. 221–294. In it are detailed references to public documents and personal letters relative to events in Galés' life. This was reprinted from *Journal des Savants*, Juil.–Sept., 1902, where E. Boehmer is listed as co-author. See also E. Boehmer in *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*. "Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520," Strasbourg, 1904, Vol. III:177–184; A. Schott, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, Vol. III, p. 612 sq. (Frankfurt, 1608). On his relationship with A. Agustín, see Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.* pp. 249–263. On Casaubon, *ibid.*, pp. 266–270. On J. Cujas, *ibid.*, pp. 270–274. On Gales' library, Henri Omont, "La bibliothèque de Pedro Galés chez les Jésuites d'Agen," *Journal des Savants*, juillet, 1905. See also S. Kuttner, *Medieval Councils, Decretals and Collections of Canon Law*, London, 1980, *Retractationes* 2(2).

### 3. JACOBUS CUIACIUS

Jacques Cujas (Jacobus Cuiacius) made a Latin translation in 1566 of most of Ch. 5 of Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistola ad Letoium*. The chapter was used in a Byzantine scholion (s. X–XII) on *Basilicorum Liber LX*, tit. 39, c. 1.29 (Ch.22 in the edition of Heimbach). *Basilicorum Libri LX* consisted of a recodification in Greek of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis* augmented by selections from the Fathers and Councils and produced by Leo VI, the Philosopher (866–912) who gave to the work the title *Basilicorum libri*. This collection had been neglected for many years, and Cujas' frequent references to it were responsible for reviving interest in it. Gentianus Hervetus had made a Latin version of the first eight books in 1556 (published 1577), and Cujas had this translation at hand. He received from Cambrai a manuscript of the Greek text of Book LX which is known to have been Paris. gr. 1350 (s. XII–XIII, according to Heimbach for whom Tischendorf had examined the codex; the Paris Cat. gives s. XVI). From this manuscript Cujas made his



translation which Agustín knew and quoted in his notes to his edition of *Ad Letoium* (see ed. of Lucca, 1767, pp. 334–335, notes a through s).

For a late Latin version of Ch. 5 as found in *Basilicorum Liber LX* see Appendix III, Carolus Annibal Fabrotus (Fabrot).

*Text* (*Basilicorum Libri LX*, ed. of Lyon, 1566). *Ex canonica epistola sancti Gregorii Nissaeni ad sanctum Letoium Melitenes episcopum*. [Inc.]: (p. 239) Dividitur autem caedes in voluntariam et involuntariam. et voluntaria quidem est quae fit meditato, et cum in conflictu ac pugna dum percutit quis ac vicissim percutitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ne viatico vacuus ad extremum illud iter longumque mittatur quod si supervivat, maneat in eo gradu in quo erat priusquam ei communio praeberetur.

*Editions:*

1566, Lugduni (Lyon): Ad Salamandrae apud Claudium Sennetonium in *Basilicorum Libri LX Quo Iuris civilis Tituli LXX omnia crimina quaeque ad illorum causas variaque iudicia ac poenas spectant, continentes, veterum Graecorum Iurisconsultorum Scholiis explicantur*, Jacobo Cuiacio I. C. Interprete. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY; CU).

1870, Leipzig: in *Basilica*, Vol. V:770–771 (Gr.-Lat.) ed. G.E. Heimbach. NUC. (CU-L).

*Biography:*

Jacobus Cuiacius (Jacques Cujas, later Cujas), who has been called the founder of the modern study of law, was born in Toulouse in 1522. He studied law at Toulouse, but, finding only one professor to his liking, continued his studies in language, philosophy and history independently. In 1547, he initiated a private course on the *Institutes* of Justinian which continued for seven years. But in 1554, failing to receive appointment to a chair of law at Toulouse, he went to Cahors in the first of what proved to be an almost lifelong succession of moves. They were generally precipitated by factors arising from the religio-political tensions of the times. He was well liked by his students, having a thousand during one term at Bourges. It was to that city that he went in 1555, going on to Paris in 1557, Valence in 1558, Bourges again in

1560–1566, Turin in 1566, Valence 1567, Lyon 1570. Back in Valence again, he numbered among his students Jacques Auguste de Thou and Joseph Scaliger (whom he managed to save from the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day). In 1575 he returned to Bourges where, except for brief interludes, he spent the rest of his life. He died on Oct. 4, 1590.

Cujas' religious affiliation has been a matter of debate. He certainly had strongly Calvinistic leanings, but as one biographer, Rappetti, stated he was a Protestant whom the love of honors and fear of persecution kept in the guise of a Catholic.

Cujas moved in the circle of the foremost scholars of his day. In addition to Scaliger and De Thou, he was closely acquainted with Pierre Pithou, Henri Estienne (Stephanus) and Antonio Agustín.

*Works:* Editions of works of Justinian, Leo VI Emperor (the *BN Catalogue*, Vol. 34, p. 645 mentions translations of Books XXXVIII and XXXIX of the *Basilica* as well as of Book LX); J. Paulus' *Receptae Sententiae*, Theodosius II, Theophilus' *Institutes*, the *Corpus iuris canonici*. His *Opera Omnia* were published in Paris in 1658 by C.A. Fabrot. More complete lists of his works appear in the *BN Catalogue*, Vol. 34:633–646 and in *Niceron*, Vol. 8, p.160 sq.

*Bibl.:* *Dict. de Biogr. Française* IX:1362–64 (M. Prevost), especially the extensive bibliography p. 1364; *Dict. de Droit Canonique* IV (1949), Article "Cujas" by L. Falletti, esp. bibliography pp. 860–61; M.P. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 36–37; *Hoefler* 12:592–606; *Niceron* 8, 160–87.

E. Volterra, "Sulla C Th 3, 5, 5," in *Bolletino dell' Istituto di Diritto romano* LXXXI, Milan, 1978, pp. 151–177 (on a manuscript used by Cujas).

#### 4. MAXIMUS MARGUNIUS

Maximus Margunius made a Latin translation of *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* which was published in 1585 in a little volume which also contained his versions of Nysseus' *De perfectione ad Olympium* and *De*

*professione ad Harmonium*. In the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale the title page is bound in the middle, and the works are not in the order listed on it. *De perfectione* has a dedication of its own, while the dedication to *De professione* is directed to a different individual and covers *Ad Letoium* also.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1585). Clarissimo ac prudentissimo viro D. Marco Antonio Viaro Maximus Margunius Episcopus Cytherensis salutem in Domino. [*Inc.*]: Christiani nominis dilucidationem non parum utilitatis iis qui vitam hanc profitentur, si id exacte perfecteque intellexerint, afferre inde perspicere potest, Marce Antoni Viare, vir praestantissime, quod in hoc solo nomine, veluti in pretioso thesauro quodam omnia fere ea quibus Christianus homo Christum pro viribus imitari possit summam comprehendantur, adeo ut si horum exercitatione talem quisque semet in praesenti vita praestiterit, qualem nomen ipsum exposcit, ut illecebris caeterisque corporis voluptatibus postpositis id tantum studeat, ut Christi vitae conformetur, ad beatam vitam, in quam omnis noster scopus est dirigendus, Christi gratia perducat. Hoc Christianos et praeclare sane quem prae manibus habemus, D. Gregorii Nysseni Magni revera illius theologi tractatus edocet, quem nos e Graeco latinum factum, pluribus de causis tibi dedicare volumus, atque praesertim quod te eum noverimus quippe qui et vero Christianae tuae vitae exemplo et singulari morum probitate humanitateque ita sis decoratus ut non ab re propterea talia tibi a nobis deberentur. Cui tractatulo praeterea alterum eiusdem auctoris de peccatorum remediis addere eo nomine volumus quod quum ea humanae naturae conditio sit, ut ob innatam mutabilitatem nonnumquam eam ad deterius incurrere contingat, propterea undenam lapsa rursus tum divino auxilio tum et proprii arbitrii libertate erigatur, haberet, ac iterum per opera poenitentiae absque ullo in posterum ad proprium vomitum recursum ad finem proprium converteretur. Hoc itaque quaecumque munusculum fuerit in aedificationem Christianorum ad manus hominum sub tuo praeclarissimo nomine proditurum clarum summae erga te nostrae observantiae

argumentum, laeto animo obsecramus, eximium ac singulare nobilium decus sempiternumque Cydonensium ornamentum, non dedigneris accipere. Vale nosque tibi deditissimos esse foreque certum habeas. Venetiis, anno Dominicae incarnationis MDLXXXV. Mense Septembre.

Text. [*Inc.*] (page number not evident) Unum hoc etiam est inter ea quae ad sanctum conferunt festum, ut nempe legitimam canonicamque in iis qui deliquerunt, dispensationem intelligamus, quo omnis animae morbus, qui per aliquod inditus fuerit, curari possit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Clarum vero est quod tamquam sacerdotale symbolum hunc nostrum tractatum accipies, neque munus despicias, quamvis magnanimitate tua parvius miseriusque sit. Finis.

*Edition:*

1585, See *Composite Editions*. J.A. McDonough, editor of a number of the editions in the Leiden, GNO series, kindly supplied the *incipit* and *explicit* and information on the copy in the BN.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.320.

*Bibliography:* In addition to CTC II.321, see more recent studies: D.J. Geanakoplos, "The Library of the Cretan Humanist Bishop, Maximus Margunius, especially his collection of Latin Books bequeathed to Mount Athos," *Pepragmena tou B' Diethnous Cretologikou Synedriou*, III, Athens, 1968, pp. 75-91; C.G. Patrinelis, "Collectionneurs crétois de Mss pendant la Renaissance" (in Greek), *op. cit.* pp. 202-206; G. Schirò, "Giudizi di Massimo Margunio su Barlaam Calabro ed Emanuele Crisolora," *op. cit.* pp. 224-226; L. Vranoussis, "Acolouthie en l'honneur des trois prélats Mélétiou Pighas. Gabriel Séviros et Maxime Margunios, oeuvre inédit de Matthieu de Myre," (in Greek) *op. cit.* pp. 368-411

COMMENTARY OF THEODORE BALSAMON  
ON THE *EPISTOLA CANONICA*

Since Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*, as mentioned above, was one of the documents included in collections of *Canones Patrum*, it was the object of

comment by Byzantine canonists, Johannes Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon. Somewhat later it was included in the *Synopsis* of the *Syntagma canonum*, on which Alexius Aristenus wrote scholia. Balsamon's scholia appear both in manuscripts and in most printed editions; a portion of the text is followed by Balsamon's comment. The manuscript of G. Hervetus obtained from Tillet was of this type. For later translations see Appendix III.

#### I. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of the scholia of Theodore Balsamon (c.1140–post 1195) on *Epistola ad Letoium*. The version was published in the 1561 edition where each portion of the text was followed by the corresponding comment. In the introduction to his 1584 edition of *Canones poenitentiales* (Hervetus' translation revised by Galés and without the scholia) Antonio Agustín (see above p. 91) stated on p. 209, "Idem Gentianus Theodoro Balsamoni Antiocheno Patriarchae tribuit huius epistolae scholia, sive interpretationem, quam etiam Latine fecit. Ego eam Ioannis Zonarae (d. post 1160) fuisse, in libris meis Graecis inveni." The extent to which Balsamon's work was original or borrowed remains under study.

*Text* (ed. of Paris 1561). [*Inc.*]: In tempore festi Paschae hic magnus Pater hanc epistolam misisse videtur et dicit ad festum conferre, ut qui peccant legitime et canonicè dispensentur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod autem observatus sit hic canon Thaumaturgi clarum est ex Theophili archiepiscopi Alexandrini epistola ad Mornam episcopum qui scripsit eos rem fecisse legitimam, qui a communione separaverunt mulierum facientem iniuriam nec volentem ab iniuria abstinere.

##### *Manuscript:*

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. lat. 238; s. XVI, misc. fols. 116–131v (Kristeller, *Iter* II.413).

##### *Editions:*

See above p. 90, under 1561 and 1620.

##### *Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

#### XI. CONTRA EUNOMIUM, LIBRI

Editio princeps (not including Book I): 1615, Paris, in G. N. *Op. om.*

Editio princeps (of Introductory Epistolae, Periochae and Book I): 1618, Paris, in *Appendix ad opera Gregorii Nysseni*.

Editio princeps (of entire work): 1638, Paris, in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 45:248–1121; 1960, Leiden, GNO I and II (ed. W. Jaeger).

*Introduction:* *Contra Eunomium* is by far the longest work of Gregory of Nyssa. The Greek manuscript tradition is a complicated one, and the reader is referred to the detailed discussion by W. Jaeger in the *Prolegomena* to his critical edition (*op. cit.* pp. V–LIX). Gregory of Nyssa wrote four treatises, or books, against the heretic Eunomius. Books I, II and III were written between 380 and 383 and were directed against Eunomius' criticism of Basil of Caesarea's orthodox position. These works were followed by a completely separate treatise, *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii*, criticizing Eunomius' statement of his own beliefs. Gregory wrote this latter treatise in 383 or later; it is not connected with the first group of anti-Eunomian writings, but came to be placed with them for a time beginning in the late sixth or early seventh century.

However Book III was soon divided into ten sections called Tomes. References to the work now customarily cited only the Tome number in the case of Book III. Thus when Justinian (483–565) cited Book IV, the reference was to Book III, *Tome* IV. One must assume that Justinian had in his possession only the ten parts of Book III. Likewise when Facundus of Hermiae (mid to late sixth century) in his *Pro defensione trium capitulorum* included long passages from *Contra Eunomium*, his "Sanctus Gregorius dicit in libro adversus Eunomium tertio" referred to Book III, *Tome* III; and his "eodem opere libro quarto" referred to Book III, *Tome* IV (PL 67:805 AB = PG 45:706 CD = ed. Jaeger II:130.28 sq; and PL 67:805 C–806 AB = PG 45:730 D–731 AB = ed. Jaeger II:152.16 sq.).

Then around the beginning of the seventh century the order of the books became changed. Book II was dropped from the collection, perhaps because it was too philosophical for monastic readers (Jaeger, *op. cit.* p. XVII), and it was replaced by the *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* (this, it will be remembered, was originally the fourth book against Eunomius, but not so numbered.) By Photius' time (s. IX) Book II had reappeared, but at the end of the collection. At this time Book I still remained first in the collection. But the citation of parts of Book III by Tome was dropped in favor of citation by Book according to a scheme by which Book III.1 = III; Book III.2 = IV; Book III.3 = V; etc. The reinstated Book II at the end of the collection became either XII b or XIII depending on the scribe. See Tables below.

This revised order obtained until the early seventeenth century when the first relatively complete Latin translation was made from a manuscript in which Book I was missing. At this point the then second book (not the original Book II) became Book I. The *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii* was at the end of the collection as before. Werner Jaeger finally reestablished the original order in his critical edition of 1921.

But even in the late sixteenth century scholars were questioning the numeration of the books. J. Gretser (see below p. 180) at first suspected and then became convinced that twelve books were written against one work of Eunomius and that later another book was composed to refute a second separate treatise of the heretic. Gretser's death in 1625 probably prevented the printing of the books in their original order in the 1638 edition of Nyssenus' writings. Johannes a Sancto Francisco (Gulonius) also expressed doubt that what he labelled Book I was really the original I, and J. Sirmond expressed perplexity in his notes to the edition of Facundus' work (Sirmond, *Op. Om.* (1629) Vol. II.763). It is easy to understand why he was puzzled when he saw that Facundus' quotation from Book IV corresponded to what he knew as Book V. J. Livineius, working with the manuscripts, saw a similar problem.

Finally in Aegidius Morellus' 1638, Paris edition of Nyssenus' works, the numbering of the books became even more confused. The interested reader is referred to Jaeger's discussion, *op. cit.* p. LXV. J.P. Migne reprinted the 1638 edition.

Two additional matters should be noted:  
1) Until Jaeger's edition Book III p. 4, line 3

Table of Correspondence of *Libri contra Eunomium*

Order in which Books occur	Original and Jaeger	Revised c. 600 a.d. ( ) original number	Gulonii 1615 ( ) original number	1638 Migne ( ) original number
1.	I	I (I)	I (Ref. c. Eun.)	I (I)
2.	II	II (Ref. c. Eun.)	II (III.I)	II (Ref. c. Eun.)
3.	III Tome I	III (III.I)	III (III.II)	III (III.I)
4.	III Tome II	IV (III.II)	IV (III.III)	IV (III.II.)
5.	III Tome III	V (III.III)	V (III.IV)	V (III.III)
6.	III Tome IV	VI (III.IV)	VI (III.V)	VI (III.IV)
7.	III Tome V	VII (III.V)	VII (III.VI)	VII (III.V)
8.	III Tome VI	VIII (III.VI)	VIII (III.VII)	VIII (III.VI)
9.	III Tome VII	IX (III.VII)	IX (III.VIII)	IX (III.VII)
10.	III Tome VIII	X (III.VIII)	X (III.IX)	X (III.VIII)
11.	III Tome IX	XI (III.IX)	XI (III.X)	XI (III.IX)
12.	III Tome X	XII (III.X)	XII (II)	XII (III.X)
	<i>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</i>			XII b (II)

λόγου to p. 12, line 8 σοφίας, had never been printed. This portion was missing from the manuscripts used by the Gulonii, and Gretser did not deal with that section of the text critically. 2) Book X (ed. Jaeger II:238–239) contains a passage which had also been published as *Epistola XVI* of Basil of Caesarea: today there is no question but that Nyssenius is the author.

*Bibliography:* W. Jaeger, GNO I and II (Leiden, 1960) especially Vol. II, pp. LVIII–LXVI; also Jaeger, *Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom Heiligen Geist*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 78–84; J. Gretser, *In libros Contra Eunomium*, in Gretser, *Op. om.* Vol. XIV:112 sq. and *PG* 45:1349–1352; M. van Parys, “Exégèse et théologie dans les livres *Contre Eunome* de Grégoire de Nysse” in Chevetogne pp. 169–196; J. Daniélou, *Gnomon* 34 (1962) pp. 556–558; F. Diekamp, “Literaturgeschichtliches zur Eunomianischen Kontroverse,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909) pp. 10–13; F. Diekamp, “Ein angeblicher Brief des hl. Basilius gegen Eunomius,” *Theol. Quartalschr.* 77 (1895) 277–285.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### I. NICOLAUS GULONIUS AND JOHANNES A SANCTO FRANCISCO (GULONIUS)

Nicolaus Gulonius received a copy of Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*, a work which had not yet been published, from Aegidius David, friend of the printer Claudius Morellus. Claudius' brother, Federicus, described the situation in the dedicatory letter to his 1600, Paris edition of Nyssenius' *In s. Pascha V* (In luciferam . . .). The letter is addressed to Pomponius Belliaevraeus, chancellor of France: Haec nuper oratio (i.e. *In s. Pascha V*) in manus meas venit inter alias plerasque quas nactus sum in penu bibliothecae μακαρίτου Aegidii Davidii affinis mei, nuper in suprema curia advocati: qui etiam dum vitali aura frueretur, eiusdem authoris *commentarios adversus Eunomianos* collegae nostro, Nic. Gulonio, Latinitate donandos tradiderat, quod ex animi sententia pulcher-

rime praestitit atque hoc egregium opus ad umbilicum ductum regiam pontificiamve μεγαλοπρέπειαν ne sit labor editionis in damno, desiderat. IX Kal. April MDC. The codex provided by David, and sometimes referred to as the Codex Morelli, was presumed lost by Jaeger (GNO II, p. LX). For a more recent view, see GNO V, p. 271 by P. Alexander and GNO IX, p. 352 by a Spira.

Nicolaus Gulonius died several years after he had completed his translation but before he had polished it. His son Johannes took up his father's unfinished task and carried it to a conclusion with the use of a “Codex Pithoeanus” now lost. Jaeger demonstrated that both codices were descended from Taur. C. I. 11 (s. XIV) which, even at the time they were copied, was in a bad state of preservation and lacked all but a small part of Book I. Two marginal notations in different hands at the beginning of Book II, label it both “α” and “β”; the scholiasts obviously wondered with which book they were dealing. The first note of Johannes Gulonius (see below) indicates that he recognized a problem in the numbering of the books, but he lacked sufficient information to solve it.

Johannes Gulonius dedicated his completion of his father's work to Jacques Davy, Cardinal Du Perron (see *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* IV, pp. 1953–1960). Gulonius remarked in the dedication that it was only fitting that he revise his father's translation as a tribute to the nearly sixty years that his maternal grandfather (Dorat) and his father had occupied the chair of Greek at the Collège Royal. Now his brother, Jerome, held the same position. He assured Du Perron that he had tried to produce a polished version in spite of the bad state of the manuscripts at hand. His introduction to his brief notes describes the difficulty of his task (see below p. 99).

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1615). Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Iacobo Davy, S.R.E. Presbytero Cardinali Perronio, Archiepiscopo Senonensi, Galliarum et Germaniarum primati, Magno Franciae Eleemosynario Fr. Ioannes a Sancto Francisco, Monachus Fulienensis. χαίρειν, εὐπράττειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν. [*Inc.*]: Cum istos Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni

controversiarum adversus Eunomium sermones e tenebris ac profundissima ignorantiae caligine erutos et a parente meo aliquot ante annis quam ex vita discederet, Latinitate donatos nunc primum in lucem aspectumque proferre mihi venisset in mentem . . . (There follows a passage lauding the dedicatee and comparing him to Nyssenus. Then Johannes resumes a discussion of his father's translation.) . . . Hunc in tenebris delitescens situ et carie perditum, squalore penitus obsitum atque ex hominum memoria paene deletum primus Nicolaus Gulonius, parens meus, a tineis et blattis vindicavit atque ut erat pacatissimi vir ingenii inter bellorum civilium tumultus in urbe turbulentissima profundissimo fruens otio Latinum fecit. Verum magno rei literariae damno prius fato functus quam labori manum secundam admovisset, opus fateor rude et impolitum reliquit. Sic abiectus ille tam excellentis ingenii foetus qui vix lucem aspexerat altioribus tenebris rursus immersus καθάπερ ἀμβλωθρίδιον τι και ἔκτρωμα diu iacisset, oblivione credo tegendus sempiterna, nisi me parentis iucunda recordatio commovisset, ut quod ille felici manu inceperat, ut sunt δεύτεραι φροντίδες σοφώτεραι, limatiore cura perficerem et omnibus numeris quantum in me quidem est absolutum redderem. Quem si fata operi servarent superstitem, non dubito id facturum quod ipse conor efficere, tuoque nomini hanc lubricationem dedicaturum. Nam ut te adolescentem mira indole praeditum provectae iam aetatis senex vehementissime suspexit, sic virum admiratus, procul dubio senis ingenium exteriore purpura clarius et dotes animi dignitate summa qua nunc ornaris augustiores summopere coluisset. Praesertim cum te ὁ μακαρίτης Henricus vere et sine ullo adulationis fuco magnus, ob incredibilem prudentiam, admirabilem scientiam, perpetuam et singularem fidelitatem, ac insignia quae laudem omnem superant merita, in Ἐλεημοσύναρχον suum elegerit, simul et constituerit Ἐφοβον illius celeberrimi professorum Regiorum collegii, in quo tum ipse Gulonius, tum Auratus socer, tum filius eius frater meus, non sine illustri sui nominis fama annos fere sexaginta Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα publice docu-

erunt, e quorum schola innumerabiles optime dicendi principes et in Graecis literis versatissimi tanquam ex equo Troiano prodire. Hoc igitur posthumum professoris quondam tibi addictissimi obsequium lubens accipe . . . (There follow remarks on how familiar Du Perron is with the works of Nyssenus and a Photius quotation on the *Libri Contra Eunomium*). Quorum versione utrum tibi vel aliis satis factum vix ausim affirmare; elegantiore credo aliquis esset forte daturus, fideliores nescio. Hoc unum scio, nemini unquam aggrediendo huic operi parem animum innasci potuisse, qui non melioribus auxiliis fuisset adiutus, unius enim manuscripti fidem sumus sequuti, sed Deus bone! quam foedis erroribus ubique deturpati, mutili laceri, et somnolentia incuriosissimi librarii manu descripti, in quo nihil hercle praeter elegantem satis cum literarum tum notarum, quae in eo erant ut frequentissimae sic obscurissimae, formam laudavisses, ita caetera omnia istius bardi supinitate susque deque confusa, inordinata, indistincta, lacunis hiantia, innumerabilibus mendis et hallucinationibus spurca, ex quibus facile conici potuerit bellum illum exscriptorem tam bene linguam Graecam calluisse quam ego Iaponicam . . . / . . . [Expl]: Deum interim Opt. Max. precor, ut te Ecclesiae Catholicae ac toti Galliarum regno, sanum et incolumem diutissime et felicissime conservet.

*Libri Contra Eunomium*. Oratio Prima (Liber I in edd. 1615, 1617; Liber XII b sive XIII in ed. 1638, Migne) [Inc.]: Christianorum fides, quae secundum Domini mandatum a discipulis omnibus gentibus in toto orbe praedicata est, neque ex hominibus est, neque per homines, sed per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum . . . / . . . [Expl.] (Oratio XII, edd. 1615, 1617, 1638, Migne): Tecum autem tantum est quantum satis esse possit ad erroris involucrum prorumpendum, et ad abstrusam in testa demonstrandam inverecundiam.

Johannes a Sancto Francisco wrote some textual notes on the Greek text which he had used for his revision of the Latin translation of *Contra Eunomium* by his father Nicolaus Gulonius. He prefaced the *Notae* proper with

a few remarks "To the reader." After the 1615 edition they were reprinted only once, in 1638.

*Candido Lectori Fr. Ioannes a sancto Francisco Monachus Fuliensis S.* (ed. of Paris, 1615). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. II, p. 1095) Cum amicissimus noster Cl. Morellus manuscriptum exemplar S. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni adversus Eunomium a fratre suo Federico Profess. Reg. Decano, accepisset, alterum a Fr. Pithoeo Viro doctissimo non admodum antiquae manus, sed priori illi ut lac lacti assimile et ex hoc libros illos in lucem edere ac typis mandare statuisset, ob eam causam me rogasset ut versionem Latinam quam quindecim ab hinc annis Nic. Gulonius parens meus, vir si quis alius de literis ac praecipue Graecis optime meritis extrema aetate exasciaverat, sed, proh dolor! fato praeventus non exolverat, recognoscerem ac limatiorem redderem et Graeco contextui e regione respondentem . . . (Ioannes went on to say that the task was difficult because of the poor condition of the Greek manuscripts and also because Gregory's language was not easily translated but he determined to do his best) . . . In hoc tamen, Lector humanissime, operam omnem et industriam potissimum contuli ut Graeca haberes quam fieri potuit castigatissima. Ideoque ubi in exemplari nostro textus erat confusus, distinxit; ubi discerptus et lacer, resarsit; ubi mutilus, integrum feci; ubi hians, replevi . . . / . . . (He explained that he added a list of these changes to assist the reader) [*Expl.*]: (p. 1095) Tu interim nostro labore frueris et si non iniquus huius aestimator esse volueris, aequi boni consule.

The first *Nota* which follows indicates that J. Gulonius had doubts that *his* Book I was really Gregory's first book: "Ex hoc loco apparet hanc non esse primam Gregorii Nysseni in Eunomium orationem, sed alteram praecessisse quae dicitur extare in Bibl. Vaticana et sic incipit." He give the Incipit of the original Book I.

*Editions:*

- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1618. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biographies:*

Nicolaus Gulonius (Goulu) was born in 1530 in a village near Chartres. His father was a vine dresser who drained his meagre resources for the education of his son when Nicolaus showed aptitude for ancient languages. Nicolaus married the daughter of the poet Dorat (Auratus), one of the famous Pléiade. He spoke of his wife as "Latine, Graece, Hispanice et Italice docta." In 1567 he succeeded his father-in-law in the chair of Greek at the Collège Royal. Both of Nicolaus' sons, Johannes and Hieronymus, followed his interest in Greek studies. After forty years of teaching he collapsed and died in the classroom in 1601.

*Works:* In addition to the translation of *Contra Eunomium*, he prepared a Latin version of the *Hymns* of Callimachus; a collection containing Apollinaris, *Paraphrase on the Psalms*; Greek paraphrases in verse of the Magnificat, the Songs of Zacharias and Simeon, etc.; also an *Epitome in universam philosophiam M.T. Ciceronis*.

*Bibliography:* Cioranescu, *XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 347; Grente, *XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 6; Hoefler XXI: 421-422; Joecher 2:1102-1103; Michaud XVIII:188; D. Liron, *Bibliothèque Générale des Auteurs de France*, p. 207; Merlet, "N. Goulu" in *Bibliothèque chartraine*, pp. 202-204. On his relationship to Dorat, see: "Notice biographique" in *Oeuvres poétiques de Jean Dorat* par. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, Geneva, 1966, pp. v-liv. On Madelaine Dorat's marriage to N. Goulu, see *op. cit.* p. xxviii sq. Five parts of Goulu's *Epitaphium* on members of his family are printed by Marty-Laveaux on pp. lxxvii-lxx.

Johannes Goulonius (Jean Goulu), the son of Nicolaus Gulonius was born in 1576. The young man became proficient in Greek studies, and on his father's death in 1601, was offered his chair at the Collège Royal. He deferred to his brother, Hieronymus, who was awarded the chair over Isaac Casaubon whom many had preferred for the position.

Johannes pursued law as a career more to his liking. In 1604, following a professional reverse, Johannes entered the monastery of the Feuillants, a reformed Cistercian order, in Paris, and took the name, Johannes a Sancto Francisco. He devoted all time not taken by religious duties to theological studies. His reputation for competence in Greek as well as his background in law resulted in his being chosen prior of his monastery and general of his order (once, not twice, as Michaud reports). He was acquainted with some of the most eminent personalities of his age. François de Sales speaks highly of him in his letters. He knew Cardinal Du Perron (Perrenius) to whom he dedicated his revision of his father's version of the *Contra Eunomium*. He knew Pope Urban VIII and was esteemed by Henry IV. In 1627 Johannes attacked Balzac's literary method in a famous little work, *Douze Livres de Lettres de Phyllarche à Ariste*, and there ensued a prolonged and bitter debate among the literati of the day. This resulted in the publication of many pamphlets which brought Johannes to the attention of a wide circle. At the time of his death in 1629, he was working on a refutation of some Calvinistic doctrines.

*Works:* In addition to revising his father's version of *Contra Eunomium*, he translated works of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, and Arrian, *Discourses* of Epictetus. He wrote a treatise against Petrus Molineus (Moulin) (See above p. 49) *Response au livre de la vocation des Pasteurs*; made a French translation of Anselm's *De aeterna beatitudine* and of Basil of Caesarea's *In Hexaemeron* (1616). This last included the doubtful homilies X and XI *De creatione hominis*, which he attributed to Basil, but which are sometimes included among the works of Gregory of Nyssa. He criticized the 1615 edition of Nyssenius for placing the two treatises among his writings. In spite of his labors in the field of ancient and patristic literature, he is still best known for his little book against Balzac.

*Bibl.:* Cioranescu, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* 2 p. 993; Grete, *XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* p. 470; Hofer XXI: 422-425; Joecher 2:1102; Michaud, XVIII: 189. On the Feuillants, see: *Dict. de Théol.*

*Cath.* V:2266 sq.; *Dict. de la Spiritualité* V:274-287; M. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 186.

## 2. JACOBUS GRETSEUS

Jacob Gretser made a Latin translation of Book I of the *Contra Eunomium* as well as of the *Summaria capitum (Periochae)*, the introductory letters exchanged by Gregory and his brother, Peter, and of "lacunae quaedam in libris *Contra Eunomium* ex Cod. Bavarico et Livineiano suppletæ." The translations were finished by Aug. 19, 1616, the date of the dedicatory letter to Jacques Davy, Cardinal Du Perron, to whom J. Gulonius had dedicated his version of the other portions of *Contra Eunomium*. The translations were probably completed at an earlier date. They were published in the 1618 Appendix to the 1615 edition of Nyssenius' *Opera*.

Gretser obviously had a long standing interest in seeing all of Gregory's writings *Contra Eunomium* published. A. Possevinus in his *Apparatus Sacer* (1603) I.681 in the course of listing Nyssenius' works and Latin versions of them, mentioned that Gretser had recently (1600) brought out a translation and edition of *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, "spem faciens eiusdem Nysseni libros Apologeticos pro S. Basilio fratre suo adversus inscitiam et maledicta Eunomii, Graece et Latine foras prodituros." That it took Gretser eighteen years to disentangle the problems of order and content of *Contra Eunomium* and to locate manuscripts of all components of the long treatise was not surprising.

At some point in that period of time, probably in the earlier part, Gretser received by way of Andreas Schottus, a fellow Jesuit scholar in Antwerp, a codex containing works of Nyssenius as well as a copy of a portion of a codex in the Vatican Library which contained Book I of *Contra Eunomium* and the collation of another Vatican manuscript. Both of these latter had come to Schottus from Johannes Livineius (see below p. 179). Gretser quoted a note in the margin of Livineius' copy of the Vatican manuscript, "Descripti Romae ex codice Vaticano, in quo



duodecim duntaxat legebantur, et cum altero exemplari in quo erant tredecim orationes, contuli anno 1579." Gretser probably saw this material well before he assisted in preparing the 1615 edition of Nyssenius' works. In that case the determination not to print Book I and the other new material at that time would have been made on the basis of the poor quality of the material received from Livineius (Jaeger, GNO II, p. LXIV).

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1618) J. Gretser D.D. Jacobo Davy, S.R.E. Presb. Cardinali Perronio, Archiepiscopo Senonensi, Magno Franciae Eleemosynario, Jacobus Gretserus, Societatis Iesu. [*Inc.*]: Ignosce audaciae, illustrissime cardinalis, cum viderem tibi inscriptos esse libros B. Gregorii Nysseni contra Eunomium a doctissimo viro F. Joanne a Sancto Francisco, Monacho Fuliensi, nolui, ut primus liber eiusdem operis, qui Parisiensi editioni deerat, et alia nonnulla Gregoriana nunc primum Graece publicata alium praeter te patronum quaererent qui non solum dignitate, sed ed eruditione summus es, cuius gloria Gallicani Regni finibus tametsi amplissimis contineri non potuit, sed omnes alias Christiani nominis provincias et in his quoque Germaniam nostram pervasit, ut cum orthodoxorum applausu et mirifica approbatione ita cum heterodoxorum stomacho gravique indignatione . . ." (He continues with a discussion of Gregory's treatment of Eunomius' doctrines) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Te sane ad Nyseni aureas lucubrationes Appendiculam tibi consecratam humano et benevolo vultu dignaturum etiam hoc nomine quod proficitur a professore eius ordinis, quem benefactis tuis aeternum tibi devinxisti quique ut palam praedicat se tibi plurima debere, ita nec illud dissimulat, se solvendo non esse, dum enim solvere incipit, debita magis atque magis semper crescere cernit. Vale, Illustrissime Cardinalis, Ingolstadii Bojorum XIX die Augustii Anno MDCXVI.

There follow: 1) short prolegomena to the Appendix of 1618, consisting largely of the usual biographical information relative to Nyssenius. 2) a short essay, "Quotnam S. Gregorius Nyssenius Libros Contra Eunomium scripserit. Ordo et dispositio XII Lib-

rorum *Contra Eunomium*." 3) the Contents of the 1618 edition. 4) the text of the two letters exchanged by Gregory and his brother, Peter. 5) the *Summaria Capitulorum*. 6) Book I. Items 4-6 are presented both in Greek text and in Latin translation.

*Epistola ad Petrum fratrem suum, episcopum Sebastenum* (ed. of Paris, 1618). [*Inc.*]: (p. 113) Paululum otii nactus valetudini operam dare potui, post reditum ex Armenia, et colligere schedulas, quas contra Eunomium tuo suasu composui . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 115) Turpe enim et generoso animo prorsus indignum arbitrati sumus, cum hostes suam absurditatem non occultent, nos veritatem liberrime non profiteri.

*Epistola Petri Sebasteni ad Gregorium Nyssenium fratrem suum*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 115) Religiosissimo fratri Gregorio Petrus in Domino salutem. Cum legissem litteras sanctitatis tuae et intellexissem tuum pro fide adversus haeresim et pro sancto Patre nostro fervorem, non tuarum virium sed eius, qui veritatem suis in dogmatis loqui disposuit, id opus esse existimavi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 116) Nunc vero candorem et sinceritatem mentis tuae, et quae sit tua affectio erga illum et opinio de illo, qui te spirituali partu in lucem edidit, perspicue docent partim studium, quo vita functum prosequeris, partim indignatio, qua in hostes eius inflammari. Vale.

*Capita seu Summaria Librorum*. [*Inc.*]: *Sum. Libri primi* (p. 116) 1. Praefatio qua ostenditur e re non esse ut quis beneficio afficere tentet eos ad quos nulla inde utilitas redit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Sum. Libri Duodecimi* (p. 129) Deinde iterum disserens de vero et inaccessibili lumine Patris et Filii, de proprietate, communitate, de substantia, deque genito et ingenito, quod nullam repugnantiam in significato suo includant, sed quandam oppositionem et distinctionem immediatam indicent, librum claudit.

Book I [*Inc.*]: Fieri, ut videtur, non potest ut quis de omnibus bene mereri et in obvius etiam toto terrarum orbe indiscriminatum beneficentiam suam effundere velit simulque multorum reprehensiones effugiat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: temporales autem dimensiones in illa omne saeculum antegressa vita non inveniun-

tur, ita ut excepta principii ratione sanctissima Trinitas in omnibus probe sibi consonet quam decet gloria et imperium.

*Editions:*

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above, pp. 52-53.

## XII. AD EUSTATHIUM, DE SANCTA TRINITATE

*Editio princeps:*

Shorter recension, as *Epistola* 189 (olim LXXX) of Basil of Caesarea: 1528, Hagoena (in *Basilii Op. om.*, ed. V. Obsopoeus).

Longer recension, attributed to Gregory of Nyssa: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

*Recent editions:*

Shorter recension: PG 32:684-696; and 1961, Paris in *St. Basile, Lettres* II.132-147 (ed. Y. Courtonne).

Longer recension: *Studi e Testi* 11 (1903) pp. 71-82 (ed. G. Mercati); and 1958, Leiden, GNO III.1:5-16 (ed. F. Mueller).

Gregory of Nyssa is considered the author of this work by the majority of scholars today. The attribution to Basil of Caesarea rested mainly on the fact that it appeared in many collections of his letters. But the earliest citations of it agree with the text of the recension bearing Nyssenens' name e.g. *Acts* of the Lateran Council (649) and the Third Council of Constantinople (680) = Mansi X. 1073-1076 and XI. 425-428; and *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, s. VII. A Syriac version (s. VII-VIII) names Gregory of Nyssa as author. Manuscripts containing only works of Nyssenens include it, although these admittedly in some cases contain spurious works. Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) quoted it as Nyssenens' in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*. Mercati's investigations led him to conclude that Gregory is the author of the *Ad Eustathium*, though he maintained that in this case the authenticity question cannot be

decided by reference to doctrine or style. Cavallin, Jaeger, and F. Mueller have followed Mercati in supporting Gregorian authorship.

*Bibliography:* A. Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des heiligen Basilius*, Lund, 1944, pp. 79, 81; Chevetogne, pp. 57-58, 204, n. 3 and 207, n. 2; W. Jaeger, *Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom Heiligen Geist*, Ch. I "Gregors offener Brief an den Oberarzt Eustathius," pp. 5-26; and pp. 27-50 passim; G. Mercati, *Studi e Testi* 11 (1903) pp. 57-70 (Introduction to his edition); F. Mueller, GNO III.1: *Praefatio* pp. xi-xxiv.

### I. WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS

Wolfgangus Musculus made a Latin translation of many works of Basil of Caesarea, including *Epistola* 189 (LXXX), *Ad Eustathium* during the period preceding December 1539 when he wrote the prefatory remarks for his edition of 1540. For details see above p. 81.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1540). [*Inc.*]: (II, p. 73) Est quidem omnium vestrum officium, quotquot artem medendi exercetis, in philanthropia situm. Et mihi qui vestram scientiam omnibus rebus quibus in hac vita studetur praeposuit, competenti usus iudicio nec quicquam a scopo aberrasse videtur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II, p. 77) . . . ita unam quoque dicimus esse divinitatem, sive iuxta multorum opinionem, naturam ipsam exprimit divinitatis nomen, quoniam nulla in natura deprehenditur diversitas, non immerito unius et eiusdem divinitatis sanctam definimus esse trinitatem.

*Editions:*

1540. See Composite Editions.

1565. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text of *Ad Eustathium* in this edition was kindly provided by F.K. Lorenz, of Hamilton College Library.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1570. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.117.

## 2. JANUS CORNARIUS

Janus Cornarius made a Latin translation of works of Basil of Caesarea, including *Epistola 189* (LXXX) *Ad Eustathium*, which he attributed to Basil. The edition was published in Basel in 1540. For details see above p. 82.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1540). [*Inc.*]: (IV, p. 685) Est quidem omnibus vobis qui artem medicam tractatis, amor erga homines studium. Et mihi sane videtur is qui universis vitae studiis vestram scientiam praeposuit dicens iudicium assequutus esse, et a decore non aberrasse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (IV, p. 688) sic unam dicimus esse deitatem. Sive iuxta multorum opiniones, naturae indicativum est deitatis nomen, propterea quod nullam reperimus in natura diversitatem, non immerito unius deitatis sanctam trinitatem decernimus.

*Editions:*

1540. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text in this edition was kindly supplied by the University of Illinois at Urbana Library.

1548. See Composite Editions.

1552. See Composite Editions.

1566. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1692. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.118.

## 3. GODEFRIDUS TILMANNUS

In 1547 Godefridus Tilmannus published a Latin translation of a number of works of Basil of Caesarea including *Epistola 189* (LXXX) *Ad Eustathium*. For details, see above pp. 83-84.

*Text* (ed. of Antwerp, 1569). [*Inc.*]: (p. no. not legible). Est quidem omnium vestrum officium studiumque in benigno erga homines affectu repositum, quotquot autem mendendi exercetia (*sic*). Et quidem quisquis artis istius vestrae cognitionem ceteris praetulit studiis quae ad tuendam praesentem vitam faciunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. no. not legible) ita unam quoque dicimus esse divinitatem, sive iuxta multorum opinionem naturam ipsam exprimit divinitatis nomen, quoniam nulla in natura deprehenditur diversitas, non

immerito unius et eiusdem divinitatis sanctam definimus esse trinitatem.

*Editions:*

1547. See Composite Editions.

1547. See Composite Editions.

1550. See Composite Editions.

1566. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1603. See Composite Editions.

1616. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 85.

## 4. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *Ad Eustathium de sancta trinitate*, which was published in 1562. For date and circumstances, see above p. 57. The manuscripts used by Sifanus all assigned the treatise to Gregory of Nyssa. They contained the longer version of the work.

Federicus Morellus revised Sifanus' translation for printing in the 1615 edition of Nyssen's works. The changes were minimal and are not evident in the *incipit* and *explicit*.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 112) Est sane vobis etiam omnibus, qui medicinam tractatis, humanitas curae; ac mihi siquis vestram scientiam omnibus rebus, quae in vita expetuntur, anteposuerit, rectum iudicium assequutus et ab eo, quod antecellat, non esse aberraturus videtur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 118) Quo circa siqui aiunt Deitatis nomen dignitatis esse significativum et demonstratum est etiam in hac communionem habere spiritum sanctum utique qui dignitatis particeps est, prorsus etiam particeps erit nominis, quo haec significatur.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

#### DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

##### 5. ANONYMUS

The *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*, Vol. XII # 6600c and # 6529 describes an edition published at Frankfurt c. 1560 which contained a version of *Epistola 189, Ad Eustathium* as well as of several other works of Basil of Caesarea. A copy was in the University Library in Wrocław but lost in the last war. (Information kindly provided by Adam Skura of Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław.)

This version may be identical with one of the known translations, but it may also have been a new and otherwise unknown version.

### XIII. CONTRA FATUM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 45:145–173; 1983, Chisinau, *S. Gregorii Nysseni Contra fatum* (ed. P.C. Jordachescu and T. Simenschy); J.A. McDonough, *The Treatise of Gregory of Nyssa, Contra fatum, a Critical Text with Prolegomena* (Harvard Dissertation, 1953). This, in revised form, is appearing in GNO III.2.

In addition to the full text found in most manuscripts, a Vienna manuscript, theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII) presents an abridged version of the *Contra fatum* as well as of four other works of Gregory of Nyssa. Recent studies by H. Hörner and J.A. McDonough have expanded previous findings (F. Mueller *GNO* III.1 p. xxviii and W. Jaeger, *GNO* VIII.1 pp. 36–37 and *Two Rediscovered Works* p. 4, n. 1). The purpose of the epitomator who made shortened versions of at least five works of Nyssenius some time prior to the copying of the Vienna manuscript was to present Gregory's arguments in a straightforward manner

without illustrations (see the preface of J.A. McDonough in GNO III.2). He also frequently changed word order and condensed longer expressions into shorter ones.

The reader is advised that Fabricius' reference (IX.107) to a 1512 edition of *De fato* resulted from his confusion of Nyssenius' work with the chapter, *De fato* in Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis* (see article Nemesius Emesenus, which will appear in CTC vol. VI.)

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. ANONYMUS (JACOBUS GRETSERUS?)

A Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra fatum* appeared in the small 1596 edition of eight genuine works (including two fragments) and of two spurious works of Nyssenius. Except for *Contra fatum* and *Contra usurarios*, the two final works in the volume, the Greek text was provided in cases where it had not previously been published (see above p. 70 for details). The name of the translator of *Contra fatum* is nowhere indicated in this 1596 edition nor in its 1599 reprint.

The recent studies by Hörner and McDonough (see above) make clear that someone other than Fronto Ducaeus, the nominal editor, worked on the 1596 volume and composed the preface. He was probably also the individual responsible for the two anonymous translations.

Many indications point to Jacob Gretser as the author of the preface and two translations although none of these bears his name. In the preface Ducaeus is mentioned only in the third person. This alone would not be a weighty factor, but one reads: *Libellum de fato suppeditavit nobis Bibliotheca Bavarica . . . Quia vero Bavaricum exemplar unicum erat, neque id satis correctum, neque nomen continebat eius ad quem hunc libellum misit, ideo probabiliter aliquoties divinandum fuit interpreti, quidnam sibi Gregorius velit, praesertim initio. The manuscript was Monacensis gr. 47 (s. XVI) which Gretser is known to have used while preparing his edition and*

translation of Nyssenius' *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* to which reference is also made in the 1596 preface. *Contra usurarios*, the companion piece to *Contra fatum*, also appears in this manuscript. McDonough believes that the Latin translation reflects the Greek of Monacensis 47 very well.

Was Gretser then the translator of *Contra fatum*? Hörner and McDonough are convinced that he was, although conclusive proof cannot be adduced. Hörner suggests that if Gretser himself did not make the translation, then perhaps one of his co-workers, Georg Stengel or Ferdinand Grendel, did.

Yet another bit of evidence must be considered. In 1610 Gretser published a list of his works up to that time (brought to my attention by F.E. Cranz). He mentions *Contra foeneratores (usurarios)* in this list, but makes no mention of *Contra fatum*. He brought out a second list in 1612. Some of Gretser's papers remain unpublished and may provide further information.

Until such a time one must deal with the facts available. The 1596 and 1599 editions gave no author's name, it will be recalled. In 1605 Ducaeus brought out another, much larger Latin edition which combined the contents of the 1596 edition with those of the previous 1573 edition of Nyssenius' works. In the Table of Contents of the 1605 edition one reads: *Contra fatum, incerto interprete . . .* Vol. I, p. 107. But on p. 107 one reads: *Epistola seu Liber Contra fatum, Frontone Ducaeo interprete*. In the 1615 bilingual edition of Nyssenius' works (where the Greek text of *Contra fatum* was first published), one still reads in the Contents: *Contra fatum, incerto interprete . . .* Vol. I, p. 894 and on that page, again *incerto interprete*. The same situation obtains in the 1638 edition of Nyssenius' works, both in the Contents and above the text in Vol. II, p. 62. See below for the almost parallel case for *Contra usurarios*.

It is in connection with the latter work that a clue to the problem of conflicting evidence is found. It appears in the Commentary published in 1608 by Gretser, *Notae super Notas Molinei*, on Gregory of Nyssa *Epistola II, De euntibus Hierosolyma*. Gretser here remarked

after adducing the weak argument against the authenticity of *Epistola II* that the translator of the version published in 1551 was unknown whereas in the case of genuine works of Gregory he was usually known: *Et si quae nova non ita pridem exierunt, quibus nullum interpretis nomen ascriptum, ut est libellus de fato, oratio contra foeneratores (usurarios), mihi tamen exploratum est quis utrumque opusculum Latine verterit. Num tu nosti, quis sit auctor versionis Latinae, quae in quarta centuria Magdeburgica exsistit?* (Gretser, *Op. Om.* IV.2, p. 209). McDonough points out that here Gretser is saying that he knows who is the translator of the works published "non ita pridem," i.e. 1596, while suggesting that Molineus does not know the identity of the translator of *Epistola II*. This alone does not provide a solution to the authorship problem, but when Gretser wrote the words he must have been aware that a number of his readers already knew that he translated *Contra usurarios* since it had come out in the same year (1596) as the Ducaeus volume, but as a separate printing, made by the same printer and giving Gretser's name! Why did he seemingly try to conceal his identity? McDonough suggests he may have done so because of some personal situation in the circles in which he moved. Thus though one can say definitely that Gretser authored the Latin version of *Contra usurarios*; one can only say that he may also have translated *Contra fatum*.

The attribution to Fronto Ducaeus seen above the text in the 1605 edition can rather easily be explained. Ducaeus himself was on the scene only at the end of the printing process. The printer, noting the absence of a translator's name and knowing that Ducaeus was the editor of the 1596 volume in which *Contra fatum* had first been printed and that he had also made a number of the Latin versions in that edition, simply attached his name to this work also. In the 1605 edition *Contra fatum* is preceded by the fragment from the *Antirrheticus* which was translated by Ducaeus. The printer may have assumed that the name was missing because it was the same as that of the preceding work. Lastly

the unknown individual responsible for the additions in the 1605 preface (See above p. 105) wrote that the edition contained the works printed in the 1596 edition including two "letters": Prior *de Pythonissa* . . . posterior vero *contra fatum*, quarum alterum sicut et reliqua fere praecedentia (i.e. In suam ordinationem etc.) reconditus ille totius antiquae literaturae condus promus P. Fronto Ducaeus e Graeco in Latinum transtulit nec non notis haud poenitendis cum aliis aliquot Nysseni libris illustravit. Ducaeus wrote *Notae* on *De Pythonissa*, but none on *Contra fatum*.

*Text* (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1596). [*Inc.*]: (p. 103) Meministi haud dubie accidisse mihi quippiam, quando nuper apud vos magnus ille mons, ut Evangelico verbo utar, perfidiae tandem ad fidem amplectendam traductus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 127) perspicuum sit id daemonum quoddam esse opus, comparatum ad decipiendos eos, qui omnem illam vim hisce rebus contineri opinantur, neque oculos ad Dei summam convertunt potestatem.

*Bibliography*: The reader should consult GNO III.2, the new critical edition, with *Prolegomena*, for details. I am grateful to Hadwig Hörner, Editor in chief of the Leiden edition of Gregory of Nyssa's works and to Fr. J.A. McDonough, editor of *Contra fatum*, for supplying information in private correspondence and for copies of unpublished material.

*Editions*:

1596. See Composite Editions. The copy at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was kindly inspected by F.H. Stubbings, Librarian, who also provided a copy of the text of *Contra fatum* from this edition.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography*:

See above pp. 52-53.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Fabricius, *BG* IX.107, note "y", stated that the 1615, Paris edition of Nyssen's works contained Zinus' Latin translation of *Contra fatum*. The translation in the 1615 and the 1638 edition as well is listed in the Table of Contents as "incerto interprete" and is exactly the same as that of the 1596, 1599 and 1605 editions. It should be noted that the translation preceding *Contra fatum* in 1615 and 1638 (but not in 1605) was indeed by Zinus (*De pauperibus amandis II, Quatenus uni* . . .). But the Table omits this title; so Fabricius' mistaken identification of the translator was the result of looking, not at the Table but at the previous work in the body of the volume. Domenicus Schram, in 1791, in his *Analysis Operum SS. Patrum*, an abridged version of the works of the Fathers, placed Zinus' name above the title *Contra fatum*; it is most likely that he was simply relying on the notice in Fabricius. (The writer is grateful to Lawrence H. Hill of St. Vincent's College Library for providing a copy of the text of *Contra fatum* as found in Schram's *Analysis*.)

XIV. AD GRAECOS, EX  
COMMUNIBUS NOTIONIBUS

Editio princeps (incomplete text): 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent edition (incomplete text): PG 45: 176-185.

Recent edition (complete text): 1958, Leiden in GNO III.1, pp. 19-33 (ed. F. Mueller).

The complete Greek text of this treatise was not printed until 1958 when F. Mueller edited it from manuscripts representing a tradition not used by earlier editors. He used British Library Royal 16 D I (s. XII) and Laurentianus Mediceus 6, 17 (s. X-XI). Previous texts were based on the shortened form appearing in Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII) (See above p. 104 on this manuscript) and related manuscripts. No Latin version of

the complete text exists.

*Bibliography:* See Jaeger GNO VIII.1, p. 36 sq. and *Two Rediscovered Works*, pp. 3–4 and n. 1; F. Mueller *op. cit.*: pp. xxv–xxxii, lxi. Reinhard Hübner is preparing a commentary.

## TRANSLATION

## I. FEDERICUS MORELLUS

Federicus Morellus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Ad Graecos, ex communibus notionibus* which Fronto Ducaeus published in his 1615 edition of Nyssen's works. Both scholars used manuscripts resembling Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 which contained an abridged form of a number of works of Nyssen (see above).

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1615). [*Inc.*] (I.914) Si nomen hoc Deus personarum significativum esset, cum tres personas dicimus, ex necessitate tres diceremus deos. Quod si Deus essentiae denotativum nomen est, dum unam essentiam confitemur sanctae Trinitatis, unum Deum merito glorificamus, quia unius substantiae unum nomen Deus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.922) Constat itaque iusta et consentanea maximeque scientia dissertatione (sic) nostra. Quod unum Deum asserimus omnium opificem, tametsi in tribus personis seu hypostatibus consideretur, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

*Editions:*

1615. See Composite Editions. F.E. Craz and J.E. Walsh kindly inspected the text of *Ad Graecos* in this edition.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.162. Add to the bibliography: J. Dumoulin, *Vie et oeuvre de Frédéric Morel (imprimeur du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Geneva, 1969 (reprint of ed. of Paris, 1901).

## XV. APOLOGIA IN HEXAEMERON

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 44:61–124; and 1855, Burntisland, *Gregorii Nysseni quae supersunt omnia*, t. 1. fasc. 1, ed. G.H. Forbes. M. Henniges is preparing a critical edition for GNO IV.

In addition to the text of *In Hexaemeron*, there exists in a manuscript of s. XV an epitome of some chapters which F. Combefis translated into Latin and published in his *Basiliius Recensitus*, Paris, 1679. See also M. Alexandre, "La théorie de l'exégèse dans le *De hominis opificio et l'Hexaemeron*," in Chevetogne, pp. 87–110.

## TRANSLATIONS

## I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus described the occasion of his making a Latin version of Nyssen's *Apolo-gia in Hexaemeron* in his dedicatory letter to Petrus Contarenus for his 1553 edition of a number of works of Gregory of Nyssa. He made the translation while spending some time at the home of Cardinal Reginald Pole in Bagnorea in central Italy. Zinus' version was the one preferred by later editors of *Opera omnia* editions.

*Dedicatory letter* (ed. Venice, 1553). Clarissimo atque optimo viro, Petro Contareno, Patrio Veneto, Petrus Franciscus Zinus S.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 2) Invictissimus et sanctissimus ille vir, Petre Contarene nobilissime, qui singulari virtute maximas et gravissimas perferens calamitates, patientis cognomen invenit, sapienter et vere mortalem hanc hominum vitam militiam appellavit . . . (There follows a long passage on the struggle of spiritual and material forces in man. Zinus goes on to praise the exemplary character of Ioannes Matthaëus, bishop of Verona whom it was his good fortune to know as a youth. Among his many virtues was his concern for helping the poor. Contarenus emulates him in this respect) . . . Et quoniam scio te, quamvis mira sedulitate,

Christum in pauperibus fovendo, Martham aemularis, aliquid tamen quotidie spatii cum Maria tum divinas res meditando, tum precationibus et sacris literarum studiis incumbendo consumere, dono tibi commentariolum hunc B. Gregorii Nyssae Pontificis in sex dierum opificium, quem ego superioribus mensibus, cum Roma abessem et Balneoregii cum illustrissimo ac reverendissimo Cardinali Reginaldo Polo patrono meo, viro tui studiosissimo atque amantissimo commorarer mihi que singulari eius benignitate non nihil otii suppeteret, animi gratia in latinum converti. Verum quia in eo commentariolo vir sanctus mundi fabricam ita contemplatur, ut naturalem tantummodo et historiae congruentem in rebus procreatis ordinem explicet, eas ob res, quas in eius commentariolo exordio ipse persequitur; tu autem, quamvis huiusce generis scripta non aspernere, iis tamen vehementius delectaris, quae ad vitam moresque pertinent. Duas adiunximus orationes in hominis procreationem admodum pias, quae licet ab eiusdem auctoris et multo etiam magis a Basilii Magni, cui eas a quibusdam falso attributas audio, scribendi consuetudine abesse videantur, antiquissimae tamen sunt, et aut ab ipso Gregorio adhuc iuvene forte compositae, antequam absolutissimum illum librum de homine, qui graece latineque extat, perscripsisset, aut ab aliquo eiusdem aetatis viro tum pio, tum minime indocto. Certe in codice vetustissimo, quem mihi doctissimus atque humanissimus idem adolescens Antonius Gibertus accommodavit, commentariolum ipsum in mundi fabricam statim subsequuntur, ut quoniam in eo omittitur de hominis procreatione consideratio, ipsae locum illum explerent. Addidimus aliquot alias eiusdem auctoris orationes, ut pulcherrimam illam in diem natalem Christi, in eius ascensum in coelum, in Pentecosten, in eos, qui acerbius iudicant quique indigent poenitentia, duas praeterea longe doctissimas et elegantissimas, quarum altera perfecti christiani formula traditur, altera demonstratur non esse dolendum in eorum obitu, qui in fide dormierunt. Accedet Gregorii illius rerum mirabilium effectoris (Gregory Thaumaturgus) oratiuncula de animi immortalitate (i.e.

*De anima ad Tatianum*, sometimes attributed to Nyssenus). Cum his poteris ipse coniungere tres illas de pauperibus amandis et benignitate complectendis, quas antea tibi muneri misimus (1550). Ex quibus omnibus tanquam ex totidem suavissimis floribus contextitur munusculum nostrum, quod tu pro singulari humanitate tua libenti animo ut suscipias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. Romae, Kalendis Ianuarii, MDLIII.

In 1574 at Venice, Zinus published another collection of writings of Nyssenus which contains ten additional works. He dedicated it to Philip Contarenus, nephew of Petrus, the dedicatee of the 1553 edition.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice 1574). Optimo atque ornatissimo Philippo Contareno Pavii viri optimi et clarissimi filio Petrus Franciscus Zinus Canonicus Veronensis S.D. [*Inc.*]: Superioribus mensibus dum tu, Philippe Contarene carissime, cursu secundissimo ad tutum quietis et verae tranquillitatis portum optimo te consilio contulisti, ego turbulentissimis calamitatum fluctibus inter periculosos scopulos iactatus a naufragio haud procul fui. Quo quidem in discrimine, cum iter meum lucerna Verbi Dei dirigerem meque sacrarum scripturarum lectione consolarer, cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris, in gratiam rediens ac studiorum meorum labores vigiliasque memoria repetens, opportune incidi in monumenta quaedam trium doctrina et sanctitate praestantium Gregoriorum quae quondam a me latinitate donata sapientissimo atque optimo Paphi Pontifici, Petro Contareno, patruo tuo, consecrarem. (The 1553 edition published by Zinus included the *De pauperibus amandis* of Nazianzenus and the *De anima ad Tatianum*, then considered a work of Thaumaturgus, in addition to works of Nyssenus). Ea igitur praeclara scripta relegens cum eorum nulla amplius exempla cererem reperiri et memoria ac lectione omnium digna existimarem, haud alienum institutis meis esse duxi, si operam darem, ut rursus impressorum typis excuderentur. Illa igitur tibi, ut patrum pietatis ac probitatis haeredi, quo meae tum in illum, tum etiam in te benevolentiae atque observantiae memoriam conservent, impressa mittimus. Atque



ut munusculum nostrum accessione aliqua locupletius atque ornatus fieret, adiunximus pulcherrimam D. Gregorii Thaumaturgi orationem in Epiphania, quam mihi graece manuscriptam vir singulari eruditione et probitate illustrissimus Gulielmus Sirletus Cardinalis dulcissimi amoris erga me sui testem largitus est. Accedent praeterea decem aliae Gregorii Nysseni orationes elegantissimae. Quoniam igitur ego te nunc nec praesentem videre nec alia ratione absentem alloqui valeo, hi te viri sanctissimi meo nomine invisent, tecumque pro me colloquentur. (Zinus continues with a passage lamenting his present troubles and lauding Philip Contarini and his family. Comments made in 1553 about Petrus, his uncle, are repeated and his (Philip's) brother Franciscus' sacrificial life is praised; he had died in the war with the Turks. The letter ends with a long flowery passage extolling Philip himself) . . . [*Expl.*]: sed altiora quaedam tibi vitae perfectionis proponens tamquam Moyses periculosus istis Reip. Christianae temporibus et Dei populo ancipiti admodum pugna cum Diabolo cumque communibus Christianorum hostibus decertante, in excelsum religionis Iesuitarum montem ascendisti, sublatis contemplationis precatationisque manibus assidue caelestem Patrem obsecra qui Christianam Remp. pretioso filii sui unigeniti sanguine redemptam non modo a Diabolo et peccatis omnibus servet incolumem, verumetiam ab infidelium armis tueatur, ut sine timore de manu inimicorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia omnibus diebus nostris. Vale.

*Text* (ed. of Venice 1553). [*Inc.*]: Quid agis, homo Dei? Cur ea nos quae vires humanas superant aggredi, et onus quod non modo sustineri, sed ne suscipi quidem, ut ego sentio, sine reprehensione potest, subire iubes? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 36 v) cui nomen est, Rationale, et Declaratio, et Veritas, sicut appellat Moses, qui tales amictus sacerdoti confecit mandato Dei, cui cum unigenito Filio et Spiritu sancto gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1553. See Composite Editions.

1574. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS.

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of the *Apologia in Hexaemeron* which was published in 1562. For the date and circumstances, see above pp. 57-9.

Sifanus described the difficulties encountered in working with this treatise in his dedication for the 1562 edition. He had devoted himself wholly to the task of translating works of Gregory of Nyssa since it seemed to him wrong to be careless or negligent in such a pious and useful undertaking. But in some cases, including *In Hexaemeron* and *Adversus Iudaeos*, the poor condition of the single Greek text he had at hand made it difficult to be sure he was making an accurate interpretation of the text: Sed in *Hexaemero* atque illo libello qui est *adversus Iudaeos de sancta Trinitate*, quae commentarios unico exemplo eoque corrupto, mutilato ac depravato, Latinos facere conatus, et in multis locis coniecere coactus sum, mihi ignoscendum esse puto sicubi offenderim, nec coniectura omnia exacte assequi potuerim . . . (for more information regarding the preface, see above pp. 57-9).

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 283) Quur haec facis, o homo Dei, ut ad audendum non tentanda, et ad eiusmodi res aggrediendum, quas non modo assequi difficile sit, sed ut mea quidem opinio fert, ne aggredi quidem quisquam possit absque reprehensione, nos adhorteris? . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 314) cui nomen est et rationale et doctrina et declaratio et veritas: quemadmodum inquit etiam Moyses, qui eiusmodi sacerdoti conficiebat indumenta iuxta praescriptum Dei quem decet gloria et imperium cum unigenito filio et spiritu sancto in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

3. Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario 527 (s. XII) A description of the manuscript supplied by Pierantonio Gios of the Bibl. del Seminario to Prof. Paul O. Kristeller and transmitted by him to me indicates that the notation on p. 72: *In Hexameron explicatio apologetica, de opificio hominis*, refers only to a translation by Dionysius Exiguus of *De opificio hominis*. *Hexameron* is not included in this manuscript.

XVI. *DE IIS QUI BAPTISMUM  
DIFFERUNT.*

Editio princeps: 1618, Paris in *Appendix ad G. N. Op. Om.* 1615, (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: *PG* 46:415-432. A critical edition will appear in a future volume of the GNO series.

## TRANSLATION

## I. GENTIANUS HERVETUS.

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *De iis qui baptismum differunt* which was first published in the Paris 1573 Latin edition of Nyssen's works. For preface to the edition see p. 77 above.

Text (ed. of Paris 1573). [*Inc.*]: (p. 467) *Huius mundi reges cum leges scripserint quae hominum vitae certam regulam constituunt, eas tradentes magistratibus per illos eas iubent publicari civibus ut quae iussa fuerint sic servantur inviolata . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: (p. 474) *Deponite ergo vestram inanem sententiam qui baptismum reservatis ad exequias scientes quod fides suam requirit sororem, nempe quae est ex charitate vitae institutionem, qua qui-*

*dem digni sumus Dei voluntate et ope. Quem decet adoratio nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.*

*Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text of this treatise was supplied through the kindness of M. Pollard, Trinity College, Dublin.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1734-41. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

XVII. *DE INFANTIBUS  
PRAEMATURE ABREPTIS.*

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G.N. Op. Om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 46:161-192. H. Hörner is preparing the critical edition for GNO III.2.

*Bibliography:* The papers delivered at the Leiden Colloquium of 1974 dealt exclusively with *De infantibus*. Publication was left to individual contributors. Available at present are: P. J. Alexander, "Gregory of Nyssa and the Simile of the Banquet of Life," *Vig. Chr.* 30 (1976) pp. 55-62; F. Mann, "Gregor, Rhetor et Pastor" (Interpretation of the Prooemium), *Vig. Chr.* 31 (1977) pp. 126-147. See also the earlier discussion by J. Danielou, "Le traité 'Sur les enfants morts prématurément' de G. de N.," *Vig. Chr.* 20 (1966) pp. 159-182.

## TRANSLATION

## I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS.

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De infantibus praemature abreptis* which was published in 1562. For the date and circumstances see above p. 57. This treatise provides a particularly

valuable clue to Sifanus' manuscript sources and was the basis for a detailed study by H. Hörner. See above p. 58. Her investigation reveals that Par. gr. 586 (s. XVI) must have been his primary source. Later he supplemented it with readings found in Monac. gr. 47, s. XVI) and Monac. gr. 107 (s. XVI) and several other codices from the library of Johann Jacob Fugger. Par. gr. 586 alone of these manuscripts incorporated the passage, *PG* 46:168 C lines 31–43. The copyist, Camillus Bartholomaeus de Zanetti, found it as a scholion and incorporated it in the text, probably for apologetic reasons, to free Gregory from charges of Origenism. Sifanus prefaced it with the word, *Explicatio*. In addition to being the only codex to contain this passage in the text, Par. gr. 586 contained all of the works translated by Sifanus at this time and none which he did not. Other additional factors make it clear that this was his primary exemplar (see *Prolegomena* to GNO. III.2). This passage has remained in subsequent printed editions, but another insertion of approximately half a page (ed. 1562, pp. 178–179; ed. 1571, p. 139) lasted only through the 1605 edition. F. Ducaeus removed it when preparing the 1615 bilingual edition, saying in the margin, "Quae huc interpres inseruit, cum in nostro manuscripto non habeantur, omisimus". The passage was inserted between "malorum crapulam offundens" and "Sed cur prorsus" *PG* 46: 187 C. Sifanus found it in Monac. gr. 47, one of the codices from the Fugger library with which he supplemented Par. gr. 586. The passage contains the word "aeoniam" mentioned above in connection with Sifanus' method of translating (p. 58).

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 166) Dicendi quidem vim, qua quisque praeditus fuerit, omnes et oratores et rerum scriptores haud difficulter tibi, o vir optime, veluti in stadio quodam per amplitudinem miraculorum tuorum discurrentes utique demonstrabunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 181) hoc laetitiae eorum qui bene vixerunt appendix et additamentum existit, quemadmodum prophetia intelligendum proponit, quod in bonis haud parvum quis existimaverit nec providentia Dei indignum.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions. A copy of Sifanus' version as it appears in this edition was kindly provided by James E. Walsh of Harvard's Houghton Library.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

### XVIII. IN INSCRIPTIONES PSALMORUM.

Editio princeps: 1600, Ingolstadt (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: *PG* 44:432–608; 1962, Leiden in GNO V (ed. J. A. McDonough).

*In inscriptiones Psalmorum* is an allegorical interpretation of the inscriptions for the Psalms. Gregory of Nyssa divided his treatment into two "kephalaia", a "tractatus prior" and a "tractatus secundus". Although these subtitles appear in a number of tables of contents, the two sections are generally considered as one, not two works. The chapter divisions are the work of J. Gretser who published the first edition of the Greek text along with his Latin translation.

In the *Praefatio* to his critical edition, J. A. McDonough discusses the history of the text at length.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. JOHANNES VAZ MOTTA LUSITANUS.

Motta Lusitanus made a Latin translation of Nyssen's work on the inscriptions for the Psalms. He dedicated his effort to Pope Greg-

ory XIII. The manuscript is dated Oct. 1, 1582; it has never been published as he had hoped (opus hoc Gregorii Nysseni de graeco ut graece et latine publicaretur vertendum sumpsi).

The dedication begins with laudatory remarks about Gregory XIII which compare him to Nyssenus and Nazianzenus (Nazanzenus in Motta). He goes on to note that the Pope was determined to use his talents as a translator although he (Motta) was beset with grave calamities, the nature of which he does not disclose, but the reader may assume that he was being pursued by political enemies, probably Spaniards (see Biography). From the dedication it appears that G. Sirleto was of assistance to him in his difficulties, and that Motta's version of this work of Nyssenus was an expression of gratitude to Sirleto who had also urged the translating enterprise. Motta explained that although he had already translated works of Basil and Chrysostom, he experienced real difficulties in making an accurate Latin version of Nyssenus since the theological terminology did not admit of clear Latin rendition. In addition Motta lamented that he had only one manuscript of poor quality from which to work. His exemplar is not known. His translation is preserved in one manuscript, Vat. Reg. lat. 1795, an autograph.

*Dedication* (Vat. Reg. lat. 1795). (fol. 20) Beat(issi)mo Papae Gregorio 13 (. . .) Christiani orbis Episcopo Jo. Vaz Motta J. U. D. Lusitanus post humile sanctorum pedum osculum. [*Inc.*]: Concertantes mihi videor inter se (. . .) officiis videre, P.B. (Pater Beatissime). tres summos Christianae reipublicae viros neque minus in illius semper utilitatem vigilantes quam ipsorum nomina promittebant, Gregorios dico tres, imo tria orbis lumina, Nazianzenum unum urbis regiae novae Romae praesulem, alterum singularem amicum eius Magnique fratrem Basilii Nyssenum a sanctis patribus atque synodis orientis patrum patrem nuncupatum, tertiumque te hac nunc eadem via quam ingressi illi sunt caelestique passu magnisque virtutibus incedentem rectorem omnis aevi optimum atque maximum. Sed enim quemadmodum in primum illum omni tu officio pietateque peregre functus es utque in aetatem omnem Vaticani templi

monumenta testa-(fol. 21) buntur, ita ipse tibi rebusque tuis omnibus praesenti numine assistit, pontificiaeque istius dignitatis qua neque cogitari inter mortales ulla maior neque vero esse potest, actiones omnes fovet, dirigit, secundat. Praestat operam suam tacitam (facilem?) amico Nazianzeno hac in re Nyssenus. Sed amicitiae esse ratus amicum ipsum in exhibendo pro illo officio ulterius progreditur palamque nunc et praesens hanc tibi gratiam gratificatur proque (fol. 21 v) augustissimo templo quod amico tu eius posuisti concionem coram te vocat et evectus citissimis divini alis ingenii arcana psalterii ipsaque inscriptionum mysteria contemplatur atque enarrat, divinum plane munus et quod vix ab alio quam ab eo aliique quam tibi exhiberi potuisset. Neque enim vel comprehendi animo vel explicari ratione potest quanta sit (fol. 22) ipsius tua cuiusve alterius pontificis felicitas si eius temporibus tantorum hominum monumenta prodire in lucem beareque mortales potuissent(?).

Certe quidem illud ei unum e dignitate minus cessat quod me interprete usus sit. At quia Lusitani alicuius opera ad hoc uti semel constituerat caeterosque qui in urbe degunt (. . .) (fol. 22 v) aliis omnino rebus implicatos videret, me unum tametsi multis infandisque calamitatibus tum laboribus contritum (. . .) conatumque tamen semper ut ingenue natum (? . . .) utque ommittam alia latinis graecisque auctoribus ab ineunte aetate familiarem ad praestandam hanc operam asciscendum arbitratus est. Fecerunt id opus eodem tempore in quibusdam orationibus et opusculis praeclarissimis Joan. Chrysostomus, Caesareae Basilius et Basilius Seleucia, Magnus Athanasius, Isidorus (fol. 23 r) Thessalonicensis qui prompti paratique sunt subire lucem cum Gregorio Nysseno si Gregorii XIII optimi pontificis propensio auctoritasque accesserit (. . .) quod quum futurum tuus me in sanctos hos patres amor certissimum reddat, dabo vicissim ego operam ut plerique alii non minus sancti docti elegantesque a blatearum et vetustatis iniuriis quantum per ingenii mei tenuitatem licuerit vindicati in studiosorum manus deveniant. Qua quidem (fol. 23 v) opera gratiam quidem ego sanctitatis tuae abunde de-

merebor(.), tibi vero insignium ecclesiaeque cum primum utilium voluminum et collati in literatosque probosque omnes singularis(.) beneficii apud posteritatem omnem omnesque mortales decus et gloria perpetua constabunt. Romae kalendis Octobris anno salutis 1582.

*Lectori benevolo. [Inc.]:* (fol. 28 r) Quum venissem Romam nihil prius habui quam ut illustrissimum S. R. E. Cardinalem Gul. Sirletum convenirem, virum et pietate summa et quo maiorem in omni genere doctrinae eruditionisque a multis annis ecclesia Dei non habuit. Illum ego et in primo statim congressu benignum benevolumque et non multo post novis domesticarum calamitatum fluctibus exceptus patronum singularem apudque summum ipsum pontificem peregregium fauorem sum expertus. Qui quum me pollicitus opem omnem suam non semel adhortabatur aliquid ut (fol. 28 v) proferrem quo studiorum meorum in utilitatem publicam ratio constaret, intendi in eam statim curam animum, atque inter pleraque alia quae in sanctorum patrum voluminibus non inutiliter fortasse meditatus sum, opus hoc Gregorii Nysseni de graeco ut et graece et latine publicaretur vertendum sumpsit. Hoc ego exscribendum Romae curavi quumque nihil in hanc scripturae sanctae partem ab antiquis elaboratum patribus hodie quod sciam in publica saltem luce extet auctorque is sit qui inter doctissimos (fol. 29 r) graecorum quosque locum habet, optime me meritum de studiosis omnibus arbitratus sum, si labore ille meo in eorum manus deveniret. Exemplari quidem uno tantum usus sum, si non omnino mendoso, non ita tamen sano incorruptoque, quin plerisque locis et negotium faceret et sententiam vel perturbaret vel nullam redderet. Illud unum summopere dolui non omnes psalterii inscriptiones explicari, an quia non ultra Gregorius fuerit progressus, an vero quia reliqua (fol. 29 v) non in omnibus extent exemplaribus non sat scio. Credo certe magis scriptorem ipsum non ulterius fuisse progressum. Ad versionem meam quod attinet quum Chrysostomi, Basilii aliorumque aliquando scripta nonnulla verterim nullus mihi tantum molestiae exhibuit quantum Nyssenus. Eo enim scribendi genere usus est in hoc libro, ut si paullulum elegan-

tius velis reddere e sententia discedas, si verbis adhaereas insuavis omnino atque inamoenae quaeque vix possit intelligi trallatio (*sic*) sit futura. Meditabar (fol. 30 r) ego quidem olim genus vertendi ecclesiasticos auctores ut collectis nimirum in unum optimis quibusque eorum tam graecis quam latinis diligenti observatione in peculiaribus ecclesiae vocibus atque phrasibus utrorumque dicendi modi observarentur quibus secure uti qui verteret deberet, ut in prophanis quibusque factum videmus dum ad vertendum Platonem, Aristotelem, Theophrastum Ciceronem, Plinium, Celsum, alios adhibemus observamusque. Quod nisi in sacris etiam scriptoribus diligenter praestetur, frustra sane sperabimus habituros nos unquam quippiam in hoc genere perfectum absolutumque. Sed id ego in praesentiarum neque praestare neque vero tentare poteram, quum neque librorum copia suppeteret nec fortasse (fol. 30 v) tranquillitas ea animi quae requiritur ad huiusmodi studia. Quare praestiti quod potui, non vero quod volui. Et si mea de versione mea sententia requiratur, dicam libere, neque eam omnino bonam esse neque tamen omnino malam. Quam (tametsi optima videretur) ne attingerent precarer studiosos libenter, quum graeca ipsa exhibeam, satiusque omnino sit e vivo eos fonte quam e rivulis meis plane exiguis haurire. Id ego a te quoque lector optime utque me ames vehementer obsecro obtestorque. Vale.

*Text [Inc.]:* (fol. 35, p. 71) *Sancti patris nostri Gregorii Nyssae episcopi Magni Basilii fratris in inscriptiones psalmorum meditatio.* Excepi omni cum aviditate (*Actorum* 17) mandatum tuum, o homo Dei, studium mihi aequae ac tibi gratum praebens intendique animum inscriptionibus psalmorum. Iniunxisti quippe nobis ut intelligentiam quae in ipsis contemplatione digna est, scrutaremur ut id omnibus innotesceret quod per eas manducere nos ad virtutem potest . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 307) sicut ait psalmographus is ex virtute in virtutem exque victoria in victoriam conscendens (Ps. 83:8). canam (dicit) (?) virtuti tuae et laetabor mane super misericordia tua (Ps. 59:17). Finis. There follow *Notae*, see below p. 117.

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat.1795;

s. XVI, fols. 35–307 (*Iter Italicum* Vol. II, p. 404). The present writer is indebted to several scholars without whose generous assistance she would have been unable to decipher Motta's autograph. Julian Brown of the University of London assigns the style of writing to a script that became current in Italy following 1560. There is inconsistency in the formation of letters and in abbreviations. It is described by Giovanni Cresci in his *Essempiare* (1560). Randolph Starn of the University of California at Berkeley was also of assistance. Special thanks are owed to Paul Oskar Kristeller who not only devoted many hours to working on the transcription of this difficult manuscript, but also examined it in the Vatican Library.

*Biography:*

Johannes Vaz Motta (Ioão Vaz da Mota) was a native of Lisbon, Portugal (hence the designation Lusitanus). He was the son of António Vaz da Mota, a canon of the cathedral in Lisbon. Johannes held a doctorate both in the humanities and in law and was a celebrated lecturer of his day at the University of Coimbra. After the defeat and death of the Portuguese king, Sébastian à Alácer-Quibir, he became a supporter of the Portuguese contender, Dom António, against Philip II of Spain. When the Spanish army invaded Portugal, he was forced (c. 1580) to flee into exile, wounded and leaving his personal possessions behind. These details are revealed in a letter of António to Pope Gregory XIII (c. 1583), who the year before had been the dedicatee of Motta's translation of *In inscriptiones psalmorum*. Motta took up residence in Rome where he taught at the Sapienza as a substitute for Aquiles Estaço (Statius, see below p. 188), and Marcantonio Mureto. He moved in the circle of Cardinal Sirleto and his associates. His funeral oration on Sirleto was published in Rome in 1585. The Spaniards finally seized him in Rome, and he died in prison in Gaeta in 1590. (Information on Motta's life was furnished to Paul Oskar Kristeller by Americo da Costa Ramalho of the Instituto de Estudos Classicos of Coimbra).

*Works:* His published works include: *Ora-*

*tio habita in Gymnasio Romano initio professionis suae 5 Nov. 1584; Oratio in Gymn. Rom. pridie Non. Nov. 1585 cum inciperet explicare lib. Paradox. Marci Tullii; Oratio habita die 7 Martii cum inciperet explicare lib. Topic. Marci Tullii; Funebris Oratio in Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. Cardinalem Guilielmum Sirletum habita in aede S. Laurentii in Pane et Perna; Encomium S. Io. Evangelistae coram Sanctissimo Gregorio XIII ad Illus. et Reverend. Cardinalem Vastavillanum S.R.E. Camerarium.* In addition a few works are preserved in manuscript form including notes on Lactantius and a letter from Motta to Petrus Victorius in a Munich manuscript, Staatsbibliothek Clm 735, no. 154, where Motta is designated as Lisbonensis (reported by Paul Oskar Kristeller). He also composed two treatises, *De nasutis* and *De meretricibus*. He himself states in the prefatory remarks to the translations of Nyssenus' work that he had previously made Latin translations of works of Basil and Chrysostom. Barbosa Machado states that most of Motta's manuscripts were in private libraries which were destroyed in the severe earthquake in Portugal, Nov. 1, 1755.

*Bibli.:* D. Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, II, p. 785.

## 2. MAXIMUS MARGUNIUS.

Maximus Margunius was asked by Lorius de Loriis, the Venetian printer, to make a Latin version of Gregory of Nyssa's *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*. Margunius had come to Venice after being appointed bishop of the Venetian island of Cythera at his own request. The authorities of the city refused to approve the appointment and offered Margunius in return a position as teacher of Greek and Latin in Venice. He spent the remainder of his life in this work. Nevertheless the translation of the work of Nyssenus which was published in 1585 as well as that of three other works of the same author lists Margunius as bishop of Cythera.

Lorius himself wrote the introductory remarks for the edition and dedicated it to the civil authorities of Udine.

*Preface* (ed. of Venice, 1585). Mag. et praestantiss. Utini Magistratui et Patribus, salutem. [*Inc.*]: Nulla est, praestantissimi septemviri reliquique patres Utinenses, ex tot artibus quas excogitavit et quasi extudit meditando antiquitas quae cum ea vel dignitatis ratione vel commodi omnium iudicio sit conferenda, quam superioris aetatis et memoriae homines paene simul invenerunt, et perfecerunt, hanc dico, quae imprimenda hominum scripta curat, cuius tanta est et utilitas et ornamentum ut non ab hominibus inventa sed divino consilio tanquam praeclarum munus hominibus commonstrata esse videatur, cum ad Dei munus donanda in terris immortalitate propius accedat. Hanc ego cum viderem paene unum desiderari in hac nostra Utini Civitate posse quae cum omnia alia decora affatim possideat quibus solent civitates illustrari praeclarorum ingeniorum copiam, utraque etiam disciplina literis scilicet et armis, aedium quoque et substructionum honestissimarum serie sit apte distincta locique natura et ipsa amoenitate perpolita, hac una tamen re caeteris Italiae civitatibus et oppidis etiam inferior esse dicitur, quod nulla Utini pagella imprimatur, nulla fiat eius in Bibliothecis mentio, sed cum perpetua sui nominis oblivione delitescat, a teneris in hanc semper curam incubui, et ea de causa domo sum profectus, ut hanc artem mihi compararem eo consilio, ut aliquando si usu venisset praestare patriae in hoc meam operam possem, et si illa hunc animum praeclarum quidem, sed tamen cum virium tenuitate coniunctum non esset aspernata, sed (quae eius est pietas) adiuvasset, libris Utini imprimendis Civitatis nomen illustrarem. Quare cum superioribus diebus coepissem meis sumptibus Venetiis imprimere visum est mihi necessario faciendum, ut meas quasi primitias ipsi Patriae tanquam numini dedicarem, et cum ad meas manus pervenisset liber Gregorii Nysseni in Psalmos numquam antea nec Graece nec Latine editus, dignus visus est, qui vobis mitteretur sub vestro nomine divulgatus. Itaque nullis sumptibus parcens e Graeco in Latinum vertendum ab Episcopo Cytherensi utriusque sermonis eruditissimo curavi, et eum vobis nunc do dicoque. Vos hanc meam animi inductionem et pietatem in pa-

triam boni consulite, et quam exteris benignitatem in excipiendis huiusmodi muneribus praestitistis, civi vestro, quamvis minimo, non denegate. Valet.

*Text.* S.P.N. Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae. In *Psalmorum Inscriptiones atque textus mystica eminentissimaque explicatio*. Nunc primum a Maximo Margunio Episcopo Cytherensi ex Graeca Latina facta. [*Inc.*]: Iussum tuum omni cum promptitudine, homo Dei, accepi, quod mihi tibi que studium aequae largitur, Psalmorumque inscriptionibus animum adhibui, hoc enim nobis perscrutandum iniunxisti iussistisque . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: qui vero victor adversariorum fuerit et procedens ut alio in loco psalmista dicit ex virtute in virtutem (Ps. 83:8) et victoria victoriam commutans, cantabo, inquit, potentiae tuae et laetabor mane misericordia tua (Ps. 58:17). Deo gloria.

*Edition:*

(micro) 1585, Venetiis (Venice): apud Lorium de Loriis. Graesse 3:149; Hoffmann 2:189; Legrand II. 221. BN.

*Biography:*

See CTC II:320.

### 3. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser made a Latin version of Gregory of Nyssa's *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* which was published in 1600 in a volume which contained in addition his translation of nine homilies of Leo Imperator, i.e. Leo VI (866–912) the Philosopher. Gretser stated that he used both a "codex Bavaricus", probably Monacensis gr. 47, s. XVI, and another manuscript which was in poor condition, possibly Monacensis gr. 23, s. XVI. Gretser's Greek text and Latin translation were reprinted in subsequent *opera omnia* editions of Nyssen's works. However an unknown scholar corrected the text which was printed in Migne's *Patrologia*.

*Dedication* (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1600). Serenissimo Principi ac Domino Dn. Guilhelmo, Comiti Palatino Rheni, Utriusque Bavariae Duci, etc. Jacobus Gretserus Societatis Jesu gratiam et felicitatem a Deo precatur. [*Inc.*]: Offero Serenitati vestrae, serenissime princeps,

episcopum et imperatorem utrumque Graecum sed nunc meo studio itidem latinum, quorum ille Psalmos vel potius Psalmorum inscriptiones mystice explanat et quomodo quis Psalmorum lectione et meditatione ad vitam beatam perducatur pulcherrime demonstrat. Alter acta quaedam vitae Christi, Redemptoris nostri, celebrat . . . (Gretser continues to discuss the content and mentions that he is publishing the nine homilies of Leo the Philosopher in the same volume) . . . Spero utrumque Serenitati vestrae gratum et acceptum fore, Nyssenum etiam hoc nomine, quia Psalmos interpretatur. Quis vero, vel modice pietatem degustavit, incredibilem ex Psalmis voluptatem non haurit? (A passage follows extolling the inspirational quality of the Psalms and quoting Ambrose and Chrysostom to this effect. The Psalms are used by all and on numerous occasions.) Summa haec gratia, qua Spiritus sanctus Psalmorum volumen perfudit, excitavit quoque summos viros ut in Psalmis explanandis aliquid operae ponerent: ex Latinis praeter sanctissimos doctores Augustinum, Ambrosium, Hieronymum et Gregorium Magnum, qui saltem illos Psalmos qui a poenitentibus Numinis propitiandi causa potissimum concinuntur, dilucida explicatione exposuit, ex Graecis excellentissimos illos eruditione viros, Basilium, Athanasium, Eusebium Caesariensem, Theodoretum et hunc nostrum Nyssenum doctrina nulli secundum quod cum ex aliis eius operibus, quae vulgo teruntur et leguntur, liquet, tum ex divinis eius libris Apologeticis pro S. Basilio fratre suo, adversus inicitiam et maledicta Eunomii, quos aliquando graece et latine lucem visuros spero (See above p. 100). Interea Serenitas Vestra, has Nysseni et Leonis lucubrationes ea benignitate dignetur, qua iam olim alia literaria munuscula a Societatis nostrae hominibus Serenissimo eiusdem nomini gratiae mentis ergo inscripta excipere consuevit. Ingolstadii, V. Kalend. Septembris. Anno Iubilaeo. MDC.

*Ad lectorem [Inc.]:* De Gregorio Nysseno multa praefari superfluum arbitror. Esse legitimum Nysseni partum praeter alia multa declarat etiam hoc quod hinc Nysseni nomine citantur et recitantur non pauca ab iis auctoribus, qui catenas, ut vocant, in Psalmos con-

texuerunt, quorum aliquot asservat Bibliotheca Bavarica. Unam (catenam) in Latinam linguam transtulit Daniel Barbarus (see CTC IV, p. 409), etsi hactenus non nisi unam eius partem latine loquentem vidi, eam videlicet, quae explicationem a primo usque ad quinquagesimum Psalmum complectitur. Nec pertinet ad hoc opus concio *in sexti Psalmi inscriptionem de octava*, quae graece et latine iam dudum in publicum venit (see below, p. 000); sed est separata *Homilia*, a Nysseno in Psalmi illius Epigraphen ad auditores suos instituta. Vale amice lector, et laboribus Nysseno impensis fave.

There follows a poem by Philipp Menzel, P. L. Medicinae Doctor et Professor Ordinarius in Academia Ingolstadiensi, and another poem dedicated to Gretser.

*Commentarius duplex in Psalmorum Inscriptiones [Inc.]:* Praefatio ad amicum quendam. Feci quod iussisti, o homo Dei, prompte et alacriter, mihi que similiter ac tibi hac opera gratificari volui animumque ad Psalmorum inscriptiones adieci. Hoc enim nobis imperasti, quis illis subsit sensus, ut omnibus fiat perspicuum id quod nos per illas ad virtutem adducere potest . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: At qui contraria vincit proceditque (ut alibi Psalmista loquitur) "de virtute in virtutem" victoriamque aliam alia permutat, is, "Cantabo," ait, "fortitudini tuae; et exultabo mane misericordiam tuam, quoniam factus es adiutor et refugium meum," et te decet gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1600. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1734-41. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

- 1606. Ingolstadt mentioned only by Graesse
- 3.148. Probably an error.

*Biography:*

See p. 52-53 above.



## COMMENTARY

## a. JOHANNES VAZ MOTTA LUSITANUS.

Jo. Vaz Motta wrote *Notae* on the text of Nyssenius *In inscriptiones psalmorum*. They follow the text and comment by quoting parallel usage of words and phrases in a wide variety of authors. They are of interest especially for the light they shed on Motta's own learning. He quotes several letters of Basil of Caesarea, Augustine's *Confessions*, works of Jerome, Celsus and even Averroes. On fol. 318 he indicates that he had read Galesinius' short *vita* of Nyssenius which he had included in his 1563 edition of several works (See p. 74). He states, "Fallitur Galesinius qui putat decessisse Nyssenium anno Christi 384 (?). Non is vixit post obitum Nazaneni; Nazanenus autem mortuus est sub Theodosio triennio ante quam Hieronymus scriberet librum de viris illustribus."

*Notae*. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 315) Annotationum in praecedens opus Gregorii Nysseni liber unus, Hoc est ἱερῶν παραλλήλων Liber. (fol. 315 v) Notarum in Gregorium Nyssenium Liber unus, followed by Voces quae in lexicis non reperiuntur. (fol. 316 r) Σύνταγμα εἰς τὰς τῶν ψαλμῶν ἐπιγραφάς, ὡς ἄνθρωπε θεοῦ. Sic loquuntur sacri patres ferme semper, sic ipse Nyssenius in principio Apologetici de constructione hominis, qui est in Vaticano. Sic Nazanenus in Epitaphio patris sui, ad Basilium loquutus et plerique alii . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 324 v) Pag. 67. explica hoc verbum et quod de Mose scribit Chrysostomus.

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 1795; s. XVI, fols. 315–324 v. For description see above pp. 113–114.

*Biography:*

See above p. 114.

XIX. *DE INSTITUTO CHRISTIANO*

Editio princeps (short version): 1606, Paris (ed. F. Morellus).

Editio princeps (long version): 1963, Leiden (GNO VIII.1:40–89; ed. W. Jaeger).

Recent edition (short version): PG 46:288–305.

Edition in preparation of Symeon-Macarius, *Epistola Magna* and *Gregorius Nyssenius, De instituto christiano*, by Reinhart Staats.

*Introductory comment.* This discussion of the spiritual life intended for monastic readers appears under several titles: *De scopo, seu fine verae pietatis et conversatione religiosi coetus Christiani*; *De proposito secundum Deum*; *Hypotyposis*; *De instituto christiano*.

The problems surrounding the authorship of *De instituto christiano* have received more attention than those connected with any other work of Gregory of Nyssa. The debate is still in progress. The treatise exists in two forms: a shorter, Byzantine text, and a longer version. Five Greek manuscripts contain the long text. These form the basis of Werner Jaeger's critical edition. Previous editors printed the short text found in Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35, s. XIII, and related manuscripts. This tradition exhibits shortened forms of a number of writings of Nyssenius (See above p. 104). In recent years respected scholars whose familiarity with the works of Gregory of Nyssa is unquestioned, have arrived at opposite conclusions regarding the authenticity of *De instituto* as a work of Nyssenius. On occasion a scholar has changed his opinion in the course of a few years.

Modern debate was opened by J. Stiglmayr in 1910 (*Theologie und Glaube* II.571) when he pointed out that the second part of *De instituto* agreed with the second part of a Macarian work generally referred to as the "Great Letter" (PG 34:409–441). W. Jaeger then began an intensive study of the problems; his findings were published posthumously in *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature, Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*. Jaeger believed that Nyssenius was the author of the original treatise from which Macarius excerpted parts and of which a Byzantine scholar made an abridged version a copy of which is preserved in Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35. Since 1965 the consensus of opinion has gradually

shifted toward the view that the Macarian work is the prior one and that therefore *De instituto* is not a genuine work of Gregory of Nyssa. The question is still an open one especially since much of the Macarian corpus is as yet unpublished. (Of some assistance however is *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, ed H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, Berlin, 1964.) It should also be borne in mind that Nyssenus, as is evident from genuine works, like others of his day did not hesitate to incorporate large segments of writings of others without acknowledging his source (See below p. 193, on *De deitate*).

*Bibliography:* There exists a vast literature on this treatise. In addition to Jaeger's treatment mentioned above, the reader may find bibliographies in L. Bouyer, *History of Christian Spirituality* (1963) I.369 sq.; Chevetogne pp. 15-17; Quasten III.275; and a number of articles: M. Canevet, "Le De Instituto christiano, est-t-il de G. de N.? Problèmes de critique interne," *Revue des Études Grecques* 82 (1969) 404-423; V. Desprez, Ps. Macaire, *Oeuvres spir.* I. (*Sources Chrétiennes* 275 (1980) pp. 47-56; L. Gallinari, *Il de instituto christiano di Gregorio di Nissa e il suo significato educativo. Studio introduttivo e traduzione*, (*Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Universit. di Magistr. di Cassino, Ser. di filos. e sc. umane*), Cassino, 1974; A. Kemmer, 'Gregorius Nyssenus, estne inter fontes Joannis Cassiani numerandus?' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21 (1955), pp. 451-466; R. Staats, *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer*, (*Patristische Texte und Studien* 8), 1968; R. Staats, *Der Traktat des G. von N. "De instituto Christiano". Beweis seiner Abhängigkeit vom grossen Brief des Symeons von Mesopotamien.*, Göttingen, 1964; the same, an as yet unpublished paper . . . delivered at the Oxford, 1979, International Conference on Patristic Studies "De instituto christiano-Kein Werk des G. von N.?" A. de Vogüé, "St. Grégoire de Nysse dans l'histoire du monachisme (unpublished dissertation) and comment in *Théologie* 49 (1961), pp. 131-141.

## TRANSLATION

## I. FEDERICUS MORELLUS

Federicus Morellus made a Latin translation of the shorter version of the text of *De instituto christiano* from a manuscript belonging to the same family as Vindobenensis theol. gr. 35, s. XIII. Morellus credits Fronto Ducaeus with assisting him with his translation. He published it as a separate volume in Paris in 1606 under the expanded title: *De proposito secundum Deum et exercitatione iuxta veritatem et ad religiosos qui proposuerant quaestionem de pietatis scopo et de ratione qua inter se conversarentur et una concertarent Descriptio Summaria*. This translation was printed without revision in later editions of Nyssenus' works.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1606) Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Cardinali D. D. Ioyeusaeo Archiepiscopo Rhotomagensi, Primati Normaniae, Duci et Pari Franciae optime de re Christiana et literaria merito, Fed. Morellus, Profess. Interp. Reg. hunc pium et elegantem D. Gregorii Nysseni Tractatum de scopo seu Proposito secundum Deum et religiosa Conversatione, recens a se in Latinum sermonem conversum et editum dedit, dicavit, consecravit. Lutetiae Parisiorum. An. MDCVI.

There follows a poem in senarii expressing the hope that the dedicatee will look favorably on the translator. The final line speaks of the book as "Bilinguis, et mox multilinguis forte eris". Although F. Morellus translated into French several of Nyssenus' works there is no evidence that he made a version of *De instituto* although he appears to have had this in mind.

*Text. [Inc.]:* (p. 1) Si quis cogitatione paululum a corpore seiuncta, et a perturbationum servitute et stultitia plane liberatus, perspicaci ac sincera mentis acie suum ipsius animum intuitus fuerit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 34) Videte ne Eleemosynam vestram, aut preces aut ieiunium faciatis coram hominibus, alioquin mercedem non habebitis apud patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est. Huic gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

(photo) 1606, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Apud Federicum Morellum Architypographum Regium. (Gr.-Lat.) Maittaire III.848; Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.185; NUC. BL; BN; (MH). A copy of the text was kindly supplied by James Walsh of Houghton Library, Harvard.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.162.

## XXI. *CONTRA MANICHAEOS, DECEM SYLLOGISMI.*

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt (ed. F. Ducaeus).

Recent editions: PG 46:541; *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, schedules a new edition under the name of Ioannes Caesariensis.

This treatise appeared among Gregory of Nyssa's works in the now lost Codex Arsenii (911 a.d.) and its many descendants. Today the majority of scholars consider it the work of Didymus the Blind or of John of Caesarea. The text is included in Didymus' larger work of the same title. Excerpts are also found in *Sanctorum Patrum syllogismi* which was edited by A. Mai in *Nova Patr. bibliotheca*, Rome, 1847, IV b, pp. 103-104. See Bardenhewer 3:202; Quasten 3:88.

## TRANSLATION

## I. FRONTO DUCAEUS

The author of the preface to the 1596 edition of a few of Gregory of Nyssa's works (see above p. 70) stated that the Greek text of *Contra Manichaeos* appeared in a manuscript from the Bibliotheca Bavarica, probably Monacensis gr. 47 (a.d. 1551). However it is likely

that Fronto Ducaeus made his translation using Montpellier 122, a codex known to have been in his hands. The text appears on fol. 157 of that manuscript. A single note by Ducaeus on the text is found in the 1615 and later editions of Nyssenius' works (see PG 46:1201-1202).

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1638). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. III. 180) Si quid malum, puniendum est; nihil autem quod punitur incorruptibile est. Nihil igitur malum est incorruptibile . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (Vol. III. 180) Quod ergo increatum est non peccat; quod non peccat non est obnoxium supplicio. Satanas autem est supplicio obnoxius. Non ergo res est increata.

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above, pp. 71-72

## XXII. *DE OPIFICIO HOMINIS.*

Editio princeps: 1536, Venice (with 9 Orationes of Gregory Nazianzen) in aed. haer. Aldi et Andreae Asulani soceri.

Recent editions: PG 44:125-256; 1855, Burntisland, S.P.N. Gregorii Nysseni quae supersunt omnia, Tom. I, pp. 96-319, ed. G. Forbes. H. Hörner is preparing the critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO IV.

Roughly seventy Greek manuscripts preserve the text of this, the most popular and widely known of all of Gregory of Nyssa's works. (Information on number of manuscripts kindly supplied by H. Hörner.)

An early form (s. VI ineunte) of the Greek text has been preserved in the long passages quoted by Pseudo-Caesarius Nazianzenus. An edition of his *Erotapokriseis* is being prepared

by M. Van Esbroeck. The excerpts have been printed in R. Riedinger, "Neue Quellen zu den *Erotapokriseis* des Pseudo-Kaisarios," *Jhrb. für österreichisch. Byzantinistik* 19 (1970) pp. 153 sq. Also of help in establishing the Greek text is Meletius Monachus' *Synopsis* (s. IX?). See article Meletius, and G. Helmreich, "Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius," *Abhldg. der königl. Preussisch. Ak. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1918. Pages 60–61 offer tables of passages from Nyssenus' *De opificio hominis* used by Meletius.

*Latin titles:* The Greek title of this treatise *περί κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* closely resembled that of Nemesius of Emesa's *περί φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*, a fact which contributed to but was not entirely responsible for the erroneous attribution of the latter work to Nyssenus over a period of many centuries. Further confusion arose as a result of the many different Latin translations of the Greek title. The first translator, Dionysius Exiguus, entitled his version *De conditione hominis*; but in the editio princeps of it in 1537, the editor, Iohannes Noviomagus, chose the title *De creatione hominis* which was sometimes used for the Ps. Basil-Ps. Nyssenus' *Homilia X in Hexaemeron* when it was included among Nyssenus' works. *De natura humana* is the title in an anonymous Turin manuscript lost in the fire of 1904 (*Iter Italicum* II.179). However since "et de providentia" is added to the title, it may have been a translation of Nemesius' *De natura hominis* one of whose sections bears that title. (Giuseppe Dondi, Director of the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino states that the *Appendice al Pasini* refers to the treatise only as a work of Nyssenus.) Eriugena gave the title, *De imagine* to his version, but so does Dionysius Exiguus' translation of the dedicatory letter of Gregory to his brother Peter, though he adds, "id est *de hominis conditione*", a form chosen by many scribes as the title of Dionysius' version of the text itself. Ferrarius translated the title, *De hominis fabrica*, but a second hand in the only manuscript added *De mundi physiologia*. The anonymous s. XVI translator entitled his version, *De hominis formatione*. J. Levvenklaius whose translation was chosen by Migne for inclusion in the *Pa-*

*trologia Graeca*, preferred *De hominis opificio*. J. Mabillon in s. XVII chose the form, *De conditione seu oppificio (sic) hominis*. *De opificio hominis* is the proposed Latin title for the forthcoming critical edition in the Leiden series, and hence is used in this article. (See Ph. Levine, "Two Early Latin Versions of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *περί κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου*" in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958), p. 483 and note 19.)

*Summaria capitum:* Not all Greek manuscripts contain the *Summaria capitum*. When included they appear either as a unit preceding Chapter I, or as separate headings introducing each chapter. Manuscripts of Dionysius' version exhibit both forms; Eriugena, Ferrarius and Levvenklaius place the summary at the head of each chapter. The Anonymus s. XVI places them as a unit before chapter I. Cono translated only the *Summaria*, and they were printed as a unit.

## TRANSLATIONS

### I. DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS

Dionysius Exiguus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* at some time during the first half of the sixth century. The identity of his Greek manuscript is unknown. He undertook the task at the request of one Eugippius (the manuscripts offer a variety of spellings: Eugippius, Egip(p)ius, Eugenius) whom Cassiodorus terms "virum non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum" (*Inst.* I.23). Some debate has surrounded the identity of this Eugippius but he was certainly a presbyter and abbot of Luculla near Naples, and he probably wrote both the *Gesta Severini Noricorum Apostoli* and compiled a *Florilegium* from the works of Augustine. (See J. Mabillon, *Vet. An.* pp. 60–61; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 333).

Dionysius did not find compliance with Eugippius' request simple, as he explained in his dedication saying that one could see how difficult the task was from reading his work. Dionysius divided the text into thirty-one chapters.

Dionysius' translation enjoyed great popularity during the Middle Ages and Renaissance as is attested by the large number of extant manuscripts (For another view, see W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter*, Bern and Munich, 1981, p. 104). The critical edition in preparation by J. Moncho of Valencia may reveal others in addition to the twenty-eight listed below. Of these the most famous is Troyes 483, known to have been at Clairvaux in the time of Bernard and William of St. Thierry.

The editio princeps of Dionysius' version was published at Cologne in 1537. The editor was Johannes Antonianus, a Dominican scholar from Nijmegen (hence Johannes Noviomagus). See J. Quéatif-J. Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* II.283. He received a copy of Dionysius' translation from Henricus Gravius, a fellow Dominican, and tried to make what he considered necessary corrections, but found it difficult since he had no Greek copy at hand. His preface was not reprinted after the first edition, a fact which occasioned some problems (see below). The edition lacked both introductory letters and contained an interpolation which was long misunderstood.

Though Dionysius was well known as a canonist in the sixteenth century, those who speak of him as a translator of Nyssenius often display surprising ignorance as to when he lived, and a number of scholars place him in the eleventh or twelfth centuries (See on Ferrarius and Levvenklaius, pp. 128 and 131 below). It seems likely that the error resulted from a confusion of Dionysius with Burgundio of Pisa who in 1165 A.D. translated Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis* into Latin and attributed it to Nyssenius. Ferrarius probably used the 1551 edition of Nyssenius, and we know that Leyvenklaius used the 1562 edition. Both editions lacked the preface of the 1537 edition written by Noviomagus who certainly made clear the identity of the translator.

In the 1537 and 1551 editions of Nyssenius' works and in the 1852 *Patrologia Latina* edition of Dionysius' translation, there is an interpolation of a passage following the words "dis-

putationi nostrae deinceps obviare" at the end of Chapter XXIV of *De opificio hominis*. It is preceded by the statement, "Caput subsequens ad hunc librum non pertinet, sed e libro de Elementis huc ex argumenti similitudine fortassis irrepsit, quo loco quartum caput est". The passage is in fact the chapter, *De elementis* from Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis*. The Latin is that of Johannes Cono's (1512) revision of Burgundio's version of Nemesius; Cono labels it Liber III, Caput IV. Between 1512 and 1537 a reader used the passage for comparison with the text of *De opificio hominis*, and either left or inserted the page in the manuscript. The phrase "fortassis irrepsit" seems to indicate that Noviomagus himself merely left the passage where he found it and printed it, but was not responsible for its primary insertion. (See: Courcelle, *op. cit.* p. 333 and note 16; R. C. Dales, "An Unnoticed Translation of the Chapter, De elementis from Nemesius' De natura hominis," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 17 [1966] p. 12; A. M. Déchanet, *Oeuvres choisies de Guillaume de St. Thierry*, p. 84, n. 4; G. Verbeke-J. Moncho, *Némésius*, pp. cix-cx). This interpolation was dropped from the 1562 edition of Nyssenius' works.

Dionysius Exiguus' letter to Eugippus and his translation of Gregory's letter to his brother Peter were not published until 1677 when J. Mabillon included them in his *Vetera Analecta*.

*Praefatio* (ed. of Cologne, 1537). Illustri ac Praeclaro Viro D. Reinardo e Comitibus de Leiningen ac domino in Vuesterburch ecclesiae metropolitanae Coloniensis Decano Maiori, Moguntinensi atque Treverensi Canonico capitulari, amico atque Maecenati suo integerrimo Iohannes Noviomagus S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Soleo vehementer admirari una cum D. Iohanne Caesario, viro et integerrimo et eruditissimo qui tecum non minus suaviter quam familiariter vivit, praeclarissime Comes, raram istam ac veram animi tui nobilitatem, qua generis ac maiorum gloriam multis ac egregiis ingenii dotibus ac praeclaris virtutibus multo nobiliorem reddis . . . (There follow the usual comments lauding the dedicatee.) . . .

Ubi Noviomagi diebus aliquot in amicorum gratiam haererem, oblatus est hic libellus Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni fratris Basillii Magni, cui titulum fecit περί τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως, parvum quidem opusculum, sed plane aureum et supplementum (ut idem ipse testatur) eorum quae Basilius frater scripsit in Hexaemero. Huius dum mihi copiam evolvendi facit Henricus Gravius Dominicanus vir in graeca et latina lingua bene eruditus, quomodo ipse eum sibi descriperat ex vetere quidem, sed non satis (ut apparet) emendato exemplari, continuo scriptoris vetustatem et auctoritatem exosculatus, sumpta spe bona quod is author tandem veluti postliminio restitui ipse sibi possit, operae pretium existimavi, ut eius opusculi utilitas ad quam plurimos homines perveniret. Percorso igitur ab integro libello, cursim quaedam castigo. Occurrebant enim quaedam sic depravata, quae nisi ad graeci exemplaris (quod quidem mihi nondum videre contigit) fidem reponi non possunt. Neque ego in hoc opusculo tantum mihi tribuo, quantum in reliquis eiusdem scriptoris operibus Theologiae et Philosophiae professores debent Ioanni Cononi viro graecarum literarum atque latinarum peritia celeberrimo, qui iis libris quos male latinos ex bene graecis fecerat Burgundio quidam quem neque graece neque latine satis doctum fuisse apparet vel statim ex eius praefatione ad Fredericum Caesarem, multum luminis et ornamenti dedit. Ego in hoc libello tantum oneris sumere non sum ausus, praesertim cum desint graeca, sine quibus genus istud laboris molestum est, nec non saepe periculosum. Atque Dionysius Abbas cognomine Exiguus recte satis latinum fecit nisi librariorum negligentia aliter ad nos venisset. Adicio igitur his quae Ioannes Cono cum sua censura misit quaeque versa sunt a Trapezuntio et recentioribus adhuc, quod tuae exquisitae bibliothecae consecrare oportuit. . . . Accipe ititur, clarissime comes, sub tuo nomine ab interitu revocatum parvum quidem hunc optimi authoris libellum sed tuis studiis atque cogitationibus convenientissimum. Vale. Datum Coloniae MDXXXVII postridie Nonas Martii.

*Epistola Dionysii Exigui ad Eugipium Presbyterum in versionem ab se factam libri Grego-*

*rii Nysseni de conditione seu oppifico (sic) hominis* (ed. of Paris, 1723). [*Inc.*]: (*Vet. An.* I.59) Domino sanctissimo et a me plurimum venerando sacro Eugipio presbytero, Dionysius Exiguus. Sancto venerationis tuae studio pro meis viribus obsecutus beati Gregorii Nysseni Episcopi librum de conditione hominis e Graeca locutione converti, triginta et uno ab eodem capitibus explicatum, in quo opere quantum sim difficultatis expertus, ex ipsa lectione probabitur. In pluribus enim iuxta philosophorum sententias immoratus, opulentiam tantam suae eruditionis expressit, ut paene nihil omiserit eorum, quae ab illis doctis et otiosis ingeniis in hac parte per inextricabiles digesta sunt quaestiones. Quorum etiam nonnullas ineptias ita destruxit, ut illud propemodum nobis insinuaret Apostoli quo fideles instruit dicens: Videte ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum (*Coloss.* 2.8). Nam sicuti quaedam recta, quae Deus illis revelavit sapienter approbat, ita prava eorum vel ipse dirigit, vel quatenus ab illis vitentur, ostendit, exceptis videlicet paucis in quibus dum valde persequitur vitia protulit, ut fieri solet, etiam ipse vitiosa.

Igitur eloquentiam tanti doctoris aemulatus, enisus sum quidem disertitudinem eius sequi, licet adsequi nimis impari facultate nequiverim. Fidem tamen sententiarum eius pro mea mediocritate servavi, sciens veritate nihil esse praestantius. Et quia sunt, ut dixi, aliqua quae possunt merito reprehendi, nullus lector in his meum putet obligatum esse consensum quia officio translatoris explicui, non censoris iudicio comprobavi.

Quapropter humili devotionis obsequio precor, ut sanctitas tua promissionis meae solutionem gratissima mente percipiat, et in quibuscumque minus eleganter videor eloquutus, veniam clementer accommodet, quia necessitate temporis a doctissimorum virorum collatione distractus, non quo debui librum splendore digessi qui ut plurimis probatur abundare virtutibus, ita quibusdam, ut saepe retuli, maculis videtur adpersus. . . . Quamvis enim quis amore caelestium aegre ferat huius peregrinationis incommoda, et cum Propheta do-

lenter exclamet: *Heu me, quod incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar, multum incola fuit anima mea* (Ps. 119.5-6). et cum beato Apostolo confidenter asserat: *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo* (Phil. 1.23), tamen a patria non procul exulare creditur, si semper patriam desiderio consequatur.

*Prologus Sancti Gregorii Episcopi ad fratrem suum Petrum Presbyterum, De imagine id est de hominis conditione, quae a fratre eorum sancto Basilio Episcopo in Hexameron sunt omissa.* [Inc.]: Si pecuniarum pretiis eos oporteret honorare, qui virtutibus eminent, parvus utique, sicut Salomon ait, totus mundus divitiarum videretur qui tuis possit adaequari virtutibus . . . / . . . [Expl.] Manifestationis autem gratia optimum fore credidi praesentem sermonem tibi capitulis explicare, quo possis in brevi totius operis effectum per singula coeptorum nostrorum argumenta cognoscere.

Liber I. [Inc.]: Hic liber, ait Scriptura, generationis coeli et terrae quando perfecta sunt omnia quae videntur et ad proprium situm singula discreta cesserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.] (Liber XXX); Sed revertamur rursus ad illam divinam gratiam qua creavit in principio Deus hominem, qui dixit: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Sancti Gregorii Nysseni episcopi de Imagine libri continentis subsequencia eorum quae a fratre eius beato Basilio in Hexameron sunt relicta, finis.

*Bibliography:* F. Blatt in *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1.2 (1938) pp. 217-242, esp. pp. 235, 239-240; Cassiodorus, *Inst.* 1.23 (PL 70:137-138); Chevetogne pp. 87-110, "La théorie de l'exégèse dans le *de hominis opificio* et l'*in Hexameron*" by M. Alexandre; P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources*, esp. p. 333; J. de Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Age*, Vol. II p. 236; L. Duchesne, *L'Église au V<sup>e</sup> Siècle*; Ittigius, *De bibliothecis et catenis Patrum*, p. LXXIV; P. Levine, "Two Early Latin Versions of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθ.*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958) 473-92; J. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, ed. Paris, 1273

I.59-60; Moricca, *Storia della Letteratura Latina Cristiana*, Turin, 1934, III.2: 1546-1550; A. Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer*, ed. 1608, Vol. I under Gregorius Nyssenus; Rambaud-Buhot in *Dict. de Droit Canonique*, Vol. IV:1131 sq.; Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* IV.2:589-591; W. M. Peitz, "Dionysius Exiguus als Kanonist" (Levine p. 483 points out that this was not published in *Schweizer Rundschau* as often mentioned. It was printed privately).

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) Cambridge, Library of Gonville and Caius College, No. 131. 71. item 33: s. XV, misc., fols. 286-340, (M. R. James, *Cat. of Mss in the Gonville and Caius College Library*, I.139).

(\*) København, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. S. 20, 2<sup>o</sup>; s. XI, misc., fols. 47-82, (Jørgensen, *Cod. Lat. Med. Aev. Bibl. Reg. Hafniensis* (1926) pp. 36-37).

(\*) Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 208, s. XII, misc., fols. 41 sq., (*Cat. Gén. Dépt. Fr.* VI, 102).

(\*) Durham, Cathedral Library, cod. B. III 2. Folio, s. XIII, fols. 60-84. (Rud, *Catalogus*, p. 146. Reported by J. Moncho.).

(\*) Edinburgh, University Library, 100, s. XII, misc., fols. 53 v-98 r, (Borland, *Cat. of Western Med. Mss in Edinburgh University Library*, 1916, pp. 158-59).

(\*) Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Cod. Faesulanus 44, s. XV fols. 33 r-60 r, (Bandini, *Bibl. Leopold.* II, 730-31).

(\*) Grenoble, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 258, s. XII, misc., fols 46 sq., (*Cat. Gén. Dépt. Fr.* VII, 96).

(\*) Liège, Bibl. Universitaire, cod. 59, s. XIII, misc., fols. 135-149 (*Catalogue des Manuscrits*, p. 33).

(photo) London, Lambeth Palace Library, 237, s. XII, misc., fols 35 v sq., (*Cat. of the Archiepiscopal Mss.*, pp. 32-33; M. R. James *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1930, pp. 383-384).

(\*) Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 437, s. XIV, misc., fols. 28 r-46 v, (*Inventario Gen. de Mss de la Bibl. Nac.*, I, p. 300).

(\*) Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, S 51 sup, s. XIV, misc., (Kristeller, *Iter* I.312).

(\*) Montecassino, Bibl. dell'Abazia, 232, (Cat. Inguanez I.43).

(\*) Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana, Laud. Misc. 123, s. XII, fols. 94 v-139, (*Quarto Cat.* I, 2, 127).

(\*) Oxford, ms. Bodley 238, s. XIV fols. 185 (-200 v). (*Summary Cat.* 2, 1, p. 182 no. 2050).

(\*) Padova, Bibl. del Seminario, 527, s. XII, misc., fols. 72-105 (Kristeller, *Iter* II.10 and other literature there cited. Professor Kristeller kindly checked once more the identity of this Ms with Don Pierantonio Gios, Librarian of Bibl. del Seminario since the title on fol. 72 is confusing, "In *Hexaemeron explicatio apologetica, de opificio hominis*". Only Dionysius Exiguus' version of *De opificio* appears in this Mss along translations by others of other authors).

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1701, s. XII-XIII, misc., fols. 42-64 (*Cat Gén des Mss. latins.* II. 132).

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1710, s. XIV, fol. 1 sq., (*Cat.* II. 135).

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2633, s. XII-XIII, misc. fols. 98 v-175, (*Cat.* II. 557- 558).

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2636, s. XII, misc., fols. 1-2v (pars = *PL* 67:405-408 (*Cat.* II. 558)).

(\*) Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 12134, s. VIII, fols. 121 v-212 v (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes* 28, 351); Samaran III 647; Levine, op. cit. in *HSCP* 63 (1958) p. 485 n. 28).

(photo) Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, John F. Lewis Collection, No. 134, s. XV, misc., (no folio numbers visible) (*A Descriptive Cat. of European Mss in the John F. Lewis Collection*, p. 33; De Ricci, Vol. II, p. 2049, No. 134).

(\*) Sevilla, Bibl. Capitulare y Colombina, ms. 82-4-21, mbr. misc. s. XIV-XV. Reported by P. O. Kristeller.

(\*) Troyes, Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 483, s. XII, misc., fols. 41v-88v (*Cat. Gén. Dépt. Fr.* II, 213. This Ms was at Clairvaux in s. XII, See Déchanet, *Oeuvres Choisies de Guillaume de St. Thierry*, p. 68, n. 28).

(\*) Città del Vaticano, Vat. Reg. lat. 166, s. XII, misc., fol. 41 (pars), (Wilmart, *Cat. Codd. Vat. Reg. lat.* I. 391).

(\*) Città del Vaticano, Vat. Urb. lat. 485, s. XV, misc., fols. 64 v-106, (Stornaiolo, *Cat. Codd. Vat. Urb. lat.* I. 494-495).

(\*) Vendôme, Bibl. Municipale, 122, s. XI, misc., fols 59v-108v (*Cat. Gén. Dépt. Fr.* III, 432).

(\*) Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, Zan. lat. 46 (1497), s. XIV, fol. 26 sq. (Zanetti, *Latina et Italica D. Marci Bibliotheca*, p. 23-24).

(\*) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 3017, s. XII, misc., fols 39-40v (Preface only) (*Tabulae Codd. Mss Praeter Gr. et Orient. in Bibl. Palat. Vindob. Asservat.*, Vol. II, 198).

#### Editions:

1537, Cologne. See Composite Editions. F. H. Stubbings, Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, kindly inspected the copy there and provided information as well as copies of some portions.

1551, Cologne. See Composite Editions.

1562, Basel. See Composite Editions.

(\*) 1677, Paris: in *Vetera Analecta*, ed. J. Mabillon. Only Dionysius' letter to Eugippus and Gregory's letter to his brother. BN.

1723, Paris: in *Vetera Analecta*, ed. J. Mabillon, I. 59, Only Dionysius letter to Eugippus and Gregory's letter to his brother. NUC. BL; BN;

1865, Paris (*PL* 67). See Composite Editions.

1972, Turnhout: in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum, Series Latina* 85, *Scriptores Illyrici Minores*, ed. F. Glorie, pp. 33-34 (Letter to Eugippus only). NUC. BL; BN; (CBGTU).

#### Biography:

Little definite information is available about the life of Dionysius Exiguus (Denys le Petit), and most of what can be said must be deduced from remarks in his writings and from Cassiodorus' brief account (*Inst.* I. 23). He was probably born about 470 and was of Scythian origin but "moribus omnino Romanus". Van Hove has deduced that he was raised by Gothic monks; W. M. Peitz has proposed an elaborate but undocumented theory of his spending his early years in an Armenian monastery. In any case, by the time he arrived in



Italy in the early 490's, he had become a monk. Bede, Cassiodorus and Paulus Diaconus refer to him as "abbas" (Bede, *Temp. Rat.* 45; Cassiodorus, *Inst.* I. 23; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Langob.* I. 25). He arrived in Rome sometime after the death of Pope Gelasius (d. Nov. 21, 496), and may have carried out his scholarly activity in a Roman monastery as Courcelle suggests. He certainly had acquired a reputation for facility in Greek; according to Cassiodorus, "Tanta latinitatis et graecitatis peritia fungebatur, ut quoscumque libros graecos in manibus acciperet, latine sine offensione transcurreret iterumque latinis attico sermone relegeret" (*Inst.* I. 23. 2). Stephanos, Bishop of Salona, asked him to assemble, classify and translate the Canons of the Church from the Apostolic Canons through those of the Councils of Chalcedon and Sardis. The results of this endeavor, often known as the *Dionysiana*, won him a lasting reputation in the field of Canon Law. He is generally credited with having introduced the method of dating used since his time. While compiling his *Liber de Paschate* (*Easter Tables*), he chose the birth of Christ as a starting point, following the Alexandrian custom of measuring time, rather than the one previously in use in the West.

Dionysius was in all probability associated with Cassiodorus' famous Vivarium; though since it was not founded until 537-540, it would only have been during his later years. Cassiodorus speaks of Dionysius, "Qui mecum dialecticam legit, et in exemplo gloriosi magisterii plurimos annos vitam suam Domino praestante transegit". He went on to describe his character, "Fuit enim in illo cum sapientia magna simplicitas, cum doctrina humilitas, cum facundia loquendi parcitas; ut in nullo se vel extremis famulis anteferet, cum dignus esset regum sine dubitatione colloqui". It may have been there at the Vivarium, a known center for translating activity, that Dionysius made his version of *De opificio hominis*. (On this aspect of the Vivarium, see: Franz Blatt, "Remarques sur l'Histoire des Traductions Latines," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1.2 (1938) pp. 227 sq. esp. p. 235; Courcelle, *op.cit.*, p. 393 sq.; A. Van de Vyver, "Les Institutiones de

Cassiodore," *Rev. Ben.* 53 (1941) pp. 59-88, esp. p. 77, n.2).

Mention must be made of W. M. Peitz' theory, generally regarded as untenable, which attempts to identify Dionysius Exiguus with Ps. Dionysius Areopagita. Dionysius himself seems to nullify any such idea when he mentions in his remarks to Eugipius that he experienced difficulty in translating Nyssen's philosophical language.

Nothing is heard of Dionysius after 525, and the date of his death has long been a matter of dispute. Bardenhewer, V. 224 suggests 545; Courcelle gives 550; Rambaub-Buhot in *Dict. de Droit Can.* IV: 1132 suggests a date after 525 and before the mid-century.

*Works:* In addition to the collection of Canons (the *Dionysiana*) there are a number of translations: *Poenitentia S. Thais*; *Vita S. Pachomii*; *De inventione capitis S. Ioannis Baptistae*; *Epistola 17 Cyrilli Alexandrini*; also of *Epistolae 45-46*; of Proclus, *Tomus ad Armenios*; *Oratio de Deipara*; *Liber de Paschate*. A full listing is available in the article by Rambaub-Bunot, *Dict. de Droit Canonique*, IV, p. 1133 sq.

*Bibliography:* Chevalier I. 1176-1177; *Encyclopedia cattolica* Vol. IV 1669-1670; *Enc. Illustrada* Vol. 18:1327; Hoefer 13:689-690; Michaud 11:116-117; *Dict. de Droit Can.* IV: 1131-1132. P. Maehler in *Subsidia Hagiographica* 46 (1969) pp. 28-48; W. M. Peitz, "Gratian und D. E." in *Studia Gratiana* I (1953), pp. 51-81; *D. E. Studien* (ed. H. Foerster), *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* xxxiii (1960) and critique by H. Schaferdiek, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* LXXIV (1963) pp. 353-368. Also, W. M. Ploechel, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Vienna, 1960, pp. 279-280; 286.

## 2. JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIUGENA.

Johannes Scotus Eriugena made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* under the title: *Sermo Gregorii Episcopi Nysae(sic) de imagine in ea quae relicta sunt in Hexamero a beato Basilio suo fratre*.

The almost complete version is found in only one manuscript, Bamberg B IV 13 (s. IX). The manuscript probably came to Bamberg from Reims where it is known that Eriugena spent some time lecturing and supporting Hincmar, the bishop.

A missing portion of the text is found in a florilegium of which there are two known copies, both of s. IX or X (Vat. Reg. lat. 195 and Berlin Görres 87). Bamberg B IV 13 does not bear the name of the translator. However scholars universally agree that it is the work of Eriugena. Their opinion is based on its style, the fact that many verbatim quotations from it occur in his famous philosophical treatise, *De divisione naturae*, and on some additional considerations. Details are given by M. Cappuyns in his *Jean Scot Érigène*. Cappuyns believed that the version was made between 862 and 864 (p. 176). The Greek codex Eriugena used is unknown today, but Draeseke ("*Gregorios von Nyssa in den Ausführungen . . .*", p. 541) adduces cogent arguments for an uncial copy as source.

Bamberg B IV 13 omits chapter XXII (PG 44:203–209 in the Greek text or chapter XXIII in Dionysius Exiguus' version, PL 67:583–585). Cappuyns felt that the omission was a copyist's error, although earlier he wondered if the manuscript might have been an autograph by Eriugena for his own private use. Yet the roughly contemporary manuscripts containing a missing portion tend to suggest more than one copy in circulation.

It must be noted that Eriugena like a number of medieval scholars at times confused Nyssenus and Nazianzenus. For example he states in *De divisione naturae* III.38, "Gregorius item nyseus, qui etiam nazanzenus vocatur, praedicti basilii germanus frater, in sermone de imagine . . ." In the same work in IV.26 he says, "venerabilis Gregorii nazanseni, qui et niseus dicitur, expositorisque eius maximi . . ." But on one occasion (II.27) he actually distinguished the two Gregories. One must conclude that Eriugena was far more concerned with the texts themselves than with questions of disputed authorship. In spite of Eriugena's fame his version did not enjoy the

popularity of Dionysius Exiguus' in whose case the twenty-eight manuscripts of differing provenance attest to widespread use.

Eriugena divided the text into thirty chapters (See Cappuyns, *op. cit.* pp. 174–175).

*Prologus ad Petrum.* (ed. of Louvain, 1965). [Inc.]: (p. 209) Si proprietates rerum honoras, oportet enim dicere eos qui in virtute differunt, brevis erit ut ait Salomon sermo, sicut ex rebus manifestabitur, tuae virtuti comparatus, quoniam melioribus divitiis merito honorificanda est tuae sanctitatis gratia. Expedit vero bonum pascha solitam caritatis munerum oblationem, quam tuae magnae sapientiae offerimus munus, videlicet homo dei, minus quidem quam ut sit dignum tibi offerri sed non minus quam nostra est virtus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 210) Declarationis autem gratia bene esse aestimavimus in capitulis tibi sermonem proponere ut actionem totam in paucis contineas, hoc est singularum mentis conceptionum virtutem.

*De imagine.* [Inc.]: (p. 210) Hic est liber generationis caeli et terrae, inquit scriptura quando consummatum est omne visibile et ad propriam positionem unumquodque existentium discretum reversum est, quando caeleste corpus omnia in giro ambivit . . . / . . . [Expl. Caput XXX]: (p. 262) Obscurioremque de primo per quoque ut sollicitudinem consequerentur suggerit dicens spoliari oportere veterem hominem, et indui renovatum ad imaginem creantis ut redeamus iterum in divinam gratiam illam in qua creavit ab initio hominem dicens deus, faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (*Gen.* I. 26), cui gloria et potentia patri et filio et sancto spiritui in saecula amen.

*Bibliography:* W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues*, Bern and Munich, 1981, pp. 106, 147 and notes; M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée*, Paris, 1933, esp. pp. 172–178; M. Cappuyns, introduction to his edition in *RTAM* 32 (1965), pp. 205–209; J. M. Déchanet, *Guillaume de St. Thierry*, Paris, 1978; J. Draeseke, "*Gregorios von Nyssa in den Ausführungen des Johannes Scotus Erigena*," *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 82

(1909) pp. 530–576; E. Gilson, *The History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, pp. 609–613 (good bibliography); R. de Vaux, *Notes et Textes sur l'avicennisme latin aux confins des XII-XIII siècles*, (*Bibliothèque Thomiste* XX, 1934); M. Naldini, *Influssi di San Gregorio Nisseno nel pensiero di G. S. Eriugena*, Doctoral dissertation, Univ. Cat. del S. Cuore) see review in *Rev. Phil. de Louvain* 70 (1972) p. 332; Ph. Levine, "Two Early Latin Versions of St. Gregory of Nyssa's *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*," *Harvard Studies in Class. Philology* 63 (1958) pp. 473–492; A. Schmitt, "Zwei noch unbenützte Handschriften des J. S. E." in *Programm des k. neuen Gymnasiums in Bamberg für des Schuljahr 1899–1900*; Note also: J. Draeseke's *J. S. E. und dessen Gewährsmänner* (1902), passim; John O'Meara, *Eriugena*, No. XVII in the Irish Life and Culture series, Mercier Press, 1969; R. D. Crouse, "Intentio Moysi," *Dionysius* II (Dec. 1978) pp. 140–144; I. P. Sheldon-Williams, "Eriugena's Greek sources," *The Mind of Eriugena*, Papers from the Dublin Colloquium, July, 1970 (ed. J. J. O'Meara and L. Bieler), Dublin, c. 1973, pp. 1–15. An important Russian work not yet available in a translation is A. Brilliantoff's *Vlijanie vostotschnago boboslovia na sapadnoje w' proisvedeniach Joanna Scota Erigeni*, St. Petersburg, 1898.

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, B IV 13, s. IX, fols. 88–114; (*Katalog der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg* I.1.450).

(\*) Città del Vaticano, Reg. lat. 195, s. IX–X, fols. 61v–62 (excerpt). (Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, Vol. I.467).

(\*) Berlin (West). Lat. Qu. 690 (Goerres 87) (from Trier St. Maxim), s. IX–X, fol. 186. Excerpt. (*Verzeichnis der lat. Handschr. de Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* III, 1919, by F. Schillmann, p. 93).

*Edition:*

1965, Louvain: in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, Vol. 32, pp. 209–262, ed. M. Cappuyns.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.371.

### 3. JOHANNES CONO

Johannes Cono made a Latin version of the *Summaria capitum* of Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis*, probably in 1512. We know he had in his possession Oxon. Auct. E. 1.6, which contained the Greek text, preceded by the *Summaria capitum*. He sent his translation to his pupil, Beatus Rhenanus, who published it in a 1512 volume containing a number of works (see above p. 79) the most important of which was the *De natura hominis* of Nemesius of Emesa in Cono's revision of Burgundio's earlier translation. The *Summaria* from the genuine work of Gregory, *De opificio*, was the final item in the volume, added almost, it seems, as an afterthought. The *Summaria* are prefaced by Rhenanus' comment that he hoped Cono would at an early date translate the entire work. Unfortunately, Cono died the next year.

*Prefatory remark of Beatus Rhenanus* (edition of Strasbourg, 1512). (fol. LIX) Communicavit mihi nunc Cono praeceptor meus argumenta capitum alterius operis Divini Gregorii Nysseni, cui inscriptio *περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως*, cursim tralata, quae hic subnotare placuit, ut quibus de in eo libro agatur nunc quoque simul cognoscas.

*Text. [Inc.]:* (fol. LIX) Narratio de generatione hominis est praestantior narratione rerum quae ante eum factae sunt . . . / . . .  
*[Expl.]:* (fol. LX) Sermo longus sive narratio de bona constitutione sive corporis habitudine.

*Additional remark following explicit of Summaria:* Hoc opus Basileae apud Divum Dominicum habetur, quod speramus a Conone nostro (si per ocium licuerit) propediem tralatum iri. Vale rursus ac Salve. Argentorati, ex officina libraria Matthiae Schurerii Selestensis, Artium Doctoris, Mense Maio. An. MDXII. T. O. Regnante Imp. Caes. Maximiliano. O. F. Aug. P. P.

*Edition:*

1512, Strasbourg. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.113.

## 4. ANONYMUS, s. XVI.

An anonymous Latin translation of *De opificio hominis* appears in a sixteenth century manuscript. The same individual may have been both scribe and translator although there is no proof of this. The manuscript also contains a Latin version of Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione* (See above p. 66). There is no dedicatory letter and no preface.

*Prologus* (Venezia, Marc. lat. II. 78 [2229]). [Inc.]: *De hominis formatione. Si virtute praeditos pecuniis remunerari deceret, totus (ut Salomonis alludam dicto) mundus divitiarum modicus fuisset ut appareret par virtutis tuae retributio . . . / . . . [Expl. (Prologus)]: Declarationis autem gratia operae pretium censuimus per capita tibi sermonem proponere ut totius operis singulorum vim argumentorum brevi comprehendere possis.*

*De opificio hominis. [Inc.]: Hic liber generationis caeli et terrae, ait scriptura, quando fuit consummatum omne quod apparet. Et in proprium locum singularia discrete secesserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Sed omnes ad illam revertamur deiformem gratiam in qua Deus hominem ab initio creavit, dicens, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (Gen. I.26), Cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

*Manuscript:*

(micro) Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. II.78 (2229), s. XVI, misc., folio numbers not legible. (Kristeller, *Iter* II.217; Valentinelli, Vol. II: 13–14, Class. III, no. 22. Microfilm and information on the manuscript were kindly supplied by G. A. Ravalli Modoni, Direttore della Biblioteca Marciana).

## 5. AMBROSIUS FERRARIUS

Ambrosius Ferrarius translated the *De opificio hominis* under the title, *De hominis fabrica*. The dedicatory letter to Marcello Cervini (Marcellus Cervinus, later Pope Marcellus II) is dated Idibus Ianuaris MDLIII. The translation was never published. The only manuscript is the autograph which was presented

to Cervini. Ferrarius stated that he had promised the bishop of Castellaneta (probably Bartolomeo Siringi) some time previously to make such a dedication.

Ferrarius was familiar with Dionysius Exiguus' version of *De opificio hominis*; he considered the Latin of very poor quality and mentioned that it would have distressed a reader even if a printer with the reputation of Robert Stephanus had published it. Ferrarius obviously had at hand a printed edition, probably that of 1551 (See Levine, *op. cit.* p. 485), which he complained abounded in errors.

Ferrarius was impressed with the writing of Gregory of Nyssa and near the end of his dedication expressed the hope that other works of the same author in the Vatican library might be translated into Latin by one of the scholars in Cervini's circle. He mentioned particularly Gentianus Hervetus, who indeed did translate no less than eleven works of Nyssenius.

The manuscript is clearly written. Beneath the title and added in another hand is "De mundi physiologia", a title which differed from Ferrarius' own. On the first page, though crossed out, may be seen the number 1345; this was the number of Ferrarius' translation in the inventory of Cervini's manuscripts.

*Dedication* (Vat. Ottob. lat. 776). Marcello Cervino S. R. E. Amplissimo Cardinali Ambrosius Ferrarius Mediolanensis Monachus Casinensis S. D. [Inc.]: (fol. 1) Cum omnes artes quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinent facile antecellat theologia, Marcelle Cervine Cardinalis ordinis maximum ornamentum, et illi bene mereri videantur de Rep. Christiana qui in illustrandis veteribus theologis, qui eam copiose et ornate atque etiam sanctissime tractarunt, omne studium collocant suum . . . , Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni theologi clarissimi eruditissimum de hominis fabrica opus nunc a me Latine versum duabus de causis nomini tuo consecro et dono: Una quia dudum Rever. Episcopo Castellanensi (*sic, for* Castellanensi) hoc me effecturum promiserim, qui ut ut (*sic*) est Celsitudinis tuae Reverendiss. studiosus, ita id diligenter per literas a me petiit, addens etiam permagni mea interesse si in

eius clientela essem, qui omnes virtutis numeros impleret. Altera ut si tuo comprobaretur acri iudicio quo excellis, et tutius et gratiosius in manus eruditorum veniret. Si dicat aliquis rem me iam factam fecisse cum trecentis ab hinc fere annis translatum fuerit hoc opus a Dionysio quodam, id ita fateor ego, ut tamen (absit verbo invidia) videatur ille ex graecis bonis latina fecisse parum bona. Adeo enim subinde scatet soloecismis et acryologiis (*sic*), ut etiam si typis Roberti Stephani, cui hac in parte typographi omnes non gravate primas deferunt, excussum esset, vix posset tamen latinus lector lectionem semibarbaram ferre. Adeo autem typographorum oscitantia tantum hoc in opere sibi promisit, ut etiam si elegantissime translatum fuisset adhuc tamen intelligi non posset, qui integra nomina et lineas subinde integras perperam mutarint. Unde iure dubitare possit aliquis plusne mali an boni ars typographorum apportet. Tantum autem abest ut gloriae Dionysii detractum esse aliquid velim hac mea versione, ut eam non mediocrem laudem promeruisse sim semper apud eruditos testaturus, quod illa aetate in qua ardentibus barbarorum bellis frigebant humaniorum literarum studia et tali seculo ἀμωσοῦράτω tantum praestiterit volens ille iuvare sacrae theologiae studiosos dedit quod potuit; idem scopus est mihi. Si nihil aliud promeremur utrique, certe vel pius conatus solet esse gratus candidis lectoribus. Quod ad opus ipsum attinet, dignissimum est quod vel ediscatur ab omnibus, nec satis laudari potest pro sua dignitate. Adeo enim eruditam pietatem pulcherrimarum rerum cognitioni semper admiscet, ut numquam oboriri sinat lectori sacietatem, subinde animum eleganti varietate pascens et recreans. Quam me delectat vir iste praeclarus quamquae animam meam in omnium rerum effectoris amorem rapit, quum mentem praestantissimam illius partem divinius cuiusdam naturae esse censet et (?) qua Dei optimi maximi sit imago quam ingenitum sibi a natura habeat archetypi sui cognoscendi desiderium a quo (?) ac cognita fuit ipsa. Quoties quosdam admiror qui parum memores Apostolum Paulum subinde hominem dividere in corpus, animam et mentem, virum hunc praeclarum parum orthodoxe

loquutum fuisse arbitrantur, quod Paulum sequutus animae nomine abusus fuerit pro duabus illis animae potentiis quas cum brutis communes habemus. Unde sunt eum arbitrati Capite XXIX asserere voluisse hominis animam ex traduce, ut aiunt, gigni. Cum ipse nihil aliud intelligere voluerit quam mentem tantum extrinsecus advenire. Id quod ab Aristotele etiam ipso dictum libro de anima secundo et in secundo de animantium generatione asserente tantum mentem extrinsecus advenire publica studia summo consensu comprobant. Certe si nihil aliud habere possem, cur crederem virum hunc eruditissimum optime sensisse de animarum origine quem quanti fecerint summi suae aetatis theologi vel illa una oratio Nazianzi theologi eloquentissimi typis escussa (*sic*) εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον ἐπίσκοπον Νύσσης aperte monstrat, ipsa viri autoritate et sanctitate frangerer. Nunc autem tot rationes attulit, quae mentem esse ostendunt incorpoream, divinam, prorsus ab omni sensu liberam et immortalem idque tum in multis huius operis locis tum vel maxime in eo sermone de anima quem quattuor libris exponit et praecipue ubi nominatim refellit Apollinarium et Eunomium qui animam asserebant ex traduce gigni, ut velut caeteris, sibi certe permansisse videatur, animam ortum habere a Deo atque immortalem esse. Quare amplectere, Reverendissime praesul, imo per te qui Dei optimi maximi providentia videris huic seculo datus illustrandis veteribus theologis, amplectantur omnes hoc opus quod hominis naturam ita suis pingit coloribus ut pictius esse possit nihil. Atque utinam caetera quoque huius authoris quae permulta esse dicuntur in summi Pontificis bibliotheca, te iubente, qui domum viris eruditissimis semper habes refertam, romana lingua donentur, praesertim a Gentiano Herveto qui vir praeclara eruditione atque doctrina nihil habet antiquius quam tibi studiorum suorum Maecenati optimo et praecipuo hac in re gratificari. Celsitudinem tuam faventem piis studiis et gloriae Christi Deus ille princeps qui piis semper favet conatibus diu incolumem ac florentissimam servet. Ex Amplissimo D(ivi) Benedicti Coenobio apud Mantuam (i.e. S. Benedetto di Polirone). Anno MDLIII Idibus Ianuariis.

There follows the quotation of the passage from Jerome's *De viris illustribus* which mentions Gregory of Nyssa's reading to Jerome and Gregory Nazianzenus from the *Contra Eunomium*.

*Prologus. [Inc.]:* (fol. 3) Ad Petrum fratrem Dei Servum Gregorius Episcopus Nyssenus. Si pecuniarum honoribus viros virtute praestantes remunerare necesse esset, minor, ut inquit Solomon, totus pecuniarum mundus appareret, quam qui virtutem tuam aequare posset . . . / . . . *[Expl.]:* (fol. 3v) Perspicuitatis autem gratia operae pretium me facturum existimavi si per capita libros tibi proponerem, quo paucis possis totius operis singulorum argumentorum vim percipere.

*De hominis fabrica. [Inc.]:* (fol. 4) Hic est liber ortus coeli et terrae, inquit scriptura, quando completum fuerat totum id quod cernitur, et ad propriam sedem singula quoque discreta secesserunt, quando corpus coeleste circulatim omnia complexum fuerat . . . / . . . *[Expl.]:* (fol. 48v) Exuatis necesse est hominem veterem novumque induatis qui renovatur ad imaginem Creatoris. Atque utinam redemus omnes ad illam gratiam Dei similem in qua Deus a principio creavit hominem "ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram" (Gen. I. 26), cui gloria et potentia in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Vat. Ottob. lat. 776; s. XVI, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>v</sup> (Kristeller, *Iter* II.415; P. Levine, "Two Early Latin Versions, etc.," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 63 (1958) p. 475, n. 24; Mercati, *I codici Latini Pico Grimani, Studi e Testi* 75, pp. 175-176. P. O. Kristeller kindly read my transcription of the portions of the text here included, and made some necessary corrections).

*Biography:*

The exact identity of Ambrosius Ferrarius Mediolanensis, translator of Nyssenus' *De opificio hominis*, was the subject of some question prior to the 1938 study of G. Mercati who did much to clarify the situation. The uncertainty arose because there were several Benedictine monks living about the same time and going under the name Ambrosius Medio-

lanensis. One early source identified our Ferrarius with Ambrosius Mediolanensis, abbot of S. Benigno in Genoa. Another referred to him as abbot of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Then there was Ambrosius (Alciatus) Mediolanensis who was professed at S. Pietro in Milan and went on to become the president of the Cassinese monks in 1557. This latter person was certainly not the translator of Nyssenus. Mercati weighed the evidence and demonstrated that our Ambrosius was probably the person described by Girolamo da Potenza (d. 1619) in his *Historia monastica*, who was professed at S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice in 1522. There is no evidence however that he ever became abbot. He must have been born early in the sixteenth century. Girolamo states that he was proficient in three languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin. We know from the dedication to his translation of the Nyssenus work that he was a friend of cardinals Sirloto and Cervini (later Pope Marcellus II) and knew by reputation, if not personally, Genti-anus Hervetus, another translator of Nyssenus. Ferrarius was in Polirone in January of 1553. For an undetermined time between 1553 and 1566 he was in Florence. From May 1567 until at least June 1568 he was imprisoned in Rome by the Inquisition. He maintained his friendship with Sirloto throughout his imprisonment. Mercati suggested that he had brought suspicion on himself by his commendation of Robert Stephanus, by not mentioning the errors of Origen, and by not denying Nyssenus' views on apocatastasis. He was not considered dangerous since he was not well known as a theologian. After an abjuration, he was set free at Monreale. He was still living in 1574.

*Works:* In addition to the Latin version of Nyssenus' *De opificio hominis*, he translated: Origen, *In Johannem* and other works; Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Genesim* and *De adoratione*. There is no evidence, but Girolamo da Potenza's statement may well be true that he translated, "plura opera S. Io. Chrysostomi, aliorumque Graecorum Patrum; egregiumque insuper laborem impendit in emendandis D. Hieronymi *Epistolis* a translatorum erroribus".

*Bibl:* G. Mercati, *I Codici Latini Pico Gri-*

*mani*, Studi e Testi 75, pp. 173–184; information found in Armellini, *Bibl. Bened. Casinensis* and *Additiones et Correctiones* p. 4 and Argelati, *Bibl. Script. Mediolan.* (I, col. 397 and 1715–16) should be read in the light of Mercati's arguments, *op.cit.* p. 173; Kristeller, *Iter* I, 320–21; 357 and II, 57 for Origen, and II, 320, 339, 412–13, and 414 for Cyril.

#### 6. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUIS.

Johannes Levvenklaius in the introduction to his notes for his Latin translation of the *De opificio hominis*, published in Basel in 1567, stated that he decided to make the version after seeing in the library of John Jacob Grynaeus a copy of the Greek edition of 1536 which contained notes in the hand of Simon Grynaeus. After he had begun his translation, he learned in Basel from J. Oporinus, that N. Episcopus had recently published a Latin edition which included Dionysius Exiguus' translation of *De opificio hominis*. He feared that another version would be unnecessary, but on examining the 1562 edition he concluded that the old version was so inadequate that he should proceed to make a new, better one.

Levvenklaius, in most cases a competent scholar, in this instance either through haste or inadequate information fell into the error of believing that the 1562 volume contained a revision of Dionysius Exiguus' translation by Johannes Cono. In fact it contained Dionysius' unrevised translation and, among other items, Cono's revision of Burgundio of Pisa's translation (1165 A.D.) of Nemesius of Emesa's *De natura hominis* under the title *Libri octo de philosophia*. Levine (*op.cit.* pp. 484–485) has suggested that Levvenklaius was confused because later editions omitted the preface of 1537 which made clear the authorship. Moreover had he read Cono's letter to Beatus Rhenanus, also printed in the volume, the relationships would have become clear. Thus ill informed, Levvenklaius mentioned in the *Prooemium* to his Latin version (p. 6) that Burgundio of Pisa had translated *De opificio hominis* 400 years earlier. Burgundio indeed

lived at that time but did not deal with *De opificio*. Notwithstanding this statement, Levvenklaius in the introduction to the notes for the 1567 edition said that Dionysius Exiguus had made *his* version 400 years ago, an obvious error as Fronto Ducaeus pointed out in his notes (reprinted PG 44: 1359).

Levvenklaius' translation contained thirty chapters as opposed to Dionysius' thirty-one. His chapter XII combines Dionysius' XII and XIII; his XIII is Dionysius' XIV, etc.

By the time Levvenklaius wrote the preface for his portion of the revision (slight) of 1571, he had seen Nicasius Ellebodus' edition (1565) of *De natura hominis* (Cono's *Libri octo*) which was correctly assigned to Nemesius of Emesa, not Nyssenus, "Praeterea versum a me superioribus annis eiusdem Nysseni nostri librum longe venustissimum, qui est de hominis opificio, et ad illustrissimum principem Palatinum Rhenanum Boiorumque Ducem Christophorum, meae erga ipsius excelsitatem observantiae causa missam, cum caeteris coniunxi, ut quaecunque nostro labore atque opera Latinam vestem induisset ordine posita conspicerentur. Simul auctor fui typographo ut de philosophia libros octo (i.e. *De natura hominis*) superiori memoria Nysseno falso adscriptos quum Nemesii sint, quemadmodum Ellebodus eorum interpres abunde docuit, prorsus omitteret" (See above p. 46). Levvenklaius however made no mention of his own earlier confusion regarding the translators.

*Prooemium* (ed of Basel, 1567). Gregorii Nysseni Antistitis De hominis opificio Librum ad Christophorum Palatinum Principem Boiorumque Ducem illustrissimum. [*Inc.*]: (p. a2a) Si qua unquam praeceptio, Christophore princeps, omnium hominum generi ordini aetati tradita est praeclara et necessaria, haec illa certe putari debet . . . (Levvenklaius expressed his belief that the subject matter would be useful for Christophor; then he adds the startling information.) . . . Altera causa est inscriptionis huius quod liber ipse etiam longiore quam longissima (quemadmodum iureconsulti nostri loquuntur) temporis praescriptione, nimirum saeculorum iam quatuor, familiae tuae debetur. Nam ante CCCC annos, Burgundio

Pisanus imp. Caes. Friderichi Ahenobarbi Aug. praefectus, commentarium hunc barbare profecto a se conversum, ut tum ferebant tempora, suo principi inscripsit. Cum autem mihi visum esset eum aliquanto puriore dicendi genere studiosis adolescentibus legendum exhibere, cui potius opera scilicet mea dicanda fuit, quam ei qui Divi Friderici Ahenobarbi Aug. gente agnationeque teneretur. . . . / . . . (*Expl.*): (p. 33) ἄλκιμος ἔσσο' ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀπιγόνων ἐν εἴπη (Homer, *Od.* α 302).

*Additional prefatory material:*

- p. 32. Greek epigram to Christopher.
- p. 33. Latin epigram to the same.
- p. 34. Greek life of Nyssenus by Leontochus.
- p. 35. Translation of above life by Levvenklaius.
- p. 38. Greek epigrams of Martinus Crusius, Theodorus Prodromus.
- p. 39. Latin translations of above epigrams.
- p. 40. More Greek epigrams: Anonymus to Basil and Nicetas to Gregory.
- p. 41. Latin translation of above.

*Prologus.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 43) Si esset, Petre frater, in more positum atque hominum instituto, ut excellentie virtute praeditos viros opum quasi quibusdam praemiis ornandos putaremus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Caeterum lucis ac perspicuitatis gratia visum est paucis capitibus rem omnem tibi subiicere, quo singulorum argumentorum totius commentationis vim brevibus verbis comprehensam perspicere liquido possis.

*De opificio hominis.* [*Inc.*]: Hic est, inquit Litterae sacrae, de ortu coeli ac terrae. Eo nimirum tempore, quidquid cernitur, perfectum fuit: atque creata singula secreta inter se, suum quaelibet in locum commigrarunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 323) Age igitur, revertamur omnes ad divinam illam gratiam, qua rerum initio Deus hominem creatum ornavit quum diceret: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem similitudinemque nostram. Ei sit gloria et potestas saeculis infinitis. Amen.

*Annotationes* follow on p. 324. See below under *Commentaries*, a.

*Bibliography:* The notes of both Fronto Ducaeus and Levvenklaius are valuable for an

understanding of the text. See also F. Combeffis' criticism of Levvenklaius' version in his *Basilius Recensitus*, Paris, 1679, Vol. I. 566–597 and Levine, *op.cit.* p. 485, n. 26.

*Editions:*

(typescript) 1567, mense Augusto, Basileae (Basel): ex officina Io. Oporini (Gr.-Lat.): Graesse 3:148; Hoffmann 2:185. NUC. BL; BN; (CtY). A typescript of portions of this edition was kindly supplied from the copy at Yale by F. E. Cranz.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1569, Basileae (Basel) Reported by the Institut für Leihverkehr und Zentralkataloge, Berlin as a pre-war holding of Universitätsbibliothek in Erlangen. There is no other evidence for this edition.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.89.

COMMENTARIES.

a. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUIS.

J. Levvenklaius wrote *Annotationes* for his 1567 Latin version of the *De opificio hominis*. He prefaced them with a short essay describing the circumstances of making the translation. In this essay Levvenklaius evidently confuses Cono's revision of Burgundio's work (*De natura hominis*) with Dionysius Exiguus' translation of *De opificio hominis*.

*Preface* (ed. of Basel, 1567). [*Inc.*]: (p. 324) Cum ante CCC annos prope sit hic Gregorii commentarius in Latinum sermonem conversus fortasse non nemo causas avet institutae novae conversionis intelligere taciteque has a me requirit. Ego vero breviter ita rem omnem



tibi, Lector, aperiam ut neque me adductum ullo animi morbo explosis aliorum laboribus mea voluisse reponere sis existimaturus, et libenter uti spero, non nullum me pretium operae fecisse hac in conversione fassurus. Cum essem nuper apud Ioannem Iacobum Grynaeum, V. opt. et Theologum doctissimum, quem honoris causa nomino, forte in ornatis-sima ipsius bibliotheca librum hunc Gregori reperi, qui fuisset aliquando Simonis Grynaei, v.c. et praestantissimi, cuius etiam in eo manu quaedam notata cernebantur. Itaque mihi cupide hunc perlegenti maximamque voluptatem ex ipsa lectione capienti, cepit auctor esse, ut eum de sermone Graeco in Latinum converterem. Parui non invite, praesertim quod mirifice mihi cum rerum explicatio praeclarissimarum, tum dicendi character eximius placerent, molesteque adeo ferebam, librum talem vulgo notiozem non esse qui semel tantum de Aldi officina ante annos triginta prodiisset (1536, Venice, Greek only; 1537, Cologne, ap. M. Novesianum, Dionysius' Latin), cum maxima ex eo et sacrarum litterarum et artis medicinae et philosophiae de natura rerum studiosi capere utilitatem possint. Nihil tum nobis constabat essetne conversus in Latinum sermonem necne, quod si etiam verum fateri debeo, neminem adhuc in eo interpretando laborasse credebamus idque propterea, quod publice vix notus esset, nisi quatenus inter opera Gregorii recensetur. Verum enimvero Basileam cum rediissem, intellexi de viro clarissimo Ioanne Oporino, typographo de litteraria republ. praeclare multis iam annis merenti, esse in Episcopiana officina Gregorii nostri opera, quae quidem extare putarentur, edita universa. Horum deinde catalogum cum inspexissem, reperi hunc etiam commentarium, quem in Latinum sermonem Dionysius quidam transtulisset. Legi interpretationem huius cupide, quod iam decrevissem labore meo supersedere. Sed enim tantum abest, Lector, ut ab instituto me Dionysius revocarit, ut cum vel paululum progressus essem, animadvertirem magis etiam mihi elaborandum ne bono thesauro litteratae sapientiae studiosi diutius carerent. Nam uti philosophus ille princeps aiebat, esse suas scholas et ἀκροάσεις quas appellabat, editas, et non editas, sic videbam

Gregorium conversum esse et non conversum, immo si verum dicere velim, indigne foeda pollutum barbaria planeque perversum. Ad-dita est Ioan. Cononis epistola, scripta ante annos (nisi fallor) sexaginta, qua se conversionem hanc nonnihil emendasse quibusdam in locis profitetur idque de fragmento Graeco; eam si leges, facile intelliges, me iniquum censorem laboris alieni non esse. (Cono had not revised Dionysius' version. The letter mentioned was prefatory to his revision of Burgundio's translation of *De natura hominis*) Atque ut gustum quendam percipere quis possit qualis sit haec interpretatio Dionysii, brevissime locum unum et alterum attingam, de quo vel infra mediocritatem Graecis literis eruditi statuere possint ecquae fuerit in Dionysio Graecae linguae peritia . . . (some specific passages in Dionysius' version are quoted; then Levvenklaius gives what he considers the correct one) . . . Haec indicare libuit, non quo veterem interpretem, more nunc nimio apud quosdam opere recepto, traducerem, sed candidè cum lectoribus communicarem, quibus causis adductus retexere non dubitaverim, quod is ante quattuor saecula, densissimis omnem doctrinae elegantiam tenebris obtegentibus, molitus esset.

Enimvero rem ipsam aggrediar, hoc est, de quibusdam hoc in commentario locis Lectores admonebo.

Nam doctiores si eius conversionem inspiciant, haud dubie pronuntiabunt, una quod dicitur, litura tolli errata omnia posse. Levvenklaius continet by mentioning the introductory material in the Greek (1536) edition (See above p. 27); the letter to Peter which he says he had not previously seen translated into Latin; the epigrams and the chapter divisions. The notes proper then begin.

*Annotationes.* [Inc.]: *Sed ubi nobis Anomoeis.* Pro Anomoeis, apud Dionysium Eunomiani leguntur idem utraque lectione significante . . . / . . . [Expl.] (final note): *Quasi perfecta.* . . . non quod perfecta sit in eiusmodi rebus anima, etc. (Final word to the reader) Haec habui, lector, quae tecum hoc tempore communicarem. Tuum erit optimam in partem qualemqualem animi mei conatum

ac studium interpretari; quod ut facias peto facturumque confido.

*Editions:*

Found in all editions containing Levvenklaius' translation of *De opificio hominis*. See above p. 132.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.89.

b. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote some notes on *De opificio hominis* which were first printed in the edition of Paris, 1615. His opening remarks indicate that he was very aware of Levvenklaius' chronological errors.

*Introduction* (ed. of Paris, 1615). [*Inc.*]: Laudanda sane est opera, quam in hoc Nysseni libro nova interpretatione illustrando posuit nuperus interpres (i.e. Levvenklaius), sed maiorem a lectoribus gratiam iniisset, si quibus in locis aut de mendo suspectus aut mutilus Graecus textus videbatur, ad antiquiorem interpretem recurrere gravatus non esset, neque tam sinistram de illo concipere opinionem voluisset. Non enim ante annos quadringentos, ut perperam scripsit, auctoris librum in Latinum sermonem convertit Dionysius Romanus, cognomento Exiguus, sed ante mille ac paulo plures, hoc est altero a morte Gregorii saeculo, cum ut testatur Beda libr. *De sex aetatibus mundi*, Paschales circulos scripserit anno Dominicae incarnationis DXXXII, a quo et illos inchoavit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Fidei enim totus mundus possessio est (Ambros. *De Jacob* I.8).

*Notae.* [*Inc.*]: *Episcopi Nysseni*. Prima editio Latinae interpretationis Dionysii, quae prodit an. 1537, Coloniae . . . / . . . [*Expl.* (final note)]: *In junco*. . . et friabilis et odorata. Vide etiam Plinium lib. XIII, cap. 20.

*Editions:*

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 71–72.

XXIII. *ORATIO CATECHETICA.*

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. Om.*

Recent editions: PG 45:9–106; 1903, Cambridge (ed. J. H. Srawley), reprinted 1908, Paris, Grégoire de Nysse, *Discours catéchétique* (ed. L. Meridier). A new critical edition will appear in a future volume of GNO.

The authenticity of *Oratio catechetica* has never been seriously questioned. Sifanus and Levvenklaius did not include it in their 1562 and 1571 editions (for details of these editions see pp. 57, 58, and 59 above), but probably not for the reason Rivetus gave (*Critici sacri libri IV*, Leipzig, 1690), that they did not believe it to be by Nyssenus. Bellarmine, following Fronto Ducaeus, offered a somewhat more likely explanation, that since Nyssenus' beliefs were in direct contrast to those of the Protestants on many points, therefore the work was not included in editions published in Basel. However the absence of this major work of Nyssenus from the two editions was most likely due to the fact that it was not in the Greek manuscripts used by these translators. Sifanus is known to have made versions in 1562 of only those works found in Par. gr. 586, and *Oratio catechetica* was not among them.

Chapter 37 acquired the status of a virtually independent treatise at the time of the Reformation. Without question it supported the eucharistic doctrine promulgated by the Council of Trent. Several Greek manuscripts preserve it under the title *De transsubstantiatione* (Bodl. Laud. gr. 6, s. XVI, pp. 27–41; Misc. gr. 134, fols. 226–228 (s. XVI).

Nyssenus' text ends with the words, κατὰ τὴν αἰώνιαν ἀντίδοσιν (PG 45:106) In some manuscripts a passage immediately follows

which was recognized by both Hervetus and P. Morellus as being a later addition since it refers to Severus of Antioch (c. 465–538). The passage was taken from Theodore Raithuensis (fl. c. 550) *De incarnatione Domini*. Hervetus appended it directly to Nyssen's work; although he comments that it belongs to a later treatise against Severus.

Morellus printed it separately with an explanation preceding the passage.

#### 1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Chapter 37 as well as a number of other passages of *Oratio catechetica* in the course of preparing his Latin version of Euthymius Zigabenus' (s. XII) *Panoplia Dogmatica* which was published at Venice in 1555 although the Greek text was not printed until 1710. Zinus' version appeared in later editions of *Panoplia* except for that produced by J. P. Migne (*PG* 130). Migne without indicating the change at the specific point in the text, substituted Gentianus Hervetus' version of Chapter 37 for that of Zinus. This was not the only instance of such substitution by Migne.

Although the *Panoplia* reached comparatively few, another little volume in which Zinus' version of the chapter was published enjoyed far wider circulation, *Liturgiae*, a collection of passages from the fathers dealing with the eucharist. It was published in one bilingual and two Latin editions between 1560 and 1562, and was dedicated to Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, by Ioannes à Sancto Andrea from whose library had come the manuscript of *Oratio catechetica* used by another of its translators, P. Morellus. The editor was Claudius de Saintes (see Michaud 39:507–508; Hoefler 42:1016–1017). The cardinal was patron of all of these men as well as of Hervetus and of Constantinus Palaeocappa. The Greek text of *Liturgiae* was based on two manuscripts (Parisinus Suppl. 143 and 303) whose contents had been assembled and copied by Palaeocappa some years earlier (see below p. 136). One scholar, M. Jugie (p. 358)

has pointed out that at this period Charles of Lorraine was engaged in debate both with dissident Venetian Greeks and with the Huguenots. The first of twelve questions under discussion with the Venetians concerned the very points of eucharistic doctrine with which the texts in *Liturgiae* dealt. Moreover at the Colloquy of Poissy (1561) where the cardinal of Lorraine and Theodore Beza were among the chief interlocutors, eucharistic doctrine was a subject of bitter controversy, Beza is said to have been warned to avoid the subject since the cardinal was known to have an arsenal of quotations from the fathers with which to uphold the Catholic side. *Liturgiae* was just such a collection; its editor, de Saintes, is listed as one of the official theologians at Poissy. (See H. O. Evannet, *The Cardinal of Lorraine*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 283–393; esp. pp. 344–354).

The text in *Liturgiae* shows only slight variations from that in the 1555 Euthymius, and they in general merely correct errors in the earlier printing.

The *Notae* of Fronto Ducaeus take into consideration Zinus' translation of chapter 37 and of the other passages quoted by Euthymius as well. For the convenience of the reader a table of correspondence for passages in *PG* 130 with their equivalents in *PG* 45 is here given. The column numbers are for the Latin versions.

<i>PG</i> 45:11A–19A	<i>PG</i> 130:34 C–42 B
<i>PG</i> 45:23B–26A	<i>PG</i> 130:202 A–203
<i>PG</i> 45:83A–86 B	<i>PG</i> 130:1251B–1254 C
<i>PG</i> 45:93A–	<i>PG</i> 130:1262 A–
98 B (Ch.37)	1266 B (Ch.37)

*Dedication* (ed. of Antwerp, 1560). Illustrissimo Principi et Amplissimo Cardinali, Carolo Lotaringo, Ioannes à Sancto Andrea, S. P. D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Nihil a Deo optimo maximo praestantius aut divinius homini concessum esse arbitror, illustrissime Princeps, quam quod similitudine quadam et cogitatione formae sibi eum coniunxerit, atque ad oris vultusque sui imitationem effinxerit et expresserit . . . (The author laments the religious contro-

versies of the day). . . . Itaque velim, illustrissime Princeps, ut istorum librorum lectione quos a mediis Graeciae bibliothecis hausimus atque traximus, ita instituantur et efformentur multorum ingenia ut veterem illam labem falsosque quos iamdudum imbiberunt succos, abiiciant et evomant, veram autem et divinam sententiam imbuant atque amplectantur, quam omni studio et contentione semper excoluisti, caeterosque ab ea desciscentes in ordinem et vitam revocasti . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 3) Accedit eodem tanta in totam Gallicanam ecclesiam beneficiorum magnitudo ut quicquid umquam opera, consilio, studioque efficere poterimus, id merito tibi acceptum referre, tuisque sempiternis laudibus consecrare debeamus. Vale illustrissime Princeps.

*Octo capita in praefationis locum, per F. Claudium de Sainctes, Lutetiae theologum.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 3) Omnes hostes Ecclesiae Catholicae hostes propemodum sacrificii ac Missae semper extiterunt. Cap. I. Quoniam in perpetuam Christi memoriam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 13) sic incruentum offerat sacrificium, deponatur, ut imperfecte ac simpliciter enunciatis et quae tradita sunt innovans.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1555). *De trasmutatione(sic) Dominici corporis et sanguinis. Gregorii Nissae Pontificis.* [*Inc.*]: (Titulus XXL, pars 12) Quemadmodum qui per insidias venenum hauserunt, alio medicamento vim illius extinguunt, oportet autem, ut ad veneni similitudinem in viscera ingrediatur, ut per illa totum in corpus auxilium diffundatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: ideo cunctis credentibus gratiae dispensatione se ipsum impertit per carnem, quae ex vino et pane constituitur fideliumque corporibus coniungitur, ut ea coniunctione cum immortalis, homo etiam immortalitatis particeps fiat. Haec autem tribuit virtute benedictionis, in illud rerum quae videntur naturam mutans.

*Editions:*

1. Of *Panoplia Dogmatica*:

- 1555. See Composite Editions.
- 1556. See Composite Editions.
- 1556. See Composite Editions.
- 1556. See Composite Editions.
- 1575. See Composite Editions.

2. Of *Liturgiae*:

(\*) 1560, Parisiis (Paris): ap. G. Morelium (Gr.-Lat.). The Greek portion bears no dedication. The date 1509 appearing in Ducaeus' *Notae* is probably a printer's error. Hoffmann 2.187. NUC. (MH).

(photo) 1560, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ap. C. Plantinum. This is perhaps a reprint of the Latin portion of the Paris edition (See L. Voet, *The Plantin Press* (1555–1589), III, Amsterdam, 1981, pp. 1400–1402). Copies of the dedication, preface and text of Chapter 37 of *Oratio catechetica* were kindly provided by F. Nash and Mary Ceibert of the Rare Book Room, IU library. NUC. (IU).

(\*) 1562, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ap. Io. Stelsius. Hoffmann 2.187. Voet, *op.cit.* pp. 1401–1402. NUC. BN; (MH).

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

2. CONSTANTINUS PALAEOCAPPA  
(Chapter 37 only).

A Latin translation of Chapter 37 of Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio catechetica* was made by Constantinus Palaeocappa and is preserved in one manuscript, an autograph of the translator. The translation may be dated by its dedication to Nicolaus Pelleveus (Pellevé) bishop of Amiens, 1552–1560, who was a patron of Palaeocappa. The manuscript contains five other works, two of which are forgeries of the type for which Palaeocappa was well known. The collection, also the product of Palaeocappa, resembles but is not the same as that published as *Liturgiae* (see above). A note by A. Coignet who used the manuscript in 1623 stated: Exiguus hic liber qui totam fere doctrinam orthodoxae orientalis Ecclesiae circa divina Ἐυχαριστίας sacramenti mysteria comprehendit a graeco viro e graeco idiomate latine factus est et fere ex ipsis Byzantiae ruinis evulsus episcopo Ambianensium donatus est primo, deinde illustris cuiusdam viri bibliothecae ascitus, in manus nostras per-

venit anno Domini 1590, nec alibi reperitur. A. Coignet, 1623.

*Dedication* (Lyons, No. 707 [615]). Amplissimo viro D. Nicolao Pelleveo Pontifici Ambiano Supplicumque libellorum in Regia magistro Constantinus Palaeocappa s.[*Inc.*]: (fol. 68 v). Antiquorum theologorum scripta e graeco in Latinum sermonem a me conversa cur (fol. 69) ad te afferam duae potissimum causae sunt, vir amplissime. Una quod ut virum christianum et eum qui praeclarum munus in Ecclesia administrat decet, literis, quae ut sunt ita sacrosanctae nominantur, sic delectaris ut nihil earum studio antevertendum putes. Altera quod iam multis (fol. 69v) me beneficiis tibi devinxis, ut ingratus plane habear, nisi quae tibi iucunda futura sunt, omni studio ac diligentia ubique conquiram. Et vero quae tibi offero huiusmodi sunt ut apud Latinos nusquam invenias. Erepta enim sunt a gentilibus meis ex excidio Byzantino hoc diligentius, quod religionis columina his (fol. 70) contineri arbitrarentur, quae, qua sunt pietate, ad me mittenda putaverunt ut ea viris in Ecclesia primariis, qualis tu es, offeram, quibus tempestatem in Ecclesia hoc tempore ortam sedare possint. Reliqua autem quae multa in hoc genere domi nostrae sunt, si haec grata esse tibi intellexero, curabo aliquando advehi, (vol. 70v) ut gratum in te animum meum hoc genere officii testificer. Interim haec eo, quo me soles vultu, quaeso accipe. Vale vir amplissime.

*Sanctissimi patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni, quod panis qui sanctificatur, in Corpus convertatur Filii Dei, quodque prorsus necesse sit hominum naturam ipsum assumere.* [*Inc.*]: (fol. 71v) Quemadmodum qui venenum per insidias assumpserunt, alio pharmaco vim exitiosam extinguunt; caeterum ut venenum interiora viscera continet, ita etiam antidotum in ea adiiciendum est, ut vis iuvantis medicamenti per illa in totum corpus digeratur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 79 v) Hac de causa omnibus qui credunt administrationis ac dispensationis gratiae eius, seipsum per carnem inserit, cuius substantia ex pane et vino corporibus credentium inserta est, ut coniunctione, quae ad id quod immortale est refertur, homo fiat etiam immortalitatis particeps. Haec autem virtute suae benedictionis largitur, in illud con-

vertens naturam elementorum apparentium.

*Manuscript:*

(micro) Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, No. 707 (615): s. XVI, fols. 68v–80 (*Cat. Gén. Dept. France* XXX. 1:191–192). This manuscript, an autograph of Palaeocappa, contains: fols. 6–24 Gennadius Scholarius, *Apologia*; fols. 24–41, Proclus, *De traditione divinae Missae* (a forgery of Palaeocappa); fols. 41–68, Samonas of Gaza, *Disputatio de Eucharistia contra Achmed sarracenum* (a forgery of Palaeocappa); fols 68v–80, Gregorius Nyssenens, *Oratio Catechetica*, Ch. 37; fols 80–98, Nicolas Methonensis, *De Eucharistia*.

*Biography:*

Few more details are known today about the life of Constantinus Palaeocappa than in 1886 when Henri Omont remarked on the paucity of information and contradictory character of that which was available in his day. Fortunately recent studies, especially those of F. J. Leroy, have brought order to the often conflicting pieces of evidence. See Bibliography.

Several factors contribute to the uncertainties still surrounding the life and work of Constantinus Palaeocappa. First, many of the facts which we do have come from statements made by the man himself in the dedications or colophons of manuscripts which he copied. In view of his known activity as a forger of names and documents, there is a question of how much credence to place in his own words. Secondly, there were at least three scholars named Constantinus Palaeocappa who lived in the sixteenth century. One died in 1522 and is not the individual under consideration here (contrary to the thesis of L. Cohn, pp. 123–124). Another Constantinus eventually became rector in Arts at the University of Padua and died in 1575; no facts equate him with our Palaeocappa.

The third Constantinus was born early in the century at Cydonia, Crete, a town where the Palaeocappa family had its roots. He mentions having become a monk, taking the name Pachomius, at the Lavra on Mt. Athos where he spent some time c. 1539–1541. On the truth of this assertion, see Leroy, p. 195–196. One manuscript which he copied, according to his

own statement at Koutloumous on Athos, bears the date 1541. In any case, he came to France c. 1541. There along with Jacobus Diassorinus he worked under the direction of Angelus Vergecius at cataloguing the Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque du Roi at Fontainebleau. During this period he also copied many Greek manuscripts. Much of his work is dedicated to Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (cardinal since 1547, but bearing the title only after May 10, 1550 as pointed out by Leroy, p. 197) who was obviously his patron. He mentions receiving an annual stipend from the cardinal; no evidence for this has as yet come to light; but the possibilities have not been exhausted. In a manuscript which can be dated after June 30, 1559, he mentions having poor health, and since no further evidence for his activity exists and no mention is made of him in the introductory material in the collection *Liturgiae* (see above p. 135) which was based on two of his manuscripts and published in 1560, one must assume that he probably died late in 1559 or early in 1560.

Palaeocappa's reputation, certainly since the research of the nineteenth century, rests not on his work as a scholar and copyist, but on his activity as a forger of ancient documents; some of these have only recently come to light (see Bibliography below p. 139 for works of Jugie, Mercati and Leroy). It is important to note that Constantinus was not alone in his questionable activity; his co-worker at Fontainebleau, Diassorinus, was another such individual as were Andreas Darmarius and Georgius Hermonymus (Krumbacher I. 542 and extensive bibliography).

These forgeries took several forms. In some cases an anonymous though genuine work was ascribed to a real or fictitious author; such was the case with the anonymous tenth-century treatise which Palaeocappa assigned to "Castor of Rhodes". In other cases our forger compiled a text of quotations from genuine works strung together by some sentences of his own; he then attributed the resultant treatise to a real or fictitious author. The treatises in *Liturgiae* (see p. 135 above) attributed to Proclus and to "Samonas of Gaza" are ex-

amples of this type of forgery. The studies of both M. Jugie and F. J. Leroy demonstrate how Palaeocappa betrays his fabrications to a knowledgeable reader by using scholastic terminology, anachronistic for the era in which his alleged author lived. The most famous of his forgeries, the first to be recognized as such, is *Violarium*, a patchwork which he claimed was the work of Eudocia, wife of Constantinus Ducas (s. XI). Palaeocappa went to great lengths in an effort to win credence for such documents. An extreme example occurs in the case of the marginal notes in an incunabulum of Aristotile which he presented to Henry II (1547-1559), telling him that he took the notes from Basilius Magnus' commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*. In order to substantiate that questionable claim, he produced a fictitious letter from Theophylactus of Achrida, the late eleventh century bishop (Jugie, p. 295)! Oddly, in his own day Palaeocappa seems not to have been recognized as a forger. Scholars today agree that all of his fabrications probably have not yet been discovered.

*Works:* Catalogues of the Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Fontainebleau; Latin translations of works in the manuscript Lyon 707, some of them his own forged Greek texts; a number of forgeries (in Greek): *Violarium*; works ascribed to Proclus and "Samonas of Gaza" in *Liturgiae*; a commentary of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, attributed to Georgius Lacapenus; a paraphrase of Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* by "Heliodorus of Prusa"; a commentary of Basilius Magnus on the same work of Aristotle and a fictitious letter of Theophylactus of Achrida referring to it; an anonymous astronomical treatise reworked by substituting Attic for Roman names of months and then attributed to "Aegyptius"; "Thaddeus Pelusiotes", *Contra Iudaeos*.

Bibl.: Christ, *Griech. Lit.* II.844; Krumbacher I. 291, 431, 541, 559, 579; J. E. Sandys, *Hist. of Class. Scholarship* I. 408.

L. Cohn, "Konstantin Palaeocappa und Jakob Diassorinos," *Philologische Abhandlungen Martin Herz zum siebzigsten Geburtstage von ehemaligen Schülern*, Berlin, 1888, 123-143; and the same, "Heliodorus von

Prusa, eine Erfindung Palaeokappas," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 9 (1889) 1419 sq.; A. Diller, "Two Greek forgeries of the XVIth Century," *American Journal of Philology* 57 (1936) 124-129; M. Jugie, "Une nouvelle invention au compte de Constantin Palaeocappa: Samonas de Gaza et son dialogue sur l'Eucharistie", *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 3 (1946) Rome, pp. 342-359; F. J. Leroy, "Proclus, 'de traditione divinae Missae' un faux de C. Palaeocappa," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 27 (1962) 288-299; and the same, "Les énigmes Palaeocappa. Notes sur un copiste grec du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Recueil commémoratif du Xe anniversaire de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres: Publ. de l'Univ. Lovanium de Kinshasa XXIII = VIII<sup>e</sup> vol. publ. par la Fac. de Philos. et Lettres, Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1968, pp. 191-204; S. G. Mercati, "Il trattato contro i Giudei di Taddeo Pelusiota è una falsificazione di C. Palaeocappa," *Bessarione* 39 (1923) pp. 8-14; H. Omont, Catalogue de manuscrits grecs copiés à Paris au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle par C. Palaeocappa," *Annuaire Assoc. Encouragement des Études Grecques en France*, 20 (1923) pp. 241-279; P. Pulch, "Konstantin Palaeokappa, der Verfasser des *Violariums* der Eudokia," *Hermes* 17 (1882) 177-192. There is a large body of literature dealing with *Violarium*, for which, see Krumbacher I. 579.*

*Works:* Catalogues of the Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Fontainebleau; Latin translations of works in the manuscript Lyon 707, some of them his own forged Greek texts; a number of forgeries (in Greek): *Violarium*; works ascribed to Proclus and "Samonas of Gaza" in *Liturgiae*; a commentary of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, attributed to Georgius Lacapenus; a paraphrase of Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* by "Heliodoros of Prusa"; a commentary of Basilios Magnus on the same work of Aristotle and a fictitious letter of Theophylactus of Achrida referring to it; an anonymous astronomical treatise reworked by substituting Attic for Roman names of months and then attributed to "Aegyptius"; "Thaddeus Pelusiotes"; *Contra Iudaeos*.

### 3. GENTIANUS HERVETUS.

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *Oratio catechetica* which was first published in Paris in 1573 by both Nivelles and Sonnius. For details of this edition see above p. 76-77. However his version must have had earlier circulation in manuscript form since P. Morellus referred to it in 1568. Hervetus' version was reprinted in all subsequent *opera omnia* editions of Nyssenius. His translation of Chapter 37 of *Oratio catechetica* also appears in J. P. Migne's edition of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) who quoted this chapter of Nyssenius' work. The entire *Panoplia* was printed in the translation of Petrus Zinus, but Migne made some arbitrary substitutions of which the replacement of Zinus' by Hervetus' translation of Chapter 37 was but one (see below p. 155 for another instance in a work of Nyssenius). Hervetus' interest in the subject matter of the *Oratio catechetica* is attested by his French translation made some years before the Latin version of the entire work: *Recueil d'aucunes mensonges de Calvin, Melancthon, Bucère et autres évangélistes de ce temps, . . .* Paris, 1561, chez N. Chesneau. The volume, like *Liturgiae* contained a number of statements on eucharistic doctrine made by early Fathers.

Hervetus' version, like those of Morellus and Zinus before him was subjected to detailed study and criticism by Fronto Ducaeus. See below p. 142. In 1835 in Munich J. G. Krabinger produced a Latin version which he stated was constructed partly from Hervetus' and partly from P. Morellus' previous translations.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1573). [*Inc.*]: (p. 411) Quae ad Catechesin pertinet oratio est quidem necessaria iis qui praesunt vitae, pietati ac verae religioni, ut eorum qui salutem assequuntur accessione multiplicetur Ecclesia, quod fiet, si fidelis doctrinae sermo ad infidelium aures accedat. Non idem tamen doctrinae modus convenit omnibus verbi auditoribus, sed pro religionum diversitate mutanda et accommodanda erit catechesis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 456) (The explicit is here provided in full form so that the reader may compare it with that of Petrus Morellus (See below p.

141). Magna est autem differentia inter eum qui extinguitur et eum qui nullam admittit extinctionem. Est ergo aliquis alius, et non hic ignis. Rursus cum vermem audieris, ne propterea quod idem sit nomen, ad terrestre hoc animal tua feratur cogitatio. Adiectio enim eius quod non moriatur, suggerit aliam esse intelligendam naturam quam eam quae cognoscitur. Quoniam ergo haec sunt proposita spei vitae post haec futurae, quae congruenter ex libero uniuscuiusque arbitrio, convenienter iusto Dei iudicio vitae exoriuntur, fuerit sapientum non ad praesens intueri, sed ad futurum, et in hac brevi et temporali vita iacere materiam et sementem beatitudinis ineffabilis et per bonum propositum et electionem alienos fieri a malorum experientia nunc quidem in hac vita, post haec autem in aeterna remuneratione. (Then follows immediately without comment the addition from Theodore Raithuensis' *De incarnatione*.) Vult te Christus contemplari duas naturas essentialiter unitas, confitentes et ex eo exhibentes magnitudinem misericordiae et miserationum Dei in nos, qui propter nostri amorem in animum induxit nobiscum versari, et voluit cum sua nostram connumerari. Deo autem sint gratiae ob donum eius ineffabile. At this point the addition is mentioned. Et haec quidem hactenus. Quoniam autem Severus solas sectatur voces, et in solis verbis et sonis collocat pietatem . . . neque propter ignorantiam significationis dictionum impediuntur, ne comprehendant ea quae sunt in ipsis theoremata.

*Editions:*

of Nyssenus, *Opera:*

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Of Panoplia:*

1865, Paris, In *PG* 130 (Euthymius Zigabenus): 1262 A–1266B. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I. 109.

#### 4. PETRUS MORELLUS.

Petrus Morellus made a Latin translation of *Oratio catechetica* from a manuscript which he found in the library of Ioannes a Sancto Andrea in Paris. Morellus offered some information about this library in his letter dedicating the work to Pope Pius V. His version was published by Chaudière in Paris in 1568 in a volume which contained several other writings on a variety of subjects by different authors (Peter of Laodicaea, Germanus of Constantinople, etc.) all translated by Morellus. One of these, Nicetas Choniates' (Acominatus', i.e. from Colossae, died c. 1210–1220) *Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei*, dealt with the same subject as Nyssenus' work, and Morellus' version of it became very well known. Morellus was eager to have his work published soon because of the civil unrest in France at the time.

Morellus' translation of *Oratio catechetica*, unlike his Nicetas, was never reprinted. Nevertheless Fronto Ducaeus in his *Notae* to the 1615 *opera omnia* edition of Nyssenus consistently referred to Morellus' translation of individual words and passages. It is clear that Morellus was familiar with Gentianus Hervetus' previous Latin version since he mentions it in connection with the spurious addition at the end. J. G. Krabinger used Morellus' as well as Hervetus' translations when in 1835 he prepared a new Latin version.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1568). Beatissimo Papae Pio Quinto, Sanctae Romanorum Ecclesiae Pontifici Maximo S. [*Inc.*]: Dubium mihi non est, beatissime Pater, quin tibi temerarius et importunus videar, qui te virum pietate meritisque celeberrimum ignotus homuncio, coeli filium terrae filius, communem denique Christianae reipublicae dioceten patremque nullus ego interpellare audeam. . . . Non ignota tibi est, beatissime Pater, clarissima illa Dominorum a S. Andrea Parisiensium familia in qua D. Ioannes a S. Andrea optimi parentis, ut reliqui quoque fratres, sanctissima vestigia subsequens, ad solidae virtutis fastigium conscendere nititur. Quo ut facilius minoreque negotio pertingat, te potissimum maioresque tuos imitatus, qui Vaticanam



illam vereque Apollineam bibliothecam tot antiquorum monumentis instruxistis, ut quicquid ex miserandae Graeciae reliquiis supererat, quod utile posteris esse posset, id ad vos confluisse videatur, instruxit et ipse Lutetiae bibliothecam, eamque tot venerandae antiquitatis codicibus refersit, ut cum multis aliis Musarum sacrariis, si Vaticanam tuam Regiamque Fontis Bellaquensis bibliothecam excipias, facile certatura sit. Ex ea clarissimus ille vir pleraque iam exemplaria deprompsit, quae iampridem typis et Gallicis et Germanicis excussa in vulgi manus venerunt, hodieque adeo veluti renata eadem ex bibliotheca maior hic D. Gregorii Nysseni *Catecheticus* prodit, una cum pauculis aliquot e magno illo D. Nicetae Colossensis *Thesaurio fidei Orthodoxae* depromptis, iis praesertim quae Catechetico huic consentanea visa sunt . . . (Remarks on the content follow, ending with a mention of George of Constantinople's "*Liber sapientiae*") . . . Quod quia cum hoc D. Nysseni Catechetico Latinum alterno labore feci, libens excudendum typis proposuissem, nisi recrudescentibus ex insperato civilibus Galliae bellis manum de tabula tantisper submovere coactus essem, dum melior et opportunior affulgeat hora . . . (There follow more remarks on Nicetas' work and how he acquired the manuscript through the efforts of the papal legate and Maldonatus from Ioannes a S. Andrea and a Paris theologian) . . . Ad Nyssenum antistitem redeo, cuius elogium ex D. Hieronymo, Suida, Nicephoro et Volaterrano desumpta huic epistolae subiiciam . . . He goes on to discuss the charge of Origenism leveled against Gregory of Nyssa for some remarks in the *Oratio catechetica* and other works . . . [Expl.]: hunc Nysseni catecheticum, velut caeterorum arrhabonem hilari, quaeso, vultu excipe interpretisque conatus et labores adiuva. Faxit Deus Optimus Maximus, beatissime Pater, ut te praesertim duce et autore laeta pax orbi Christiano affulgeat. Lutetiae in aedibus D. Ioannis a S. Andrea ad Calendas Maias. MDLXVIII. Apostolicae Beatitudini tuae ad dictissimus Petrus Morellus.

*Text.* [Inc.]: (p. 1) Oratio catechetica, ea nimirum quae de rudibus instituendis suscipitur iis quidem pernecessaria est, qui religi-

onis mysterio praesunt, ut servandorum accessione multiplicetur Ecclesia . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 71) (The explicit is given in full form so that the reader may compare it with that of Hervetus, p. 139 above). Iam magna inter id quod extinguitur et id quod non extinguitur, differentia est. Itaque ignis ille ab hoc nostro diversus est. Item si quis vermem audiat, is ne ob vocis similitudinem ad terrenum hoc animalculum cogitatione feratur. Eo enim quod numquam desiturus moriturusque dicitur, naturam quandam ab ea diversam, quae nota nobis est intelligendam proponit. Quia ergo haec et huiusmodi sunt ea, quae vitae futurae promittit expectatio cuiusque operibus ex iusto Dei iudicio responsura sapient illi, qui non ad praesentia sed futura respicient ineffabilisque beatitudinis fundamenta in hac brevi et momentanea vita iacent, denique a patrandis malis bona vivendi regula sese continebunt, ut in praesentiarum quidem hac vita, in posterum autem aeterno illo praemio perfruantur. (There follows in the italics of P. Morellus): Hoc loco finem sortitur hic maior D. Nysseni Catecheticus in plerisque exemplaribus. Unum quod est D. Herveti ea quae sequuntur adiicit quae quamquam non sunt libri tamen alicuius adversus Severum praefatio potius quam huius Catechetici peroratio esse videntur (The passage is now known to be from the *De incarnatione* of Theodore Raithuensis). [The text of the addition follows]: Christo placeat duas naturas essentiae ratione coniunctas contemplari . . . / . . . non autem ignorata dictionum significatione, ad theorematum conceptionem falsis demonstrationibus deducantur. Maioris Catechetici D. Greg. Nysseni Finis.

*Edition:*

1568. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Few details are available concerning the life of Petrus Morellus (Pierre Moreau), although he numbered among his acquaintances important personages of his day. He was probably born early in the second quarter of the sixteenth century since he mentioned engaging in scholarly activity "ab anno 1547" (in the Dedication for his 1580 Nicetas). He also remarked that his first attempt at making a trans-

lation from Greek into Latin was his version of Nicetas, *Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei*, completed in 1560 and first published in 1561 (Dedication for the 1561 edition of Nicetas). He was still living when the work on the 1615 edition of Michael Psellus, *De energie et operatione daemonum*, including his Latin translation, began; the printer stated, "ab auctore Psellum extorsi". But the terse notice leads one to believe that he probably died before the publication.

Much more is known about Morellus' circle of friends than about details of his own activity. He was closely associated with the Saint André family. He sketched its history and expressed particular admiration for François de Saint André, president of the Parisian senate (Dedication for the 1580 Nicetas). It was out of gratitude to François de Saint André that Guillaume Main, friend of G. Budé, willed to Moreau "Bibliothecam Graecis et Latinis autoribus instructissimam" in 1564 "ut Latinarum tantorum (e.g. Nicetas, Iohannes Damascenus, Iohannes Tzetzes, etc.) operum conversionem accelerarem", but unfortunately even by 1579 the books had not yet come into Moreau's possession. Jean de Saint André, son of François, was a close friend of Moreau, and it was from his library that Moreau obtained the Greek manuscripts which he used in his translating activity. He dedicated to him his first Latin translation, the 1561 Nicetas, and to both Jean and his more famous brother Jacques, like his father president of the Parliament, his 1579 Nicetas. The dedication of his version of *Oratio catechetica* to Pope Pius V was a byproduct of his relationship with the Saint André family as was his concern for the political problems of his time, expressed repeatedly in his dedicatory letters. Another friend was Dorat, member of the Pléiade, and father-in-law of Nicolaus Gulou, another translator of Nyssenius. (See above p. 99). Dorat wrote a poem on Moreau's translation of Nicetas' *Thesaurus* which was printed in the 1580 edition of that work.

*Works:* In addition to the Latin translations of Nyssenius, *Oratio catechetica* and Nicetas Choniates, *Thesaurus orthodoxae fidei*; translation of Leo IV, *Canticum de Paschate*; Basil

I, *De bene vivendi et morendi*; M. Psellus, *Dialogus de energiea*. He also made French translations of Greek works: Psellus, *Dialogus de energiea*; Nicetas, *Thesaurus*, Book IV, Ch. 33 and 36. Gilbert Gaulmin published Morellus' Greek text of Psellus in Paris in 1615. Ceillier stated that Petrus Morellus made Latin versions of Nyssenius, *De perfectione* and *De professione* which were published in Paris in 1606; no trace of such an edition has been found. (See below p. 000).

*Bibl.:* Cioranesco *XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* #7332, 10332, 16104-16106; J. Le Clerc (Clericus), *Bibliothèque universelle* Vol. 15:117; La Croix du Maine et du Verdier, *Bibliothèque Française*, Vol. II:300-301; Vol. V: 299. Mary Ann Ellery supplied the information from the copy of Le Clerc held by DLC. The reader is advised that Jocher 3:664 and Ergbd. 4:2100 confuses the Petrus Morellus who translated Nicetas with a seventeenth century physician.

#### 5. ANONYMUS (Chapter 37 only, lost)

In G. Antolín's *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid, 1923, Vol. V, pp. 391-392 appears the entry: D. Gregorii Nysseni episcopi *disputationes de Eucharistia* (tach. VI. D. 7) VI. H. 22. Then: (Añadido al margen) *Eiusdem homiliae in natalem Dni nri Jesu Christi et altera in S. Stephanum Protomartyrem* IV. H. 26.

These items were lost in the fire of 1671, as has been confirmed by P. Teodoro Turienzo of the Biblioteca de El Escorial. The first item is almost certainly Chapter 37 of *Oratio catechetica*. There is a possibility, although based on weak evidence, that the translation was that of Joachim Camerarius who had translated the other two works of Nyssenius.

#### COMMENTARY

##### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS.

Fronto Ducaeus wrote extensive notes on *Oratio catechetica*. They were first published in the Paris edition of 1605 (See p. 77 above for general information on the *Notae*). They

underwent some revision before publication in the 1615 bilingual edition. The short introductory remarks describe the sources Ducaeus had at his disposal as he assessed the translations of Hervetus, P. Morellus and Zinus.

*Notae.* In *orationem catechetica*m (ed. of Paris 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.44) Catecheticum hunc Nysseni librum Latinitate donavit erutum ex bibliotheca C. V. Ioannis a sancto Andrea Petrus Morellus an. 1568. Itemque Franciscus Zinus et Gentianus Hervetus cuius interpretationem cum illa Morelli et duobus manuscriptis codicibus contulimus et recensuimus, quorum alterum D. I. Vulcobius, alterum Fed. Morellus, Professor Regius, utendum dedit. Mox etiam tertii codicis auctoritate, quem ex regia bibliotheca serius nacti sumus, huius vel illius lectionem confirmavimus. Cum illo priori convenit Herveti interpretatio, cum vertit 411 a. (The *Notae* proper begin here) sermone adducente aures incredulorum τὴν ἀκοὴν τῶν ἀπίστων προσαγομένων et Petri Morelli, quod fiet, si ad fidelis sermonis doctrinam infideles velut auribus attrahantur. At in posteriori ms. Fed. Morelli lego, ut et in Reg. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (final note, II. 53) Regius autem ms. appendicem hanc non habuit. Porro Severus pseudomonachus Eutychianus, dux Accephalorum circa annum domini 513 longe post Nyssenum vixit, damnatus est in Synodo Constantinopolit. Iustino Imperatore congregata. Vide Zonaram et Cedrenum in Iustino.

*Editions:*

- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 71–72.

#### XXIV. DE ORATIONE DOMINICA.

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris, in *G. N. Op. Om.*

*Recent editions:* PG 44:1120–1193; J. Callahan is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO VII.2.

Gregory of Nyssa's five homilies on the Lord's Prayer, *De oratione Dominica*, are considered exegetic, not homiletic treatises. The Syriac translation found in Vat. syr. 106 (s. V-VI) is important for the establishment of the Greek text. Zingerle-Moesinger published this version of *Oratio* I only in *Monumenta Syriaca ex Romanis codicibus collecta*, I. 111–116 (1869–1878).

There is in the third sermon a passage (following ἀλλασσομένων PG 44:1160C) which assumed importance in the Trinitarian debates between the Eastern and Western of the church. In it Gregory seems to support the Western position regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit. The passage does not appear in all Greek manuscripts. It is found in Vat. gr. 2066 (x. VIII-IX) and some other witnesses; the Greek text was first printed by A. Mai as it appeared in *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi* (s. VIII) (*Script. vet. nov. coll.* VII [1833]). However many Greek scribes understandably chose to omit it as being a later forgery by Western sympathizers. Of the early translators only Athanasius Chalceopolus included it although in the twelfth century Hugh Etherian used a manuscript which included it. (See above p. 25).

Krabinger and Oehler included it in their nineteenth century editions, but J. P. Migne omitted it from the text of the third sermon and published the passage among fragments (PG 46:1109–1110). W. Jaeger devoted a chapter to it in his study of Nyssenus' doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He printed the Greek text on p. 133–134. It will be incorporated in the text of the new critical edition of J. Callahan.

*Bibliography:* *Nova Patrum Bibl.* IV (1847) pp. 40–53; F. Diekamp, *Theologische Revue* 3 (1904) p. 332; J. Draeseke, "Zu G. von N.," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1907) pp. 387–400; H. C. Graef, *St. Gregory of Nyssa, The Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes*, New York, 1954, pp. 8–10; 54–55; 187–188, notes 75–80; K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Iconium*, etc. p. 215; W. Jaeger, *Gregor von Nyssas Lehre vom hl. Geist*, pp. 122–153. See also R. Leaney, "The Lucan Text of the Lord's Prayer," *Novum Testamentum* I (1956), pp. 103–111.

## TRANSLATIONS.

## I. ATHANASIUS CHALCEOPLYLUS

Athanasius, Bishop of Gerace in Southern Italy, made a translation of the *De oratione Dominica* at some time between 1464 and 1471 during the pontificate of Paul II, to whom he addressed his preface. A time soon after Paul's accession is suggested by the statement in the preface that a previous Pope, Eugenius IV, had hoped that Pietro Barbo might achieve the papacy "quod iam actum est". The references to precious stones in the prologue were well suited to Paul II's notorious penchant for jewels. Athanasius' version was never published. Athanasius in his translation included the disputed passage on the Holy Spirit from Sermon III; in this pericope Gregory appears to support what later became the Western position on the procession of the Spirit.

*Praefatio* (Copenhagen, Kong. Bibl., S. 1345, 4°, f. 2). Athanasii episcopi Hieracensis ad Paulum secundum Pontificem Maximum prologus in traductionem orationis dominicae sancti Gregorii episcopi Nyssensis [*Inc.*]: Quom animadverterem te, Pontifex Maxime Paule, res graecas maximi facere easque ut habeas magnam curam magnamque operam dare, aliquid et ipse tibi e graecia pro mea in te observancia officioque afferre curavi. Sed quom sacrae mihi imagines auro lapidibus arteque mosaica artificiose pictae eleganterque compositae non sint neque vasa habeam preciosorum lapidum aut pannos sacris figuris argento et auro et bysso contextos aut caetera quae ipsa Graecia producit, quom mihi facultates haudquaquam suppeditent, quibus eas res facile possem parare, has quinque homilias sancti Gregorii Nissensis, fratris magni Basilii, viri profecto doctissimi, quas magna cum sapientia summaque theologia in dominicam edidit orationem, e graeca in latinam linguam traducere tibi offerre operae pretium duxi. Quae mihi profecto gemmae quaedam preciosissimae visae sunt. Habent enim quae perfectae gemmae habent, magnitudinem albedinem et rotunditatem. Naturales etenim res mirifice docent, mores optimos ingenue instruunt, de summa perfecta christicoliarum

theologia excellentissime disserunt quas ego tibi dedicandas censui quod te talem esse intelligo qualem vult iste sanctissimus Gregorius esse eum qui hanc dominicam orationem digne valeat dicere deumque suum possit patrem vocare. . . . (There follows a long passage praising Paul II) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol 3) Nunc has homilias seu gemmas quas tuo nomine converti benigne ut soles accipias oro easque inter caetera tua ornamenta tuique animi virtutes excellentissimas collocare velis. Ornabunt enim eas meo iudicio et distinguendo splendiores quodammodo reddent teque clariorum efficient, quamvis clarissimo clarius addi non posse videatur Tuumque gregem cunctum christianorum populum quem tibi Salvator noster iure optimo credidit ut iure dei vocetur filius, faciet et (*malim*: ut) heres eius coheresque sui veri consubstantialisque filii sit. Quod ego summam illam beatitudinem esse intelligo et finem totius rationalis creaturae.

*Text.* Sancti Gregorii Episcopi Nyssensis in dominicam orationem Homilia Prima. *Pater noster qui es in coelis.* [*Inc.*]: Doctrinam orationis divinus sermo nobis ostendit quom suis discipulis qui orationis cognitionem habita diligentia inquirebant qua deum attingere posse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Sed libera nos a malo eius scilicet qui in hoc mundo potestatem tenet, a quo liberemur gratia Jesu Christi veri dei nostri qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Deo Gracias.*

*Manuscripts:*

(photo) København, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. kgl. S. 1345, 4°, s. XV, misc., fols. 2–51. (Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum medii aevi*, p. 37).

(\*) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. 4301 (P 125), s. XV, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>–47. My attention was called to this manuscript by Paul O. Kristeller. (Loewe-Hartel 113, 252).

(micro) Pavia, Bibl. Universitaria, Fondo Aldini No. 259, s. XV, misc., fols. 1–45 v. (De Marchi pp. 149–150; Kristeller, *Iter II*. 556).

(\*) Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 256, s. XV, misc., fols. 4 sq. (*Cat. Cod. Vat. lat.* Vol. I. 186).

*Biography:*

Athanasius Chalceopylus Constantinopolitanus was a Greek who settled in the Cala-

brian region of Italy. Along with other Greeks he attended the Council of Florence whose chief concern was to effect a reunion of the Eastern and Western branches of Christendom. The sessions were held in Ferrara and Florence between 1438 and 1442. (See above p. 26). At some point Athanasius became abbot of S. Maria de Patiro et de Arca, a Cistercian foundation in the diocese of Syracuse (C. Eubel, *Hierar. Cath.* (1431–1503) p. 159, n. 1). In 1461 he became the twentieth bishop of Gerace. By 1467 he had replaced the Greek with the Latin rite in his see. In 1472 he effected the union of his see with that of Oppido, although it was dissolved by Paul III after Athanasius' death. The date of his birth is unknown; he died in 1497.

The extent of Athanasius' literary activity is far less certain than his place in the religious history of his time. This is partly due to the fact that several individuals named Athanasius Constantinopolitanus seem to have lived at roughly the same time. "Chalceopylus" was not often appended to the name. He almost certainly translated the two sermons of Basil found in Vat. lat. 4249 since "Chalceopulus" is added to the name. He made a Latin version of the letters of Crates the Cynic which was dedicated to Charles of Aragon. He is not the same Athanasius who translated Vergil into Italian in 1476.

*Works:* In addition to the translation of *De oratione Dominica*, translations of two sermons of Basil of Caesarea, probably the translation of the letters of Crates the Cynic; a letter to Jo. Tortellius.

*Bibliography:* The primary treatment is in Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* IX:393–394, 396. Zedler V:172 is admittedly based on Ughelli. See also: Cosenza, I.328; C. Eubel, *Hier. Cath.* (1431–1503) p. 159; Gams p. 883; Gesner, *BU Appendix* p. 14; Joecher, *Ergbd.* I. 1197; Kristeller, *Iter* II. 326; 365; 402; 556.

## 2. PETRUS GALESINIUS.

Petrus Galesinius made a Latin translation of the five homilies, *De oratione Dominica*, in 1563. They were published in Rome in the same year along with his version of the homi-

lies, *De beatitudinibus* (See above p. 73). He dedicated the work to Cardinal Carlo Borromeo.

The translation was never reprinted, but in 1840 J. G. Krabinger published a Latin version of the treatise for which he admittedly borrowed freely from the previous versions of Galesinius and Sifanus: "si quid iis inesset quod apte eleganterque dictum videretur, id in rem nostram convertere non dubitasse". (See Composite Editions).

*Dedication:* See p. 73–74 above.

*Text* (ed. Rome, 1563). [*Inc*]: (p. 1) *Concio prima*. Divino hoc sermone precandi nobis in eo traditur ratio, quod dignis hoc ipso sermone discipulis, cum et audire et discere aliquid ipsi maxime cuperent, Dominus illis praescribit, quomodo precationis ope captare conveniat attentionem Dei . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 67) (*Concio quinta*) qui cum magnam in hoc mundo potentiam vimque obtineat, ab eo nos quoque liberemur munere ac benignitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quoniam eius est gloria, vis ac potentia in sempiterna aeternum saecula. Amen.

*Edition:*

1563. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful edition:*

1565, Rome. Mentioned by Fabricius IX. 105, it is probably an error or misprint.

*Biography:*

See CTC III: 422.

## 3. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS.

Laurentius Sifanus published a Latin translation of the five homilies *De oratione Dominica* in 1562. For date and circumstances see p. 57–59 above.

This translation was reprinted in all subsequent *opera omnia* editions of Nyssenius. In 1840 J. G. Krabinger made use of it in his composite version. See above.

Sifanus took great care in choosing his words to convey as accurately as possible the meaning of the Greek. In the preface to the 1571 edition he mentions his work on *De oratione Dominica* in this respect, "Caeterum si quibus displicet, quod in expositione orationis Dominicae pro *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*,

quemadmodum vetus translatio habet, Erasmus sequutus reddidi *Remitte nobis*, etc. sciant me in eodem tractatu nec illud quidem verbum, *Dimittere* videlicet, respuisse. Nam et vetus interpres in Evangelii Matthaei cap. 9 quum prius dixisset *Remittuntur tibi peccata tua*, postea pro eodem verbo graeco ἀφέωνται reddidit “dimittuntur”. . . His careful justification of his rendering continues at some length.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (*Oratio I*) (p. 7) Orandi nobis doctrinam divinus sermo tradit, per quam se dignis discipulis orandi scientiam studiose ac serio requirentibus, quomodo divinum auditum conciliare per verba orationis conveniat, exponit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (*Oratio V*) (p. 39) Verum surgentes dicamus etiam nos ad Deum: *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*, hoc est in mala saeculi: *sed libera nos a Malo* qui in hoc mundo vires habet, a quo liberemur gratia Christi, cui potentia et gloria una cum Patre et Spiritu sancto nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful editions:*

1560, Basel. The 1959, Turnhout edition of PG 44, in the Contents, lists Sifanus' version as having been published in 1560—an obvious error.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## XXV. DE PERFECTIOE AD OLYMPIUM

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden, ed. D. Hoerschelius. No proof has been found for a Greek edition of Venice, 1574 mentioned by Fabricius

IX. 1145 and Ceillier VIII. 442.

Recent editions: PG 46:252–285; 1963, Leiden in GNO VIII. 1:173–214 (ed. W. Jaeger).

### TRANSLATIONS

#### I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin version of *De perfectione ad Olympium* which was published in 1553 in a volume dedicated to Pietro Contarini (See above p. 107). In the dedication Zinus refers to *De perfectione* as one of the “duas praeterea longe doctissimas et elegantissimas (orationes)”; he entitled it *Perfecti christiani formula*. Zinus' is the only version of this work appearing in the *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenus. Variations of the title have proved confusing, especially since another work of Nyssenus, *De vita Moysis*, is sometimes mentioned under almost the same title (See below p. 182). Thus *De perfectione*, translated by Zinus is also entitled *Perfecti christiani formula*; *Perfecti christiani hominis forma*; *Forma perfecti hominis christiani*; *De perfectione et qualem oporteat esse christianum*. *De vita Moysis* goes also under the titles: *De perfecto homine*; *De vita perfecta* and *De vitae perfectione*.

In addition to being published in collections of Nyssenus' works, this treatise appeared in a little book which came out in Venice in 1575, *Exempla tria insignia naturae, legis, et gratiae*, etc. which contained Zinus' translations of *De perfectione* and also of Philo Judaeus, *Vitae* of Moses and of the patriarch Joseph. Moreover the same works were translated into Italian by Zinus in 1574 and published both in that year and in 1575 in *Il ritratto del vero et perfetto gentil'huomo*, dedicated to the memory of Luigi Lippomano and published by Rampazetto in Venice. Zinus' translation underwent some changes at the hands of Ducaeus. They are not extensive enough to be classified as a revision; details may be found in his *Notae* of 1605 and 1615. See below.

Dedication: (See above pp. 107–108).

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (f. 99 r) Quæris, qua ratione vita ex virtute possit institui, ut omnibus officiorum numeris absoluta atque perfecta nullis reprehensionibus sit obnoxia, digna profecto professione tua postulatio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (f. 116 r) Ea enim vere perfectio est, ut qui augetur in melius numquam consistat neque terminis ullis perfectionem existimet esse conclusam.

*Editions:*

1553. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1574. See Composite Editions.

(micro) 1575, Venetiis (Venice): ap. B. Zalterium. *Exempla tria insignia, naturae, legis, et gratiae, cum in vita Josephi patriarchae et Magni Mosis a Philone Hebraeo, tum a Gregorio Nyssae pontifice in forma perfecta hominis christiani . . . expressa*. Contains Zinus' translation of *De perfectione ad Olympium* along with two works of Philo Judaeus. BN.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

(photo) 1847, Louvain: S. P. N. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni *De perfecta christiani hominis forma*, with an opus of S. Ephraem Syrus, edited by J. B. Malou. A copy of the text in this edition was provided by L. H. Hill of St. Vincent's College, Latrobe. (PLatS).

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1570, Venice. First mentioned by Fronto Ducaeus in his *Notae* for the 1615 edition. It is also mentioned by W. Jaeger, GNO VIII.1: 170 and by the editor of the 1959 reedition of PG 46 on p. 5. No proof has been found of the existence of this edition.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. MAXIMUS MARGUNIUS.

Maximus Margunius made a Latin translation of *De perfectione ad Olympium* which was published in Venice in 1585 as a separate fascicle. It was dedicated to Io. Franciscus

Moresinus. Later in the same year the same printer published a second fascicle containing two more works of Nyssenens, *De professione ad Harmonium* and the *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*, for which there was a different dedication. Eventually the two booklets were bound together and a title page was provided; though in the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale the title page is in the middle, following *Ad Letoium*. Their copy contains as its first member Margunius' translation of Nyssenens' *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*. See *Cat. BN*, Vol. 64, p. 171, No. 71 and E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* II.222. Margunius' translation was taken into account by Fronto Ducaeus while preparing the Latin version of Zinus for inclusion in the 1615 bilingual edition of Gregory's works.

*De perfectione*, its companion piece *De professione*, and *De vita Moysis* are mentioned by Margunius in the first of two Greek letters which he addressed to David Hoeschelius and which open the 1593 editio princeps of the Greek text of five of Nyssenens' works, including these three. Margunius emphasizes the mystical, spiritual treatment which distinguishes Gregory's teaching. See E. Legrand for the text of the letter, *Bibliographie Hellénique* II.90-91.

Though Margunius is chiefly remembered for his efforts on behalf of the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, it is understandable that he translated two ascetic works of Nyssenens in addition to *In inscriptiones Psalmorum* and the *Epistola ad Letoium*, since he remained throughout his life a great advocate of the purely spiritual ideals of the monks of St. Catherine's on Crete.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1585). Illustrissimo atque integerrimo viro D. Ioanni Francisco Moresino Maximus Margunius, Episcopus Cytherensis Salutem in Domino. [*Inc.*]: Hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei creatum duobus quibusdam mediis, beatitudinem quae finis proprius est ad quamque pervenire conatur; assequi posse ex ipsa circa creationem suam Dei providentia colligitur, Ioannes Francisce Moresine, vir praeclarissime. Alterum est fides cultusque ipse, qui Deo optimo Max. a nobis debetur, quem intel-

lectus nostri, quo Dei imago dicimur, post Dei ipsius gratiam opus esse fatemur. Alterum ipsa est virtutum exercitatio omniumque praeceptorum adimpletio, quibus nos Deo ipsi assimilari nemo est qui eat infitias. Utrumque hoc divinus ille magister gentium Paulus, ad Dei imaginem similitudinemque factum hominem Christianum iis nominibus, quibus Christum appellat, edocet, quum tum ea quibus eum ut Deum colere, tum ea quibus eundem imitari debeamus, divinissimo quodam afflatus spiritu suis in scriptis tradiderit, ut per ea verum nobis Christianum circumscriperit. Sed quod ille perobscure innuere voluit, id brevi quidem isto, divino tamen tractatu sanctus iste Pater Gregorius Episcopus Nyssenus nobis patefecit, tam praeclare sane tamque sapienter per ipsa nomina Christi Christianum verum depingens, ut nil sapientius nil fideli christiano utilius praeclariorque desiderari possit. Quem nos diutius in tenebris latere indignum esse opinati, e Graeco in Latinum ad publicam utilitatem convertimus. Fore enim existimavimus ut Christianus quisque qualem se esse oporteat per hunc edoctus, nec sibi nomen falso ascendere sustineret, neque a supernorum amore Christique imitatione quavis alia corruptibilium rerum concupiscentia praepediretur sicque ad proprium finem beatitudinem ipsam totis viribus converteretur. Hunc autem vel sponte vel a nobilissimo doctissimoque viro D. Michaeli Eparcho ad hoc adhortati nomini tuo praeclarissimo consecrare, nec ab re, voluimus, excellentissime More sine. Quum enim tu is sis, qui in utroque hoc genere ita praecellis, ut tum ob summum erga Deum cultum, tum ob excellentium tuarum virtutum praestantiam morumque suavitatem, post optimam Reipublicae administrationem praeclaraque in ea gesta, ad praestantiora sublimioraque negotia, animarum inquam curam, demum divinitus electus vocatusque fueris, optima quaeque propterea, ac praesertim quae ad Christianum vitam spectare videntur, tibi revera Christiano deberi necessum omnino est. Tuae itaque erit humanitatis, vir praestantissime, ut quaecumque hoc fuerit munusculum summae erga te nostrae observantiae haud obscurum argumentum hilari fronte, prout consuevisti, velis suscipere, quod ut faci-

as etiam atque etiam obsecramur. Vale nosque virtutum tuarum excellentiae singularique humanitati deditissimos esse foreque tibi persuadeas. Anno dominicae salutis MDLXXXV. Mense Septembre.

*Text.* D. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni de vitae in virtute perfectione et quis verus Christianus sit ad Olympium Tractatus e Graeco in Latinum a Maximo Margunio Episcopo Cytherensi conversus. [*Inc.*]: Conveniens electioni tuae studium est, illius quippe quod ad hoc cognoscendum adhibes, quomodo quis per vitam in virtute transactam ad perfectionem perducatur adeo ut irreprehensibilitas per omnes in vita tua eluceat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Haec enim revera perfectio est, ut qui melius augetur, numquam quiescat, nec termino perfectionem ipsam definiat. Finis.

*Edition:*

1585, Venice. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.320.

#### DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

##### 3. ANONYMUS 1580

The editor of the 1959 reedition of PG 46 on p. 5 refers to a translation of *De perfectione* "apud Lorium impressa" with a cross reference to the previous entry on *De professione* where an anonymous translation "1580 apud Lorium impressa" is mentioned. One may assume that the editor's statement was derived from Fronto Ducaeus' mistaken reference to a 1570 edition of Zinus' translation followed by mention of another edition "post decennium". Nevertheless a further investigation was made. The firm of Lorius was not active until 1585 (See E. Pastorello, *Tipografia editori e librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI*, Firenze, 1924), a fact which was pointed out to me by Gian A. R. Modoni, Direttore of Biblioteca Marciana who kindly investigated the existence of this edition and reached a negative conclusion. The Centro Nazionale di Informazioni Bibliografiche in Rome and the Institut für Leihverkehr of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, DDR also have



no evidence for a 1580 edition. Confusion with Margunius' translation published by Lorius in 1585 can be assumed.

#### 4. PETRUS MORELLUS

R. Ceillier, *Histoire Générale*, VIII.442, mentions a Latin translation by Petrus Morellus (See above p. 142) which was published in Paris in 1606 along with the Greek text. No trace of such an edition has been found, and Ceillier is not always accurate.

### COMMENTARY

#### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote four columns of *Notae* on *De perfectione* for his 1605 edition of Gregory's works. He made a number of revisions in these notes for the 1615 edition. For the introduction to his *Notae*, see p. 134 above.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.40) p. 396a et beatitudinis illius) In editione Graeca Raphelengii 1593. pag. 17. lego . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.43) Ibid. e. corona Dei) Gr. στέφανος ἐκ λίθων τιμίων unigeniti Dei corona ex lapidibus pretiosis, honor et gloria.

In 1615 Ducaeus revised his *Notae*, taking into consideration the translation of Margunius as well as that of Zinus. His introduction to these notes caused some confusion on the part of later readers since no 1570 edition existed, nor was one published in 1580; although there were reprints of Zinus' 1553 version in 1573, 1574, 1575, 1605 and later.

*Introduction to Notae of 1615.* Prodiit in lucem hic liber (*De perfectione*) Latinitate donatus a Petro Francisco Zino, Veronensi canonico, Venetiis anno Christi 1570, et post decennium ibidem a Maximo Margunio episcopo Cytherensi, una cum altero tractatu *ad Harmonium De nomine Christiano*, et *Epistola ad Letoium*, quasi tum primum ederetur e Graeco in Latinum, conversus est apud Lorium de Loriis, an. 1585.

#### *Editions:*

See p. 78 above for editions of *Notae*.

#### *Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## XXVI. DE PROFESSIONE CHRISTIANA AD HARMONIUM.

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden (ed. D. Hoerschelius). There is no evidence for the Greek edition of Venice, 1574, mentioned by Fabricius BG IX.114 and Ceillier VIII.142.

Recent editions: PG 46:237–249; 1963, Leiden, GNO VIII.1:129–142 (ed. W. Jaeger).

Unlike its companion piece, *De perfectione ad Olympium*, *De professione ad Harmonium* is an actual answer to a letter from Harmonius. The work however is always classed among Nyssen's ascetic writings, never among his letters.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS.

Laurentius Sifanus published a Latin version of *De professione ad Harmonium* in 1562. For details see above p. 57. It bears the distinction of being the first of the works in the edition, under the title, *Quid nomen professione christiana sibi velit epistola*. Sifanus' translation was reprinted in all subsequent editions of Nyssen's *Opera omnia*.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Quod apud magistratus et eos qui rerum potiuntur, faciunt ii qui quotidianis vectigalibus obnoxii sunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 6) Tu vero mihi vivas in Domino ex animi tui sententia. Hoc autem semper tibi cordi sit atque probetur, quod et Deo gratum et nobis iucundum est.

#### *Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See p. 63 above.

## 2. MAXIMUS MARGUNIUS.

Maximus Margunius made a Latin translation of *De professione christiana ad Harmonium* under the title *Ad Harmonium de nomine Christianorum tractatus*. It was published in Venice in 1585. For details of the edition see above p. 147.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1585). [*Inc.*]: Quod erga dominantes facere consueverunt qui quotidianis vectigalibus obnoxii sunt, si iis plurium dierum deficeret debitum, insimul singularium debitorum summam solventes . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Tecum vero prout volupe tibi est, agatur in Domino. Hocque tibi in omni tempore volupe sit quod et Deo gratum et nobis ex animi sententia est.

*Edition:*

1585, Venice. See Composite Editions. J. A. McDonough inspected the copy in the BN and provided the *incipit* and *explicit* of this work.

*Biography:*

See CTC II, 320.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

## 3. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

W. Jaeger GNO VIII.1, p. 125 and the editor of the 1959 reedition of *PG* 46 on p. 5, mention a translation of *De professione* by Zinus. The statements were probably based on Fronto Ducaeus' erroneous remark which opens his *Notae* of 1615 on *De perfectione*. See above p. 149.

## 4. ANONYMUS 1580

W. Jaeger, GNO VIII.1 p. 125 and the editor of the 1959 reedition of *PG* 46 on p. 5, mention a translation ("alia [versio latina] apud Lorium de Loriis impressa [1580]). No further evidence has been found for such a version, and one must assume that their remarks were based on Ducaeus' introduction to his 1615 *Notae* on *De perfectione*. See above p. 149.

## 5. PETRUS MORELLUS

R. Ceillier, *Histoire Générale*, VIII.442, mentions a Latin translation of *De professione* by Petrus Morellus which was published in Paris in 1606 along with the Greek text. No further evidence has been found for such an edition, and Ceillier is not always accurate.

XXVII. DE PYTHONISSA,  
AD THEODOSIUM EPISCOPUM

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt in *G. N. Opuscula nonnulla*, ed. F. Ducaeus.

Recent editions: *PG* 45: 108–113; 1912, Bonn in *Kleine Texte* 83 pp. 63–68, *Eustathius von Antiochien und Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor*, ed. E. Klostermann; 1983, Leiden, GNO III, 2 (ed. H. Hörner).

This treatise also appears under the titles: *De engastrimytho* and *De ventriloqua muliere*. Though ostensibly a letter, it is always included among Nyssenens' exegetical works.

## TRANSLATION

## 1. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De Pythonissa* which was published in Ingolstadt in 1596. See above p. 70 for details. In his *Notae* for this work (reprinted in *PG* 45:1345 sq.) Ducaeus mentioned finding it in a manuscript containing a number of treatises dealing with I Kings 28, 12 sq. It was in the library "Collegii nostri Lotharingici Ponti ad Montionem (Pont à Mousson on the Moselle near Metz), qui nonnulla alia similis argumenti opuscula complectebatur". Possevinus (*Apparatus sacer* I. 679) gives another detail concerning the manuscript used by Ducaeus: "liber manuscriptus Bibl. Collegii Mussipontani Soc. Iesu quem nobis dono dedit V. C. Iacobus Bornonius Lotharingicae Curiae Sarmichelinae Praeses".

Ducaeus' version appeared in all subsequent editions of Nyssenens' writings. His notes constitute a commentary on the work.

*Dedication:* See above, p. 70.

*Text* (ed. of Paris 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.93) Qui discipulis suis dixit, *Quaerite et inuenietis* (Mt. 7:7), is procul dubio facultatem etiam inueniendi studiose perquirentibus et ex praecepto Domini recondita secreta indagantibus largietur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.97) Postremo vero caput quaestionum propositarum, quomodo, inquam, Spiritus ante baptismum adueniat, ampliori indiget disquisitione atque consideratione quod cum proprio libro complexi fuerimus, Deo dante ad tuam reverentiam transmittemus.

*Bibliography*: K. A. D. Smelik, "The witch of Endor. I Samuel 28 in rabbinic and Christian exegesis till 800 A.D.," *Vig. Chr.* XXXIII (1979) 160–179.

*Editions*:

- 1596. See Composite Editions.
- 1599. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography*:

See above pp. 71–72.

COMMENTARY

a. FRONTO DUCAEUS.

Fronto Ducaeus wrote notes on *De Pythonissa* which were first published in the Paris, 1605 edition of Nyssenius' works. Ducaeus begins by mentioning other treatises dealing with the episode in I Kg 28:12. He mentions that he found this treatise attributed to Nyssenius in a manuscript at Pont à Mousson (where he had taught early in his life).

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.91) Celebrem fuisse controversiam et multis utrinque disputationibus agitatam de Pythonissa . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.95) Archangeli tamen vocantur quod nomen illud principatum inter Angelos sonet.

*Editions*:

See above under TRANSLATION I. F. Du-

caeus, beginning with the 1605 edition.

XXVIII. *DE EO: QUID SIT AD  
IMAGINEM DEI ET  
AD SIMILITUDINEM.*

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt (ed. F. Ducaeus).

Recent edition: *PG* 44:1328–1345.

Scholars today consider this short dogmatic treatise spurious. The main reason for denying its ascription to Gregory of Nyssa is that the style is not his and the doctrine expressed is not compatible with Nyssenius'. Scholars have also argued that Gregory would not have written twice on the same subject. Two fragments of this treatise appear in a partially preserved sermon, *Secundum imaginem*, published under the name of Anastasius of Sinai (ed. J. Tarino, Paris, 1624. See Hurter I. 161). However the identity of the author has never been clearly established.

*Bibliography*: Bardenhewer 3:195–196; Quasten 3:293 and references. See especially H. Merki, 'Ὁμοίωσις Θεῶ, Freiburg (Schw.) 1952, pp. 174–175.

TRANSLATION

I. FRONTO DUCAEUS.

Fronto Ducaeus made a Latin translation of *De eo: Quid sit ad imaginem Dei* . . . which was published in the small edition of 1596. See above p. 70. Ducaeus states that he used "antiquissimus codex Regiae Bibliothecae Medicae, paene consumptus, literis fugientibus, charta dilabente" which may have been Par. gr. 1002 (s. XIV). See P. Alexander GNO V, p. 272. In his *Notae* (see below) Ducaeus refuted the contention that Nyssenius would not have written twice on the same subject and that therefore *De eo: Quid sit* . . . was not his work.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.85) Qui conditam a Deo vultus sui pulchritudinem certissime volunt cognoscere, non alia, opinor, ratione propriam imaginem formamque faciei contemplari possunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.94)

Ille siquidem qui ad imaginem Dei quondam erat factus, quiddam iam coniunctum cum Deo factus est, et qui prius imaginis Dei particeps redditus fuit, imaginis suae communicator est factus. Ipsi gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

pat etiam Gregorius Nazianz. in tetrastichis. . . . / . . . [*Exp!*]: (II.91) 93 b. nisi forte insolens sit aut importunum, aut periculosum, vel si manuscripti lectionem retinere malis, nisi forte reformidandum sit dicere.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## XXIX. IN SEXTUM PSALMUM.

Editio princeps: 1587, Leiden (ed. D. Hoerschelius).

Recent editions: PG 44:608–616; 1962, Leiden in GNO V:187–193 (ed. J. A. McDonough).

### COMMENTARY

#### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote *Notae* on *De eo: Quid sit* . . . which were first published in his Paris edition of 1605. The introduction to these notes is of importance for another spurious work, *In verba: Faciamus hominem*.

In *Libellum de imagine Dei in homine* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.89) Vindicant hunc libellum Nysseno codex antiquissimus regiae Bibliothecae Medicaeae, itemque alter qui inter manuscriptos Ducis Bavariae libros servatur, ut ex eorum catalogo liquet, numero 40. Nysseni liber de imagine sive creatione hominis. Ac licet in altera ex duabus hominibus quae adiungi solent B. Basilii *orationibus in Hexameron*, sed Nysseni sunt propriae, (non enim plures quam novem Basilio tribuit Suidas) de hac quaestione disseruerit, hoc tamen non impedivit quo minus ut verum Nysseni opus agnosceretur illud de hominis opificio; sic neque vetabit quidquam quo minus hoc tamquam verum eius legamus. Notum enim est sanctos Patres saepius de eodem argumento tractatus habere vel libros scribere solitos, atque hunc ipsum Gregorium de pauperum amore, de professione Christiana, de resurrectione pluribus locis disseruisse. Porro similitudinem illam ab oculo sumptam col. 83. Usur-

### TRANSLATIONS

#### I. JACOBUS NOGUERAS.

Jacobus Nogueras made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's short treatise *In sextum Psalmum* probably not long before its publication in 1556. Nogueras had arrived in Austria and become attached to the circle of the emperor Ferdinand who appointed him dean of Vienna. He had promised a version of a commentary on Psalm 14 to a colleague, Primus Lacunarius, a canon of Vienna and also a member of Ferdinand's circle. Lacunarius appears to have been a patron of Nogueras who several times refers to the former's kindnesses. When he learned from A. Lippomano that a translation of the commentary had already been made, Nogueras decided to search for another piece suitable for offering to his friend. He was in addition to his official position in Vienna also pursuing studies toward a degree in theology in Ingolstadt and in the course of his reading "pulcherrimas Gregorii Nysae (sic) . . . Orationes" came upon the little treatise on Psalm 6; he made a Latin version of it. Why he chose this particular work is not known, but like Psalm 14 it was appropriate in subject for the distressed politico-religious situation of the area at a time in

which Nogueras was an active champion of the Catholic cause.

*Dedication* (ed. of Ratisbon, 1556). [*Inc.*]: (p. A1) Ornatissimo atque integerrimo viro Primo Lacunario Invictiss. Ferd. Caes. a sacris et Canonico Viennen. collegae suo, Iacobus Nogueras Decanus Viennensis, S. P. D. Etsi mihi nihil iucundius poterat accidere, Prime integerrime, quam ut eam in psalmum decimum quartum expositionem, quam tibi superioribus diebus promiseram absolverem, tamen cum Aloisius Lypomanus Veronae pontifex eo honoris gradu dignissimus, bonam eius operis partem, unde ipse eam explanationem decerpseram, ab aliis iam e graeco in latinum conversam ostendisset, mei esse officii duxi ab incepto labore desistere aliudque argumentum quo meam fidem liberarem, conquirere . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (A2v) habebis tandem, Prime humanissime, aliquid quo me tui observantissimum studiosissimumque atque amicitia tua dignissimum fuisse non obscure cognoscas. Vale Viennae, Quinto Id. Sep.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. A 3) Qui ex virtute in virtutem, ut habet imprecatio illa prophetae, pergunt, et pulchras ascensiones suis amicis condunt, ubi bonam aliquam cogitationem fuerint assecuti, ii per eam manu veluti ducuntur in altiore quandam, cuius beneficio gradus quidem in anima, qui ad altitudinem ducat, nascatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. B 3) qui postea quam sine mora fuerint cum rubore conversi, suscipiet nos ea gloriae spes, quae nullam ad extremum ignominiae ac pudoris notam inurit. Gratia Domini illius, cui sit gloria (sic) in in (sic) saecula saeculorum. Amen.

There follows the Gallican text of Psalm 6. Finally, Nogueras adds his own paraphrase of the Psalm (B4-B6 v).

*Edition:*

(photo) 1556, Ratisponae (Ratisbon): ex officina Io. Carbonis Typographi. NUC. (MH). I am indebted to F. E. Cranz who brought this edition to my attention and provided a copy.

*Biography:*

Jacobus (Didacus) Gilbertus Nogueras was born in Daroca, province of Zaragoza, Spain, probably between 1525 and 1530. The exact date is unknown. His name appears simply as

Diego Nogueras in a letter to Philip II of Spain. In the *Acta* of the closing session of Trent in 1563, he signs as Jacobus Gilbertus Nogueras, Hispanus Aragonius, Aliphanus ep. Nothing is known of his early life. Late in 1551 he left Spain for Austria in the retinue of Maria, queen of Bohemia.

Between 1553 and 1554 Nogueras soon became chaplain in Ferdinand's inner circle. He himself states that he spent seven years in this capacity. In the spring of 1555 he became tutor to the son of Martin Guzman, also a member of Ferdinand's circle. Ferdinand, now emperor, appointed Nogueras dean of Vienna, and in Nov. 1556, entrusted him with the administration of the episcopal see previously held by Peter Canisius with whom Nogueras was on friendly terms. He remained in that capacity for three years until a new bishop was appointed. During this period he devoted his efforts to defending the Catholic faith against the Lutherans. He stated that he traveled widely ("bonam Germaniae partem peragravi") in his assigned area. He remarked on the many German language Bibles to be seen and added that he had no facility in that language. During all of this time he had continued his studies in theology and in Feb. 1557 received the doctorate from the University of Ingolstadt. Among his acquaintances were a number of individuals connected with the Prague college where he engaged in a debate in 1557.

In 1559 he completed arrangements with Sebald Mayer of Dillingen for publication of his treatise *De ecclesia Christi*, a defense of the Catholic faith against the Protestants. But only two of the four books were ready for the printer. Suddenly, without giving any reason, Nogueras departed from the area, leaving the printer complaining of the incomplete copy and the University of Ingolstadt demanding payment for a debt, perhaps the charge for his academic title. Peter Canisius volunteered to defray the cost. Two books of the still incomplete *De ecclesia Christi* were published in 1560.

At the end of 1559 Nogueras turned up in Rome where he was named by Pope Pius IV to the Council of the Inquisitors and also as a

member of the papal household.

In 1561 Nogueras was appointed Bishop of Alife (Italy) in which position he succeeded his famous fellow countryman, Antonio Agustín. (See above p. 91). In the trial of Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, he favored the defendant who had been accused of holding Lutheran positions. Nevertheless in Feb. 1562 his name appeared on the list of those arriving for the new session at Trent. He remained there until the close of the Council in Dec. 1563. During the intervening months he made several noteworthy addresses which ultimately were to be the source of his downfall. The delicate point at issue was whether bishops received their powers directly from God, or in some way through the Pope as intermediary. Records of the Council show that Nogueras argued so strongly for direct bestowal by God that he exposed himself to the charge of being against the Catholic position. Yet one must conclude from a reading of *De ecclesia Christi* that that could not have been his position. Records show that the Council Fathers were so bored with his lengthy arguments that they became rudely noisy (See J. Lainez, *Disputationes Tridentinae*, I. 441, No. 29, a letter of the delegates to Carlo Borromeo). Blank pages appear in the *Acta* in place of Nogueras' address on July 15, 1563 with the statement that he did not hand it in; it is more likely that it was purposely omitted.

Undaunted, in Feb. 1564 Nogueras went to Venice in an attempt to have his Council addresses published and to look as well into the printing of the two final books of *De ecclesia*. His endeavor failed and he returned to Alife which was in a deplorable state as a result of the current political situation. Nogueras appears to have been headstrong, opinionated and lacking in tact. He alienated the Canons of Alife by attempting to deprive them of their cherished right to elect members of their college. Then since Alife had suffered great damage in the recent wars he foolishly moved the episcopal seat to Piedimonte, thus alienating the lay people as well as the clergy. His enemies on both sides were quick to seize on any pretext to rid themselves of him and brought a charge of simony against him. He was pub-

licly denounced in Rome and eventually thrown into prison. On May 27, 1566 Pius V directed the commissar to draw up formal charges against him. Before a trial could take place, Nogueras died on July 15, 1566 in the hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome according to some. Eubel however has, "ob. in C(uria) R(omana)".

Apart from *De ecclesia Christi* little is known of Nogueras' other works. Most of the information comes from the correspondence of Latino Latini who says of him, "Hic scribet, ni fallor, plurima", and "Multa hic quoque scripsit". In a letter to Andrea Masio Latini says, "(Nogueras) qui aliquot annos Ferdinando Caesari sacris mysteriis peragen-dis sacrisque libris pro concione interpretandis cum summa, ut audio, laude operam dedit".

*Works: De ecclesia Christi*, Latin translations of *In sextum Psalmum*, of Nyssen's Prayer from *De s. Theodoro* (unpublished), Basil's commentary on Isaiah (no trace of Ms or edition), some writings and addresses in Spanish and Latin. The reader may consult Gutierrez' study. There seems to be no trace today of several works said by Latini to have been published. (See Gutierrez, pp. 255-257, and notes). They include: *De sacramento Ordinis*, a discourse delivered at Trent and published at Brescia, a sermon in Spanish delivered a few days later and published at Brescia, a 1561 sermon *Un tratadito sobre la invalidez de los decretos de un concilio, Tratado sobre precedencia* (1562-1563). There is also a Latin letter praising the work, *Christiana Paraenesis* of Miguel de Medina which was printed in some editions of this treatise.

*Bibliography:* N. Antonio, *Bibl. Hisp. Nova*, I. p. 303; Eubel, *Hierar. Cath.* III.104; *Dizionario Ecclesiastico*, III p. 1152 (ed. 1955); Fonseca, *Catalogo* I. p. 38; Gams, *Series Epis. Eccles. Cath.* p. 847; G. Gutierrez, *Los Españoles en Trento*, pp. 248-257, Valladolid, 1951; Hurter I.18; Jocher 3:968; Ughelli VIII.210; Zedler XXIV.1178.

F. Gargiulo, *Giacomo Gilberto Nogueras, Vescovo di Alife* (1525-1566), Pars diss. ad Lauream in Facultate S. Theologiae apud Pontificiam Universitatem S. Thomae de Urbe

(Florence, 1969).

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of the short treatise *In sextum Psalmum* which was published in the 1562 edition of Nyssen's works. For details see above p. 57.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1571). [*Inc.*]: (p. 82) Qui secundum prophetica[m] benedictionem ex virtute in virtutem progrediuntur, atque praeclaros ascensus in cordibus suis disponunt, cum aliquem bonum intellectum apprehenderint . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 84) Inimici autem, videlicet domestici eius, qui ex corde procedunt et inquinant hominem, quibus celeriter cum pudore aversis, excipiet nos spes gloriae, quae non desinit in pudorem gratia Domini, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

### *Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

### *Biography:*

See p. 63 above.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

## 3. MAXIMUS MARGUNIUS

Fabricius, speaking of the treatise *In sextum Psalmum*, says: Vertit et Maximus Margunius, Cytherorum episcopus, Venetiis, 1583. Ceillier VIII.441 also gives a version by Margunius, but published in Venice in 1585. No proof of the existence of such editions can be found. Gian Albino Ravalli Modoni, Direttore of Biblioteca Marciana, has found no trace of 1583 or 1585 translations by Margunius.

## XXX. AD SIMPLICIUM DE FIDE

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden (ed. D. Hoeschelius).

Recent editions: PG 45:136–145; 1958, Leiden in GNO III.1: 61–67 (ed. F. Mueller).

A variant title is *Ad Simplicium tribunum, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto*. Though found in a large number of Greek manuscripts, this treatise in all cases lacks an introduction and conclusion.

Some Greek manuscripts, notably those used by Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) for the text reproduced in its entirety in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*, and that used by Hoeschelius when preparing the editio princeps in 1593, lacked several passages appearing in other manuscripts. This fact influenced the choice of a preferred Latin translation in printed editions.

## TRANSLATIONS

### I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Euthymius Zigabenus, as mentioned, quoted the entire treatise *Ad Simplicium de fide* in his *Panoplia Dogmatica*. When Petrus Zinus published his Latin version of the *Panoplia* in 1555 he provided the first Latin translation of this little work. Zinus' Greek exemplar omitted two short passages, both in the earlier part of the work. This version was reprinted a number of times, but when J. P. Migne and his co-editors were preparing Euthymius' work for publication in PG 130, they substituted, without mentioning the fact, Sifanus' fuller translation for the first portion of the treatise. (PG 130:599 B-603 C). The fuller Greek text was supplied in the case of the first instance where the *Panoplia* lacked a passage, but not in the second case.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1555). [*Inc.*]: Vetat Deus per Prophetam, ne quem Deum recentem Deum existimemus, neve Deum alienum colamus, aut adoremus. Perspicuum est, recentem appellari, qui ab aeternitate non est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Qui autem ex spiritu natus est, per eiusmodi vocem effectus est spiritus, Christum

enuntiat: quoniam inquit Apostolus, *nemo potest dicere Dominum Iesum, nisi in Spiritu Sancto* (I Cor. 12:3).

*Editions:*

(photo) 1555, Venetiis (Venice): ap. Hieronymum Scotum. In *Euthymii Monachi Zigabeni Orthodoxae Fidei Dogmatica Panoplia nunc primum per Petrum Zinum Veronensem e Graeco translata*. NUC. (DCU). The copy at DCU was inspected by T. P. Halton who kindly provided a copy of pertinent passages.

(\*) 1556, Lyon: in *Panoplia*, reprint of the above.

(\*) 1580, Paris: another reprint.

(\*) 1677, Lyon: in *Bibl. Patrum*, Vol. XIX.

1865, Paris: Petit-Montrouge, ed J. P. Migne in *PG* 130:850 B-851 B, latter part only.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Ad Simplicium de fide* which was first published in 1562. For details see above p. 57. Fronto Ducaeus who wrote valuable notes on this treatise (see below) discussed Sifanus' handling of the Greek text. Sifanus' version, being based on a somewhat fuller Greek text, was preferred for inclusion in *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenius. In addition the first portion of his version was also chosen by the editors of *PG* 130, the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII), although the rest of the *Panoplia* is printed in Zinus' translation. The editors make no mention of the substitution (*PG* 130:599 B-603 C), but obviously preferred the fuller text. See above under I. Zinus, p. 155.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562) [*Inc.*]: (p. 133) Deus per Prophetam praecipit ne ullum deum novem esse existimemus neque deum adoremus alienum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 136) qui autem ex Spiritu natus est, et per tale tonitruum spiritus factus est, annuntiat Christum quemadmodum dicit Apostolus, quod nullus possit dicere 'Dominum Iesum Christum' nisi per Spiritum sanctum.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.  
 1573. See Composite Editions.  
 1605. See Composite Editions.  
 1515. See Composite Editions.  
 1617. See Composite Editions.  
 1638. See Composite Editions.  
 1858. See Composite Editions.  
 1863. See Composite Editions.  
 1865, Paris (first part only). See above under Zinus p. 155.  
 1959. See Composite Editions.  
*Biography:*  
 See above p. 63.

## XXXI. TESTIMONIA ADVERSUS IUDAEOS

Editio princeps: 1698, Rome, in *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae*, pp. 288-299.

Recent edition: *PG* 46:193-233.

Although a number of manuscripts assign the *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* to Gregory of Nyssa, his authorship has been disputed. Earlier scholars such as Du Pin and Oudin considered the presence of a quotation from a work of Chrysostom which occurs near the end as sufficient proof that Nyssenius was not the author. However in 1770 A. Gallandi pointed out that at least one manuscript (Vat. gr. 1907, s. XII) indicated that the quotation was not an original part of the work. The Latin translator Sifanus whose sources came from a different tradition, also found the text corrupt at this point. Nevertheless the style falls far short of Nyssenius'.

*Bibliography:* On authenticity see: Bardenhewer 3:202; A. Gallandi, *op. cit.* Vol. VI, Proleg. xiv (reprinted in *PG* 45, p. i); L. A. Zaccagni's notes reprinted in connection with the text by Migne. See also, J. Daniélou, "Histoire des origines chrétiennes," *Rech. de Science Religieuse* 44 (1956) p. 621; G. Soell, "Die Mariologie der Kappadozier," *Theol. Quartalschr.* 131 (1951) pp. 177-178.



## TRANSLATION

## I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* under the title *Ex Vetere Testamento delecta testimonia cum adiecta quadam expositione et explicatione, adversus Iudaeos de sancta Trinitate*. For the date and circumstances, see above, pp. 57–59.

Sifanus described the difficulties encountered in his effort to translate this work in his preface for his 1562 edition. See above p. 60. He stated that he used only one manuscript which was in very poor condition; hence he was compelled to make many conjectures and feared that this procedure led to errors.

Sifanus' translation appeared in all editions of Nyssenius' works through the edition of Paris, 1638. Migne chose not to print it and to substitute L. A. Zaccagni's 1698 version.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 315) Dicit David in psalmo trigesimo secundo: Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris eius omnis potentia eorum. Non igitur verbum sive sermo est aeris impressio rei cuiuslibet significativa . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 331) Hunc autem lapidem vidit etiam propheta Daniel sectum et incisum absque manibus, quum de partu virginis, qui citra viri consuetudinem accidit, doceretur. Hunc vidit imaginem confregisse, hoc est vitae vanitatem, et in magnum montem evassisse, qui orbem terrae habitatum ornaret.

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

XXXII. AD THEOPHILUM  
ADVERSUS APOLINARISTAS

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden (ed. D. Hoe-

schelius).

Recent editions: PG 45:1269–1277; 1958, Leiden in GNO III.1:119–128 (ed. F. Mueller).

A Greek retroversion by Hermann Langerbeck of the text found in Vat. syr. 106 (s. VI) was used in preparing the new critical edition. The spelling used in this section *Apolinarius* and *Apolinaristas* follows that of GNO III.1. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the usual spelling was *Apollinarius* and *Apollinaristas*.

## TRANSLATIONS

## I. FRANCISCUS TURRIANUS

Franciscus Turrianus made a Latin translation of *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas*. The translation can not be dated with certainty, but it was probably done in the last years of his life as a support for the work of Gregory of Valentia (then in Ingolstadt) against the Ubiquitists in 1582 and 1584. In a letter on the subject to Gregory of Valentia, Turrianus cites a passage from Nyssenius, *Ad Theophilum*, verbatim (PG 45:1278 A). Turrianus' version was published in 1604 by Henricus Canisius in Vol. V of his *Antiquae Lectiones*.

*Bibliography:* Antonius, *Bibl. Hispana Nova*. II.489; A. Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer* (ed. 1608) I.680; Sommervogel, Vol. VIII:391, 392, 400. See also the anonymous preface to F. Ducaeus' 1596 edition of *Ad Theophilum*.

*Praefatio Henrici Canisii* (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1604). Lectori [*Inc.*]: (Tom V.1:160) Ante paucos annos ex tenebris in lucem prodiit Graece et Latine haec D. Gregorii Nysseni Epistola. Sed quia in schedis Turriani iam pridem (c. 1580–1585) eam ab eodem Turriano ex Graeco in Latinum translata reperimus, nefas visum est tanti viri deque antiquitate tam bene meriti laborem publici iuris non facere, quia haec editio fortassis eo perveniet, quo aliae non pervenerunt et ut cum aliis concurreret, facile tamen cum Quinti Tomi Antiquae Lectionis, tum Turriani interpretis nomine sese in gratiam tuam, amice lector, insinuabit. Vale.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: Non solum ubertate saecularis sapientiae abundat magna civitas Alexandria, sed a principio etiam ea quae apud nos vera sapientia est, scatent fontes . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 196) ut nullam contra veritatem tendiculum ad accusationem habeant, qui suas opiniones obiecta contra nos reprehensione firmare volunt.

*Editions:*

1604 Ingolstadt, (Ingolstadt): apud And. Angermariam, ex off. Ederiana. In Henricus Canisius' *Antiquae Lectiones*, Tom. V:159-165, NUC. BN; (MH). (The copy at Harvard was inspected by F. E. Cranz).

1725, Amstelaedami (Amsterdam): apud Rudolphum et Gerhardum Westenius, (Gr.-Lat.), in *Thesaurus monumentorum eccles. et histor.*, sive H. Canisii *Lectiones antiquae*, Vol. I:190-196. Hoffmann 2.186. NUC. BN; (CBGTU, MH).

*Biography:*

Franciscus Turrianus (Francisco Torres) was born in 1504 (Sommervogel gives 1509) in Herrera, diocese of Valencia, Spain. His early education was directed by his uncle, Bartolome Torres, Bishop of the Canaries. In addition to studying theology and the ancient classics, Turrianus acquired facility in Greek and Hebrew. He received a degree from the University of Alcalá in November 1534. Three years later he was listed as an examiner in arts at that institution. Going to Rome he joined the circle of Cardinals Salviati and Seripandi. Hosius was among his close associates. He won the confidence of Pope Pius IV who sent him to the Council of Trent as one of his theologians. There he was influenced by Alfonso Salmeron, and on his return to Rome, he entered the Society of Jesus on Christmas Day 1566. Thereafter he devoted himself to scholarly endeavors, searching the libraries of Italy and Spain for manuscripts, especially those of the Fathers. Turrianus was a prolific reader as well as writer; Pearson calls him "virum infinitae lectionis" (In vindiciis Ignatii Prooemium, ch. 5). Although during his lifetime Turrianus was accused of citing non-existent manuscripts, after his death his references were largely proven valid. In spite of generally meticulous scholarship, he

supported the authenticity of the False Decretals. After returning from a trip to Germany, Turrianus died in Rome on Nov. 21, 1584.

*Works:* In addition to the Latin translations of Nyssenus, *Ad Theophilum* and *In Ecclesiasten* (now lost) Turrianus made versions of works of many other Greek authors including: Basil of Caesarea, Basil of Seleucia, Diodochus of Photice, Didymus of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Ioannes Cyparissiotis, Leontius of Byzantium, Maximus Confessor, Nilus, Photius, Serapion, Theodore Raithuensis, Titus Bostrensis, Zacharias Mytilenensis. He may also have translated the possibly Apollinarian treatise *Expositio fidei* (See PG 110:1103). A fuller listing of his works may be found in: Antonius, *Bibl. Hispana Nova* V:488-490 and in *Bibliografia Espanyola d'Italia*, ed. Eduart Toda y Güell, Barcelona, 1927-1931. Vol. IV:177-181, no's 5008-5028.

*Bibl.:* For a modern treatment, with bibliography, see C. Gutierrez, *Los Españoles en Trento*, Valladolid, 1951, pp. 446-473. Antonius, *Bibl. Hispana Nova*, Vol. V:487 sq.; *Encic. Univ. Ilustr.*, Vol. 62:1428; Hurter, Vol. 3:105-106; Joecher IV:1265-1266; Michaud Vol.47:114; Nicéron Vol. 29:129-142; Andreas Schottus, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* pp. 285-286 (Frankfurt, 1608); Sommervogel, Vol. VIII:111-126; Baillet, *Jugmens des Sçavans*, No. 232 p. 131; D. Blondel, *Ps. Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulantes*, Geneva, 1628; J. Maldonatus, *Opera varia*, Paris 1677, Vol. I:16-19; Teissier, *Éloges*, Vol. III:302-307.

## 2. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus made a Latin translation of *Ad Theophilum adversus Apollinaristas* from a Greek manuscript belonging to Aegidius David of Paris. He stated in his *Notae* for the 1605 edition of Nyssenus that he had sent a copy of his Greek text as well as his Latin version nine years earlier to David Sartorius, the Ingolstadt printer. At that point he did not know that D. Hoeschelius had already published the Greek text in Leiden in 1593. In view of this fact only Ducaeus' Latin translation was published in the small, largely bilingual 1596 edition of Nyssenus' works. For

details see above pp. 69 sq.

*Dedication* and *Ad Lectorem* of the 1596 edition: See above pp. 70–71.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (p. 81) Non saecularis tantum sapientiae ferax est magna civitas Alexandrinorum, sed et ipsius verae atque genuinae sapientiae fontes apud vos iam inde a principio manant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 84) ne qua illis ansa ad veritatem insecandam relinquatur, qui ex nostra reprehensione sua commenta corroborant.

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## COMMENTARY

### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

The opening portion of the *Notae* contain some of the same material regarding *Ad Theophilum* as does the *Ad Lectorem* of the 1596 edition, but Ducaeus goes into greater detail.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.87) Adversus Apollinarem haeticum scripsisse quondam Gregorium Nyssenum discimus ex eo loco synodi V. oecumenicae collatione 5. fol. 530 & 542. edit. Colonien, in quo haec epistolae istius verba proferuntur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.89) Dei autem Verbum ex carne constare, et privatim in seipso vivere neque didicimus, neque unde id colligi possit intelligimus.

*Editions:*

See editions of translation beginning with that of 1605, above.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## XXXIII. IN ILLUD: TUNC ET IPSE FILIUS . . .

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. Om.*

Recent editions: PG 44:1304–1325; 1983, Leiden GNO III. 2 (ed. J. K. Downing).

There are variations of the title which depend on how much of I Cor. 15.28 is quoted in it and on the Latin translation used (not the Vulgate in either of the two known versions).

The preface of the forthcoming critical edition will offer new information on the manuscript tradition and on the translations.

## TRANSLATIONS

### I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa, *In illud: Tunc et ipse Filius . . .* which was published in 1562. For details of the edition, see above p. 57. When Fronto Ducaeus later was adapting Hervetus' version of this treatise in order that it might better agree with the Greek text which he had prepared, he used selected passages from Sifanus' translation in place of Hervetus'.

*Text.* In dictum Apostoli, *Tunc etiam ipse Filius subicietur ei, qui subiecit ei omnia* (I Cor. 15.28) (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 136) *Omnia quidem oracula Domini sunt et casta et pura* (Ps. 11.7), ut inquit propheta, quum ad similitudinem eius quae per ignem fit argenti purgationis, ab omni haeretica opinione expurgata mens oraculorum proprium . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 145) Sin autem aliquid tibi deesse videbitur, accipiemus lubenti et alacri animo suppletionem eius, quod desideratur, si forte nobis ea vel a te per literas indicata, vel a spiritu sancto per nostras preces arcanorum facta fuerit detectio.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *In illud: Tunc et ipse Filius . . .* some time before it was first published in the Paris, 1573 edition of Nyssen's works. On this edition see above p. 76. A copy of the Greek manuscript, if not the manuscript itself, which was used by Hervetus has only recently been identified as Paris, Institut de France 2 by H. Hörner and J. K. Downing. However Fronto Ducaeus arrived at a somewhat different Greek text when working on the bilingual edition of 1615; he filled in lacunae which he found in Hervetus' version with passages from the earlier one of Sifanus. Thus Hervetus' unrevised translation appeared only in the editions of 1573 and 1605. (The writer is grateful to H. Hörner for providing her with a copy before publication of Fr. Downing's preface for the new critical edition).

In illud, *Quando sibi subiecerit omnia, tunc ipse quoque Filius subiicietur ei qui sibi subiecit omnia* (I Cor. 15.28) (ed. of Paris, 1573). [*Inc.*]: (p. 565) Omnia quidem domini eloquia sunt eloquia casta et pura (Ps. 11.7) sicut dicit propheta quando instar purgationis argenti quae fit igne, mens expurgata ab omni turpi existimatione habet eloquiorum veritatis proprium et convenientem et qui est secundum naturam splendorem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 574) Quod si quid videtur adhuc deesse prompto et alacri animo suscipiemus eius quod deest implementum si tu id scriptis nobis declaraveris et a sancto spiritu per preces nostras occultorum facta fuerit manifestatio.

*Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions. M. Pollard Keeper of Early Printed Books, Trinity College, Dublin kindly provided a copy of the text as it appears in this edition.

1605. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

3. REVISION OF G. HERVETUS' VERSION  
BY FRONTO DUCAEUS

In his 1605 edition of Nyssen's works Fronto Ducaeus printed Hervetus' translation of

*In illud: Tunc et ipse Filius . . .* as it appeared in the previous edition of Paris, 1573. However when assisting in the preparation of the 1615 bilingual edition, Ducaeus realized that his Greek text and Hervetus' Latin did not correspond well; his Greek text was somewhat fuller. Ducaeus filled in words and phrases which were missing from Hervetus' version with words and phrases from Sifanus' earlier translation. Again, Ducaeus sometimes preferred the slightly different wording of Sifanus, probably because it agreed better with his manuscript sources. An example of the latter type of revision may be seen in the *incipit* where Ducaeus preferred Sifanus "ab omni haeretica opinione" to Hervetus' "ab omni turpi existimatione". The product of these changes was a sort of composite version though still leaning more heavily on Hervetus.

An example is here provided in order that the reader may better assess the nature of Ducaeus' revision. The changes in Ducaeus are italicized.

Hervetus (ed. of Paris, 1573, p. 565)

Et de natura experte rationis, Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius (Ps. 8.8). Et rursus mentionem faciens eorum qui servantur per agnitionem dicit tanquam loquens ex Dei persona, Mihi alienigenae subiecti sunt (Ps. 59.10) adeo ut videatur maxime convenire id quod a nobis est examinatum in psalmo septuagesimo (!) primo, Numquid Deo subiicietur omnia (sic) mea (Ps. 61.2).

Ducaeus (ed. of Paris, 1615, I:838)

Et de natura experte rationis, *quod homini subjecta sit a Deo, Propheta inquit: Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius (Ps. 8.8). Item de bello subactis dicit: Subiecit populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris (Ps. 46.4).* Et rursus mentionem faciens eorum qui servantur per agnitionem, dicit tanquam loquens ex Deo persona: Mihi alienigenae subiecti sunt (Ps. 59.10) adeo ut videatur maxime convenire id quod a nobis est examinatum in psalmo *sexagesimo* primo: Numquid Deo

subjicietur anima  
mea? (Ps. 61.2).

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

XXXIV. *IN VERBA: FACIAMUS  
HOMINEM, ORATIO I  
IN HOMINIS PROCREATIONEM,  
ORATIO II  
DE PARADISO, ORATIO III*

Editio princeps (*Orationes I and II*): 1532, Basel, apud Frobenium (ed. D. Erasmus) in *Opera* of Basilius Caesariensis.

Editio princeps (*Oratio III, De paradiso*): 1535, Venice, apud S. Sabium (ed. R. Polus et al.).

Recent editions: 1) Short text, essentially the same as Erasmus' edition of 1532: PG 44:257–277; 277–297; 1970, Paris in *Sources Chrétiennes* 160, ed. A. Smets and M. Van Esbroeck, short text as qualified on p. 153 of *Sources Chrétiennes* 160; 1972, Leiden in *Supplementband I* of the GNO series, ed. H. Hörner. Short text with long text printed below in finer type and very full apparatus.

Almost from the beginning the authorship of these three treatises has been a matter of dispute and over the centuries they have been attributed now to Gregory of Nyssa and now to Basil of Caesarea, his brother. See SC 160: 40–41 for a convenient table of authorship attribution. Today most scholars believe that the treatises *as they stand* are the work of neither Gregory nor of Basil.

I. The text.

The first two homilies exist in *roughly* three recensions, a short form which probably represents the original text most nearly, a revised and expanded form and a long version.

II. The titles.

When the homilies have been attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, they have usually been titled *In verba: Faciamus hominem, Oratio I* and *In hominis procreationem, Oratio II*. When

Basil of Caesarea is named author, the usual titles are *Orationes (Homiliae) X and XI, in Hexaameron, or De structura (creatione) hominis, Orationes I and II*. After the edition of Paris, 1618, these treatises were dropped from collections of Basil's writings, but they reappeared in F. Combefis' edition, entitled *Basilius Recensitus* in 1679 as *Homiliae X and XI*.

III. Evidence for authorship.

It can not now be determined who was the author of the basic text which subsequently underwent revision. But most scholars have come to believe that neither Basil nor Gregory composed the forms now standing of the text of the first two sermons.

The main argument against Basil as author is that in the ancient tradition we find no good evidence that he composed more than nine homilies on the *Hexaameron*. In the late fourth century Ambrose of Milan (c.339–397) quoted Basil's *Hexaameron* in his own treatise on the days of creation. He knew only nine homilies. A little later neither Jerome nor Cassiodorus was familiar with any additional sermons by Basil on the subject. Eustathius, who c. 440 made the first Latin translation of the authentic *Hexaameron* of Basil, dealt with only nine. It is true that Procopius of Gaza (c. 475–538) quoted a passage in *Homilia X* as Basil's. However the source can not be proven to be a complete text of the sermon under the name of Basil. It may well have been merely notes or another's quotation. It is worth noting that a fifth century Syriac manuscript (Brit. Mus. Add. 17143) contains only nine sermons. As early as the ninth century Nicephorus had serious doubts that either Gregory or Basil had authored the first two homilies.

There are also strong arguments against the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa. In the first place he is unlikely to have composed more than one treatise to complete his deceased brother's *In Hexaameron*, and he had clearly stated that he wrote *De opificio hominis* for that purpose. Moreover the author of the homilies made a careful distinction in the meaning of the two terms εἰκὼν and ὁμοίωσις (*Hom. I*, ch. 15–18). Basil had made such a

distinction, although his brother never did. As the centuries passed the problem came no closer to a solution.

As for the third homily, *De paradiso*, it follows the other two in a number of manuscripts. Four of these attribute the work to Gregory of Nyssa: Brit. Mus. Royal 16 D 1 (s. XII); Par. gr. 503 (s. XIV); Par. gr. 968 (s. XV); Par. gr. 2299 (s. XV). See *Sources Chrétiennes* 160, p. 39. This homily was never included in printed editions of Nyssenius' works. When included in collections of Basil's works *De paradiso* was often listed as *Homilia XII, in Hexaameron*. However after the other two treatises were dropped in 1618 from editions of Basil for a time, *De paradiso* was retained among his ascetic works.

As the centuries passed scholars continued to differ in their assessment of the authorship of the first two works. No weight can be placed on the tenth century so-called Anglo-Saxon translation attributed to Aelfric of Eynsham since he certainly used sources other than Basil for his work. An anonymous Latin translator of the eleventh century whom some believe was Burgundio of Pisa, translated only nine homilies as Basil's (Laurent. Medic. Plut. XIII, Cod. IX (s. XII) and Vat. Urb. lat. 61 (s. XV) preserve copies). On the other hand Robert Grosseteste (1170–1253) in his own *Hexaameron* attributed the two additional homilies to Basil (See J. T. Muckle in *Med. Stud.* 6 (1944) p. 151 sq.).

Several centuries later John Argyropylos (d. 1486) omitted them when he made his Latin version of Basil's *Hexaameron*. A number of subsequent Latin translators of Basil's nine authentic homilies added the two doubtful ones as his.

In 1553, Petrus Zinus included them in his small Latin edition of works of Gregory of Nyssa and two other writers. But in his introduction he gave reasons for believing that the treatises were the work of neither Basil nor Gregory, though perhaps of the young Gregory or another learned man of his time. See above p. 107 for details of this edition and for Zinus' preface. The unknown editor of the 1573 expansion of the 1571 edition of Nyssenius' works included the two homilies prob-

ably primarily because his intention was to produce an edition containing all works of Gregory translated into Latin by that time and including Zinus' versions of works which were absent from the 1571 edition. Zinus entitled the two *In verba: Faciamus hominem and In hominis procreationem*.

In 1603 Fronto Ducaeus included the two homilies in his edition of Basil, but he did not annotate them as he did the other nine. By 1605 he had placed them in his edition of Nyssenius, in Zinus' translation. They have remained in subsequent editions of Gregory's works even after they reappeared among Basil's writings.

In 1679 the Dominican, François Combefis published his version of the two homilies, attributing them without question to Basil and basing his text, not on the short version as had Erasmus, but on a composite at which he himself had arrived (*Basilus Magnus ex integro recensitus*, Paris, 1679). He was the last scholar of note to give unqualified authorship to the bishop of Caesarea. Le Nain de Tillemont near the end of the seventeenth century stated as had Zinus before him, that the treatises were neither Basil's nor Gregory's. He considered them the product of a rather mediocre writer, possibly a member of the circle of one or both brothers. Dom Julien Garnier the Benedictine editor of Basil's works (Paris 1721–1730) held broadly the same view. His arguments are set forth in the valuable essay "De tribus orationibus quae falso tribuuntur Basilio" (available both in the 1721 edition, Vol. I, and reprinted in *PG* 29:clxxxi-clxxxv).

The reader is referred to the bibliography for modern discussions of the authorship problems surrounding these two homilies. *De paradiso*, probably also not Basil's work, never evoked the interest which the other two sermons did.

Two new critical editions of the Greek text have appeared in recent years, one under the name of Basil and the other in a supplement to Gregory's works. In 1970 A. Smets and M. Van Esbroeck brought out an edition, *Basile de Césarée, Sur L'Origine de L'Homme, Hom. X et XI de l'Hexaameron*. In 1972 H. Hörner published an edition of all three homilies in

the first Supplementband for the GNO series. In both cases the editors agree that the works as they stand, are the work neither of Basil nor of Gregory. Van Esbroeck while maintaining that Basil was the ultimate author (of the short text) explains at length how the text was altered by his brother Gregory or by others. Hörner states more directly that the short text may be an edited version of notes Basil prepared for homilies which were probably never delivered. She too believes that Gregory may well have had a hand in their final editing.

*Bibliography:* A large body of literature on the authenticity question is available. No attempt is here made to provide an exhaustive list. Basic are Dom Gribomont's remarks in the 1960 reprint of Migne, PG 30, p. 2; and E. Amand de Mendieta's article in *Zetesis, Mélanges Offerts à E. de Stryker*, Antwerp-Utrecht, 1973, pp. 695-716. See also: Bardenhewer 3:150, 153; Quasten 3:128, 263; Chevetogne pp. 40, 88-89; S. Giet, "Saint Basile a-t-il donné suite aux homélies de l'Hexaemeron?," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 33 (1946) 317-359; E. von Ivanka, "Die Autorschaft der Homilien Eis to poiesomen . . .," *Byz. Zeits.* 36 (1936) 46-57; R. Leys, *L'image de Dieu chez Grégoire de Nysse*, Brussels, 1951, pp. 130-138; H. Merki, 'Ομοίωσις Θεῷ, Freiburg (Schw.) 1952, pp. 165-173; E. Stephanu, "Le sixième jour de l'Hexaemeron de saint Basile," *Echos de l'Orient* 35 (1932), pp. 385-398. Occurrence of the three homilies in the various editions of Basil is recorded by Amand in his valuable studies published beginning in 1940 in *Revue Bénédictine* and entitled "Essai d'une histoire critique des éditions générales grecques et greco-latines de s. Basile de Césarée".

## TRANSLATIONS

### 1. JOHANNES HELIARES

Johannes Heliars (John Helyar) made a Latin translation of *Homiliae In Hexaemeron* X and XI, and a partial translation of *De paradiso* (PG 30:64 B through ξηρότης) at

some time between the summer of 1535 and March 1537.

Although Helyar attributed the treatises to Basil of Caesarea, a note at the end of his version of *Homilia X* indicates that either he himself had doubts about the authorship of the sermons, or had heard about the controversy. "Haec oratio nusquam extat Latine versa, quod sciam, sed nec ea quae sequitur (*Hom. XI*) quae prorsus est eodem argumento ac eisdem pene capitibus constat videturque magis respicere stilum Basili quam superior". Helyar tried to refine his translations as he wrote, adding above or below the line a second or third word that might better convey the meaning, or indicating his uncertainty in the margin. (This is not evident in the passages quoted below.)

Helyar wrote his translation in an already bound copy- or notebook (See *Monumenta Ignatiana*, ser. sec., Madrid, 1919, p. 208). It was never intended for publication, only for his own private use. Its contents reflect his life and interests and problems. Several folia contain jottings of personal accounts pertaining to lodging, medical care, etc. Some are in English, others in French, Latin or even Greek. There is a projected schedule of his daily activities as a student and a distich on Erasmus. The translations of works of Basil and Chrysostom were chosen for a variety of reasons. For example, his marginal notes on Chrysostom's *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*, drew attention to the fact that that treatise was as relevant to the religio-political situation in the England of his day as they were to the heretical problem in Chrysostom's time. A large number of folia relate to Helyar's interest in biblical exegesis, especially to the study of the Hebrew language. He copied out the words of the early portion of the Hebrew *Genesis* (and a portion of *Ecclesiastes* also) and dealt with them in the manner of an analytical lexicon. It may have been in connection with his study of *Genesis* that Helyar translated the first two books of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, part of *De paradiso* and the two (spurious) homilies X and XI. The notebook contains in addition an item of great historical importance which Helyar had obviously copied for his own spiritual edifi-

cation, the earliest Latin version of Ignatius of Loyola's *Exercitia Spiritualia*. It consists of excerpts from that work translated into Latin of poor quality; hence scholars suggest it may have been Ignatius' own attempt to put his famous work into Latin. Helyar added notes of his own to the text. Helyar might well have borrowed his source from one of Ignatius' circle, possibly Pierre Favre who was in Paris until Nov. 1536.

There is finally the item which also helps to date the manuscript, the draft of a letter to his preceptor (Edited by H. de Vocht in *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, pp. 592–594). Scholars believe this man was Ioannes Ludovicus Vives, the Spanish humanist whose student Helyar was at Oxford. It is dated the day after the feast of St. Gertrude which fell on March 18. The year is determined by Helyar's mention that Reginald Pole had recently been created cardinal. That event took place on Dec. 22, 1536. Hence the already bound notebook was filled to fol. 76 v on which the letter occurs by Mar. 18, 1537 and *Homiliae X* and *XI in Hexaemeron* plus the fragment of *De paradiso* were translated prior to that time.

For the *terminus post quem*, we have first the likelihood that Helyar did not begin to use the notebook until after he had left England on May 1, 1535. The earliest possible date for the translation can however be placed a little later, since Helyar notes in the title that he found *De paradiso* on p. 157 of "ethica et ascetica". One finds the Greek text of this homily on p. 157 of the edition of Basil's ethical and ascetic works published in Venice, Oct./Nov., 1535. The chief editor was Helyar's friend, Reginald Pole. Thus *De paradiso* could not have been translated using that edition as a Greek source prior to that time. The other two sermons follow *De paradiso* in the notebook-manuscript and so must have been translated even later, but before the letter of March 1537.

*Basilii Magni Homilia in Hexaemeron de hominis creatione* (Vat. Reg. lat. 2004). [*Inc.*]: (fol. 59) Veteris debiti solutionem perfecturus adsum, cuius numerationem hactenus non equidem ex animi ac voluntatis ingratitude

sed ex corporis infirmitate distuli, quum hoc genus aes alienum vestrae audiendi aviditati ut pote in primis necessarium debeatur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 63 v) Caeterum Dominus cuius cura ac dispensatione haec scripta sunt quique exiguam nostram et imbecillam linguam hactenus apud vos concionari permisit, qui denique per infirmam mentem nostram ingentis vobis thesauros in paucis veritatis adumbramentis declaravit, per haec parva vobis magna donet et per paucula ista semina perfectam cognitionem impartiat ac nobis propositi et voluntatis mercedem. Vobis denique divinae scripturae deliciarum fructum plenum ac perfectum largiatur. Ipsi gloria et potestas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Homilia undecima de creatione ac structura hominis*. [*Inc.*]: (fol. 64) Sapiens ille Solomon non persuasorios sapientiae sermones, sed quos spiritus sanctus docet sapienter edoctus quum in iis quae nuper nobis lecta sunt hominem celebraret ac cohonestaret, clamabat dicens: Magna res homo et preciosa ac nobilis res vir misericors. Ego vero frustra apud meipsum despiciebam quaecunque de homine vel in mea mente habebam vel ex scriptura didicerim . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 67v) Ac nos iter quoddam necessarium maturantes vestris precibus deducite ut quam primum vobis restituti incolumes ea quae restant velut aes alienum persolvamus gratia domini qui nos pro sua gratuita benevolentia condidit omniaque nostra dispensat ac gubernat. Ipsi gloria in saecula. Amen.

*De paradiso* (partial). Basilii Magni homilia de paradiso quam graece invenies in illo opere quod intitulatur ἠθικὰ καὶ ἀσκητικὰ, quae ipsa videtur annectenda illis quae tractant de creatione et dignitate hominis. [*Inc.*]: 'Plantavit Deus Paradisum in Edem ad orientes et posuit ibi hominem quem formavit'. Plantationem Deo dignam intelligamus et paradisum talis ac tanti opificis elegantiae convenientem in superioribus dictum est. Educat terra herbam graminis et lignum pomiferum seminans semen, faciens fructum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 58) Ibi igitur Deus paradisum plantavit ubi non ventorum violentia erat, non anni temporum intemperies, non grando, non uredo, non turbines, non fulgura, non hiema-



lis rigor ac concretio, non vernalis humiditas, non aestatis ardor, non autumnalis siccitas . . . (ξηρότης PG 30:64 B).

*Manuscript:*

Città del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Reg. lat. 2004; s. XVI, fols. 58, 59–67v (*Iter Italicum* II.411–412; H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensa*, pp. 588–598; *Monumenta Ignatiana*, ser. sec. pp. 207–209; 569–573; M. Bataillon in *Bulletin Hispanique* [1928] p. 77). This writer is indebted to Paul Oskar Kristeller who checked my transcription of portions of the manuscript quoted in this article, supplied a transcription of passages I was unable to decipher in photocopies provided by Charles Ermatinger of Saint Louis University, and finally examined the manuscript itself in the Vatican Library. Professor Kristeller also supplied many bibliographical references.

*Biography:*

Johannes Heliars (John Helyar) was born c. 1503, probably in East Meon, Hampshire, England. Nothing is known of his early years. There is some evidence that as a young man he tutored younger children in the family of the Countess of Salisbury, mother of Reginald Pole, who lived in nearby Warblington. By June 1522 Helyar had enrolled in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where Reginald Pole was also a student. Both attended the lectures of the great Spanish humanist, Ioannes Ludovicus Vives, and maintained a lifelong friendship thereafter. Edward Fynche, a member of Cardinal Wolsey's circle, became Helyar's patron. In July 1524, Helyar received the bachelor's degree and in February 1525, the master's. By Dec. 1532 he supplicated for the degree of bachelor of divinity. He seems to have taught at Oxford for a time before becoming vicar of East Meon and rector of Warblington. Religious tensions were mounting in England at the time. On May 1, 1535 Helyar suddenly and somewhat secretly left the country for Paris, stating his intention to pursue studies at the university. There was some truth in his avowed goal. But in the draft of a letter to his old teacher Vives, (see above) he said, "In Britannia quanta rerum mutatio accidit ex quo illinc discessi". Pole had already been on

the continent for some time, and within a few weeks Helyar's acquaintances More and Fisher had been executed. It is not surprising that Helyar compared Henry VIII's treatment of his opponents with Herod's of John the Baptist. The following September Helyar failed to return to England for a required convocation. He gave illness as the reason for his absence, but undoubtedly he feared for his life because of his known friendship with opponents of the king. At the end of 1535 Helyar left Paris for Louvain where he stayed at the home of John Lobel, a professor of Canon Law. In Louvain he continued his studies, especially of the Hebrew language, possibly under Andreas van Gennepe of Balen (Balenus), a well known Semiticist. This may have been the period when the three translations under consideration were made in the notebook now known as Vat. Reg. lat. 2004. In addition there are indications that he did some tutoring to augment his income. In 1537 he contributed a forty line poem to a volume of epitaphs on Erasmus whom he knew and admired (see *D. Erasmi Epitaphia, per eruditos aliquot viros Academiae Lovaniensis edita*, R. Rescius, Louvain, 1537). On Dec. 3, 1538 his name appeared on a list of traitors immediately after that of Reginald Pole. In 1539 he joined Pole in Rome where the cardinal made him master of the English hospital. In 1540 he received the title of penitentiary. Helyar's health had begun to deteriorate under the great pressures produced by the religious conflicts of the day. In December 1541, he died. Helyar was primarily a scholar, a biblical exegete, but in addition a deeply spiritual man with firm convictions against the direction taken by the English reformers.

*Works:* In addition to the Latin translations of two genuine homilies of Basil, *In Hexameron* and of the two spurious ones plus the partial translation of a third, a Latin version of Chrysostom's *De providentia et fato* and of *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*; also Commentaries on Cicero, *Pro Marcello*; Ovid, *Epistolae*; and on Sophocles. He also composed an *Epitaph* on Erasmus, and a number of his letters are extant.

*Bibl.:* C. L. K. in *Dict. of National Bio-*

graphy IX (1891) 381–82; *Monumenta Ignatiana*. Series secunda, Madrid, 1919, pp. 207–09, 569–73, and 624–48 (contains an edition of Loyola's *Exercitia* with Helyar's notes).

H. de Vocht, "John Helyar, Vives' Disciple," *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, Louvain, 1934, pp. 587–608.

## 2. WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS

Wolfgangus Musculus (Meuslin, Moesel) made a Latin translation of *Homiliae X* and *XI*, in *Hexaameron*. His prefatory remarks to the reader are dated Dec. 24, 1539. The version was published in Basel in an edition of the works of Basil. The edition contained the first nine authentic homilies in the translation of Argyropylos, but Argyropylos had not translated *Homiliae X* and *XI* since he did not believe them to be the work of Basil. Musculus' translation of *De paradiso* was included, not as Homilia XII, but among the ethical treatises. Antonius Possevinus, however, simply set it aside since Musculus was not a Catholic (see below, p. 173). Ludovicus Miraeus in his dedicatory letter for the 1547 edition containing Tilmann's version, devoted two pages to a harsh criticism of Musculus' translation.

Preface (*Ad Lectorem*) (ed. of Basel, 1540). See p. 81 above.

*Text, Homilia X. [Inc.]*: (p. 100) Vetus debitum ad plenum soluturus venio, cuius redditionem non per animi improbitatem, sed per corporis imbecillitatem coactus distuli. est autem debitum summe necessarium, et quod ad vestram auscultationem merito pertineat. Iniquum enim fuerit, si de bestiis, de natatilibus, de iumentis, de volatilibus, deque coelo . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 109) Qui omnia ita dispensavit, ut merito vocetur Dominus quique modicam nostram et imbecillem linguam tandiu vos alloqui dedit, qui per infirmam nostram intelligentiam magnos vobis thesauros modicis veritatis adumbrationibus reservavit, det vobis per exigua quae magna sunt, per modica semina scientiae perfectionem, et nobis propositi finalem mercedem vobisque iterum ex usu divinatorum eloquiorum consummatum fructum, cui sit gloria et imperium in

secula seculorum. Amen.

*Text. Homilia XI. [Inc.]*: (p. 109) Sapiens quidem Salomon, non in probabilibus sapientiae verbis, sed certis spiritus sancti doctrinis sapienter institutus, in iis quae paulo ante nobis sunt lecta, clamavit dicens, Magnum quid est homo et praeclarum, vir misericors: ego vero vane iuxta meam ipsius tenuitatem, tam quae de homine apud me ipsum sentiebam, quam quae ex scripturis edoctus eram, metiebar ac considerabam. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 100) Sed ex uno vos reliqua omnia intelligite. Properantes vero nos ad necessariam quandam perfectionem precationibus vestris prosequamini, ut cito vobis incolumes restituti, etiam eorum quae supersunt debitum reddamus, gratia Domini qui omnia nostra iam disposuit, suaque nos gratia condidit: cui gloria in secula. Amen.

*Text. De paradiso. [Inc.]*: (II. 140) Plantavit Deus paradisum in Edem, versus Orientis plagas, et posuit illis hominem quem finxerat. Expendamus plantationem Deo dignam, et paradisum quae talis ac tanti opificis elegantiam decet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II. 142) Ascende animo ad pulchritudinem angelorum, cognosce in illis iustitiae fructus, contemplare fluvium aquis Dei refertum, cuius impetus civitatem Dei laetificant, cuius artifex ac conditor Deus est. Civitatem illam fluvius ille Dei qui oritur in Edem, et paradisum irrigat. His omnibus mente cognitis, glorifica Deum: quoniam illum decet omnis gloria, patrem scilicet, et filium et spiritum sanctum, in seculorum secula. Amen.

### *Editions:*

1540. See Composite Editions. The text of the *Ad Lectorem*, *incipit's* and *explicit's* of the three sermons was kindly supplied by F. H. Stubbings, Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

1565. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1570. See Composite Editions.

### *Biography:*

See CTC II.117.

## 3. JANUS CORNARIUS

Janus Cornarius (Joannes Hahnpol, Hagen-

but) made a Latin translation of a number of works of Basil of Caesarea including the nine authentic and two additional spurious homilies on the *Hexaemeron*. He also made a version of *De paradiso* and placed it among the ascetic and ethical treatises. In the edition, published at Basel in 1540, Cornarius included translations of the works found in the Greek editions of 1532 and 1535. For details of the 1540 edition see above p. 82.

Cornarius' translation was reprinted many times in later editions of Basil's works. It was harshly criticized by L. Miraeus in his dedicatory letter for the 1547 edition of Basil which contained the translation of G. Tilmann. See above p. 84.

*Text. Homilia decima de hominis constructione* (ed. of Basel, 1540). [*Inc.*]: (I, p. 50) Veteris debiti exsolutionem impleturus prodeo cuius redditionem distuli, non ob voluntatis ingratitudinem sed corporis debilitatem. Debitum maxime necessarium et quod vestris auribus debemus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I, p. 56) Dominus porro qui disposuit ut haec descripta sint, quique parvam et debilem linguam nostram hucusque vobis concionari concessit, qui per debilem nostram intelligentiam, magnos thesauros vobis in modicis adumbrationibus veritatis manifestavit, det vobis per parva, magna, per modica semina, perfectam cognitionem et nobis voluntatis mercedem perfectam et vobis fruitionis sermonum divinatorum fructum completum, ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Text. Homilia XI. De hominis constructione.* [*Inc.*]: (I, p. 56) Sapiens ille Solomon non in persuasivis sapientiae sermonibus, sed in doctrinis spiritus sancti eruditus, propter recens a nobis lecta gloriose sentiens de homine clamabat dicens, Magna res est homo et preciosa res vir misericors. Ego autem vane mecum considerabam, tum ea quae in animo meo habebam, tum quae a scriptura de homine edoctus eram . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I, p. 62) Porro nos iam ad necessariam quandam viam festinantes cum precibus comitamini ac prosequimini, quo brevi vobis servati etiam eorum quae restant debitum exolvamus, per gratiam omnia gubernantis circa nos domini, qui nos sua gratia condidit. Ipsi gloria in secula. Amen.

*De paradiso.* [*Inc.*]: (II, p. 303) Plantavit deus paradysum in Edem ad orientes, et posuit illic hominem quem formavit. Cogitemus dignam Deo plantationem, et paradysum decentem elegantiam ac sedulitatem talis ac tanti opificis. In superioribus dictum est, Producat terra herbam foeni et lignum fructuosum seminans semen, faciens fructum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II, p. 305) Si spiritualis es et altiora carnalibus voluptatibus sapis, ascende cogitatione ad pulchritudines angelorum, considera in ipsis iustitiae fructus, contemplare fluvium dei refertum aquis, cuius impetus exhilarant civitatem Dei, cuius artifex ac opifex est Deus, illam civitatem perluit fluvius ille Dei, qui initium sumit ex Edem et irrigat paradysum. Ubi omnia haec mente considerasti, glorifica Deum, quoniam ipsum decet omnia gloria, patrem et filium et sanctum spiritum, in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1540. See Composite Editions.
- 1548. See Composite Editions.
- 1552. See Composite Editions.
- 1566. See Composite Editions.
- 1568. See Composite Editions.
- 1569. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.118.

#### 4. GODEFRIDUS TILMANNUS

Godefridus Tilmannus, a Carthusian monk of Paris, made a Latin version of the nine authentic and three spurious homilies of Basil of Caesarea on the *Hexaemeron*. See above p. 84 on the nature of his translation which is sometimes referred to as a paraphrase. Tilmann's version was first published in Paris in 1547 by Guillard and De Roygni; it was frequently reprinted in later years.

*Dedicatory letter* of Ludovicus Miraeus (ed. of Paris, 1547). See above p. 84.

*Homilia decima. De hominis primigenia constitutione*, Godefrido Tilmanno Cartusiensi, int. (in margin: Decimam hanc et idem undecimam interpres σποράδην pro loco diffudit Paraphrasi quo utraque existet explicatior.) [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Debitum quo me vobis non ita pridem obstrinxeram, en advenio exsoluturus

ac proinde fidem liberaturus meam. In eiusmodi reddendo quod fuerim vestra omnium expectatione cunctatior, nulla hoc fecit animi erga vos mei malevolentia minus agnoscentis quid ex pacto deberet, sed ne uti condictum erat in tempore exsolverem sola intercessit corporis huius mei adversa valetudo. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 53.1) nobis proinde donet nostri istius instituti perfectam ac solidam mercedem, vobis denique impertiatur ut opulente et ubere fructu perfruamini divinatorum eloquiorum. Ipsi gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Homilia undecima. De hominis primigenia constitutione*, Godefrido Tilmanno Cartusienensi, int. [*Inc.*]: (p. 53.2) Salomon sane quam sapiens non in persuasibilibus eruditus sapientiae verbis, verius qui e solida ac veraci Spiritus sancti doctrina suam illam hausit sapientiam. In iis quae recens lecta nobis sunt magnifico plane hominem exornans elogio, voce exerta haec depromebat. Magna res est homo, et pretiosa, vir misericors. Ego contra sed nullo meo fructu rem hanc commentabar atque expendebam, omnia admetiens meae unius exiguitati cum ea quae in animo mecum ipse versa . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 60.1) Nos porro necessario profectio ad iter contententes comitemini precibus piisque votis quo ocius vobis sospites et integri reddamur, et eorum quae resident explicanda debitam exsolvamur enarrationem eius comite gratia qui, quae circa nos sunt, cuncta dispensavit suaque solius gratia nos condidit. Ipsi gloria in saecula. Amen.

*De paradiso*. [*Inc.*]: (p. 60.1) Plantavit Deus Paradisum in Eden ad orientes plagas et posuit ibi hominem, quem formavit. Ad mentem advocemus dignam hanc Deo plantationem, nempe Paradisum: et quae nihil dedecet incomparabilem et eximiam pulchritudinem talis ac tanti opificis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 62.2) Ascende animo ad pulchritudinem angelorum, cognosce in illis iustitiae fructus, contemplare fluvium aquis Dei refertum, cuius impetus civitatem Dei laetificant, cuius artifex ac conditor Deus est. Civitatem illam praeterfluit fluvius ille Dei, qui ex Eden originem trahit, et Paradisum irrigat. His omnibus mente cognitis, glorifica Deum quoniam illum decet omnis gloria, Patrem scilicet et Filium

et Spiritum sanctum in saeculorum saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1547. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text was kindly provided by W. S. Hutton of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

1550. See Composite Editions.

1566. See Composite Editions.

1568. See Composite Editions.

1569. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1603. See Composite Editions.

1616. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. *De paradiso* only. See Composite Editions.

1638. Paris. *De paradiso* only. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 85.

## 5. IOACHIMUS PERIONIUS

Ioachimus Perionius (Périon) made a Latin translation of the nine authentic homilies of Basil of Caesarea on the *Hexaemeron* and also of the two additional, spurious homilies often attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. He did not translate *De paradiso*. His dedicatory letter to Pope Julius III is dated 1551 and the translation was published in 1552.

In the letter Perionius remarked that within the space of a few months he had dedicated two of his works to the pontiff. The first was *De vitis Apostolorum*, published in 1551; the second was the version of the sermons on the *Hexaemeron*.

Antonius Possevinus found Perionius' translation wanting in many respects and wrote notes on it. See below pp. 173–174.

*Epistola Dedicatoria* (ed. of Paris, 1552). Beatissimo Patri Iulio Tertio Pontifici Maximo, Ioachimus Perionius Benedictinus Cormoeriacenus, S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. a ii) Quod his paucis mensibus in ea epistola qua tibi libellum nostrum de vitis Apostolorum Latino sermone scriptum dedicavi, legere potuisti, sanctissime pater, me cum multos libros de divinis rebus scribere coepissem, illum qui iam absolutus esset, ad te tum mittere, et in sanctis-

simo tuo nomine divulgare, dum alii absolventur: id verum esse quadam ex parte intelligere nunc potes. Mitto enim ad te iam alterum eiusdem fere magnitudinis libellum, quem *Hexaameron* B. Basilius inscripsit, quod undecim concionibus quas ad populum suum habuit, ea omnia quae Deus sex diebus effecisset, complexus scripti sunt, ex quo tu tuique omnes, id est Christiani quos tuae fidei Deus optimus maximus omnium bonorum laetitia tradidit et credidit, plurimum et utilitatis et voluptatis capere possitis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. a ii v) Equidem ut non ausim hoc de me dicere, me Basilius pari ubertate copiaque orationis usum ad nostros transtulisse, ita illud confirmare minime dubitabo, omnem vim eloquentiae, qua sim praeditus, si modo in me ulla est, a me fuisse hoc loco adhibitam et explicatam, quo et facilius omnes ad eum legendum excitarem, et melius mei in te officii ratio constaret. Valeat tua sanctitas, beatissime pater. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1551.

*De hominis fabricatione et molitione, Oratio X.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 135) Vetus debitum dissolutionis venio, cuius dissolutionem distuli, non oblivione instituti mei, sed corporis imbecillitate, officium hoc et necessarium est maxime auribus vestris, et debitum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 152 v) in paucis veritatis adumbrationibus significavit; det et vobis parvis rebus magnas, paucis seminibus perfectam scientiam, et nobis voluntatis perfectam mercedem, et vobis voluptatis quam ex divinis verbis concepistis fructum uberrimum. Cui gloria et potentia sempiterna tribuatur. Amen.

*De hominis molitione et institutione, Oratio XI.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 152 v) Salomon ille sapiens non accommodatis ad persuadendum humanae sapientiae verbis, sed doctis a spiritu sancto, iis verbis quae modo a nobis recitata sunt, hominem summis laudibus efferens, in hanc vocem erupit, Magnum quiddam homo est, et vir misericordia praeditus, res est honorabilis. Ego vero frustra mecum reputabam, quae et animo concipiebam de homine et a scriptura didiceram . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Nos vero compulsos in viam quandam necessariam, cum precibus dimittite, ut cito vobis servati reliquum etiam debitum dissolvamus, domini benignitate, qui nostra omnia gubernat, nos-

que pro sua bonitate condidit. Cui gloria sempiterna tribuatur. Amen.

*Editions:*

1552. See Composite Editions.

1552. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Joachim Perionius (Périon) was born at Cormery in the district of Touraine, France in 1499. In 1517 he became a Benedictine monk in the abbey of Cormery. In 1527 he went to Paris to complete his studies. In 1542 he had received the degree of doctor of theology. Périon taught theology at Paris for a time. He speaks of himself as 'interprète royal', but there seems to be no evidence that he was in the technical sense a 'professeur royal.' He devoted his entire life to scholarly pursuits, mostly in the field of classical literature. Cicero was a particular favorite. He defended the study of Aristotle in the schools against the bitter criticism of Petrus Ramus. In addition to works on and translations of classical authors, he composed a number of theological treatises.

All of his writings were in Latin of a singularly elegant quality for which he sometimes sacrificed the accuracy of his translations. His lectures attracted the elite of the society of his day. Henri II was among his admirers. He died in the abbey of Cormery in 1559.

*Works:* Translations into Latin in addition to Basil's *Hexaameron*, works of Aeschines, Aratus, Aristotle, Clement of Rome, Demosthenes, Dionysius Areopagita, John of Damascus, Justin Martyr, Nectarius, (Adamantius) Origen, Plato, Porphyry. He wrote notes on Livy. In addition there were a number of his own writings; *De vitis et rebus gestis Apostolorum*, *De sanctis viris qui Patriarchae ab Ecclesia appellantur*, *De origine linguae Gallicae*, *De Magistratibus Romanorum et Graecorum*.

*Bibliography:* Cioranesco, *XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 552–553; *Encic. Illustr.* 43:890; Grete, *XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 564 (the only biography which mentions his translation of the spurious homilies *In Hexaameron*); Hoefler 39:613–614; Hurter 2:1256–1258; Joecher 3:1391–1392; and *Ergbd.* 5:1905–1907; Nicéron 36:33–42; Zedler 27:437–438.

P. Féret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris. Epoque Moderne*, II (1901) 318–28; A. Stegmann, “Les observations sur Aristote du bénédictin J. Périon,” *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance* (XVI<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Tours), Paris, 1976, pp. 377–89.

#### 6. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of the two treatises *In verba: Faciamus hominem . . .*, which he published in Venice in 1553 (See above p. 107 for details of this edition). He did not translate *De paradiso*. Zinus had at hand a manuscript belonging to Antonio Giberti which attributed the works to Nysseus, probably Vat. gr. 1433 (s. XIII). See GNO Suppl. I:CXLV), but he also had Ven. Marc. Z. gr. 508(844) which assigned the treatises to Basil (See SC 160:142). For his Latin version he used the latter manuscript which preserves the short text of the homilies in its purest form. Zinus studied the conflict in authorship attribution in his two manuscripts. He recognized that the style differed from both Basil’s and Gregory’s. He suggested that the treatises may have been the work of the young Gregory or of another learned individual of his time. His conclusion was quoted by the unknown author of the preface to the 1573 Latin edition of Nyssenius’ works and in all subsequent revised printings of that preface.

*Text. Oratio I* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 37) Debitam auribus vestris expositionem, cuius nomine tanquam aere alieno vobis iampridem obstrictus sum necessario, cuiusque solutionem adhuc non ingrati animi vitio sed infirma corporis valetudine impeditus distuli, persoluturus advenio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 48) ut ea vobis utcunque explicaremus, ex nostrae cogitationis imbecillitate exiguaque veritatis adumbratione magnos vobis thesauros praebeat, ex parvis magna et minutis seminibus perfectos cogitationis fructus subministret, et nobis omnibus tandem largiatur ut absolutum divinorum sermonum fructum percipiamus in coelis: cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Text, Oratio II. [Inc.]*: (p. 48v) Sapiens ille Salomon, non sapientiae verbis ad suadendum

aptis, sed doctrina sancti spiritus eruditus in iis, quae paulo ante a nobis lecta sunt, hominem extollens exclamabat: Magna, inquiens, res est homo et praeclara, vir misericors . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 58v) Verum in praesentia negotii cuiusdam causa nos iter facturos dimittite, ut celeriter vobis incolumes redditi, quod reliquum est aeris alieni persolvamus, illius auxilio confisi, qui nos procreavit, quique singulas in nobis partes iam egregie perfecit et absolvit: cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

#### *Editions:*

1553. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1574. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

#### 7. VICTORINUS STRIGELIUS

Victorinus Strigelius (Strigel) made a Latin translation of the nine authentic homilies of Basil of Caesarea on the six days of creation and of the two additional spurious homilies, X and XI, often attributed to Gregory of Nyssa. He did not translate *De paradiso*. The Greek manuscript which he used contained the short text of the homilies and attributed them to Basil.

In a letter dated May 1, 1566 he dedicated the translations to his patron, Matthew of Wallorrhoda. Much of the dedication consists of theological reflections on God as creator. Near the end he remarked that no one had written as fully and elegantly about these matters as had Basil of Caesarea. Strigel mentioned that he had made his translations during his leisure time and had allowed them to be published for the use of students. He explained that he translated conscientiously those things which pertained to dogma, but dealt with other matters somewhat more freely, giving the meaning rather than making a

literal translation.

*Dedication* (ed. of Leipzig, 1566). Magnifico Clarissimo et Amplissimo Viro Nobilitate Generis, Sapientia et Virtute praestanti Domino Matthaeo a Wallorrhoda Capitaneo Coburgensi etc. Domino et Patrono suo reverenter colendo, S.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. A 2) Quod Augustinus de Psalmo decimo et centesimo dixit, Hic Psalmus est brevis numero verborum, magnus pondere sententiarum, id verissime de articulo creationis, quem in Symbolo recitamus, potest dici. Etsi enim breve est hoc caput Symboli, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem creatorem coeli et terrae, tamen nulla est ullius creaturae tanta sapientia, ut satis perspicere magnitudinem earum rerum possit, quas complectitur (Strigel continues with the theological remarks on the all-wise and powerful God as the creator of whom man should stand in awe. He then concludes his dedication) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. A 5) Sed de his rebus omnibus nemo unquam tam copiose ornateque apud Graecos scripsit, quam Basilius Episcopus Caesariensis in undecim Homiliis, quibus opera sex dierum enarravit. Has sive orationes sive conciones succisivis horis mediocri diligentia in latinum sermonem converti easque propter discentium utilitatem in lucem edi passus sum. Etsi enim valde optandum est, ut omnes studiosi sententiam Basili ex fontibus Graecis hauriant, tamen mediocres aut certe tolerabiles versiones Graecorum scriptorum aliqua ex parte iis, quos recta studia delectant, prodesse possunt. Ego quidem in his Homiliis religiose converti ea, quae ad doctrinam Ecclesiae propriam pertinent. Alia vero, quae non sunt dogmatica, aliquanto liberius expressi non tam lectori verba annumerans, quam sententias appendens. Sed iudicium de hac ratione vertendi doctis et candide iudicaturis permitto.

Tuae autem Magnificentiae, vir Clarissime et Amplissime, hunc laborem dedico, ut quaecunque monumentum amicitiae, quae tibi fuit cum utroque socero meo piae memoriae D. Francisco Burcardo et D. Erharto Snepsio viris optimis et doctissimis (the fathers of his first wife, Barbara [d. 1549] and second wife, Blandina), et significationem meae erga magnificentiam tuam observantiae et gratitudinis

habeas. Ac nisi M. T. animo magis quam voce laudari vellet, possem hoc loco commemorare quantum iudicii officiique et in soceros meos et in me ipsum contuleris. Sed neque ego libenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis. Tantum igitur me M. T. debere profiteor, quantum persolvere difficile est. Bene vale, Magnifice et Clarissime vir, et hanc significationem meae erga te gratitudinis benigne accipe. Datae Lipsiae Calendis Maii, Anno Christi 1566.

*Homilia Decima De Hominis Fabricatione.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 177) Venio ut vetus debitum persolvam, cuius pensionem hactenus distuli non malo proposito, sed imbecillitate corporis impeditus. Est autem hoc debitum maxime necessarium ad quod percipiendum sensus aurium vestrarum obligatus est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 201) Dominus autem qui curavit haec in literas referri, et nostram imbecillem mentem et linguam hactenus sic gubernavit, ut magnos thesauros verae doctrinae breviter adumbratos vobiscum communicarem, det vobis per haec parva semina uberiores et perfectiores noticias, qui est amplissimus fructus cum nostri propositi, tum vestrae diligentiae quam in audiendo verbo Dei praestatis. Huic tribuatur gloria et potentia seculis infinitis. Amen.

*Homilia XI. De Fabricatione Hominis.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 201) Cum sapiens Salomon non imbutus verbis humanae sapientiae ad persuadendum accommodatis, sed a Spiritu sancto traditis, in sententia quae modo lecta est, hominis dignitatem attollens exclamat: Magnum quiddam est homo, et res preciosa vir misericors, in eam opinionem discessi, ut existimarem meas cogitationes de homine partim ex me ipso, partim scriptura haustas, longe ab re ipsa atque a veritate distare . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 222) Nos vero necessarium iter ingressos precibus vestris deducite, ut primo quoque tempore in integrum restituti, reliquam partem debiti persolvamus per gratiam eius, qui nos condidit et omnia nostra gubernat, cui tribuatur gloria infinitis seculis. Amen.

After the eleventh homily there follows:

*Pio et Candido Lectori* [*Inc.*]: Non dubium est librum Geneseos omnium scriptorum Prophetorum eruditissimum esse. Continet enim

doctrinam de Deo conditore (Strigel mentions the main events recounted in Genesis and states that while studying the first chapter he came across the eleven sermons of Basil on the six days of creation. Although he was aware that they had been translated previously, he undertook to make a new version) tamen easdem mediocri diligentia converti in latinum sermonem, non ut cum aliis de antecellencia certarem, sed quia Graece orationes tum rectissime intelliguntur, cum scribendo explicantur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ingenue etiam fateor me in hac versione multa mutuatum esse a Cicerone, Seneca et Plinio, ad quorum dicta digitum intendo, ne quis me plagii convincat. Sed de hac tota ratione vertendi alio loco plura dicenda erunt. Bene vale candide lector, et hanc operam pio studio susceptam boni consule.

There follow the *Disputationes* or summaries of the eleven sermons. After each *Disputatio* is a section, *Ratio Versionis*, in which passages from Cicero are referred to the text of the *Hexaameron*. Each quotation is numbered to match a corresponding number in the text of Strigel's Latin translation.

*Edition:*

(photo) 1566, Lipsiae (Leipzig): A. Richter typis Voegelianis. In *Basilii de operibus sex dierum, interprete Victorino Strigelio*. Hoffmann 1:416; DK 12.6666; NUC. (CtY-D; ICN; ICU MH). The copy at Yale is bound with Nyssen's *Epistola II* and *III*. See NUC, NG 0501558 and NG 0501577. Information was kindly provided for this edition by Sem Sutter of the Regenstein Library of the University of Chicago.

*Biography:*

Victorinus Strigelius (Strigel) was born in Kaufbeuren in Swabia, Dec. 26, 1524. His father Ivo, a physician, was a student of Melanchthon and of others of his circle in Heidelberg. At age fourteen Victorin began his formal studies in Freiburg. In October 1542, he entered the University of Wittenberg to study philosophy and theology. There he joined the group around Melanchthon who in 1544 made him a magister with the right to lecture independently. Because of the then current Schmalkaldic War he was soon forced to

flee Wittenberg. By 1547 he was lecturing in Erfurt. However Melanchthon arranged that he go to Jena where at the instigation of the sons of Johann Friedrich of Saxony he founded an academy. There he taught history, philosophy and a course on Melanchthon's *Loci theologici*. For the rest of his life Strigel was involved in the strife between the opposing parties within Lutheranism. He spoke vigorously against the strict tenets of M. Flacius Illyricus' brand of theology and espoused Melanchthon's moderate theories. The question of synergism - cooperation of the human will with divine grace - evoked the sharpest disagreements. Flacius arrived in Jena in 1557. A bitter disputation was held in August 1560 as a result of which Strigel was driven from Jena in December 1561. By May 1562 he managed to return although his stay was short. Feeling the hostility of many toward him, he moved on to Leipzig, and in May 1563 began theological lectures there. By 1567 his outspoken Calvinistic beliefs on eucharistic doctrine resulted in his having to leave Leipzig for Amberg where he was more free to teach as he wished. Even so he did not remain there long, but went on to Heidelberg where he died on June 26, 1569.

*Works:* Latin translations from the Greek of three *Dialogi* of Theodoretus and of Basil's *Hexaameron*, including two spurious homilies; commentaries on the Bible, on the histories of Josephus, on Justinus' *Trogi Pompeii Historiarum philippicarum epitome*, on Aristotle and on Cicero; many works on controversial theological subjects. Full lists of his works appear in Joecher 4:882; Zedler 40:975-976.

*Bibl:* P. Tschakert, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 36:590-594; Joecher 4:882-883; Zedler 40:972-977 and articles "Strigelianismus" pp. 963-972; M. Adam, *Vitae Germ. Philos.* 1:199a-204a. J. Herzog, *Real-encyclopädie für protest. Theol. und Kirche* (ed.3) XIX, pp. 97-102.

H. Kropatscheck, *Das Problem theologischer Anthropologie auf dem Weimarer Gespräch von 1560 zwischen Matthias Flacius Illyricus und Viktorin Strigel*. Theol. Diss. Göttingen, 1943 (Maschinenschrift); V. A. Nord-



mann, *Victorinus Strigelius als Geschichtslehrer*, Helsingfors diss., 1930; J. Otto, *De Victorino Strigelio*, Jena, 1843.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

## 8. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUIS

The Table of Contents of the 1615, 1617 and 1638 editions of the *Opera omnia* of Gregory of Nyssa list the Latin translation of the two homilies, *In verba: Faciamus* and *In hominis procreationem* as being by "eodem interprete" (i.e. Johannes Levvenklaius) as the work immediately preceding, *De opificio hominis*. Levvenklaius however never translated the two treatises in question. The listing is an obvious error on the part of the compiler of the Table or of the typesetter. The mistake probably occurred because in the 1605 edition the treatise immediately preceding was indeed translated by Zinus; it was Nyssenius' *In Hexaameron*. But in the arrangement of the 1615 edition Levvenklaius's version of *De opificio hominis* was inserted between *In Hexaameron* and the two treatises both in the Table and in the text. Someone forgot to change the "eodem interprete" which was, in the new edition, no longer true.

*Note on quotation from Alexander Brassicanus.*

A. Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer* I. 183 stated, after mentioning some Latin translations of Basil's works, "Et Alexander quidem Brassicanus in praefatione ad lib. Salviani de vero iudicio Dei se habuisse scribit Basilii Hexaameron integrum, ac multo copiosius quam vel ab Argyropylo vel ab Eustachio ad Syncreticam Germanam fuerit in Latinam linguam conversum".

Brassicanus' dedicatory letter makes it clear that he had only a Greek text in mind. Mary Ceibert of the Rare Book Room University of Illinois kindly provided a copy of Brassicanus' letter from the edition of Basel, 1530.

## COMMENTARY

## a. ANTONIUS POSSEVINUS

Antonius Possevinus briefly discussed the various Latin versions of Basil's works in his *Apparatus Sacer* (1608) I.183." Argyropylos Byzantinus et ipse Basilii *Hexaameron* vertit. Sed duas postremas homilias a nonnullis Gregorio Nissaeno (sic) attributas omisit. Quas tamen Ioachimus Perionius cum reliquis vertit. Sed cum in huius versione desideratum sit, ut Graecum sensum magis assequeretur, nos quae huc pertinet, ad calcem huius Tractationis adiecimus". A little farther on (p. 184) he adds, "Ioachimus igitur Perionius vir aliqui doctus et Catholicus, sed et sui styli tenacior et minus aliquando Graecae (Atticae praesertim) linguae vim assecutus, vereor quin magis avertat, quam alliciat lectorem Basilii ad hunc degustandum, cum interea mihi Ioannis Argyropyli versio in *Hexaameron* magis probetur. Perionius' desire to write in an elegant style indeed often resulted in compromised accuracy of translation.

Possevinus proceeded to comment on what he considered faulty Latin renditions of the Greek by Perionius. His comments on *Homiliae X* and *XI* appear on pp. 188-189 of Volume I of his *Apparatus Sacer*. For the first nine homilies Possevinus made clear his preference for the Latin of Argyropylos. He mentioned the Latin versions of Zinus, Tilmann and Musculus, of the tenth and eleventh homilies, but he did not quote them as he corrected Perionius; rather, he gave his own translation.

*Text* (*Apparatus Sacer*, ed. of Cologne, 1608). In *Orat. X & XI [Inc.]*: (I.188) Quoniam a tribus interpretibus versae sunt, nimirum a Francisco Zino, a Ioachimo Perionio, a Godefrido Tilmanno Cartusiensi (mitto enim modo Wolfgangi Musculi versionem, quoniam hic extra Catholicam Ecclesiam fuit) ex earum versionum collatione facile cordatis lectoribus patebit et quis aptior fuit interpres. Et in Perionio quidem similes nonnulli sunt naevi, quales in versione superiorum Orationum indicavimus. At Tilmannus utramque hanc orationem pro loco sparsim diffudit paraphras-

tice ut utraque prodiret explicatio. Sed quia (*sic*) Zinus fecit, quaeve una cum operibus aliis Gregorii Nyssaeni (*sic*) edita est an. 1573 ab eodem Nivellio Parisiis, hanc etiam legendam iudico, quae sicubi a contextu Graeco videtur abesse, id non videtur tanti, ut a recta Auctoris intelligentia longe discedat.

*Text of Commentary. [Inc.]:* (p. 188) Porro in eadem Oratione X. Perionius initio. Non oblivione instituti mei. Graece ἀγνωμοσύνη τῆς προαιρέσεως Non voluntatis culpa sponte susceptae. Mox Perion. Et ex terra eduntur, attingunt, tradiderimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*] (p. 189) Plus semipagina post, Perionius. Qui vero propensus est ad libidinem. Graece, πρὸς ὕβριν Ut vertendum sit. Incensus ad inferendam iniuriam. Quare et Basilius subdit nonne est scorpius? Mox, Et qui clam ad propulsandam iniuriam rapitur. Rectius. ad vindictam rapitur. Mox, Qui mulierosus est. Graece, θηλυμενῆς.

In XI Oratione (p. 189) pene nil aliud est observatum: quam quod πέμματα vertit bellaria cum dicere debuisset cupediae.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1603, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Societatem Venetam. NUC. BN; (MH).

(\*) 1606, Venetiis (Venice): reprint in 3 vols of the above. BN

1608, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Apud J. Gymnicum. NUC. BL; BN; (CU; MH; NNUT).

*Biography:*

Antonius Possevinus (Possevino) was born in Mantua in 1534, son of a noble but impoverished family. At the age of sixteen he began studies in Rome and quickly showed aptitude for ancient languages. Soon he became secretary to Hercules Gonzaga who entrusted him with the education of his nephews, Franciscus and Scipio Gonzaga. He traveled with them to Ferrara and then on to Padua. He gained the esteem of Paolo Manuzio and Bartolomeo Ricci. He was well recompensed for tutoring the Gonzaga's, but in 1559 he determined to join the Society of Jesus. His novitiate was soon interrupted (1560) by the Roman authorities sending him to quell a heretical disturbance in Savoy. It was to be only the first of many diplomatic missions for the Church to

such diverse places as Hungary, Poland, Sweden and Russia as well as parts of Germany.

Possevino was largely responsible for establishing the Collège d'Avignon and became its first rector. He was also rector of the Collège de Lyon. But in 1573 the Jesuit General made him his secretary and took Possevino with him to Rome.

His diplomatic missions however continued. The most remarkable of these was to Tsar Ivan IV in 1581. Ivan had sought the Pope's aid against enemies in Sweden and Poland. Gregory XIII hoped that Possevino could persuade the Russians to return to the Roman fold in return for assistance. The churches remained separated, but peace was achieved and many concessions gained from the Tsar for Catholic travelers in his realm.

In 1586 Possevino renounced the life of a diplomat and settled in Padua. There he convinced François de Sales to give up law for theology. He worked to reconcile Henri IV with Rome. He in time became rector of the college at Bologna. Near the end of his life he returned to Mantua where he died on Feb. 26, 1611.

His sizable literary output was largely the product of his later years. His most famous work is undoubtedly *Apparatus Sacer* (1603), an encyclopedic work on authors both ancient and more recent. Remarkable for its time was his *Moscovia, seu de rebus Moscoviticis* (1586), a product of his long stay in Russia.

*Works: Apparatus Sacer; Moscovia, seu de rebus Moscoviticis; Bibliotheca . . . de ratione studiorum; Iudicium de quatuor scriptoribus; Il Soldato cristiano; Del sacrificio dell'Altare; some of his letters were published by A. M. G. Borgo, De scriptis ab A. Possevino . . . Litteris* (1645-1646).

*Bibl.: Dict. de Théol. Cath.* XII, 2 pp. 2647-57; Hoefler 40:876-878; Michaud 35: 486-490; Nicéron XXII, 201-33; Koch II. 1459-1461; Sommervogel VI:1061-1093; IX:781; Tiraboschi VI (1822):1060-1066; Hurter 3:466-470.

See also Biaudet, *La Suède et le S. Siège*, Paris, 1907; L. Karttunen, *Antonio Possevino: Un diplomate pontifical au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lausanne, 1908; Nicol d'Origny, *Vie de Pos-*

sevin, 1712; P. Pierling, *Un Nonce du Pape en Moscovie*, Paris, 1886; the same, *La Russie et le S. Siège*, Paris, 1897; the same, *Le S. Siège, la Pologne et Moscou*, Paris, 1885; *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino, S.J.*, translation, introduction and notes by Hugh F. Graham (University Series in Russian and East European Studies, No. 1) Pittsburgh, 1977.

### XXXV. DE VIRGINITATE

Editio princeps: 1574, Antwerp (ed. J. J. Livineius).

Recent editions: PG 46:317–416; 1963, Leiden in GNO VIII.1:247–343 (ed. J. P. Cavarinos); 1966, Paris in *Sources Chrétiennes* 119, (ed. M. Aubineau).

The modern critical editions and Livineius' 1574 text divide the treatise into thirty-three chapters. The Paris editions of 1615 and 1638 and the Cologne edition of 1617 as well as Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* contain a thirty-four chapter division (See Cavarinos, *op. cit.*, p. 245 and J. Irigoien, "Éditions d'auteur et rééditions à la fin de l'antiquité à propos du Traité de la virginité de G. de N.," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes* 44 (1970) 100–106; J. Gribomont, "Le Panégyrique de la Virginité, oeuvre de jeunesse de Grégoire de Nysse," *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 43 (1967) 249–66.

#### I. PETRUS GALESINIUS

Petrus Galesinius made a Latin translation of *De virginitate* which was published in 1562 (not 1565, as in PG 46:1385). In the dedication to Pope Pius IV, uncle of Carlo Borromeo, he mentions that he made the version at the request of a commission of four cardinals whom the Pope had appointed to promote editions of Greek and Latin fathers who defended Catholic principles. The Greek manuscript used by Galesinius is not known, but it belonged to the family which included Vat. gr. 1907 (s. XII/XIII).

After its first appearance in the separate 1562 edition, Galesinius' translation appeared in all *opera omnia* editions of Nyssen. When

bilingual editions were prepared using the Greek text of Johannes Livineius, Galesinius' Latin often differed noticeably from the Greek because he had used a manuscript from a different tradition. Fronto Ducaeus, working on the 1615 edition, therefore made necessary revisions in the Latin and occasionally even in Livineius' Greek in order to produce a consistent pair of texts.

*Dedication* (ed. of Rome, 1562). Beatissimo patri Pio IIII, Pontifici Maximo Petrus Galesinius S. D. [*Inc.*]: Cogitanti mihi, Pater beatissime, quam difficilis et lubrica sit in omnibus disciplinis tota haec interpretandi ratio, maxime omnium periculosa in Theologia videri solet cum enim divina animo potius quam verbis complectamur; et patres, qui ea scripsere, non verborum delectum, sed admirabilem quandam rerum, quae a sensu nostro remotae sunt, cognitionem e sempiternis illis mentibus hauserint, in ea profecto divina facultate, non verba ipsa tam spectantur quam singularis illa scriptoris etiam mens diligenter sane attenditur. Quare et si difficillima huiusce rei ratio et pudor aliquis meus deterrere me potuit, ne id oneris susciperem quod ego virium mearum tenuitate sustinere vix possem, tamen et divina ista tua voluntas, quae mirum in modum excitata est ad propagandam religionem, et temporum conditio fecit, ut studium atque operam in eo ponerem. Quod quamquam mihi difficile atque arduum videbatur, tamen, cum saepe fieri soleat, ut in quod satis nostra sponte ferimur, id vel exiguo freti auxilio consequamur; non mediocrem mihi spem ut hoc ipsum assequerem, afferebat admirabilis quaedam mea ad bonum publicum propensio. Etenim in tanta adversariorum improbitate, qui obstinate operam dant, ut multis in locis religionis nostrae ornamenta iaceant, et haeresum suarum sica in Imperii catholici lateribus versetur, non mediocriter rebus nostris ille opem ferre videtur, qui in hoc interpretandi studio diligenter et pie integreque versatur; quandoquidem si vere iudicare volumus, ita illi opinionum suarum commentis res nostras labefactare conati sunt, ut verendum esset, ne haeresum suarum sensim serpens latius manaret nisi nos Deus respexisset, qui exulceratis iam rebus gravissimisque tempo-

ribus, ac paene in ruinis labentis Reip. te Pontificem dedit et Pium Pontificem, de quo communis est omnium consensus, fore te eum, qui sedatis hostium motibus in id toto animo incumbas ut quaecunque dilapsa fluxerunt, ea vinciantur singulari prudentia tua, veraque Dei religio semel Apostolorum praedicationibus propagata, iterum te Pontifice disseminetur in omnes gentes; atque Aethiopes, Iacobitae Armeni, Maronitae, Georgiani et reliquae gentes, quae a purissima castissimaque religione dissident, adhaereant Ecclesiae Romanae . . . (A long section follows discussing the early defenders of the faith, ending with a mention of a list of the Fathers including Basil and the two Gregory's. Then Galesinius praises Pius IV. Finally he deems it fitting that in the city of Peter and Paul the works of the fathers come to light) . . . Tum postremo quam multum ad summam omnium hominum, qui vivunt, utilitatem dignitatem salutemque conducet ea in lucem emitti, quae pro vera Dei religione veterum patrum diligentia procurata et constituta sunt.

Horum enim omnium cognitione cum nefaria adversariorum doctrina explodatur, tum incredibilis quaedam et vera utilitas cum salute coniuncta pariatur necesse est. Nam si ex sapientium fortiumque virorum rebus gestis bene vivendi exempla sumimus, id certe sanctorum patrum scriptis legendis multo melius nos sane consequimur cum verae illae virtutes sint habendae, quae cum fide sine qua Deo gratum nihil esse potest, coniunctae a nobis percipiuntur . . . (What better then than to dedicate to Pius IV works of the fathers which had long been in darkness but now were being edited? The Pope certainly favored such efforts.) . . . Ego certe quoniam hoc tuum beneficium, Sanctissime Pater, aliqua ex parte ad me item pertinere intelligo, dabo quidem operam omni tempore ut quantum in me est, grata illud memoria prosequar. Nunc vero cum mihi data sit occasio testificandae huius voluntatis meae, nolui pro eo sane ac debui eam omnino praetermittere. Nam amplissimi quattuor Cardinales, quibus hoc abs te mandatum est ut veteres illos in primis de pura Dei religione sanctorum patrum libros edendos curent, tamquam ii qui e Rep. numquam deiiciant

oculos, cum ei optime consultum putarint ut quos olim habuerit oppugnata semper ab haereticis virginitas cum graecos tum latinos patres sui defensores, ii hoc tempore in vulgus prodirent, Gregorii Nyseni libellum vere aureum qui de virginitate est, mihi dari iusserunt, quem latine redderem. Nae ego, utpote cum ingenii mei non audax existimator sim, dubitavi suscipere tantam rem quantam facultate consequi difficile putabam, tamen ut dixi me studium tuum, quo mirifico teneris non solum conservandae, sed etiam propagandae religionis et temporum ratio fecit, ut rem ipsam aggrederer, diligentiaque et assiduitate perfeci, quod ingenio vix assequi putabam. Itaque Nysenus Gregorius de virginitate a me conversus iam in Sanctitatis tuae nomine apparet. Quod ut facerem, multa me quidem commoverunt: primum beneficii tui magnitudo; aequum enim erat, ut quod tuis maximis sumptibus fit, id tuae solum benignitati acceptum referretur omnique scriptorum genere commendaretur hominum memoriae, ut omnibus saeculorum aetatibus intelligant homines, Pio III Pontifice, et Graecorum monumenta restituta ac latinis litteris illustrata et latinorum tenebris offusa in lucem edita; quo exemplo excitati reliqui, qui postea succedent Pontifices, ad id maxime se conferant quod Reip. utile sit ac salutare. Deinde cum de virginitate agatur, in cuius laudibus perpetuus est catholicae Ecclesiae cursus, consentaneum quidem erat, ut in eius nomine divulgaretur, qui ad ipsius Ecclesiae gubernacula sedet. Tum ad hoc me impulit Nysenus ipse Gregorius qui auctor est non contemnendus, sed Basilio quidem fratre dignus. Nam cum diligentissimus est rerum divinarum perscrutator, tum certe omnium scientiarum disciplinis maxime instructus idque in hoc libello apparet in quo saepe per amplissimum illum rhetorum campum ita evagatur, ut gravitate pondereque scientiarum refertissimus, cum de virginitate disputet, qua una virtute reliquae omnes continentur, Evangelicae quoque disciplinae maiestatem complectatur propositaque sola virginali laude, illam plane etiam philosophorum severitatem attingat, ut non solum una cum Stoicis de honesto disserat, verum etiam cum reliquis honestis philosophorum disciplinis patrocini-

nium earum suscipiat actionum, in quibus virtutis splendor est maximus. Quae omnia cum ita sint, illud abs te, Pater Beatissime, peto et obsecro, ut etsi graeci sermonis eam, quae in Nyseno elucet, dignitatem hac mea in interpretatione minus assecutus sum, libenti tamen animo accipias ut Sanctitatis tuae nomine ego maiora posthac praestare possim. Etenim in hoc libello vertendo etsi nullum fortasse secutus videor orationis florem, studui tamen diligenter, ut virginitatis, cuius acerrimum se Nysenus gravitate quadam verborum graecorum defensorem ostendit, formam ego et quasi faciem ita latine exprimerem, ut aliquos illa etiam latinis hominibus amores excitaret sui, Deus optimus maximus te diu incolumem conservet, et quae pie sancteque inchoasti ad constituendum Ecclesiae statum, ea ita perficias, ut illi primum gloriae, deinde Ecclesiae utilitati, tum tibi dignitati sint perpetuo futura.

*Text. [Inc.]:* Oratio haec omnis eo spectat, ut qui eius vim assequuntur, iis profecto vitae honestae, et quae virtuti maxime conveniat, allatura sit cupiditatem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quive omni pura integritate sacrificium purum factus castitatis, ipsius praesidio te ad adventum Domini pares, ut tu quoque puro corde Deum aspicias, ut promissio nobis facta est a Deo servatoreque nostro Iesu Christo, cum quo gloria omnipotenti Deo una cum spiritu sancto in sempiterna saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

(micro) 1562, Romae (Rome): Apud Paulum Manutium. Renouard, p. 186; Hoffmann 2.188. NUC. BN; (CtY; IU).

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC III.422.

## 2. JOHANNES LIVINEIUS

A Latin translation of the treatise *De virginitate*, together with an edition of the Greek

text, was prepared by Johannes Livineius in 1573 and published in 1574. It bears an *Impri-matur* dated 12 Aug. 1573, Bruxelles, I. Schellinck, P. S. N. Livineius used two main manuscripts, Montepessulanus 122 (s. XIV), a mutilated copy containing only chapters 6 through 14, and belonging to the printer Birckmann of Cologne (see Cavarnos GNO VIII.1:233 and introduction to Ducaeus' *Notae*) and Vaticanus graecus 401 (s. XIII). He also had in his hands at some point, Brux. bibl. reg. 8434–8438, since on the flyleaf can be seen, "Ioannis Livinei Torrentii Teneramundani" (see Aubineau, *SC* 119 p. 217, n. 1). In the dedicatory letter to Gerard Grosbeck, Bishop of Liège, Livineius explained that he considered the Montpellier codex inadequate because of the large portion of the text missing from it. He said that he believed a better manuscript might possibly be found in the Vatican. Hence he asked his uncle, Laevinus Torrentius, who was being sent by Grosbeck, the dedicatee, as emissary to the Pope, to see if he could find a better manuscript to supplement his poor copy. Torrentius located Vaticanus 401; it not only contained the complete text, but it had the added advantage of belonging to a different family of manuscripts than the one used by the only previous translator, Petrus Galesinius (see above). Guilelmus Canterus aided Livineius with suggestions on the Greek text. Their improved Greek text appeared in subsequent bilingual editions along with the Galesinius Latin translation. The lack of correspondence of the Galesinius translation with the new Greek text was such that Fronto Ducaeus had to make changes in the translation in order to bring it into harmony with the Greek (see below, p. 181). Livineius wrote valuable *Notae* on the text which were published in the 1574 edition only (see below, p. 180).

*Epistola dedicatoria* (ed. of Antwerp, 1574). Reverendissimo atque Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino D. Gerardo a Groisbeek Episcopo Leodiensi, Duci Bullonensi, Comiti Lossensi, Marchioni Francimontano, sacri Romani Imperii Principi, Ioannes Livineius S. P. [*Inc.*]: Cum hanc D. Gregorii Nysseni Antistitis de virginitate commentationem a me in Latinum

sermonem conversam in lucem emitterem, Illustrissime Praesul, visum est duabus fere rationibus id quicquid est laboris atque industriae tuo nomini consecrandum. Primum quod viri sanctissimi et summae in Ecclesia dignitatis de re omnium pulcherrima ac sanctissima et Christianis hominibus propria disputatio nulli convenientius offerri posse videretur quam ei qui et ipse locum in Ecclesia principem summa cum laude atque auctoritate nominis teneret. Deinde, quod hoc opusculum tibi tuo quodam iure vindicares. Nam cum Laevinus Torrentius V. C. Maecenas idemque avunculus meus, oblata hac optima bene de Graecis litteris et studiosis merendi occasione, ratus Bibliothecam Vaticanam veteribus libris tam instructam huius eloquentissimi scriptoris operibus carere nullo modo posse, facile impetravi ut eum librum conferri cum alio exemplari curaret, praesertim cum haud dubiis argumentis deesse in nostro nonnulla deprehendissem, et multa vitiose, quaedam etiam mutile exarata essent. Neque ea res frustra fuit. Namque ex codice Vaticano addita sunt in fronte una cum auctoris praefatione prima quinque capita, et totidem ad libri calcem. Reliqua vel ex utriusque exemplaris comparatione sunt a nobis castigata, vel diligenti cogitatione et manifesta ratione, coniecturis quoque, quas saepissime ad veritatem dirigere cum auctor est Cicero, tum nos quoque in fragmento hoc nostro sumus experti, emendata. Quae commoditates animum nobis addiderunt, ut quae nostrae essent partes, interpretationem quoque adhiberemus quam possemus accuratissimam, quo esset hic noster labor atque industria plausibilior. Interpretandi autem genus id sumus amplexi, quod litteratissima hac tempestate et doctissimis quibusque probaretur, et vir ornatissimus Petrus Ximenes quem et honoris causa et quia tu merito eum plurimi facis, nominandum hoc loco mihi putavi, cum ab eo Graece (*sic*) discerem, solitus esset commendare, ut nec sensum tantum contenti reddidisse, quod video multos factitare, de Graecorum verborum proprietate ac vi exprimenda parum laboraremus, nec rursum, qua in parte multo plurimi peccant, nullo verborum dilectu, nimia quadam religione et putida verbum verbo vertendi curiositate, Latini

sermonis maiestatem inminueremus et eloquentiae quasi nervos incideremus, sed quam minimum fieri posset ab auctoris verbis recederemus, et orationi tamen ornatum et suos tanquam flores non deriperemus. Atque haec quidem nolim a me ita dicta existimari, quasi in hoc libro ea pollicerer aut praestitisse gloriarer. Nam et aetas nostra et multarum rerum imperitia id facile prohibent. Sed velut simulacrum quoddam atque effigiem optimae de Graecis convertendi rationis leviter inumbra- tam proposui, quo ad laudem tendentibus contentio omnis ac studium conferendum sit. Qua sane in parte ut arrogare mihi nihil possum, ita libenter confiteor, adhibitam a me operam, ut attingerem saltem et tanquam a longinquo, quod aiunt, salutare ταύτην τὴν τελειότητα, ad quam non nisi viri quidam magni et summo ingenio praediti essent admissi, quorum in numero ingens Galliarum lumen Adrianus Turnebus familiam ducere mihi videtur. Atque hoc quidem est consilium nostrum. Utinam vero homines quidam nostri quam necessaria sunt quae a gravissimo auctore sapientissime disseruntur, tam studiose amplectantur. Haberemus certe Ecclesiae faciem, si non optimam, at certe odiis atque iniuriis adversariorum impendio minus obnoxiam. Tribues autem hoc nobis, Illustrissime Praesul, beneficii, ut quantum huic operi auctoritatis ab annis nostris decedit, tantum tui nominis splendore ac gloria reponere digneris. Ita, spero equidem, dabunt aequi lectores crescendo locum, et quae reliqua eiusdem auctoris graviora, Deo fortunante, in posterum molimur, fortasse maiori aliqua spe eruditionis ac ingenii expectabunt. Bene vale, Princeps Illustrissime, et hoc, quicquid est opellae, aequi et boni consule.

*Ad Lectorem. [Inc.]:* (p. 7) Damus, candide lector, in lucem eruditissimum D. Gregorii Nysseni, Basilii Magni fratris, de Virginitate librum a nobis summa contentione ac industria partim ex duorum manuscriptorum codicum fide, Vaticano uno, altero quod a Birmanno Coloniensi Typographo habuimus et fragmentum tantum fuit, si minus suo ac pristino nitori, at proxime tamen restitutum. In quo haec a nobis servata ratio est. Capita quinque prima, una cum auctoris praefatione

et totidem extrema, bona fide, ut Roma ad nos allata sunt, edidimus. In caeteris, nisi quod capitum distinctionem Vaticanam in textum recepimus nostrum, in margine, sicubi discordabat, annotavimus, id quod non temere a nobis factum est, fragmentum nostrum sumus sequuti, quod commodius id nobis videretur. Quoniam vero partim doctissimus Guilielmus Canterus emendationes quasdam nobiscum communicaverat, partim ipsi diligenti cogitatione multis locis veram lectionem coniectura eramus consequuti, priusquam libellum eum Romam mitteremus, ne virum optimum sua laude frustraremur, et simul ut illustre quoddam exemplum proponeremus τῆς εὐστοχίας cui sane homines quidam pertinaces nimium parum tribuere mihi videntur, fecimus equidem libenter, ut eas ad marginem Graeci exemplaris adderemus. Eadem ratio est et in nostris, quae cum bona ex parte Vaticani codicis fide confirmantur, tum in Notis, sicubi ea destitueremur, ratione constabiliuntur. In caeteris quid a nobis praestitum sit, tuum, Candide Lector, iudicium sit. Vale.

*Text.* D. Patris Gregorii Nysseni Antistitis De virginitate Liber Graece et Latine nunc primum editus, Interprete Iohanne Livineio Gandensi. Additae sunt ad calcem Notae, eodem auctore, quibus partim emendationum ratio redditur, partim loca quaedam illustrantur. [*Inc.*]: (p. 9) Epistola exhortatoria ad frugi vitam. Scopus est, lectoribus frugi vitae amorem concitare. Cum autem in communiore illa, ut divinus Apostolus vocat, multae insint distractiones, necessario velut ostium quoddam atque ingressum augustioris vitae, virginitatis studium subiecimus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 177) Quare et te una cum Christo crucifixum et eum qui castum te sacerdotem Deo praestes, et hostiam incontaminatam fieri volumus, per castitatem Dei te contubernio omni integritate comparantem, ut et ipse Deum intemerata mente intueare, ex Dei et sospitatoris nostri Iesu Christi promisso, cui honor in omnem saeculorum perpetuitatem. Amen. Finis.

*Bibliography:* J. P. Cavernos, Praefatio to critical edition, GNO Vol. VIII.1:217–245; esp. pp. 233–234, 243–245; M. Aubineau in *SC* 119, pp. 216–217; Possevinus, *Apparatus* I. 679; J. Billius' criticism of Livineius' version

in *Sacrarum observationum libri*, Paris, 1585, p. 115; Ittigius, *Praefatio* p. LXXIX (ed. 1707); *Annales Plantiniennes*, 1573, reprint, N.Y. 1967, p. 145.

*Edition:*

(photo) 1574, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.184; *Annales Plantiniennes* (ed. Rielens and De Backer) p. 145. NUC. BL; BN; Adams Gr1120; (NjP;ICU).

(\*) 1575, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christophori Plantini, Architypographi Regii. (Gr.-Lat.). To p. 142 only. Adams G-1121.

*Biography:*

Johannes Livineius Gandensis (Jan Lievens) was born at Termonde (hence sometimes referred to as Teneramundanus) in 1546 or 1547. He was the son of Nicolaus and Clara Lievens; his maternal uncle was the celebrated humanist, Laevinus Torrentius (Lieven van der Beke). Jan himself added the epithet, Gandensis, since both of his parents were from Ghent. There he received his early education, but later he was sent by his uncle to the Jesuit college in Cologne. Ximenes lived there at the time and gave instruction in Greek to promising pupils of whom Livineius was one. Later he continued his studies at Louvain where Gulielmus Canterus, Justus Lipsius and Andreas Schottus were among his acquaintances. From his uncle's extensive, published correspondence it might seem that his chief concern during these years was for assurance of adequate economic resources. At least 27 of Torrentius letters express concern for his nephew's material welfare. More importantly, the letters throw light on his circle of scholarly friends. In addition to those already mentioned, he knew Baronius (*Ep.* 477), Carafa (*Epp.* 7, 102), Sirleto (*Epp.* 2, 103). In time, Johannes' interests narrowed to the patristic field, and he determined to engage in a critical study of the works of Gregory of Nyssa. We know that Livineius had at hand a number of manuscripts of Nyssenus' works. He mentioned translating a large part of *In canticum*. See above p. 77. It was his Greek copy of *Contra Eunomium* which, when sent by Schottus to J. Gretser, enabled the latter to pro-

duce the first Latin version of Book I of that treatise, and also raised the question of the authentic order and number of books of that work. See above p. 96. By mid 1573, he had brought out a Greek edition, together with his Latin translation, of *De virginitate*. The next year he published Chrysostom's work of the same title. About this time he went to Rome, possibly with his uncle, Torrentius. There he joined Cardinals Carafa and Sirleto in their labors to produce an edition of the Septuagint which appeared in 1587. In 1588 he was ordained deacon, and at the urging of Sirleto and Carafa, assigned by his uncle to be a canon of the cathedral at Antwerp. Thereafter he was able to devote much of his time to the study of ancient authors. He died in Antwerp on Jan. 13, 1599.

*Works:* In addition to the translations of *De virginitate* and most of *In canticum canticorum*, Livineius made Latin versions of sermons of Theodore of Studium, homilies of St. Eucherius, Andronicus of Constantinople *Disputatio cum Iudaeis*; he composed notes on Columella and Propertius. Many works were left unfinished: editions of the works of Nyssenus, of Euripides, Athenaeus and of the *Epistolae* of Chrysostom.

*Bibl.:* *Biographie Nationale publiée par L'Académie Royale des Sciences des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* (1892-1893), Vol. XII: 124-128; Hoefer 31:194; Joecher 2:2474; Michaud 24:520-521; Zedler XVII: 1723; *Correspondance de Laevinus Torrentius in Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de L'Université de Liège* (ed. Delcourt et Hoyoux) Paris 1950-1953, Fasc. CXIX, CXXVII, CXXXI; Hurter 3:77, 102, 200.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

## 3. JOHANNES LIONICUS

Theophilus George, *Allgemeines Europäisches Bücherlexicon*, Graz, 1966, Vol. II, p. 171 records a Greek-Latin edition of *De virginitate* by "Jo. Lionici", published in Antwerp in 1573. Confusion with the genuine edi-

tion, by Jo. Livineius, of Antwerp, 1574 may be suspected since the imprimatur of the latter is dated 1573.

## COMMENTARIES

## a. JOHANNES LIVINEIUS

Livineius commented on the text of *De virginitate* in *Notae* which cover six pages immediately following his translation. The notes are keyed to the Greek text in the volume by Arabic numbers.

*In D. Gregorii Nysseni De Virginitate Librum Notae. Eodem Auctore* (ed. of Antwerp, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 178) Inscriptio haec aliquando me torsit, quod intelligere non possem quam haberet notionem τὸ περὶ παρθενείας, eo in loco, donec venit in mentem solere interdum librarios et totius libri titulum et proximi capitis argumentum minimo interstitio coniungere, quae res facile occasionem dederit huic mendo. Ita enim factum video in Commentariis auctoris nostri in Cantica Canticorum quae nos nuper cum bona ex parte de Graecis transtulisse, coacti sumus dimittere. In iis inscriptio haec erat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 184) 48. Apud Dan. cap. 7. sic legitur (a Greek quotation from Dan. 7.10, but not the LXX text) id est ei ministrabant decies centena milia et apud eum astabant millies centena milia. Finis. The imprimatur of 12 Aug. 1573 follows.

Editions: See above p. 179.

Biography: See above pp. 179-180.

## b. JACOBUS BILLIUS

Jacobus Billius commented on Livineius' translation of a number of passages in *De virginitate*. They were published first in his *Sacrarum observationum libri*, Paris 1585. A. Possevinus later reprinted Billius' comments in his *Apparatus Sacer*. See above for this work, p. 174.

[*Inc.*]: Itaque 9. cap. de vi ac potentia consuetudinis his verbis utitur (Gregorius): οὐδὲν οὕτω τῇ φύσει φεύκτον ἔστι ὡς ἐν συνηθείᾳ . . . νομισθῆναι . . . quae verba ad hunc modum reddit interpres. Nihil natura tam fugien-



dum est quam quae res in consuetudinem abierit eam studio dignam atque amplectendam non videri. Ego tamen lubentius ita transtulerim . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quae quidem verba emendationi nostrae apertissime astipulantur.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1585, Paris: in *Sacrarum observationum libri duo* in S. Isidori . . . *Epistolarum* . . . *libri tres*, I. Billii Prunei, int., Gr.-Lat.. BL.

(\*) 1603, Rome: in A. Possevinus, *Apparatus Sacer*. NUC. (MH).

1608, Cologne: in A. Possevinus *Apparatus Sacer*. NUC. BL; BN; (CU; MH; NNUT).

*Biography:*

See CTC II.85.

C. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote very full notes on *De virginitate*; they were first published in his 1605 Latin edition of Nyssen's works. Ducaeus studied the Latin versions of both Galestinus and Livineius and also Jacobus Billius' criticism of Livineius' version. The notes were revised for the 1615 bilingual edition of Nyssen's works for which Ducaeus made changes in Livineius' Latin in order to bring it into harmony with the Greek text at which he had arrived.

In *Lib. de virginitate* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [Inc.]: (II.56) Prodit in lucem hic liber Latinitate donatus a Petro Galesinio Romae anno Christi 1565 (an error for 1562) una cum eiusdem Nysseni concionibus quinque de oratione dominica (which actually appeared in 1563) . . . Ducaeus goes on to discuss Livineius' version and the manuscripts he used. The first *Nota* is on "permultae enim cum sint" (Livineius' *Nota* 2). In hunc locum haec annotat Io. Livineius . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II.70) (on Πῶς ἀκούης PG 46:413 B) is qui neque mundo crucifixus est neque carnem mortificare dignatus est? Quomodo Paulo, etc.

*Editions:*

See above pp. 77–78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

XXXVI. VITA SANCTAE MACRINAE

Editio princeps: 1618, Paris in *Appendix ad s. Gregorii Nysseni opera* (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 46:960–1000; 1952, Leiden in GNO VIII.1: 370–414 (ed. V. W. Callahan); 1971, Paris in *Sources Chrétiennes* 178 (ed. P. Maraval); 1971, Utrecht, (Greek text, German translation and commentary) (ed. G. Bartelinck).

*Vita Macrinae* was transmitted both in collections of Gregory of Nyssa's works and in hagiographic collections. The praefatio to the critical edition in GNO VIII.1:347 sq. presents a detailed study of the transmission.

TRANSLATIONS

1. PETRUS BALBUS

Petrus Balbus (1399–1479) is known to have made a Latin version of Gregory of Nyssa's *Vita Macrinae* along with one of *De anima et resurrectione*. The manuscript containing these translations is now lost. For information on the date and circumstances, see p. 65 above.

*Manuscript:*

Now lost, formerly in the Cathedral Library of Capua. See above p. 66.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.139.

2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of the *Vita Macrinae* which was first published in 1553, not in Zinus' own edition of eleven works of Nyssen, but in A. Lippomano's *De probatis vitis sanctorum*. Zinus' translation was reprinted in later editions of Lippomano's collection and in its revised expansion by L. Surius. It first appeared in collections of Nyssen's works in Zinus' edition of Venice 1574, and was included in all subsequent *opera omnia* editions. What manuscript(s) Zinus used has not been determined, but his exemplar(s) stemmed from the family represented by Vat. gr. 1907 (s. XII-XIII) (See GNO IX:25;

89). Zinus did not translate the name of the dedicatee or addressee of this *vita*, perhaps because he used more than one manuscript for his work and since three different persons (Euprepus, Hierius and Olympius) are named as recipients of the *Vita* in the various Greek manuscripts.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 130) Hoc quidem voluminis genus ex inscriptione epistola videtur esse, sed eius longitudo modum epistolae superat, et iustam libri complectitur magnitudinem; me tamen rei, quam ut litteris consignarem imperasti, defendit argumentum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quamobrem ne offendantur qui ad credendum divinis muneribus sunt imbecilliores, sublimiora illius miracula silentio praeterimus, satis esse existimantes, iis quae dicta sunt eius historiam conclusisse.

*Editions*: (of L. Lippomano's *Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum* and its revisions).

(\*) 1553, Venetiis (Venice): ad signum spei. Vol. II. Adams L-739. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Kindly checked by F. H. Stubbings of Emmanuel College.

(\*) 1564, Louvain: Information on this edition supplied by Deborah Voight of the University of Illinois at Urbana Library.

(\*) 1565, Louvain: ap. P. Zangrium Tiletanum. BN.

1568, Louvain: ap. Io. Bogardum. NUC. (CU).

(\*) 1568, Louvain: ap. P. Zangrium Tiletanum. Adams L-745. Cambridge U. Library.

(\*) 1571, Louvain: ap. Martin Verhasselt. Adams L-746. Caius College.

(\*) 1570 sq., Cologne: NUC. BL; BN; (NOD; PLatS). Information was provided by Lawrence Hill of St. Vincent's College Library, Latrobe.

(\*) 1581, Venice: ap. Aldi filios. Adams L-747. Cambridge: U. Library, Trinity College.

1617/1618, Cologne: sumptibus Io. Kreps et H. Mylij. NUC. (CU).

1875–1880, Turin: NUC. (CtY; CU; DLC; MB). (Text begins with "Macrinae nomen erat (PG 46:959 C).

*Editions*: (of Nyssen's works).

1574. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

In *Acta Sanctorum* (ed. J. Carnandet)

1863, Paris. Under July, Tom. IV:592–604.

*Biography*:

CTC II.155.

### XXXVII. DE VITA MOYSIS

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden (ed. D. Hoerschelius).

Recent editions: PG 44:297–429; 1861, Burntisland, in G.N. *Op. om.* fasc 2, (only as far as τὰς κορυφὰς in GNO VII.1:23, line 23) (ed. G. H. Forbes); 1964, Leiden in GNO VII.1 (ed. H. Musurillo); 1968, Paris in *Sources Chrétiennes*, 1 (3rd edition) (ed. J. Daniélou).

Some Greek manuscripts of *De vita Moysis* (Messina 50, s. XII; Vat. gr. 2090, s. XI–XII) give the name of the addressee, Caesarius, near the end of the work; others, e.g. Vat. gr. 444, s. XIV include it in the title (see H. Musurillo, GNO VII.1, pp. 3, 143 and note on line 20). If one accepts the usually proposed late date for *De vita Moysis*, it is unlikely that this individual was Caesarius, brother of Gregory Nazianzen. However the *Erotapokriseis*, falsely attributed to him, contain long excerpts from *De vita Moysis*. Since *Erotapokriseis* was probably written early in the sixth century, the quotations are a valuable witness to an early form of the text. See R. Riedinger, "Neue Quellen zu den Erotapokriseis des Ps. Caesarius," *Jahrb. für oesterreichische Byzantinistik* 19 (1970) pp. 162–173. M. Van Esbroeck is preparing a new critical edition of this work. Some Greek manuscripts omit the final sentence. *De vita Moysis* is the only work of Gregory of Nyssa of which a portion is preserved on papyrus (Berlinensis 5863, s. VII).

As mentioned above, p. 146, the similarity of some forms of the title with those used for Nyssen's *De perfectione* at times caused confusion of the two works.

*Bibl.*: J. Daniélou, Introduction to the text

and its French translation in *Sources Chrétiennes* I (3rd ed. 1968) pp. 7–42; H. Musurillo, *op. cit.* pp. V sq.; C. Peri, “La Vita di Mosè di Gregorio di Nissa, un viaggio verso l’areté cristiana,” *Vet. Christianorum* XI (1974) 313–332; R. Riedinger, “Neue Quellen zu den Erotopokriseis des Ps. Caesarius,” *Jahrb. für oesterreichische Byzantinistik* 19 (1970) pp. 162–173. G. J. Vossius, *De historicis latinis*, III, Lugduni Bat. 1651, pp. 599–600. On the papyrus see *Berliner Klassikertexte*, VI (1910) 38–54.

## TRANSLATION

### I. GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS

Georgius Trapezuntius translated only one work of Gregory of Nyssa, the *De vita Moysis*. Trapezuntius made the version while in Rome, probably in 1446. It was certainly completed before Pope Eugenius IV died in February 1447. The translation was dedicated to Lodovico Scarampi (Trevisan) who in 1440 became Patriarch of Aquileia. He was an ecclesiastical diplomat-soldier, commanding fortresses under Eugenius IV and serving as governor of Rome under Nicolaus V and Calixtus III. The now lost Greek manuscript used by Trapezuntius came from the library of Matthias Corvinus and belonged to the family of codices represented by Taur. C. I.11, s. XIV. This may be deduced from several facts, especially the omission of a passage on apocatastasis, a doctrine of very questionable orthodoxy. Unconnected with this relationship is the fact that in at least two cases Trapezuntius preserves what must have been the original reading, seen elsewhere only in the papyrus.

Sixty years passed before the translation was published, at Vienna in 1517 by Johannes Gremper. In his dedicatory letter to George, Bishop of Vienna, Gremper stated that he had, with the help of Philippus Gundelius, eliminated some errors that had crept into the translation. Four years later, in 1521, a second edition appeared. It was the work of Andreas Cratander who used a different Greek manuscript containing notes in the hand of Beatus

Rhenanus; these he used to make corrections. This manuscript also is now lost.

Trapezuntius' technique of translating, almost a paraphrase, was severely criticized by Fronto Ducaeus who made some revisions and wrote copious notes on the text for his 1605 edition. Further revisions were made for the 1615 bilingual edition. Trapezuntius' translation of *De vita Moysis* remains the only one for which evidence exists (see below p. 186); it appeared in all *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenius, although with revisions of Ducaeus in the 1615 and later editions.

*Introduction* (ed. of Vienna, 1517). Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni Viri et vitae sanctitate et ingenii magnitudine inter Graecos Christianae professionis assertores praecipui de vitae perfectione sive vita Moysi, Liber utilissimus per Georgium Trapezuntium e Graeco in Latinum conversus et iam primum in solidioris doctrinae studiosorum emolumentum quam fieri potuit castigatissima impressione vulgatus. This is followed on p. 1, by a poem, Ad Lectorem, by Vadianus; pp. 2–4 contain the dedicatory letter of the editor Ioannes Gremperius to Georgius, Bishop of Vienna.

Epistola. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino D. Georgio dei gratia Episcopo Vienensi Domino suo glorioso Io. Gremperius deditissimus cliens post humilem sui commendationem salutem et felicitatem optat. [*Inc.*]: (p. 2) Cum essem, reverendissime Praesul, et ordinis et officii debito (*ed. debto*) amplissimae tuae dominationis demerendae cupidissimus, quippe quem clericus ego et publice modo patrem et Principem et privatim clientulus indulgentissimum patronum iamdudum agnoscam, obtulit se commode materia. Nempe ut libros meos evolvens, quos ab illustribus plerisque auctoribus conscriptos sed latentes hactenus tenebris ac a me quo possint ab oblivionis iniuria vindicari multis partim impensis partim laboribus summa certe fide et diligentia conquisitos, in librum Gregori Nysseni inciderem quem doctissimus ille idemque sanctissimus vir de vita Moysi sive de vita perfecta inscripserit. Cuius doctrina ac utilitate pensata, quae illi certe utraeque quam uberrime insunt, statui eius ipsius his primum typis divulgati studiosis facere copiam, quo

hac ratione qui meopte ingenio nequeo, alienis saltem rem litterariam more meo iuarem idque, Praesul amplissime, sub nomine tuo potissimum, nam optimo tibi vigilantissimoque ac plane et vitae integritate et nominis ac famae splendore Moysi illi simillimo Antistiti id munus maxime videbatur conveniens, quo non ego solum gratitudinis officio si non plene, pro modulo tamen ut ille meo fungerer, verum etiam cuius tibi frugem solidioris doctrinae studiosi omnes ferant acceptam incipiantque me autore (cum tamen vel praeterea continua in litteratos beneficentia cunctos tibi reddas obnoxios) hinc quoque debere quamplurimum. Talis enim est libellus iste quem nescio an ab auctore suo Beato Gregorio Nyssae Episcopo maximorum virorum Basilii magni fratre, et alterius Gregorii Nazianzeni synchrono atque aequali tanto viro plus splendoris recipiat, quam ei ipsi vicissim reddat, adeo ut mihi videatur divinum illum virum ingenio tam assequi potuisse quo omnia totius Mosae illius Exodi acta libello isto perstringens et tantum mysteriorum pelagus tam angustis tutum limitibus complexus undecumque non interpretatione solum luculentissima exequeretur verumetiam ad vitae perfectionem indidem quam in dei Opt. max. amicitia sitam ostendit (haec enim materia atque intentio operis), compendiosissimum iter demonstraret. Accedit his quod Georgius Trapezuntius vir doctissimus idemque eloquentissimus ea elegantia libellum hunc latinum fecit, ut eum non Paraphrastes aliquis translaticius (*ed. tralatitio*), sed ex veteribus illis Romanis facundissimus quispiam indigeno sermone conscripsisse credi queat quod equidem (licet a quibusdam non desyderetur in hoc potissimum litterarum genere) censeo tamen pro temporum nostrorum felicitate vel maxime libello et ad gratiam sane legentium conciliandam et auctoritatem tuendam profuturum. Effeci denique Philippi Gundelii charissimi mihi nec indocti hominis adminiculo, ut mendis quoque quae nonnullae librariorum forte incuria irreperant detersus et quam castigatissime impressus in manus hominum prodeat. Quae omnia ipsius libelli recessu haberi quam fronte promitti malo. Eoque, Reverendissime amplissimeque Antistes, Epistolae tandem finem fa-

ciam, ne fabulae ut ita dixerim gratiam prologi molestia corrumpat, cum sciam eam esse animo tuo modestiam, qua vel parva huius generis munuscula quale et id est benigno soleas animo suscipere. Quod ut et in hoc nostro xenio pro reliqua tua in me benignitate facias meque clientulum tuum qua hactenus indulgentia prosequaris ex animo rogo atque oro. Vale ornatissime atque amplissime Praesul. Viennae Idibus Decem. Anno incarnatae divinitatis MDXVII.

p. 4 contains an epigram, *Ad Lectorem*, by Ianus Hadelius, Poet Laureate. Pp. 5–6 contain a long poem, *Piis Lectoribus*, by Philippus Gundelius Pataviensis (who was mentioned above as aiding Gremper in establishing the text). At the bottom of p. 6, is yet another poem by Udaldricus Eaber (*sic*. For Faber?) in praise of Gregory's treatment of the life of Moses. Pp. 7–8 contain another epigram by Mathias Paulinus, *Ad Lectorem*. P. 8 also contains two more short poems; one by Georgius Logus Silesius and the other by Michael Alcophorus Pataviensis.

*Praefatio Trapezuntii*. Georgii Trapezunti Praefatio in vitam Moysi per Gregorium Nyssenum Fratrem Basilii M. editam, et per eundem Trapezuntium e graeco in latinum traductam. [*Inc.*]: (p. 9) Nuper, Reverendissime pater (i.e. Ludovico Scarampi), beati Gregorii Nyseni de vita moysi qua perfectam hominis vitam ostendere voluit, opus profecto perutile, de graeco in latinum traduxi. Quod multis de causis dominationi tuae statui dedicare, vel quia in eo scripturae involucra explicantur ac enodantur (quam rem ad ecclesiasticos viros pertinere nemo unquam dubitavit) vel quia, qui traducunt aliquid aut ipsi de se pariunt, soleant magnis plerumque viris ac dominis haec destinare, ut pondere auctoritatis suae opus firmatum per ora multorum volitet, vel quod ipse maxime in praesentiarum secutus sum, ipsius rei conditione atque natura . . . (There follows a long section adducing examples of God's making leaders of individuals who secured the safety of peoples, ending with a comparison of Pope Eugenius IV with Moses, and of Scarampi with Joshua) . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 12) Nam liber is de perfecta hominis vita vel de vita Moysi inscribitur. Moysen

vero illis temporibus ad liberandum populum divinitus electum scimus, summos a deo concedi nobis viros non ignoramus. Quare rerum ipsarum serie ad haec usque nunc pervenisse satis sit. Illud sane non praetermittendum beatum hunc Gregorium, cuius opus transtulimus, Magni illius Basilii fratrem fuisse, Nysae episcopum, virum tam in saecularibus quam in divinis doctrinis eruditissimum, virtutis quoque omni numero praeditum. Quod tu ipse in hoc opere legendo (si tamen prae occupationibus tuis licuerit) iudicabis. Sed iam ipsum latine loquentem, si placet, audiamus.

*Text* (ed. of Vienna, 1517. Textual variants in Trapezuntius' autograph, Vat. lat. 4534, are added in parentheses). [*Inc.*]: Quemadmodum qui certamen equorum non sine magna delectatione animi spectant et si nihil ad cursum diligentiae illi praetermittant quos vincere optant, oculis tamen cursum ipsorum solliciti prospicientes clamant atque hortantur incitareque ac efficere se (om. Ms) putant ut velocius equi pervolent (provolent, Ms) cum huc atque illuc una cum equis inflectantur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 48) Id enim certe perfectio est ut non timore paenarum sicuti mancipium a vitiis declines nec virtutem spe premiorum quasi mercator amplectaris (nec praemiorum spe virtutem amplectaris quasi mercator, Ms.) sed unum terribile arbitreris ab amicitia dei repelli (Sed unum tantummodo terribile arbitreris ab amicitia dei, Ms.) unum expetibile solum, amicitiam dei, qua sola (solum, Ms.) meo iudicio (iudicio meo, Ms.) vita hominis perficitur. Finis. Laus Deo.

*Bibliography*: J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, Leiden, 1976, especially p. 55.

*Manuscripts*:

(\*) Città del Vaticano, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 255, s. XV, fols. 3–60. (*Cod. Vat. Lat.*, Vol. I.185; Fabricius *BG* IX.103).

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 4534, s. XV, misc., fols. 152r–188v. (Kristeller, *Iter* II.328). Does not contain the Praefatio. It is however an autograph. See Monfasani, *op. cit.* pp. 55, 57.

(\*) Vatican City, Vat. Urb. Lat. 399 (olim 744), 1482 a.d., misc., fols. 138v–238v. (*Cod. Urb. Lat.*, Vol. I.380–381 "Praeit fol. 201 interpretis praefatio ad rev. patr. L. Scarampi").

(\*) Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek 3457: s. XV. (*Tabulae Bibl. Palat. Vindob.*, Vol. II, 293).

*Editions*: 1517, mense decembre, Viennae Pannoniae (Vienna): apud Ioannem Cremperium per Hieronymum Vietorem, expensis Leonardi et Lucae Alantsae fratrum. NUC. Panzer IX.34.183; Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.168; Fabricius-Harles IX.103, note q (Gregorio for Georgio); Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossianae* I.8: Legrand III.226–227. BL; (C-S).

1521, mense maio, Basileae (Basel): apud Andream Cratandrum. NUC. Panzer VI.228.407; Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.188; Maittaire 2.608; Legrand III 227. BL; (C-S).

1537. See Composite Editions.

1551. See Composite Editions.

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Editions*:

1527, Viennae Pannoniae (Vienna): apud Io. Gremperium. A spurious edition mentioned by Fabricius (IX.103, note q), probably an error for 1517. Also see *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia* vol. XVI (1713), p. 414 and Nicéron, Vol. XIV (1731) p. 328. Nicéron later (Vol. XX, p. 78) corrects this statement.

? Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg): Fabricius IX.104 mentions this as a spurious edition cited by Loescher, *Stromata*, p. 281, and by Zapf, *Augsburgs Buchdruck. Gesch.* I.149.

1628, Paris: mentioned by *Giornale, op. cit.* and Nicéron Vol. XIV, p. 329. This is probably a misprint for 1638.

*Biography*:

CTC II.137. See in addition: P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, New York, 1979, pp. 158–160; J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond*, Leiden, 1976.

## 2. REVISION OF FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus believed that Trapezuntius' translation was inadequate, and he revised it, using for his work a now unknown manuscript belonging to the Abbot of Beaupré, Vulcobius, and also the Greek text published in

Leiden in 1593 by D. Hoeschelius. Unfortunately the manuscript sources used by both Hoeschelius and Vulcobijs belonged to the same family, so a truly adequate text could not be prepared. The changes proposed by Ducaeus in the 1605 *Notae* were not incorporated into the text until the edition of 1615.

*Preface* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: II.3) *Qua diligentia qua fide Georgius Trapezuntius vir alioqui doctissimus in sanctorum Patrum interpretatione versatus fuerit, cum multas periodos in unius membri compendium redigeret, alias omitteret, aut suis additionibus interpolaret, nisi ex dissertissimi. Iac. Billii in Damascenum, Iac. Grynæi in Eusebium, et aliorum in Cyrillum caeterosque Doctores notis lectorem didicisse arbitraret, tam multis in locis lacunas occurrere aut lectionis cursum interpellari tot notis ne insolens illi videtur et importunum reformidarem. Noluimus tamen opus tam eximium praeclaris sententiis mutilatum iacere, sed partim ex editione Lugdunensi apud Batavos partim ex manuscripto V quae maioris momenti videbantur nunc correximus, nunc adiunctis Graecis vocibus restituimus.*

*Text* (ed. of Paris 1615). Ducaeus' changes from the edition of 1517 are italicized. [*Inc.*]: (I.167) *Quemadmodum qui certamen equorum non sine magna delectatione animi spectant, et si nihil ad cursum diligentiae illi praetermittant quos vincere optant, oculis tamen cursum ipsorum solliciti prospicientes, clamant desuper atque hortantur, incitareque ac efficere se putant, ut velocius feratur auriga, cum una cum equis clangorem edant, ac manum quasi flagellum in ipsos extendant atque incutiant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.256) *unum terribile arbitrari ab amicitia dei repellere; unum expetibile solum, amicitiam dei; qua sola meo iudicio vita hominis perficitur. Hoc ipsum ubi sublata ad sublimiora ac diviniore mente consecutus fueris, commune id erit lucrum in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui honor et imperium in saecula. Amen.**

*Editions:*

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71-72.

#### DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

##### 3. JOHANNES OECOLAMPADIUS

Johannes Oecolampadius is said by Zedler, *Universal Lexicon*, Vol. XXV.525 and Jocher Bd.5.945, to have made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Moysis*. No evidence for the existence of such a version has been found. The fact that the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* reproduce Trapezuntius' translation in passages which it quotes, lends weight to the conclusion that Oecolampadius did not make a version of the treatise.

##### 4. JOHANNES LEVVENKLAUIS

A Latin translation by Levvenklaius is mentioned by Moore and Wilson in Vol. V of *The Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* on p. 549. A cursory reading of C. Oudin, *Comment. de Script. Eccles.* I.599 might lead to such a conclusion. No evidence for the existence of such a translation has been found.

#### COMMENTARY

##### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus, (see above, p. 185) made a careful study of the relation between the Greek texts available to him and the Latin translation of Georgius Trapezuntius. He produced copious *Notae* on the text for his 1605 edition in which some changes were already made in Trapezuntius' Latin. The printed text in 1605 did not reflect all of the conclusions, perhaps because it was merely a Latin version. However by the time he assisted in preparing the 1615 bilingual edition, more words and phrases were revised in accordance with the findings to be seen in the *Notae* which themselves underwent some revision.

*Preface.* See above.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: Columna III.c. Nam qui multarum.) Graeca editio Raphaelengii p. 46. hunc locum ampliorem sic exhibet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.27) commune procul dubio lucrum erit in Christo Iesu nostro, cui gloria in saecula.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## C. ORATIONES

### I. IN ABRAHAM ET ISAAC

Editio princeps: 1915, Rome in *Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Vol. I.1. pp. 107–110 (ed. S. J. Mercati).

For a consideration of the many treatises dealing with the Abraham and Isaac episode in Genesis 22, and their relationship to Gregory of Nyssa's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*, see F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* III (1957) pp. 60–63 and S. J. Mercati, *op. cit.* p. 4.

Mercati found the Greek text in two manuscripts: Vat. gr. 455 (s. X-XI) and Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, gr. 91 (s. XVI). They attributed the little work to Gregory of Nyssa. He published his findings in 1915 at which time he was unaware that the text corresponded to the Latin version of Achilles Staius.

## TRANSLATION

### I. ACHILLES STAIUS

Achilles Staius made a Latin translation of a version of the Abraham and Isaac episode which was attributed to Gregory of Nyssa but which differed from the text incorporated in *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*. It was published in a collection, *Orationes nonnullorum Graeciae Patrum*, in Rome in 1578. Staius dedicated the work to Pope Gregory XIII whose secretary he was. The dedication is dated May, 1578 and covered twelve translations, one each of works of Nyssenius and of

seven other Greek fathers and four of works of Chrysostom.

Staius may well have used one of the manuscripts described by Mercati, but in some places his Latin differs to an extent that points to use of a third, now unknown, manuscript.

*Dedication* (ed. of Rome, 1578). Gregorio XIII, Pontifici Maximo, Achilles Staius Servus Sal. [*Inc.*]: Si quid est animis hominum levandis oblectandisque oportunitate maxime accommodatumque, ea vero est ipsa pulcherrimarum rerum varietas e qua non solum qua delectamur mira quaedam atque elegans species existit sed incredibilis quoque voluptas capitur . . . (Staius continues in a rather florid style lauding the beauties of nature, especially in the spring of the year) . . . Cuius ego temporis amoenitatem imitatus ex vario librorum veterum genere, quorum habeo festivam sane copiam, lucubrationes virorum auctoritate, doctrina sanctitateque praestantium carptim quasi flosculos legi, quorum fasciunculum pretiosum magis quam amplum tibi, Gregori Pontifex Maxime, quanta maxima possum animi alacritate ac devotione nunc offero, quo cum primis grata dulcique ingeniorum varietate pie profecto atque honeste fessum curis animum leves. Quod si, ut spero, meo hoc munusculo consequeris, pergam equidem hac ipsa te tot tantisque distentum negotiis varietate saepe reficere. Vale. Dat. Romae Kal. Maiis Anno Sal. MDLXXVIII.

*Text.* S. Patris nostri Gregorii Nysseni Episcopi in Abraham et Isaac Oratio. [*Inc.*]: (p. 37) Abraham facultate dicendi mea utpote maiorem idem et fugio et amo, quippe quo nihil est ad narrandum iucundius. Cuius enim pii hominis lingua Abraham ipso atque eius omnibus documentis non mirifice delectatur atque adficitur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 41) Ieiunii gladium tantisper iugulo supponamus, dum quemadmodum olim Abraham salutare in stirpe inhaerentem ac detentum cernamus agnum. Quo de agno Baptista Iohannes ait, Ecce Agnum Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi. Ipsi gloria, imperium, honor, adoratio nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Edition:*

1578, Romae (Rome): apud Franciscum Zanettum. In *Orationes nonnullorum Grae-*

*ciae patrum*. NUC. (MH).

*Doubtful edition:*

1551, Louvain. Fabricius, *BG IX.117* stated that Achilles Statius published a Latin version of the *De Abrahamo* section of *De deitate* in Louvain in 1551. Statius did publish some Latin translations in 1551, but they were of letters, not sermons, and included none of the authors found in the 1578 volume. See *Cat. BN*, Vol. 228, p. 871.

*Biography:*

Achilles Statius (Aquiles Estaço) was born at Vidigueyra, Portugal on June 24, 1524. His father, Paulo, was a Portuguese nobleman who saw service in India. He took his son, named after the Homeric hero, to Asia hoping to interest him in a military career. Achilles soon returned to Portugal and enrolled at the university at Evora in courses in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He went on to Louvain and then to Paris where in 1549 his first book, a collection of poems, was published. Soon after he went to Rome and joined the circle of Paulus Manutius. There he acquired an enviable reputation for scholarship. He became librarian to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza and was named secretary to the Council of Trent by Pius IV. He was a remarkable scholar, of great erudition, but one who refused all proffered positions of influence in his native Portugal. Later he became secretary to Pius V and Gregory XIII, to whom the volume *Orationes Nonnullorum* was dedicated. He died on Sept. 18, 1581.

*Works:* In addition to *Orationes Nonnullorum* Statius published Latin translations of works of Amphilocheus of Iconium, Athanasius, Anastasius of Sinai, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Antioch, and Sophronius. He produced a number of commentaries on classical authors including Aratus, Cicero, Catullus, Tibullus and a volume of the *Scholia* on Vergil. He edited Latin editions of works of Anselm (*De vita aeterna*), Ferrandus of Carthage, Jerome's translation of works of Pachomius. He also edited *Epigramma graeco-latinum in translatione sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni*. He published a number of original works including *Sylvae Aliquot* (poems), *Monomachia navis Lusitanae ad Regum Lusi-*

*tanorum insignia, De electione serenissimi Poloniae Regis*. Many works of Statius remain unpublished: a commentary on Aristotle, *Poetics*, on works of Vergil, and a Portuguese verse translation of the Psalms.

*Bibl:* The most complete account appears in Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, I: 4-10. See also N. Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* I:3-4 (ed. 1783); *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* XIV.2:2567; *Encic. Catt.* V:621; Hoefler 16:452-453; Joëcher IV:785-786; Michaud 13:354-355; J. Frel, "A. Statius et l'iconographie grecque" [in Czech] *Listy Filologické* 91 (1968) 39-48; B. L. Ullman, "Achilles Statius' manuscripts of Tibullus," in *Didascalie. Studies in honor of A. M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete (New York, 1961) 449-468. G. Estaço, *Familia dos Estaços*, Lisbon, 1625; Aubert de la Mire, *Auctarium de scriptoribus eccles.*, Hamburg, 1718, pp. 185-186.

## II. ADHORTATIO AD POENITENTIAM (SIVE IN MULIEREM PECCATRICEM, SIVE IN EOS QUI ACERBIUS ALIOS IUDICANT)

Editio princeps: 1618, Paris in *Appendix ad G. N. Op. om.* (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 40:352-369 (*Hom. XIII* of Asterius of Amasea); *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I-XIV*, Leiden, 1970, pp. 183-194 (*Hom. XIII*) (ed. C. Datema).

*Adhortatio ad poenitentiam* is today considered, without question, a work of Asterius of Amasea. However all but one of the manuscripts known to contain the treatise name Gregory of Nyssa as the author. Photius (s. IX) claimed the work for Asterius; yet beginning with the Venice edition of 1553, all subsequent *Opera omnia* editions of Nysseus through 1638 except those of 1562 and 1571, contained the *Adhortatio*. The Greek text was first published from Monacensis gr. 47 (s. XV) by J. Gretser in 1618. In 1672 F. Combefis (*Auctar. noviss.* p. 538) expressed the belief that Photius was probably correct in ascribing the treatise to Asterius.

*Bibliography:* On the authenticity see: C. Datema, *op. cit.* pp. xxv, 177-179. See also



Bardenhewer 3:208, 229; Geerard, *CPG*, II, No. 3260; Tillemont IX.608. An older but still valuable study is A. Bretz, *Studien und Texte zu Asterios von Amasea*, TU 40.1 (1914).

*Kyriakos*, *Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, Münster, 1970, pp. 663–666; E. Gebhardt, *Praefatio* in GNO IX:182–184.

## TRANSLATION

## I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin version of Nyssenens, *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam* which was first published in Venice in 1553 in his volume which contained eleven other works of Nyssenens. For details see above p. 107.

*Ad eos qui durius et acerbius alios iudicant* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 89) Homo Pharisaeus ut ex Evangelio Lucae nuper accepimus, Dominum ad convivium invitat domumque ducit et mensam communem apponit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 98v) Illam in terrenis affectionibus defossam conquire, inventam tolle atque conserva, ut nos vicini gratulemur, et eo gaudio afficiamur, quod est in Christo, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1553. See Composite Editions.
- 1574. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1618. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1740. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

III. IN ASCENSIONEM CHRISTI,  
ORATIO (DE ASSUMPTIONE)

Editio princeps: 1587, Leiden (ed. D. Hoeschelius).

Recent editions: *PG* 46:689–694; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:323–327 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

*Bibliography:* J. Daniélou, "Grégoire de Nyse et l'origine de la fête de l'ascension" in

## TRANSLATIONS

## I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Nyssenens' *In ascensionem Christi*. For date and circumstances, see above p. 107. Zinus' version was the one chosen for inclusion in the *Breviarium Romanum*, which probably influenced its becoming the preferred version for printing in the Paris editions of Nyssenens' works. The preface to those editions (first printed in 1573) explained, "De ascensione vero et in Pentecosten sermones iam editi circumferebantur: prior quidem ex Sifani versione, sicut et pleraque Nysseni scripta; sed qui feria IV post Ascensionem de eodem sermone ex translatione Zini legitur in breviario Romano nuper ex decreto concilii Tridentini restituto; propterea et hunc et quoscunque nancisci potuimus ex eodem interprete, qui ab Ecclesia probatus esse videretur, selectos excudimus, ut De pauperibus amandis, In mulierem peccatricem, De dormientibus et de Christi natiuitate eiusdemque resurrectione (Or. I).

*Text* (ed of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 84) Quam dulcis hominum comes Propheta David in omnibus vitae itineribus, quam aptus spiritualibus cunctis aetatibus, quam omni proficientium ordini conditionique commodus invenitur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 86) Proinde nos item, quantum possumus, imitemur Prophetam in charitate erga Deum, in mansuetudine vitae, in tolerantia erga illos, qui nos odio prosequuntur, ut prophetae doctrina nobis ad bene beateque vivendum dux magistraque sit in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1553. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1574. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.  
 1858. See Composite Editions.  
 1863. See Composite Editions.  
 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In ascensionem Christi*. For date and circumstances, see p. 57 above. Sifanus' version, less favored than that of his predecessor, Zinus, appeared in only two printed editions of Nyssenens' opera, of 1562 and 1571. For an unknown reason this treatise appears twice in these editions: first under the title, *De assumptione Christi* on pp. 110–112 (1562); pp. 85–87 (1571) and then under the title *De assumptione Domini, oratio* on pp. 217–219 (1562) and pp. 170–172 (1571). (The late Bernard Peebles kindly checked this oration in the copy of 1562 at DCU.)

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 110; 217) Quam suavis est et iucundus humanae vitae comes propheta David in omnibus itineribus vitae sese offerens . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 112; 219) Imitemur igitur nos quoque prophetam, quibus ea rebus imitatio poterit effici, nempe dilectione Dei, vitae mansuetudine, adversus odio prosequentes animi lenitate, ut doctrina prophetae nos ad eam, quae ad praecepta Dei exigitur, vitae rationem deducat per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## IV. IN BASILIUM FRATREM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G.N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 46:788–817. O. Lendle is preparing a new critical edition for the Leiden series GNO X.1. J. A. Stein also edited

the text using six previously unconsidered manuscripts in *Patristic Studies* 17 (1928).

One scholar, H. Usener, questioned the authenticity of this encomium on Gregory of Nyssa's brother, Basil (*Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, I<sup>2</sup>, Bonn, 1911, 255), but there is no question today regarding Nyssenens' authorship.

One Greek manuscript, Patmiensis (Ioann. Monast.) 273 (fols 99 r–107r) (s. X–XI) contains an encomium purporting to be by Chrysostom on Gregory of Nyssa. Its text actually consists of a succession of excerpts from Nyssenens' *In Basilius* (see W. Lackner, "Ein angebliches Enkomium des Chrysostomos auf Gregor von Nyssa," *An. Boll.* 86, 1968, pp. 5–9).

## TRANSLATIONS

### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Nyssenens' *In Basilius fratrem* which was first published in 1562. For date and circumstances see above p. 57. Sifanus' version was the one preferred by all later editors of *Opera omnia* in Latin. Sifanus considered the oration one in praise of Basil; today scholars accept it as an encomium delivered on the second anniversary of Basil's death.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 341) Bonum imposuit Deus ordinem anniversariis his nostris feriis, quas per ordinatam quamdam vicissitudinem et seriem his diebus et iam celebravimus et rursus celebramus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 355) ad illud enitentes et evadentes, quod ipsum clarum et magnum Deo atque hominibus fecit, per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Basilium fratrem* which was first published in Venice in 1565. In 1574 in the expanded edition based on the previous 1553 edition (see above p. 107), it was dedicated to Philippus Contarenius.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1574). Optimo atque ornatissimo Philippo Contareno Pavii (*sic*) viri optimi et clarissimi filio Petrus Franciscus Zinus Canonicus Veronensis S.D. [*Inc.*]: Superioribus mensibus dum tu, Philippe Contarene carissime, cursu secundissimo ad tutum quietis et verae tranquillitatis portum optimo te consilio contulisti, ego turbulentissimis calamitatum fluctibus inter periculosos scopulos iactatus, a naufragio haud procul fui. Quo quidem in discrimine cum iter meum lucerna Verbi Dei dirigerem meque sacrarum scripturarum lectione consolarer, cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris, in gratiam rediens ac studiorum meorum labores vigilasque memoria repetens, opportune incidi in monumenta quaedam trium doctrina et sanctitate praestantium Gregoriorum quae quondam a me Latinitate donata sapientissimo atque optimo Paphi Pontifici Petro Contareno, patruo tuo, consecraram. Ea igitur praeclara scripta relegens cum eorum nulla amplius exempla cernerem reperiri et memoria ac lectione omnium digna existimarem, haud alienum institutis meis esse duxi, si operam darem ut rursus impressorum typis excuderentur. Illa igitur tibi ut patrii pietatis ac probitatis haeredi, quo meae tum in illum, tum etiam in te benevolentiae atque observantiae memoriam conservent, impressa mittimus. Atque ut munusculum nostrum accessione aliqua locupletius atque ornatius fieret, adiunximus pulcherrimam D. Gregorii Thaumaturgi orationem in Epiphania . . . Accedent praeterea decem aliae Gregorii Nysseni Orationes elegantissimae. Quoniam igitur ego te nunc propter locorum intercapedinem nec

praesentem videre nec alia ratione absentem alloqui valeo, hi te viri sanctissimi meo nomine invisent tecumque pro me colloquentur. Atque utinam me hinc discedens consilii tui participem esse voluisses . . . (Zinus continues with mention of the present difficulties confronting them, and he launches into an encomium of Filippo Contareni's uncle, Pietro, to whom he had dedicated his 1553 edition of some works of Nyssenus) . . . Tu vero, Philippe charissime, quando non molestias saeculi, non labores, non pericula fugiens, sed altiora quaedam tibi vitae perfectioris proponens, tamquam Moses periculosos istis Reip. Christianae temporibus et Dei populo ancipiti admodum pugna cum Diabolo cumque communibus Christianorum hostibus decertante, in excelsum religionis Iesuitarum montem ascendisti sublati contemplationibus precationisque manibus assidue caelestem Patrem obsecra, qui Christianam Rempublicam pretioso filii sui unigeniti sanguine redemptam non modo a Diabolo et peccatis omnibus servet incolumem, verum etiam ab infidelium armis tueatur, ut sine timore de manu inimicorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia omnibus diebus nostris. Vale.

*Text* (ed. 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 160) Festis diebus annuis, quos vel iam celebravimus vel celebramus hoc tempore, praeclarum nobis ordinem Deus statuit. Hic est ille spiritualium celebritatum ordo quem Paulus talium rerum cognitionem divinitus assecutus edocuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 168) vita et factis disciplinam declaremus, id evadentes quod eum et apud Deum et apud homines celebrem ac magnum fecit in Christo Domino nostro, cui gloria et imperium nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1565. See above p. 182. The presence of Zinus' *In Basilium* in this edition was confirmed by L. W. Riley of the University of Pennsylvania Library.

1568. See above p. 182.

1574. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

CTC II.155.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

## 3. GEORGIUS TRAPEZUNTIUS

Leone Allacci in his *Diatriba de Georgiis* (Paris, 1651) p. 126, states that Trapezuntius made a translation of Gregorius Nyssenus, *Oratio de laudibus Basilii Magni fratris*. No evidence has been found for such a version.

V. DE DEITATE ADVERSUS  
EVAGRIUM  
(IN SUAM ORDINATIONEM ORATIO)

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt (ed. F. Ducaeus).

Recent editions: PG 46:544–553; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:331–341 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

The most recent editor, E. Gebhardt, has preferred the title *De deitate adversus Evagrium*, found in a number of Greek manuscripts, since it is more consistent with the content of the treatise.

Much discussion has centered on the date on which this oration was delivered.

*Bibliography*: See Gebhardt, *op. cit.* pp. 185–190 and also: Paul Canart in *Zetesis, Mélanges offerts à E. de Stryker*, Antwerp, 1973, pp. 717 sq., esp. pp. 718, 726 sq.; J. Daniélou, “Chronologie des sermons . . .,” *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 29 (1955) pp. 357–358 and in *From Glory to Glory*, N.Y. 1979, p. 6, notes 19 and 20; R. Staats, “Die Datierung von ‘In suam ordinationem’ des Gregor von Nyssa,” *Vigiliae Chr.* 23 (1969) 58–59.

## TRANSLATION

## I. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus published the Greek text of this oration along with his own Latin translation in 1596. For details of the edition see above p. 70. In the dedication Ducaeus stated that he used manuscripts from various French libraries as his Greek source for works in the volume. However in his *Notae* (See below) on this particular treatise he says he used for

it only a codex belonging to Aegidius David of Paris. Gebhardt and other scholars believe that this was Montpellier 122 (See above p. 17).

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. II.100) Ad nos etiam spiritualis instruendi convivii sors et officium devolutum est, tametsi idonei potius simus, ut alienorum participes fiamus bonorum, quam ut ipsi nostra largiamur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.105) Pleni sunt auro Arabiae thesauri; quamprimum autem venient ex Aegypto legati, et praeveniente manus ipsorum Deo ac regna terrae, triumphalem nobiscum hymnum concinent ei, qui omnes ad suum regnum invitat, cui gloria et potestas in saecula. Amen.

*Editions*:

1596. See Composite Editions.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography*:

See above pp. 71–72.

## COMMENTARY

## a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote notes on *De deitate adversus Evagrium*; they were first published in the Paris, 1605 edition of Nyssenus' works.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.95) Conservavit hanc orationem Nysseno tributam codex manuscriptus Aegidii Davidis I. C. Parisiensis, quae et in alio veteri libro Venetiis in bibliotheca reverendissimi Episcopi Lullini asservatur. Eius exordium iucunda et eleganti allegoria a convivii sumpta miram prae se fert modestiam, cuiusmodi frequenter utitur initiis et digressionibus Ioannes Chrysostomus ut et ipsius Nysseni germanus Basilius. (First *Nota*) 101e. *nuda sermonis*) In manuscripto lacuna hic erat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.98) Malum non secundum essentiam sed secundum

privationem rectissime dicitur.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## VI. DE DEITATE FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI ET DE FIDE ABRAHAMI

Editio princeps: 1564, Leipzig (ed. J. Camerarius).

Recent editions: *PG* 46:553–576. E. Rhein is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO X.2.

Gregory of Nyssa delivered this oration probably at the council called by Theodosius and held in Constantinople in 383. At this gathering Eunomius had set forth his *Confessio fidei* to which Gregory later responded with his *Refutatio contra confessionem Eunomii*. *De deitate* enjoyed great favor in the Greek church and appeared in early collections of Nyssenius' writings.

One section of the oration, the long passage dealing with the Abraham and Isaac episode in Genesis 22, constitutes a little treatise in itself. Since a number of patristic writers treated the theme and since the majority show dependence on Ephraem Syrus' work on the subject, the question of authenticity or, at least, originality, arose. This portion of *De deitate* (*PG* 46:565–573) parallels very closely the Ps. Chrysostom work (*PG* 56:537–542). In addition, a Coptic treatise attributed to Gregory Nazianzen is clearly only a translation of this pericope in *De deitate*. A convenient table of other patristic writings on this theme is provided by Mercati who has shown convincingly that Gregory of Nyssa himself borrowed whole passages verbatim from the Greek translation of Ephraem without acknowledging the fact, a practice common in his day. Moreover this borrowing was not confined to the instance of the Abraham and Isaac episode. Geerard (*CPG* II.366) emphasizes that translations of Ephraem were made while the author was still alive; they were undoubtedly available to Gregory.

The treatise *In Abraham et Isaac* (See above

p. 187) is a different work and is falsely attributed to Gregory of Nyssa.

*Bibliography:* J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, No. 36; M. Chaîne, "Une homélie de S. Grégoire de Nysse, traduite en Copte, attribuée à S. Grégoire de Nazianze," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 17 (1912) 395–409; J. Daniélou, "Bulletin d'histoire des origines chrétiennes," *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 55 (1957) p. 150; Geerard, *CPG* II #3954; S. Haidacher, "Die Rede über Abraham und Isaak bei Ephraem Syrus und Ps. Chrysostomus - Ein Exzerpt aus Gregor von Nyssa," *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.* 29 (1905) 764–766; Hemmerdinger-Iliadou in *Dict. de Spirit.* IV. 806; S. J. Mercati, *S. Ephraem Syri Sermo in Abraham et Isaac in Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, Rome 1915, Vol. I.1., pp. 1–95, esp. 23–41; O. Rousseau, "La rencontre de s. Ephrem et de s. Basile," *Or. Syr.* 3 (1958) 73–86; Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Rome, 1958, p. 69.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius published the Greek text along with his own Latin translation of *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* in Leipzig in 1564. The volume also contained his Greek text and Latin version of Nyssenius' *In s. Pascha* IV. He added six pages of commentary.

*Dedication* (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). Ioachim Camerarius Pabeberg. Gotislobo Roteromundo ordinis equestris in Rugia nobilitate virtute dignitate eruditione doctrina et humanitate praestanti S. D. [*Inc.*]: Ex quo ante annum te hic vidimus et de studiis liberalibus collocti tecum sumus cum huc ex Italia discedens venisses, Gotislobe Roteromunde, saepe mihi datur iucunda recordatio sapientiae et eruditionis atque adeo benevolentiae erga me tuae singularis . . . (There follow some remarks praising Roteromundus and his teacher, Petrus Victorius, with whom Camerarius corresponded because of his admiration for his writings. Victorius had befriended Camerarius' son, Joachim, when the latter was in Italy. Roteromundus was there at the same

time, and familiar with what transpired) . . . Est autem hoc sane bellum quod cum ille abs te Graeca quaedam scripta accepisset utenda et mihi quoque ostendenda, ego absente eo rei nostrae familiaris causa in patria protuli illa et quasi ignota aspicienda tibi proposui. Cum tu quidem et dissimulares tua illa esse, et meas disputationculas de eis cum silentio et attentione audires, sane non nihil puduit me inscitiae huius, cum certius indicium de his fecisset filius meus. Hoc tamen est commodi secutum, quod quaedam exprimendo edita cum studiosis bonarum literarum iam sunt communicata, quaedam nunc communicantur retentata a me voluntate et permissione tua. Atque ita quidem ut mea interpretatio accederet, quae tamquam usurae nomine penderetur, qualiscumque illa quidem, certe non prorsus inutilis neque in hoc genere, quod nunc valde frequentatur, deterrima. Quam cum hac compellatione nostra visum est publice ad te mittere et testari non modo debitam grati, sed laetantis etiam animi suavem memoriam propter eam notitiam quae inter nos esse cepit, et voluntatis tuae erga meos propensionem. Quam non dubito te tali genere natum et sic institutum studiose esse conservaturum utque facias te oro. A me autem et meis omnem contentionem gratificandi inserviendique voluntati tuae repromitto. Teque feliciter vivere et bene valere precor. Vale. Lips. Prid. Iduum Aprilis natali meo sexagesimo quarto (1564).

*Text. [Inc.]:* Quae affectio est in cupiditatum spectaculorum ad prata floribus referta, quorum oculus non defigitur in uno quopiam apparentium, propter aequalem temporis honorem et speciem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Fiamus autem et nos ii qui perspicere veritatem possumus, et participes Deitatis, secundum Spiritus sancti donum, in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Lectoribus.* (f. E) Praeclara est et memorabilis sententia, quae quadam in epistola Constantini Imperatoris inserta legitur: Eum qui a veritate aberret, aberrare ab ipso Deo. Est enim Dei filius Deus verus ipsa etiam veritas, sicut sapientia Dei . . . (Camerarius goes on to say that theologians must explain and defend the faith. Basil and the two Gregory's are specifically mentioned) . . . Scriptum au-

tem hoc quoque Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae mihi dignum visum est in primis, quod ab amantibus pia studia legeretur inque eo convertendo in sermonem latinum operam me non male posuisse spero. Mihi certe ea et iucunda fuit et aliquid attulit utilitatis. Atque sunt penes me et alia ab hoc composita interque ea celebratus a multis dialogus de immortalitate animorum quem mihi aliquando hospiti Erfordiae commodavit dignitate et doctrina praestans Ioannes Langus Theologus eximius. Hieronymus autem Wolfius, vir eruditione doctrinae clarus et necessitudinis singularis usu mecum coniunctus, spem mihi ostendit κατηχήσεως huius auctoris brevi proditurae in lucem ipsius quoque, et illum dialogum nos studebimus aliquando adiuvante Deo editione nostra cum aliis communicari. Interea haec grata acceptaque sibi esse patientur piorum studiorum cultores non male profecto tempus, quod in eis legendis posuerint, consumpturi. In exemplari quod habuimus, nonnihil erat mendorum. Nos librariorum manifesta errata correximus. De caeteris cuiusque esto iudicium. Placuit etiam in nostra interpretatione notare et nonnulla explicare quoque quae subiecimus.

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions. A copy of portions of the text was furnished by Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian, Trinity College, Cambridge.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1544, Leipzig: Mentioned by C. Oudin, *Comm. de script. eccles.*; I.606.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus, who had already translated into Latin thirty works of Gregory of Nyssa, in 1567 translated two others, the *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* and *De occursu Domini*. They were published at Cologne in 1568 in a volume whose main work was Sifanus' Latin version of Theophylactus of Achrida, *In Acta Apostolorum* and which also contained treatises on the Presentation in the Temple by Amphilochius, Cyril of Jerusalem,

John Chrysostom, and Timothy of Jerusalem. The translations, except for the *De deitate filii*, were dedicated to Severinus Scaevardus a Meroda, Prior of St. Anthony's monastery in Cologne. The *De deitate filii* was added at the end of the volume, and had a separate dedication to Hieronymus Fugger. (See above p. 57 for Sifanus' relation with the Fugger family).

Sifanus' translation of *De deitate* first appeared among the collected works of Nysseus in the Paris, 1605 edition. It was apparently added, along with *De occursu*, at the last minute, since in the Preface to the volume, reprinted from the 1573 Paris edition, the *De deitate* is still listed as a missing work. "Nec extat eiusdem Gregorii *Sermo de fide Abrahami* in Gen. 22, cap., ex quo Theodoretus, ubi de divina humanitatis Christi susceptione disputat, dialogo in Polymorpho . . .". The author of the Preface proceeds to quote from G. Hervetus' translation of the passage quoted by Theodoretus. In the revised Preface of 1615, *De deitate* was removed from the list of missing works.

In his dedication to Hieronymus Fugger Sifanus explained, as he had previously done in his 1562 Preface, that when he undertook the project of translating works of Gregory of Nyssa he had at his disposal only one manuscript which was so corrupt that often Gregory's meaning was unclear. Later he received four other manuscripts from the Fugger library. In these he discovered *De deitate* which was not in his earlier manuscript. But unfortunately the text of this treatise was very poor in all of the copies. Eventually he procured another manuscript (not yet identified) which enabled him to arrive at a fair Greek text which he then translated. He wanted to have it published with some of his other work and felt that the Theophylactus was a suitable volume. When he sent his version of Theophylactus to the brothers of Hieronymus, Marcus and Johannes Fugger, Johannes acknowledged the receipt and conveyed Hieronymus' greetings whereupon Sifanus decided to renew an old friendship which had faded because of absence and business.

*Epistola Nuncupatoria* (ed. of Cologne,

1568). Nobili, Generoso atque Magnifico Viro Domino Hieronymo Fuggero, Antonii Filio, etc. Laurentius Sifanus S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. 259) Quum ante aliquot annos, genere domine Hieronyme, opuscula quaedam divi Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni in Latinum sermonem convertenda suscepissem, offendi exemplum, quo unico primum utebar, adeo corruptum et mutilum, ut in multis locis me expedire non possem nec sententiam authoris explicaturum me esse sperarem. Itaque quum per fratres tuos Marcum et Iohannem consequutus essem ex Bibliotheca amplissimi viri Domini Iohannis Iacobi Fuggeri patruelis vestri quatuor codices Graecos, quum plurimum ex illis codicibus inter corrigendum ea, quae in manibus habebam, adiutus sum, tum inter caeteras hanc quoque de deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti in eis repperi orationem, quae in meo apographo non extabat. Quam quum descripsissem et Latinam facere in animo haberem, ita multa loca deprehendi in ea corrupta ac mutila, ut rationibus et coniecturis, in iis praesertim locis, me sententiam authoris assequuturum esse desperarem, sed postea nactus alterum apographum, quum illud ex hoc, tum hoc ex illo ita restitui, ut in Graeca oratione admodum parum desiderarem. Quam quoniam dignam iudicabam quae Latinis hominibus diutius incognita non esset, magna diligentia atque labore deinceps in linguam Latinam converti. Editionem autem distuli, ut cum aliis quibusdam orationibus, in quibus convertendis multum laborabam aliquando, divulgaretur et in lucem prodiret. Itaque quum *scholia* Theophylacti in *Acta Apostolica* divi Lucae a me conversa editurus essem, hanc quoque orationem Graecam simul et Latinam recognovi atque correxi et ita emendavi, ut sperem fore, ut quum in oratione Graeca homines docti admodum pauca desiderarent, tum meam conversionem haud multum vituperent atque reprehendant. Quum igitur scholiorum in *Apostolica Acta* conversionem fratrum tuorum Marci et Iohannis tutelae commendare statuissem, commodissime accidit, ut Iohannes frater tuus in proximis suis ad me literis multam mihi tuo nomine salutem asscriberet. Itaque cum iam pridem cogitarem de nostra veteri amicitia renovanda atque redintegrandam, hanc nactus

occasionem isti orationi divi Gregorii Nysseni episcopi, *De deitate videlicet, Filii et Spiritus sancti* etc., te potissimum patronum delegi, primum propter hanc, quam dico, causam, nempe ut vetus nostra amicitia redintegretur, quae non quidem dissuta aut rescissa atque praecisa fuit umquam, sed nescio qua de causa (nisi fortasse propter absentiam et ardua tua negotia) aliquamdiu minus quam antea literarum invicem mittendarum officii frequentata, culta celebrataque fuit, deinde propter plurima atque summa in me collata beneficia, non solum a patre tuo Antonio, amplissimo, liberalissimo atque optimo viro, verum etiam a fratribus tuis Marco et Iohanne; adhaec, quod compertum habeo te utpote egregie Graecis et Latinis literis doctum propter diuturnum ac frequentem in optimo quoque genere disciplinarum usum de huiusmodi scriptis optime iudicare posse. Quamobrem maiorem in modum a te peto quaesoque, ut hoc exiguum ac tenue munusculum aequo animo accipere et ab obtrectatoribus tueri atque defendere velis. Id si abs te fuero consequutus, abunde satis magnos me laborum fructus percepisse putabo. Bene vale, ex monasterio Steinveldio XI Kalendas Septembris. Anno 1567.

*Text. [Inc.]*: (p. 261) Quale quiddam in floridis pratis accidere solet iis qui earum rerum spectandarum studio tenentur, quorum oculi propter pulchritudinis decus aequale non in uno aliquo flore, qui in conspectu sit, defigitur, sed dum nullo non potiri volunt, in omnes cupiditate fusi, id quod in eo negotio summum est saepenumero non assequuntur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Verum efficiamur etiam nos dono Spiritus sancti perspicaces veritatis investigatores et participes deitatis, per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria atque imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions*:

1568. See Composite Editions. D. J. McKitterick of Cambridge University Library kindly provided a photocopy of the Dedication and text of *De deitate*.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition*:

1586, Cologne. Fabricius, *BG IX.117* mentions this edition. It is probably a misprint for 1568.

*Biography*:

See above p. 63.

3. ADAMUS THEODORUS SIBERUS  
(*De Abrahamo* only)

Adam Theodore Siber made a Latin translation of the *De Abrahamo* pericope from Gregory of Nyssa's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*. It was printed in 1614 in Wittenberg, as *Oratio XI* in Siber's volume *Dialexeon Academicarum, Quae sunt Orationes, Praefationes, Dissertationes Epistolae et Carmina*. This collection of sermons, etc. was intended for the use of students. Siber had obviously made his translation somewhat earlier since the *Consecratio* for the work is dated 1606 and addressed to Christian II, Elector and Landgrave of Thuringen. Moreover Siber had actually delivered the oration as he states in his *Nota*. He probably made his version using the printed Greek-Latin volume published by Joachim Camerarius, his teacher, in 1564. Siber's version is mentioned by the other author of a "textbook" edition of a work of Nysseus, H. Oelschlegel, in his *Prolegomena to In s. Pascha IV*.

*Narratio Historiae de Abrahamo Isaacum filium immolaturum oratorice explicata a Gregorio Nissae Episcopo, Adamo Th. Sibero, int(er)prete*.

*Text* (ed. of Wittenberg, 1614). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. I.171) Alio migrare a domestico tum cognatu, tum sedibus Abrahamum iubet Deus et Patriarcha illum alienae terrae incolatum firmo ac promissionum spe pleno animo perferebat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.177) At Pater post illum popliti insistens, et laeva capillum ad se reflectens, demisso ac miserabili vultu puerum intuetur et simul armatam gladio dextram ad mac-tationem sustollit iamque adeo ferri acies corpus prope stringit, quum tandem vox ad eum divi nitus defertur quae factum prohibet.

*Nota. [Inc.]*: (I.270) Ad diem perendinum



hora quarta dictabo publice *Historiam Abrahami Isaacum filium immolaturi* eamque suis ac diversis tum orationibus distinctam, tum affectibus variatam expressam a Graeco Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae, viri eloquentissimi. Quae quidem ex re duplicem fructum capiemus, primo quidem ac praecipue, ut discamus quae sit recta ratio amplificandi narrationem simplicem, id quod vulgo ignoratur. Deinde vero ut exemplum proponatur (non enim dicam exemplar) animadvertendi quomodo ex optimis Graecis non pessima Latina fieri queant. Quod ipsum ut non cuivis in proclivi sit, ita multiplicem usum habeat, tum sermonem Graecum recolendi, tum Latinum excolendi, tum utrumque inter se contendendi.

*Edition:*

1614. Wittebergae (Wittenberg): ap. Paulum Helvvichium. *Dialexeōn Academicarum Quae Sunt Orationes, Praefationes, Dissertationes, Epistolae et Carmina*, Vol. I. Hoffmann, 2.188. BL. Photos of portions of this volume were supplied by Lotte Hellinga, Assistant Keeper, British Library.

*Biography:*

Adam Theodor Siber, a humanist from Saxony, was born on Feb. 6, 1563, in Grimma. He attended the Fürstenschule there where his father was the rector from 1575 to 1581. He then studied with Johann Rivius the Younger and Joachim Camerarius (see p. 193 above) in Leipzig. He continued his education in Jena and Rostock. At first he taught in Grimma but was soon called to a professorship of Greek and humanities at Wittenberg. Siber was a prolific writer; many of his works dealt with his teacher-poet father's literary efforts. Others treated classical subjects. He died on Jan. 5, 1616.

*Works:* In addition to the *Dialexeōn Academicarum, Quae sunt Orationes, praefationes, Dissertationes, Epistolae et Carmina*, Siber published *Instituta Rhetorica, Epistolae Elocutoriae et Elogia in Ciceronem*, a commentary on Gregory Nazianzen's *Epistola de scribendis epistolis*, and *Notae* on three hymns of Prudentius.

*Bibl.:* G. Mueller, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 34:130; Joecher 4:561; Schottenloher #1990-98; Zedler XXXVII:1025-1026.

K. Kirchner, "Adam Siber und das Chemnitzer Lyceum in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jhrh." *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Chemnitzer Geschichte*, Chemnitz, 1877, p. 117, 134; K. J. Rossler, *Geschichte der königlich sächsischen Fürsten und Landesschule Grimma*, 1891, p. 239.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

4. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gregory of Nyssa's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* was published in Greek in Augsburg in 1591. Moore and Wilson, LNPF, ser. 2, Vol. 5, p. 551, No. 42, attribute a Latin version, published in 1591 in Augsburg to Hervetus. No such edition has been located. The source of the error could have been Oudin's remarks (I.600) listing editions of Nyssenens' *Ep. ad Letoium* where Oudin ends, "Denique (i.e. *Ad Letoium*, was published) Augustae Vindelicorum ex versione Gentiani Herveti, anno 1591 cum *Oratione de Divinitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*." Copies of the 1591 Greek edition are at Yale and in Berlin. Hervetus did translate the small portion of *De deitate* quoted by Theodoretus in the course of his translation of the latter's *Eranistes seu Polymorphus*.

COMMENTARY

a. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius wrote notes on *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*; they constitute a commentary. They follow directly the Epilogue Lectoribus (f. E).

[*Inc.*]: (f. E 2<sup>v</sup>) Quae non facile inven.) τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἔλλειπτικῶς, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι quod facile invenire aliquis nequeat. Venit autem mihi in mentem scripsisse librarium τὸ pro τῷ. In iis quae sequuntur de apicularum opere scribatur ἰσαρίθμους. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (f. E 5) (on Conspexisse se Spiritum sanctum) Quod sequitur de furto Ananiae, ἦν ἐν παραβύστῳ με in eo extrinsecus assumetur intelli-

gendo κλοπήν, ut sententia verbis congruat.

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

## VII. IN DIEM LUMINUM (IN BAPTISMUM CHRISTI ORATIO).

Editio princeps: 1587, Augsburg (ed. D. Hoeschelius).

Recent editions: PG 46:577–600; 1967, Leiden, in GNO IX:221–242 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

The Greek title in many early manuscripts is: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν φωτῶν ἢ εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα. However Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X) used by the only Latin translator, Sifanus, gave the title as εἰς τὸν ἅγιον βάπτισμα. Hoeschelius in editing the Greek text in 1587 used the latter form. Fronto Ducaeus included Sifanus' version including the title in his 1605 edition of works of Nyssenius. But his *Notae* refer to the alternate title found in Morellus' Greek copy, Montepessulanus 122, which he translated *In diem luminum, in quo baptizatus est Dominus noster*. Yet this title was not used in the Paris editions until that of J. P. Migne in 1858. The recent editor, Gebhardt has preferred it.

This oration has no relation to the spurious *De baptismo Christi, Hic est Filius meus* (See Appendix II, p. 245).

### TRANSLATION

#### I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *In diem luminum* under the title *De sancto baptisate Oratio* which was first published in 1562. For circumstances see above pp. 57–59.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 331). Nunc agnosco meum gregem; hodie video formam Ecclesiae consuetam, quando etiam carnalium curarum posthabito negotio iusta plenitudine ad cultum Dei concurristis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 340) *Exsultet anima mea in Domi-*

*no; induit enim me pallio salutari et tunica laetitiae circumdedit me . . . exornavit me ornamento* (Is. 61:10) Ornator autem sponsae prorsus est Christus, qui est et ante erat et futurus est, benedictus nunc et in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

### COMMENTARY

#### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote a few notes on *In diem luminum*. Of particular interest is the first in which he comments on the title. The fifth note reveals his method which included using Hoeschelius' 1587 Greek text, a Greek manuscript from F. Morellus, probably Montepessulanus 122, and also Gregory of Nyssa's own language as evidenced in another treatise. The final note deals with various Greek versions of the Bible and their Latin translations in the light of Sifanus' usage.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris 1605) [*Inc.*]: (II.53) Inscriptio huius orationis in editione Augustana 1587 fuit haec, λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα oratio in sanctum baptisma . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.55) Symmachus δόρυ lanceam. Hesychio est εἶδος λόγῃης. Locus Esaiiae qui sub finem orationis citatur est cap. 61.10.

*Editions:*

See Editions above, beginning with 1605, Paris.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

VIII. *IN DIEM NATALEM.*

Editio princeps: 1564, Leipzig (ed. J. Camerarius).

Recent editions: PG 46:1128–1149; 1829, Berlin, in *Homiliarium Patristicum*, Vol. III: 344–368 (ed. Pelt-Rheinwald). Friedhelm Mann is preparing the critical edition for GNO X; available at present is his *Die Weihnachtspredigt Gregors von Nyssa. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, Dissertation, Münster, 1976.

*In diem natalem* (*De sancta Christi nativitate*) is today considered an authentic work of Gregory of Nyssa. Earlier, some scholars such as J. P. Migne and H. Usener questioned the attribution to Nyssenius. Severus of Antioch (c.465–538) quoted it as Nyssenius' work. Zonaras (s.XII) in *Epistola X* refers to it. Early manuscript tradition supports its authenticity.

In addition it must be noted that Chapters 24–28 of (Pseudo) Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra anthropomorphitas* (PG 76:1121–1132) are excerpted from Nyssenius' treatise (PG 46:1129–1138). The compiler of the work, not Cyril himself, was responsible for this borrowing.

*Bibliography*: Bardenhewer III:207–208; IV: 55–57; J. R. Bouchet, "L'économie du Salut selon S. Grégoire," *Rev. des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 52 (1968) 614–644; M. Chaîne in *Oriens Christianus*, N. S. III (1913) 32–57; K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 231, n.1; R. Laurentin, *Court traité de théologie mariale*, Paris, 1954, p. 161; G. Mercati, "La lettera di Severo Antiocheno su Matt. 23, 35" in G. Mercati, *Opere minori*, III, pp. 340–344. G. Soell, "Die Mariologie der Kappadozier," *Theolog. Quartalschrift* 131 (1951) pp. 178–188, esp. p. 187 where he quotes private correspondence with W. Jaeger who supports authenticity; H. Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* 16 (1911) p. 254 sq.

## TRANSLATIONS

## 1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of

*In diem natalem* which was first published in Venice in 1553. For details see above p. 107. Zinus' version appeared in all later *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssenius with the exception of those of 1562 and 1571. However Fronto Ducaeus, basing his opinion on the Greek texts he had available, suggested some changes in Zinus' Latin in his *Notae* published in the Paris 1605 edition of Nyssenius. These revisions were incorporated in the text which was printed in the 1615 Paris edition. In the case of *In diem natalem* the 1605 *Notae* show greater divergence from those of 1615 than was usually the case. Some might prefer to label the resultant text a revision; it is not so dealt with in this article.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (f. 59r) *Buccinate*, inquit David, *in neomenia tuba, in insigni die solemnitatis vestrae* (Ps. 80.4). *Coelestis autem doctrinae instituta omnino sunt instar legis apud eos qui audiunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]*: (f. 70r) *Idcirco communis rerum omnium procreatarum concentus exurgit Dominum suum una voce collaudantium, sic omni lingua coelestium, terrestrium atque infernorum exclamante, Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei patris, laudandus in aeternum. Amen.*

*Editions*:

1553. See Composite Editions.

1565, Louvain: in L. Lippomano, *Historiae . . . de probatis vitis sanctorum*. BN. Information on this edition was provided by F. Mann who confirmed that it contains the same text as the 1568 Louvain edition.

1568, Louvain: in Lippomano, as above. Pt. I. pp. 146 sq. contain the entire text; excerpts from the text are reprinted elsewhere in the volume: Pt. I, pp. 89-90 (PG 46:1135 C-1138 B); Pt. I, 221-222 (PG 46:1142 B sq.); Pt. I, 290-291 (PG 46:1146 D). The text of Zinus' version in the editions of Lippomano shows signs of some slight revision, probably by the editor.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1574. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618, Cologne. In Surius, revised edition

of Lippomano as above under 1568, vol. XI, p. 165, three excerpts.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS.

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *In diem natalem* which was first published in 1562. For date and circumstances see above, pp. 57–59.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 88) Canite tuba in novilunio, inquit David, in insigni die solemnitate vestrae. Divinitus autem proditae doctrinae mandata, pro lege prorsus intelligentibus sunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 98) Propterea communis omnis creaturae concensus existit, concordem et consonam omnibus gloriae praedicationem edentibus domino creaturae, omni lingua coelestium, terrestrium et infernorum clamante, quod Dominus Iesus Christus est in gloria patris benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 3. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius prepared the Greek text and made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In diem natalem* which was published in Leipzig in 1564 along with his version of Nyssenus' *In S. Stephanum martyrem*.

*Dedication* (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Bernardo Principi Anhaltino, comiti Ascaniae, Domino Zerbesti et Bernburgi, Principi ac Domino S. Clementis, Ioachim Camerarius Pabepergensis S. D. [*Inc.*]: Quo magis crescere importunitatem hominum animadverto, levitate et audacia sese incitante indies vehementius, Illustriss. Princeps, hoc crebrius reverendissimam memoriam Illustriss. Principis Georgii

patrui Clementiae tuae renovavi animo meo. Id quod appropinquantibus feriis iam Natalitiis accidit quadam affectione singulari in recordatione religiosi studii et accuratae diligentiae illius diebus festis, quos Ecclesia Christi solennes haberet cohonestandis non modo ritibus ceremoniarum decentibus, sed et doctrinae salutaris explicatione et actionum sacramentorum exquisita ac vera usurpatione, quibus solis et unicis sacris placentibus Deo aeterno hic princeps, quando ipse operatus esset et tunc sacerdotis fidelis munere fungeretur, nihil unquam obstare passus est, nonnumquam talibus temporibus ipse secum luctans et corporis infirmam valetudinem animi magnitudine atque robore sustentans . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quam aeternum Deum tota mente precor, ut ipse et protegendo tueri et stabiliendo conservare et augendo ornandoque complere commodis omnique felicitate velit benignitate immensae misericordiae suae infinita. Tuam Illustriss. Celsitatem bene valere opto. Vale. Lipsiae die antecedente brumam Anni Christi desinentis. MDLXIII.

*Text. [Inc.]*: Buccinate in neomania tuba, inquit David, in insigni die solemnitate vestrae. Mandata autem doctrinae, cuius sanctus spiritus autor est, Lex omnino sunt audientibus. Quapropter cum assit insignis dies festivitatis, satisfaciamus etiam nos legi, et buccinatores fiamus mensis sacri . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quam ob rem communis iam existit congressus creaturae, cunctis consentiente voce glorificantem orationem offerentibus Domino creaturae, clamante omni lingua supracelestium et terrestrium et subterraneorum: Dominum esse Iesum Christum in gloriam patris benedictum in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Lectoribus. [Inc.]*: Veteres etiam librariorum describendis libris fuisse minus interdum diligentes deprahenditur, sed recentiorum inerudita negligentia indignas labe et maculas inurit monumentis antiquorum. Nos autem in his orationibus nisi ea quae vel caeco, ut dicitur, apparet mendosa esse quorumque correctio esset in promptu et explorata, mutare volumus nulla, ac de caeteris nostras potius notationes separatim adiungere, ut de tota re esset liberum iudicium uniuscuiusque. Primum autem hoc opusculo instituto, de autore ora-

tionum istarum aliquid dicendum putavimus et eam narratiunculam lecturis speravimus non fore ingrati . . . (Camerarius then describes the ills of the early church. Finally he mentions the Cappadocians and the particular abilities of each.) . . . Hunc (i.e. Athanasius of Alexandria) sequebantur Basilius qui Caesareae Cappadociae et Gregorius qui in oppido et ipso Cappadociae Nassianso praesidebat. Apollinaris vero episcopus erat Laodiceae in Syria. In Basilio concionandi praecipue facultas et vis admirationi erat, in Gregorio scribendi, in Apollinari sacras scripturas explicandi . . . Basilius autem . . . habuit fratres quatuor, ex quibus duo in monastica vita permanserunt, unus ex reliquis duobus episcopis Petrus fuit, alter Gregorius qui has orationes ad populum Ecclesiae sibi commissas habuit, ea fuit in urbe Nyssa, Cariae quidem, ut opinor. Nam multae diversis in locis hoc nomine fuisse perhibentur. Nimis autem studiosus eloquentiae et artificio rhetoricae immodice cum deditus videretur, et plus operae, quam religionis cura pateretur et deceret professionem statumque ipsius, ponere non modo in veterum monumenta huius generis legendo, sed aliis quoque explicando . . . (Camerarius continues with further biographical remarks, referring to letters of Nazianzen and Basil. In the latter case he mentions *De differentia essentialis et hypostaseos* which he believes Basil wrote to Gregory of Nyssa. He mentions other works of Nyssenius: *In S. Stephanum*, *Contra Eunomium*, "*De fabrica hominis*" i.e. *De officio hominis*, "*conciones complures*", *commentationes in Cantica canticorum et Ecclesiasten*, *De vita et factis Gregorii Pontici cognomento Theodori*) . . . Nuper tamen sumus nacti disputationem perquam elaboratam illius, quam exposuit sermone habito cum sorore Macrina, *de anima et resurrectione* et inscripsit *Macrinia*. Item *de Fato epistolam ad Theophilum Alexandrinum*. Item libellum *contra foeneratores* et alia quaedam. Quae si tempus et res feret, ipsa quoque curabimus edenda. Est mihi visa eiusdem capitum doctrinae expositio, titulo *μεγάλης κατηχήσεως* quam et ipsam spero me opera et diligentia amicorum brevi adepturum et aliis quoque communicaturum esse (see p. 142 above) . . .

(Camerarius closes rather abruptly with an enumeration of the four Gregories, the fourth being the little known Arian bishop of Alexandria.) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: De his igitur ut hoc loco et in praesentia satis. Nunc deinceps quae notanda putavimus et de quibusdam iudicium sententiamque nostram subiungemus.

His brief, mainly textual, *Notae* follow.

*Doubtful Manuscript:*

El Escorial, IV. H. 26: no date. Eiusdem (i.e. Nysseni) *homilia in natalem Dni nri Jesu Christi et altera in S. Stephanum protomartyrem*. Antolín, *Catálogo de los Codices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Vol. V, p. 392. This manuscript was lost in the fire of 1671. P. Teodoro Alonzo Turienzo of the Biblioteca de El Escorial states that there is no information on the date or translator other than that provided by Antolín. Camerarius' version of *In diem natalem* was paired with his translation of *In s. Stephanum* in his 1564 edition.

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions. Copies of portions of this edition were supplied by Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

## COMMENTARIES

### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS.

Fronto Ducaeus wrote notes on this work which were first published in his 1605 Latin edition of Nyssenius. He assessed Zinus' translation in the light of Hoeschelius' 1587 Greek text and that preserved in the "Codex M(orelli)" (Montepessulanus 122). He does not mention Zinus by name in 1605, but merely as "interpres". On one occasion he refers to "interpres alter apud Surium" (Sifanus). In the revision of the notes for the bilingual 1615 edition he uses Zinus' name. Ducaeus gives evidence of detailed knowledge of the apocryphal infancy narratives in these notes.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.70) 683b veri tabernaculi mysterium) Augustana editio et ms. M. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.74) Im-

possibile erat teneri eum ab illo.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

### IX. *ADVERSUS EOS QUI CASTIGATIONES AEGRE FERUNT.*

Editio princeps: 1550, Paris, ap. Guil. Morelium. (Another Greek edition, without a Latin translation, was published in Louvain in 1560: *D. Eusebii Emiseni ep. Homiliae . . . in lucem emissae quibus accessit Gregorii Nyseni ep. adv. eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt, hactenus numquam edita*, ap. P. Sangrium Tiletanum.

Recent editio: PG 46:308–316. M. Altenburger is preparing the critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO X.2.

#### TRANSLATIONS

The Latin translations of this work pose a number of questions, some of which remain yet unanswered. An anonymous version was published in Paris in 1550 under the title *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt*. Another edition was allegedly published in Paris in 1558, but no copy has been located. The 1550 version was reprinted in Paris in 1570 by Bienné under the same title, and accompanied as before by the Greek text. In the 1573 (Latin only) edition of Nyssenus' work a different translation appeared, this time attributed to Gentianus Hervetus and entitled *In eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones*. In the preface to this edition the author, having mentioned some other works of Nyssenus which he was including in Hervetus' version, added that he was also including versions of three orations "ab Herveto primum conversae"; *In eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones* was among them. Fronto Ducaeus reprinted this version in his 1605 *Opera omnia* edition of Nyssenus and attributed it to Hervetus. Then in the 1615 edition with which Ducaeus had much to do although he was not the editor, the

1550 translation reappeared, *but under the name of Hervetus* and bearing the title, *In eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones*. The 1617 edition which reprinted the Latin texts of 1615 attributed the translation to Hervetus in the Table of Contents, but in connection with the text no author was named (information from the late B. Peebles based on the copy at DCU). The 1615 edition, with some changes, was reproduced in Paris in 1638. In J. P. Migne's *Patrologia*, Vol. 46, the 1638 text is printed, but with a change of title: *Adversus eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones* which was used in the 1550 edition. In bilingual editions the Greek text is that of 1550. (This writer is grateful to F. E. Cranz who made valuable suggestions regarding the complicated *fortuna* of the translations of this work).

#### I. ANONYMUS A.

An anonymous translator made a Latin version of this work of Nyssenus under the title *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt, Oratio*; he published it along with the Greek text in 1550 in Paris, apud Guil. Morelium.

The subsequent complicated *fortuna* of this version is described above in the introduction to the translations.

*Text.* (ed. of Paris, 1550). [*Inc.*]: (f. A v) Sermo Dei ac ratio vere divina res est et sacra, eximia possessio, non aliunde adnata, sed cum natura commixta homini munus preciosissimum ab opifice in eum descendens itaque et ad similitudinem dei fieri dicitur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. B v) Ac quid magni murmuremus qui crucifixi ministri sumus? Veluti pater aut mater tuas insolentias exacerbationesque amplector.

*Editions:*

(photo) 1550, Parisiis (Paris): Apud G. Morelium, ad scholas Conqueretias (Gr.-Lat.) Hoffmann 2.185; Maittaire III.586; Gesner Appendix, p. 44; *Cat. de la réserve XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle de la Bibl. de l'Univ. de Paris*, ed. Ch. Beaulieux, *Supplément* (1541–1550); NUC. Copies were located through the kind assistance of Andrée Lhéritier of Bibliothèque Nationale. Professeur M. Harl of the Sorbonne examined the copy held by that insti-

tution and verified the *incipit* and *explicit*. A copy of the Greek-Latin text was supplied by Michèle Cioc of Bibliothèque Municipale de Bayeux, Bayeux; Paris, St. Geneviève, Sorbonne; (CtY, Greek text only).

(\*) 1570, Parisiis (Paris): Apud Bene-Natum. Maittaire III.750. Information on the copy at Emmanuel College, Cambridge was supplied by F. H. Stubbings. BN. Adams G-1114. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

1615. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text in this edition was provided by J. E. Walsh.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1558, Paris: ap. Guil. Morelium. Mentioned by *Imprimeurs et Libraires Parisiens du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après Ph. Renouard*, Vol. III, Paris, 1979, p. 474 where it is stated that no copy has been located.

## 2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a translation of this work under the title, *In eos qui aegre ferunt reprehensiones*. It was published only twice, in 1573 and in 1605. However, editions of the version of the anonymous translator of 1550, which appeared in 1615, 1617, 1638 and Migne's *Patrologia*, attributed *that* translation to Hervetus.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1573). [*Inc.*]: (p. 608) Vere divina et sacra res est ratio, eximia Dei possessio quae non aliunde accessit sed est cum natura commista et temperata, homini donum praeciosissimum, quod venit ab eo qui ipsum creavit; quam ob rem dicitur factus fuisse ad Dei similitudinem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 611) Quid magnum est si murmur adversus nos excitetur, qui sumus ministri eius qui cruci est affixus? Tanquam pater et mater accipio tuam asperitatem et irritationem.

*Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

## 3. GUILIELMUS SIRLETUS OF ANONYMUS of his circle.

A Latin translation of Nyssen's *Oratio* under the title *Ad eos qui propter reprehensiones indignantur*, appears in a manuscript of s. XVI which contains a collection of sermons, some originally written in Latin and others Latin translations from the Greek. Nyssen's treatise occurs between other items translated by Guilelmus Sirletus. The name of the translator for this particular work is not given. One may justifiably suggest that if Sirletus himself did not make the version, one of the members of his circle did.

*Ad eos qui propter reprehensiones indignantur (qui se reprehendi et corrigi aegre ferunt)* (Vat. lat. 6176) [*Inc.*]: (fol. 107) Igitur (?) divina et sacra res est, eximia possessio non aliunde profecta sed insita natura, homini donum pretiosissimum, quod ab ipso summo pervenit opifice et idcirco secundum similitudinem dei factum fuisse dicitur. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (fol. 111) et quod magni refert si contra nos homines murmurentur qui crucifixi ministri sumus. Ut pater aut mater tuam duritiam admitto tuamque irritationem.

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 6176; s. XVI misc., fols. 107-111. Kristeller, *Iter* II.338.

*Biography:*

See CTC III.423.

## 4. ANONYMUS B, c. 1550 (partial)

The copy of the 1550 bilingual edition of *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt* which is held by the Bibliothèque Municipale de Bayeux contains in the Greek section, an interlinear Latin translation of the text through φέρονσαν σύμβολα. PG 46:312 D. However there are two sizeable gaps in the version.

E. Pellegrin of Centre National de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes expressed her opinion and that of a colleague, based on the form of the e and s and the general appearance,

that the translation was made in France shortly after 1550.

It can not be determined whether the translator had at hand the Latin version which is printed following the Greek text. In the Bayeux copy the two sections are bound together, with no separate title page, along with a number of other sixteenth century editions. It seems obvious, in view of his choice of words, that the anonymous worked somewhat independently. His marginal "notes" consist for the most part of scribbling; e.g. a succession of letters and numbers (y, u, 8, etc.) But in the margin opposite the title he wrote in a mixture of Greek and Latin letters a number of items: Gregoriou definatur (*sic*) ut λόγος Επισκοπο. eodem modo ΝΥΣΣΗΣ ut nousses. Farther on he wrote: θεῖον definatur (*sic*) ut agias (*sic*). One may conclude that he was an unwilling worker, possibly a monk who was assigned the task (as a penance?) and that he was disinterested and knew little Greek.

*Text.* (ed. of Paris, 1550, copy held by Bibliothèque Municipale de Bayeux) [*Inc.*]: (f. A<sup>ii</sup>) Gregori (*sic*) episcopi qu(ondam?) Niseni contra egrescentes increpationibus. divina vere et sacra res est sermo Dei possessio singularis non aliunde(*sic*) admota sed mixta cum natura homini donum pretiosissimum in eum proficiscens a Deo . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. A<sup>iv</sup>) scito tibi . . . quae illic sunt. sunt . . . tari et vigilantes et qui non ludunt illius regni janitores. vident animam separationis ferentem (f. A<sup>iv</sup>) signa ut. . . .

(The writer is grateful to E. Pellegrin for her assistance in dating the hand, and to Paul Oskar Kristeller for help in transcribing the text.)

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Bayeux, Bibliothèque Municipale. ml 2 n° 4. Found in a copy of the 1550, Paris edition; see above.

## X. IN SANCTUM EPHRAEM.

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. Om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 46:820–849. Andreas Spira is preparing the critical edition for GNO Supplementband II.

This *encomium-vita* of S. Ephraem (306–373), deacon of Edessa in Syria, appears in early Greek collections of the works of Gregory of Nyssa and also in collections of the works of Ephraem himself. The two Latin translators of the sixteenth century considered Nyssenus to be the author. But the encomium has been in the past and is definitely today held to be spurious. It may be a Greek translation of the work of a Syrian author or an adaptation of the Syrian *Vita* ascribed to Simon of Samosata. It certainly was the source of a later anonymous Greek life of Ephraem and of the life composed by Simeon Metaphrastes (c.900–984). Though Gregory of Nyssa is known to have borrowed freely from Greek translations of Syrian works available to him, the style in the case of this encomium on Ephraem is far less polished than Gregory's. Moreover the annual celebration of Ephraem's feast day, mentioned in the work, was not established until after the death of Nyssenus.

*Bibliography:* The most complete bibliography is that of Ortiz de Urbina in *Patrologia Syriaca*, Rome, 1965 (ed. 2) pp. 56–83. See also J. S. and S. E. Assemani, *S.P.N. Ephraem Syrus, Op. om., Graece, Syriace et Latine*, Rome, 1732–1746, esp. Vol. I(1732) pp. v-vi; Bardenhewer 3:206 and 208; 4:348; A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrischen Lit.*, pp. 31–52, esp.34, nn. 2–6; *Enc. Catt.* V:126; T. J. Lamy, *S. Ephraem Syrus, Hymni et Sermones*, Vol. IV (1902) pp. ix-xli; P. Maas, "Gregorios von Nyssa und der griechische Ephraem," *Byzant. Neugriechisch. Jahrb.*, I (1920) p. 337 sq.; O. Nestle, in *Realenzyklopaed. für protestant. Theologie und Kirche*, 5:405 sq. (ed. 1888); O. Rousseau, "La recontre de S. Ephraem et de S. Basile," *L'Orient syrien* (1958) pp. 86–90; R. Draguet in *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.* 33 (1939) p. 302; *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* V.1:189. On Greek translations of the Syriac Ephraem, see Geerard, *CPG* II, p. 366 and literature cited

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of



the Ps. Nyssenius' *Encomium-Vita* of Ephraem Syrus in 1561 while engaged in preparing versions of eighteen sermons of the Syrian deacon for publication. He dedicated his work to Hieronymus Trivisanus (Trevisan), bishop of Verona. The volume was published at Dillingen in 1562. In 1574 the same material, including the *Vita*, was printed in Venice both in Zinus' edition of works of the three Gregory's and in his volume containing works of Ephraem, Nilus, Marcus and Esaias and dedicated to Augustinus Valerius bishop of Verona.

*Letter of printer* (ed. of Dillingen, 1562). Lectori [*Inc.*]: Ephraem Syrum hominem sanctissimum latine loquentem nostris etiam formis conversum edidimus; eius scripta verissimis et fidei praescriptis et exemplis vitae referata sunt. Nos Deum precamur ut quemadmodum hoc institutum imprimendi sacros libros communis hominum salutis causa susceptum tenemus, sic ipsa quae ex nostra officina prodeunt sanctorum virorum monumenta et omnibus utiliter ac salutariter legantur.

*Dedication.* Optimo ac sapientissimo Veronae pontifici D. Hieronymo Trevisano Petrus Franciscus Zinus S.D. [*Inc.*]: (fol. a<sub>ii</sub><sup>v</sup>). In maxima ac incredibili illa laetitia, quam patria mea celebri civium et ordinum omnium gratulatione prae se tulit, cum te sibi a Pio IV. Pont. Opt. Max. ex lectissimo totius reipublicae Venetae nobilitatis flore datum esse Sponsum atque Pastorem intellexit, ego summum animi mei gaudium tantisper caelare constitui, dum sanctissimum quemdam senem, qui multis iam seculis paene mutus ac sordidus in tenebris iacebat, excitarem, ut a me Latine loqui edoctus, vestimentis paulo elegantioribus exornatus tibi meo nomine gratularetur. Hic est Ephraem ille, quem Nisibis clara Mesopotamiae civitas genuit, Edessa diaconum habuit, Graecia suspexit, universa Christiana Respublica est admirata. Hunc Basilius Magnus unice dilexit. Hunc divus Gregorius Magni Basilii frater luculenta ac bene longa oratione summis laudibus in coelum extulit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (a<sub>5</sub><sup>v</sup>) ut iam nullo unquam terrore deseras sed praesens omni officio, ac pietate et amore perpetuo complectare. Vale. Ex oppido Lonati VIII Cal. Iulii MDLXI.

Vita fol. 122<sup>v</sup> sq., expl. fol. 142<sup>r</sup>

*Text* [*Inc.*]: (p. 145) Arcana divinis in Evangeliiis similitudo me ad propositum dicendi argumentum adhortatur et linguam silentii fraeno inservientem solvit cogitationumque vias tanquam spatiosos campos exaequat et parat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 155) una cum angelis sacrificans Trinitati omnium nostrum recordare nobisque peccatorum veniam impetra, ut sempiterna regni coelestis beatitudine perfruamur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

*Manuscript:*

(\*) Douai, No. 207; s. XVI (*Opera S. Ephraem*), fol. 105 sq. (*Cat. Mss Dept. France*, Vol. VI p. 102. Inscribed in other hands: "Ganthois me possidet" and "Ex libris fratris Joannis du Hem. Nocuit differre paratis").

*Editions:*

1562, Dillingae (Dillingen): apud S. Mayer, in *Divina quaedam S. Ephraem opera omnia*. Contains Zinus' translation of the Ps. Nyssenius life of Ephraem. F. E. Cranz kindly inspected the copy at MH and transmitted information on the preface and on the text. NUC. Adams E-212, Cambridge Univ. Libr.; (IU; MH).

1574. See Composite Editions.

(\*) 1574, Venetiis (Venice). *Praeclara ac divina quaedam quattuor abbatum Ephraem, Nili, Marci et Esaiiae opera*. Contains Zinus' translation of the Ps. Nyssenius life of Ephraem. Adams E-216. (Cambridge Univ.) Information on the copy at Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome was received from Centro Naz. di Informazioni Bibliografiche.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius (c. 1550–1609), to be carefully distinguished from the better known Protestant Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), made a Latin translation of the Ps. Nyssenius *Vita* of Ephraem Syrus while preparing an edition of Ephraem's works for publication. Vossius stated that the project had first been commended to him by Cardinal Montalto, later Pope Sixtus V in 1583. Near the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII

(1585) at the instigation of Carafa, Montalto and Sirleto the task was imposed on Vossius of searching for Greek manuscripts of Ephraem's works, translating them into Latin and publishing them. Vossius' version of the Ps. Nyssenus life of Ephraem and of the two other lives deriving from it came out in 1589 after Montalto had become Pope. The second volume, dedicated to Clement VIII appeared in 1593 and the final one in 1598. Vossius used a variety of manuscripts for his work, some from the Vatican Library and some supplied by Carafa, Montalti and Sirleto (d.1585). In editions of Nyssenus' works Vossius' translation was preferred to that of Petrus Zinus.

*Dedication* (ed. of Rome, 1732). [*Inc.*]: *Bienio antequam in excelsam istam Ecclesiae speculam, sedem Petri, evehereris, Sixte V. Pontifex Maxime, virum mihi peregrinum et media Syria oriundum, et per Graeciae limites huc profectum, ut maior eius haberetur ratio, commendasti, ac ut eodem mecum Romae exciperetur contubernio desiderasti. . . .* (Since the Turks have invaded the eastern area, it is important that the works of a writer such as Ephraem be preserved. He mentions Nyssenus' *Vita*) . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *Tu si quibus in locis aliis alia huius nostri instituti noveris, tempori, sicut petimus, pro tuo et communi commodo denuncia.*

A prayer and poem in Greek follow.

*Text* (ed. of Cologne, 1603). [*Inc.*]: *Recondita in divinis Evangeliiis similitudo me ad propositum dicendi argumentum serio cohortatur linguamque silentii freno constrictam solvit ac cogitationum semitas velut spatiosos quosdam campos exaequat atque adornat. . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *omnium nostrum memineris veniamque nobis peccatorum impetra ut sempiterna coelestis regni beatitudine perfrui possimus. In Christo Iesu Domino nostro cui gloria in perpetuum. Amen.*

*Editions:*

*Opera* of Ephraem.

(\*) 1589, Romae (Rome): ex typographia J. Tornerii. In *Operum omnium s. Ephraem syri, tomus primus-tertius, latinitate donatus, interprete et scholiaste Gerardo Vossio Borchlonio*. Adams E-213 (Christ's), BN.

1603, Coloniae (Cologne): apud A. Quen-

telium. In *S. Ephraem Syrus, Opera omnia nunc recens latinitate donata, interprete et scholiaste Gerardo Vossio*. NUC. BN; (CtY; NcU). F. E. Cranz inspected the copies at both CtY and NcU.

(\*) 1616, Coloniae (Cologne): another edition of the above. NUC. BL; BN; (ICU; NCU).

(\*) 1619, Antverpiae (Antwerp): apud J. Keerbergium. BN.

(\*) 1675 Coloniae (Cologne): NUC. (CtY-D). 1732. See Composite Editions.

*Opera* of Gregory of Nyssa.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above, p. 65.

## COMMENTARY

### a. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius composed a brief commentary which followed immediately on his translation of the *Vita* (see above).

*Scholia in praecedentem vitam* (ed. of Cologne, 1603). [*Inc.*]: (p. xi). *Quocirca cum circulus ferat anni, ut hodie collaudandus sit nobis S. Ephraem etc.* In anniversario die obitus S. Ephraem hanc encomiasticam orationem a S. Gregorio Nysseno, Magni Basilio fratre habitam esse . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. xii) quae ut et alia non pauca ex postremis verbis Testamenti Ephraem Nyssenus deprompsit suaeque de eo historiae inseruit, aliaque ex aliis eiusdem scriptis huc retulit et suo huic instituto optime accommodavit, sicut iam ante demonstratum est.

*Editions:*

See above.

*Biography:*

See above, p. 65.

## LATER *VITAE* BASED ON THE PSEUDO-NYSSENUS *VITA*

### a. SIMEON METAPHRASTES

Simeon Metaphrastes, the Byzantine hagiographer (900–984), who wrote letters, poems, sermons and possibly an *Epitome canonum*, is best known as the compiler of the Greek *Menologion* consisting of 148 saints' lives. These fall into three categories: 1) Those previously written by others; 2) Those composed by Simeon himself or by one of his contemporaries; 3) Those, of which the *Vita Ephraem* is one, previously written by others but reworked or "metaphrased" by Simeon. The *Menologion* enjoyed wide popularity and many of its lives appeared in the collections of Lippomano and Surius as well as in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

### TRANSLATION

#### 1. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of the *Vita Ephraem* of Simeon Metaphrastes which was based on Ps. Nyssenius' *Vita*. It was first published in 1560 in Lippomano, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae*; Lippomano in the 1568 edition notes that he was omitting this *Vita* of Ephraem. Hervetus used a manuscript which said that Ephraem was born in Edessa. Other, more reliable, manuscripts accord with the Ps. Nyssenius' statement that Ephraem was of Syrian origin and eventually settled in Edessa. Metaphrastes' *Vita* as printed by Lippomano, Surius and Vossius reproduced Hervetus' version which conflicted with the events of his life as recorded by Ps. Nyssenius and other manuscripts of Metaphrastes. Assemani, in reprinting Hervetus' text, emended it to accord with the story as told by Ps. Nyssenius.

*Text* (Lippomano-Surius, ed. of Cologne, 1618). [*Inc.*]: (II:8) Ephraem ille admirabilis natus fuit in Syria, in civitate Edessa, Christianis parentibus. Cum autem elegisset virtutem ab infantia . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: transiit ad ea, quae sunt illic tabernacula, et splendorem,

qui eos, qui tales sunt, excipit: in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui honor, gloria et potentia, cum Patre et sancto Spiritu nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Bibliography*: See *Prolegomena* of S. J. Assemani in the 1732 edition of *S. Ephraem Syrus, Opera omnia*, pp. v-ix, esp. p. vii for the *Vita* of Simeon Metaphrastes.

#### *Editions*:

1560, Rome: in Lippomano, *Sanctorum priscorum Patrum vitae*, Vol. 8. This also appears in some later editions of Lippomano-Surius. BN.

For editions in Ephraem's *Opera*, see p. 206, above.

#### *Biography*:

See CTC I.109.

### b. ANONYMUS

An anonymous Greek writer composed another life of Ephraem Syrus, also based on the Ps. Nyssenius' *Vita*. The date can not be determined. Many manuscripts are extant and, as in the case of Metaphrastes, some place Ephraem's birth in Edessa while others merely say that he was born in Syria. (See Assemani, *op. cit.* pp. vii-viii). One manuscript, Grottaferrata XX, ascribes the text to Amphilochius, but his authorship has never been seriously considered. Heribert Rosweyde included this short life in his *Vitae Patrum* in 1615.

### TRANSLATION

#### 1. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius made a Latin translation of the short anonymous life of Ephraem which was based on the Ps. Nyssenius' *Vita*. In his editions of the works of Ephraem, he included it as one of three *Vitae*. In his work Vossius used the one manuscript which attributed the text to Amphilochius, Grottaferrata XX.

*Text* (ed. of Rome, 1732). [*Inc.*]: (I.xxix) Sanctus hic Pater noster Ephraem, ex Oriente oriundus, Syrus genere, piis parentibus natus in Edessa. Vixit temporibus Constantini magni regis, et aliorum qui post ipsum regnarunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I.xxxiii) et remissionem

peccatorum nostrorum, in quae collapsi sumus. Quoniam ipsi Christo et Deo nostro convenit omnis honor et adoratio, cum Patre et sancto ac vivifico Spiritu, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1589. See above p. 206.

Later editions of works of Ephraem as listed above p. 206. This *Vita* also appears in editions of Rosweyde's *Vita patrum* and in *Acta Sanctorum*, under February 1.

*Biography:*

See above p. 65.

### XI. ORATIO FUNEBRIS IN FLACILLAM IMPERATRICEM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent Editions: PG 46:877–892; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:475–490 (ed. A. Spira).

*Bibliography:* On the spelling Flacilla/Placilla, see the note of F. Ducaeus (ed. 1605, II.84). The Greek text was published in Venice in 1710 in *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία φιλολογική*, II, 166–175 (ed. I. Patousas). A. Spira's introduction to the critical edition (GNO IX) is particularly valuable. See pp. 417–438. See also: J. Bauer, *Die Trostreden des Gregorius von Nyssa in ihrem Verhältnis zur antiken Rhetorik*, Marburg, 1892, and A. Spira, "Rhetorik und Theologie in den Grabreden Gregors von Nyssa," *Studia Patristica* 9 (1966) pp. 112–20.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of the funeral oration *In Flacillam*, which was published in 1562. For circumstances see above pp. 57–59.

Sifanus' remarks in his preface of 1562 indicate that he was mistaken about the identity of Flacilla. He considered her the sister rather than the mother of Pulcheria on whom Nyssenens also wrote a funeral oration. Flacilla was the wife of the emperor Theodosius. "Flo-

ruit (Nyssenens) item temporibus Gratiani atque Theodosii maioris et minoris et ultra quod conicere licet. Nam extant inter eius scripta non modo fratris divi Basilii, qui obiit imperante Gratiano, verum etiam Placillae Pulcheriaeque sororum Theodosii Iunioris memoriae habitae funebres orationes a me Latinae factae.

Fronto Ducaeus made a few changes in Sifanus' Latin text before including it in his Paris 1605 edition of Gregory's works. However they are not of sufficient extent to have resulted in a real revision. See Ducaeus' notes on this oration below p. 209.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 371) *Fidelis et prudens dispensator* (nam ab iis quae ex divino Evangelio recitata sunt, ordior) (Mt. 25:21 sq.) quem praefecit Dominus huic familiae . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 377) iuxta fontem Paradisi, cuius humor et gutta ad infideles non manat, sub umbra ligni vitae quod plantatum est iuxta decursus aquarum, quibus rebus etiam nos digni habeamur, per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

##### 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus published his Latin version of Nyssenens' *In Flacillam* in 1574. For circumstances see above p. 191.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 127) *Fidelis et prudens dispensator* (exordiar enim ab iis quae ex divino Evangelio lecta sunt) (Mt. 25:21 sq.) quem constituit Dominus super familiam hanc, ut det in tempore illis, quos regit, tritici mensuram . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 130) propter Paradisi fontem cuius stilla

non venit ad infideles sub umbra ligni vitae sati iuxta decursus aquarum, quibus nos item Deus dignos efficiat in Christo Iesu Domino, cui gloria in sempiternum. Amen.

*Edition:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## COMMENTARY

### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote notes on Nyssenius' funeral oration on Flacilla, wife of Theodosius. They were first published in the 1605 Paris edition. For the 1615 Paris edition he made some revisions in the notes and used the codex Theodori Canteri in addition to the codex "M" (Morelli, Montepessulanus 122). The changes in the Latin of Sifanus are not sufficient to be considered a revision.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.84) Laudat hac oratione funeris Placillam, Augustam Theodosii senioris Imperatoris Romani uxorem priorem quae morte extincta est circa annum Christi 385. Ms. M inscriptionem hanc dabat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.86) (on 916c of the 1605 editio) cui gloria imperium et adoratio una cum patre et spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## XII. CONTRA FORNICARIOS

Editio princeps: 1617, Ingolstadt (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 46:489–496; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX: 211–217 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

Scholars today consider this an authentic work of Gregory of Nyssa although it also appears among the works of Chrysostom. The

earliest known manuscript Dresden A 66 a (s.IX), unfortunately now lost, named Chrysostom as author. The text of this manuscript is preserved in the 1839 Leipzig edition of W. Th. Becher (reprinted including Becher's Latin translation, in PG 64:465–474 as *Homilia VII* of Ps. Chrysostom under the title, *De loco I Ep. ad Corinth. VI.18: Omne peccatum quod fecerit homo, extra corpus est*).

S. Haidacher argued that Nestorius was the author, but his thesis has not been accepted.

*Contra fornicarios* appears in Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII) where its text like that of four other works of Nyssenius is abridged (See above p. 17). When J. Gretser was preparing the editio princeps he stated that he used a manuscript "ex Caesarea Vindobonensi bibliotheca", but it was not Vindob. theol. gr. 35. Jaeger believed Gretser's copy is lost. Gretser, when working on the text to be printed in the edition of 1618 corrected his first text with another manuscript belonging to Patrick Young which was possibly BL Royal 16.D.XI (s.XVI), closely related to Vindob. theol. gr. 35; but the resulting Greek text still did not agree completely with the earlier Latin version of Gentianus Hervetus which was being paired with it.

Lorenzo Zaccagni discovered in Vat. gr. 445 (s. XVI) a paragraph not found in previously studied codices. He printed it along with his own Latin version in his *Collectanea Monument. Eccles. Graec.*, Rome, 1698, Vol. IV:355 sq. It also appears in Galland, *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* Vol. VI:708 where Galland adds, "Latinam versionem Galliciolius meus adornavit"; and in PG 46:1107–1108.

*Bibliography:* E. Gebhardt's preface to the critical edition is especially valuable (GNO IX:136–141). In addition see: J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum*, No. 542; Chevetogne, pp. 35–36, n. 2; Tillemont, *Mémoires* IX:744.

S. Haidacher in *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.* 25 (1901) 367–369 and also "Abschiedsrede des Nestorius, überliefert unter dem Namen des hl. Chrysostom und des hl. Gregor von Nyssa," *Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol.* 38 (1914) 92–99.

## TRANSLATION

## I. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of Nyssen's *Contra fornicarios* which was first published in the 1573 Latin edition of Gregory's works. Hervetus' Greek source is not known, but it was related to Vat. gr. Pii II 4 (s. XI) and resembled Vat. gr. 445 (s. XVI). His version was reprinted in 1605 and again in the bilingual 1615 edition of Nyssen, though without an accompanying Greek text. Finally in 1617, J. Gretser, in his small edition of three works of Gregory, printed both Hervetus's Latin and a Greek text at which he had arrived. The two were not compatible since Gretser's Greek source was related to the abridged text (see above). Gretser made further adaptations for the 1618 bilingual edition printed in his *Appendix*, but the texts still lacked accord.

*Text* (ed. of Paris 1573). In illud Apostoli: Omne peccatum quod fecerit homo, est extra corpus (I Cor 6:18), oratio. [*Inc.*]: (p. 561) Terribilis tuba Apostolici praecepti, multa quidem etiam alia testificans exercitui pietatis et maxime eos expellens a barathro turpitudinis et in fine etiam addens militare praeceptum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 564) Nolite perturbari rumoribus, nugis ne moveamini, sed nobiscum qui simus in via comites preces ad Deum emitte, ut vestris confirmati precibus dicamus omni tempore divinis adiuti viribus: Omnia possum in Christo qui me corroborat. Cui gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1573. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text was provided by M. Pollard of Trinity College, Dublin.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

XIII. ORATIO FUNEBRIS IN  
MELETII EPISCOPUM

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in G. N. *Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:852–864; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:441–457 (ed. A. Spira).

This funeral oration for Meletius, Bishop of Antioch who died while attending the Council of Constantinople in 381, is preserved in a large number of Greek manuscripts (41) as well as in many Syrian, Armenian and Georgian versions, which is an indication of its wide popularity, although Chrysostom's encomium was the one included in later Greek hagiographic collections. The preface of Andreas Spira to his critical edition offers an analysis of manuscripts and editions which is useful for a study of other works of Nyssen. See Spira, *op. cit.* pp. 345–416.

## TRANSLATIONS

## I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's funeral oration on Meletius of Antioch, which was first published in 1562. For circumstances see above p. 57.

Fronto Ducaeus made some revisions in Sifanus' version before publishing it in the Paris, 1605 edition of Nyssen's works. See a. below. J. G. Krabinger, for his 1835 bilingual edition of this oration, included Sifanus' translation "hic illic mutata novoque textui (Graeco) accommodata".

*Oratio habita in funere Magni Meletii Episcopi Antiochiae* (ed. of Basel, 1562) [*Inc.*]: (p. 411) Auxit nobis numerum apostolorum novus apostolus, qui cooptatus est in ordinem apostolorum. Traxerunt enim sancti ad se moribus consimilem, athletam athletae, coronatum coronati, animo castum corde puri, praeconem sermonis ministri sermonis . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 416) Meraciori et vinariori

temperatura fecundioribusque ac largioribus eos excipite sermonis calicibus, ut vobis rursus in laetitiam luctus convertatur, per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum, cum quo patri simul et spiritui sancto gloria in secula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

### 1a. REVISION OF FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus made some revisions in Sifanus' Latin version of *In Meletium*. Ducaeus' revision appeared in the 1615 and later editions of Nyssen's works. The changes are not great, but the *explicit* does differ noticeably.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1615). [*Inc.*]: (I.955) There are no changes in the *incipit* . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.964) Meraciori mixto et fecundioribus ac largioribus eos excipite sermonis calicibus, ut vobis rursus in laetitiam luctus convertatur, per gratiam unigeniti Dei Filii, per quem gloria Deo et Patri in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

### 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus' Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In Meletium* was first published in Venice in 1574. For details see above, p. 191.

In S. Miletium (sic) Archiepiscopum Antiochenum (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 155) Auxit nobis numerum Apostolorum hic novus Apostolus qui inter eos nunc est cooptatus. Traxerunt enim ad se Sancti moribus similem, athletam athletae, coronatum coronati, castum mundi corde, verbi praeconem qui

ministri sunt Verbi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 159) Hoc vinum dilutius temperatum, maioribus sanctae dictionis poculis ministrare, ut nobis rursus in laetitiam et gaudium luctus convertatur, id nobis elargiente unigenito filio Dei, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

*Edition:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

### COMMENTARY

#### a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus discussed the changes he made in L. Sifanus' version of *In Meletium* in notes published in his 1605 edition of Gregory of Nyssa's works. These *Notae* were reprinted in subsequent *Opera omnia* editions of Nyssen's.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.86) (on 955d) qua ratione sistam prolabantem) In codice Graeco lego integram sententiam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.86) (on 960b) per gratiam unigeniti Dei Filii, per quem gloria Deo et Patri in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

### XIV. DE MORTUIS (DE DORMIENTIBUS)

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 46:497–537; 1967, Leiden in *GNO* IX:28–68 (ed. G. Heil).

*De mortuis* is one of the works of Gregory of Nyssa which is preserved in the uncial manuscript Vat. gr. 2066 (a. IX/X). Doubts about the authenticity of this treatise based on the presence of Origenist ideas have not been generally accepted.

*Bibliography:* M. Alexandre in *Studia Patristica*, 10 (1967), 35–43; A. Carlini, "Appunti sul testo del *De mortuis* di Gregorio di Nissa

contenuto nel Vat. gr. 2066," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. Let. e Fil.*, Pisa N.S. 36 (1967) 283–292. On Vat. gr. 2066, see W. Jaeger in *Traditio* V, p. 79 sq.

## TRANSLATIONS

## 1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus' Latin version of Nyssenus' *De mortuis* was published in Venice in 1553. See p. 107 above for details. With two exceptions (1562 and 1571) his translation appeared in all later editions of works of Gregory of Nyssa. G. Heil, *op. cit.* p. 25, points out that Zinus seems to follow the textual tradition of Vat. gr. 1907 (s. XII/XIII) and related manuscripts. Where he differs, the variants seem to be his own invention which accounts for the divergence of his Latin from the Greek text of the Paris editions.

*Oratio, qua docet, non esse dolendum ob eorum obitum, qui in fide dormierunt* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 116 v) Qui necessarium naturae nostrae ordinem in iis qui e vita discedunt calamitatem existimant et eos, qui ex hoc mundo migrant ad coelestem patriam, dolore et lacrymis prosequuntur, non videntur mihi huiusce vitae conditionem considerasse, . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 136 v) Deus autem noster et Dominus Iesus Christus, qui afflictos atque humiles consolatur, consoletur animos vestros et misericordia benignitateque sua vos ad se diligendum inflammet atque corroboret, quoniam ipsi est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1553. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1574. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus prepared a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De mortuis* which was published in 1562. For details, see above pp. 57–59.

*De dormientibus oratio* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 146) Qui in illis qui ex hoc seculo excedunt eam quae necessario contingit naturae nostrae vicissitudinem calamitatem esse ducunt luctuque se macerant propter eos, qui ab hac vita ad incorpoream eamque quae mente comprehenditur vitam transeunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 166) Deus autem noster et dominus Iesus Christus, qui consolatur humiles atque demissos, consolabitur corda vestra et confirmabit in sui dilectionem per miserationes suas quoniam ei gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## XV. DE OCCURSU DOMINI

Editio princeps: 1568, Cologne (ed. L. Sifanus).

Recent edition: PG 46:1152–1181. Friedhelm Mann is preparing a critical edition for GNO Supplementband II.

An expanded form of the title sometimes appears: *De occurso Domini, de Deipara virgine et de iusto Simeone*.

Opinion is still divided on the authenticity of *De occurso Domini*. It appeared in some of the oldest collections of works of Gregory of Nyssa (e.g. the now lost codex Arsenii, 911 a.d.). It is found attributed to him in menologia (e.g. Par. gr. 1194, s. X, Vind. hist. gr. 3, s. XI, Patmiac. 181, s. XI-XII). In the thirteenth century Thomas Aquinas cited a passage from it (ST III, Q 37, Art. 3, Ad 1 = PG 46:1158 B-C), and attributed it specifically to Nyssenus. Nevertheless objection has been raised to his authorship since there is no proof of a feast of the Presentation in the Temple (Hypapante) before 542 a.d. Some scholars



believed that they had found evidence of composition, or at the least, reworking, of the Greek text by Simeon Metaphrastes. Thus the unknown author of the preface to the 1573, Paris Latin edition of Nyssenius' works mentioned that Surius' revised and expanded edition (1570 sq.) of L. Lippomano's *De probatis vitis sanctorum*, included *De occurso* and attributed it to Nyssenius, but added that he himself felt that Simeon Metaphrastes had worked on the text and so he (the editor) was unwilling to include the treatise "cum vere nativis". If a reader disagreed with his judgment, he could find the work in Surius, as he would *De vita Macrinae*. But in 1605 Fronto Ducaeus did include *De occurso* (though not the life of Macrina in his *Opera omnia* edition of Nyssenius.

*Bibliography:* On the authenticity, see: Bardenhewer 3.208; R. Caro, "La Homiletica Mariana Griega en el Siglo V," *Marian Library Studies*, 4, (1972) 600-603). Caro believes the author was from Jerusalem in late s. V or early s. VI. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 230, n. 1; R. Laurentin, *Courte traité de théologie mariale* (ed. of Paris 1954) p. 161. Also see Possevinus, *App. Sac.* I. 683.

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus described the circumstances surrounding his translation of *De occurso Domini* in his dedicatory letter to Severinus Scaevardus, Prior of St. Antonius at Cologne. John Jacob Fugger had sent to Sifanus from Vienna a Greek manuscript containing five orations (by Nyssenius, Amphilochius of Iconium, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem and Timothy of Jerusalem) on the Presentation in the Temple theme. The Fugger family had also supplied the manuscripts which Sifanus used for his earlier (1562) edition of Nyssenius' works. Now Sifanus copied the Greek text to the best of his ability and had in mind making a Latin version. However the very poor state of the manuscript discouraged him, and he felt there was little hope of locating a better copy. He would have given up the idea of making a translation had not his friend

Arnold Birckmann the printer urged him to translate the five sermons so that they could be added to the second printing of his 1567 edition of Theophylactus of Achrida's *In Acta Apostolorum*. Thus prompted he finally completed the translation during the leisure period afforded by a stay in the mountains at the monastery at Steinveld. He placed doubtful readings in the margin as he had in his 1562 edition of Nyssenius. Sifanus considered *De occurso* a genuine work of Nyssenius.

*Dedication:* Genere, pietate atque eruditione ornatissimo atque optimo viro domino Severino Scaevardo a Meroda, Religiosae domus divi Antonii Coloniae Agrippinae Praeceptoris, Laurentius Sifanus I. U. Doctor S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Quum ante aliquot annos, Domine venerande, has quinque orationes in caput secundum Evangelii a divo Luca conscripti (quemadmodum videlicet ex praescripto Mosaicae legis Dominus noster Iesus Christus circumcisus et in templum a parentibus portatus atque illic a Propheta Simeone exceptus sit) ex codice quodam Graeco, quem amplissimus atque clarissimus vir Dominus Iohannes Jacobus Fuggerus ex Augusta Vindelicorum ad me miserat, ut ex eo quaedam opera divi Gregorii Nysseni, quae convertenda susceperam, emendarem, descripsissem ac descriptas Latinas facere in animo haberem, ita multa in eis offendi mutila atque corrupta, ut saepius rem tentatam atque institutam partim taedio laboris, quem frustra me saepe suscipere in tantis tenebris atque caligine rerum videbam, partim spe consequendi emendationis apographi, unde restituerem quae in meo desiderabantur, deseruerim infectam. Sed postea longis intervallis, quum nulla spes esset consequendi melioris apographi, iterata saepius earum lectione atque recognitione, collatisque sententiis diversorum idem argumentum tractantium assiduo frequentique studio difficilia superandi (ut plerumque fit ubi a Deo Opt. Max. hominum industria adiuvatur) rem eo deduxi, ut propemodum mihi sententiam earum orationum coniecturis assequi viderer, sed Graecam dictionem in multis locis non potui restituere, praeterquam quod coniecturis adductus ad eam sententiam Graeca accommodata esse puto, quam ego reddidi

Latine, quod etiam in margine ad Graecam diversam positam lectionem praeposita dictione Ἰωῶς indicavi. Quum igitur has easdem nimirum orationes paulatim aliam post aliam ita convertissem, ut si non Graece, Latine saltem intelligi posse viderentur, et adempta spe consequendi melioris exemplaris Graeca aliter ac dico corrigere non possem, Arnoldus Bircomannus vir non modo inter Librarios commendandus, verumetiam cum hominibus eruditissimis comparandus mecum agere cepit ut has orationes recognoscerem et emendatas adicerem ad opus scholiorum Theophylacti in acta Apostolica divi Lucae a me conversum in linguam Latinam. Feci haud invitus ut amico petenti atque etiam tolerabiles conditiones proponenti morem gererem et obsecundarem. Itaque summum otium nactus et auram in his montibus, quae calores dierum canicularium naturae meae admodum adversos et inimicos frangeret atque temperaret, in contubernio domini Iacobi Panhusii Abbatis Steinveldienses, pietate, eruditione atque prudentia ornatissimi viri, apud quem librorum copia defuit, easdem orationes summo labore atque diligentia extrema recognovi, emendavi atque correxi et Arnoldo permisi ut eas Theophylacto in publicum prodeunti ad amplificandam illius auctoritatem comites addat. . . . Quamobrem te etiam atque etiam rogo, oro, quaesoque, ut hunc partum in tuam a me clientelam ac fidem commendatum ab invidis omni ope tueri, a malignis et imperitis defendere, et hoc tenue quidem, sed ab animo tamen grato profectum munusculum hilari vultu ac laeta fronte accipere velis. Id si mihi abs te contigerit, abunde satis magno praemio labores meos compensatos esse putabo. Nam si quid adiumenti ab hoc meo partu, quod spero, hominibus sacrarum ac divinarum literarum studiosis fuerit allatum, id totum tibi aequissimo animo patiar deberi, utpote omni meo iure in te translato. Bene vale. Raptim ex coenobio Steinveldio, ubi te indies expectamus. XI Kalendas Septembreis, Anno Domini MDLXVII.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 213) Caelestium rerum sensu sapientia atque intellectu erectus et excellens, terrenarum rerum despectu atque contemptu sublimis ille Paulus, illa divinitus rapi solita mens, illa a Christo moveri consueta lingua,

pulcherrimus ille velociter atque celeriter exarantis scribae calamus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 231) caelestem Hierosolymam, in qua digni efficiamur, qui beata atque perpetua laetitia simul et regno fruamur per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum cui gloria et imperium cum patre et sancto Spiritu nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1568. See Composite Editions. Copies of pages were supplied by D. J. McKitterick of the Rare Books Department of Cambridge University Library.

1605. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

1a. THE REVISION OF FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus revised L. Sifanus' Latin version of *De occurso Domini* prior to printing it in the 1615 edition of Gregory of Nyssa's works. However he wrote no notes on this work. The changes made by Ducaeus are italicized.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1638). [*Inc.*]: ((III.444) *Qui* coelestium rerum sensu, sapientia atque intellectu *sublimis est, ac* terrenarum rerum despectu atque contemptu *excelsus* ille Paulus, illa divinitus rapi solita mens, illa a Christo moveri consueta lingua . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 464) revertamur in patriam nostram veram, caelestem Jerosolymam, in qua digni efficiamur, qui beata atque perpetua laetitia simul et regno fruamur per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria et imperium, cum patre et sancto spiritu, nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71-72.

2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

The Latin translation of *De occurso Domini*

found in a number of editions of Lippomano-Surius' collection of writings for the liturgical year, bears no author's name. However some years ago M. Altenberger of the Forschungsstelle Gregor von Nyssa suggested that the version might be that of Gentianus Hervetus who had provided one translation of a work of Nyssenus and many of Simeon Metaphrastes for that collection. Recent investigations by F. Mann who is preparing the critical edition of this work for the Leiden series, have revealed that the translation is indeed attributed to Hervetus in *Acta Sanctorum* (Mensis Februarii ad diem 11), Antwerp, 1658, p. 269. Since the style presents no obstacles to his authorship, and since another of his versions of Nyssenus had been included in many editions of the collection, one may justifiably conclude that the version of *De occursu* is also his work.

*Text* (ed. of Louvain, 1568). [*Inc.*]: (Pt. I. p. 172) Qui coelestium rerum sapientia est sublimis et terrenarum rerum despicientia excelsus Paulus ille mens a Deo afflata, lingua a Christo mota, celeriter scribentis scribae speciosissimus calamus, qui Ecclesiae pulchre descripsit dogmata veritatis . . . [*Expl.*]: (Pt. I. p. 179) sancti spiritus affecti habitaculum revertamur ad veram nostram patriam, coeleste Hierusalem. In qua digni habeamur frui beata ac perpetua laetitia et regno in Christo Domino nostro. Cui gloria et potentia cum patre et spiritu sancto nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

In Lippomano-Surius, *Historiae . . . de probatis vitis sanctorum*:

1565. Louvain. Reported by F. Mann. BN.

1568. Lovanii (Louvain): apud Ioannem Bogardum. NUC. (CU).

1570. Coloniae (Cologne): NUC. BL; BN. (NcD; PLatS). A copy of the text of *de occursu* was kindly supplied by Fr. L. H. Hill of PLatS.

1571. Louvain. Reported by F. Mann. BN.

1572. Louvain. Reported by F. Mann. BN; (CtY).

1576. Cologne. Reported by M. Altenberger. BN.

1574. Venice, Reported by F. Mann. BN.

1581. Venice. Reported by M. Altenberger. BN.

## XVI. DE PAUPERIBUS AMANDIS, ORATIO I (DE BENEFICENTIA)

*Editio princeps*: 1617, Ingolstadt (ed. J. Gretser).

*Recent editions*: PG 46:453–469; 1964, Leiden, *De pauperibus amandis, orationes duae*, ed. A. Van Heck; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:93–108 reprint of the 1964 text.

*De pauperibus amandis I*, often referred to as *De beneficentia*, in spite of many Latin printings, was not published in Greek until 1617 when J. Gretser prepared a text based on a manuscript which may have been Vindob. theol. gr. 239 (s. XV) and on a Vatican codex which J. Sirmond had corrected. See comment of A. Van Heck in the preface to the 1964 or 1967 (pp. 78–99) edition; for the contents, see B. Salmona, "Le due orazioni *De pauperibus amandis* nell'opera di Gregorio Nisseno," *Augustinianum* 17 (1977) 201–207.

### TRANSLATION

#### I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's orations, *De pauperibus amandis* I and II, which was published twice in 1550. The dedicatory letter for the first Padua edition is addressed to Pietro Contarini and dated Aug. 11, 1550. In it Zinus states that while on vacation, he found in Antonio Giberti's library a manuscript (Vat. gr. 1907 or 1433?) containing many works of Gregory of Nyssa, including the sermons *De pauperibus amandis*. He hastened to translate them and send them to Contarini so that, if he wished, he might add them to Zinus' translation of a sermon on the same subject by Gregory Nazianzen which Contarini had published first in 1547 and which he apparently contemplated reprinting. He did include them, but the dedication of the volume remained that of the 1547 edition dated Aug. 31, 1546, and made no mention of Nyssenus' works. However, the *Privilegii Sententia* of the 1550, Paris reprint of the Padua edition did refer to their inclusion in the volume.

Zinus' translation was frequently reprinted. The *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* contain numerous quotations from it. The early German (1556) version of the three sermons was probably made from the Paris edition of 1550.

*Dedication* (ed. of Padua, 1550). Optimo atque clarissimo viro Petro Contareno Patrio Veneto Petrus Franciscus Zinus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Insita quidem sunt in animis nostris virtutum omnium semina, sed nulla tamen illarum est, quae liberalitate et beneficentia naturae hominis magis inhaereat eique aptior et accommodatior sit, nulla qua propius ad Dei similitudinem accedamus. Id quod ne ipsa quidem antiquitas ignoravit, quae de mortalibus bene merentem mortalem Deo similem, immo plane Deum esse censebat . . . (Zinus continues discussing the value of *beneficentia*) . . . Itaque cum superioribus diebus a studiis publicis feriat relaxandi animi et vitandi caloris gratia vir doctissimus tuique amantissimus Ioannes Christoforsonus Britannus et ego in Antonii Giberti Equitis ornatissimi atque humanissimi iuvenis bibliotheca plurimis atque optimis libris instructissima essemus unaque cum ipso magna cum voluptate varios pro suo quisque studio libros evolveremus, in codicem vetustissimum incidi, in quo cum alia inerant multa pulcherrima a D. Gregorio Nyssae Pontifice Magni Basilii fratre conscripta, tum orationes duae, quibus eleganter et pie ad amandos et benignitate complectendos pauperes cohortatur. Quas ego statim avide tamquam thesaurum arripui easque verbis latinis expressi, ut si tibi non displicuissent, cum illa D. Gregorii Nazanzeni eiusdem argumenti oratione, quam ad te antea miseram coniungerentur. Eas autem non ideo donamus tibi, quo te in virtutis stadio tam strenue currentem incitemus, sed ut, quando aliter non possumus, aliquam grati animi significationem praebeamus, utque labor hic noster utilior sit, cum videant homines, se non modo Sanctorum Patrum orationibus, sed vivis etiam atque illustrissimis exemplis ad amandos adiuvandosque pauperes invitari . . . [Zinus then continues lauding Contarini's concern for the poor; he repeated these remarks in the praefatio to his 1553 edition of Nyssenus. See above p. 107 . . .] . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: tum divinis documentis impulsus colant

et exercent, ut vel Dii sint, ut dicebat Antiquitas, vel de Deo promereantur atque ita tandem vere evadant Dii, ut ipsa clamat et pollicetur Veritas Christus. Tu vero, vir Dei, in hoc pietatis certamine, si caeteros superasti, tecum ipse iam certa, te ipsum vince, laboremque nostrum in iis vertendis orationibus boni consule. Vale. Patavii. III Idus. Aug. MDL.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1550). [*Inc.*]: (p. 137) Qui huic Ecclesiae praesidet, atque adeo omnes, qui se verae pietatis et eius vivendi rationis, quae ex virtute est, magistros profitentur, hominibus illis sunt admodum similes, qui grammaticam docent et prima tradunt elementa literarum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 146 v) Illud autem obsecrat, ut absoluta mandatorum observantia decoratus discedat integer et perfectus coelestis illius patriae civis, quam nos item omnes ut assequamur et opto et spero per gratiam et benignitatem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

#### *Editions:*

- 1550. See Composite Editions.
- 1550. See Composite Editions.
- 1553. See Composite Editions.
- 1555. See Composite Editions.
- 1569. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1574. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1618. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1740. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

#### *Doubtful Editions:*

- 1553. See Doubtful Composite Editions.
- 1554. See Doubtful Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

XVII. *DE PAUPERIBUS AMANDIS II*  
*SIVE*  
*IN ILLUD: QUATENUS UNI EX*  
*HIS FECISTIS*

Editio princeps: 1587, Augsburg (not 1527 as in Ducaeus' *Notae*) ed. D. Hoeschelius.

Recent editions: PG 46:472–489; 1964, Leiden, *De pauperibus amandis orationes duae*, ed. A. Van Heck; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX: 111–127, a reprint of the 1964 edition.

D. Hoeschelius prepared the Greek text of *De pauperibus amandis II* for publication in 1587, using a manuscript whose text resembled that of Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X). F. Ducaeus who assisted in preparing the bilingual edition of Nyssenius' works in 1615, stated that he made use of Hoeschel's printed text, a codex Canteri and a codex Morelli (Montepesulanus 122). See Van Heck's preface, *op. cit.* pp. 89–90.

TRANSLATIONS

I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

For details of Petrus' Zinus' translation of *De pauperibus amandis II*, see above under *De pauperibus amandis I*, p. 215.

*Text.* *De pauperibus amandis oratio II. In ea Evangelii verba: Quatenus uni ex his fecistis et quae sequuntur* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (p. 146 v) Adhuc in formidolosi magni illius regis adventus nobis ab Evangelio descripti contemplatione detineor . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 156 v) Quibus adiuti tandem promissionis terram assequamur, in qua sita est magna illa civitas, cuius architectus et aedificator est Christus Deus noster, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

*Editions:*

See above p. 216. This oration appears in the same editions as Zinus' translation of *De pauperibus amandis I* (except that it is not found in the 1617, Ingolstadt and 1618, Paris *Appendix*).

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus' Latin translation of *De pauperibus amandis II* (*Quatenus uni ex his . . .*) was published in 1562; see p. 57 above for details. Sifanus' Greek manuscripts did not contain *Oratio I*. His translation of *Oratio II* was printed only twice; after 1571 the editors of *Opera omnia* editions preferred to include the translation of Zinus.

*Text.* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 219) Adhuc versor circa spectaculum terribilis adventus regis, quem describit nobis Evangelium: etiam nunc animus terrore eorum, quae dicta sunt . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 227) Adsit item nobis lucrum ex praeceptis quaesitum et gubernaculum dilectionis, quibus rebus rectum cursum tenentes capiamus terram promissionis: in qua est civitas illa magna, cuius architectus et fabricator est Deus noster, cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

XVIII. *IN PENTECOSTEN SIVE*  
*DE SPIRITU SANCTO*

Editio princeps: 1698 Rome, in *Collectanea monumentorum veterum Eccles. Graec.*, Vol. IV. 346 sq. (ed. L. A. Zaccagni).

Recent edition: PG 46:696–702. M. Altenburger is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO X.2.

TRANSLATION

I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Nyssenius' oration *In Pentecosten* which was published in 1553. For details see above p. 107. Zinus' version appeared in editions of Gregory of Nyssa's works through 1638, but it was not accompanied by a Greek text. When L. A. Zaccagni was preparing the Greek text for publication he had at his disposal three manu-

scripts not used by Zinus. He believed that an entirely new Latin translation was necessary to accompany his Greek text. After first appearing in 1698, it was reprinted by A. Galand in his *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* and in the editions of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [*Inc.*]: (f. 86 v) Nullum est tam clarum celebritatis argumentum, quod non clarius efficiat David, dum apte suavissimam illam citharam ad usum eius semper accommodat . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (f. 89) Bibamus pietatis dulcedinem (III Esdr. 9.52) ut Esdras praecipit. Gaudeamus in Apostolorum et Prophetarum choris. Munere sancti spiritus exultemus et laetemur in hac die, quam fecit Dominus (Ps. 117.24) in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1553. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1574. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## XIX. IN SS PETRUM ET PAULUM

Editio princeps: 1620, Ingolstadt (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editons: PG 147:1017-1112.

All scholars today consider *In SS Petrum et Paulum* to be a work of Maximus Planudes (fl. 1350). The ascription to Gregory of Nyssa resulted from the fact that Jacob Gretser found a large portion of the Greek text in a manuscript containing only works of Nysseus; the first part of the treatise, which may have contained the author's name, was missing. In the following century P. Lambeck noted that two codices in the Vienna library contained the entire work of which Gretser had seen only a part. Later other complete copies were discovered in Oxford and Paris; all named Maximus Planudes as the author.

## TRANSLATION

### 1. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

At some point before its publication in 1620, Jacob Gretser discovered and translated into Latin the oration, *In SS Petrum et Paulum*. As mentioned above, he attributed it to Nysseus because the manuscript he had contained only works of that author. The codex was probably Vindobonensis theol. gr. 239 (s. XV) (On this manuscript, see GNO IX:16 and C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea*, pp. 178, 199). Not only was the opening portion of the treatise missing, but the manuscript as a whole was in very poor condition. For example, only one fourth of Gregory's *De mortuis* is preserved, as Gretser himself pointed out. In spite of the fact that the style fell far short of Nysseus, Gretser nevertheless felt that the oration could be assigned to him.

*Epistola dedicatoria* (ed. *Op. om.* J. Gretser, Ratisbon, 1740, Vol. XIV.1) Nobili Magnifico et Amplissimo Domino Joanni Georgio Herwardo ab Hohenburg, J.U.D. Bavariae Cancellario Swabiae Praefecto et Serenissimi Boiorum Principis Maximiliani, consiliario intimo etc. Jacobus Gretserus, S.I. [*Inc.*]: (p. 350) Adfero ad te, Amplissime Domine, duas orationes ex Graeco versas, alteram Gregorii Nysseni in Apostolorum Principes Petrum et Paulum, alteram Alexandri Monachi de Inventione sanctae Crucis. Causae adferendi cum plures suppetant, hanc unam commemoro; quia Graecarum litterarum, ut scientissimus, ita et amantissimus es. Quapropter licet publicis iisque plurimis et gravissimis districtus negotiis, semper elaboras, ut Graecis evolvendis aliquid temporis impendere queas, teque id re ipsa praestare testantur ipsimet Graecanici libri, quos selectissimos in tua bibliotheca habes, ubique ad oram seu marginem rubrica notati, ut ubi aliquid prae aliis observatu dignum continent id revisenti ad eundem auctorem statim occurrat. Testantur idem lucubrationes tuae hieroglyphicae et Magneticae, eruditione ex Graecorum monumentis hausta refertissimae, quas cum Horatio non in nonum, sed contra Horatium longe ultra nonum annum premis. Emitte tandem et vinculis immerentes

frenare desine. Id ut facias, hos duos, Nyssennum et Alexandrum deprecatores ad te allego, quos ut spero etiam mei causa benigno vultu dignaberis. Vale Vir Amplissime. Ingolstadt Kalend. Martii MDCXX.

*Praefatio ad Lectorem:* Orationem in Sanctos Apost. Petrum et Paulum principio mutilam describendam curavimus ex chartaceo vetusto codice M. S. Bibliothecae Caesariae Viennensis, in quo solius D. Gregorii Nysseni plures orationes una cum hoc Encomio inerrant. Ex quo aliquis suspicari poterat, etiam hoc eidem Patri, tanquam auctori adscribi debere, sed repugnare videtur genus dicendi, quod Gregorio longe grandius et magnificentius est. At in mentem revocandum est ipsum etiam Nyssennum non ubique sibi parem apparere, praecipue in sermonibus ad populum, quos captui plebis accommodate concinnare oportet. . . (Gretser goes on to say that Gregory of Nyssa's name is not at the beginning of this oration, but that this fact raises no obstacle to his authorship since many pages have fallen out of the manuscript because of its age (!); indeed only one fourth of the immediately preceding work, *De mortuis*, is preserved. . .) Legatur itaque haec quoque oratio nomine Nysseni, quod fortasse nobis certum esset nisi codex excisis, vel potius exesis, compluribus pagellis decurtatus fuisset. Ego eo libentius huic orationi evulgandae aliquid operae impendi, quod plura iam sanctissimi et eruditissimi huius patris monumenta in publicum protulerim, quae prius separatim edita, postea in duos Nysseni Parisienses Graeco-latinos tomos (1615) et in Appendicem illata sunt (1618).

Text. [*Inc.*]: (p. 351) Et ut omnes aequo animo sufferebat, geminis terra marique vel potius variis periculis pro solo Christo seipsum exponens et ubique quamvis non indicatam conciliatamque elementorum securitatem inveniens . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 384) quomodo scilicet orbem terrarum ad salutem pertraxeritis, Christum in vobis ipsis habentes et circumferentes, quem simul cum Patre et Spiritu sancto adornandum praedicastis, nunc et semper in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

(\*) 1620. Ingolstadt: apud E. Angermariam. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains Gretser's Greek text and

Latin translation of *In SS. Petrum et Paulum* along with works of Alexander Prodomos and others. Hoffmann 2.185. BL.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1865. Paris: in *PG* 147.

## XX. IN PRINCIPIUM IEIUNIORUM

Editio princeps: 1617, Ingolstadt (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: *PG* 40:369–389 (*Homilia XIV* of Asterius); 1970, Leiden, in *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I–XIV* (ed. C. Datema), Hom. XIV, pp. 205–219.

*In principium ieiuniorum* is today without question accepted as a work of Asterius of Amasea. The recent editor, C. Datema, has pointed out that it is not attributed to Asterius in a single manuscript (*op. cit.* p. 197). Most of the codices assign it to Gregory of Nyssa, though some favor Gregory of Caesarea.

Jacob Gretser based his editio princeps on Vindobonensis theol. gr. 239 (s. XV).

*Bibliography:* C. Datema, *op. cit.* pp. 197–202; also pp. xxix and xxx for evidence of dependence on Basil; M. Geerard, *CPG*, II. No. 3260. See also the earlier work of A. Bretz, *Studien und Texte zu Asterios, Texte und Untersuchungen* 40.1 (1914).

### TRANSLATION

#### I. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

In 1617 Jacob Gretser published in Ingolstadt a small volume containing three works, which he ascribed to Nyssennum; among them was *In principium ieiuniorum*, now recognized as the work of Asterius of Amasea. Gretser's introductory remarks give the details of his work on the edition.

*Jacobus Gretserus Societatis Iesu lectori* (ed. of Ratisbon, 1740). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. XIV p. 318) Non ita pridem evulgarunt Parisienses elegantissimis typis Graeco-Latine Opera S. Gregorii Nysseni Episcopi, sed editoribus aliqui Graecus textus defuit. Haec iactura ut

resarciretur, et tantus Pater omnibus demum numeris absolutus in publicum veniret, non pauca quae Graece desiderabantur ex Bavariae Bibliothecae adytis deprompta Lutetiam misi. Quibus nunc adiungo tres istas orationes ex Caesarea Bibliotheca, beneficio clarissimi et eruditissimi viri D. Sebastiani Tengnagel, qui de bonis literis bene mereri numquam cessat. Prima oratio *De pauperibus amandis*, et tertia *Contra fornicarios* nunc primum graece prodeunt ex Caesarea Viennensi Bibliotheca. Secunda *In principium* ieiuniorum nec graece nec latine exstabat. In altero codice chartaceo eiusdem Bibliothecae descriptus erat prolixus admodum sermo *In SS Apostolos Petrum et Paulum*, principio mutilus (Vindob. theol. gr. 239). Sed hactenus exscribendi otium non fuit. Erit tamen ut spero, et tum separatim publicari poterit. Interim et his et aliis suppetiis, quas ferimus, Nysseni editionem magis atque magis exornare et perficere licebit. Notari tamen velim, utrumque hunc Codicem Viennensem vitiose imprimis, dein caractere propter vestutatem (*sic*) evanescente et fugiente tandem compendiis inusitatissimis esse exaratum, ita ut saepe non modo de sententia, sed et de verbis divinandum sit. Qui in exemplar correctius inciderit, is corrigat et suppleat menda et defectum nostri codicis. Nos maluimus vel haec Graece exstare, quam nihil.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 329). Compositum animal est homo, ex corpore aspectabili et ex anima rationali et incorporea habens totum quod est. [Opposite the *incipit*, in the margin: Ex Ms Caesareae biblioth. exscripta, et latinitate donata ab interprete]. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 340) Igitur et ieiunium et scenopegia et tubae religionis nostrae mysteria sunt, iam olim quidem praemonstrata, tempore autem suo reipsa comprobata, quando Redemptor noster in carne apparuit, cui gloria et potentia in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1618. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 52–53.

## XXI. IN PULCHERIAM, ORATIO CONSOLATORIA

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: *PG* 46:864–877; 1967, Leiden in *GNO IX*:461–472 (ed. A. Spira).

*Bibliography:* See under *In Flacillam*, above p. 208. This oration was also published in *ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία φιλολογική* in 1710 by Patousas.

## TRANSLATIONS

## 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus prepared a Latin translation of *In Pulcheriam*; it was published in 1562. For details of that edition see above pp. 57–59.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 365) Equidem haud scio quo pacto accommodem orationem. Nam et duplex video argumentum et utrinque triste et acerbum, ut utrumcunque oratio sumpserit, haud facile lacrymas evitare possit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 371) Proinde ex animo eiicimus, fratres, aegritudinem et dolorem dormientium nomine contractum, quem soli sustinent, qui spem non habent. Spes autem est Christus, cui gloria et imperium, honos et adoratio in saecula.

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus published his Latin version of the funeral oration, *In Pulcheriam* (the



daughter of the emperor Theodosius and his wife Flacilla, see above p. 208) in 1574. For details see above p. 191. His version is based on a Greek text which resembles that of Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X).

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 122) Quonam modo dicere incipiam nescio. Duplex enim argumentum sed utrumque triste propositum video ut utrumvis tractetur sine lacrymis oratio non possit institui . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 126) Quapropter abiiciamus, fratres, moerorem susceptum ob eos qui dormierunt, quo soli afficiuntur illi, qui spem non habent. Spes autem Christus est, cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Edition:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## XXII. IN QUADRAGINTA MARTYRES, ORATIONES I A AND I B.

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:749–756; 757–772. O. Lendle is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO X.1.

Three orations on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste are preserved under the name of Gregory of Nyssa. The first two were delivered on consecutive days and have been handed down and printed as one work in two parts. The third sermon, actually delivered several years before the others, is preserved in a different manuscript tradition and was not translated or published until much later.

*Bibliography:* W. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgesch.* II, 1424; Tillemont, *Mémoires* IX.614. See in addition: J. Daniélou, “Chronologie des sermons . . .,” *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 29 (1955) pp. 362–363.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin transla-

tion of the two orations, *In quadraginta martyres I a* and *I b*; it was published in 1562. For details of the edition see above pp. 57–59.

*Oratio I a.*

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: Quas res existimo plerisque graves ac molestas esse, his ipse animo laetor. Molestum enim nimirum plerisque est comprimi inter sese et constipari; hoc vero mihi summae laetitiae est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quod si per gratiam Dei nobis etiam ad alteram partem orationis otium contigerit, cum silentio auscultantibus reliqua, quae nunc praetermissa sunt ad narrationem pertinentia auxilio Dei supplebuntur. Ei gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Oratio I b.*

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562) [*Inc.*]: Heri martyres ad sese populum vocabant; nunc hospitio Ecclesiae ipsi sese offerentes excipiuntur. Lex autem quaedam convivialis est ut circulares et vulgares istas epulas alii aliis convivis certa vicissitudine praebeant in orbem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: qua (flamma) etiam nos intrepide superata intra Paradisum perveniamus, per illorum intercessionem confirmati ad bonam confessionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

#### 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of *Orationes I a* and *I b in quadraginta martyres*. It was published only once, in Venice in 1574. For details, see above p. 191.

*Oratio I a.*

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 103) Quibus angi discruciarique multos conicio,

iis animus meus perfunditur voluptate. Nam quod illi se vicissim affligi urgerique iure moleste ferunt, id est mihi laetitiae caput . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 112) Quod si divina gratia nobis concesserit, ut vos iterum quiete audientes alloquamur ea, quae nunc omittimus, Deo adiuvante prosequemur. Ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Oratio I b.*

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [Inc.]: (p. 112) Heri martyres ad se populum convocarunt, nunc ad hospitium ecclesiae sponte veniunt. Est autem quaedam lex epularis, ut convivia, quae circuitu et orbe quodam celebrantur, suo tempore vicissim rependant ii, qui convivio accepti fuerant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 117) qua quidem illi certamina fortiter subeuntes et per flammam transeuntes incolumes potiti sunt. Faxit autem Deus, nos item ut ea digni efficiamur eorum precibus corroborati ad bonam domini nostri Iesu Christi confessionem, cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Edition:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

### XXIII. IN QUADRAGINTA MARTYRES, ORATIO II

Editio princeps: 1618, Paris in *Appendix G. N.* (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 46:773–788. O. Lendle is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO X.1.

The title of this oration in the editio princeps was given as *In XL martyres, oratio III*. However the new critical edition will correctly consider *Orationes I* and *II* of the previous editions as two parts of one sermon and label them *I a* and *I b*. The old *Oratio III* thus becomes *Oratio II*.

#### TRANSLATION

##### I. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser was the first to make a Latin version of Nyssen's earliest sermon on the

Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. He published it along with the Greek text in the 1618 *Appendix* to the *Opera omnia* edition of 1615.

*In quadraginta martyres oratio laudatoria, dicta in eorum martyrio* (ed. of Ratisbon, 1740). [Inc.]: (Vol. XIV, p. 292) Romanorum milites more patrio et antiqua consuetudine quam a maioribus acceperunt et usque ad hoc tempus conservant initio instantis mensis armis induti ad campum satis planum et aequabilem se conferunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 301) et terra non ferat quae hominibus ferre solet, tandemque coelum minas intentet; ad omnem enim necessitatem et eventum horum facultas et potentia sufficit, et uberem a Christo gratiam accipit, quem decet omnis gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1770. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 52–53.

### XXIV-XXVIII. ORATIONES IN SANCTUM PASCHA

*Introduction:* Six sermons on the Paschal theme are attributed to Gregory of Nyssa in various manuscripts. Scholars have accepted *Orationes I, III* and *IV* as his work without question.

The authorship of *Oratio II* has long been in question. Scholars in the sixteenth century generally named Nyssen as the author, but later studies have confirmed Severus of Antioch as the writer.

*Oratio V* has also evoked some discussion. In the past generally held to be Nyssen's, its authenticity has in recent times been doubted by J. A. de Aldama (*Repertorium Pseudo-chrysostomicum*, No. 149), J. Daniélou (*Rech. de Science Rel.* 55 [1967] p. 151 and Chevetogne, p. 3) and Quasten (Vol. 3, p. 277).

Another sermon on the Easter theme which

is found among the works of Pseudo-Chrysostom and is attributed at times in the manuscripts to Nyssenus, *In mulieres unguentiferas*, is really the work of Gregory of Antioch (See Aldama, No. 116). See Appendix II.

Finally P. Nautin suggested that *Oratio VII* of Pseudo-Chrysostom is actually a sermon by Gregory of Nyssa composed for Easter 387. However Nautin has since withdrawn his suggestion.

*Bibliography:* Of particular value are the introductions to *Orationes I, III, IV and V* by E. Gebhardt in GNO IX. The papers delivered at the Fourth International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, Cambridge, England, Sept. 1978 were concerned with *Orationes I and III, In sanctum Pascha*. They have been published in the *Patristic Monograph* series of the Philadelphia Patristic Society. The *Notae* of Fronto Ducaeus, written for the 1605, Paris edition of Nyssenus' works on *Orationes I, II and IV* (Vol. II:75–80) are still useful. See also: J. Daniélou, "Chronologie des sermons de S. Grégoire de Nysse," *Rech. de Science Rel.* 29 (1955) pp. 350, 351, 362, 368, 369, 370.

See comment of P. Nautin, in *Sources Chrétiennes* 36 (1953) p. 49 as well as the edition with introduction and French translation, *Sources Chrétiennes* 48 (1957) with review by J. Gribomont, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 53 (1958) 90–92.

#### XXIV. IN SANCTUM PASCHA I (DE TRIDUI INTER MORTEM ET RESURRECTIONEM DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI SPATIO)

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.* (GNO IX.175 erroneously lists an edition of Ingolstadt, 1596).

Recent editions: PG 46:600–628; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:273–306 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

#### TRANSLATIONS

##### 1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin version

of *In sanctum Pascha I* which was published in Basel in 1562. For details, see above p. 57. Fronto Ducaeus made reference to Sifanus' translation as well as to that of Zinus in his *Notae* for the 1605 edition of Nyssenus.

*De sancto festo Paschae, et resurrectione Domini, in diem tertium collata, Oratio prima* (ed. of Basel, 1571).

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 141) Si qua benedictio patriarcharum divino Spiritu nixa, si quod spiritualis constitutionis bonum per promissionem recta agentibus speratur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 150) Igitur nos quoque ex sermonum piscatu surgentes accurramus iam ad panem, quem dulcem efficit favus bonae spei, per Christum Iesum dominum nostrum cui gloria et imperium cum patre et sancto Spiritu in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

#### *Editions:*

1562. See Composite Editions.

1571. See Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See above p. 63.

#### 2. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of *In sanctum Pascha I* which was published in Venice in 1574 (not 1553 as in GNO IX.176). Zinus used a manuscript resembling Vat. gr. 1907 as his Greek source. When Fronto Ducaeus printed Zinus' Latin together with his Greek text based on Montepessulanus 122, he found that the two did not agree well. So he filled in *lacunae* in the Greek manuscript from other sources, modifying Zinus' Latin in order that it might better conform to the improved Greek text. His *Notae* of 1605 comment on the changes; the *Notae* of 1615, as was not usually the case, differ noticeably from the earlier ones. See below p. 224.

*Text* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 57) Si qua Patriarcharum benedictio divino Spiritu confirmata est, si quod in lege praemium vitam ex virtute instituentibus promissum, si quid veritatis veterum historiarum aenigmata portenderunt, si quid boni prophetarum oracula praenuntiarunt, ea omnis hodierno munere continentur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 66) Quare nos item ex piscatu verborum Dei iam ad

panem illum caelestem accurramus, quem spei favus dulcem reddit in Christo Iesu Domino nostro cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

COMMENTARIES

a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

For his 1605 Latin edition of Nyssenus' works, Fronto Ducaeus wrote notes on *Orationes I, II* and *IV In sanctum Pascha*. They are entitled *Notae in Orat. De resurrectione Christi* and include comment on the three sermons, printed consecutively with no distinction of the particular work in question.

As was his custom Ducaeus assessed the Latin of the translator in the light of Greek manuscript evidence (see above p. 78). For *Oratio IV* he had in addition Hoeschelius' edition of 1587. He seems not to have known Camerarius' Greek text or Latin version.

Ducaeus made a number of changes in his *Notae* before printing them in the 1615 bilingual edition. Then in 1618 Jacob Gretser added some additional notes. The 1638 edition combined the two sets of notes.

*Notae in Orationem I* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.75) 701 b. Si quid boni Prophetarum) εἰ τις προφητικὴ φωνὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ φύσιν si quid boni, quod supra naturam sit, prophetarum oracula. et paulo post omnis Dei benedictio πᾶσα ἢ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐλογία omnis Christi benedictio . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.78) (on 712 a) Cum ad patrem ascendero, tunc tibi licebit me tangere. ut loquitur Dominus. Io. 20.17.

*Notae in Orationem II*. [*Inc.*]: (II.78) 714 d. dixit vespere sabbati) Ut tollatur ambigui-

tas quae lectorem posset turbare, satius fuerit vertere, dixit, sero sabbati, sed pluraliter sero sabbatorum . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.79) (On 721 c) Atque illis quidem) Graecus liber . . . Atque illas quidem duos viros qui ipsis astitissent, has vero sedentem a dextris iuvenem vidisse.

*Notae in Orationem IV*. [*Inc.*]: (II.79) On 739 d. Hoc est Sapientiae dictum) In editione Augustana pag. 214 legitur . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (II.80) on 828 c. Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino et misericordiam a Deo salutari suo.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

b. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser, the editor of the 1618 *Appendix* to the 1615 edition of Gregory of Nyssa's works, wrote some additions to the notes previously written by Fronto Ducaeus on two works: *In Sanctum Pascha I* (see above) and *De sancto Theodoro*. The works themselves were not printed in the 1618 edition.

*Addenda Notis Frontonis Ducae Societatis Jesu Theologi in Orationem I De Resurrectione*. Tomo I. (ed. of Ratisbon, 1740). [*Inc.*]: (Vol. XIV, p. 347) Pag. 813.b.13 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔστιν αὐτῆ Subiiciebatur astericus cum haec ederemus, ut indicaretur, hic deesse quaedam quae nunc integriorem librum ex Regis Christianissimi nacti bibliotheca et alterum Theodori Canteri supplebimus. . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (Vol. XIV, p. 348 (On p. 831.d.6) νόησον, εἰς τί σοι ἢ πικρία τοῦ βίου μετασκευάζεται.

*Edition:*

1740. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 52–53.

XXV. IN SANCTUM PASCHA II  
QUOD NULLO MODO CONTRARII  
INTER SE SINT EVANGELISTAE

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:628–652; 1922, Paris

in *Patrologia Orientalis* XVI, fasc. V, pp. 794–860 (ed. M. A. Kugener and E. Triffaux).

*In sanctum Pascha* II is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa in a number of Greek manuscripts (17 reported by Kugener and Triffaux, *op. cit.* p. 778) including the well known Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X) and Vat. gr. 448 (s. X). It usually occupies the second place among Gregory's paschal sermons.

From the mid-sixth until the sixteenth century few questioned Nyssen's authorship. Serious discussion about its authenticity arose when François Combefis in 1648 published the sermon from a manuscript which named Hesychius of Jerusalem as author (*Graeco-Latinae patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium* II.743–774). In his comments Combefis offered some reasons for doubting Nyssen's authorship: 1. the fact that some of its statements contradicted those in the unquestionably genuine oration, *In sanctum Pascha* I; 2. the fact that its style was very different from Gregory's; and lastly 3. the fact that Hesychius wrote sermons on the paschal theme and a "Harmony of the Gospels" in which some of the same material was discussed. J. Cotelier (*Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* III.1:1677–1686) supported the opinion of Combefis. Later L. de Tillemont (*Mémoires*, 1701–1714, IX.613) also agreed. Then in 1715 B. de Montfaucon (*Bibliotheca Coisliniana* I:68–75) published three passages which he found in Coislinianus 23 (s. XI) in a corona-type catena on the Gospels. In the manuscript the excerpts were attributed to Severus the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch who was anathematized by the Council of Constantinople in 536. Moreover on fol. 284 v of Coisl. 23 appeared the words: Σευήρου Ἀντιόχειας ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου οὗ. Montfaucon and other scholars of the time failed to realize that this inscription provided proof of Severus' authorship; they continued to believe that Hesychius was the author. A. Galland toward the end of the century still maintained the viewpoint of Combefis.

In 1898 M. A. Kugener pointed out that Severus' sermons, though destroyed in Greek copies because of Justinian's order to burn them, nevertheless survived in Syriac transla-

tions. There was a fixed chronological order and numeration for Severus' *Homiliae cathedrales*; Number 77 was always the sermon corresponding to Gregory of Nyssa's *In sanctum Pascha* II. The sermon was delivered between July and September in 515 a.d.; the earliest translation into Syriac was made by (probably) Paul of Callinice in 528; a copy of this translation bears a date of purchase by a monastery of 576. Jacob of Edessa also translated the work (c. 701). This sermon has the distinction of being the only one of the 125 *Homiliae cathedrales* to survive in its entirety in Greek. This was due to the fact that one or more scribes, in an effort to preserve it after the condemnation of Severus' writings, assigned it to an orthodox author, probably first to Gregory of Nyssa. Then later a copyist noted, as did Combefis so many years later, that the style and content made Nyssen's authorship very doubtful. He assigned the work to Hesychius, either knowing that Severus was the author, but wanting to preserve the treatise, or perhaps unaware of Severus' connection, but knowing that Hesychius had written works on the same theme. Even a brief glance at Hesychius, *Collectio difficultatum et solutionum*, Excerpta per compendium ex Evangelica consonantia (printed by Cotelier, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta* III: 1 sq., reprinted in *PG* 93:1391–1488), for example at *Difficultas* L and its *Solutio*, (*PG* 93:1433/34), makes clear how easy it would be to associate Hesychius with *In sanctum Pascha* II. All scholars today accept Severus of Antioch as the real author.

*Bibliography:* The most complete discussion of the text and its history appears in Kugener-Triffaux, *op. cit.* pp. 767–793. See also, M. A. Kugener, "Une homélie de Sévère d'Antioche attribuée à Grégoire de Nysse et à Hésyche de Jerusalem," *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* 3 (1898) 435–451. On Hesychius' treatment of the same theme see K. Jüssen, Die dogmatischen Anschauungen des H. von J., I. Teil, in *Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie*, Vol. 17, Münster/ Wf., 1931, esp. pp. 34–37.

## TRANSLATION

## I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *In sanctum Pascha* II, basing his work on manuscripts such as Monacensis 370 which attributed the sermon to Nyssenus. It was published in 1562. For details see above p. 57. Sifanus' version appeared in all subsequent *Opera omnia* editions of Gregory. F. Combefis used Sifanus' work as the basis for the Latin text he printed in 1648; but he made some changes to bring it into harmony with the Greek text at which he had arrived, using a manuscript which attributed the work to Hesychius. Later Montfaucon and Galland reprinted Combefis' adaptation of Sifanus' translation. F. Ducaeus commented on the text. See his *Notae*.

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 193) Quamquam omnes quidem propemodum, dilecti, eam quae a nobis in Dominica nocte commode atque competenter introducta est, Evangeliorum approbant lectionem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 203) Praebeat autem nobis Dominus virtutem ad declinandum a malo et ad bonum faciendum per gratiam atque benignitatem Domini et Dei et Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria et imperium cum Patre et Spiritu sancto nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

## 2. JOHANNES PICUS

Johannes Picus (Jean Picot) is said to have

made a Latin translation of *In sanctum Pascha* II, and according to J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 93:1451–54, it was published in F. Ducaeus, *Auctarium Bibliothecae Patrum*, Paris, 1624, vol. II, p. 417 ff. However no translation of this work of ps. Nyssenus appears in this edition (I am grateful to Mr. Daniel Burney and Ms. Mary Ann Ellery of the Library of Congress for checking the copy held there and for providing copies of the Table of Contents of the two volumes of the edition). The 1959, Turnhout reprint of the *Patrologia* vol. 46:8 also refers to a version of Picus, apparently in reliance on the earlier notice of Migne. No other evidence for such a translation has been found.

Johannes Picus was born in Paris in 1470 and died April 24, 1565. In 1513 he became clerk of the parlement of Paris and in 1543 he was made Président aux Enquêtes. He spent much of his leisure time making Latin versions of patristic authors including Hippolytus, Theodoretus Cyrensis, Origen, Marcus Eremita, Epiphanius, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Chrysippus, and Maximus Confessor. For further information on Picus, see Nicéron 34:157–159.

## 3. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin version of only one of Nyssenus' orations on the paschal story, *Oratio* I. The Table of Contents of the Paris, 1615, edition of Nyssenus' works indicates that Zinus made the Latin version appearing on p. 830 sq. of Vol. II. The Paris, 1638 edition also lists Zinus as responsible for the same version in Vol. III, p. 400 sq. However the text on those pages is that of Sifanus. The error is probably the result of a typesetter's carelessness. It is not repeated in the Cologne edition of 1617 which usually copies the 1615 edition.

## COMMENTARY

See above under *In Sanctum Pascha* I, p. 224.

XXVI. *IN SANCTUM PASCHA,*  
*ORATIO III*  
*(IN CHRISTI RESURRECTIONEM)*

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:652–681; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX: 245–270 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

TRANSLATION

I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin version of the third of the paschal sermons of Gregory of Nyssa. It was published in Basel in 1562. See above pp. 57–59 for details.

*De sacro festo Paschae et de Resurrectione, habita in magna die Dominica, oratio tertia* (ed. of Basel, 1562).

*Text* [*Inc.*]: (p. 203) Pauperes homines, qui dies festos amant et cum lubenti ac parato animo, tum habitu cultuque splendido conventus ac celebritates frequentant . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 216) qui hoc omne quod videtur constituit, et ut voluit, ornavit. Nos vero credimus resurrectioni gloriam reddentes Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editio:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

XXVII. *IN SANCTUM PASCHA IV*  
*(DE SANCTO ET SALUTARI*  
*FESTO PASCHAE).*

Editio princeps: 1564, Leipzig (ed. J. Camerarius).

Recent editions: PG 46:681–684; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:309–311 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

TRANSLATIONS

I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *In sanctum Pascha IV*. It was published in Basel in 1562. See above for details of this edition. This sermon and one other are printed twice both in the 1562 edition and in the 1571 reprint. The fact that Sifanus' offer to oversee the printing process had been refused, as he tells us, may account for the unusual occurrence. See Ducaeus' *Notae* below.

*De sancto et salutari festo Paschae* (ed. of Basel, 1562) [*Inc.*]: (p. 109 and 216) Vera quidem Sabbati requies, quae benedictionem Dei accepit, in qua requieuit Dominus ab operibus suis, pro salute mundi mortis efficacia fracta feriat, iam finem habet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 110 and 217) dicamus quod Deus sit magnus Dominus et rex magnus super omnem terram qui benedixit coronae anni benignitatis suae et conduxit nos in hunc chorum et coetum spiritualem per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cui gloria in saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

2. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius prepared the editio princeps of the Greek text *In sanctum Pascha IV* for publication in 1564, using, probably, Berolinensis Phill. 1443 (s. XIV). To this he added his own Latin version. Though not

reprinted in the Paris editions of Nyssen's works, Camerarius' translation was certainly known in his native Germany. It was reedited for textbook use in 1626 by Henricus Oelschlegelius.

*Dedication* (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). See above p. 193.

*De sancto et salutifero Paschate*. [*Inc.*]: Ipsa quidem vera Sabbati quies, accepta benedictione Dei, qua acquievit ab operibus suis Dominus, et Sabbatum in erepta morti actione peregit pro salute mundi, iam finem habet, . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Dicamus, Deus magnus Dominus, et rex magnus super omnem terram, qui benedixit coronae anni benignitatis suae, et congregavit nos ad huius chori spiritualis stationem, in Christo Iesu Domino nostro cui gloria saecula. Amen.

*Editions:*

1564. See Composite Editions. Photos were kindly supplied by Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.

1626. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

### 3. HENRICUS OELSCHLEGELIUS

Henricus Oelschlegelius made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In sanctum Pascha IV* (*In sanctum et salutare Pascha*). The dedicatory letter is dated Palm Sunday, 1626, and addressed to Hildebrand of Einsiedeln and his nephew Alexander de Miltiz, a pupil of Oelschlegel. The version was published in the same year in Dresden in a volume whose title indicates that it contains the translation as well as philological and theological notes. Oelschlegel himself is more specific in his introductory remarks (p. B 4): It contained "Versionem Romanam cum paraphrasi, notis grammaticis et rhetoricis, philologicis et theologicis". Even this statement fails to describe the detailed treatment he accords the treatise of Nyssen. A reader must conclude that Oelschlegel's aim in producing the book was to provide what he considered a suitable exemplar for making a careful study of a patristic sermon. His simply stated object for producing the volume was to share his learning. In

addition to his own Latin translation and paraphrase, he included the Latin version of Joachim Camerarius, the Greek text of the treatise, an *explicatio verborum*, and a number of *praeloquia* and *prooimidia* which were informational and explanatory though not technically commentaries.

Oelschlegel's study was heavy and verbose. He had a fondness for unusual terms (e.g. Christ is called *fideiussor*).

*S. Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae Oratio in sanctum et salutiferum Pascha, Versione et Paraphrasi Latina, itaque notis philologicis ac theologicis illustrata a M. Henrico Oelschlegelio, Electoralis ad Albim Scholae Collega. Cum approbatione Reverendae et Ampliss. Facultatis Theologicae Lipsiensis.*

*Epistola Nuncupatoria.* Generosissimo ac familiae tam antiquitate quam splendore Nobilissimo Viro, Domino Hildebrando ab Einsidel Seniori in Gnantstein ac Wolfftitz Maecenati suo Opt. Max. nec non ipsius Nepote vere Nobili adolescenti Alexandro De Miltiz in Schenckenberg Musarum et Gratiarum pullo. S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: (p. A a) Numquam institutum eorum probavi qui propterea tantum omnes libros evolvunt, omnia veterum monumenta excutiunt, universos velut manes priscorum vexant, ut domi duntaxat sua evadant docti, alios in honestis conventibus tangant salibusque plurimis saucios a se dimittant, vehementer etiam atque etiam interim praecavent, ne ad eximiae suae eruditionis ac doctrinae abdyta penetrent alii, aut si quos penetrasse non sciunt, sed existimant, saepius optant, ne viverent, ne exstarent usquam . . . (Having expressed disapproval of those who jealously guard their own obscure scholarly research, he comments on how desirable, though how rare it is when gifted men of letters use their talent" in commune bonum". He explains that in the school at Meissen he devoted his energies to examining the "monuments" of ancient authors. He pursued both the study and the teaching of Greek which, he lamented, few pupils considered of much value. He decided to publish the volume of Gregory of Nyssa with whose writing he is impressed) . . . Quod (Gregory) genere Graece loquendi polito, nitido, candido polleat, quod lacte suo



nutriat Ecclesiam, suis monitis praesit eius civibus, suo ore ac facundia adsit miseris, profliget improbos, fulmina et tonitrua vibret in haereticos, gravissimus qua pietatis, qua veritatis Antistes. (Since the greater part of the book is taken up with Oelschlegel's own observations, one suspects that his first mentioned purpose of sharing his erudition was a more likely goal. He continues saying that he wishes to show Hildebrand that he was deeply impressed by the latter's interest in "politiora studia". Indeed Hildebrand has bequeathed to his sons, daughters and relatives, not perishable material wealth, but rather "disciplinam" whose reward is eternal salvation. Then he turns to the nephew of Hildebrand, Alexander whose zealous pursuit of Greek he lauds.) . . . Vidimus te non per unam quotidie horam in eruendis Novi Testamenti vocabulis occupatum, ut Graecarum litterarum formas, nomina, potestatem condisceres, nomina et verba flectere atque inter se coniungere ac copulare nosset: Ut adeo Alexander Miltizius Novi Testamenti libros non minus perpetuos haberet comites, quam Iliadem Homericam Alexander Magnus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. A5<sup>v</sup>) Sed, ne in suspicionem amor veniat, parce verbis, et ut libellum hunc, in quo nomen tuum, velut lucentem aliquam stellam, scintillare volui, serena fronte accipias, Tuum de me iudicium constanter tuearis, in sinu Musarum feliciter adolescas, nobilitatem pietate, pietatem doctrina ornes, atque sic magnis Reipublicae negotiis plene maturescas, calide voveo, precorque. Valete, vivite et fovete. Generosissime Domine ab Einsidel, hoc observantiae meae auctoramentum: Tuque Nobilissime Alexander a Miltiz, amoris in Te mei argumentum. Dabam Misena, ex Schola Electoris Saxoniae, Dominica Christi ingredientis cum triumpho in sanctam Urbem, inter ramos palmarum et olearum, inter faustissimas populi acclamations. Anno 1626. V. V. Generosiss. et splendidiss. Nobilit. a cultu perpetuo M. Henricus Oelschlegelius, Electoralis, quae ibidem est, scholae Collega.

The contents of the volume before Oelschlegel's Latin version of the Nyssenius treatise appear in the following order:

1. *Vota et Euphemiae Amicorum* addressed

to Oelschlegel. (pp. A 6–A 8)

a. A Latin poem addressed to Oelschlegel praising the translation and written by the rector of the school Joannes Bechman.

b. A Greek poem "Idem ad alumnos et discipulos suae et collegarum suorum fidei commissos".

c. A Latin poem by Caspar Sternenbeke, Diaconus Ecclesiae Afranae Misnensis.

d. A Latin poem by Joseph Clauder, Rector of the school at Altenberg (where Oelschlegel received his early education).

e. A Latin poem by Friederich Schlegel, Rector of Schola Opidana in Meissen.

2. The Greek text of Gregory of Nyssa's *In sanctum Pascha* IV (p. B 1 sq.)

3. *Praeloquium in Orationem S. Gregorii Nysseni*, ἐξηγήματα qua brevia, qua perspicua. (pp. B 3–D 4).

4. *Praeloquium* continues, but running title changes to *Prolegomena* and the section is divided into four parts:

I. *De causa* (sic) *efficiente*. On Gregory, the etymology of his name, etc.

II. *De causa formali*. On the form (*oratiuncula*) and language.

III. *De causa materiali*. On the exact significance of certain words, e.g. "In" in the title; "Pascha".

IV. *De causa finali*. On the purpose for which Gregory composed the treatise. It is to show the favor toward man of Christ the redeemer and the duty of redeemed man (to Christ).

5. *Versio Romana, Propositionis Pars Prima*. (p. D 4).

(6).Text. [*Inc.*]: (p. D 5) Illa quidem vera Sabbati requies benedictionem Dei sortita, in qua requievit a suis operibus Dominus, super (pro) mundi salute ademptae agendi facultati mortis Sabbatum impertitus, nunc finem habet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. D 7) et ille ipse, qui potestatem habet improbi Daemonum exercitus, discessit et evanuit et ad nihilum (ad non ens) nunc abiit, dicamus: Quoniam Deus magnus Dominus, et Rex magnus, super omnem terram, qui benedixit coronae anni bonitatis suae et collegit nos ad spiritualem hanc stationem in Christo Jesu, Domino cui gloria in saecula, Amen.

Followed by:

7. Latin version of Joachim Camerarius (See above p. 227) (pp. D 7–E 1).

8. *Prooimidium* to *Paraphrasis* (for which the running title is *Paraphrasis*). There are two sections: (p. E 1–E 4).

9. *Paraphrasis* τῆς προτροπῆς (pp. E 5–F 6).

10. *Propositionis Pars Ultima. Explicatio Vocabulorum grammatica, Notis Rhetoricis, Philologicis et Theologicis commendata.* (pp. F 6–Q 7).

*Edition:*

(micro) 1626, Dresdae (Dresden): apud Wolfgangum Seiffertum Bibliopol. At the end of the volume after the *Errata Typographae maxime conspicua* is a page with a seal and: Freibergae Hermundurorum. Excudebat Georgius Hoffman. Anno 1626. NUC (CtY).

*Biography:*

Henricus Oelschlegelius (Heinrich Oelschlegel) was born near the end of the sixteenth century in Altenburg where he received his early education. On June 27, 1606 he entered the Electoral school at Meissen. In 1617 he became a teacher of Greek at the same institution. He continued his studies in Greek even as he taught the subject to what he lamented were uninterested students. Oelschlegel's interest in Gregory of Nyssa went back to his youth when he had seen in the house of Johann Casel, a teacher, at Helmstedt, a copy of the Greek text of Nyssenus' *Oratio catechetica*. It happened that the rector of the school at Meissen, Johann Bechmann, was also interested in Gregory and had made a detailed study of his life. Oelschlegel's situation was thus conducive to further study. He exhibits familiarity with Joachim Camerarius' work, and included his Latin version of *In sanctum Pascha IV* along with his own in his 1626 volume. He also quotes from Camerarius' *Notae* to his edition of *In diem natalem* and *In sanctum Stephanum*. He mentions Adam Siber's translation of the *De Abrahamo* pericope from *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti*. He admired Casaubon, whom he called along with Melanchthon and Sturm the "archichoragi sapientiae in Germania", and referred to his work on *Epistola*

III. He mentions, obviously from personal knowledge, a number of other writings of Gregory of Nyssa: *Epistola II, De anima et resurrectione, In ascensionem, In canticum, In diem luminum, De opificio hominis, De pauperibus amandis I and II, De perfectione* and *De vita Moysis*. His interests were nevertheless broad in scope, and he published on such diverse subjects as hieroglyphics, Hebrew vowel pointing and Martin Luther's *Catechism*. He died on Apr. 29, 1636.

*Works:* In addition to his volume on Gregory of Nyssa, Oelschlegel published *Observationum philologico-philosophicarum liber*, Gera, 1616; *De punctis vocalibus Ebraeorum*, Gera, 1616; *Ἐκατοντάς St(ive) Centuria imaginum hieroglyphicarum omnia studiosae juventutis officia ἐν κύκλῳ complexa et ab Alumnis electoralis ad Albim scholae germanicis atque latinis versibus expressa*, Freiberg, 1624; *D. Mart. Lutheri catechesis minor, germanice lat. et graece etc.*

*Bibliography:* Joecher, Supplement I(1816) 965–66.

## COMMENTARIES

### a. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius wrote notes on *In sanctum Pascha IV*. In them he explains his choice of Latin renditions of the Greek text.

*Ex Oratione secunda* (i.e. the second in this volume; the first was *De deitate Filii*, etc.). [*Inc.*]: (p. E 5v) Erepta morti actione) τῆ ἀπραξία τοῦ θανάτου ἐνσαββατίσας Graecorum nomen significationem habet inertiae vel etiam facultatis agendi prorsus ademptae. Ex Hebraico autem sabbato Graecum composuit autor verbum ἐνσαββατίσαι . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. E 7) et illustret veritatis celestis cognitione animos nostros et voluntates, consilia, actiones dirigat ad laudem et gloriam Sanctiss. nominis sui et Ecclesiae sanctae augmentum et commoda. Amen. Finis.

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions. A copy of the notes was kindly supplied by Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

## b. FRONTO DUCAEUS

See above under *In Sanctum Pascha* I, p. 224.

XXVIII. *IN SANCTUM PASCHA V*  
(*IN LUCIFERAM SANCTAM*  
*DOMINI RESURRECTIONEM*).

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt (ed. F. Ducaeus). GNO IX.181 erroneously lists 1600 as the date of the editio princeps.

Recent editions: PG 46:684–689; 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:315–319 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

See above p. 222 on authenticity.

## TRANSLATIONS

## 1. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus published his Latin translation and the Greek text of *In sanctum Pascha V* (*In luciferam . . .*) in his 1596 edition of a few works of Nyssenius (see above p. 70–1). For his text and version Ducaeus made use of Montepessulanus 122 (s. XVI), a manuscript which he had obtained from the collection of Aegidius David. This codex, which played an important role in the fortuna of Gregory's works, passed shortly thereafter into the hands of Federicus Morellus who made a Latin version of his own based on it (see below). Ducaeus preferred Morellus' translation to his own and published it in later editions of Nyssenius' *Opera* on which he worked, beginning with that of 1605.

*In luciferam sanctamque Domini resurrectionem sermo* (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1596). [*Inc.*]: (p. 64) Benedictus Deus. Unigenitum Deum, coelestium genitorem qui ex abditis terrae penetralibus caput extulit ac luciferis radiis universum orbem terrarum contextit, hodie celebremus, sepulturam unigeniti . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 76) regnum tuum regnum omnium saeculorum (Ps. 144.13). Et rursus: Dominus reg-

navit, exultet terra, laetentur insulae multae, (Ps 96.1), quoniam ipsi gloria et potestas, etc. (sic).

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions. A copy of the text was kindly supplied by F. H. Stubbing, Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

1599. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

## 2. FEDERICUS MORELLUS

Federicus Morellus published the Greek text and his own Latin version of *In sanctum Pascha V* (*In luciferam . . .*) in Paris in a separate edition in 1600. The title page states: "Graece et Latine nunc primum prodit". This is all the more odd since E. Gebhardt has demonstrated (GNO IX.181) that Morellus must have used for his work the same manuscript which Ducaeus had used for *his* text and translation of the oration four years earlier. Ducaeus apparently preferred Morellus' version to his own since he chose it for inclusion in the 1605 and later editions of Nyssenius' works.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1600) Illustrissimo et Amplissimo D.D. Pomponio Belliaevraeo, Galliarum Cancellario, Fed. Morellus, Professor et Interpres Reg. S.P.

[*Inc.*]: Non praeterit te, Vir amplissime et sapientissime, hoc Florentis Tertulliani insigne et doctum dictum, Fiducia Christianorum, Resurrectio mortuorum. Hoc credere veritas cogit. Veritatem Deus aperit. Hanc fidem firmat primogenitus mortuorum. De cuius resurrectione olim feliciore aevo habita, et Atticis lectissimisque verbis expressa oratio a beatissimo Gregorio Nysseno antistite nuper in manus meas venit inter alias plerasque, quas nactus sum in penu Bibliothecae optimi et eloquentissimi viri μακαρίτου Aegidii Davidi affinis mei, nuper in suprema curia advocati, qui etiam cum vitali aura frueretur, eiusdem magni autoris Commentarios locupletissimos adversus Eunomianos eruditissimo charissimoque Collegae nostro Nic. Gulonio Latinitate donandos tradiderat (see above p. 97), quod ex

animi sententia pulcherrime praestitit atque hoc egregium opus ad umbilicum ductum Regiam Pontificiamve μεγαλοπρέπειαν ne sit labor editionis in damno desiderat. Ego hoc breve sed eximium specimen ingenii tanti diutius eruditorum et φιλοσοφούντων Senatui invidere nolui, sed has ἀπαρχὰς quam primum virtuti illi tuae, ob quam te summa Rex Christianissimus amplitudine et apice magistratum dignum putavit, ob quam es praesidium, arx, decus, κῦδος καὶ ἔρκος omnium proborum φιλολόγων καὶ φιλοκάλων, libens dare, dicare, consecrare volui. Et nisi id facerem, mihi Musae et Gratiae quarum es μέλημα iure succenseant. Tu, vir praestantissime, habe tibi munus hoc λόγιον δόσιν ὀλίγην τε φίλην τε et semper, Quod si esse velis, nihilque malis, χαῖρε τε καὶ μέγα οὐλε, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειρα Lutetiae. IX. Kal. April. A. S. MDC.

*Text.* [*Inc.*]: (p. 5) Benedictus Deus. Dicamus bona verba, et celebremus hodie unigenam Dei filium, verum caelestium procreatorem, qui ex occultis terrae sinibus emerit, et clarissimis radiis orbem terrarum operuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 15) Ac rursus, Dominus regnavit, exultet terra, laentur insulae multae. Quia ipsi gloria et fortitudo convenit. Amen.

*Editions:*

(photo) 1600, Lutetiae (Paris): Apud Federicum Morellum, Architypographum Regium. Hoffmann 2.185; Maittaire III.835; NUC. BL; BN; Adams G-1119 (MH; NN). Photos were kindly supplied by James Walsh, Keeper of Printed Books, Houghton Library, Harvard.

- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1550. NUC under NG 0501585 gives the date, 1550. This is an error.

*Biography:*

See CTC I.162.

## XXIX. IN SANCTUM STEPHANUM PROTOMARTYREM

Editio princeps 1564, Leipzig (ed. J. Camerarius).

Recent editions: PG 46:701–721; 1968, Leiden, *Encomium in sanctum Stephanum* (ed. O. Lendle). Lendle's text will be reprinted in the Leiden series, GNO X.1. On the edition, see E. de Strycker, "Suggestions pratiques pour la collation des mss d'un texte hagiographique riche," *Miscellanea E. Dekkers*, The Hague, 1975, vol. II, 345–46. *Oratio I In sanctum Stephanum* is preserved in 134 known Greek manuscripts listed by Lendle, *op. cit.* 102–122. Lendle used 114 of these including one from s. VIII–IX in preparing the critical edition. This is in contrast to the two or three used by Hoeschelius for his 1587 edition and the one used by Camerarius in 1564.

On the day after he delivered *Oratio I*, Gregory gave the second sermon *In sanctum Stephanum*. There is no question as to its authenticity but it was not known in the West until its discovery by L. A. Zaccagni who published it along with his own Latin version in 1698.

A third homily on St. Stephen is attributed to Gregory of Nyssa in three of the five manuscripts in which it occurs. It is today recognized as the work of Asterius of Amasea, *Oratio XII*. It contained so many expressions also found in Nyssenus' *Oratio I*, that Oudin (*Comm. de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* I.605) believed that Asterius was the real author of the Nyssenus work. Bellarmine also thought Nyssenus' *Oratio I* was Asterius' (*De script. eccles.*, ed. 1728, in *Op. om.*, Vol. VII.102) because it contained passages Photius quoted as Asterius'. In reality, Asterius had copied from Gregory's sermon. See C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I–XIV*, pp. xxx, xxxi, 159 sq.

### TRANSLATIONS

#### I. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *In sanctum Stephanum I* which was

first published in 1562. For specific circumstances, see above p. 57. Although two other Latin versions were subsequently made, it was Sifanus' which appeared in later *Opera omnia* editions. The version was paired with the Greek text produced by Hoeschelius (1587) as revised by F. Ducaeus. In many passages the Greek text and the Latin translation are not in agreement. See P. Lendle, *op. cit.* 284–285 and Ducaeus *Notae*, ed. of 1605, pp. 74–75 (See below p. 234).

*Text* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 98) *Quam pulchra bonorum consequentia est! Quam iucunda laetitiae successio! Ecce enim diem festum ex die festo, et gratiam pro gratia accipimus . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: (p. 106) *ut non solum spectatores Stephani certaminis, verumetiam repleti Spiritu sancto gratiae participes simus, ad eversionem adversariorum, ad gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria, potentia atque imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959.. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 2. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius published the Greek text and his Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *In sanctum Stephanum I* in Leipzig in 1564. For this edition, see above p. 200 for details. Camerarius also wrote some notes on this oration (see below p. 234).

*Dedication.* See above p. 200.

*Text* (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). [*Inc.*]: *Quam praeclara bonorum est consequentia? Quam suavis hilaritatis successio? Ecce enim diem festum ex die festo, et gratiam accipimus pro gratia . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: *Contingat autem nobis, ut non modo spectatores simus, sed par-*

*ticipes quoque gratiae repleti Spiritu sancto ad contradicentium et disceptantium confutationem et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi cui gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

*Lectoribus Joachimus.* See above p. 200.

*Doubtful manuscript:*

(\*) El Escorial, Real Biblioteca IV.H.26 (no date): Listed among manuscripts lost in the fire of 1671, Antolín, *Cat. Mss lat. del Escorial*, Vol. V.392. There is no proof that this contained Camerarius translation, but the fact that it contained *In diem natalem* and *In S. Stephanum*, in that order enhances the supposition. P. Teodoro Alonzo Turienzo of the Biblioteca del Escorial states that there is no further information now available on this manuscript.

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.100.

## 3. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio I, In S. Stephanum* which was published in 1574. For circumstances see above, p. 191. Though Zinus' version of this oration was not the one used in further editions of Nyssenius' works, it did appear in Surius' expansion of Lippomano's *De probatis vitis sanctorum* under the date, December 26.

*Text* (ed. of Leipzig, 1574). [*Inc.*]: (p. 103) *Quam praeclara bonorum series, quam dulcis laetitiae successio. Ecce enim celebritatem ex celebritate et gratiam pro gratia suscipimus . . . / . . .* [*Expl.*]: (p. 109) *ut Stephani non certaminis solum spectatores sed etiam gratiae participes simus, et sancto Spiritu ad profligandos et delendos adversarios impleamur ad gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi cui gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

*Editions:*

1574. See Composite Editions.

In a number of editions of L. Lippomano, *De probatis vitis sanctorum* and the revisions of this work by L. Surius, including:

1881, Turin (Vol. XII.449 sq.)

In *Acta sanctorum* (ed. H. Delehaye and P. Peeters) Dec. I, pp. 432–437.

1926, Paris, ed. H. Delehaye and P. Peeters, under December 1, pp. 432–37.

*Biography:*

See CTC II.155.

## COMMENTARIES

## a. JOACHIM CAMERARIUS

Joachim Camerarius wrote notes on *In sanctum Stephanum*. For details of the edition and placement of notes, see above p. 201.

Notata in *Laudatione Sancti Stephani* (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). [*Inc.*]: ἀποδύμενος. Quoniam ceperunt aliquando nudi in ludis et palestra decertare Graeci, autore vel Orsippo Megarensi vel Acantho Lacedaemonio, . . . / . . . Ab unoquoque (?) autem proferri meliora et licet et est in votis. Finis. (The page appears to be torn at this point in the Cambridge copy; NNUT's copy is missing).

*Edition:*

1564. See Composite Editions.

## b. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fronto Ducaeus wrote a few notes on this oration in which he compared Sifanus' translation with the Greek text he found in Hoescheliuss' edition of 1587 and in the codex Morelli. The notes were published in all *Opera omnia* editions beginning with that of 1605. They were slightly revised in 1615.

*Notae* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (II.74) 695.a. quid circa instrumentum) August. et ms. Μ. τί περί τὸ σκέδος . . . τὸ ἐγκείμενον quid circa veritatis vas malignitatem exerces atque omisso eo quod continetur tollis e medio id quod continet . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Ol.e. . . . unde imago exprimitur aut quod imago refert.

*Editions:*

See above p. 78.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 71–72.

XXXI. DE SANCTO THEODORO  
MARTYRE

Editio princeps: 1615, Paris in *G. N. Op. om.*

Recent editions: PG 46:736–748; and excerpt, 1925, Brussels in *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. IV:27–29 (ed. H. Delehaye and P. Peeters). J. P. Cavnos is preparing a critical edition for the Leiden series, GNO. X.1.

Scholars today consider this to be a genuine work of Gregory of Nyssa although in the past there has been some question about its authenticity. C. Datema has demonstrated that *De sancto Theodoro* was known and quoted by a contemporary of Nyssenius, Asterius of Amasea. This panegyric is the earliest known treatment of the legend of St. Theodore. None of the many later versions of the legend, though they have a few details in common with Gregory, is based on his work.

*Bibliography:* J. Daniélou, "Chronologie des sermons," *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 29 (1955) 355–356; C. Datema, *Asterius of Amasea, Homilies I–XIV* (1970) pp. xxx–xxxii; H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes Grecques des Saints Militaires* (reprint) Arno Press, N. Y., 1975, pp. 17, 18, 21, 24–25; and also his "Les passions des martyres," *Subsidia Hagiographica* 13 (1921) p. 156. See earlier statements in favor of authenticity by Natalis Alexander, *Sel. Hist. Ecclés. saec. IV*, Ch. 6, pp. 143–144 (ed. 1714); and E. Du Pin, *Bibl. des aut. ecclés.* 2:232.

## TRANSLATIONS

I. JACOBUS NOGUERAS  
(Partial translation)

The author of a Latin translation, preserved in a Vienna manuscript, of the prayer from the final portion of *De sancto Theodoro* (= PG 46:746 D–747 D) records his name simply as D. Jacobus s. Theologus et Decanus Viennensis. However his identity with Jacobus Noguerras may be deduced from several facts. The translation occurs in a manuscript, *Piae Precationes . . . contra Turcanos feriis sextis . . . fundendae . . . Ferdinando I Caesari dicatae*. This is certainly Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, who succeeded him as emperor in 1555 and who had trouble with the Turks under Suleiman. Noguerras was a member of Ferdi-

nand's inner circle (see above p. 153). He was also a dean of Vienna who functioned as vicar in the interval between bishops. Finally, he stated in his dedication to another translation of Nyssenius that he had read some of his orations.

*Text* (Bibl. Palat. Vindob. Ms 11704). Piissima Precatio Beati Gregorii Nissae Episcopi fratris Basilii magni ex oratione in sanctum Theodorum Martyrem quae etiam cuilibet alio (sic) Martyri accomodari potest, Interprete D. Jacobo S. Theologiae Doctore et Decano Viennensi. [Inc.]: (fol. 27) O Beate et Glorioso Athleta. N. nos qui anniversariam hanc festivitatem effectoris benignitate attigimus et conventum martyrum studiosum ad laudes eorum celebrandas coegimus, eum qui communis omnium Dominus est colentes et venerantes tuo erga nos ardenti amore freti, humilem hanc orationem ad te dirigimus per tuam pietatem orantes ut ubicunque festivitati praees nobis adesse digneris . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 29v) et feraci fidei eius quae in Christum suscipitur, terra permaneat, semper (sic) vitae sempiternae fructus edens in Christo Iesu Domino nostro cum quo una Patri simul et sancto spiritui gloria, potentia, honos nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Manuscript:*

(photo) Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 11704, s. XVI, misc., fols. 27–29v. *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibl. Palat. Vindob.*, Vol. VII (1875), p. 31.

*Bibliography:*

See above p. 154.

## 2. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of *De sancto Theodoro* which was published in 1562. For circumstances see above pp. 57–59.

*In laudes sancti viri et magni martyris Theodori* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [Inc.]: (p. 406) Vos qui populus Christi, qui grex sanctus ac regale estis sacerdotium, qui undique et ex urbibus et ex agris catervatim confluxistis, unde signo itineris accepto ad hunc sacrum locum venistis? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 411) O vir admi-

rande atque inter martyres eminens et excellens, Christianorum respublica campus segetum reddatur, qui campus ad finem usque maneat in pingui fertilique arvo fidei in Christum, semper fructum edens aeternae vitae, quae contigit per Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum, cum quo Patri simul et Spiritui sancto gloria imperium et honor nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.
- 1858. See Composite Editions.
- 1863. See Composite Editions.
- 1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

## 3. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus' Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *De sancto Theodoro* was first published in Venice in 1574 (see above p. 191 for details). Although after 1574 Zinus' translation did not appear in editions of Nyssenius, it was the one chosen by L. Surius in his revision and expansion of Lippomano's *De probatis vitis sanctorum*. It appears in various editions under Nov. 9.

*Divi Gregorii Nyssae Pontificis In S. Martyrem Theodorum Oratio* (ed. of Venice, 1574). [Inc.]: (p. 118) Vos Christi gens, grex sancte, regale sacerdotium, qui ex omnibus urbis agrisque locis confluxistis, undenam accepto perfectionis signo tam facile adducti estis ut ad sacrum hunc locum frequentes conveniretis? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 122) praeclaram et admirabilem ad finem usque segetem ferat, unde nobis proveniat fructus aeternae vitae in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto gloria, honor et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

- In works of Nyssenius:
- 1574. See Composite Editions.

In L. Surius *De probatis vitis sanctorum*:  
1618, Cologne.

In *Acta Sanctorum*:  
1925, Brussels: Nov. IV:27–29.

*Biography*:  
See CTC II.155.

## COMMENTARY

## a. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser's comments on this oration were first published in the 1618 *Appendix* to the 1615 edition of Nyssenus' works.

*Text* (ed. of Paris 1638). [*Inc.*]: (III, p. 70.1) Titulus huic orationi praefigebatur in codice ms. Regis Henrici II, insignibus ornato Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Θεόδωρον τὸν Τύρωνα. Apud Surium tomo VI exstat . . . ex Simeone Metaphraste . . . Exhibet idem Surii tomus . . . et alteram Nysseni ipsius ex interpretatione Petri Francisci Zini . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (III, p. 70.2) Sifanus πολίτευμα perperam vertit respública Christianorum; melius Zinus, Christianorum vita tanquam in frugifero solo praeclaram et admirabilem ad finem usque segetem ferat.

*Editions*:

See above pp. 42–43.

*Biography*:

See above pp. 52–53.

XXXII. CONTRA USURARIOS  
(FOENERATORES).

Editio princeps: 1618, Paris in *Appendix ad G. N. Opera*, 1615 (ed. J. Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 46:433–452 (reprinted 1879, Paris in *Homélie contre les usuriers*, ed. Abbé Quentier); 1967, Leiden in GNO IX:195–207 (ed. E. Gebhardt).

*Bibliography*: See the study of R. P. Maloney, "The Teaching of the Fathers on Usury," *Vig. Chr.* 27 (1973) pp. 241–265, esp. pp. 249–251, and J. Daniélou, "Chronologie des sermons . . .," *Rev. de Sci. Rel.* 29 (1955) p. 356.

## TRANSLATION

## I. JACOBUS GRETSERUS

Jacob Gretser made a Latin translation of

*Contra usurarios* which was published twice in 1596 in Ingolstadt by D. Sartorius, once in *Opuscula nonnulla Gregorii Nysseni*, ed. Fronto Ducaeus, and also separately. Like another treatise first appearing in the 1596 edition, *Contra fatum* (see above p. 104), its translator's name is not indicated. However it is Gretser's work; his identification with the anonymous translator is facilitated by the separate edition of the same year which does bear his name. Again, like *Contra fatum*, in the 1605 edition of Nyssenus' works, *Contra usurarios* is given as "incerto interprete" in the Table of Contents, but in Vol. II p. 119 beneath the title before the text appears "Frontone Ducaeo interprete" (see above pp. 104 sq.).

Several years later, in 1608, in his *Notae super Notas Petri Molinei* (on *Epistola II*), Gretser stated "mihi tamen exploratum est quis utrumque opusculum (i.e. *Contra fatum* and *Contra usurarios*) Latine verterit". J. A. McDonough, editor of the critical edition for the Leiden series, states that Gretser here is emphasizing that he knows who the translator is. Well he might, for in the case of the *Contra usurarios* at least it is he himself! The implication is that in 1608 the identity of the *incertus* was still apparently unknown to some. Why Gretser wished to conceal his involvement with the 1596 edition remains to be investigated. For the problem of the *Contra fatum*, see above pp. 104 sq.

The Greek text of *Contra usurarios* was not included, as was that of most other works, in the 1596, 1599 or 1615 editions. Gretser finally, in his 1618 *Appendix* to the 1615 edition of Nyssenus, published the Greek text basing it on Monacensis gr. 47 (a.d. 1551) which derives from the much older Ven. Marc. gr. 68 (s. XII). (See McDonough GNO V p. 4 and Jaeger GNO VIII.1 p. 18). Gretser's text was severely criticized by Ludovicus de Sinner when in 1842 he was preparing an edition of both Gregory's and his brother Basil's treatises on usurers. De Sinner had at his disposal the same manuscript which Gretser had used, but he found such different readings from those of his predecessor that he complained of Gretser's corrupting the text. His Latin he termed "parum accuratum", but he



did not alter it. It is altogether possible that Gretser had another manuscript source although some different readings may have been his own invention. De Sinner printed his own Greek text along with Gretser's Latin and this combination made its way into the editions of Migne and Quentier. Migne also reprints De Sinner's *Monitum* and *Notae* in connection with the text.

*Text* (ed. of Paris, 1605). [*Inc.*]: (p. 119) *Hominum virtutis studiosorum, et qui mores ex rationis praescripto formant, vita continentur bonis legibus et praeceptis, in quibus videre est legislatorem duo generatim spectare . . . / . . . [Expl.]:* (p. 127) *sufficere ratus consilium, quod divinus dedit Basilius in propria de hoc argumento concione, pluribus cum illis agens, qui inconsulte dant mutuum, quam qui avaritiae causa id faciunt.*

*Editions:*

1596. See Composite Editions.

1596. Ingolstadt. No copy located. Mentioned by Gebhardt GNO IX.135 and by H. Hörner.

1599. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

1615. See Composite Editions.

1617. See Composite Editions.

1618. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1740. See Composite Editions.

1842. Paris. in *S. Basilii Magni et S. Gregorii Nysseni contra Feneratores orationes binae Graece ad codicum fidem denuo recensuit notasque adiecit*, L. de Sinner.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above pp. 52–53.

series, GNO X.1.

*De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (*De vita beati Gregorii miraculorum opificis*), an encomium-life of the saint, appears both in editions of the works of Nyssenius and of Gregory Thaumaturgus. Its influence in the Greek communities of southern Italy is noteworthy as was its popularity in Syrian, Georgian and especially Coptic speaking circles.

The *Symbolum fidei* pericope included in the text (*PG* 46:912 D–914 A; *PG* 10:983/4–987/8) has been the subject of discussion throughout the years. A. Galland addressed the possibility that Rufinus (*Hist. Eccles.* VII.25) had used Nyssenius' Greek text when preparing his free version of Eusebius' earlier work. More recently L. Abramowski has offered a detailed study of the provenance of the *Symbolum* and references to it in Nyssenius' day.

*Bibliography:* In addition to A. Galland, *Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, III (1766) p. xxvi (*PG* 10:966), Bardenhewer's treatment is still valuable, II:322–323. See especially, Luise Abramowski, "Das Bekenntnis des Gregor Thaumaturgus bei Gregor von Nyssa und das Problem seiner Echtheit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1976) pp. 145–166. Much has been written on the eastern language versions of the *Vita*: Bardenhewer II:318 and bibliography mentioned. See especially, V. Ryssel, "Eine syrische Lebensgeschichte des G. Thaum.," *Theologische Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz* 11 (1894) 228 sq. On the bohairic and sahidic tradition see H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wadi Natrum*, New York, 1926, I:144–156; M. Van Esbroeck, "Fragments Sahidiques du Panegyrique de G. le Thaumaturge par Grégoire de Nysse" in *Orientalia Lovaniensa Periodica, Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote*, Louvain, 1976, No. 7, pp. 555–568.

### XXXIII. DE VITA GREGORII THAUMATURGI

Editio princeps: 1604, Mainz (ed. G. Vossius).

Recent edition: *PG* 46:893–957. G. Heil is preparing the critical edition for the Leiden

### TRANSLATIONS

#### 1. PETRUS SUBDIACONUS (NATHINNEUS)

A Latin Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus is found in nine manuscripts of legendaries, s. X–XV. Although the author-translator of

the whole collection in which this *Vita* occurs identified himself with Geroldus, monk of Monte Cassino, and dedicated his effort to Pope Victor III (1086–1088), the Life of Thaumaturgus has a separate prologue and is the work of another translator. The prologue states that it is a free paraphrase of Gregory of Nyssa's *Vita* with some additions and subtractions in order to meet the needs of Latin readers. The Life for many years remained anonymous. A. Poncelet (1910) felt it was an early work, s. V at the latest. W. Telfer (1930) in his detailed study concluded that it emanated from southern Italy during the period between s. VIII and s. XI. Greek manuscripts were available in the Basilian monasteries of that region, and the cult of Thaumaturgus, centered in the Naples area, created a need for a Latin version of the saint's life. Although most of the text is paralleled in Nyssen's *Vita*, some portions are supplied from Rufinus' (d. 410) account in his translation of Eusebius. Then in 1958 Paul Devos, a Bollandist, piecing together bits of evidence, demonstrated that the translator-paraphraser was identical with a well known hagiographer of the tenth century, Petrus Subdiaconus.

The identification of this Peter with the author of the Latin paraphrase resulted from Devos' recognition that a dedicatory poem for a life of a "Gregory" referred to this *Vita* and named its author and dedicatee as well as the Bishop who had requested the version. The poem had already been published several times, but because it was not found in connection with the *Vita*, was not associated with it. H. Delehaye in 1901 first suggested that its author was the Petrus Subdiaconus who had authored many well known lives of saints. But he did not believe that the *Vita* of Gregory had been published. F. Savio in his life of this Petrus, felt that the *Vita* referred to was that of the Illuminator of Armenia. Then P. Devos showed that the style of the Latin life resembled that of the known works of the subdeacon. He pointed out that some unusual expressions are found in both the *Vita* and in writings known to be works of this Peter. To the possible objection that the *Vita* is a prose work while Peter had a preference for poetic

expression, Devos gave a convincing answer (pp. 344–350).

In the poem, Peter stated that he made the translation at the request of Bishop Athanasius of Naples and was dedicating it to one Sergius, a prefect. Savio identified the Bishop as Athanasius III (907–958) and Sergius as his brother who died between 944 and 968. Since Sergius' son was himself already a prefect in 949, the *Vita* may have been written in the period 940–949.

Unfortunately the poem, prologue and text have not yet been printed in one place.

Dedicatory poem (from Casin. 439, fols. 181–182, printed in *Spicilegium Casinense* [1888] p. 369).

Excipe dignanter, Sergi prefecte beate,  
Gregorii vitam, luculento themate comptam,  
Nathinneus orans Petrus quam transtulit  
apte

Ex danahis scriptis linguis reddendo latinis.  
Presul Athanasius hoc iussit promere digne,  
Parthenopense decus, placidus qui trinus  
habetur,

Ductus amore tuo, germano nectare fartus.

*Prologue* (from Nap. XV. AA. 13, fol. 72v, reprinted by A. Poncelet, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 1 (1910) p. 568). [Inc.]: Incipit prologus in Vita sancti Gregorii Neocesariensis episcopi. Sanctarum Scripturarum doctores egregii, cum de greca lingua latinis auribus tradere aliquid studuerunt, non verbum verbo sed sensum sensui reddere curaverunt. Et merito. Nam si latinus sermo greco ydionati respondere voluerit, et euphonie subtilitatem et rationis sensum penitus suffocat.

Et nos beati Gregorii Thaumaturgi Vitam ex loquela atthica transferentes, imitando eam quam sanctus Gregorius Nyssenus pontifex in peregrina, hoc est in greca, lingua composuit, plurimis additis, plurimis adeptis, ut ratio utillima postulabat, sensum attendentes latinis viris compendiose curavimus ministrare.

*Prologue* (from Casin. 139, published in *Florilegium Casinense* III, 1877). [Inc.]: (p. 168) Incipit prologus in vitam Beati Gregorii Theumatirgi (sic). Gregorius divina gratia Nisenae sedis episcopus omnibus fidelibus in Christi ecclesia commorantibus salutem. Gloriosa miracula et admirabilem vitam beati

Gregorii Neocesariensis pontificis scripturus invocando fautorem spiritum sanctum qui ei omnibus auxiliator extitit, flagito caritatem vestram attentis auribus illam audire et devoto animo ac tenaci mente retinere, credentes per omnia non me adulationi sed veritati fideliter deservire. Superfluum enim et inane opus est in laudem tanti patris desudare et auditorum animas ad imitationem non proficere. Ipse autem deus pacis cuius est dare velle et posse, ipse et nobis referentibus et vobis audientibus opem suae misericordiae largiri dignetur, quantum et nos illius acta ad laudem sui nominis pandere valeamus et vos cum fructu boni operis digne percipere mereamini. Explicit Prologus.

*Text. [Inc.]:* (p. 168) Igitur Gregorius Neocesarea Ponti urbe genitus inclitam secundum saeculi gloriam a parentibus traxit prosapiam quanquam gentilitatis erroribus tenerentur obnoxii. Sed quoniam dei gratia suum famulum murum inexpugnabilem praeordinaverat in facie ecclesiae Gregorium, tenebrarum caligo retinere illum non valuit, immo potius splendida lampa effectus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 179) Depositus est vero quinto decimo kalendarum decembrium, regnante domino nostro ihesu christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per cuncta saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Bibliography:* H. Delehaye in *Analecta Bollandiana* 20 (1901) 327–328; Paul Devos, “Deux Oeuvres Méconnues de Pierre Soudiaque de Naples au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 76 (1958) pp. 336–350; A. Poncelet, “La vie latine de S. Grégoire le Thaumaturge,” *Recherches de Sci. Religieuse* 1 (1910) 132–160; 567–569; F. Savio, “Pietro Suddiacono Napoletano agiografo del sec. X,” *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 36(1900–01), 665–79 and 47(1911–12), 947–57; W. Telfer, “The Latin Life of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 (1929–30) 142–55, 354–63; the same, “The Cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus,” *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936) 286–303; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* VI, 84–87.

*Manuscripts:*

(\*) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms M8 alias 678 H 56, s. XV, (W. Telfer, *Journal of Theological Studies* 31 [1929–30] 142).

(\*) Montecassino, Ms. 139, s. XI, misc., fols. 261–287. (Inguanez, *Cat.* I.223).

(\*) Montecassino, Ms 148, 1010 a.d., misc., fols. 507–528 (Inguanez, I.237).

(\*) Montecassino, Ms 149, s. XI, misc., (no fols given). (Inguanez I.238).

(\*) Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22244: s. XII. (Telfer *op. cit.* p. 142).

(\*) Naples, Bibl. Naz., cod. XV AA 13, s. XII, misc., fols. 72 v–78 v (Telfer, *ibid.*).

(\*) Naples, Bibl. Naz. cod. XV AA 14, s. XIII, misc., fols. 109–110 v (incomplete). (Telfer, *ibid.*).

(\*) Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana, cod. 883.8, s. XVI–XVII, misc. fols. 55–56. Three excerpts copied from the following manuscript of the Bibl. Vallicelliana. (*Cat. Codd. Hag. Lat. Bibl. Romanorum*, Brussels, 1909, p. 336).

(\*) Roma, Bibl. Vallicell. Cod. IX: s. XI, misc., fols. 173–181. (Telfer, *ibid.*).

(\*) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 15: s. XIII. (Telfer, *ibid.*).

*Editions:* (Dedicatory Poem).

1888, Montecassino: in *Spicilegium Casinense* I, 369. NUC. (CU).

1899, Berlin: in MGH, *Poetae latini aevi carolini*, Vol. IV.1, p. 442 (ed. P. de Winterfeld).

1912, Turin: in F. Savio, *op. cit.* p. 949.

1958, Bruxelles: in P. Devos, *op. cit.* pp. 336–337.

*Editions:* (Text of *Vita*).

1877, Montecassino: in *Florilegium Casinense* III, pp. 168–179. NUC. (CU).

*Biography:*

The identity of Petrus Subdiaconus has come into clear focus only in recent years. As mentioned above there were a number of hagiographers named Peter, even another Peter Subdeacon, and it was only in 1901 that Savio demonstrated that a tenth century subdeacon authored a number of saints lives including one of “Gregory”. Some years later information given in the *Miracula S. Agripini* (BHL 177) helped to date him more accurately. The *Miracula* was definitely the work of the tenth century author. In it one reads: Regnante igitur Romano et Constantino imperatoribus (961–963), et residente in sede beati Petri duodecimo Iohanne papa (955–964), et in hac civitate Parthenopensi tertio

praesule Athanasio (907–958), et Iohanne consule ac duce, . . . Devos' demonstration that the language and style of the *Vita Thaumaturgi* resemble that of the *Miracula* when taken in conjunction with the information supplied by the dedicatory poem (see above p. 238) make it possible to identify definitely the Peter who authored the *Vita* with the tenth century author of the *Miracula*.

This Peter referred to himself as "sanctae Parthenopensis (i.e. Naples) ecclesiae ypodiaconus" and elsewhere as "nathinneus". The latter term according to F. Blatt (*Novum Glossarium Med. Latinitatis*, M-N, p. 1079) is a semitic word meaning temple servant (i.e. one who gives service) and called hypodiaconus or subdiaconus. In one case Peter is termed "levita", obviously another synonym describing the position. His acquaintances certainly included the bishops and officials of the area. A bishop Stephen and another Peter, bishop of Naples, are mentioned. The latter was the dedicatee of most of his hagiographies. One may deduce that his reputation was well established around 950 a.d. when Athanasius asked him to translate the *Vita Thaumaturgi*.

*Works:* A first list of works was published by F. Savio, op. cit. (1901) p. 679. This he revised and published again in the same journal in 1912, p. 957. It mentions lives of Agnellus, Agrippinus, Artemas, Canius, Cyrus et Ioannes, SS. Quatuor Coronati, Christophorus, Faustinus et Iovita, Georgius, Iuliana, Maximus, Quiricus et Iulitta, possibly Catherina and Gregorius Armeniensis(!) this latter an error for Thaumaturgus. Devos later added S. Restituta. This list supersedes earlier ones.

## 2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's encomium on Gregory Thaumaturgus probably at the end of 1551. Telfer suggests a date of 1545. In any case it was completed prior to the writing of a letter, dated 3 Jan. 1552, by Luigi Lippomano to Marcello Cervini in which Lippomano says that he has learned of the illness of Cervini from "R<sup>do</sup>Mr Gentiano . . . il quale mi ha

mandato per ordine di V. S. la vita che egli ha tradotta di S. Gregorio Thaumaturgo, la quale certo è molto degna, et ne ringratio sommamente la benignita di lei". On January 21, Lippomano wrote again to Cervini from Trent mentioning the translation of the *vita*. He does not specifically state that this is Nyssenus' *vita*, but Hervetus made versions of only two Greek lives of Thaumaturgus and the letter of Jan. 3, 1552 indicates that Metaphrastes' life was translated later, "petit ut Gentianus diligenter Metaphrasten traducat". On Feb. 14, 1552, another letter stated that he had already sent to Rome the Hervetus *vita* of Thaumaturgus and another life translated by him (*Concilium Tridentinum*, vol. XI [Epistolarum pars secunda, ed. G. Buschbell, Freiburg, 1936, repr. 1966], pp. 791–92). Lippomano included Hervetus' version in his *De probatis vitis sanctorum* beginning with the first edition. It never appeared in editions of Nyssenus' works.

*Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi, id est mirabilium operum effectoris, qui fuit episcopus Neocaesareae per D. Gregorium Episcopum Nyssenenum scripta* G. Herveto Gallo, viro doctissimo interprete (ed. of Cologne, 1618 of *De probatis vitis sanctorum* by L. Surius, based on Lippomano's work of the same title.) [*Inc.*]: Vol. XI:390) (Under Nov. 17) Huius, quae in praesentia habetur, orationis et vestri conventus unus idemque est scopus et institutum. Magnus enim Gregorius et vobis causa fuit ut conveniretis et mihi de eo propositum est dicere . . . / . . . [*Exp.*]: (p. 400) Sunt autem etiam alia in hodiernum usque diem memoriae mandata miracula, quae quidem auribus parcentes non credentibus, ne ii laedantur, qui quod in rerum, quae dicuntur, magnitudine verum est, falsum esse putant, quae scripta sunt, non adiecimus.

### *Editions:*

The following were inspected by this writer:  
1618, Cologne.

1879, Turin: in Vol. XI:547 sq.

### *Biography:*

See CTC I.109.

## 3. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin transla-

tion of Gregory of Nyssa's *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* which was published in 1562. For circumstances, see p. 57 above. Sifanus describes in detail his efforts to produce an accurate version in his preface for the 1562 edition. "Plurimum etiam negotii mihi fuit in vita divi Gregorii Neocaesariensis Episcopi, illius miraculis clari viri, quem ob id Graeci θαυματοῦργον appellant. Erat enim vehementer depravatam meum exemplum, ut fere sunt ea, quae hoc tempore describuntur ab hominibus plerumque indoctis ac sui emolumenti magis rationem habentibus quam publice utilitatis. Exemplar autem vestrum (i.e. J. J. Fuggeri) etsi correctum erat (qualia solent esse pleraque antiqua) tamen praeter diversas, quae multis in locis inibi reperiebantur, lectiones in plerisque locis adeo literae erant obsoletae atque obscurae, ut multum legenti negotii exhiberent. Haec idcirco commemoror, ut sicubi offendi ac minus, quod spectavi atque speravi, assequutus sum, aliqua ex parte defensionem mei adversus invidos et malignos in promptu habeatis, ne miremini opus tam sero tamque tarde divulgatum esse, quod non solum difficultate rei factum est, ut modo dixi, verum etiam cunctatione librariorum".

*De vita Beati Gregorii Miraculorum Opificis* (ed. of Basel, 1562). [*Inc.*]: (p. 377) Et oratio quidem nostra et praesens conventus ad unam eandemque rem spectat; magnus enim ille Gregorius cum vobis conveniendi causa fuit, tum mihi sermocinandi materia atque argumentum propositum est . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 405) ne offendantur qui propter amplitudinem earum rerum quae memorantur veritatem mendacium esse putant, scriptis non adiecimus. (The Paris editions for whose text F. Ducaeus was chiefly responsible, add: Christo porro talia per servos suos miracula operanti convenit gloria honor et adoratio, nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen).

*Editions:*

- 1562. See Composite Editions.
- 1571. See Composite Editions.
- 1573. See Composite Editions.
- 1605. See Composite Editions.
- 1615. See Composite Editions.
- 1617. See Composite Editions.
- 1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 63.

#### 4. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius (c. 1550–1609), not to be confused with the better known Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), made a Latin translation, accompanied by a brief commentary, of Nyssen's encomium on Gregory Thaumaturgus while he was in Rome preparing a Greek-Latin edition of Thaumaturgus' works. For his version of the *Vita* he used one of Sirleto's manuscripts, another belonging to Cardinal Sforza, Paris gr. 1525 from the library of the French king and Vat. gr. 524. The preface is dated Nov. 17, Thaumaturgus' feast day, and the work is dedicated to the Virgin and St. Gregory himself. Vossius left his autograph copy in Mainz as he was returning to Tongern where he had received an appointment as provost. The work was printed by the end of that year (1604). Cardinal Baronius apparently received a copy; his devotion to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, enhanced by reading portions of Vossius' work, may well have influenced the papal election of the spring of 1605. (The reader may consult the excellent article of W. Telfer for the details of this story." *The Cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*," *The Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936) esp. pp. 288–303).

Because Vossius' version was published in editions of works of the bishop of Neocaesarea it was read by those, especially in southern Italy, who were devoted to the saint. This translation, along with the tenth century Latin life, had a remarkable influence on vernacular literature. Half of Falcone's manual (1694 and 1700) of devotions to the saint consisted of an epitome of Nyssen's *vita*, based of course on the Latin version of Vossius. In 1648 Niccolò Pallavicino, and in 1684 Raimondo Romano, published volumes on Thaumaturgus, both of which were based on Nyssen's life of the saint.

*Vita et encomium sancti Gregorii Thaumaturgi*

*turgi, episcopi Neocaesariensis, per S. Gregorium Nyssae Episcopum* (ed. of Mainz, 1604). [*Inc.*]: (p. 234) Et oratio quidem haec nostra, et praesens vester conventus, ad unum eundemque scopum ac finem tendunt. Magnus enim Gregorius et vobis huc conveniendi causa fuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 318) ne offendantur qui propter amplitudinem earum rerum quae dicuntur veritatem existimant esse mendacium, scriptis non adiecimus. Christo porro talia per servos suos miracula operanti convenit gloria, honor, et adoratio, nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Editions:*

1604. See Composite Editions. I am indebted to F. E. Cranz who inspected the copy at Harvard and provided copies of pertinent material.

1622. See Composite Editions.

1765. In Galland, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* III:439–469. See Composite Editions.

1677. Lyon: in *Maxima Bibl. Patr.* III: 299–334.

*Biography:*

See above p. 65.

COMMENTARY

a. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius wrote some notes on his translation of Nyssenus' life of Gregory Thaumaturgus. They immediately follow the text in several of the editions.

*Text* (ed. of Mainz, 1604). [*Inc.*]: (p. 319) Perspicis hinc Lector, quam copiose et accurate pleneque vitam Magni Gregorii nostri Thaumaturgi cunctasque res eius gestas atque miracula conscripserit hic S. Gregorius Episcopus Nyssenus . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (p. 327) ne debito suo epilogo carere videatur oratio, tum quod hoc vel simili modo suos concludere sermones Nysseno et aliis orthodoxis sanctis patribus usitatissimum sit.

*Editions:*

1604. See Composite Editions. A copy of the *incipit* and *explicit* was provided by F. E. Cranz.

1622. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

See above p. 65.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS

I. JOHANNES CAROLUS BOVIUS

According to F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* IX.43, Carolus Bovius translated into Latin "Gregorii Nysseni opera". Fabricius and Ceillier also mention this effort of Bovius, but their information probably came from Ughelli. Fabricius stated that, as far as he knew, Bovius' version had never been published.

Johannes Carolus Bovius was the son of Andreas of Bologna. He was born in Brindisi. He gained a reputation for his facility in both Greek and Latin. He held the position of vicar general and then successor to his uncle, the bishop of Ostunii. Later he became archbishop of Brindisi. He was an acquaintance of Pius IV and attended the Council of Trent. He died in 1570. His epitaph records that he was "clarus litteris Patronus" and "linguarum veterum cultor".

No trace of Bovius' versions has been discovered.

*Bibliography:* Ceillier, *Hist. Gén.* VIII:443; Hurter III:32–33; Ughelli IX:43 (not p. 60, as in PG 44:39).

APPENDIX I

LOST WORKS OF GREGORY OF NYSSA

Of the following works mentioned by one or more writers, only the *Epistola ad Xenodorum* can be affirmed to have been a genuine work of Nyssenus. Sufficient testimony is lacking in other cases.

1. *In Epistola ad Philippenses.*

Cited by Cyril of Alexandria in *Ep.* LXXXIV, *Ad Euoptium.*

2. *Epistola ad Xenodorum.*

This is the best attested of all the lost works of Nyssenus. Quotations occur in: Anastasius Sinaiticus, *Hodegos*, PG 89:65 B-C; Maximus Confessor, *Op. theol. et polem.* PG 91:279 D-281 B; and in two manuscripts, Casanat.

1357 (s. XVI), fol. 227 v and Vat. gr. 1142 (s. XIII), fol. 71v. See F. Diekamp, "Aus einem Briefe an Xenodorus," *Orientalia Christiana* Vol. 117 (1938) pp. 13–15.

3. *In Iosephum et Mariam.*

Mentioned by John of Damascus PG 94: 1115–1116 and also PG 46:1111–1112.

4. *Libri septem in supremum caput Matthaei.*

Mentioned by Theodoretus in his *In immutabili*, and by Liberatus of Carthage in *Breviarium de causa Nestoriana*.

5. *In Proverbia.*

The existence of this commentary is deduced by some from Gregory's words near the beginning of his commentary on Ecclesiastes. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, IX.742. The fact that no trace has survived of such a work on a popular book of the Bible makes it doubtful that Gregory ever composed one.

6. *In sanctum Romanum.*

John of Damascus quoted this work in *Sacra parallela* (PG 96:475–478).

7. *In vinum novum* (Lk. 5:37).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Canon. graec. 51, f. 255 (s. XIV) contains a portion of a sermon of Nyssenus on Luke 5:37. Cf. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum* (Quarto Series), Pars tertia (1854) col. 58.

## APPENDIX II

Spurious works not attributed to Gregory in the Latin tradition before 1600 A.D.

The following works are attributed to Gregory in one or more manuscripts or by one or more Greek authors; in most cases modern scholarship assigns them to other authors.

1. *IN ANNUNTIATIONEM* (three different treatises on the subject).

a. *In annuntiationem* (Ἀεὶ ὅταν μνησθῶ τῆς Εὐαγ.)

Panormitanus I.E.10 (s. XII) names Nyssenus as author.

See Geerard, CPG II, No. 3214; F. Halkin, *Bibl. Hag. Graec. Auct.* III.264 (=BHG a 1077 n). Editions in *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teol.* 5 (1909), pp. 548–563, ed.

G. La Piana; and in *Marianum* 24 (1962) pp. 536–539, ed. D. Montagna. See discussion in: R. Caro, "La homiletica mariana griega en el siglo V" *Marian Library Studies* 4 (1972) pp. 468–480; G. La Piana, *op. cit.* pp. 527–547; F. J. Leroy, "Le pseudo-Grégoire le Thaumaturge in Annuntiationem," *Studia Patristica* VII (1966), pp. 230–232; D. Montagna, "Liturgia mariana primitiva," *Marianum* 24 (1962) p. 120; J. Sajdak, "De oratione *Eis ton euangelion* falso Gregorio Nysseno adscripta," *Eos* 21 (1916) p. 9 sqq. (pp. 13–15 provide an extensive list of other treatises on the same and related subjects). Most of the text of the Palermo manuscript appears in an Armenian version, where it is attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus. A few other sentences are found in Proclus, *Homilia* VI. An English translation of the Armenian version was made by F. Conybeare, *The Expositor*. Ser. 5, tom. 3 (1896) pp. 162–173.

b. *In annuntiationem Deiparae et contra Arium impium* (Τῆ προτέρᾳ κυριακῆ)

Athos Stavronikita 38 (s. XIII) and Savait. I (s. X) (partial text) name Nyssenus as author.

See Geerard, CPG II, No.'s 4677 and 5025; Halkin *BHG Auct.* III. 167–168 (1144h); III. 140 (1076u); III.171 (1148n); III.270 (1139m); and Ehrhard II.97; Aldama No. 479.

Editions in: Johannes Chrysostom, *Op. om.* Eton, 1612, Vol. VII: 515–520, ed. H. Savile; and reprint of 1737, Vol. IX: 926–940, ed. B. de Montfaucon; also PG 62:763–770. In 1970 S. Alvarez Campos reprinted a somewhat abridged form of the bilingual text as found in Migne's edition (PG 62:765.30 to 768.32) under the name of Nyssenus in *Corpus Marianum Patristicum*, Burgos, pp. 260–270. (A copy was kindly provided to me through the kindness of R. B. Miller of The Catholic University of America).

In the manuscripts this treatise appears both in its complete form and with one or both sections dealing with the Arians (at the beginning and end) omitted. Although this homily occurs among the *dubia et spuria* of Chrysostom, it is very unlikely that he was the author. Scholars in recent years have suggested Gregory of Nyssa or Amphilochius of Iconium. Reso-

lution of the authorship question must begin with a determination of whether the homily is a single unit or whether, as it now stands, it is a composite. One early branch of the tradition points to this latter possibility. In 1980 J. Bickersteth called attention to a *Nota* by E. M. Toniolo in 1970 which demonstrated that BHG *Auct.* 1139m and 1076u were not independent works but excerpts from this oration. BHG 1148n may be another such case.

See: J. E. Bickersteth, "Unedited Greek Homilies (acephalous, anonymous or attributed to John Chrysostom) for Festivals of the Virgin Mary," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 46 (1980) 474–480; R. Caro, *op. cit.* pp. 538–545; J. Daniélou, "Hist. des origines chrét.," *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 55 (1967), p. 151; B. Marx, *Procliana*, (Münster, 1940), p. 69 (A copy of the page was kindly provided by the Librarian of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, IN); B. Laurentin, *Court traité*. . . (ed. of 1954 only) pp. 163–164; and the same, *Rev. des Sci. Philos. et Théol.* 52 (1968), p. 544; D. Montagna, *Marianum* 24 (1962), p. 501 sq.; E. M. Toniolo, "In Nota All'*Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* di F. Halkin," *Marianum* 32 (1970), pp. 481–486.

c. *In annuntiationem s. virginis Mariae* (Σήμερον ἀγγελικῆ παρατάξει)

Vat. gr 1333 (s. X-XI) names Nyssenus as author.

Erhard II.137, no. 58; Halkin III.165 (= BHG 1139n).

Editions: in *Op. om.* Gregorius Thaumaturgus, ed. of Mainz, 1604, pp. 50–61; and PG 10:1145–1156; the Latin version is that of G. Vossius.

See R. Caro, *op. cit.* pp. 481–93; M. Jugie, "Homélies Mariales," *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1926), 87–88; 92–93; R. Laurentin, *Court traité de théol mar.*, pp. 156–157 (1953 ed. only); Ch. Martin, "Les homélies mariales attribuées à s. Grégoire le Thaumaturge," *Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés.* 24 (1928), pp. 364–373, *passim*; D. Montagna, *op. cit.* "La Liturgia Mariana Primitiva" pp. 125–126.

## 2. IN CONCEPTIONEM S. ANNAE

Parisinus, Bibl. nat. Grec 50 (Omout I.63)

(s. XII) names Nyssenus as author and Oxon. Bodl. Seld. B. 53 (s. XIII-XIV) ascribes it to "Nyssenus sive cuiuscunque sit".

Editions: *Bibl. Graecorum Patrum Auctarium novissimum* (ed. F. Combefis, 1672; and PG 100: 1354–1375. The Latin is that of F. Combefis.

This is a work of Georgius Nicomediensis. The similarity of the name of this comparatively little known author to the name of Gregorius Nyssenus probably caused the copyist to substitute the name of the more famous writer.

## 3. EPISTOLA AD EVAGRIUM MONACHUM

Editions: See CTC II.111 sq. under *Epistola 243* of Nazianen. A. Galland printed it as Nyssenus in his *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum* VI (Venice, 1770) 638–641. J. P. Migne included it among Gregory's works in PG 46:1101–1108. Several manuscripts (see Galland and Migne on these) attribute it to Nyssenus as did Euthymius Zigabenus in s. XII. L. Bouyer and J. de Ghellinck in modern times have supported his authorship. Printed editions of Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestiones* assign the treatise to Basil, since they based their text on the consensus of the manuscript tradition; however, one manuscript names Nazianzen. On the other hand J. Daniélou has suggested Atarbius of Neocaesarea as the probable author. Many manuscripts and most scholars have pointed to Thaumaturgus as the writer; among them are Bardenhewer, N. Bonwetsch, A. Harnack and V. Ryssel; B. Altaner thinks it may be Thaumaturgus'. J. Draeseke established that the letter Ryssel had found attributed to Nazianzen in a Syriac version, was in fact a translation of Nazianzen's *Epistola 243*. But scholars had considered his authorship before and ruled it out because of its inelegant style. F. Refoulé believes it is neither Nazianzen nor Nyssenus, but that it stems from a circle sympathetic to the beliefs of Marcellus of Ancyra.

Editions: See CTC II.111 sq. for editions of Nazianzen's letters. See also: A. Galland, *op. cit.* VI:638–641; PG 46:1101–1108; J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi*



*parata*, IV:100–103, Paris, 1883.

*Bibliography*: On its omission from GNO VIII.2, see G. Pasquali, GNO VIII.2: viii. Discussions of authorship problem: Bardenhewer 2.326–327; J. Draeseke in *Jhrb. für protestantische Theologie* 7 (1881) 379–384; 8 (1882) 343–384; 9 (1883) 634–640; F. Refoulé, “La date de la lettre à Évagre,” *Rech. de Sci. Rel.* 49 (1961) 520–548; V. Ryssel, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus, Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1880. M. Simonetti, “Gregorio Nazianzeno o Gregorio Taumaturgo?,” *Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 86(III 17), 1953, 101–117 and “Ancora sulla lettera ad Evagrio,” *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 4 (1962) 360–363.

#### 4. HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS . . .

See Geerard CPG II, No. 3201, where this work is listed among *Fragmenta*. It is not an excerpt from Nyssenius and may be found in context in a sermon of Gregorius Antiochenus. As in the case of *In conceptionem S. Annae*, the substitution of a more for a less familiar author's name accounts for the attribution to Nyssenius.

Editions: PG 46:1110 and PG 88:1872–1884.

#### 5. IN MULIERES UNGUENTIFERAS

Vat. gr. 1641 (s. X-XI) names Nyssenius as author.

See J. A. de Aldama, *op. cit.* No. 116. This is another sermon of Gregory of Antioch and was probably attributed to Nyssenius for the same reasons as 2 and 4 above.

Editions: *Auctarium nov. Bibl. Patrum* (ed. F. Combefis, 1648) I: 727–746; and in PG 88:1848–1865.

#### 6. DE VISITATIONE

Vat. Barb. gr. 456 (s. XII-XIII) names Nyssenius as author.

Geerard CPG II, No. 3226. BHG n 1122 x.

On the manuscript see *Analecta Bollandiana* 19 (1900) p. 85 and O. Lendle, *Encomium in S. Stephanum*, Leiden 1968, p. 116, No. 93. This work is omitted from the description

of the manuscript; it immediately follows Nyssenius' *Oratio In XL martyres*; the title names Gregory specifically rather than saying merely τοῦ αὐτοῦ. The vivid simile with which the work opens is reminiscent of Nyssenius' style. The work merits further study. A copy was kindly provided by Charles Ermatinger of Saint Louis University.

#### 7. VITA ALEXII (Ἐχρῆν ὡς ἀληθῶς τοὺς τὸ θεῖον χρῆμα)

Cambridge Trin. 197 (B.9.1) (s. XI-XII) and Holkham 91 (s. XVI) name Nyssenius as author.

Geerard CPG II, No. 3225; Ehrhard III.869, 948. BHG 56 f.

The text of this *Vita* differs greatly from that of the well known life. Since dates for the legendary saint always postdate Gregory's lifetime, he could not be the author of this *Vita*.

On Holkham 91 see H. Delehaye's article in *Analecta Bollandiana* 25 (1906) p. 463 sqq. esp. p. 468, No. 28. For the Alexius story in general see M. E. Pereira, “Légende Grecque de L'Homme de Dieu Saint Alexis,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 19 (1900) pp. 241–256.

### APPENDIX III

#### LATE LATIN TRANSLATIONS

- A. *Epistolae*.  
 IV. *Epistolae* IV–XVIII. Translation of Laurentius Zacagnius or Zaccagni (1562–1712). 1698, Rome, in *Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum Ecclesiae Graecae Patrum*, Vol. I. Reprinted: 1781, Venice. in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum cura et studio Andree Gallandi* (1709–1779); 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris in PG 46: 1026–1071.  
 V. *Epistola XXI* (as a letter of Basil of Caesarea). 1679, Paris. in *Basilii Magnus ex Integro Recensitus*. Translation of François Combefis (1605–1679). Reprinted: 1730, Paris. in *Basilii, Op. om.*, ed. J. Garnier and P.

- Maran; 1886, Paris. in *PG* 32: 271–274.
- VI. *Epistolae XIX–XXV*. 1731, Florence, in *S.P.N. Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae, epistolae septem graece. Primo latine vertit et edidit, commentariis nonnullisque animadversionibus adiectis I. B. Caracciolus, C. R. in Pisano Lyceo publicus philosophiae Professor*. The volume also contains Caraccioli's translation of Maximus Confessor's *Apologia pro Gregorio Nysseno* and *Syntagmata varietatum lectionis ad epistolas Gregorii ab Zacagnio editas, in quo usus editor codicibus Vaticanis et Mediceis*. Reprinted: 1781, Venice. in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum cura et studio A. Gallandi*: 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 46: 1071–1099.
- B. *Opera ascetica, dogmatica et exegetica*.
- IV. *Antirrheticus adversus Apolinarium*. Translation of Laurentius Zacagnius. 1698, Rome. See above under A.IV. 1781, Venice. See above under A.IV. 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 45: 1223–1270.
- V. *Adversus Arium et Sabellium*. Translation of Angelo Mai (1782–1854). 1847, Rome. in *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, Vol. IV: 1–15. 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 45: 1282–1302.
- VIII. *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos* (as work of Basil). Translation of F. Combefis. 1679, Paris. See above A. V. 1730, Paris. See above A. V. 1886, Paris. in *PG* 32.
- X. *Epistola canonica ad Letoium*. Translation of Carolus Annibal Fabrot (1580–1659). 1647, Paris. Translation of Chapter 5 as a scholion on *Basilikon, Liber LX. 39.22*.
- XII. *Ad Eustathium de sancta trinitate*. Translation of F. Combefis. 1647, Paris. See above under A. V. 1730, Paris. See above under A. V. 1886, Paris. See above under A.V.
- XV. *In Hexaameron*. Translation of F. Combefis. 1679, Paris. in *Basilium M. ex Integro Recensitus*, Vol. I: 543–557, a translation of a s. XIV *Epitome capitum* of Nyssenus' work by François Combefis which he included in his edition of Basil.
- XX. *Adversus Macedonianos, de Spiritu sancto*. Translation of Angelo Mai. 1847, Rome. in *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, Vol. IV: 15–39. 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 45: 1301–1333.
- XXIV. *Oratio catechetica, Chapter 37*. Translation of Angelo Mai. 1852, Rome. in *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, VI: 366 sq. Angelo Mai's translation of the text as it appears in *Theoriani disputatio cum Nersete*. S. R. Srawley in his edition of *Oratio catechetica*, p. xlvii, states that the Greek text here is superior to that of any of the Paris editions; Mai's version was based on this text.
- XXXII. *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*. Translation of Laurentius Zacagnius. 1698, Rome. See above under A.IV. 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 46: 194–234.
- C. *Orationes*
- XII. *Contra fornicarios*. Translation of Wm. Th. Becher. 1839, Leipzig. Becher's translation is based on a s. IX Greek manuscript, now lost. The Greek text is included. The work is attributed to Chrysostom 1862, Paris. in *PG* 64: 466–473.
- XVIII. *In Pentecosten, de Spiritu sancto*. Translation of Laurentius Zacagnius. 1698, Rome. See above under A.IV. 1781, Venice. See above under A.IV. 1858, 1863, 1959, Paris. in *PG* 46: 695–702.
- XXX. *In S. Stephanum protomartyrem laudatio altera*. Translation of Laurentius Zacagnius. 1698, Rome. See above under A. IV. 1781, Venice. See above under A.IV. 1858, 1863, 1859, Paris. in *PG* 46: 722–735.

## APPENDIX IV

## VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS

Early Vernacular Translations before 1700.

1561, Paris. *Trois traictez de trois anciens et sainctz docteurs grecs, s. Jean Damascène, s. Grégoire evesque de Nisse et s. Nicolas evesque de Modon, du s. Sacrement de l'autel traduicts de grec non encores imprimez par le mesme Gentian Hervet.*

1566, Vienna. *Heiliger Zwayer Priester Gregorii Nazianzeni und Gregorii Nysseni drey trifflich und nützlich Predig, dass yederman die Armen Leut lieb haben und wol halten solle, gemainer Christlicher Kirchen zu gut geteutsch durch Christoph Phreysleben, der Rechten Doctor.*

1575, Venice. *La forma del perfetto huomo Christiano descritta da S. Gregorio Vescovo Nisseno ad Olimpio Monaco . . . fatto volgare da M. Pier Fr. Zino;* it included also two works of Philo; all three were published in the same year in Zinus' Latin version.

1577, Milan. *Il primo sermone di S. Gregorio Nisseno, fratello d S. Basilio sopra la carita et benignita che si deve usar verso i poveri, tradotta da S. Carlo Borromeo.* Also: *Altro sermone dello stesso, appartenente alla medesima materia di sovvenire i Poveri, sopra quel luogo di S. Matteo: Quatenus uni . . . tradotto dallo stesso S., in Raccolta di varj Ragionamenti di alcuni Santi sopra la cura et ajuto dei Poveri et Infermi.*

1577, Paris. *L'Histoire, vie et légende des sainctz . . . le tout escript en latin par A. Lipomanus et autres, et mis en françois par . . . F. Gabriel Du Puyherbault . . .* Translation of lives of saints by Nyssenus which were printed before 1577 in editions of *Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum.*

1586, Rome. *Sentenze X di S. Gregorio Nisseno sopra gl'effetti mirabili dell' Elemosina tolte dal Libro II della sua Historia, tradotta da Giulio Folco in Effetti mirabili della Limosina, e Sentenze degne di memoria, Roma.*

1575–1580(?) *Oraison de S. Grégoire de Nysse à l'encontre de ceux qui ont à contre-cœur les répréhensions, traduite du grec en françois par N. de Vaulx, (BN Cat. 64 p. 158,*

No. 79, date and place lacking).

1604–1605, Paris. French version of *Epistola II, De iis qui adeunt Hierosolyma*, made by Robert Estienne (Stephanus). No copy has been located, and even in Estienne's day it was difficult to find a copy (see p. 29 above).

1606, Paris. *Discours spirituel touchant le sacrement du baptesme, traduit sur l'original grec de saint Grégoire de Nysse par Frédéric Morel.*

1607, Paris. *Histoire de la vie, mort et passion et miracles des saints . . . extraite (de Lippomano) et faite française par M. Jacques Tijeon . . . plus les epitres et évangiles des dimanches et autres principales fêtes . . . revues et augmentées par René Benoist.*

1608, Paris. *Discours sur la Passion et Resurrection de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, translaté de l'original grec de saint Grégoire evesque de Nysse par Frédéric Morel.*

1616, Paris. *Homélies de S. Basile . . . sur les six jours de la Semaine ou Creation du Monde, mises du Grec en François par Jean de S. François (Johannes Gulonius) Religieus Fuellentín.*

1616, Venice. *Orazioni di S. Gregorio Nisseno tradotte da Nicola Aurifico de Bonfigli, in Selva d'Orazioni di diversi SS Dottori Greci e Latini per ogni persona.*

1621, Poitiers. *Histoire de S. Radegunde par Pidoux revue et suivie de l'Histoire de sainte Macrine par Grégoire de Nysse.*

1653, Paris. *Vita Macrinae in Les vies des Saints Pères des deserts et de quelques saintes escrites par des Pères de l'Église et autres anciens Auteurs Ecclés. grecs et latins. Traduites en français par R. Arnauld d'Andilly.*

s. XVII. Italian commentary on *De opificio hominis* by Gaudenzi Paganino, *Dell'origine dell'anima umana, che cosa scriva S. Gregorio Nisseno*, in Vat. Urb. lat. 1545. (Cat. Vat. Urb. lat. III.413).

s. XVII. *Of the framing of man. A tracte made by the holye father Gregorie Nysean* (with notes at the end in a different hand). A manuscript never published. The copy is at ICU (BR 65 G 7504 (16??)).

## Dutch

1949, Amsterdam. *Oratio catechetica*, trans-

lated and commented on by W. C. van Unnick.

1958, Antwerp. *Makrina. Een biografie uit de Patristiek*, in *Klassieke galerij* cxxxii, translated by R. Leys.

1971, Utrecht. *Het leven van de heilige Macrina*, translated and commented on by F. van der Meer and G. Bartelink.

#### English

1893, New York. A number of Gregory's works in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, translated by W. Moore and H. Wilson, in Vol. V, Ser. II.

1903, Cambridge. *The Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa*, translated by J. H. Srawley.

1916, London. *St. Gregory of Nyssa, The Life of St. Macrina*, translated by W. K. Lowther Clarke.

1926, New York. *The Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus by Gregory of Nyssa*, in Vol. I of *The Monasteries of Wad'i Natrum*, translated by H. G. Evelyn White.

1928, Washington, D.C. *Encomium of St. Gregory Bishop of Nyssa on his brother, St. Basil, Archbishop of Cappadocian Caesarea*, text, introduction and English version by Sr. J. A. Stein.

1954, London. *Oratio catechetica* in the *Christology of the Later Fathers*, translated by E. R. Hardy, pp. 268–325.

1954, Philadelphia. *Oratio catechetica* and *Ad Ablabium* in *The Library of Christian Classics*, Vol. 3, pp. 256–267, translated by C. Richardson.

1954, New York. *St. Gregory of Nyssa, The Lord's Prayer, The Beatitudes*, translated by H. C. Graef in the *Ancient Christian Writers* series, No. 18.

1961, New York. *From Glory to Glory*, translations from Nyssen's ascetical works with comment by J. Daniélou and H. Musurillo.

1967, Washington, D.C. *Gregory of Nyssa, Ascetical Works*, translated by Virginia Woods Callahan, in *Fathers of the Church* series, No. LVIII.

1978, New York. *Gregory of Nyssa, The Life of Moses*, translated by A. Malherbe and E. Ferguson, *Cistercian Studies*, No. 21.

1981, Cambridge, Mass. *The Easter Sermons of Gregory of Nyssa: Translation and Commentary*, ed. A. Spira and C. Klock (Patristic Monograph Series, No. 9).

#### French

1838, Paris. Translations by Leonce de Saporin in Vol. X. *Chefs d'oeuvres des Pères de l'Église*.

1853, Paris. *Homélie contre les usuriers, expliqué littéralement, traduit en français et annoté* par E. Sommer. Reprinted 1862 and 1907.

1863, Paris. *Éloge funèbre de S. Melèce*, traduit par E. Sommer.

1863, Paris. *S. Grégoire de Nysse, Oraison funèbre de saint Melèce*, traduit par J. Lecoffre. Reprinted 1867.

1879, Paris. *Homélie contre les usuriers avec des arguments analytiques et des notes* par M. l'abbé Quentier.

1908, Paris. *Discours catéchétique, text grec, trad. française, introduction et index*, traduit par Louis Meridier.

1922, Paris. *In sanctum Pascha II* (Ps. Nyssen's) in *PO XVI*, fasc. V. p. 795 sq., ed. M. Kugener and E. Triffaux.

1942, Paris. *La vie de Moïse de Grégoire de Nysse*, traduit par J. Daniélou in Vol. I of *Sources Chrétiennes*. Reprinted 1956, 1968.

1943, Paris. *Grégoire de Nysse, La création de l'homme*, traduit par J. Laplace, Vol. 6 of the *Sources Chrétiennes* series.

1943, Paris. *La ténèbre lumineuse. Textes de s. Grégoire de Nysse sur la connaissance de Dieu*.

1945, Paris. *Homélie IX sur la Cantique*, in *Revue de la Table Ronde*, May, translated by J. Daniélou.

1946, Quebec. *Traité de la formation de l'homme par S. Grégoire de Nysse*.

1949, Paris. *In sanctum Pascha I*, in *Homélie Patristique*, traduction nouvelle par Jean-P. Bonnes.

1962, Paris. *Le baptême d'après les Pères de L'Église*, translation by A. Hamann.

1966, Paris. *Traité de la virginité*, introduction, traduction, texte par M. Aubineau in Vol. 119 of *Sources Chrétiennes*.

1967, Paris. Excerpts from *In Canticum. La colombe et la ténèbre*, translated by M.

Canevet and J. Daniélou.

1968, Paris. *Vita Macrinae* in *La Femme. Les grands textes des Pères de l'Église (Lettres chrétiennes* 12, pp. 239–274), translated by F. Quéré Jaulmes.

1971, Paris. *La vie de Ste. Macrine de S. Grégoire de Nysse*, traduite en français par M. Maraval, Vol. 178 in the *Sources Chrétiennes* series.

1978, Paris. *La catéchèse de la foi*, introduction by J.-R. Armogather, notes by A. Hamann, translation by Annette Maignan.

1979, Paris. *De beatitudinibus* in *Collection des Pères dans la foi*, translation by J.-Y. Guillaumin and G. Parent.

#### German

1781, Leipzig. *Oratio catechetica. Über den ersten christl. Religionsunterricht*, translation with notes by J. R. Glauber.

1858–1859, Leipzig. In *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (4 vols.) translations of a number of works by F. Oehler.

1874, 1880, Kempten. Translation of a number of works by H. Hayd and J. Fisch, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (2 vols.).

1864, Halle. *De anima et resurrectione. Dialog über die Seele und Auferstehung in deutscher Bearbeitung*, translation with notes by von H. Schmitt.

1895, Leipzig. Translation of several orations in *Die Predigt der Kirche*, 29, by Leonhardi-Langsdorff.

1903, Leipzig. *Epistola XXV*, translation with comment by B. Keil in J. Strzygowski, *Kleinasion, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*.

1927, Munich. Translations of a number of works by K. Weiss and E. Stolz in *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*.

1963, Stuttgart. *Vita Moysis. Der Aufstieg des Moses*, translated by M. Blum.

1963, Düsseldorf. *Vita Macrinae*, translated by W. Schamoni in *Heilige Frauen des Altertums*.

1968, Leyden. *Encomium in S. Stephanum protomartyrem*, text, commentary and translation by O. Lendle.

1971, Stuttgart. *Die grosse katechetische Rede*, translation with commentary by J. von Barbel in *Bibliothek der griech. Literatur*.

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