GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

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Fortuna

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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. Epistolae.

I. Epistola I.
Translation.
   1. Johannes Levvenklaius.

II. Epistola II.
Translations.
   1. Anonymus A.
   2. Anonymus B.
Commentaries.
   a. Petrus Molineus.
   b. Jacobus Gretserus.
III. *Epistola* III.
Translation.
1. Isaacus Casaubonius.
Commentaries.
   a. Isaacus Casaubonius.
   b. Jacobus Gretserus.

IV. *Epistolae* IV–XX.
No Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 A.D.

V. *Epistola* XXI.
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*.

I. *Ad Ablabium, Quod non sint tres dix*.
Translation.
1. Laurentius Sifanus.

*De anima*. See article Nemesius Eneus, 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.
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III. *De anima et resurrectione, Dialogus cum Macrina.*

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 Galesinus.

VII. *In Canticum Canticorum, Commentarius.*

Translations.
1. Johannes Levenklaius.
2. Gentianus Hervetus.

Doubtful Translation.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.

VIII. *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos.*

Translations.
1. Johannes Cono.
2. Wolfgangus Musculus.
4. Godefridus Tilmannus.
5. Laurentius Sifanus.

IX. *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae.*

Translations.
1. Gentianus Hervetus.
2. Franciscus Turrianus.

Commentary.

a. Fronto Ducaeus.
X. *Epistola canonica ad Letoium.*
Translations.
1. Gentianus Hervetus.
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 Trinite.*
Translations.
1. Wolfgangus Musculus.
2. Janus Cornarius.
4. Laurentius Sifanus.
Doubtful Translation.
5. Anonymus.

XIII. *Contra fatum.*
Translation.
1. Anonymus (J. Gretserus?).
Doubtful Translation.
2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

XIV. *Ad Graecos, ex communibus notionibus.*
Translation.
1. Federicus Morellus.

XV. *In Hexaemeron, Apologia.*
Translations.
1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Laurentius Sifanus.
Doubtful translation.
3. Anonymus.
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XVI. De iis qui baptismum differunt.
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.
Commentary.
a. Johannes Vaz Motta Lusitanus.

XIX. De instituto christiano.
Translation.
1. Federicus Morellus.

Libri octo de philosophia (De natura hominis). See article on Nemesis 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 Nemesis Emesenus to appear in CTC, vol. VI.

XXII. De opificio hominis.
Translations.
1. Dionysius Exiguus.
2. Johannes Scotus Eriugena.
3. Johannes Cono (Summaria capitum only).
4. Anonymus (s. XVI).
5. Ambrosius Ferrarius.
Commentaries.
a. Johannes Levvenklaius.
b. Fronto Ducaeus.
XXIII. Oratio catechetica.

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

Commentary.
   a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXIV. De oratione Dominica.

Translations.
1. Athanasius Chalceopylus.
3. Laurentius Sifanus.

XXV. De perfectione ad Olympium.

Translations.
1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Maximus Margunius.

Doubtful Translations.
3. Anonymus 1580.

Commentary.
   a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXVI. De professione christiana ad Harmonium.

Translations.
1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Maximus Margunius.

Doubtful Translations.
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.*
Translation.
1. Fronto Ducaeus.
Commentary.
a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXIX. *In sextum Psalmum.*
Translation.
1. Jacobus Nogueras.
2. Laurentius Sifanus.
Doubtful Translation.

XXX. *Ad Simplicitium, de fide.*
Translations.
1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
2. Laurentius Sifanus.

XXXI. *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos.*
Translation.
1. Laurentius Sifanus.

XXXII. *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas.*
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 Heliare.
2. Wolfgang Musculus.
4. Godefridus Tilmannus.
5. Ioachimus Perionius.
7. Victorinus Strigelius.
Doubtful Translation.
8. Johannes Levvenklaius.
Commentary.
   a. Antonius Possevinus.

XXXV. De virginitate.
Translations.
   1. Petrus Galesinius.
   2. Johannes Livineius.
Doubtful Translation.
   3. Johannes Lonicus.
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.
Commentary.
   a. Fronto Ducaeus.

C. Orationes.

   I. In Abraham et Isaac.
   Translation.
      1. Achilles Statius.

   II. Adhortatio ad poenitentiam (In mulierem peccatricem).
   Translation.
      1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
III. *In ascensionem Christi (De assumptione).*
   Translations.
   1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
   2. Laurentius Sifanus.

   *In baptismum Christi.* See C. VII.

IV. *In Basilium fratem.*
   Translations.
   1. Laurentius Sifanus.
   2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
   Doubtful Translation.

   *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.*
   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.
Greek Author

Commentary.
a. Fronto Ducaeus.

IX. *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt.*
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 *Vita* based on Nyssenus' *Vita.*
a. Symeon Metaphrastes.
Translation.
1. Gentianus Hervetus.
b. Anonymus.
Translation.
1. Gerardus Vossius.

XI. *In Flacillam imperatricem, Oratio funebris.*
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.
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.
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 1 a and 1 b.
Translations.
1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.
XXIII. In quadraginta martyres, oratio II.
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.
Commentary.
a. Fronto Ducaeus.

XXVI. In sanctum Pascha III. In Christi resurrectionem.
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.
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De sancto et salutifero festo Paschae. See C.XXVII.

XXIX. In sanctum Stephanum protomartyrem.
Translations.
1. Laurentius Sifanus.
2. Joachim Camerarius.

Commentaries.
   a. Joachinus 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.

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.

Commentary.
   a. Gerardus Vossius.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATIONS.
1. Johannes Carolus Bovius.

Appendix I. Lost Works of Gregory of Nyssa.
Appendix II. Spurious Works not attributed to Gregory in the Latin tradition before 1600 A.D.
Appendix III. Late Latin Translations and Editions.
Appendix IV. Vernacular Translations.
GREGORIUS

FORTUNA*

Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394) was one of the three great Cappadocians whose thought 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 Naucratius, 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 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. It was to Nazianzen and Jerome that Gregory read; at the Council of Constantinople (381) selections from his Contra Eunomium. 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 Cataphrases 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. 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. 1.CXXV De angelo qui Moysi occurrat).

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

2. De viris illustribus 128.
4. L. de Tillemont, Mémoires, I.X. 593.
to which author borrowed from the other. 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." 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 Apolinarium*, 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.

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 beatitudinis* 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

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


extant descendants; they reflect a relatively early state of the text. 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".

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.

Finally, there exists a papyrus fragment (s. VII) of a passage from De vita Moysis. There are numerous quotations in the Greek Catena 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.

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.

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.


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.


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 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.

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 didProcopius 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. Recent studies point to the influence of the Abraham pericope in De deitate filii in the fifth century poet, Romanus the Melode.

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.”

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 opificio hominis and De vita Moysis, testify to an early form of the text.

Again in the sixth century the Emperor Justinian in his Edicts quoted from the Contra Eunomium.

Maximus Confessor (580–662) was well acquainted with the works of Gregory. 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. Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733) not much later defended Gregory against the charge of Origenism; 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.


20. Published in J.B. Caraccioli’s editio princeps of seven letters of Nyssenus, Florence, 1731.
21. In his Ανταποδοτικός ή ἄνθεμενος now lost and known only through Photius’ mention of it in his Bibli. 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.23

In other instances the content seemed to reflect material with which Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus ("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 46:1111–1126.23a

The monk Meletius of Tiberiopolis may have lived in the ninth century.24 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.25 The greater part of his treatise was based on the Nemesius treatise which the writer of the preface believed was Nyssenus'.

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

Michael Psellus (1018–1079) wrote brief scholia on some works of Nyssenus and also compiled the *Expositio in Canticum canticorum, per paraphrasin collecta*, which includes selections from Maximus Confessor, Nyssenus 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.27

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GREGORIAN AUTHORITY

Euthymius Zigabenus, acquaintance of Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) quoted extensively from Gregory in his Panoptia Dogmatica. His contemporary Johannes Zonaras (fl. 1110) wrote scholia on the Epistola ad Leitoium. 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. The Synopsis falsely attributed to Alexius Aristenus (s. XII) also commented on the same work of Gregory.

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.

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.

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


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


33. M. Geerard, CPG II pp. 209–230 in most cases lists existing Syriac versions under each work.
Syriac\textsuperscript{33} reveals no preference for any particular type of writing; representatives of all categories appear. These versions assume great importance for establishing the text of Nyssenus 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.\textsuperscript{34} 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.\textsuperscript{35} Its contents testify to the works read at this early period: \textit{In Canticum}, \textit{De beatitudinibus}, \textit{De oratione Dominica} \textit{(Oratio I is the only one of the works in the manuscript edited to date)}, \textit{De opificio hominis} and \textit{Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas}. A number of other manuscripts of works and of \textit{catenae} bear very early dates.

These Syriac versions were generally the source of the Arabic translations of a large number of Gregory's works.\textsuperscript{37} The earliest are dated s. IX–X, for example, an epitome of the \textit{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 \textit{In Hexaemeron}. Though the early translators used Greek sources, later ones turned to Latin exemplars; e.g. Raphael Turki in 1763 translated \textit{In Canticum} and \textit{In Ecclesiasten} and in 1764 \textit{De beatitudinibus} and \textit{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 \textit{In inscriptiones Psalmorun} did this. A large number of spurious works were assigned to Gregory of Nyssa by Arabic scholars.\textsuperscript{38}

Georgian translations exist of many of Nyssenus' works, including one of \textit{Vita Macrinae}. Likewise there are some Armenian translations, including several of \textit{In Meletium}. A few works are extant in Coptic versions. But the Ethiopic \textit{Anaphora} going under the name of Gregory of Nyssa is clearly a spurious work of late origin.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{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 Nyssenus. Until 1237 Metropolitans of Russia were generally Greek and hence naturally brought with them their heritage of the earlier Fathers including Nyssenus. That

\begin{itemize}
\item GNO VI: LXI–LXII.
\item See P. Levine, \textit{Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol.} 63 (1958) 482.
\item W. Kutsch in \textit{Orientalia} VI (1937) p. 72.
\item 39. Geerard CPG II under individual works, lists Georgian and Armenian translations. On the Ethiopic \textit{Anaphora} see O. Löffgren and S. Euringer, \textit{Orientalia Christiana} 85 pp. 65 sq. with text, comment, and German translation.
\end{itemize}
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. One of the earliest preserved Slavonic translations is a passage from Oratio catechetica in Sviatoslav’s Izbornik of 1073. 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.

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

G 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.

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. 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. 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; Rütting agrees. Altaner and K. Adam are negative on the issue. Discussion continues today.

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 Vogt.

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

40. T. Ware, The Orthodox Church, 1975, p. 90.
42. Makarios’ Minei Chetii 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.
44. Written by J. Trubicyn for the Leningrad Academy of Culture.
circulated one until the publication of Lev- 
venklaius' translation in 1567.

A little later in the same century Facundus 
of Hermiae (fl. 540–550) included a Latin 
translation of passages from Nyssenus’ Con- 
tra Eunomium in Chapter IV of his Pro 
defensione trium capitulorum which he com- 
posed 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 cen- 
tury. 51 Today some doubt has been voiced as 
to whether Facundus was skilled enough in 
Greek to have made the version himself. 52

In addition to the passages in Facundus’ 
work, a number of single quotations are pre- 
served from the same century. In a florile- 
gium 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. 53 Liberatus, archdeacon of Car- 
thage (c. 533) in his Breviarium causae Nes- 
torianorum et Eutychianorum, quotes from 
the De beatitudinibus and refers to the now 
lost Libri septem in supremum caput Mat- 
thaei. Isidore of Seville (560–636) knew works 
of both Nazianzen and Nyssenus, but he con- 
fused the authors’ names and identities. The 
same uncertainty is seen in Alcuin and even 
in Eriugena. 54 Isidore and Alcuin may merely 
have read excerpts in a florilegium. The anony- 
umous Latin translator of Epistola ad Phi- 
lippum may have lived as early as s. VII; the 
eldest manuscript however dates from s. 
IX–X and has a connection with Bobbio. 55

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 popular- 
ity and circulation. Such was the case with 
many quotations from Gregory and others 
incorporated by John of Damascus, espe- 
cially in his De fide orthodoxa. We know that 
Latin translations of this treatise became 
available in s. XII; in the small portion sur-
viving of a twelfth century translation a sec- 
tion 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. 56

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 Clau- 
dium Taurinensem in which he supported his 
arguments with quotations from the Fathers 
including Gregory of Nyssa. 57 Though he 
might have obtained his quotations from 
florilegia, several of which he himself had

51. For his quotations see: PL 67:605–699. See 
W. Jaeger, GNO II: xi and note, and pp. 152–159, 
and his Gregor von Nyssa’s Lehre vom Hl. Geist, 
pps. 78–84.

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. 

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

e Testi 75 (1938) p. 186, n.1.

56. The translations are found in editions of the 
Acta Conciliorum; e.g. ed. of Paris, 1714, ed. 
On Walch’s suggestion that one of the translators 
was Anastasius Bibliothecarius see his Ketzerhisto- 
ria IX:14; it has won no credence.

57. Hist. litt. de la France IV:497; Manitius, 
Gesch. d. latein. Lit. des Mittelalters 1:370–374; 
Traube, “O Roma nobilis” in Abhdlg. d. Bayri- 
schen 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
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 Nyssenus’ *De opificio hominis* in the Latin of Eriugena.  

De opificio hominis was not the only one of Nyssenus’ works known to William. He mentions passages from the *De anima et resurrectione* and *Oratio catechetica* as well as from the Ps. Nyssenus-Nemesius *De natura hominis*.  


compiled, the fact remains that he considered Nyssenus 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.  

Petrus Subdianonus of Naples (s. X), who wrote many lives of saints, also paraphrased Nyssenus’ *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 Nyssenus 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.  

(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 Nyssenus by Eriugena see *Sources Chrétiennes* 151, ed. E. Jeaneune and Index for specific passages.

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. Moreover those trained in the school of Gilbert de la Portree (c. 1080–1154) 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.).

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 Nyssenus.

After the considerable twelfth century interest in Gregory, little new material was made available in the following two centuries. However between 1232 and 1256, Nicholas of Dyrachium 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.

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. 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 occursu 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. This was natural since he probably had at hand Burgundio’s translation of Nemesius which named Nyssenus as author of the treatise.

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65. See article ‘Nemesius Emesenus’ in CTC VI.
The flowering of fourteenth century mysticism raises the question of the degree of indebtedness of those involved in the movement directly to Nyssenus 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 (Nyssenus) 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."

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 Nyssenus rather than to Pseudo-Dionysius alone. Moreover Nicholas knew personally both Petrus Balbus\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

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69. J. Quasten, op. cit. p. 291 and Bibliography.
72. Dionysius usually paraphrases Nyssenus as he does other authors to whom he refers. For example, see his Opera omnia, Vol. XI: 521c–522a.

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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.\(^3\) 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 Nemesis’ De natura hominis, attributing it to Gregory as had Burgundio. In addition he made a translation of De differentia entitiae et hypostaseos which he assigned to Basil as was common at the time. It became the first work of Nyssenus to be printed even though not under his name.\(^4\) 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 Chalceopulus Constantinopolitanus (d. 1497), Bishop of Gerace in southern Italy, translated Gregory’s De oratione Domina, 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-

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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 Nyssenus are in fact to Nemesis, 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.\textsuperscript{75}

In 1536 the first Greek edition of a work of Nyssenus, the *De opificio hominis*, was printed in Venice in a volume also containing nine orations of Gregory Nazianzen.\textsuperscript{76} 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.\textsuperscript{77}

The most prolific Latin translators of Gregory’s writings in the sixteenth century were Petrus Franciscus Zinus of Verona and Laurentius Sifanus of Prunsfeld. 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 included 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.\textsuperscript{78} 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


\textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{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.
works but by compiled and translated florilegium such as that of Daniello Barbaro (1514–1570) 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 inscriptions 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. 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 and Antonius Augustinus moved into the same circle as editors. A little

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


81. See CTC III.408.


lat. Petavius (Denis Petav., 1583–1652) the well known theologian quoted many passages from Nyssenus' works in his De theologica 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. 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. 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.

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. A short time later (1586–1593) Robert Bellarmine wrote his Disputations de controversiis christianae fidei; the volume of discussion was sufficient to prompt him, in the section, De peregrinationibus, to devote space to Epistola II. He offered several suggestions: 1) Either the letter was not really the work of Nyssenus; 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 Anales ecclesiastici (1588–1607). 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. His remarks were soon chal-

85. See below p. 47 for this translation.
86. See G. Pasquali, GNO VIII.2:xxx.

91. J. Greter 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 de 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 Richeome92 (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.93

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 altariibus, and he dedicated his effort to Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the well known Protestant scholar. Molineus put out an enlarged 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.94 Gretser’s first writing on the subject of pilgrimages was De peregrinationibus in four books95 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. Molino editi.96

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.97 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.98 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.”


94. See below. pp. 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* 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. Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus' works were still being used as textbooks around 1600. Adam Siber included his own translation of the *De Abrahamo* section of Gregory's *De deitate Filii et Spiritus sancti* in his *Dialæxeon*, 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. 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 Agustin published Pedro Gales' revision of Hervetus' version. Meanwhile Jacques Cujaus (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. Cujaus 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 Aleixius Aristenus; only the Scholia are his. The portion of the *Synopsis* comments on Nyssenus, *Ad Letoium*.

Vernacular translations of Gregory's works began to appear around the middle of the sixteenth century. Gentianus 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

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 Nyssenus is more difficult to comprehend because of his heavy emphasis on mystical and philosophical 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 Nyssenus’ works. François Combes (1605–1679) whose work survives in manuscript form was one of these. Jean Cotelier (1627–1686) wrote notes to selections from Gregorius Nicaenus (sic) in his own hand; and in a Marseilles manuscript an anonymous writer analyzes quotations from patristic writers, including some from Gregory of Nyssa.

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, Antirheticus adversus Apolinarius; 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 cantricorum 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 Nyssenus’ 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

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 Chrétienues; 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. 107 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 Nyassa 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.

General Bibliography

Note: No attempt has been made to provide an exhaustive bibliography; a complete bibliography is being prepared by the scholars at the Forschungsstelle Gregor von Nyassa in Münster. Meanwhile the reader may consult both the bibliographies contained in the general works on Gregory mentioned below and also the following recent special bibliographies: Maria Mercedes Bergea, “Contribución Bibliográfica para el Estudio de Gregorio de Nyassa” in the Bulletin of the Centro de Estudios de Filosofía Medieval of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Ser. C. No. 1 (1970) pp. 5-63; “Gregorius Nyssenus” in recent volumes of L'Annee Philologique and of Bibliographia Patristica, ed. W. Schneller; E. Moutsoulas, “Grégorios ho Nysseus”, Hetaireia byzantinon spoudon. Epeteis 45 (1972) 545-559.

I. Editions and Chronology of Gregory's Works

Modern critical edition: Gregorii Nysseni Opera auxilio aliorum virorum doctorum edenda curaverunt Wernerus Jaeger†, Hermannus Langerbeck†, Hadwiga Hörner (Berlin, 1921— ). For a history and description of this edition (hereafter referred to as GNO), see above p. 33.

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.


Chronology of Nyssenus' works: J. Daniélou, “La chronologie des sermons de S. Gré-

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.

II. General Treatment of Gregory of Nyssa.

A valuable tool is M. Geerard, Clavis Patrum Graecorum, Vol. II, Turnhout, 1974, No. s 3135–3226 and 4612, 4677 and 5025. Geerard offers the most complete available listing of middle eastern and slavic translations. Vol. IV (1980) provides information on passages from Nyssenus quoted in the Catenae. He also supplies references where applicable to Bibliographia Hagiographica Graeca (BHG) and gives locations in Migne’s Patrologia Graeca. He mentions only a few Latin versions. For information on scholarship up to September, 1969 with special reference to the work being done in Münster see: Actes du Colloque de Chevetogne, Ecriture et Culture Philosophique dans la Pensee de Gregoire de Nyssse, ed. M. Harl, Leiden, 1971 (hereafter Chevetogne). See also Gregor von Nysssa und die Philosophie (Leiden, 1976), based on the Zweites Internationales Kolloquium über G. von N. held at Freckenhorst in 1972, esp. pp. 282–284 for current scholarship. Papers delivered at the Leiden Kolloquium of 1976 are to be published by the individual authors; several have already appeared. Papers delivered at the Cambridge Kolloquium of 1978 are being published under the auspices of the Philadelphia Patristic Foundation.


III. The Mysticism of Gregory of Nyssa

IV. GREGORY OF NYSSA, EARLIER GREEKS, AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.


V. GREGORY OF NYSSA IN LATER GREEK CIRCLES.


VI. GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE MIDEASTERN TRADITION


VII. GREGORY OF NYSSA IN THE LATE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL LATIN TRADITIONS


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


**ABBREVIATIONS**

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


**COMPOSITE EDITIONS**

(photograph) 1512, mense Maio, Argentorati (Strasbourg): ex officina Matthiae Schurerii. It contains *Libri octo de philosophia (De natura hominis)* of Nemesius Emesius, here attributed to Nyssenus and *De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos* attributed to Basil of Caesarea. The final pages (LXv and LX) contain a translation of the *Summaria capitum* of Nyssenus, *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.5.5.249; Maittaire II.227; Hoffmann 2.187; NUC: BN; (DFo; NNUt).


(photograph) 1537, mense martio, Coloniae (Cologne): ex officina Melchioris Novesianii. Adams G-1116; Hoffmann 2.187. The volume was edited by J. Antonianus Noviomagus and contains *De opificio hominis (de creatione hominis)* translated by Dionysius Eri- guis, 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. Stubbs, Librarian of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. BN; Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

(*) 1537, Colonae (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. Frobeniana. Basilii Caesariensis, Opera omnia. Contains Janus Cornarius’ translation of Epis- tola XXI, De differentiae 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).


*(*) 1547, Parisiis (Paris): apud Io. de Roygnum. Basilii, Opera omnia. Another edition containing Tilmanus’ translation of the above mentioned works. DK 12.6488


*(photo) 1550, Patavi (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).


*(photo) 1550, Lutetiae (Paris): apud Vascosanum. Contains Zinus’ translation of the two orations De pauperibus amandis and Nazianzen’s sermon on the same subject. Photos were supplied by Elizabeth Teley 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; NeD).


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


*(micro) 1553, Venetiis (Venice): in aed. P. Manuti Aldi filii. Contains Zinus translation of In Hexaemeron; In verba: Faciamus (2 homilies); In diem natalem; In ascensionem; In Penitecosten; Adversus eos qui durius et acerbius alios iudicant (Adhortatio ad poeni- tentiam; In mulierem peccatricem); De perfe- ctione; 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).


*(photo) 1555, Venetiis (Venice): apud H. Sco-
tum. *Panoplia dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigan-
benus. Contains a number of passages from Nyssenus’ 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).


(photograph) 1562, Basileae (Basel): ap. N. Episcopium iun. Contains L. Sifanus’ translation of thirty works: *De professione; De oratione Dominica; De beatitudinibus; In diem na-
talem; In s. Stephanum protomartyrem; In sextum Psalmum; In s. Pascha IV; De assumpto-
tione (ascensione); Ad Eustathium de sancta Trinitate; Ad Ablabium; De differentia essentiae et hypostaseos; Ad Simplicium de fide; In illud: Quando sibi subiecerit om-
nia; De mortuis; De infantibus praemature abreptis; In s. Pascha I; In s. Pascha II; In s. Pascha III; In s. Pascha IV (duplicate); De assumpto-
tione (duplicate); De pauperibus a-
mandis; De anima et resurrectione; In Hexae-
meron; Adversus Iudaeeos; In diem luminum; In s. Basilium; In XL martyres, orationes duae; In Pulcheriam; In Placilam; In s. Gregorium Thaumaturgum; In s. Theodo-
rum; In s. Meletium. Also included are: Dio-
nysius Exiguus’ translation of *De opificio hominis*; G. Trazepontius’ version of *De vita Moysis* and Johannes Cono’s revision of Burgundio of Pisa’s translation of the Ps. Nyssenus (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.


(micro) 1563, Romae (Rome): ap. P. Manu-

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

(photograph) 1564, Lipsiae (Leipzig): in off. Voegeliana. J. Camerarius’ translation of *In diem na-
talem* 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 Oppo-
rinum et Hervagiamus. Basilius Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*. Contains W. Musculus’ translation of some 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 ob-
tained from DFO; F.K. Lorenz of Hamilton College kindly provided information on the other works as well as copies.


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

(*1) 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 1.416; DK 12.6666; NUC. (CTY-D; ICU). The copy at Yale is bound with Nyssenus’ Epistolae II and III. Information was provided by Sem Sutter of Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

(*2) 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; NNT).


(*4) 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.


(*10) 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. Levenklauis’ 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.

(*11) 1573, Parisii (Paris): ap. S. Nivel- lium. Contains the same works as the 1571 edition plus some additional works. In a number of cases Zinus’ translation was substi- tuted 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 peccati- cem (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 Leven- klauis’ version), De iis qui baptismum differe- runt, Contra formarios and Petrus Gales- nius’ version of De virginitate. The editor of the volume and author of the preface remain unknown, although Sonnus or Nivel may have been responsible. This edition formed the basis of all subsequent Opera omnia editions of Nyssenus. Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.187. BL; BN; Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Emanuele II, Rome.


(*13) 1574, Venetiis (Venice): ap. B. Zal- terium. Aurea ac divina quaedam trium sanc- titate... praestantium Gregoriorum, Neo- caesariensis, Nysseni et Nizianzeni 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 Flaccilam, In B. Macrinam, In s. Ephraem, In s. Basilium, In s. Meleion, with works of Nazianzen and Thau- mumaturgus. Hoffmann 2.188. BN.


(micro) 1585, Venetiis (Venice): ap. Lorium de Loris. Contains M. Margunius' translation of Quid sibi velit atque exposcat nomen Christianorum (De professione ad Harmonium) and Epistola canonica ad Letoiam. 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.


(photo) 1604, Moguntiae (Mainz): ap. Bal- thasaram 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. Son- nium. The editor was Fronto Ducaeus. The preface, however, is not his but a revision of 1573, and may have originated with the printers, Nivel or Sonnium. Vol. I. contains the same works in the same order as the 1573 Paris edition. Vol. II contains the works published in F. Ducaesus' 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. Grets- ser; 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 Fili et Spiritus sancti and De occursu 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 Anonymous 1551 and of P. Molineus along with his Notae and treatises De peregriationibus and De altiaribus. 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.
GREEK AUTHOR

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 1.199; 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. Greter's three commentaries on Epistolae II and III. Notae in notas Petri Molinee Calvinistae super epistolam Nysseno aedifianam; Examen Tractatus de Peregrina- tionibus ab eodem Molinoediti; Correc- tiones Notarum in Epistolam Nysseni ad Eu- stathium, 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 con- tains: Epistola II in an anonymous version; Epistola III translated by Isaac Casaubon; De anima (i.e. Ch. 2 and 3 of Nemesis of Emesa, De natura hominis) translated by F. Morellus; De instituto christian and Adversus Graecos ex communibus notionibus also translated by F. Morellus; Libri XII contra Eunomius, translated by N. and J. Gulo- nius. The Table of Contents lists the two treatises In verba: Factamuis hominem and De procreazione hominis as translated by J. Lev- venkliaus, 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 Levenklaus' 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; Adhorratio 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.


(*) 1617, Coloniae (Cologne): ap. H. Her- rat, ed. A. Schott. (CTY; IU). Contains Tilmann's translation of the same works as in his 1547 edition. DK 12.6503; NUC. BN; (CTY; IU).

(photo) 1617 Coloniae (Cologne): sumptibus A. Hierat, ed. A reprint of the Latin portion only of the 1615 Paris edition of Nyssenus' Opera omnia. NUC (DCU). A photocopy of selected portions was provided by the late Bernard Peebles of DCU.

(*) 1617, Ingolstadt: ap. E. Angermarmar. (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 beneficiantia) along with Gret- ser's version of works of Anastasius of Sinai.

BN.

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

Vol. II of this edition was published in Paris in the same year by M. Sonnium and
contains the Appendix to the Paris 1615 edition of Nyssenus’ 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 eis qui baptismum dierunt 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 eis qui baptismum dierunt; 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, Parisii (Paris): ex officina S. Nivelliana, sumptibus S. Craemoisy. This edition consists of three volumes one of which contains the Appendix to the 1615 edition of Nyssenus. The BN catalogue (Vol. 8, p. 443) lists the volume containing the Appendix as published by M. Sonniius.

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


(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, Parisii (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 translated 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, Parisiiis: 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 Nys- senus’ works. NUC. BL; (CTY; ICU; MH).


1732, Venetiis (Venice); Opera Ephaem Syri, Vol. I, ed. J.S. and S.E. Assemari. (Gr.-Lat.). Contains G. Vossius’ translation of Nyssenus’ Vita of Ephaem 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. Peex 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 Antirhecticus adversus Apollinaris; Testimonia adversus Iudaeos; Oratio II in s. Stephaniu protomartryrum; 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 Nyssenus; Zinus’ previously published (1624) translation of the compilation Expositio Cantici cantorum paraphrastica and a number of fragments including the famous passage in the third homily De oratione Dominica. Vol. XI (1776) contains F. Combeis’ 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 Karampione 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 Sabellicum 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. Caracciolo (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; NeU). The copy at the University of San Francisco was used.


Doubtful Composite Editions


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 beatitudinis and De oratione Dominica in P. Galesnius' 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 Fili 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.* 1.600, "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 (Copies at CTY and in Berlin).

1603, Paris: Described as a second, enlarged edition of the Paris 1573 edition of Nyssenus’ 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 Cellier, *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 Nyssenus, 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 *Epi stolae* the thirty letters published by G. Pasquali in his critical editions of the Greek text (Berlin 1925 and Leiden, 1959) plus *Epi stola ad Philippum.* The *Epi stola ad Xenodorum* is not included because only fragments are extant (see Appendix I). *Epi stolae IV–XXVIII,* with the exception of *Epi stola XXI,* receive mention only since there are no Latin translations or commentaries before 1600 (See Appendix III). *Epi stolae XXIX* and *XXX* are considered in connection with *De opificio hominis* to which they are prefixed. *Epi stola 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 Nyssenus; yet J.P. Migne included it among Nyssenus’ 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. *Epi stola 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.


I. EPISTOLA I, AD FLAVIANUM


*Epi stola 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 Nyssenus. 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-
qualis's research has provided convincing proof that Nyssenus was the author.


**Translation**

1. **JOHANNES LEVENKLIAUS**

Johannes Levenkliaus’s 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*, Levenkliaus 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. Levenkliaus S.D. Magnificis ac Praestantii dignitati, sapientia, virtute viris Alberti patruo et Matthaeo Tideman 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 caetera abundet, ac multis quidem in locis, quem 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 squalentem frigoris pollicer 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 immortali deo maxime, quod non modo tam erudito me saeculo nasci voluerit, sed etiam patris et tuam, Albertae patruae, voluntatem excitatur, ut his me venis rerum maximi pretii perscrutandis adiceretis. . . . 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 rumuscis quibusdam, graviter descripsit. Hanc ipsam quoque Latinum in sermonem a me conversam ceteris hisce operibus Nysseni adiicere volui, ut ex ea plerorumque theologorum morasam superbiam superbamque mosritatem non nostro primum saeculo natam esse quilibet perspicere possit.

Praeterea versum a me superioribus annis eiusdem Nysseni nostris librum longe versus tum, qui est de hominis opificio, et ad illustriissimum principem Palatinum Rhenanum Boiorumque Ducem Christophorum meae erga ipsius excelsitatem observantiae causa missum, cum caeteris coniuxxi, ut quae cunque nostro labore atque opera Latinae vestem induisset ordine posita conspicere tur. Simul auctor fui typographo, ut de philosophia libros octo superiori memoria Nysseno falsa adscriptos, cum Nemesii sint, quemadmodum Ellebodius eorum interpretes abunde docuit, prorsus omittere.
Vobis autem, viri amplissimi . . . (Expression of gratitude) . . . tu me semper ut filium singulari amore complexus es, tu auctoritate tua praeclarissimaru artium studiis addixisti; tu magistrum mihi dedisti praestanti doctrina et virtute virum, Henricum Henigum, ecclesiariam nunc ditionis Spanhemensis inspectorem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quod superest, oro Deum, ut diu vos mihi salvos esse velit quorum in benevolentia multum mihi praesidi postum esse, sane mihi persuadere soleo. a.d. III Kal. Jan. anno a nato ex virgine Jesu 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 inustro et nullis de causis suscepto prosequuntur odio, non iam amplius in suspicium et coniecturarum sese limites continent . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 350) Verum cum nihil horum sit, non arbitror recte nos facturos, si tantum fastus morum incuratum negligamus. Neque vero alia potest esse curatio, quam si deprimatur superbia, et inanis ille fastus coerecatur, 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).
1558. Parisiis: Mentioned by Fabricius and Pasquali. See above, 1551.
1570, Basel: Fabricius IX.105; PG 44:17; Langerbeck, GNO VI.1viii refer to such an edition. However there seems to be only the 1571 printing. The date of Levvenklau's 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


Translations

I. ANONYMUS A, S. XVI

An unknown individual made a Latin translation of Nyssenus' De ipsis qui adeunt Hierosolyma, probably not long before its publication along with the Greek text by G. Morel in Paris in 1551. Because Protestants added 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 κυνηγότορι (Ad Censitorem). W. Jaeger and G. Pasquale consider this a proper name, and Baronius earlier suggested further that Censorius 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 praecaele agi censeo, si perpetuo Evangelii voces intueantur ac quemadmodum qui virgula quicquid positum est dirigunt, eius rectitudine tortuosa quae in manibus habent ad rectitudinem adducunt, . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ac si quod initio fiesat ut spiritus sanctus ignis specie dona singulis impertiret hac 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 suscepatam.

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

Editions:
1551, Parisii (Paris): apud Guilelum Morelium ad Scholas Conquerertas (Gr.-Lat.). Graasae 3:148; Hoffmann 2:186; Maittaire III. 597; NUC. (C-S = Sutro Branch, California State Library).

(micro) 1562, Baselae (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, Baselae (Basel): in Centuriae Magdeburgenses, as above. BL.
1606. See Composite Editions.
1615. See Composite Editions.
1617. See Composite Editions.
(*) 1624. Baselae (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 Nyssenus' 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. Graesae 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 viitis 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 Lippomanus (sic) Methonensis Episcopus de viitis sanctorum, tomo altero, Epistolam hanc recitant ascritbitque 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 Nyssenus 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 respondeunt 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 fiebant ut spiritus sanctus sub ignis specie unumquodque donum largiretur, idem adhuc fieret: omnes eoe in loco esse ubi dona distribuerentur oportaret. Sed cum spiritus ubicunque vult spiret, qui hic sunt credentes, etiam hi, pro fidei modo, non ex profectione quae Hierosolyma suscepta sit, divinorum numerum participes fiunt.

Edition:

(photo) 1558(?) Paris(?): apud Guil. Morel- lum (?). 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 Nyssenus’ 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 Richome (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 Centurio de 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 altaribus.

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 Nyssenus.

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 terro et veritatis amans, aureolum Gregori Nysseni libellum de peregrinationibus in Iudaearum vertit Gallice ad Graeci contextus fidem, praefixa praefatianuncula commoda sane ac elegantia. Pupugit Jesuitas libellus, quippe qui peregrinationes non modo ἐκηρυξαίξεις ut inutiles, sed et sugiillat ut noxias et periculo- sas. Homines enim ad rem faciendum 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 Nyssenus 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 Jesuitarum pistorino ludimagister, nomen homini Plusiandro, seu Richeomus mavult appellari. Is Stephano mirum quam inepte insultat librumque conatur aut insinulatione falsi eludere, aut argumentis elidere nosque exceptione rei pridem iudicatae summovere. Caeterum totus turget ampullis, et quem planipedes (sic) saltet, incedit tamen cothurnatus. Argumenta si quae habet, ad verbum sumpsit ex Bellarmino. Nos putavimus interesse veritatis authoritatem 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 to one who frequently warned him against the Jesuits—an allusion to Bellarmines's and Richoimes'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 ipsis pars sumus.

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Quandoquidem me rogasti, Amice, per epistolam de omnibus tibi ordine respondendum existimavi. Equidem eos qui se semel consecraverunt sublimi viven di rationi, pretium opera facere existimo, si semper Evangelii voces respiciant. Ac quemadmodum qui rem subiectam ad amussim exigit, iuxta amussis rectam lineam, quae prae manibus habent tortuosa ad rectitudinem revocant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 7). Certe si quod ab initio erat duraret ad haec temporae, Spiritu Sancto dispensans in specie ignis singula dona, oportet omnes ibi esse ubi fieret honorum distributo. Si vero Spiritus quo vult spirat, omnino qui hic credidereunt fiunt participes divini muneras secundum analogiam fidei, non secundum profectionem ierosolyma.

The statement, "To the reader", of Robert Stephanus, printer of the second (1606) edition of Molineus' version of Epistola II is of interest.


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. Crazz 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 Perron’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 Nyssenus’ Epistola II. Among the better known are: Elementa Logiciae; 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 imaginnibus et earum cultu. For a more complete list of his works, see Hoefer, Vol. 36:770 and Cat. of the BN, Vol. 44:604–633.


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 Bellarmin and Richeome argued either that Epistola II was not a genuine work of Nyssenus, 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. Lippomann “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 Nyssenus’ De professione christianae and Vita Macrinae as well as with the two “pilgrimage” letters. Twelve pages of Notae follow the introduction.


Dei praecepto actam appellare ... / ... [Exph.:] final Nota: (p. 23) μεγάλα δε τοις πολλην ἔχουσιν ἐν καυτος τῆς εὐφυχορίαν 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 GRETSE RUS

The controversy raised by conflicting interpretations of Epistola II produced several responses from the Jesuit scholar, Jacob Gretser. In 1606 he published De sacr is et religiosis 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 Molinen 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 Molinen (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 peri τῶν ἀπόντων εἰς Ιεροσόλυμα de euntibus Hierosolymam, cum nova versione, additis notis et gemino tractatu, altero de peregrinationibus, altero de altarium, quasi epistola illa non pridem Graece et Latine vulgata fuerit et quidem Parisius anno 1551 apud Morellium, si non mentitur Illyricus, qui summam eius transit, in Catalogum testium veritatis, et integ-

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

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 208) Calvinista sic exorditur: Bellarminus et qui pen nas et intervulsit Richeomus, hanc epistolam insinulanti falsi, ut ψευδεπιγραφον et negant esse Gregorii Μη ψεωδω, ait ille apud Homerum. Ne mentiarius, cum possis verum dicere. Nam Bellarminus non negat absolute esse Nysseni; ... / ... [Exph.:] (p. 218) Certe, si immediate id non obtinui, mediate obtinuit per Metropolitanum suum, qui nomine pri mi pastoris Nyssenum gregem Gregorio passendum commissit. Haec de Notis Molinei.

Editions:
1608. 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:
Jacobus Gretserus (Jacob Gretser or Gretsch) 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 Valentina (see p. 157 below). He so distinguished himself by his erudition that he was appointed Valentina’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 Schottius, 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 caputum; introductory letters, and Book I of Contra Eunomium; In inscriptiones 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 Imperator. 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 Pfeet et Felicis Bader, Typis Mariae Apolloniae Hancin).


III. EPISTOLA III, AD EUSTATHIAM, AMBROSIAM ET BASILIASSAM.


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-xlxi and p. 104 below). The copy was left by Casaubon in his will to his nephew, M. Chabane. It is now lost.

Casaubon, like Greter and to a greater degree than Molineus, was well acquainted with many works of Nyssenus. 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.


Text. [Inc.]: (p. 17) Vere ornatissimis et religiosissimis sororibus Eustathiae et Ambrosiae, necnon ornatissimae et honestissimae filiae Basilissae, Gregorius salutem in Domino. Congressus bonorum mihique ex animo diletorum et illius ingentis humanitatis nobis a Domino praestitae monumenta quae istic ostenduntur, maximi gaudii et voluptatis argumento mihi fuerunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 36) neque potiorem 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 affirmarem 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 probable Gregorium ullam cum iis communiem habuisse, qui pulso Cyrillo parepiscopi et invasores non legitimi episcopi Hierosolymis sederunt.

The Notae follow. See below under Commentary.


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) Anti- qui 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 διὰ βασιλικὴν propter eam partem iure merito hanc epistolam nuncupaveris. [Inc.]: Notae proper: (p. 56) Pag. 1 vers. 1. ταῖς
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

κοσμιωτάταις ἀληθῶς ταῖς εὐσεβεστάταις ἀδέλφαις. Quaenam haec fuerint multieres, 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 quæat imponi: Ἦ ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἄγαπών· τῶν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐν ἀφαρσίᾳ.

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 in 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).


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.


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, XXI–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 Epistaphius 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 Patmsis 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 σημειοπρέπεια 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:

Translations

1. Wolfgangus Musculus

Wolfgangus Musculus translated a number of works of Basil of Caesarea into Latin; among them was Epistola X (olum CLXXV) Iulitiae 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 videcet talis: Ubi unam ceperunt qui capiendis illis student, cicerum illam redunt 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 (olum CLXXV), Iulitiae 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.


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

1. 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 Bobbi-
io. 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 Fil-
ippum monachum de Arrianorum oposition-
nibus. [Inc.]: Malitii genimen est animae, et
quicumque ad eam proclivis se habent om-
nium bonorum sustinet disceptionem . . . / . .
[Expl.]: Intercensiones autem pro nobis
facite semper ad eum qui mala dissolvit et
salvator est Christus, cui gloria in secula
seculorum. Amen. Explicit epistola Beati Greg-
origii Episcopi Nyseni ad Filippum Mon-
achum de Arrianorum oppositionibus.

Bibliography: G. Mercati, Codici Latini
Pico Grimani Pio (Studi e Testi 75 (1938) pp.
187–194, "Alcuni Mss. Ottoboniani non co-
nosciuti;" Becker, Catalogi bibliothecarum
antiqui, p. 66; Zaccaria, Iter litterarium per
Italiam, p. 55; J. A. Symonds, The Renais-
sance in Italy, Vol. 1:409 (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
Nysenus the manuscript contains works of
Athanasion, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Greg-
ory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom and Pro-
clus. (Kristeller, Iter I.77; Mercati, op. cit. 186
sq.).

(photos) Città del Vaticano, Ottobon. lat.
70, s. XV–XVI, misc., fols 79–80 v (Kris-
teller, 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

om.

Recent editions: PG 45:116–136; 1958, Le-
den, 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–XLI. 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 frag-
ments of Nyssenus. Bardenhewer rightly sug-
gests that is 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 Nico-
lauz 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 Fug-
ger, 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
Nyssenus. 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 Nyssenus. 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 “Recensio 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 aeonium; 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 praefatioinis.” 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 indemnite, ne liber alibi intra certum annorum spatium edetur, 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 Episcopius, 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 Levvenklauus, 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 absolvissimus, et in eadem Laurentii Sifani, eorum interpretis elegantissimi, praefationem iam diu nequiquam expectavissemus et instarent iam Francofordienses nundinae, existimavi mus tam bonum atque utilem authorem neque ob defectum illius praefationis diutius supprimendum, neque rursum sine ulla omnino praefatione in lucem emittendum. Quamquam maluissemus et praesitissit, eum ipsius interpretis praefatione commendatum pro dire in publicum, quippe cum credibile sit interpretatem in eo diligentius (ut necesse fuit ad interpretandum) versatum aliqua observasse et demonstraturum fuisse cognitum utilia, quae nos alius curis et negotiis in horas incidentibus distracti haud ita poterimus ...

(Episcopius 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, ispe met officii mei limites excedam, hoc est, ne in rem theologiam me demergam altius, hic finem faciam et lectoris 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 scriptis in praefatione sua Ioannes Cono, interpres ipsius librorum octo De Philosophia (i.e. Nemesius, _De natura hominis_) qui ante etiam excussi utcumque fuerunt, (see arti-

cle on Nemesius in CTC VI), nunc vero cum alius antea impressis recogniti et marginalibus Bibliorum locorum allegatorum annotatibibus exornatis eduntur. Esset mihi locus, si verborum 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 deprehendens, quae eius phraseos sit elegantia et quam sedula in transferendo diligentia paucas (meo iudicio) hoc nostro saeculo invenias, quos cum hoc conferre posis. Interea vale, Lector amicissime, et nostris conatisibus favo. 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 Ioannii Fuggeris, clarissimi atque optimi viri Antonii filiis, Kirchpergaeae et Veissenhorni Baronibus, etc. dominis sibi charissimis et amicis summis Laurentius Sifanius Prunsfeldius I. U. Doctor, S.P.D. [Inc.]: Divi Gregorii episcopi Nysseni, qui magni illius Basilii frater fuit, opuscula theologica nescio qua felicitate, magno certe labore atque diligentia proximis annis in lingua Latinam a me conversa, quorum nomini dedicarem patrocinioque commendarem, vos mihi charissimi atque amplissimi viri potissimum digni et idonei visi estis, iisque multis gravissimisque de causis. Primum enim quoniam in utroque sermone Latinus 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 agitis vestrae accommodata satis feliciter ac mature me paulatim tradente accepistis, aliquod maius relinquere rem monumentum quocum vos vestrae mecum habitae consuetudinis ac familiaritatis perpetuam memoriam relinquere, tum fortasse aliquod etiam adiumentum hominibus studiose ac doctis, sed Graecae linguae minus peritus 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 periciendi dubius haererem et ambiguus, pergeremne absolvere, anmitterem 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 Ioannis Iacobii Fuggeri, fratris vestri patruelis, quatuor codices confectionis 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 mutulim atque depravatum erat, ea loca vel integra atque incorrupta in illis codicibus haberemur, vel si quid desiderabatur, faciliore conicurta quod deset suppleri ex meo volumine posset, contra ubi illa apographa vitiosa ac mutila erant ibi meum exemplar integrum et sanum esse. Itaque cum haud mediocriter istorum codicum subsidio sublevatus atque adiutus sum, tum magnam eo nomine et vobis et domino Ioannis Iacobii 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 honorificissime me, dum esset vobiscum, tractavit, quod praeter mercedem, qua omnes fere eos qui suis liberis magistros disciplinae adhibere solenter, superavit, magna pecuniae summa me honorifice diffinitum donavit, quod praeter mercedem summam omnia mihi non solum ea, quae ad victum atque cultum, verum etiam quae ad studia necessaria sunt benignissime, largissime, liberalissimaeque subministrari curavit, quod per totum amplius triennium id, quod non petenti politicis erat, supra quam spereare ausus esset, liberalissime magnificantissimeque praestitit, ut ad cursum studiorum meorum confessionem, et ad honorem doctorum consequendum sumptus amplissimae supereditat. Ut haec igitur omnia silentio prae-termittam, quae maxima in me beneficia co-llata sunt, nisi vestra patrisque vestri summa liberalitate interea, dum hos libros in lingua Latinom converterem, sustentatus et sublevatus esses, iam pridem inceptum opus relinquere, ac vel ad tenuissimam conditio-nem descendere coactus esses, 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 ingratitudinis 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, eruditione forsan atque iudicium acutum multum in locis defuit. Nam postpositis seris meae professionis studiis, ex quibus procul dubio plus luci ac quaestus fecisset, 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) loco nonnulla suspecta quae plus quidam et doctus vir cuius nomen editum non est, animadvertit et scholiis appositis (quae in meo omissa extant in apographo domini Ioannis Iacobii) vitium eorum locorum corrigeri nititur et emendare. Quae scholia ego quoque postea adiici. 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 profec- tum, hilari vultu laetaque fronte accipere et ab invidorum ac malignorum hominum mor- sibus defendere velitis. Hoc si mihi contigerit, abunde satis magnos laborum fructus me percipisse putabo. Bene valet 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 filii, Kirchpergae et Weissenhorni baronibus et dominis suis charissimis et amicis summis. [Inc.]: Quemadmodum scriptura 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 corruptra, depravata atque in multis locis mutilata fuerint, ex iis exemplariibus quae penes vos a me missa atque correcta habetis, potius potuisitis. Quae scriptra quum Eusebius Episcopius, Nicolai filius, se iterum cum additamento aliquot orationum edere velle significasset ac petiisset, ut sibi darem a me correctum exemplum unde emendator ac purior noster ille author rursus prodiret in publicum, non potuit non ei in hac re morem gerere et obscurare, ne si quid iterum in eodem operes (quod Deus prohibeat) peccatum fuerit, in me culpa conferatur. Sed quum a me sciiscitaretur, utrum novam addere praefationem, an aliquid in priore vel corrigere vel addere vel immutare vel demem vellem, dixi me disipicere ac deliberare velle. Itaque quum recognita priore praefatione, nihil in ea vel mutare vel corrigere vel detrahere vel adiicere operae pretium esse mihi videretur, accidit nuper domi tuae, domine Marce, ut quidam theologis, qui paucas (quod ex sermo eorum apparebat) in eo autore Latino facto legissent, 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, quor non Coloniae Agrippiniae inter Catholicos ubi nec typographi deessent, sed Basileae inter adversarios hoc opus divulgaru curaserem, et adiicerent librum a loco ubi editus esset, suspectum, minus vendiblem et acceptum fuisset, dixi id quod res est, mei arbitrii et in mea potestate non fuisset, qui non meo sed alterius sumptu edendum opus in Latinum sermonem convertisset, ubi id opus divulgangandum committeretur. Mihi tamen in hoc impositum esse, qui non tam facile conversi onem operis suscepturus fuisset, si Basileae non Coloniae Agrippinae (quemadmodum mihi promissum erat) et Latine dumtaxat, non etiam adiunctis Graecis hunc authorem editum iri scisimes. 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 quor in externa urbe librum devulgare curaret, quod per eos socios, quos sibi ascisisset, facillii et commodius privilegia de indemnitate, ne liber alibi intra certum annorum spatium ederetur, impetrasse posset. Praeterea quod suspicerar futurum, id quod evenit, ut editioni praesesset indiligens corrector et multa delicta atque peccata committeretur, quae et ad infamiam meam et ad detrimentum studiosorum emporium redundant, me paratum fuisset Basileam profiscisci, ut ipse edendi authoris correctioni praeessem, sed eam operam meam tamquam supervacuam et non necessariam non acceptam, sed spretam et repudiatam fuisset. 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 labefactar possint. Ac si quid eiusmodi fuisset in Graeco exemplari adiectis scholiis quoque Graecis, quae convertissem, fuisset correctum atque sanatum. Hoc responsorum cum istis satisfactum esse videretur, paucis post diebus, libraria supellectile mea tandem adiecta, incidi in quoddam scriptum meum in quo annotaverim quae primum edito Nyssenon nostro, quidam homo non quidem indocetus nec mihi inimicus sed, ut videtur, parum candidus in conversione mea reprehendisset, quae ex illo audita amici ad me detulerat. 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 exiguum 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 continentur, usum esse. Aiebant autem illum dicere perperam me usum dictione Substantiae pro Hypostasis: item vocabulo Effigies proImagine; 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 nimium 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 reprehendendis 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 obtrectare 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 conatur sim. Multis item in locis ubi exemplaria integra sunt, etsi sententiam authoris expressi, mihi tamen ipsa non satisfaci. Quoniam video atque non despero loca illa ab doctoribus elegantius et ornatus converti ac reddi Latine posse. Ad haec multis in locis, ubi author longioribus usus periodis et orationis continuationibus seu comprehensionibus obscurior est, ad humilium dicendi genus, ut sententiam authoris in iis locis magis perspicuam atque dilucidam redderem, descendit. Quinetiam 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 crimimen agnosco. Nam quod ait me minus scienter ac perite usum esse dictione Substantiae, sive subsistentia, intelligo in libello de Differentia oūsia και υποστάσεως quum pro oūsia essentia reddidissem, illum offensum esse, quod servata dictione Graeca υποστάσεως, 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 υποστάσεως vertit substantiae, tamen veritus curiosorum et scrupulosorum hominum calumniis et offensione 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 Ciceron'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 significacione verbum remittere usitatus esse, quam dimittere. Haece et eiusmodi qui reprehendentes et cunpunt quam sint ad culpandum ac vituperandum prociles atque propensi, quis non videt? Quorum hominum inepta, insulsata atque importuna iudicia etsi ego curare non debo, tamen siquid forte ad aures vestras delatum fuerit ut in promptu habeatis quod pro defensione mei illis subjiciatis, haece ad vos scribere haud ab re alienam esse duxi, Praesertim cum admirabile quiddam mihi in hoc opere usu veneri immerenti, ut utrisque et Catholici (Agrippinenses meos exceptos volo) et Evangelici (qui ita se appellant) fuerim suspectus: his quod plura loca, quam putarint, in hoc opere offenderint suis dogmatibus atque institutis contraria atque adversa; ills quod apud adversarios liber editus ac divulgatus sit quod supra a me satis arbitror esse purgatum, nempes, quod me adversante atque invito sit factum. Caeterum quod ad alteros attinet, exst politian in tractatu de infantibus qui praemature abriptiont, ubi ignis purgatorii mentio fit. Quod a me subditum non esse, nuper Argentinae quibusdam fidem facere non potuisset nisi exemplo Graeco.
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

prolato (quod forte fortuna penes me habe-bam) indicassem locum, unde illa verbo fere pro verbo reddito convertam. Haece fere in hoc tempore praefationis loco ad novam editionem authoris adiciere 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. Mart. 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 euripum huius gravatim susci-pere laborem, ut nos patres praeclassis filio-rum sudoribus oblectaremur (hoc enim suggerit lex naturae) . . . [Expl.]: (p. 126) divina autem natura et variationis et divisionis per omnem considerationem exprs esse deprehenditur idcirco propio una deitas, et unus Deus est, et alia omnia Deo convenientia nomina singulariter effertuntur.

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 Prunsfeld 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 Amphiloctius of Iconium. He also wrote essays in praise of the Greek language, especially that of Isocrates.


II. DE ANIMA, PER CAPITA
DISPUTATIO AD TATIANUM

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

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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 \textit{Ad Tatianum} is the work of an anonymous scholar who compiled the treatise between S. V and s. VII.


\section*{Translators}

1. \textbf{Petrus Franciscus Zinus}

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of \textit{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.

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

\textit{Editions}:

1553. See Composite Editions.


\textit{Biography}:

See CTC II.155.

2. \textbf{Gerardus Vossius}

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

\textit{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] mittetem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 145) Animam igitur ratione praeditam esse, iam demonstratum est [al. hoc enim a sensibus differre demonstratum est. Anima igitur ratione praedita est].

\textit{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.


\textit{Doubtful Edition}:

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 Borchoien, Hasselt or Looz. He is sometimes referred to as Borichlonianus. Vossius entered the church, went to Rome, received the doctorate at the Sapiencia 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 Sirloto 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 charitite. 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.


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 . . . [/ . . . [Expi.]: (p. 148) Quae quidem lectio atque interpunctura, etsi nobis haud improbanda videatur, de ea tamen, ut et de alis sup. adductis, ac postea in hoc opere adducendis penitus iudicandum alius eruditioribus libenter reliquimus. Et ista de anima hactenus.

Editions:
1604. See Composite Editions. F.E. Cranzer kindly provided a copy of portions of the Notae.
1622. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See above.

III. De anima et resurrectione, DIALOGUS CUM MACRINA


Macrina 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

I. 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.


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information: Eius (Balbi) autem ingenii monumenta, et versiones unico volumine M.S. reperiuntur in thesaurio Ecclesiae Capuanae ut nos monuit eruditus vir, Camillus Pellegrinus, quorum 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. Vicentium. 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 Dottorezza Guerrieri Guerrieri in a communication to Paul O. Kristeller.

Biography:

See CTC II.139.

2. ANONYMUS (s. XVI)

An anonymus 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 ecclesis 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. DANI EL AUGENTIUS

Daniel Augustinus 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. Augustinus dedicated his version to Francois 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 Augustinus worked from an inadequate manuscript. In 1837 J.G. Krabinger made some use of Augustinus’ version as well as that of Sifanus as he describes, “modo Sifanum, modo Augustinum, prout visum est, duces sequutus; saepe 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 Augentiuss S.P.D. [Inc.]: Cognitani mihi saepenume ro, Heros sapientissime, quaenam sit causa, quod religio Christiana, qua 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, innumerablem martyrum, id est, veritatis et fidei quae in Christo Iesu est testium, sanguine consecrata, tot sanctissimis Conciliorurn decretis fulta, tot non minus doctorum quam priorum virorum scriptis praecelis illustrata, tot gentium et populi perpertuo multis iam saeculis consensu corroborata, tot hodie seditionibus et sectis exagitatur, ut ubique fere sit miserrima facies, cum iam multa ab unitate Ecclesiae desitverint, permuti de defectione cogitent, nonnulli praecipitatis ferantur ad impietatem, pauci admodum vixque ades continuant in officio, duo potissimum veniunt in mentem . . . (Augentius procedit a Joacum de discussionibus, de controversiis diurnis et nocturnis, de lege et de litteris, de litteris et de legibus, de legis et de litteris, de litteris et de legis) . . . Atque quam impia quidem, confutata autem facilia sint eorum dogmata, hoc libro aperte demonstrat D. Gregorius Nyssenus arnis philosophicus, id est, validis et efficacibus rationibus adversus eum qui animam mortalem esse censent, ita pugnants, ut eos suo, quod aiunt, gladio facile confodiunt. Quod quidem adversus impios is- tos homines vel potius cokosamynox mei quidem iudicio hoc tempore omnino facienda est nec iis assertiendum qui philosophiam ut Christiano homine pietus indigiam averantur et reiiciunt. Quibus satis fuerit hoc in praesentia respondisse, Origem, Basiliun, Chrysostomum, Nazianzenum, caeterosque theologiae antesignanos in eo studiores genere ita esse versatos ut excellentem, Aegyptumque ita spoliassse, ut Domini tabernaculum ac templum pulcherrimum ornarent, et impium illum Christiani nominis hostem Iulianum Apostatum nulla re alia maiorem Christianaee religioni calami-
Edition:

(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.


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 convertem, vidi eundem Lutetiae editum et ab Daniele Augentio iuvene, opinor, Gallo translatum. Eum primus attulit ad me Arnoldus Birkmannus, vir eruditio atque iudicio non cum typographis ac librariis, sed cum hominibus doctissimis comparandus. Quem nisi huius rei testem haberem, hoc quod dixi, silentio praetermitterem. Haud dispensuerunt autem pleraque ac iudicavi, id quod res est, ab homine docto ea translatla esse, sed illum (quod mihi initio acciderat) in codem 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 plurimus locis cepi laborem, ex iis voluminibus, quae vos ad me misistis, ea quae anteae transtuleram, sicii inveneram in primo exemplari depravata ac mutila vel mutare vel corrigere, vel praetermissa ex vestris libris adiere coactus. multis item in locis ubi utraque probabili et a proposito non esset aliena, duplicem reddidi lectiones. Ac ut taceam de reliquis ut minimum tres 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 commun-
is causa luctus Ecclesiis extitisset, atque
etiam nunc soror et magistra vitae superstes
esse . . . / . . [Expi.]; (p. 283) Talibus igitur
cura conveniente expurgatis et expiatias, quic-
quid in meliorem partem intelligitur, invicem
et in locum eorum succedet, incorruptibilis,
vita, honor, gratia, potentia, et si quid aliud
eiudem modi vel in ipso Deo vel in imagine
eius quae est humana natura cerni coniicimus

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 Anecdotca Graeca
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 Monument-
torum Veterum Ecclesiae, græce et latine, ed.
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 Lau-
rentius Alexander Zacagni (Lorenzo Zac-
cagni) 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 Ser-
gius (687–701) (See N.M. Haring, “The Por-
retans and the Greek Fathers,” Med. Stud. 24
(1962) p. 180, and n. 40). The date of the
second, more accurate version is not known;
they are anonymous and in printed editions fol-
lows the text and first version. Readers can
find these translations in Acta Conciliorum,
805–807; and also in Hardouin's edition, Paris
1714 of the Acta. The first translation only
appears in Binius' 1644 edition of the Coun-
cils.

In 1555 some passages from Antirrheticus
which had been quoted by Euthymius Ziga-
enus (s. XII) appeared in P.F. Zinus' Latin
translation of Euthymius' Panoplia Dogma-
tica.

Translation (partial)

I. FRONTO DUCAEUS

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

The author of the preface to the 1596
Ingolstadt edition of eight entire works of
Nyssenus 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 frag-
ments in a codex of the Bibliotheca Medicae
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.


_Preface (Ad Lectorem). [Inc.]:_ Habes hic, amice Lector, opuscula nonnulla D. Gregorii Nysseni contra Apollinarum 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 _Panopiae_; alterum appellat _orationem ad Theophilum Alexandriae Pontificem_ cuius loca ab eo prolata in hac epistola reperiuntur, alterum orationem qua confutat Apollinarii opiniones, ex quo item inter caetera locum unum exscribit cuius sententia probe eadem est quae fragmenti alterius ex duobus quae infra tibi exhibebimus. Accedit Ioannes Cyrissiutus qui in expositione materiaria eorum, quae de Deo dicuntur, Decad. 6, cap. 6, adducit illum non pro cul ab initio huius epistolae. _Non enim propterea quod in novissimis diebus_, etc. usque ad illa verba, _oblatam esse visi onem_. Praeterea Franciscus Turrianus in epistolae ad Gregorium de Valentia contra Ubiquistas proferit ex hac epistola hunc locum non procul a fines. _Divinitas enim quod hu mile fuit_, etc. usque ad illa verba, _Unio decla ratur_. Denique haec eadem epistola manuscripta Graece exstat in Bibli. Serenissimi Principis Gulielmi, Bavariae Ducis, etc. et in paucissimis voculis discrepat ab exemplari quo usus est Ducaeus, ut et ab illo quod Lug duni Batavorum prodiit. Secundum locum obitnet libellus in illud Genes. 1, _Creativ Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam_ qui ex antiquissimo Codice Bibliothecae Medicae ac paene consumpto literis fugientibus charta dilabente erutum est. Ac licet in altera ex duabus homiliis quae adiungi solent B. Basili _orationibus in Hexaemeron_, sed Nysseni sunt propriae (non enim plures quam novem Suidas Basilio tribuit) de hac quaestione disseruerit Nyssenus, hoc tam men non impedivit quo minus ut verum opus agnosceretur eius, illud de opificio hominis in cuius aliquot capitis de hoc ipso argumento tractat; sic neque vetabit quidquam quominus hoc tanquam verum eius ἐγέννημα legamus. Praesertim cum notum sit sanctos Patres de eadem materia saepius scribere et dicere fruere solitos. Nam argumentum de resurrectione nostra et Christi, quoties hic idem D. Gregorius loculentissime et eloquentissime tractavit.

Huic libro succedit _epistola ad Theod sium Episcopum de Pythonissa et oratio in sanctam Domini resurrectionem_, de qua materia exstant iam nonnullae latinae conciones inter opera divi Nysseni et oratio in propriae ordinationem ne quattuor et Venetiis in Bibliotheca Graeci cuiusdam Episcopi asservari fertur (Ven Marc. gr. 68, s. XII). _Decem syllogismi contra Manichaeos_ inveniuntur itidem in Bibliotheca Bavaria. Duo fragmenta alterius operis _contra Apollinarem_ desumpta sunt ex codice Bibliothecae Medicaeae (These are the fragments considered in this section.) qui continebat expositionem in epistolam ad Hebraeos ex multis Patrum locis contextam. In priori fragmento tractat illum cap. 1 ad Hebraeos. _Et cum introducit primogeniti tum in orbem terrae_, dicit, et adoren 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_.

70
Porro Euthymius tit. 13 hoc posterius fragmentum descriptum aliquot verbis omissis. Et huius amplioris et grandioris contra Apollinarium, tamen antithetico lorum voluminis meminit Nicephorus lib. 11, cap. 19 non autem prioris illius ad Theophilum, ut quidam imperite hallucinarit, qui etiam in eadem epistola indeque legit et edidit igitur si illum in quoque refert talem legendum sit tamen si numero referunt talem[...]

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.

Text. (ed. of Paris, 1605). [Inc.]: (1.105) Itaque nullum nobis est periculum, ne in quaternarium numerum Trinitatis mysterium extendamus, prout inquit Apollinaris, neque Angelos homini in servitutem redigamus . . . [Expl.]: (1.108) Nam quod invisibile est,
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 ordinat.ionem, 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 Niceron and Sommervogel.


**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 Nysses; Migne, *Patr.*
graeca XLV, cc. 1123 et sui.

The treatise contained on folia 71 v–90 r, is not by Gregory of Nyssa, but rather it is the De incarnationis dominciae 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


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 Nyssenus’ works.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1571). [Inc.]: (p. 31) Visis autem turbis ascendit in montem, et cum consedisset, accessorunt 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 ascendant in spiritualem montem altae contemplationis? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 68) quinimo potius etiam laetemur, quoniam per id, quod pellimur ab is quae in terra habentur in pretio, ad coeleste bonum complimur, secundum eum, qui promisit beatos

fore eos, qui propter ipsum agitati persecutio nemque passi sint, quoniam illorum sit regnum coelorum. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu 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 GALESIUS

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 Borromaei Cardinale Amplissimo, Petrus Galesinius S.D. [Inc.]: Quamdiu Graecia, Buro mae amplissime, in Romana fide et in officio erga Romanum Pontificem pie sancteque permansit, tamdui illam et inularem 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 Pegalio 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 b4a) ad quam rem etsi egregia ista tua natura te valde hortatur, non parum tamen ad eam ipsum valere debet animi mei propensio, quae incredibilis est et prope singularis
erga Amplitudinem tuam. Vale, optime Cardinallis.

Petrus Galesinus lectori S. [Inc.]: (b₄b)
Non sine causa a Romanis pontificibus, sanctissimis viris, Gelasio in primis et Nicolao factum esse legimus, ut decretis promulgatis libros ipsi praescriberent ... (Galesinus thinks it useful to include a Vita of Nyssenus which follows.) .../... [Expl.]: Quae vero de eius vita litteris tradidi, ea ab Hieronymo, Rufino, Metaphraste, Suida, Zonara ac Nicephoro locupletissimis auctoribus accepti. Vale.

Vita Gregorii Nysseni (sic). [Inc.]: Multos Gregorios nobis Graecia peperit, in quibus, ut est apud Nicephorum, tres maxime numerantur .../... b₄b [Expl.]: (at end of list of works) Libri contra Eunomium, quos et Hieronymo et Nazianzeno legit.

Ex his Nysseni 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 ipsum est regnum caelorum (Mt. 5.3) In hoc igitur hominum convertu quis eiusmodi est, qui et hunc Domini seremonem 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 pati mur, ne doleamus, immo vero laetem quoniam cum ex iis rebus, quae in terris magni fiunt, nos pulsi simus, ad caeleste bonum impellimus, ut affirmat nobis is qui beatos dicit eos qui nomine suo patiuntur, quoniam ipsum est regnum caelorum munere benignitateque Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui gloria potentiae sempiterni aetatum saeculis. Amen.

(p. 165) Lectori S. Dabimus operam, quantum in nobis erit, ut reliqua Nysseni (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


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 Catenaes 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 Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus. (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 Nyssenus; e.g. A. Gallandi, Bibl. vet. Patrum (1770) Vol. VI: 645–707 and F. Ducceus 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 Nyssenus, also translated the compilation of Psellus.


Translations

1. Johannes Levvenklaius

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 Nyssenus' Epistola I and his previously published (1567) translation of De opificio hominis. The other Latin translations of Nyssenus' 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 cantorum meris aenigmatibus plenas partim ex eadem Herveti translatione, quae viris doctis purior et facilior visa est, expressimus; alias nempe quattuor postremas quosque Herveti procedebat exemplar ex interpretatione Leunclavi compolvimus.

Levenklaius' 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 intellegi 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 Canto Canticorum, quod et sanctimoniae vitae et animi tui puritati convenit, in me recepti, tum coram, tum per litteras abs te nobis inuinctum/ . . . [Expl.]: (p. 324) Quod si et vitae spatium Deus, qui vitae nostrae arbitrare est, et pacis opportunitatem suppetitaverit, 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 suavis oris sui . . . quam vinum rectitudo te dilexit.

Explanatio.
Quotquot secundum Pauli consilium vete-rem hominem quasi quendam amictum sor-didum una cum actionibus et cupiditatibus eius existis, 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, iisque 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 Levvenklauis' 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. Ceilier, Hist. Gêne., Vol. VIII.441 who spells the translator's name Hevaglanus, and by Langerbeck, GNO VI p. LVIII. The fact that Levvenklauis' preface to the 1571 edition is dated 1570, probably led to the mention of a 1570 edition. Dr. Bernhard Schelman 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 οἵματι γὰρ οἶκον = 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 Leidensis Vulcanianus 6 (s. XII-XIII). The manuscript used by the other Latin translator, Levvenklauis 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 Possenvinus as some have suggested, basing their opinion on Fabricius' statement in IX.127 where he says of the 1573 edition "quaet editio recensetur a Possenvino in adparatu S." Possenvinus 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 Possenvinus 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.


. . . (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 Hexaemeron_. 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 hisoris collecta in medium proponere ut si quis pervestigandiæ antiquitatis studiosus huissmodi librorum thesauros reperiat, eos tandem exrahat et ad publicam utilitatem in apertam lucem emittat.

_Text. [Inc.]: Prooemium (p. 230) Gratum et acceptum fuit mihi studium de cantico canticorum quod et coram et tuis ad nos expostuist literis, ut quod honestae tuae vitae et purae animae conveniat ut per convenientem contemplationem apropiatur quae est in verbis occupa 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 Jesus Christi sit nobiscum omnibus in saecula saeculorum.

Oratio I. [Inc.]: _Osculetur me osculo oris sui . . . Te dilexit rectitudo_. Quicunque congruerent consilio Pauli veterem hominem tanquam sordidum aliquod vestimentum exuistis cum eius actionibus et desideris 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 abi 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 Nyssenus' _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 transitulissemus, 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. Levenklaus (PG 44:1054 C) translated χαῖρε κε-χαρίτωμένη "Gaude, per gratiam dilecta." Ducaeus, attributing Levenklaus' 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 κε-χαρίτωμεν 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. Sonnium, 1615). Coeretam excludi Graecus harum homiliarum textus iamque ad finem secundae progressa erat editio eruta ex apographo, cuius copia Claudio Morello civi Parisieni 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 deforma- rant; posterior autem similibus 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 adunc- tae margini fuerant apographi variantes lec- tiones ex Morelliano excerptae, saepe contigit ut operae typographici non Olivarii, sed Morelli exemplar securi sint, neque delectum earum fuerit aausus corrector facere arbitrii sui, quam ob causam id nobis faciendum erit ut quae potissimum lectio sit ampecctenda 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


The title of this treatise appears in several variations: *De differentia ousie 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. XIII). 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. Omn.* 1721, Vol. III, p. 115) who said “Stylus Basili esse fetum clamitetur,” assigned it to Basil on the basis of style, the very fact which to others seems to point to Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus.


**Translations**

1. **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 Rheanus, 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 Basili 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.

proventu iisdem et sacras adiicerem ad Patavimum Gymnasium concessi ut illum utriusque linguae praeceptorem M. Musurum Cretensem audirem Seposus interim auscultationes praeceptoris, Aristophanis, Luciani, Homerii, Hesiodi et id genus autorum. Et ex sacrosanctis graecis latina non tam tibi lectu iuunda 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 tā proemīvāmata veluti tralationis in rebus sacrēs primitiae idoneae sacerdotio tuo lege decretas offero, tenue quidem munus, tum tamen tibi gratum velim, ubi tue acer fuerit iudicio probatum. Cum igitur tēlia kontōs parafrāstēs sim, ab ecclesiasicorum priscorum dictione divina tractaturus non discedam, quorum opera et sanctae vitae merito res divinæ et ecclesiasticæ quasi hereditario iure ad nos pervenerunt. Quemadmodum enim cum de fide agitur non dialecticis sed piscatoribus creditur, ita cum divina trac tantur interim posthabendi sunt illi recentes acresque latinae linguae censores quibus no men virtuosi, humilitatis, spiritualis, devoti, discretionis, frugalis et id genus multa stoma chum movent. Adeo enim delicati sunt svl aboposciplaipta (ut ait Athenaeus) quod etiam latinam structuram ex graecæ phrasi emungere current, quasi idiomata non sint idiomata sed connoloxiā. At cum in vocibus id semper licuerit liceatque, ut vel a graeco fonte detorta, vel graecæ 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 reliqu, 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 uter contra Nestorium et Eutychen (III, ed. Peiper p. 194, 23–28) hypostasis nomine rationalis naturae individualum substantiam Graeci longe signatus 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 noverus accipendum. Opto tuam reverentiam bene valere cui me etiam commendo, et habita opportunitate litteras te velim ad Venetias rescribere ad Fonicum Theutonicorum, quae facile deinde ad Patavium deferentur. Ex Patavio, feres Cerealis. 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 arbitretur. Quo fit ut indistincte talia accipientibus, sicut unam Usiam sic etiam unam hypostasim dicere perplaceat ... / ... [Expl.]: (fol. 58 r) Quapropter hypostasis illi veluti forma et facies sit paternae cognitionis et patris hypostasis in illi 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 σώζως καὶ ὑποστάσεως int. F. Io hanne Conone, Ord. Praedic. As source Panzer quotes Quétief (i.e. Ordinis Praedicatorum Scrip tores) II.28. No copy has been located, and it is likely that Quétief 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:
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 praecocia eorum qui moribus nostris arriunt, tum vitupera diversorum instituamus, ut vel ex ingenio et qualitate praeconis, qualis sit qui laudatur facillime cognosci quaeat. . . . Hanc ego optimi autors corruptionem non ausim usum ipsius deputare interpretibus, cum sciam, quam nequeat exemplarium puritas transcribingo, maxime per tot annorum curricula, ad posteros illibata transmitti, praesertim ubi notarii sapere volentes quae non intelligunt, suopte ingenio vel tollunt vel mutant, aut etiam de suo nonnulla adiciunt, ut non minus decretat autem et menti et verbis, quam si hominis cuiuspiam imaginem initio recte formatam, membris 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 parvolorum nihil servet integrum, cui libenter adscripsero maximam mendarum partem et huius et aliorum bonorum autorum. 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 utcumque, sed duplicato redditae, ne sic quidem autors mentem exprimunt. Rursus est, qui nimia securitate vel oscitantia pro multis Graecis Latina rependens, integras etiam sententias intactas reliquerit et de suo pleraque adierit, multa confuderit, coniunctaque divisarit et divisa coniunxerit. . . . Meminerit igitur quisque, quemadmodum non hoc est interpretis officium, ut de autors scriptis vertendo iudicet, cum id sit non interpretis, sed Commentatoris, non esse illius, ut ea tantum quae placent, vertat, quae displicent, vel reiciat, vel mutulata 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. Aliqui si meam sententiam quis roget, ingenuae fator esse nonnulla, de quibus an gynesis sint, controverti 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 habetur. Et quomodo nullam gratiam meretur, qui scripta illius cum repurgando et vertendo, tum multiplicatis exemplaribus in lucem edendo et spargendo velut regenerat, ac Graecae linguae ignaris aut Graecorum voluminum copia destitutis, contingenda et legenda exponunt? Hoc certe quicquid sit, vel animus et consatus (iuxta Graecorum proverbium ξενίων δὲ θυμός ἄριστος) in hoc munere probandus est, quo nihil aliud quaeatur, quam ut publico consulatur. Bene vale in Christo Jesu, servatore nostro. Anno MDXXIX. 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 οὐσία, sive ὑποστάσιν dicant. Unde et quibusdam qui talia praeter omnem examinationem simpliciter amplexuntur, placuit, ut quemadmodum una οὕσια ita et una ὑποστάσις dicatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II, p. 30) Quoniam et totus filius in patre manet, et totum vicissim in seipso et patrem
habet, ita ut υπόστασις filii, instar formae ac faciei sit paternae cognitionis; et iterum patris υπόστασις in forma filii cognoscatur, manente quae in ipsis consideratur utriusque proprietate, ad hoc, ut evidens si tōn υποστάσεων discriminatio.

Editions:
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.
1570. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See CTC II.117.

3. Janus Cornarius

Janus Cornarius (Joannes Hahnopol, 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 arch-chancellor 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 occulta 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 Trazentius’ of Basil’s Contra Eunomium, that a new, improved version was a necessity. Here Cornarius blamed the copyists, not the earlier translator.


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’s, 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 Phililppe 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 Tuteus, 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 tetragram 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 sumpisses 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 στρατευμὸς. 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 reprints.

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 Roseanus salutem. [Inc.]: (p. i) Quum ante plusculos ab hinc annos nostra haec officina per excussionem praeli expressisset typis atque evulgasset non vulgarem nec penitendam librum ferraginem, cuiusmodi sunt qui plurimum facere, verius qui necessario requiri dignoscutuntur 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 studiosissque 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) Fantum est praeter istam singularem tuam modestiam, nemo non novit quam sis in sublevanda pauperum inopia benignus, ut die illo formabili promerariss 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 habitatiónis tuae. Acipe igitur fronte hilari tuum tibi consecratum Basilium, memor tui in Christo clientuli Ludovici Miraei, Abbas beneficentissime. D. Iesus te nobis quam diutissime servet incolarem. Kalendis Januarii anno a partu virgineo. MDXLVII.

Text. [Inc.]: Cum in mysticus dogmatibus enarrandis plerique sint, qui quod nullo discerniculo distinguant nomen communius quidem τῆς οὐσίας, id est Essentiala a significativa ratione τῶν ὑποστάσεων, in illiusmodi abeunt suspectas piis cognitiones, ut nihilius deferre arbitretur, dicante οὐσίαν essentiam, an ὑποστάσιν subistentiam sive personam, factum hinc est ut non admodum paucis, qui utramque hanc vocularo nullo defectu admittunt et inexpense, visum sit quod quemadmodum unam οὐσίαν itidem et unam ὑποστάσιν astruere liceat . . . / . . .
GREGORIUS NYSENUS

[Expl.]: Quoniam et totus Filii in Patre manet, et totum vicissim in seipso Patrem habet, ita ut ipsum sit paterna cognitionis et contra Patris ipsum in forma Filii cognoscatur, manente quae in ipsius consideratur uruisque proprietate, ad hoc ut evidens sit tui ipsum 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 dedication 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 Godefrius 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. Possevino 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 CXXV seu Pandectes Scripturae et eiusdem Exomologesis; Michael Syncellus of Jerusale-

Bibliography: D. Leon Le Vasseur, Ephemerides ordinis Carthusiensis, Montroli, 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); Joccher 4:1207 (the spelling here is Tilm); 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 Nyssenus’ 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 hypostases 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 scieret usurpasse ... Sed in quibus ille me locis reprehendit nulum meum peccatum, nulam culpam, nulam crimen agnosco. Nam quod ait me minus scieret ac perite usum esse dictione Substantiae sive subsistentia, intelligo in libello de differentiae o substans et \( \mu \varphi \sigma \rho \sigma \tau \alpha \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \) quem pro o substanzia reddidissem, illum offensum esse, quod servata dictione Graeca \( \\upsilon \sigma \sigma \tau \alpha \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \) statim et in ipsu 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 \( \upsilon \sigma \sigma \tau \alpha \varepsilon \omega \varsigma \) 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).

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 hypostasiam 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 communiones essentiae sanctam Trinitatem in

unam hypostasin cogant; ... / ... [Expl.]: (p. 131) hypostaseon, id est naturarum subsistentiam, 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


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 Nyssenus, 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 Catenae in the Supplément du Dictionnaire de la Bible 1:1163, stated that Nyssenus' commentary on Ecclesiastes is continued in the Catenæ Truu Patrum: Les homélies de Grégoire de Nyssse, 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 Nyssenus 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.


Translations

1. 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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus. 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 obscura sunt rationes . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 228) Nam sicut homo inquit carnalis in comedendo et bibiendo 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 aspicerere. 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), præf. 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. XII: Verum ut iam ad nostros: Gregorius alter, id est Basili
Frater, Nyssae Episcopus, si unquam, in huius certe libri enarratione foecundissimis est perinde ac facundissimis, 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 Ecclesiastae 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 Nyssenus. 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 Nyssenus’ 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 Vulcius, 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 catecheticae; 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 Simplicitum; 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 Adversaris Frontonis Ducae Burdegalensis, Societatis Jesu Theologi, in quibus interpretatio Latina recensetur et multa vel a libraris vel abs interpretibis 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 Parissiorum 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 censuissetmus, hac occasione nonnullos etiam alios eadem opera cum Graecis codicibus placuit vel excusis vel manuscriptis conferre. Nam quoniam ante- quam de melioribus interpretum versionibus moneri potuisse Typographi aut novae interpretationes correctioresque pertexi, haec editione accelerata fuerat, ne tot in locis periodis integris membrisque truncata lacunisque foedata prodiere tanti Ecclesiae Doctoris exemplaria circiter octingenta, faciendum nobis durum est ut quodcunque plaudam insigniores varias lectiones et supplementa grandiora sententiarum ex collatione veterum codicum delecta his exaratis autogaphis notas insereremus quae deinceps illis qui vel integram omnium operum interpretationem vel Graecolatinam editionem suscipiunt, usu fortasse esse poterunt.../... tertium (manuscriptum)... ex Regia bibliotheca nacti sumus, ex quibus M. Morelli codicem, V Vulcopii, R regioni compendiarii notis indicabimus.

Notae on *In Ecclesiasten*. [Inc.]: (p.2) Consulimus Latinam hanc interpretationem cum codice Graeco manuscripto doctissimi viri Federici Morelli Regii Professoris, qui emendator quibusdam in locis eo fuisse videtur quo piae memoriae Gentianus Hervetus Canonici Rhemensis usus est.../... [Explan.:] (p.39) Nihil indugnum 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


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 Letoius, Bishop of Melitene (not Mitylene, as in Possevins 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. Buschell, *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 Stephen 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**

I. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *Epistola canonica ad Letoium* (*Latium*). 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. Brieuc, 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 Briociensi Episcopo Gentianus Hervetus S.P.D. [Inc.]; Quod Photii patriarchiae 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 fere ris, ut typis excusum in lucem exire velueris, magnas ago gratias. Mihi quidem certe est persuasum, id obviis, ut aiunt, ulnis ab omnibus excipiendum qui rem Christianam tot hodie seditionibus exagitata salvam esse cupidum. Nulla est enim eius certior spes salutis quan 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 inven tum excedendum curasti. Qui quidem in hac Photii Nomocanono totus continetur, sed sunt praeter eum etiam canones patrum, qui multa continet capita quae ad ecclesiasticam pertinent jurisdictione. Is autem omnibus magnam afferunt lucem Theodori Balsamon interpretatio, quae ad Imperatorem leges explicat ecclesiasticas et nihil immittit in canones 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 aflante sunt sanctissime constituata, ea non tam chartis quam animis insindeant, et quae ab hominibus a triumpto imprimitur, ea dei digito ecclesiae antistitum mentibus infixa moribus exprimantur. 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 impulso in lucem exeat, te aequi boni consultiurum mihi spondeo, si ea felicibus tuis auspiciis in publicum prodeant, et tuo nomin dicata ab omnibus legum et canonum studio-


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 canonicalam in iis qui peccarunt oeconomicam ut cure tur omnis morbus animae qui per aliquod peccatum accidit . . . / . . . [Expl.]; (p. 72) Clarum est autem quod ut symbolum sacerdotale literas accipies munusque hospitalis non comtemes, etiam si sit minus quam pro summa tui ingenii bonitate.

Manuscripts:

(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:

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.


(*) 1791, Florence; in A.M. Cigheri, Sanctae catholicae ecclesiae dogmatum et morum
ex selectis veterum patrum operibus veritas demonstrata, Tom. X. NUC. BL; (DCU).


1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1895. 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 Galesius**

Antonius Augustinus (Agustin) 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 comparison 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 conscrispserunt: Athanasius . . . Gregorii duo, alter cognomento Theologus Nazianzenus, alter Nysaenus (sic) cuius *epistolam ad Letoium* infra scripsimus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 7) Ad extremum id lectores admonoe 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 canonica in his qui peccarunt *dispositionem quo pacto* curetur omnis morbus animae qui ex alio quoce 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 Valgrisium. in *Canones Poenitentiales*, etc. as above. Hoffmann 2.189. NUC. BN; (CU-L).


**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 Reynier. 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 Nimes, 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 Núñez 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 Idiazquez, 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; . . .”.


### 3. Jacobus Cuiaciuss

Jacques Cujas (Jacobus Cuiaciuss) 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 voluntarium et involuntarium. et voluntaria quidem est quae fit meditato, et cum in conflictu ac pugna dum percubit quis ac vicissimi percutitur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ne viatico vacua ad extremum illud iter longumque mittatur quod si supervivat, maneat in eo gradu in quo erat priusquam ei communio praebetur.

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

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 was 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, Rapetti, 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 Agustin.


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 Nyssenus’ 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 Vario Maximus Margunius Episcopus Cytherensis salutem in Domino. [Inc.]: Christiani nominis dilucidationem non parum utilitatis iis qui vitam hanc profinetur, si id exacte perfecante intellextinerint, afferre inde perspici potest, Marce Antonii Viare, vir praestantissime, quod in hoc solo nomine, veluti in pretioso thesauro quodam omnium fere e a quibus Christianus homo Christum pro viribus imitari possit summatim comprehendatur, adeo ut si horum exercitacione tale quiesque semet in praesenti vita praestiterit, qualem nomen ipsum exspectat, 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 percutatur. Hoc Christianos et praeclare sance quem prae manibus habemus, D. Gregorii Nysseni Magni re vera illius theologii tractatus edocet, quem nos e Graeco latinum factum, pluribus de causis tibi dedicare voluimus, atque praesertim quod te eum noverimus quique qui et vero Christianae tuae vitae exemplo et singulari morum probitate humanitate ita sis decoratus ut non ab re propertia talia tibi a nobis deberentur. Cui tractatulo praetexta alterum eiusdem auctoris de peccatorum remediiis addeere eo nomine voluimus quod quum ea humanae naturae conditio sit, ut ob innatam mutabilitatem nonnumquam eam ad deteriori incurrere contingat, properea unde-nam lapsa rursus tum divino auxilio tum et proprii arbitrii libertate erigatur, haberet, ac iterum per opera poenitentiae absque ullo in posterum ad proprium vomitum recursu ad finem proprium converteretur. Hoc itaque qualecumque munusculum fuerit in edificationem Christianorum ad manus hominum sub tuo praeclarissimo nomine proditurum clarum summae erga te nostrae observantiae argumentum, laeto animo obsecramus, e-ximum ac singulare nobilium decus semper-numque Cydonium ornamentum, non dedigneris accipere. Vale nosque tibi deditis-simos 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 legitimate canonicanque in is qui deliquerunt, dispensationem intelligamus, quo omnis animae mor-bus, qui per aliquod inditus fuerit, curari possit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Clarum vero est quod tamquam sacerdotale symbolum hunc nostrum tractatum accipies, neque minus despicies, quamvis magnanimitate tua parvius misieriusque 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.


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
XI. CONTRA EUNOMIUM, LIBRI


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 Nysenus’ 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. Livineus, working with the manuscripts, saw a similar problem.

Finally in Aegidius Morellus’ 1638, Paris edition of Nysenus’ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in which Books occur</th>
<th>Original and Jaeger</th>
<th>Revised c. 600 a.d.</th>
<th>Gülioni 1615</th>
<th>1638 Migne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I</td>
<td></td>
<td>I (I)</td>
<td>I (Ref. c. Eun.)</td>
<td>I (I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. II</td>
<td></td>
<td>II (Ref. c. Eun.)</td>
<td>II (III.I)</td>
<td>II (Ref. c. Eun.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. III Tome I</td>
<td></td>
<td>III (III.I)</td>
<td>III (III.II)</td>
<td>III (III.I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. III Tome II</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV (III.II)</td>
<td>IV (III.III)</td>
<td>IV (III.II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. III Tome III</td>
<td></td>
<td>V (III.III)</td>
<td>V (III.IV)</td>
<td>V (III.III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. III Tome IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>VI (III.IV)</td>
<td>VI (III.V)</td>
<td>VI (III.IV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. III Tome V</td>
<td></td>
<td>VII (III.V)</td>
<td>VII (III.VI)</td>
<td>VII (III.V)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. III Tome VI</td>
<td></td>
<td>VIII (III.VI)</td>
<td>VIII (III.VII)</td>
<td>VIII (III.VI)</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. III Tome VII</td>
<td></td>
<td>IX (III.VII)</td>
<td>IX (III.VIII)</td>
<td>IX (III.VII)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. III Tome VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td>X (III.VIII)</td>
<td>X (III.IX)</td>
<td>X (III.VIII)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. III Tome IX</td>
<td></td>
<td>XI (III.IX)</td>
<td>XI (III.X)</td>
<td>XI (III.X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. III Tome X</td>
<td>Refutatio confessionis Eunomii</td>
<td>XII (III.X)</td>
<td>XII (II)</td>
<td>XII (III.X)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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λόγου το p. 12, line 8 soφιας, 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 XVIII of Basil of Caesarea: today there is no question but that Nyssenus is the author.


Translations

I. NICOLAUS GULONIUS AND JOHANNES A S ANTO 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 Nyssenus’ In s. Pascha V (In luciferam . . .). The letter is addressed to Pomponius Bellaeaevauses, chancellor of France: Haec nuper oratio (i.e. In s. Pascha V) in manus meas venit inter alias pleasque quas nactus sum in penu bibliotheca μακρυτχον 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 egressium opus ad umbilicum ductum regiam pontificiamve με-
γαλοπρέπειαν ne sit labor editionis in damno, desiderat. IX Kal. April MDC. The codex provided by David, and sometimes referred to as the Codex Morellii, 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 Phoeanus” 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 “a” 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).


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controversiarum adversus Eunomium sermone
nes e tenebris ac profundissima ignorance
eligine 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 dedication
and comparing him to Nyssenus. Then Johannes
resumes a discussion of his father’s transla-
tion.) . . . Hunc in tenebris delitescentem situ
et carie perditum, squalore penitus ostium
atque ex hominum memoria paene deletum
primus Nicolaus Gulonius, parentis meus, a
tineis et blettis vindicavit atque ut erat pacat-
tissimi vir ingenii inter bellorum civilium
tumultus in urbe turbulentissima profundis-
simo frueus 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 alioribus tenebris rursus
immersus cælatus ab infandis, obtuvit credo tegendor
sempiterna, nisi me parentis iucunda recorda-
tio commovisset, ut quod ille felici manu
inceperat, ut sunt dei, quorumque spiritus,
limatio cura perficerem et omnibus
numeris quantum in me quidem est absolu-
tum redderem. Quem si fata operi servarent
superstitem, non dubito id facturum quod
ipse conor efficere, tuoque nominem hanc lu-
uationem dedicarum. Nam ut ut adules-
centem mira indole praeditum propectae
am etatis senex vehemenssimissima susperxit, sic
virum admiratus, procul dubio sensis ingeni-
uxi in porchas clarius et dotes animi
dignitate summa qua nunc ornaris augusti-
iores summopere coluisset. Praesertim cum te
δ μακαρίτις Henricus vere et sine ullo adula-
tionis fuco magnus, ob incredibilem prudenti-
tiam, admirabilem scientiam, perpetuam et
singularem fideltatem, ac insignia quae lau-
dem omnem superant merita, in Ἐλληνικα γράμματα
suum elegerit, simul et constituerit
"Εφοβοι illius celeberrimi professorum Regi-
orum collegii, in quo tum ipsa Gulonius, tum
Aurator socer, tum filius eius frater meus,
non sine illustri sui nominis fama annos fere
sexaginta Ἐλληνικα γράμματα publice docu-
erunt, e quorum schola innumerabiles optime
dicendi principes et in Graecis litteris versatissi-
tanquam ex quo 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
Phoiius quotation on the Libri Contra
Eunomium). Quorum versione utrum tibi vel
aliis satis factum vix asim affirmare; elegan-
tiorem credo aliiquis esset forte daturus, fide-
liorem nescio. Hoc unum scio, nemini un-
quam aggradiendo huic operi parem animum
innasci potuisse, qui non melioribus auxiliis
fuisset aditus, unius enim manuscripti fidem
sumus sequiti, sed Deus bone! quam fodeis
erroribus ubique deturpati, mutili laceri, et
somnolentia incuriosissimi librarii manu de-
scripiti, 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 supinatuseque deque confusa, inor-
dinata, indistincta, lacunis hiantia, innumerab-
ilibus mendis et hallucinationibus spurca,
ex quibus facile conici potuerit bellum illum
exscriptorem tam bene linguam Graecam cal-
luisse quam ego Iaponicam . . . / . . [Explan:]
Deum interim Opt. Max. precor, ut te Eccle-
siae Catholicae ac toti Galliarum regno, sa-
num et incolumtem diuississe et felicissime
conservet.

Libri Contra Eunomium. Oratio Prima
(Liber I in edd. 1615, 1617; Liber XII b sive
XIII in ed. 1638, Migne) [Inc.]: Christiano-
rum fides, quae secundum Domini manda-
tum a discipulis omnibus gentibus in toto
orbe praedicata est, neque ex hominibus est,
neque per homines, sed per Dominum nos-
trim Iesum Christum . . . / . . [Explan.] (Ora-
tio XII, edd. 1615, 1617, 1638, Migne): Tecum
autem tantum est quantum satis esse possit
ad erroris involucrum prorumpendum, et ad
abstrusam in testa demonstrandam inver-
cundiam.

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 nostro 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 tytip mandare statuisset, ob eam causam me rogasset ut versionem Latinam quam quindecim ab hinc annis Nic. Gulonius parens meus, vir si quis alius de litteris ac praeceptu Graecis optime meritus extrema aetate exasciaverat, sed, proh dolor! fato praeventus non expoliverat, recognoscerem ac limatiorem reddere et Graeco contextui e regione respondente... (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 industiam potissimum contuli ut Graeco haberes quam fieri potuit castigatissima. Ideoque ubi in exemplari nostro textus erat confusus, distinxii; ubi discerptus et lacer, resarsi; 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 frueres et si non iniquus huius aestimatur 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 apparat hanc non esse primam Gregorii Nysseni in Eunomium orationem, sed alteram praecessisse quae dicitur extare in Bibli. 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.
1859. See Composite Editions.

_Biographies:_

Nicolaus Gulonius (Goulou) 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, Hispanic 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._


Johannes Goulonius (Jean Goulou), the son of Nicolaus Goulonius 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 (Perronius) 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 Phylarche 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 Nyssenus 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, Xvîïe siècle 2 p. 993; Greente, Xvîïe siècle p. 470; Hoefer XXI: 422-425; Joecher 2:1102; Michaud, XVIII: 189. On the Feuillants, see: Dict. de Théol.
duodecim duntaxat legebantur, et cum altero exemplari in quo erant tredecim orationes, contuli anno 1579." Gretert probably saw this material well before he assisted in preparing the 1615 edition of Nyssenus' 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. Gretert D.D. Jacobo Davy, S.R.E. Presb. Cardinali Perronio, Archiepiscopo Senonensi, Magno Franciae Eleemosynario, Jacobus Greterserus, Societatis Iesu. [Inc.]: Ignoscse audaciae, illustrium cardinalem, cum viderem tibi inscriptos esse libros B. Gregorii Nysseni contra Eunomium a doctissimo viro F. Joanne a Sancto Francisco, Monacho Fulieni, nullui, ut primus liber eiusdem operis, qui Parisiensis editioni deert, et alia nonnulla Gregoriana nunc primum Graece publicata alium praeter te patronum quaerent qui non solum dignitare, 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 sancd ad Nysseni aureas lucubrations Appendiculam tibi consecratam humano et benevolu vultu dignaturum etiam hoc nomine quod profiscituir a professore eius ordinis, quem benefacitis tuis aeternum tibi devinixiste quique ut patam 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 Boorum XIX die Augusti Anno MDCXVI.

There follow: 1) short prolegomena to the Appendix of 1618, consisting largely of the usual biographical information relative to Nyssenus. 2) a short essay, "Quotnam S. Gregorius Nyssenus 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 Capitum. 6) Book I. Items 4–6 are presented both in Greek text and in Latin translation.

Epistola ad Petrum fratrem suum, episcopum Sebastenium (ed. of Paris, 1618). [Inc.]: (p.113) Paululum otii nactus valetudin ope-ram dare potui, post reditum ex Armenia, et colligere schedulas, quas contra Eunomium tuo suau compositui . . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 115) Turpe enim et generoso animo prorsus indignum arbitrati sumus, cum hostes suam absuditatem non occultent, nos veritatem liberrime non profiteri.


Capita seu Summari Librorum. [Inc.]: Sum. Libri pri-mi (p.116) 1. Praefatio qua ostenditur e re non esse ut quis beneficio afficere tetent eos ad quos nulla inde utilitas re-dit . . . . . [Expl.]: Sum. Libri Duode-cimi (p.129) Deinde iterum disserens de vero et inacceso lumine Patris et Filii, de proprie-tate, communitate, de substantia, deque geni-to et ingenito, quod nullam repugnantiam in significato suo includant, sed quandam oppositionem et distinctionem immediatam indi-cent, librum claudit.

Book I [Inc.]: Fieri, ut videtur, non potest ut quis de omnibus bene mereri et in obvios etiam toto terrarum orbe indiscriminatim beneficentiam suam effundere velit simulque multorum reprehensiones effugiat . . . . . [Expl.]: temporales autem dimensiones in illa omne saeculum antegressa vita non inveniu-
tur, ita ut excepta principii ratione sanctissimae Trinitatis in omnibus probe sibi consonet quam decent gloria et imperium.

Editions:
1618. See Composite Editions.
1638. See Composite Editions.
1858. See Composite Editions.
1863. See Composite Editions.
1859. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See above, pp. 52-53.

XII. AD EUSTATHIUM,
DE SANCTA TRINITATE

Editio princeps:


Recent editions:


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 Nyssenus’ 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 Nyssenus include it, although these admittedly in some cases contain spurious works. Euthymius Zigabenus (s. XII) quoted it as Nyssenus’ 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 Basiliius, 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 MUSCUS

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, quot-quot arte 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 dici mus esse divinitatem, sive iuxta multorum opinionem, naturam ipsum exprimit divinitatis nomen, quoniam nulla in natura deprehenditur diversitas, non immeritus 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 vocibus 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 decoro non aberrasse . . . . [Expl.]: (IV, p. 688) sic unam dicimus esse deitatem. Sive iuxta multorum opinionem, naturae indicativum est deitatis nomen, propter quod nullam reperimus in natura diversitatem, non immerto 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. GODFREDO 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 medendi 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 reprehenditur 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.

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 Nyssenus' 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, humanitaris curae; ac mihi siquis vestrum scientiam omnibus rebus, quae in vita expetuntur, anteposuerit, rectum iudicium assequaturur et ab eo, quod antecellat, non esse aberraturus videtur . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 118) Quo circa siquies sim 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.
GREEK AUTHOR

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 Epistolæ 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


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 epimotator who made shortened versions of at least five works of Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus' work with the chapter, De fato in Nemesis of Emesa's De natura hominis (see article Nemesis 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 Nyssenus. 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 Bavaria . . . Quia vero Bavaricum exemplum 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 Nyssenus' *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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus' 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 vererit. Num tu nosti, quis sit auctor versionis Latinae, quae in quarta centuria Magdeburgica existisset?* (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, quorum 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 Nyssenus’ 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, Quatens un . . .). 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

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

1. FEDERICUS MORELLUS

Federicus Morellus made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa’s Ad Graecos, ex communibus notionibus which Fronto Ducatus published in his 1615 edition of Nyssenus’ works. Both scholars used manuscripts resembling Vindobonensis theol. gr. 35 which contained an abridged form of a number of works of Nyssenus (see above).


Editions:


1617. See Composite Editions.

1638. See Composite Editions.

1858. See Composite Editions.

1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

Biography:


XV. APOLOGIA IN HEXAEMERON


In addition to the text of In Hexaemeron, there exists in a manuscript of s. XV an epitome of some chapters which F. Combes translated into Latin and published in his Basilici 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

1. PETRUS FRANCISCO ZINUS

Petrus Zinus described the occasion of his making a Latin version of Nyssenus’ Apologia 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 Contaren, Patritio 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 inventit, 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 Matthaeus, 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 quotidian spatiis cum Maria tum divinas res meditando, tum preparationibus et sacris literarum studiis incumbendo consumere, donei tibi commentariolium hunc B. Gregorii Nyssae Pontificis in sex dierum opificium, quem ego superioribus mensibus, cum Roma abessem et Balneoegii cum illustrissimo ac reverendissimo Cardinali REGINALE POLO patrono meo, viro tui studioissimo atque amantissimo commorare mihique singulari eius benignitate non nihil otii suppeteret, anima gratia in latum converti. Verum quia in eo commentariolilo vir sanctus mundi fabricam ita contemplauerat, ut naturalem tantummodo et historiae congruentem in rebus procreatis ordinem explicit, eas ob res, quas in eius commentariolilo exordio ipse perseveruit; tu autem, quamvis huiusce generis scripta non asperegere, ipsis tamen vehe mentius selectarius, quae ad vitam moresque pertinent. Duas auiiunximus orationes in hominis procreationem admodum pias, quae licet ab eiusdem auctoribus et multo etiam magis a Basilii Magni, cui eas a quibusdam falsa attributae audio, scribendi consuetudine abesse videantur, antiqiiissimae tamen sunt, et aut ab ipso Gregorio adhuc iuvene forte compositae, antequam absolutissimum illum librum de homine, qui graece latineque extat, perscrispisset, aut ab aliquo eiusdem aetatis viro tui pio, tum minime indocto. Certe in codice vetustissimo, quem mihi doctissimus atque humanissimus idem adulescens Antonius Gibertus accommodavit, commentariolium ipsum in mundi fabricam statim subsequuntur, ut quoniam in eo omittitur de hominis procreatione consideratio, ipsae locum illum explerent. Addidimus aliquid alias eiusdem auctorior orationes, ut pulcherrimam illam in diei natalis 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 dormirent. Accedet Gregorii illius rerum mirabilium effectoris (Gregory Thaumatur gus) 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 complacentis, quas antea tibi mureri misimis (1550). Ex quibus omnibus tanquam ex totidem suavissimis floribus contextur munusculum nostrum, quod tu pro singulari humanitate tua libenti animo ut suscipias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. Romae, Kalendaris Iunarii, 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 Contarenovo Pavi viri optimi et clarissimi filio Petrus Franciscus Zinu Canonicus Veronensis S.D. [Inc.]: Superioribus mensibus dum tu, Philippe Contaren e carissime, cursu secundissimo ad tu um quietis et verae tranquillitatis portum optimo te consilio contulisti, ego turbulentissimis calamitatum fluctibus inter periculosos scopolus iactatus a naufragio haud procul fui. Quo quidem in discrimine, cum iter meum lucerna Verbi Dei dirigere meque sacrarum scripturarum lectione consolare, cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris, in gratiam rediens ac studiorum meorum labores vigiliaque memoria repentes, opportune incidi in monumenta quaedam trium doctrina et sanctitate praestantium Gregoriorum quae quoniam a me latinitate donata sapientissimo atque optimo Paphi Pontifici, Petro Contarenovo, patruo tuo, conseccarem. (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 praecella scripta relegens cum eorum nulla amplius exempla cer nerem reperiri et memoria ac lectione omnium digna existimarem, haud alienum institutis meis esse duxi, si operam darem, ut rursus impressorem typis excuderentur. Illa igitur tibi, ut patruj pietatis ac probitatis haeredi, quo meae tum in illum, tum etiam in te benevolentiae atque observantiae memoriae conservent, impressa mittimus. Atque
ut munusculum nostrum accessione aliqua locupletius atque ornatus fieret, adiunximus pulcherrimam D. Gregorii Thaumaturgi orationem in Epiphania, quam mihi graece manusciplam vir singulari eruditione et probitate illustriissimis Gulielmus Sirletus Cardinalis dulcissimi amoris erga me sui testem largitus est. Accident praeterea decem aliae Gregorii Nysseni orationes elegantissimae. Quoniam igitur ego te nunc nec praesentem videre nec alia ratione absentem aloquoi valeo, hi te viri sanctissimi meo nomine invisent, tecumque pro me colloquendo. (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 Francisius' 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 perfeconis proponens tamquam Moyxes periculosus istis Reip. Christianea temporibus et Dei populo ancipiti admodum pugna cum Diabololo cunque communibus Christianorum hostibus descertante, in excelsum religionis Jesuitarum montem ascendisti, sublatis contemplationis precationisque manibus assidue caelestem Patrem obscura qui Christianam Remp. pretioso filii sui unigeniti sanguine redemptam non modo a Diabololo et peccatis omnibus servet incolument, verum etiam ab infidelium armis tuteat, 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 aggridi, 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, Rationele, et Declaratio, et Veritas, sicut appellat Moses, qui tales amicitias 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 Iudaeeos 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 . . . (for more information regarding the preface, see above pp. 57-9).

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562). [Inc.]: (p. 283) Quur haec facies, o homo Dei, ut ad audendum non tantanda, et ad eiusmodi res aggre- diendum, quas non modo assequi difficile sit, sed ut mea quidem opinio fert, ne aggreri quidem quisquam possit absque reprehensi- one, nos adhorteris? . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 314) cui nomen est et rationele et doctrina et declaratio et veritas: quemadmodum inquit etiam Moyxes, qui eiusmodi sacerdoti conficiet indumenta iuxta praescr iptum Dei quem decent gloria et imperium cum unigenito filio et spiritu sancto in saecula. Amen.
GREEK AUTHOR

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 Bibli 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. Hexaemeron is not included in this manuscript.

XVI. DE IIS QUI BAPTISムM DIFFERUNT.


TRANSLATION

1. 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 Nyssenus’ 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 serventur 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-


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.


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

1. 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, Camilus 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 hic interpres inseruit, cum in nostro manuscripto non habeantur, omisimus”. The passage was inserted between “malorum crapulam offendi” 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 “aeonium” 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 miraculum 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.

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
I. JOHANNES VAZ MOTTA LUSITANUS.

Motta Lusitanus made a Latin translation of Nyssenus’ 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 sumpsit).

The dedication begins with laudatory remarks about Gregory XIII which compare him to Nyssenus and Nazianzenus (Nazianzenus 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 video inter se (. . .) officii videre, P.B. (Pater Beatissime). tres summos Christianae republicae viros neque minus in illius semper utilitatem vigilantes quam ipsorum nomina promitabant, Gregorios dico tres, imo tria orbis lumina, Nazianzenum unum urbis regiae novae Romae praeulis, alterum singularem amicum eius Magnique fratrem Basili 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 recorem omnis aevi optimum atque maximum. Sed enim quamadmodum in primum illum omni tu officio pietateque peregrius functus es utque in aetatem omnem Vaticani templi monumenta testa-(fol. 21) buntur, ita ipse tibi rebusque tuis omnibus praeiunti numine assistit, pontificiaeque istius dignitatis qua neque cogitari inter mortales uilla maior neque vero esse potest, actiones omnes fovet, dirigit, secundat. Praeest operam suam tacitam (facilem?) amico Nazianzeno hac in re Nyssenus. Sed amicitiae esse ratus amicum ipsum in exhibiting pro illo officio ulterius progressit palamque nunc et praesens hanc tibi gratiam gratificatur proque (fol. 21 v) augustissimo templo quod amico tu eius posuisit concionem coram te vocat et evectus citsissimis divini alis ingenii areana psalterii ipsaque inscriptionum mysteria contemplatur atque enarrat, divinum plane munus et quod vix ab alio quam ab eo alique quam tibi exhiberis potuisset. Neque enim vel comprehendi animo vel explicari ratione potest quanta sit (fol. 22) ipsius tua cuiusue 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 qua Lusitani alieius opera ad hoc uti semel constituerat caeterosque qui in urbe degunt (. . .) (fol. 22 v) alii omnino rebus implicatos videret, me unum tametsi multitudo infandisque calamitatibus tum laboribus contritum (. . .) conatumque tamen semper ut ingenue naturum (?. . .) utque ommittam alia latinis graecisque auctoribus ab ineunte aetate familiarem ad praestandum hanc operam ascendentum arbitratus est. Fecerunt id opus eodem tempore in quibusdam orationibus et opusculis praecellarissimis Joan. Chrysostomos, Caesareae Basilius et Basilius Seleuciae, Magnus Athanasius, Isidorus (fol. 23 r) Thesalonicensis qui prompti paratique sunt subire lucem cum Gregorio Nysseno si Gregorii XIII optimi pontificis propensius auctorisque accesserit (?. . .) quod quem futurum tuus me in sanctos hos patres amor certissimum reddat, dabo vicissim ego operam ut plerique alii non minus sancti docti elegantisque a beatearum et vetustatis iniuris quantum per ingenii mei tenuitatem licuerit vindicati in studiosorum manus deveniant. Qua quidem (fol. 23 v) opera graamiam quidem ego sanctitatis tuae abunde de-
merebor(,), tibi vero insignium ecclesiaeque
cum primum utilium voluminum et collati in
literatoque probosque omnes singularis(,)
beneficii apud posteritatem omnem omnesque
mortales decus et gloria perpetua constabunt.
Romae kalendis Octobris anno salutis 1582.

Lectori benevoli. [Inc.]: (fol. 28 r) Quum
venissem Romam nihil prius habui quam ut
illusissimum S. R. E. Cardinalem Gul.Sirle-
tum convenirem, virum et pietate summa et
quo maiores in omni genere doctrinae erudi-
tionisque a multis annis ecclesia Dei non
habuit. Illum ego et in primo statim congressu
benignum benevolentum et non multo post
novis domesticarum calamitatim fluctibus ex-
ceptus patronum singularem apudque sum-
um ipsum pontificem peregrigium fauto-
rem sum expertus. Qui quum me politicis
opem omnem suam non semel adhortabatur
aliquid ut (fol. 28 v) proferrem quo studio-
rum meorum in utilitatem publicam ratio con-
staret, 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 ver-
tendum sumpsi. Hoc ego exscribendum Ro-
mae curavi quumque nihil in hanc scripturas
sanctae partem ab antiquis elaboratum patri-
bus hodie quod sciam in publica saltem luce
extet auctoris est sicut inter doctissimos
(fol. 29 r) graecorum quoque locum habet,
optime me meritum de studiosis omnis
 arbitratum sum, si labore ille meo in eorum
manus deveniret. Exempli quidem uno tan-
tum usus sum, si non omnino mendo; non
ita tamen sano incorrupto, quin plerisque
locis et negocium faceret et sententiam vel
perturbaret vel nullam redderet. Illud unum
summopere dolui non omnes psalterii inscrip-
tiones explicari, an quia non ultra Gregorius
fuerit progressus, an vero quia reliqua (fol. 29
v) non in omnibus extant exemplaribus non
sat scio. Crede certe scriptorem ipsum
non ulteriusuisse progressum. Ad versionem
meam quod attinet quum Chrysostomi, Basili-
lii aliorumque aliquid quo scripta nonnulla ver-
terimnullus mihi tantum molestiae exhibuit
quantum Nyssenus. Eo enim scribendi genere
usus est in hoc libro, ut si paullulum elegant-
tius velis reddere et sententia discedas, si ver-
bis adhaeareas insuavis omnino atque inamoe-
na quaeque vix possit intelligi trallatio (sic)
situtura. Meditaber (fol. 30 r) ego quidem
olim genus vertendi ecclesiasticos auctores ut
collectis nimirum in unum optimis quibusque
eorum tam graecis quam latinis diligenti obser-
vatione in peculiaribus ecclesiae vocibus atque
phrasibus utrorumque dicendi modi observa-
rentur quibus secure uti qui vereter debeter,
ut in prophanis quibusque factum videmus
dum ad vertendum Platonem, Aristotelem,
Theophrastum Ciceronem, Plinium, Celsum,
alias adhibebus observamusque. Quod nisi
in sacris etiam scriptoribus diligenter praesta-
ter, 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. Quae praes-
stiti quod potui, non vero quod volui. Et si
mea de versione mea sententia requiratur, di-
cam libere, neque eam omnino nonam esse
neque tamen omnino malam. Quam (tametsi
optima videtur) ne attingerent precarer stu-
diosos libenter, quum graeca ipsa exhibeam,
satisque omnino sit et vivo eos fonte quam e
rivulis meis plane exiguis haurire. Id ego a te
quoque lector optime utque me ames vehe-
menter obsecro obtestorque. Vale.

Text [Inc.]: (fol. 35, p. 71) Sancti patris
nostri Gregorii Nyssae episcopi Magni Basili-
fratris in inscriptiones psalmorum meditatio.
Excepi omni cum aviditate (Actorum 17) man-
datum tuum, o homo Dei, studium mihi aequ
e ac tibi gratum praebens intendique animum
inscriptionibus psalmorum. Iniuxisti quippe
nobis ut intelligiam quae in ipsis contempla-
zione digna est, scrutaremur ut id omnibus
innotesceret quod per eas manducere nos ad
tur tem potest... /... [Expl.]: (fol. 307)
sicut ait psalmographus is ex virtute in virtu-
tem exque victoria in victoriain consendens
(Ps. 83:8). canam (dicit) (?) virtuti tuae et laeta-
bor 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 Essemplare (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 (João 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 Sapientia 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-
Preface (ed. of Venice, 1585). Mag. et praestantiss. Utini Magistratui et Patribus, salutem. [Inc.]: Nulla est, praestantissimae septemviri reliquiae patres Utinenses, ex tot artibus quas excogitavit et quasi extudit medianto antiquitae quae cum ea vel dignitatis ratione vel commodi omnium judicio sit conferenda, quam superioris aestatis et memoriae homines paene simul invenerunt, et perfecerunt, hanc dico, quae imprimitum hominum scripta curat, cuius tanta est ut 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 proptetus 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 praelororum ingens beatum copiam, utraque etiam disciplina literis scilicet et armis, aedum quoque et substructionum honestissimorum serie sit aptae distincta locique natura et ipsa amoenitatis perpulita, hac una tamen re caeteris Italiae civitatibus et oppidis etiam inferior esse dicitur, quod nulla Utini pagella imprimitur, 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 professus, ut hanc artem mihi compararem eo consilio, ut aliquando si usu venisset praestare patriae in hoc meam operam possem, et si illa hunc animum praelororum quidem, sed tamen cum virium tenuitate coniunctum non esset aspernata, sed (quae eius est pieta) adiuvasset, libris Utini imprimitendi Civitates nomen illustrarem. Quare cum superioribus diebus coepissime meis sumptibus Venetiis imprimere visum est mihi necessario facienda, ut meae quasi primitias ipsi Patriae tanquam nummim dedicerem, et cum ad meas manus pervenissent liber Gregorii Nysseni in Psalmos numquam antea nec Graece nec Latinam editus, dignus visus est, qui vobis mitteretur sub vestro nomine divulgatus. Itaque nullis sumptibus parces et Graeco in Latinum vertendam ab Episcopo Cytherensi utriusque sermonis eruditisissimo curavi, et eum vobis nunc do dicoque. Vos hanc meam animi inductionem et pietatem in patria boni consulite, et quam exteras benignitatem in excipiendo huiusmodi muneribus praestitistis, civi vestro, quamvis minimo, non denegate. Valete.

Text. S.P.N. Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae. In Psalmorum Inscriptiones atque textus mystica eminentissimique explicatio. Nunc primum a Maximo Margunio Episcopo Cytherensi ex Graeca Latina facta. [Inc.]: Illussum tuum omni cum promptitudine, homo Dei, accepici, quod mihi tibiique studium aequae largitur, Psalmorumque inscriptionibus animum adhibui, hoc enim nobis perscrutandum inuixisti iussisti-que . . . / . . . [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 Loris. 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 Nyssenus’ works. However an unknown scholar corrected the text which was printed in Migne’s Patrologia.

Dedication (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1600). Sere-nissimo Principi ac Domino Dn. Guilhelmio, Comiti Palatino Rheni, Utriusque Bavariae Ducis, 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 Psalms vel potius Psalmorum inscriptiones mystice explanat et quomodo quis Psalmorum lectione et meditacione 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 gratiam et acceptum fore, Nyssenum etiam hoc nomine, quia Psalmos interpretatur. Quis vero, vel modice pietatem de gustavit, 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, excitat quoque summos viros ut in Psalmis planandis aliquid operae ponerent: ex Latinis praeter sanctissimos doctores Augustinum, Ambrosium, Hieronymum et Gregorium Magnum, qui saltem illos Psalms qui a poenitentibus Numeris propitiandi causa potissimum concinuntur, dilucida explicatione exposuit, ex Graecis excellentissimos illos eruditione viros, Basilium, Athanasium, Eusebius Caesariensem, Theodoretum et hunc nostrum Nyssenum doctrina nulli secundum quod cum ex alis eius operibus, quae vulgo tur turunt et leguntr, liquet, tum ex divinis eius libris Apologeticis pro S. Basilio fratre suo, adversus inscipientes et maledicta Eunomii, quos aliquando graece et latine lucem visuros spero (See above p. 100). Interea Serenitas Vestra, haec Nysseni et Leonis lucubrationes ea benignitate digne, qua iam olim alia literaria munscula a Societatis nostre hominibus Serenissimo eiusdem nominis graeae mentis ergo inscripta excipere consuevit. Ingolstadii, V. Kalend. Septembris. Anno lilibaeo. MDC.

Ad lectorem [Inc.]: De Gregorio Nysseno multa praefari superfluam arbitror. Esse legitimum Nysseni partum praeter alia multa declarat etiam hoc quod hinc Nysseni nomine citantur et recitantur non paucam ab iis auctoribus, qui catenas, ut vocant, in Psalmos con-

texuerunt, quorum aliquot asservat Bibliotheca Bavaria. Unam (catenam) in Latinam linguam transitulit 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 pertinent 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 impeniss 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, promte et alacritate, mihique simile te ac tibi hac opera gratificari volui animumque ad Psalmorum inscriptiones adiici. Hoc enim nobis imperasti, quis illis subit 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

Biography:
See p. 52-53 above.
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

**Commentary**

a. **JOHANNES VAZ MOTTA LUSITANUS.**

Jo. Vaz Motta wrote *Notae* on the text of Nyssenus *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 Galesiinus’ short *vita* of Nyssenus which he had included in his 1563 edition of several works (See p. 74). He states, “Faliitur Galesiinus qui putat incessisse Nyssenum anno Christi 384 (?). Non is vixit post obitum Nazanzeni; Nazanzenus autem mortuus est sub Theodosio triennio ante quam Hieronymus scriberet librum de viris illustribus.”


*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**


*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 Nyssenus (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 Nyssenus. 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 Nyssenus 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
shifting 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*).


**Translation**

1. 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 exercitacione iuxta veritatem et ad religiosos qui proposuerant quaeestionem de pietatis scopo et de ratione qua inter se conversarentur et una concertaret Descriptio Summaria*. This translation was printed without revision in later editions of Nyssenus’ works.


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 seiuecta, et a perturbationum servitute et stultitia plane liberatus, perspicaci ac syncera mentis acie suum ipsius animum intuitus fuerit . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 34) Videte ne Eleemosynam vestram, aut preces aut ieiunium facatis coram hominibus, aliqouin mercedem non habebitis apud patrem vestrum, qui in coelis est. Huic gloria in saecula. Amen.
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

Editions:
(photo) 1606, Lutetiae Parisiorum: Apud Federicum Morellum Architypographum Regium. (Gr.-Lat.) Maattaire 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

1. 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 Bavaria, 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 Nyssenus’ 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 incratum est non peccat; quod non peccat non est obnoxium supplicio. Satanas autem est supplicio obnoxious. 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.

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

Latin titles: The Greek title of this treatise περὶ κατασκευῆς ανθρώπου closely resembled that of Nemesis of Emesa’s περὶ φύσεως ανθρώπου, 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 edition princeps of it in 1537, the editor, Johannes 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 Nemesis’ 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. Levenklausius 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 opificio (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 περὶ κατασκευῆς ανθρώπου” 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 Levenklausius 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

1. 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 Eugipius (the manuscripts offer a variety of spellings: Eugippus, Egip-pius, Eugenius) whom Cassiodorus terms “virum non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum” (Inst. I.23). Some debate has surrounded the identity of this Eugipius 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 Eugipius’ 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. However, a 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. Quétif-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 Nyssenus 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 Levenskiaus, 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 Nyssenus. Ferrarius probably used the 1551 edition of Nyssenus, and we know that Levenskiaus 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 Nyssenus’ works and in the 1852 *Patrologia Latina* edition of Dionysius’ translation, there is an interpolation of a passage following the words “disputationi 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 hoc ex argumenti similitudine fortassis irrepit, 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 irrepit” 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.* 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. Déchandet, *Oeuvres choisies de Guillaume de St. Thierry*, p. 84, n. 4; G. Verbeke-J. Moncho, *Némésius*, pp. cix-cxi). This interpolation was dropped from the 1562 edition of Nyssenus’ 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 Vuesteburch ecclesiae metropolitanae Coloniensis Decano Maiori, Moguntinensi atque Treverensi Canonico caputari, amico atque Maecenati suo integerrimo Johanne Noviomagus S.P.D. [Inc.]: Soleo vehementer admirari una cum D. Ioannae Caesario, viero 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 praecaris virtutibus multo nobiliorum reddis . . . (There follow the usual comments lauding the dedicatee.) . . .

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Ubi Noviomagi diebus aliquot in amicorum gratiam haererem, oblatus est hic libellus Gregorii Episcopi Nyseni fratris Basili Magni, cui titulum fecit nepi tēs τῆς 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 evolven di facit Henricus Gravius Dominicanus vir in graecā et latina lingua bene eruditus, quomodo ipse eum sibi descripteret ex vetere quidem, sed non satis (ut appareat) emendato exemplari, continuo scriptoribus vetustatim et autoritatem exosculatus, sumpta spe bona quod is author tandem veluti postliminio restituit ipse sibi possit, operae pretium existimavi, ut eius opusculi utilitas ad quam plurimos homines perveniret. Percurso igitur ab integro libello, cursim quaedam castigo. Occurrente enim quaedam sic depravata, quae nisi ad graecae exemplares (quod quidem mihi nundum videre contigit) ōdiam reponi non possunt. Neque ega 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 ipsis libris quos male latinos ex bene graecae fecerat Burgundio quidam quem neque graecae neque latine satis doctumuisse apparebat vel statim ex eius praefatione ad Fredericium Caesarum, multum luminis et ornamentis 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 librarium neglegientia aliter ad nos venisset. Adicio igitur his quae Ioannes Cono cum sua censura misit quaeque versa sunt a Trapezuntio et recentioribus adhuc, quod tuae exquisitiae bibliothecae consecrare oportuit. . . . Accipe itigur, clarissime comes, sub tuo nomine ab intreitu revocatum parvum quidem hunc optimi authoris libellum sed tuis studios atque cogitationibus convenientissimum. Vale. Datum Coloniae MDXXXVII postridie No nas Martii.

Epistola Dionysii Exigui ad Eugipiunm Presbyterum in versionem ab se factam libri Gregorii 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 Nys seni Episcopi librum de conditione hominis et Graeca locutione converti, triginta et uno ab eodem capitibus explicatam, in quo opere quantum sim difficultatis expertus, ex ipsa lectione probabatur. In pluribus enim iuxta philosophorum sentientes immoratus, opulentiam tantam suae eruditionis expressit, ut paene nihil omiserit eorum, quae ab illis doctis et otiosis ingenios 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 fallaciem, secundum elementa mundi, et non secundum Christum (Coloss. 2.8). Nam sicut quaedam recta, quae Deus illis revelavit sapienter approbat, ita prava eorum vel ipse diriget, vel quoten ab illis vitentur, ostendit, exceptis videlicet paucis in quibus dum valde persequitur vitia protrulit, ut fieri solet, etiam ipse vitosas.

Igitur eloquentiam tanti doctoris aemulatus, enis us quodem disertitudinem eius sequi, licet adsequi nimis impari facultate nequiverim. Fidem tamen sentientiarum 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 perciptiat, et in quibuscumque minus eleganter video eloquentius, veniam clementer accommodet, quae 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 meas prolongatus est, habiti 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 exsulare creditor, si semper patriam desideri consequatur.

*Prologus Sancti Gregorii Episcopi ad fratrem suum Petrum Presbyterum, De imagine id est de hominis conditione, quae a fratre eorum sancto Basilio Episco po in Hexameron sunt omissa.* [Inc.]: Si pecuniarum pretios eos eoporetet honorare, qui virtutibus eminent, parvus utique, sicut Salomon ait, totus mundus divitiarum videetur qui tuis possit adaem- quari virtutibus . . . / . . . [Expl.] Manifestationis autem gratia optimum fore credit prae- sentem 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 coelii et terrae quando perfecta sunt omnia qua videntur et ad proprium situm singula discreta cesserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.] (Liber XXX); Sed revertamur rursus ad illum 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 Gregori Nysseni episcopi de Imagine libri continentis subsequenter eorum qua ad frater eius beato Basilio in Hexameron sunt relicta, finis.


*Manuscripts:*


(*) Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 208, s. XII, misc., fols. 41 sq., (Cat. Gèn. Dépt. Fr. VI,102).


(*) 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).


(*) Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, S 51 sup, s. XIV, misc., (Kristeller, *Ital. I.312*).
(*) Montecassino, Bibl. dell’Abazia, 232, (Cat. Inguanex I.43).


(*) 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 Hexameron explicatio apologetica, de opificio hominis". Only Dionysius Exiguus’ version of De opificio appears in this Ms along translations by others of other authors).


(*) 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); Samarani III 647; Levine, op. cit. in HSCP 63 (1958) p. 485 n. 28.


(*) Sevilla, Bibl. Capitular 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 Choisis 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).


**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.


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;


**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 “morbis 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 accipseret, latine sine offensione transcurreret iterumque latinos 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 gloriis magistrii 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 paritia; ut in nullo se vel extremis familii antefert, cum dignus esset regulam 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 I.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 Eugapius that he experienced difficulty in translating Nyssenus’ 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; Rambaud-Buhet 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 Rambaud-Bunot, Dict. de Droit Canonique, IV, p. 1133 sq.


2. JOHANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA.

Johannes Scotus Erigena 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 relictis sunt in Hexameron 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. Cappuyn 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抄ist’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, “Gregorio 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).


De imagine. [Inc.]: (p. 210) Hic est liber generationis caeli et terrae, inquit scriptura quando consummatum est omne visible et ad proprium positionem unumquodque existentium discipulum reversum est, quando caeleste corpus omnia in giro ambivet . . . . . [Expl. Caput XXX]: (p. 262) Obscuriorerque de primo per quoque ut sollicitudinem consequentur surrexerit 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. 1. 26), cui gloria et potentia patri et filio et sancto spiritui in saecula amen.

Bibliography: W. Bershins, Griechisch-La
tinisches Mittelalter von Hieronymus zu Ni

Manuscripts:
(*) Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, B IV 13, s. IX, fols. 88–114; (Katalog der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg I.1.450).

Edition:

3. Johannes Cono

Johannes Cono made a Latin version of the Summari caputum 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 Summari caputum. 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 Summari from the genuine work of Gregory, De opificio, was the final item in the volume, added almost, it seems, as an afterthought. The Summari 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 caputum alterius operis Divini Gregorii Nysseni, cui inscriptio περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως, cursim tralata, quae hic subnotare placuit, ut quibis de in eo libro agatur nunc quoque simul cognoscas.

Text. [Inc.]: (fol. LIX) Narratio de generatione hominis est praestantior narratione reum quae ante eum factae sunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. LX) Sermo longus sive narratio de bona constitutione sive corporis habitudine.


Edition:
1512, Strasbourg. See Composite Editions. Biography:
See CTC II.113.

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4. ANONYMOUS, 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 pecunii vide laborem. Totus (ut Salomonis alludam dicto) mundus divitiarum modicum fuisset ut appareret par virtutis tuae retributione . . . . [Expl. (Prologus)]: Declarationis autem gratia opera preutium censumus 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 apparebat. Et in proprium locum singularem discrete secesserunt . . . . [Expl.]: Sed omnes ad illum revertedamur deiformem gratiam in qua Deus hominem ab initio creavit, dicens, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram (*Gen.* 1.26), 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. AMBROSII 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 Ianuarii 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 Castellanaet (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 abused 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 Nyssenus.

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 Ambrosii Ferrariusi Mediolanensis Monachus Casinensis S. D. [Inc.]: (fol. 1) Cum omnes arces quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinent facile antecellat theologa, Marcellae Cervini 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 nominis tuo consecro et dono: Una quia dudum Rever. Episcopo Castellanaensi (*sic*, for Castellantensi) hoc me effecturum promiserim, qui ut ut (*sic*) est Celsitudinis tuae Reverendiss. studiosus, ita id diligenter per literas a me petiti, 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. Sic dicat aliquis rem meiam 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 facisse parum bona. Adeo enim subinde scatet solocemis et acryologiis (sic), ut etiam si typis Roberti Stephani, cui hac in parte typographi omnes non gravate primas deferunt, excussum esset, vix posset tamen latinos lector lectionem semibarbaram ferre.

Adeo autem typographorum oscitantia tantum hoc in opere sibi promisit, ut etiam si elegantissime translatum fuisset tamen intelligi non possit, qui integra nomina et lineas subinde integras perperam mutaret. Unde iure dubitare possit aliquis pluses mali an boni ars typographorum apporet. Tantum autem abscess ut gloriae Dionisii 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 θεοστράτευσσε ταυτω πραιστηριτ volens ille iuvare sacrae theologiae studiosos sedit quod potuit; idem scopus est mihi. Si nihil aliud promeremur utrique, certe vel pius conatus solet esse gratus candidissimis lectoribus. Quod ad opus ipsum attinet, dignissimum est quod vel ediscatur ab omnibus, nec satis laudari potest pro sua dignitate. Adeo enim eruditam piatem pulcherimarum rerum cognitionem semper admiscet, ut numquam oboriri sinat lectori societatem, subinde animum elegantiae varietate pascens et recreans. Quam me delectat vir iste praecelus quamquam animam meam in omnium rerum effectoris amorem rapit, quum mentem praesantissimam illius partem divinitur cuiusdam naturae esse censet et (?) qua Dei optimi maximis simmo quao ingenium sibi a natura habeat archetypus cognoscendi desiderium a quo (?) ac cognita fuit ipsa. Quoties quosdam admiror qui parum memorae Apostolum Paulum subinde hominem dividere in corpus, animam et mentem, virum hunc praecellum parum orthodoxe loquatum 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 volumus hominis animal 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 secundum et in secundo de animantium generatione asserente tantum mentem extrinsecus advenire publica studia summum consensum 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 theologoi eloquentissimi typis escussa (sic) εις τὸν ἄγιον Γρηγόριον ἐπισκοπὸν Νόσος aperte monstrat, ipsa viri authoritative et sanctitate frangerer. Nunc autem tot rationes atnullat, 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 praecipe zu nominatim refellit Apollinarium et Eunomium qui animam asserebant ex traduce gigni, ut velut caeteris, sibi certe permansisse videatur, animam ortum habere a Deo atque immortale esse. Quare amplexere, Reverendissime praesul, imo per te qui Dei optimi maximis 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 quaque huius authoris quae permulta esse dicuntur in summi Pontificis bibliotheca, te iubente, qui domum viris eruditissimos semper habes referam, romanam linguam donentur, praesertim a Gentiano Herveto qui vir praecelra eruditione atque doctrina nihil habet antiquius quam tibi studiorum suorum Mæcenati optimo et praecipue hac in re gratificari. Celsitudinem tuam favenem piis studiis et gloriae Christi Deus illa princeps qui piis semper favet conatabus diu incoluorem ac florentissimam servet. Ex Amplissimo D(iivi) 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 nesses esse, minor, ut inquit Solomon, totus pecuniarum mundus apparent, quam qui virtute 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 singularum 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 proprium sedem singula quoque discreta secesserunt, quando corpus coeleste circumlatim omnia complexum fuerat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 4v) Exuatis nesse est hominem veterem novumque induatis qui renovatur ad imaginem Creatoris. Atque utinam redeamus omen 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:*


*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 Mediolanensis. 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 Sirleto and Cervini (later Pope Marcellus II) and knew by reputation, if not personally, Gentianus 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 Sirleto 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, *Gaphrya 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-
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

6. JOHANNES LEVENVKLAIUS.

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. Episcopius 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 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 Ellebodius' 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 indiisset 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 Ellebodius 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 praecipio, Christophore princeps, omnium hominum generi ordinis antiqui tradita est praeclera 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 loquentur) temporis praescriptione, nimium saeculorum iam quatuor, familiae tuae debetur. Nam ante CCC annos, Burgundio
Pisanus imp. Caes. Friderichi Athenobarbi Aug.praefectus, commentarium hunc barbarum profecto a se conversum, ut tum ferebant tempor, suo principi inscriptit.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 Athenobarbi Aug. gente agnationeque tenetur... /... 

(Expl.): (p. 33) ἀλκιμος ἔσσο ἵνα τις σε καὶ ὅμνησιν ἐν ἔπη (Homer. Od. a 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 Levvenklauius.
p. 38. Greek epigrams of Martinus Crusius, Theodorus Prodromus.
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 excellente virtute praeditos viros opum quasi quibusdam prae milesi orandos putaremus... /... 

(Expl.): Caeterum lucis ac perspicuitatis gratia visum est paucis capitulo rem omnem tibi subiicere, quo singularum argumentorum totius commentationis vim breviae verbis comprehensam perspicere liquido possis.

De opificio hominis. [Inc.]: Hic est, inquivit Litterae sacrae, de ortu coeli ac terrae. Eo nimirum tempore, quidue cernitur, perfectum fuit: atque creato 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.


Editions:
(typescript) 1567, mense Augusto, Basilae (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. Cranx.

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 LEVENKLAUIUS.

J. Levvenklauius 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 Levvenklauius 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 CCCC annos prope sit hic Gregorii commentarius in Latinum sermonem conversus fortasse non nemo causas avet instituta novae conversionis intelligere taceitque has a me requirit. Ego vero breviter ita rem omnem
tibi, Lector, aperiam ut neque me adductum ullo animi morbo explosis aliis 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 Grynæum, V. opt. et Theologum doctissimum, quem honoris causa nomino, forte in ornatisima ipsius bibliotheca librum hunc Gregorii reperi, qui fuisse aliquando Simonis Grynæi, v.c. et praestantissimi, cuius etiam in eo manu quaedam notata cernebantur. Itaque mihi cu-pide hunc perlegenti maximamque volupatatem ex ipsa lectione capienti, cepit auctor esse, ut eum de sermone Graeco in Latinum converterem. Parui non invite, praesertim quod mirifice mihi cum rerum explicatione praeclarissimi- marum, tum dicendi character eximius placentem, molesteque adeo ferebam, librum talem vulgo notiorem 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 studi- osi capere utilitatem possint. Nihil tum nobis constabat essetne conversus in Latinum ser- monem necne, quod si etiam verum fateri debo, neminem adhuc in eo interpretando laborasse credebamus idque propter eaque, quod publice vix notus esset, nisi quatenus inter opera Gregorii recensetur. Verum enimvero Basileam cum redigisset, intellexi de viro clarissimo Ioanne Oporino, typographo de litteraria republ. praeclerare multis iam annis merenti, esse in Episcopiana officina Gregorii nostri opera, quae quidem extare putarentur, edita universa. Horum deinde cataloguum cum inspexissem, reperi hunc etiam commentarium, quem in Latinum sermonem Dionysius qui- dam transtulisse. Legi interpretationem huius cupide, quod iam decrevissem labore meo supersedere. Sed enim tantum abest, Lector, ut ab instituto me Dionysius revocaret, ut cum vel paululum progressus esset, animadverte- rem magis etiam mihi elaborandum ne bono thesauro litterarum sapientiae studiosi diutius carerent. Nam uti philosophos ille princeps aiebat, esse suas scholas et ἄριστας quas appellabat, editas, et non editas, sic videbam Gregorium conversum esse et non conversum, immo si verum dicere velit, indigne foeda pollutum barbaria planeque perversum. Ad- dita est Ioan. Cononis epistola, scripta ante annum (nisi fallor) sexaginta, qua se conversi- onem hanc nonnihil emendasse quibusdam in locis profitetur idque de fragmento Graeco; eam si leges, facile intelliges, me iniquum cen- sorem laboris alieni non esse, (Cono had not revised Dionysius’ version. The letter men- oned was prefatory to his revision of Burgundio’s translation of De natura hominis) Atque ut gustum quendam percipere quivis possit qualis sit haec interpretatio Dionysii, brevis- sime locum unum et alterum attingam, de quo vel infra mediocratatem Graecis litteris eruditi statuere possint ecque fuerit in Dionysio Graecæ linguae peritía . . . (some specific pas- sages in Dionysius’ version are quoted; then Levenklauus gives what he considers the cor- rect one) . . . Haec indicare libuit, non quo veterem interpretarem, more nunc nimo apud quosdam opera recepto, traducerem, sed can- dide 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 aggredi, hoc est, de quibusdam hoc in commentario locis Lectores admoenebo.

Nam doctiores si eius conversionem inspi- ciant, hau dubie pronuntiabunt, una quod dicitur, littera tolli errata omnia posse. Leve- nklauus continues by mentioning the intro- ductory 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 divi- sions. The notes proper then begin.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: Sed ubi nobis Ano- moes. Pro Anomois, apud Dionysium Euno- mian leguntur idem utraque lectione signifi- cant . . . / . . . [Expl.] (final note): Quasi perfecta. . . . non quod perfecta sit in eius- modi 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
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 Levvenkliaus’ chronological errors.

*Introduction* (ed. of Paris, 1615). [Inc.]:
Laudanda sane est opera, quam in hoc Nysseni libro nova interpretatione illustrando possuit nuperus interpres (i.e. Levvenkliaus), sed maiorem a lectoribus gratiam iniisset, si quibus in locis aut de mendo suspectus aut mutius Graecus textus videbatur, ad antiquiorem interpretum recurrere gravatus non esset, neque tam sinistrum de illo concipere opinionem voluisset. Non enim ante annos quadrinque, ut perperam scripsit, auctoris librum in Latinum sermonem convertit Dionysius Romanus, cognomine Exiguus, sed ante mille ac paulo plures, hoc est altero a morte Gregorii saeculo, cum ut testatur Beda libri. *De sex aetatibus mundi*, Paschales circulos scripsit anno Dominicae incarnationis DXXXII, a quo et illos inchoavit ... / ... [Expl.]: Fidei enim totus mundus possessio est (Ambros. *De Jacob* 1.8).

*Notae. [Inc.]: Episcopi Nysseni. Prima editione Latinae interpretationis Dionysi, 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.
1838. See Composite Editions.
1863. See Composite Editions.

1959. See Composite Editions.

*Biography:*
See above p. 71–72.

XXIII. *ORATIO CATECHETICA.*


The authenticity of *Oratio catechetica* has never been seriously questioned. Sifanus and Levvenkliaus 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 transsubststiatione* (Bodl. Laud. gr. 6, s. XVI, pp. 27–41; Misc. gr. 134, fols. 226–228 (s. XVI).

Nyssenus’ text ends with the words, *katα την ανθιναν δινδοσιν* (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 Raithuen-
sis (fl. c. 550) De incarnatione Domini. Her-
ventus appended it directly to Nyssenus’ work; although he comments that it belongs to a later treatise against Severus.

Morellus printed it separately with an ex-
planation preceding the passage.

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Chapter 37 as well as a number of other pas-
sages of Oratio catechetica in the course of preparing his Latin version of Euthymius Ziga-
benuzus’ (s. XII) Panoplia Dogmatica which was published at Venice in 1555 although the Greek text was not printed until 1710. Zinus’ ver-
sion 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 Gen-
tianus Hervetus’ version of Chapter 37 for that of Zinus. This was not the only instance of such substitution by Migne. 

Although the Panoplia reached compara-
tively few, another little volume in which Zinus’ version of the chapter was published enjoyed far wider circulation, Liturgiae, a col-
lection 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 de 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 Sainctes (see Michaud
39:507–508; Hoefer 42:1016–1017). The card-
inal 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 cop-
ied 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
dissent Venetian Greeks and with the Hug-
uenots. 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 Sainctes, is listed as one of the official theologians at Poissy. (See H. O. Evennet, The Cardinal of Lorraine, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 283–393; esp. pp. 344–354).

The text in Liturgiae shows only slight var-
iations from that in the 1555 Euthymius, and they in general merely correct errors in the earlier printing.

The Notae of Fronto Ducaeus take into con-
ideration Zinus’ translation of chapter 37 and of the other passages quoted by Euthy-
mius as well. For the convenience of the read-
er 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.

| PG 45:11A–19A | PG 130:34 C–42 B |
| PG 45:23B–26A | PG 130:202 A–203 |
| PG 45:83A–86 B | PG 130:1251B–1254 C |
| PG 45:93A–98 B (Ch.37) | PG 130:1262 A–1266 B (Ch.37) |

Dedication (ed. of Antwerp, 1560). Illustri-
sissimo Principi et Amplissimo Cardinali, Carolo Lotaringo, Ioannes a Sancto Andrea, S. P. D. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Nihil a Deo optimo maximo praestantius aut divinius homini concessum esse arbitror, illustriissime Princes, quam quod similitudine quadem et cogitazione formae sibi eum coniunxerit, atque ad oris vul-
tusque sui imitationem effinixerit et expresserit... (The author laments the religious contro-

Octo capita in praefationis locum, per F. Claudium de Sainctes, Lutetiae theologum. [Inc.:] (p. 3) Omnes hostes Ecclesiae Catholici- cae hostes propemodum sacrificii ac Missae semper exiterunt. Cap. I. Quoniam in perpetuo Christi memoriam . . . / . . . [Expl.]; (p. 13) sic incruentum offerat sacrificium, depo- natur, ut imperfecte ac simpliciter enuncians et quae tradita sunt innovans.

Text (ed. of Venice, 1555). De trasmutatio- ne(sic) Dominici corporis et sanguinis. Gregorii Nissae Pontificis. [Inc.:] (Titulus XXL, pars 12) Quemadmodum qui per insidias vene- num hauerunt, alio medicamento vim illius extinguunt, oportet autem, ut ad veneni sim- ilitudinem in viscera ingrediatur, ut per illa totum in corpus auxilium diffundatur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: ideo cunctis credentibus gratiae dispensatione se ipsum impertit per carmen, quaes ex vino et pane constitutur fideliumque corporis coniungitur, ut ea conjunctionem cum immortali, homo etiam immortalitatis particeps fiat. Haec autem tribuit virtute bene- dictictionis, in illud rerum quae videntur natu- ram 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:

Biography:
See CTC II.155.

2. Constantinus Palaeocappa
(Chapter 37 only).

A Latin translation of Chapter 37 of Greg- ory of Nyssa, Oratio catechetica was made by Constantinus Palaeocappa and is preserved in one manuscript, an autograph of the trans- lator. The translation may be dated by its dedication to Nicolaus Pellevus (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 orientalbis Ecclesiae circa divina ΄Ευχαριστίας sacramenti mysteria comprehendit a graeco viro et graeco idi- omate latine factus est et fere ex ipsis Byzantiae ruinis evulsum 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. Nicolaæ Pelleveo Pontifici Ambiano Suppurcumque libellorum in Regia magistro Constantinus Palaeocappa s.[Inc.]: (fol. 68 v). Antiquorum theologorum scripta et 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 adscriptam decet, litteris, quae ut sunt ita sacrosanctae nominantur, sic delinearis ut nihil earum studio antevertendum putes. Altera quod iam multis (fol. 69v) me beneficis tibi devinxeris, ut ingratus plane habeas, nisi quae tibi iucunda futura sunt, omni studio ac diligentia ubique conquiram. Et vero quae tibi ofero huiusmodi sunt ut apud Latinos nusquam invenias. Erepta enim sunt a gentilibus meis ex excidio Byzantinio hoc diligentius, quod religionis columina his (fol. 70) contineri arbitrarentur, quae, qua sunt pietate, ad me mittenda putavercut ea viris in Ecclesia primaris, qualis tu es, offeram, quibus tempusatem in Ecclesiam hoc tempore ortam sedare possint. Reliqua autem quae multa in hoc genere domi nostrae sunt, si haec grata esse tibi intellexero, curabo aliquando advaehe. (vol. 70v) ut gratum in te animum meum hoc genere officii testificer. Interim haec eo, quo me soles vultu, quaeo aciere. 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 interna visceria continet, ita etiam antidotum in ea adiciendum est, ut vis iuvantis medicamentis per illa in totum corpus digeratur. . . . [Expl.]: (fol. 79v) Hac de causa omnibus qui credunt administrationis ac dispensationis gratiae eius, seipsum per carnem inserit, cuius substantia ex pane et vino corporibus credentium inserts est, ut conjunctioe, quae ad id quod immortale est refertur, homo fiat etiam immortalitatis particeps. Haec autem virtute suae benedictionis largitur, in illud con-

vertens naturam elementorum apparentum.

Manuscript:
(micro) Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, No. 707 (615): s. XVI, fol. 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 Nyssenus, 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 further 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.

Palaecocappa'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 Heronymus (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 Palaecocappa 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 examples of this type of forgery. The studies of both M. Jugie and F. J. Leroy demonstrate how Palaecocappa 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). Palaecocappa 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 Aristotle 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 Theophractus of Achrida, the late eleventh century bishop (Jugie, p. 295)! Oddly, in his own day Palaecocappa 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 Theophractus 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 Palaecocappa und Jakob Diassorinos," Philologische Abhandlungen Martin Herz zum siebzigsten Geburtstage von ehemaligen Schülern, Berlin, 1888, 123–143; and the same, "Heliodorus von
3. GENTIANUS HERVETUS.

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of *Oratio catechetica* which was first published in Paris in 1573 by both Nivelle 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 Nyssenus. 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 Nyssenus' 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 Chaper 37 was but one (see below p. 155 for another instance in a work of Nyssenus). 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, Melanchon, Buèère et autres évangélistes de ce temps, . . .* Paris, 1561, chez N. Chesnau. 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 conventit omnibus verbi auditories, 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.)
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 Laodicea, Germanus of Constantinople, etc.) all translated by Morellus. One of these, *Nicetas Choniates’ (Acominatus’, i.e. from Colossae, died c. 1210–1220)* *Thesaurus Orbis Ecclesiæ 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, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiae Pontifici Maximo S. [Inc.]: Dubium mihi non est, beatissime Pater, quin tibi temerarius et importunus videar, qui te virum pietate meritisque celeberrimum ignotus homo uncio, coeli filium terrae filius, communem denique Christianæs reipublicæs diocetan paterque nullus ego interpellare audeam. . .

Non ignota tibi est, beatissime Pater, clarissima illa Dominorum a S. Andrea Parisiensem 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

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141). Magna est autem differentia inter eum qui extinguitur et eum qui nullam admissit extinctionem. Est ergo aliquis alius, et non hic ignis. Rursus cum verem audieris, ne proprieas 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 libro uniuscuiusque arbitrio, convenienter iusto Dei iudicio vitae exoriuntur, fuerit sapientum non ad praeens intueri, sed ad futurum, et in hac brevi et temporali vita iacere materiam et sementem beatitudinis ineffabiles et per bonum propositum et electionem alienis 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 dictiorum impeditur, ne comprehendant ea quae sunt in ipsis theoremat.]
illam vereque Apollineam bibliothecam tot antiquorum monumentis instruxistis, ut quicquid ex miserae Graeciae reliquis supererat, quod utile posteris esse posset, id ad vos confluxisse videatur, instruxit et ipse Lutetiae bibliothecam, eamque tot venerandae antiquitatis codicibus refersit, ut cum multis aliis Musarum sacrarissi, si Vaticanam tuam Regiamque Fontis Bellaquensis bibliothecam excipias, facile certatura sit. Ex ea clarissimis ille vir pleraque iam exemplaria dependit, quae iampridem typis et Gallicis et Germanicos excussa in vulgi manus venerunt, hodieque adeo veluti renata eadem ex bibliotheca maior hic D. Gregorii Nysseni Catecheticus prodit, una cum pauculis aliquot et magnopore illo D. Nicetae Colossensis Thesaura fidei Orthodoxae depromptis, iis praestertim 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 eculendum typis proposuissem, nisi recurdecentibus ex insperato civilibus Galliae bellis manus de tabula tantisper submovere coactus essem, dum melior et opportunior affulget hora ... (There follow more remarks on Nicetas’ work and how he acquired the manuscript through the efforts of the papal legate and Maidonatus from Ioannes a S. Andrea and a Paris theologian) ... Ad Nyssenum antistitem redeo, cuius elogia 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 interpretatis conatus et labores adiuva. Factit Deus Optimus Maximus, beatissime Pater, ut te praesertim duce et autore laeta pax orbi Christiano affulget. Lutetiae in aedibus D. Ioannis a S. Andrea ad Calendas Maias. MDLXVIII. Apostolicae Beatiudini tuae adictissimus Petrus Morellus.

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 1) Oratio catechetica, eamnimur quae de rudibus instituendis suspititur iis quidem pernecessaria est, qui religii...
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 energeia 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’s 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 Latinam tantorum (e.g. Nicetas, Ioannes Damascenus, Ioannes Tzetzes, etc.) operum consolationem 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 Nyssenus. (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 Nyssenus, *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 energie*. He also made French translations of Greek works: Psellus, *Dialogus de energie*; 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 Nyssenus, *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).


5. ANONYMUS (Chapter 37 only, lost)


These items were lost in the fire of 1671, as has been confirmed by P. Teodor 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 Nyssenus.

**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
Gregory of Nyssa's five homilies on the Lord's Prayer, *De oratione Dominica*, are considered exegetical, 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 ἄλλασσομένων 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 Chalceopolis 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.

Translations.

1. Athanasius Chalceopylus

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, 4º, f. 2). Athanasii episcopi Hieracensis ad Paulum secundum Pontificem Maximum prologin in traductionem orationis dominicae sancti Gregorii episcopi Nyssensis [Inc.]: Quom animadverterem te, Pontifex Maxime Paulae, sit graecas maximis facere easque ut habeas magnam curam magnamque operam dare, aliquid et ipse tibi et graecia pro mea in te observancia officioque afferre curavi. Sed quom sacrae mihi imagine auro lapidibus arteque mosaica artificiose pictae eleganterque compositae non sint neque vasa habeam preciosorum lapidum aut pannos sacris figuris argento et auro et byssu contextos aut caetera quae ipsa Graecia producit, quom mihi facultates haudquaquam suppeditent, quibus eas res facile possem parare, has quinque homilian sancti Gregorii Nissensis, fratris magni Basili, viri profecto doctissimi, quas magna cum sapientia summam theologia in dominicam edidit orationem, et graecam in latinam linguam traducere tibique offerre operaem 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 perfectaque christolican theologia excellentissime disserunt quas ego tibi dedicandas censui quod te tales esse intellego 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 benign ut soles accipias oro eaque inter caetera tua ornamenta tuique animi virtutes excellentissimas collocare velit. Ornabunt enim eas meo iudicio et distinguendo splendidiores quodammodo reddent teque clarissimum 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 (malum: ut) heres eius coheresque sui veri consubstantialisque filiis sit. Quod ego summam illam beatitudinem esse intelliq et finem totius ratioes creaturae.


*Manuscripts:*

(photo) København, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gl. kgl. S. 1345, 4º, s. XV, misc., fols. 2–51. (Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum latinorum medii aevi*, p. 37).

(*) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional. 4301 (P 125), s. XV, fols. 2v–47. My attention was called to this manuscript by Paul O. Kristeller. (Loewe-Hartel 113, 252).


(*) Città del Vaticano, Bibli. 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 “Chalceopylus” 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.


2. PETRUS GALESINUS.

Petrus Galesinus 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 homilies, 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 Galesinus and Sifanus: “si quid iis inesset quod apte elegantiorque 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 ali- quid ipsi maxime cuperent, Dominus illis praescript, quomodo precatioinis ope captare conveniant attentionem Dei . . . / . . . [Expi.]: (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 aetatem 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 Nyssenus. 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 disiplicet, quod in expositione orationis Dominicae pro Dimitte nobis debita nostra,
quemadmodum vetus translatio habet, Erasmum 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 ἀφέωντας reddidit “dimittuntur” . . . His careful justificatio of his rendering continues at some length.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562). [Inc.]: (Oratio I) (p. 7) Orandi nobis doctrinam divinum sermo tradit, per quam se dignis discipulis orandi scientiam studiose ac serio requiritibus, 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.
1859. See Composite Editions.

Doubtful editions:
1560, Basel. The 1599, 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 PERFECTIO NE AD OLYMPIUM

Editio princeps: 1593, Leiden, ed. D. Hoechelius. No proof has been found for a Greek edition of Venice, 1574 mentioned by Fabricius IX. 1145 and Ceillier VIII. 442.

Translations

1. 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 christianorum 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 christianorum formula; Perfecti cristianorum 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) Quaeris, 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 perfectionem existitmet esse conclusam.

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.
(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.
1859. See Composite Editions.
Doubtfull 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 1595 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 Moreinus. Later in the same year the same printer published a second fascicle containing two more works of Nyssenus, 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 Nyssenus’ In inscriptions 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 edition princeps of the Greek text of five of Nyssenus’ 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 union of the Greek and Latin churches, it is understandable that he translated two ascetic works of Nyssenus in addition to In inscriptions 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). Illustriissimo atque integerrimo viro D. Ioanni Francisco Moresino Maximus Margunius, Episcopus Cytherensis Salutem in Domino. [Inc.]: Hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei creatum duobus quibusdam medias, beatiudinem quae finis proprius est ad quamque pervire conatur; assequi posse ex ipsa circa creationem suam Dei providentia colligitur, Ioannes Franciscæ 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 praecipitum adimpleto, quibus nos Dei ipsi assimilari nemo est qui etiam inferimus. 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 unumdem imitari debeamus, divinissimo quodam afflatus spiritu suis in scriptis tradiderit, ut per ea verum nobis Christianam circumscriberit. Sed quod ille perobscurc innuere voluit, id brevi quidem isto, divino tamen tractatu sanctus iste Pater Gregorius Episcopus Nyssenus nobis patetecet, tam praecipere sane tamque sapienter per ipsa nomina Christi Christianum verum depingens, ut nil sapientius nil fidelis christianus utilius praecalcesque desiderari possit. Quem nos diutius in tenebris lateret indignum esse opinari, e Graeco in Latinum ad publicam utilitatem convertimus. Fore enim existimavimus ut Christianus quisque qualem se esse oporteat per hunc edoctus, nec sibi nomen falsa asciedere sustineret, neque a supernorum amore Christique imitazione quavis alia corruptibilium rerum concupiscencia praepediretur sicque ad proprium finem beatitudinem ipsum totis viribus converteretur. Hunc autem vel sponte vel a nobilissimo doctissimo etheiro D. Michaele Eparchio ad hoc adhortari nominii tuo praecalcesque consecrare, nec ab re, voluminus, excellissime Moreseine. Quum enim tu es sis, qui in utroque hoc genere ita praecellis, ut tum ub summum erga Deum cultum, tum ob excellenterum tuarum virtutum praestantium morumque suavitatem, post optimam Reipublicae administrationem praecalaraque in ea gesta, ad praestantioura sublimioraque negotia, animarum inquam curam, demum divinitus electus vocatusque fueris, optimae quaequae propterea, ad praesertim quae ad Christianum vitam spectare videntur, tibi revera Christiano deberi necessum omnino est. Tua itaque erit humanitatis, vir praestantissime, ut quacumque hoc fuerit munusculum summae erga te nostrae observantiae haud obscurum argumentum hilari fronte, prout consuevisti, velis suscipere, quod ut faci-
as etiam atque etiam obscuramur. Vale nosque virtutum tuarum excellentiae singularisque humanitati deditissimos esse foreque tibi persuades. Anno dominicae salutis MDLXXXV. Mense Septemibre.

Text. D. Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni de vitae in virtute perfectione et quis verus Christianus sit ad Olympium Tractatus et Graeco in Latinum a Maximo Marginio 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 irreprehensibilis per omnes in vita tua eluceat . . . / . . . [Exp.]: Haece enim reversa 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, Tipografi editori e librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI, Firenze, 1924), a fact which was pointed out to me by Gian A. R. Modoni, Direttore della 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 der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, DDR also have
no evidence for a 1580 edition. Confusion with Marguinus' 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 DUCAES

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 έκ λιθών τιμίων unigeniti Dei corona ex lapidibus pretiosis, honor et gloria.

In 1615 Ducaeus revised his Notae, taking into consideration the translation of Marguinus 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. Prodiiit in lucem hic liber (De perfectione) Latinate de 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 Epistolae ad Letoium, quasi tum primum ederetur e Graeco in Latinum, conversus est apud Loris, 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. Hoeschelius). There is no evidence for the Greek edition of Venice, 1574, mentioned by Fabricius BG IX.114 and Ceillier VIII.142.


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 Nyssenus' 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 professiove christiana sibi velit epistolae. Sifanus' translation was reprinted in all subsequent editions of Nyssenus' Opera omnia.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562). [Inc.]: (p. 1) Quod apud magistratus et eos qui rerum potius, faciunt ii qui quotidians vestigialibus 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 christianae 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.

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.


This treatise also appears under the titles: De engastrimytho and De venrilogia muliere. Though ostensibly a letter, it is always included among Nyssenus’ 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 1 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”. Possevins (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 Sannichelinae Praesae”. Ducaeus’ version appeared in all subsequent editions of Nyssenus’ writings. His notes constitute a commentary on the work.

Dedication: See above, p. 70.
Gregorius Nyssenus

Text (ed. of Paris 1605). [Inc.]: (II.93) Qui discipulis suis dixit, Quaerite et invenietis (Mt. 7:7), is pro culubio facultatem etiam inveniendi studiose perquirentibus et ex praecpto Domini recondita secreta indagantibus largietur . . . [Expl.]: (II.97) Postremo vero caput quaestionum propositarum, quomodo, inquam, Spiritus ante baptismum adveniat, ampliori indiget dispositione atque consideratione quod cum proprio libro complexi fuerimus, Deo dante ad tuam reverentiam transmittemus.


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 Nyssenus’ works. Ducæus begins by mentioning other treatises dealing with the episode in I Kg 28:12. He mentions that he found this treatise attributed to Nyssenus in a manuscript at Pont à Mousson (where he had taught early in his life).


Editions:
See above under Translation 1. F. Ducæus, beginning with the 1605 edition.

XXVIII. De eo: quid sit ad imaginem Dei et ad similitudinem.

Editio princeps: 1596, Ingolstadt (ed. F. Ducæus).

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 Nyssenus’. 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.


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 Mediceae, 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 Nyssenus 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 propria imaginem formamque faciei contemplari possunt . . . [Expl.]: (II.94)
GREEK AUTHOR

Ille siquidem qui ad imaginem Dei quondam erat factus, quiddam iam coniunctum cum Deo factus est, et qui prius imaginis Dei participes 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.
1859. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See above pp. 71–72.

COMMENTARY

a. FRONTO DUCAEUS

Fromto 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 manuscripts Ducis Bavariae libros servatur, ut ex eorum catalogo liquet, numero 40. Nysseni liber de imagine sive creatione hominis. Ac licet in altera ex duabus homiliis 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 quidquid 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-

pat etiam Gregorius Nazianz. in tetrastichis. . . . . . [Expl]: (II.91) 93 b. nisi forte insolens sit aut importunum, aut periculosum, vel si manuscriptum lectionem retinere malis, nisi forte reformandum sit dicere.

Editions:
See above p. 78.

Biography:
See above pp. 71–72.

XXIX. IN SEXTUM PSALMUM.


TRANSLATIONS

I. JACOBUS NOGUERAS.

Jacobus Nogueras made a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyss’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 Lacanarius, a canon of Vienna and also a member of Ferdinand’s circle. Lacanarius appears to have been a patron of Nogueras who several times refers to the former’s kindnesses. When he learned from A. Lip pomano 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) . . . Orations” 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.


_Text. [Inc.]: (p. A 3) Qui ex virtute in virtute, ut habet impecratii illa prophetie, peregunt, et pulchras ascensiones suis amiciis condunt, ubi bonam aliquam cogitationem fuerint assicueri, ii per eam manu veluti ducuntur in altiorem quandam, cuius beneficio gradum 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).

_Edification:_

(photo) 1556, Ratisponae (Ratisbon): ex officina Io. Carbonis Typographii. 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, Alipanus 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 peragravit”) 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(oman)a".

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 scriberit, ni fallor, plurima", and "Multa hic quoque scriptis". In a letter to Andrea Masio Latini says, "(Nogueras) qui aliquot annos Ferdinando Caesari sacris mysteriis peragens sacrisque libris pro concione interpretandis cum summa, ut audio, laude operam deti".

Works: De ecclesia Christi, Latin translations of In sextum Psalmum, of Nyssenus' 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, Christina Paraenesis of Miguel de Medina which was printed in some editions of this treatise.


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
XXX. AD SIMPLICIUM DE FIDE

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

1. 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 Ziga-
beni Orthodoxae Fidei Dogmatica Panoplia nunc primum per Petrum Zinus Veronesem
et Graeco translatat. 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.
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 Nyssenus. 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 L. Zinus, p. 155.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562) [Inc.]: (p. 133) Deus per Prophetam praecipit ne illum deum novem esse exstingemus 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 IUDAES


Although a number of manuscripts assign the Testimonia adversus Iudaes 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 Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus'.

TRANSLATION

1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Testimonia adversus Iudaeos under the title Ex Vetere Testamento delecta testimonia cum adiecta quodam explicatione 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 Nyssenus' works through the edition of Paris, 1638. Migne chose not to print it and to substitute L. A. Zaccagni's 1698 version.


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


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 Apollinaris and Apollinaristas.

TRANSLATIONS

1. 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 Ubiquists in 1582 and 1584. In a letter on the subject to Gregory of Valentia, Turrianus cites a passage from Nyssenus, Ad Theophilum, verbatim (PG 45:1278 A). Turrianus' version was published in 1604 by Henricus Canisius in Vol. V of his Antiquae Lec- tiones.


Praefatio Henrici Canisii (ed. of Ingolstadt, 1604). Lectori [Inc.]: (Tom V.1:160) Ante paucos annos ex tenebris in lucem prodit Graece et Latine haec D. Gregorii Nysseni Epistola. Sed quia in schedis Turrianian pridem (c. 1580–1585) eam ab eodem Turriano ex Graeco in Latinum translatam reperimus, nefas visum est tanti viri deque antiquitate tam bene meriti laborem publici iuris non facere, quia haec editio fortasss eo perveniet, quo aliae non pervenerunt et ut cum aliis concur- reret, facile tamen cum Quinti Tomi Antiquae Lec- tionis, tum Turrianian interpretis nomine sese in gratiam tuam, amice lector, insinuabat. 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 tendiculam ad accusationem habeant, qui suas opiniones obieacta contra nos reprehensione firmare volunt.

Editions:

Biography:
Franciscus Turrianius (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, Turrianius 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 Salvati 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. Turrianius was a prolific writer as well as writer; Pearson calls him "virum infinitae lectionis" (In vindiciis Ignatii Prooemium, ch. 5). Although during his lifetime Turrianius 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, Turrianius died in Rome on Nov. 21, 1584.


2. FRONTO DUCAES

Fronto Ducaeus made a Latin translation of *Ad Theophilum adversus Apolinaristas* 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 insec-tandum relinquitur, qui ex nostra reprehensi“one 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.

XXXIII. IN ILLUD: TUNC ET IPSO FILIUS . . .

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 Hervetius’ 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 Hervetius’.

Text. In dictum Apostoli, Tunc etiam ipse Filius subicetur ei, qui subiecti 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 IERVETUS

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 Nyssenus' 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' unrevise 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 subiicet tur ei qui sibi subjecti omnia* (1 Cor. 15.28) (ed. of Paris, 1573). [Inc.]: (p. 565) Omnia quidem domini eloquia sunt eloquia casta et pura (Ps. 11.7) sicut dicit prophetas quando instar purgationis argenti quae fit igne, mens expurgata ab omni turpi existimatione habet eloquiorum veritatis proprium et conveniencem et qui est secundum naturam splendorum.../... [Expl.]: (p. 574) Quod si quid videtur adhuc deesse prompto et alacri animo susciemus eius quod deest implementum si tu id scriptis nobis declareris et a sancto spiritu per preces nostras occultorum facta fuerit manifestatio.

*Editions:*

*Biography:*
See CTC 1.109.

3. REVISION OF G. IERVETUS' VERSION BY FRONTO DUCAEUS

In his 1605 edition of Nyssenus' 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 expexte rationis, Omnia subieicti sub pedibus eius... (Ps. 8.8). Et rursus mentionem faciens eorum quem qui servavatur per ignitio nem dicat tanquam loquens ex Dei persona, Mihii alienigenae subiecti sunt (Ps. 59.10) adeo ut videatur maxime convenire id quod a nobis est examinatum in psalmo septuagesimo (!) primo, Numquid Deo subieictur omnia (sic) mea (Ps. 61.2).

Ducaeus (ed. of Paris, 1615, I:838)

Et de natura expexte rationis, *quod homini subjecta si a Deo, Propheta inquit:* Omnia subieicisti sub pedibus eius (Ps. 8.8). *Item de bello subactis dicit:* *Subieicti populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris (Ps. 46.4).* Et rursus mentionem faciens eorum qui servavantur per ignitio nem, dicat tanquam loquens ex Deo persona: Mihii alienigenae subjecti 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 (Oratio III, De paradiso): 1535, Venice, apud S. Sabium (ed. R. Polus et al.).


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 Oratones (Homiliae) X and XI, in Hexaemeron, or De structura (creatio) hominis, Oratones I and II. After the edition of Paris, 1618, these treatises were dropped from collections of Basil’s writings, but they reappeared in F. Combes’s edition, entitled Basilius Recensitus in 1679 as Homiliae X and XI.

III. Evidence for authorship.

It can 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 Hexaemeron. In the late fourth century Ambrose of Milan (c.339–397) quoted Basil’s Hexaemeron 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 Hexaemeron 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 Hexaemeron, 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 εἰκών and δόμοιος (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 Nyssenus’ works. What included in collections of Basil’s works De paradiso was often listed as Homilia XII, in Hexaemeron. 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 Hexaemeron attributed the two additional homilies to Basil (See J. T. Muckle in Med. Stud. 6 (1944) p. 151 sq.).

Several centuries later John Argyropilos (d. 1486) omitted them when he made his Latin version of Basil’s Hexaemeron. 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 Nyssenus’ works included the two homilies probably 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 Nyssenus, 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 (Basilii Magni 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 falsa tribuuntur Basilio” (available both in the 1721 edition, Vol. I, and reprinted in PG 29:cxxxii-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’Hexaemeron. In 1972 H. Hörner published an edition of all three homilies in
the first Supplement band 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.


TRANSLATIONS

1. JOHANNES HELIARES

Johannes Heliare (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 ξηροτῆς) 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 versus, quod sciam, sed nec ea quae sequitur (Hom. XI) quae prorsus est eodem argumento ac eisdem pene capitisbus constat videturque magis resipere stylum Basilii 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’s 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 filed 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 Basili’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.

*Basili Magni Homilia in Hexaemeron de hominis creatione* (Vat. Reg. lat. 2004). *[Inc.]*: (fol. 59) Veteris debiti solutionem perfecturus adsum, cuius numitionem haecenus non equidem ex animi ac voluntatis ingratitude
lis rigor ac concreto, non vernalis humiditas, non aestatis ardur, non autumalis sicctas . . . (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 Heliarens (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 Finch, 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 discissi”. 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 Gennep 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 Hexaemeron* 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*.


2. WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS

Wolfgangus Musculus (Meuslin, Moesel) made a Latin translation of *Homiliae X and XI, in Hexaemeron*. 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 Argyropulos, but Argyropulos 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.


Text, *Homilia X*. [Inc.]: (p. 100) Vetus debi-
tum ad plenum soluturus venio, cuius redi-
tionem 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 bestis, de natali-
bibus, de iumentis, de volatilibus, deque coelo
. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 109) Qui omnia ita dis-
pensavit, ut merito vocietur Dominus quique
modicam nostram et imbecillem linguam tan-
diu vos alloqui dedit, qui per infirmam nos-
tram intelligentiam magnos vobis thesauros
modicis veritatis adumbrationibus reservavit,
det vobis per exigua quae magna sunt, per
modica semina scientiae perfectionem, et no-
bis propositi finalem mercedem vobisque ite-
rum ex usu divinorum eloquiorum consum-
matum fructum, cui sit gloria et imperium in
secta seculum. Amen.

Text, *Homilia XI*. [Inc.]: (p. 109) Sapiens
quidem Salomon, non in probabilibus sapien-
tiae verbis, sed certis spiritus sancti doctrinis
sapienter institutus, in iis quae paulo ante no-
bis sunt lecta, clamavit dicens, Magnum quid
est homo et praeculinarum, vir misericors: ego
vero vane iuxta meam ipsius tenuitatem, tam
quae de homine apud me ipsum sentiebam,
quam quae ex scripturis edoctus eram, metie-
bar ac considerabam. . . . / . . . [Expl.]:
(p. 100) Sed ex uno vos reliqua omnia inte-
ligite. Properantes vero nos ad necessarium
quamdam professionem precationibus vestris
prosequamini, ut cito vobis incolumes resti-
tuti, etiam eorum quae superson debitem red-
damus, gratia Domini qui omnia nostra iam
disposuit, suaque nos gratia condidit: cui glo-
ria in secula. Amen.

Text, *De paradiso*. [Inc.]: (II.140) Plantavit
Deus paradisum in Edem, versus Orientis pla-
gas, et posuit illis hominem quem finxerat.
Expendamus plantationem Deo dignam, et
paradisum quae taliis ac tanti opificis elegan-
tiam deecet . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II.142) Ascende
animo ad pulchritudinem angelorum, cognos-
ce in illis iustitiae fructus, contemplare fluvi-
aque 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 illu-
um decet omnis gloria, patrem scilicet, et
filium et spiritum sanctum, in seculorum se-
cula. 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 work. 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 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 gloriosi sentiens de homine clamatbat dicens, Magna res est homo et preciosa res vir misericonis. Ego autem vane mecum considerabam, tumea quae in animo meo habebam, tumea quae a scripturae de homine edoctus eram . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: (I. p. 62) Porro nos iam ad necessarium quandam viam festinantes cum precibus comitamini ac prose-quimini, quo brevi vobis servati etiam eorum quae restant debitis exolvamus, per gratiam omnium gubernantis circa nos domini, qui nos sua gratia condidit. Ipsi gloria in secula. Amen.

*De paradiso*. [*Inc.*]: (II. p. 303) Plantavit deus paradisum in Edem ad orientes, et posuit illic hominem quem formavit. Cogitemus dignam Deus plantationem, et paradisum decentem elegantiam ac sedilitatem tali 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 carnali-bus voluptatibus sapis, ascende cogitatione ad pulchritudines angelorum, considera in ipsis iustitiae fructus, contemplare fluvium dei reftertum aquis, cuius impetus exhilarant civitate Dei, cuius artifex ac opifex est Deus, illam civitatem perruit fluvius ille Dei, qui initium sumit ex Edem et irrigat paradisum. 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 σορράδην pro loco diffudit Paraphrasi quo utraque existet explication.) [*Inc.*]: (p. 1) Debitum quo me vobis non ita pridem obstrinixeram, en advenio exsoluturus
ac proinde fidem liberaturus meam. In eiusmodi reddendo quod fuerim vestra omnium expectatione cunctatior, nulla hoc fecit animi erga vos mei volentia minus agnoscentis quid ex pacto debereb, sed ne uti condicPeace erat in tempore exsolverem sola intercessit corporis huic mei adversa valetudo. . . .  

[Expl.]: (p. 53.1) nobis proinde donet nostris istius instituti perfectam ac solidam mercedem, vobis denique imperiatur ut opulente et ubere fructu perfraumini divinorum elogiorum. Ipsi gloria et imperium in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

_Homilia undecima. De hominis primigenia constitutione_, Godefroido Tilmano Cartusieni, int. [Inc.]: (p. 53.2) Salomon sane quam sapiens non in persuasibilibus eruditus sapientiae verbi, verius qui et solida ac veraci Spiritus sancti doctrina suam illam haec sapientiam. In iis quae recens lecta nobis sunt magnifice plane hominem exornans elogio, voce exerta haec deproemebat. Magna res est homo, et pretiosa, vir misericors. Ego contra sed nullo meo fructu rem hanc commentabar atque expendebam, omnia admetiens meae unius exiguitatem ea quae in animo mecum ipse versa . . .  

[Expl.]: (p. 60.1) Nos porro necessario profectione ad iter contendentes comitemini precibus piissque votis quo oculi vobis sospites et integri reddamur, et eorum quae resident explicanda debitam exsolvamus 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 formavat. Ad mentem advocemus dignam hanc Deo plantationem, nempe Paradisum: et quae nihil dedeceat incomparabilem et eximiam pulchritudinem talis ac tanti opificis . . . / . . .  

[Expl.]: (p. 62.2) Ascende animo ad pulchritudinem angelorum, cognosce in illis justitiae fructus, contemplare fluvium aquis Dei refertum, cuius impetus civitatem Dei laetificant, cuius artifex ac conditor Deus est. Civitatem illam praeert-fluit 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.

_Biography:_
See above p. 85.

5. IOACHIMUS PERIONIUS

Ioachimus Perionius (Pério) 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 vitiis Apostolorum_, published in 1551; the second was the version of the sermons on the _Hexaemeron_.

Antonius Possevius 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 Cor- moeriacenus, S.P.D. [Inc.]: (p. a ii) Quod his paucis mensibus in ea epistola qua tibi libelum nostrum de vitiis Apostolorum Latino sermone scriptum dedicavi, legere potuisti, sanctissime pater, me cum multos libros de divinis rebus scribere coepissem, illum qui iam absoluto esset, ad te tum mittere, et in sanctiss-
simo tuo nomine divulgare, dum alii absol-
veretur: id verum esse quadam ex parte intel-
ligere nunc potes. Mitto enim ad te iam al-
terum eiusdem fere magnitudinis libellum,
quem Hexaemeron B. Basilius inscriptis, quod
undecim concionibus quas ad populum suum
habuit, ea omnia quae Deus sex diebus effec-
cisset, complexus scripti sunt, ex quo tu tuisque
omenes, 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 i v) Equidem ut non ausim hoc de me
dicere, me Basilium parti uertat copiaque
orationis usum ad nostras transulisse, ita illud
confirmare minime dubitabo, omnem vim elo-
quentiae, qua sim praeditus, si modo in me
ulla est, a me fuisse hoc loco adhibeit et
explicatam, quo et facilius omnes ad eum le-
gendum excaret, et melius mei in te offici
to constaret. Valeat tua sanctitas, beatis-
sime pater. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1551.

De hominis fabricatione et molitione, Ora-
tio X. [Inc.]: (p. 135) Vetus debuit dissolu-
turus venio, cuius dissolutionem distuli, non
oblivione instituti mei, sed corpore imbecilli-
itate, officium hoc et necessarium est maxime
auribus vestris, et debuit . . . / . . . [Expl.]:
(p. 152 v) in paucis veritatis adumbrationibus
significavit; det et vocibus parvis rebus magnas,
paucis seminibus perfectam scientiam, et no-
bis voluntatis perfectam mercedem, et vocis
voluptatis quam ex divinis verbis concepistis
fructum uberrimum. Cui gloria et potentia
sempiterna tribuatur. Amen.

De hominis molitione et institutione, Ora-
tio XI. [Inc.]: (p. 152 v) Salomon ille sapiens
non accommodatis ad persuadendum humanae
sapientiae verbis, sed doctis a spiritu sancto,
iiis verbis quae modo a nobis recitata sunt,
hominem summis laudibus effeeren, in hanc
vocem erupit. Magnum quiddam homo est,
et vir misericordia praeditus, res est honora-
bilis. Ego vero frustra mecum reputabam, quae
et animo concipiebam de homine et a scriptu-
ta didiceram . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Nos vero
compulsos in viam quandam necessarium, cum
precibus dimittente, ut cito vocis servati reli-
quum etiam debitum dissolvamus, domini
benignitate, qui nostra omnia gubernat, nos-
que pro sua bonitate condidit. Cui gloria sem-
piterna tribuatur. Amen.

Editions:
1552. See Composite Editions.
1552. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
Joachim Perignon (Périon) was born at Cor-
mony 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 addi-
tion to works on and translations of classical
authors, he composed a number of theologici-
ment treatises.

All of his writings were in Latin of a singu-
larly 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 Hexaemeron, works of Aeschines,
Aratus, Aristotle, Clement of Rome, Demo-
thenes, Dionysius Areopagita, John of Damas-
cus, 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 Apos-
tolorum, De sanctis viris qui Patriarchae ab
Ecclesia appellantur, De origine linguae Gal-
xicae, De Magistratibus Romanorum et Gra-
corum.

Bibliography: Cioranesco, XVIe siècle, pp.
552–553; Encic. Illust. 43:890; Grenet, XVIe
siècle, p. 564 (the only biography which men-
tions his translation of the spurious homilies
In Hexaemeron); Hoefer 39:613–614; Hurter
2:1256–1258; Joccher 3:1391–1392; and Ergbd.
5:1905–1907; Niceron 36:33–42; Zedler 27:
437–438.
GREEK AUTHOR


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 Nyssenus, 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 Nyssenus’ works and in all subsequent revised printings of that preface.


*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 praecellae, vir misericors . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 58v) Verum in praesentia negotii cuiusdam causa nos iter facturos dimittite, ut celeriter vobis incolures redditi, quod reliquum est aerei alieni persolvamus, illius auxilio confisi, qui nos procreavit, quique singularis in nobis partes iam egregie perfecit et absolut: 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.
1899. 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 Wallorhoda. 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 Mattheo a Wallorhoda Capitaneo Coburgensi etc. Domino et Patrono suo reverenter colendo, S. D. [Inc.]: (p. A 2) Quod Augustinus de Psalmo decimo et centesimo dicit, 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 completecit (Strigel continues with the theologica 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 Homilis, quibus opera sex dierum enarravit. Has sive orationes sive conciones successis horis mediocri diligentia in latinum sermonem converti easque propter dissentium utilitatem in lucem edidit passum sum. Etsi enim valde optandum est, ut omnes studiosi sententiam Basilii ex fontibus Graecis hauriant, tamen mediocres aut certe tolerabiles versiones Graecorum scriptorum aliqua ex parte ii, quos recta studia delectant, prodesse possunt. Sed ideoque in his Homilis religiose converti ea, quae ad doctrinam Ecclesiae propriam pertinent. Alia vero, quae non sunt dogmatica, aliquanto liberius expressi non tam lectori verba annumerae, quam sententias appendens. Sed judicium de hac ratione vertendi doctis et candide iudicitur permittit.


_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 perciipientem sensus auriurn vestrarum obligatus est... [Expl.]: (p. 201) Dominus autem qui curavit haec in literas referri, et nostram imbecillum mentem et linguam hactenus sic gubernavit, ut magnos thesauros verae doctrinae breviter adumbratos vobiscum communicarem, det vobis per haec parva semina ubiorem et perfectiorem noticiam, qui est amplissimum fructus cum nostri propositi, tum vestrae diligentiae quam in audiendo verbo Dei praestatis. Huic tribuaturo 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 traditus, in sententia quae modo lecta est, hominis dignitatem attollens exclamat: Magnum quiddam est homo, et res preciosa vir misericors, in eam opinionem discissi, ut existimarem meas cogitationes de homine partim ex me ipso, partim scriptura haustas, longe ab reipsa atque a veritate distare... [Expl.]: (p. 222) Nos vero necessarium iter ingressos precibus vestris deduces, ut primo quoque tempore in integrum restituti, reliquam partem debiti persolvamus per gratiam eius, qui nos condidit et omnia nostra gubernat, cui tribuaturo gloria infinitis seculis. Amen.

After the eleventh homily there follows:

_Pio et Candido Lectori_ [Inc.]: Non dubium est librum Genesios omnium scriptorum Propheticorum 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 antecellentia certarem, sed quia Graecae orationes tum rectissime intelliguntur, cum scribendo explicantur . . . . [Expl.]: Ingenue etiam fatoer me in hac versione multa mutuatum esse a Cicerone, Seneca et Plinio, ad quorum dicta digitum intendo, ne quis me plagi convincat. Sed de hac tota ratione vertendi ait loco plura dicenda erunt. Bene vale candidae 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 Hexaemeron. 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 I:416; DK 12.6666; NUC. (Cg-D; ICN; ICU MH). The copy at Yale is bound with Nyssenus' Epistola II and III. See NUC, NG 0501158 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 Hexaemeron, 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.


H. Kropatscheck, Das Problem theologischer Anthropologie auf dem Weimarer Gespräch von 1560 zwischen Mattias Flacius Illyricus und Viktorn Strigel. Theol. Diss. Göttingen, 1943 (Maschinenchrift); V. A. Nord-
manner, Victorinus Strigelius als Geschichtslehrer, Helsingfors diss., 1930; J. Otto, De Victorino Strigelio, Jena, 1843.

DOUBTFUL TRANSLATION

8. Johannes Levvenklauus

The Table of Contents of the 1615, 1617 and 1638 editions of the Opera omnia of Gregory of Nyssa lists the Latin translation of the two homilies, In verba: Faciamus and In hominis procreationem as being by "eodem interprete" (i.e. Johannes Levvenklauus) as the work immediately preceding, De opificio hominis. Levvenklauus 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 Nyssenus' In Hexaemeron. But in the arrangement of the 1615 edition Levvenklauus's version of De opificio hominis was inserted between In Hexaemeron 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 Brascicanus.

A. Possevinus, Apparatus Sacer I. 183 stated, after mentioning some Latin translations of Basil's works, "Et Alexander quidem Brascicanus in praeafatione ad lib. Salviani de vero iudicio Dee se habuisse scribit Basilii Hexaemeron integrum, ac multo copiosius quam vel ar Argyropoly vel ab Eustachio ad Syncleticam Germanam fuerit in Latinam linguam conversum".

Brascicanus' 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 Brascicanus' letter from the edition of Basel, 1530.

COMMENTARY

a. ANTONIUS POSSEVINUS


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 Argyropoly. 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.]: (1.188) 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 sparsi diffudit paraphras-
tice ut utraque prodiret explication. Sed quia (sic) Zinus fecit, quaeque una cum operibus alis Gregorii Nyssaei (sic) edita est an. 1573 ab eodem Nivelio Parisiis, hanc etiam legen-
dam iudico, quae sicubi a contextu Graeco
videtur abesse, id non videtur tanti, ut a recta
Auctoris intelligientia longe discedat.

*Text of Commentary: [Inc.]: (p. 188) Porro
in eadem Oratone X. Perionius initio. Non
oblivione instituti mei. Graece ἁγνωσόμην
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
ύβριν Ut vertendum sit. Incensus ad inferen-
dam inuriarum. Quare et Basilii subdit nonne
est scorpius? Mox, Et qui clam ad propul-
sandam inuriarum rapitur. Rectius. ad vindic-
tam rapiitur. Mox, Qui mulierosus est. Graece,
θηλυκωνης.

In XI Oratone (p. 189) pene nil aliud est
observatum: quam quod πέμματα vertit bella-
rum cum dicere debuisset cupidiae.

*Editions:
(*) 1603, Venetiis (Venice): Apud Societa-
tem 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 Possevino (Possevino) was born
in Mantua in 1534, son of a noble but impov-
erished family. At the age of sixteen he began
studies in Rome and quickly showed aptitude
for ancient languages. Soon he became secre-
tary 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 Bartolo-
meo Ricci. He was well recompensed for tutor-
ing the Gonzaga’s, but in 1559 he determined
to join the Society of Jesus. His novitiate was
soon interrupted (1560) by the Roman author-
ities sending him to quell a heretical distur-
bance in Savoy. It was to be only the first of
many diplomatic missions for the Church to
such diverse places as Hungary, Poland, Swe-
den and Russia as well as parts of Germany.

Possevino was largely responsible for estab-
lishing 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 per-
suade 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 Moscova, seu de rebus Moscoviticos
(1586), a product of his long stay in Russia.

*Works: Apparatus Sacer; Moscova, seu de
rebus Moscoviticos; Bibliotheca . . . de rati-
one studiorum; Iudicium de quatuor scriptor-
ibus; Il Soldato cristiano; Del sacrificio
dell’Altare; some of his letters were published
by A. M. G. Borgo, De scriptis ab A. Posse-
vino . . . Litteris (1645-1646).

2647–57; Hoefer 40:876–878; Michaud 35:
486–490; Niceron XXII, 201–33; Koch II.
1459–1461; Sommervogel VI:1061–1093;
IX:781; Tiraboschi VI (1822):1060–1066;
Hurter 3:466–470.

See also Biadet, La Suède et le S. Siège,
Paris, 1907; L. Karttunen, Antonio Possevi-
no: Un diplomate pontifical au XVIe siècle,
Lausanne, 1908; Nicol d’Origny, Vie de Pos-

XXXV. DE VIRGINITATE


I. PETRUS GALESNIUS

Petrus Galesnius 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 Galesnius 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, Galesnius’ translation appeared in all opera omnia editions of Nyssenus. When bilingual editions were prepared using the Greek text of Johannes Livineius, Galesnius’ 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 III, Pontifici Maximo Petrus Galesnius S. D. [Inc.]: Cogitantes mihi, Pater beatissime, quam difficultis et lubrifica sit in omnibus disciplinis tota haec interpretandi ratio, maxime omnium periculosae in Theologia videri solet cum enim divina animo potius quam verbis complectamur; et patres, qui ea scribere, 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 diligentem sane attenditur. Quare et si difficillima huisce rei ratio et pudor aliquis meus deterrere me potuit, ne id oneris susciperem quod ego virtutum meorum tenuitatis 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 quanquam mihi difficile atque arduum videbatur, tamen, cum saepe fieri solet, ut in quod satis nostra sponte ferimur, id vel exiguo freti auxilio consequamur; non mediocrem mihi spem ut hoc ipsum assequeretur, afferebat admirabilis quaedam mea ad bonum publicum propensio. Etenim in tanta adversariorum improbitate, qui obstinare operam dant, ut multae in locis religionis nostrae ornamenta iacent, 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 integre versatur; quandoquidem si vere iudicare volumus, illa illius opinionum suarum commentis res nostras labefactare conati sunt, ut verendum esset, ne haeresum suarum sensim serpens latius manaret nisi nos Deus respersisset, qui exulceratis iam rebus gravissimisque tempo-
ribus, ac paene in ruinis labentis Reip. te Pontificem dedit et Pium Pontificem, de quo communis est omnium consensu, forte eum, qui sedatis hostium motibus in id toto animo incumbas ut quaecunque dilapsa fluxerunt, ea vinciantur singulari prudencia tua, veraque Dei religio semel Apostolorum praedicationibus propagata, iterum te Pontifice disseminetur in omnes gentes; atque Aethiopes, Iacobiteae Armeni, Maronitae, Georgiani et reliquae gentes, quae a purissima castissimaque religione dissident, adhaerant 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 Galesius 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 conduct ea in lucem emitti, quae pro vera Dei religionem veterum patrum diligentia procurata et constituta sunt.

Horum enim omnium cognitione cum nefaria adversariares doctrinae explodatur, tum incredibilis quaedam et vera utilitas cum salute coniuncta pariatur necesse est. Nam si ex sapientium fortimumque 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, aliquo ex parte ad me item pertinere intelligo, dabo quidem operam omni tempore ut quantum in me est, grata illud memoria prosequer. Nunc vero cum mihi data sit occasio testificandae huius voluntatis meae, nolui pro eo sane ac debui eam omnino praetermittere. Nam amplissimi quotuor Cardinales, quibus hoc abs te mandatum est ut veteres illos in primis de pura Dei religione sanctorum patrum libros edendos curent, tamquam iu qui e Rep. numquam deiciant oculos, cum ei optime consultum putarint ut quos olim habuerit oppugnata semper ab haecricis virginitas cum graecos tum latinos patres sui defensores, ii hoc tempore in vulgus prodirent, Gregori Nysseni libellum vere aureum qui de virginitate est, mihi dari iussere, quem latine redderem. Nae ego, utpote cum ingenii mei non audax existimatur sim, dubitavi suscipere tantam rem quantam facultate consequii difficile putabam, tamen ut dixi me studium tuum, quo mirifico teneris non solum conservanda, sed etiam propaganda religionis et temporum ratio fecit, ut rem ipsam aggredere, diligentiaque et assiduitate perfeci, quod ingenio vix assequi putabam. Itaque Nysseni Gregorius de virginitate a me conversus iam in Sanctitatis tuae nomine apparet. Quod ut facerem, multa me quidem commovere, primum beneficii tui magnitudine; acecum enim erat, ut quod tuis maximis sumptibus fit, id tuae solum benignitati acceptum referretur omnique scriptorum genere commenda retur hominum memoriae, ut omnibus saecularium aetatis alterius intelligentes homines, Pio III Pontifice, et Graecorum monumenta restituta ac latinis litteris illustrata et Latinorum teneris 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 cujus laudibus perpetuo est catholicae Ecclesiae cursus, consentaneum quidem erat, ut in eius nomine divulgaretur, qui ad ipsius Ecclesiae gubernacula sedet. Tum ad hoc me impulit Nyssenus ipse Gregorius qui auctore est non contemnedum, sed Basilio quidem fratre dignus. Nam cum diligentissimus est rerum divinarum perscrutator, tum certe omnium scientiarum disciplinis maxime instructus idque in hoc libello apparel in quo saepe per amplissimum illum rhetorum campus ita evagatur, ut gravitate ponderaque scientiarum referrissimus, cum de virginitate disputat, qua una virtute reliqua omnes continentur, Evangelicae quoque disciplinae maiestatem complectatur proposita qua 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 patroci-
nium earum suscipiat actionum, in quibus virtutis splendor est maximus. Quae omnia cum ita sint, illud abs te, Pater Beatissime, peto et obscore, ut etsi graeici sermonis eam, quae in Nyseno eleuet, dignitatem hanc mea in interpretatione minus assecutus sum, libenti tamen animo accipias ut Sanctitatis tuae nomine ego maiora posthac præstare possim. Etenim in hoc libelvo vertendo etsi nullum forse secutus videor orationis florem, studui tamen diligentem, ut virginitatis, cuius acerrimum se Nysenus gravitate quadam verborum graecorum defensorem ostendit, formam ego et quasi faciem ita latine exprimerem, ut aliquis illa etiam latinis hominibus amores excitaret sui, Deus optimus maximus te diu incolum conservet, et quae pie sancteque inchoasti ad constitutendum 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, is profecto vitae honestae, et quae virtuti maxime conveniat, attatura sit cupiditatem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quive omni pura integritate sacrificium purum factus castitatis, ipsis 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 omnipotentis 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; (CrY; 1U).
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 Imprimatur dated 12 Aug. 1573, Bruxelles, I. Schel- linck. 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 Gale- sinius (see above). Guilelmus Canerus aided Livineius with suggestions on the Greek text. Their improved Greek text appeared in subsequent bilingual editions along with the Gale- sinius Latin translation. The lack of correspondence of the Galesinius translation with the new Greek text was such that Fronto Du- caeus 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 Illustriissimo Principi ac Domino D. Gerardo a Groisebeck Episco- po Leodiensi, Ducii Bullonensi, Comiti Lossensi, Marchionis Francimontano, sacri Romanii Imperii Principi, Ioannes Livineiis S. P. [Inc.]: Cum hanc D. Gregorii Nysseni Antistitis de virginitate commendationem a me in Latinum
sermonem conversam in lucem emitterem. Illustissime Praesul, visum est dubus 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 dispositio nulli convenientius offerri posse videtur quam ei qui et ipsa locum in Ecclesia principem summa cum laude atque auctoritate nominis teneret. Deinde, quod hoc opusculum tibi quo quodam iure vindicares. Nam cum Laevinus Tormentius V. C. Maecenas idemque avunculus meus, obtata hic optima bene de Graecis litteris et studiosis merendi occasione, ratus Bibliothecam Vaticanam veteribus libris tam instructum huius eloquentissimi scriptorius operibus carere nullo modo posse, facile impetravi ut eum librum conferri cum alio exemplari curaret, praesertim cum haud dubius argumentis desse innostro nonnulla reprehendissem, et multa vitive, quaeadam etiam mutile exarata essent. Neque ea res frusta 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 exemplarum comparatione sunt a nobis castigata, vel diligenti cogitatione et manifesta ratione, conlecturis 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 posse mus accuratissimam, quo esset hic nostro labor atque industria plausibilior. Interpretandi autem genus id sumus amplexi, quod litteratissima hac tempestate et doctississimis quibusque probaretur, et vir ornatissimus Petrus Ximenes quem et honoris causa et quia tu merito eum plurimi facis, nominandum hac 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 dilectum, nima quadam religionem et putida verbum verbo vertendi curiositate, Latinis sermonis maiestatem inminueremus et eloquentiae quasi nervos incideremus, sed quam minimi fieri posset ab auctoribus verbis recedere mus, et rationi tamen ornatum et suos tantum flores non deriperemus. Atque haec quidem nolim a me ita dicta existimari, quasi in hoc libro ea polllicerer aut praestississe glorier. Nam et aetas nostra et multarum rerum imperitia id facile prohibent. Sed velut simulacrum quoddam atque effigiem optimae de Graecis convertendi rationis leviter innumeral inlatum proposui, quo ad laudem tendentibus continentio 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 taturum teneaefactit, ad quam non nisi viri quidam magni et summo ingenio praediti essent admissi, quorum in numero ingens Galliarum lumen Adrianus Turnebus familiarum ducere mihi videtur. Atque hoc quidem est consilium nostrum. Utinam vero homines quidam nostri quam necessariae sunt quae a gravissimo auctore sapientissime disseruntur, tam studiose amplectantur. Haberemus certe Ecclesiae faciem, si non optimam, at certe odiis atque iniurias adversarium impendio minus obnoxiam. Tribues autem hoc nobis, Illustissime Praesul, beneficii, ut quantum huic operi auctoritatis ab annis nostris decedit, tantum tui nominis splendore ac gloria reponere digneris. Ita, speri quidem, dabunt aequi lectores crescedi locum, et quae reliqua eiusdem auctoris graviora, Deo fortunante, in posterum molimur, fortasse maiori aliqua spe eruditionis ac ingenii expectabant. Bene vale, Princeps Illustissime, et hoc, quicquid est opellae, aequi et boni consule.

Ad Lectorem. [Inc.]: (p. 7) Damus, candide lector, in lucem eruditissimom D. Gregorii Nysseni, Basili Magni fratris, de Virginitate librum a nobis summa contentione ac industria partim ex duorum manuscriptorum codicum fide, Vaticanum uno, altero quod a Bircmanno 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 caputum distinctionem Vaticanam in textum recepimus nostrum, in margine, sicubi discordabant, annotavimus, id quod non temere a nobis factum est, fragmentum nostrum sumus sequi, quod commodius id nobis videtur. Quoniam vero partim doctissimus Gulielmus Canterus emendavit, quasdam nobiscum communicaverat, partim ipsi diligenti cogitatione multis locis veram lectionem coniectura earams consequi, priusquam libellum eum Romam mitteremus, ne virum omne sua laude frustraremur, et simul ut illustre quodam exemplum proponeremus tēs ἐστογιας cui sane homines quidam pertinacissimium parum tribue mihi videntur, fecimus equidem libenter, ut eas ad marginem Graeci exemplarios adderemus. Eadem ratio est et in nostriis, quae cum bona ex parte Vaticani codicis fidei confirmantur, tum in Notis, sicubi ea destitueremur, ratione constabiliuntur. In caeteris quid a nobis praeititum sit, tuum, Candide Lector, iudicium sit. Vale.


Edition:

(*) 1575, Antverpiae (Antwerp): ex officina Christorphi Plantini, Architypographi Regii. (Gr.-Lat.) Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.184; Annales Plantiniennes (ed. Rielens and De Backer) p. 145. NUC. BL; BN; Adams Gr.120; (NjP;ICU).

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, Lævinus Torrentius (Lieven van der Beke). Jan himself added the epiteth, 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 Bonarius (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 Nyssenes’ works. He mentioned translating a large part of In canticum. See above p. 77. It was his Greek copy of Contra Euonium which, when sent by Schottus to J. Grettser, 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 Iudaes; 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.


Doubtful Translation

3. Johannes Lionicus


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.


Editions: See above p. 179.

b. Jacobus Billius

Jacobs 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. Possevius later reprinted Billius’ comments in his Apparatus Sacer. See above for this work, p. 174.

[Inc.]: Itaque 9. cap. de vi ac potentia consequendis his verbis utitur (Gregorius): οἶδαν οὕτω τῇ φύσει φεύκτον ἢτοι ὡς ἐν συνθείᾳ . . . νομισθήνατε . . . quae verba ad hunc modum reddit interpres. Nihil natura tam fugien-
XXXVI. VITA SINGCTAE MACRINAE

Editions:


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 Nyssenus’ works. Ducaeus studied the Latin versions of both Gale- sinius and Livineius and also Jacobus Billius’ criticism of Livineius’ version. The notes were revised for the 1615 bilingual edition of Nyssenus’ 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 Latinit- tate donatus a Petro Galesinio Romaee anno Christi 1565 (an error for 1562) una cum eiusdem Nysseni concionibus quinque de oratia- one dominica (which actually appeared in 1563) . . . Ducaeus goes on to discuss Livine- ius’ version and the manuscripts he used. The first Note is on “permultae enim cum sinit” (Livineius’ Note 2). In hunc locum haec annotat Io. Livineius . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II.70) (on Πῶς ἀκοῦς PG 46:413 B) is qui neque mundo crucifixus est neque curne mortifi- care dignatus est? Quomodo Paulo, etc.

Editions:
See above pp. 77–78.

Biography:
See above pp. 71–72.

Translations

I. 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 Nyssenus, 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 Nyssenus’ 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 (Euprepius, 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 iustum libri complectitur magnitudinem; me tamen rei, quam ut litteris consignarem imperasti, defendit argumentum . . . . [Expl.]: Quamobrem ne offendantur qui ad credendum divinis munribus sunt imbecilli, sublimiora illius miracula silentio praeterimis, satis esse existimantes, iis quae dicta sunt eius historiam conclusisse.

*Editions:* (of L. Lippomano’s *Historiae de probatis vitis sanctorum* and its revisions).


(*) 1564, Louvain: Information on this edition supplied by Deborah Voight of the University of Illinois at Urbana Library.

(*) 1565, Louvain: ap. P. Zangrium Tiletaniun. BN.


(*) 1570 sq., Cologne: NUC. BL; BN; (NOD; PLatS). Information was provided by Lawrence Hill of St. Vincent's College Library, Latrobe.


1875–1880, Turin: NUC. (CtY; CU; DLC; MB). (Text begins with “Macrinae nomen erat (PG 46:959 C).

*Editions:* (of Nyssenus’ 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.


*Biography:*

CTC II.155.

XXXVII. *DE VITA MOYSIS*


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 österreichische 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 (Beronlensis 5863, s. VII).

As mentioned above, p. 146, the similarity of some forms of the title with those used for Nyssenus’ *De perfectione* at times caused confusion of the two works.

*Bibl.*: J. Daniélou, Introduction to the text.
and its French translation in *Sources Chrétien-
nes* 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
332; R. Riedinger, "Neue Quellen zu den Ero-
tapokriseis des Ps. Caesarius," *Jahrb. für
162–173. G. J. Vossius, *De historiciis latinis*,
III, Lugduni Bat. 1651, pp. 599–600. On the
papyrus see *Berliner Klassikertexte*, VI (1910)
38–54.

**Translation**

1. **GEORGII TRAPEZUNITIUS**

Georgios Trapenzuntius translated only one
work of Gregory of Nyssa, the *De vita Moysi*.
Trapezuntius made the version while in
Rome, probably in 1446. It was certainly com-
pleted before Pope Eugenius IV died in Feb-
ruary 1447. The translation was dedicated to
Lodovico Scarampi (Trevisan) who in 1440
became Patriarch of Aquileia. He was an eccli-
siastical diplomat-soldier, commanding for-
tresses under Eugenius IV and serving as gov-
ernor of Rome under Nicolaus V and Calixtus
III. The now lost Greek manuscript used by
Trapezuntius came from the library of Mat-
thias Corvinus and belonged to the family of
codices represented by Taur. C. I.11, s. XIV.
This may be deduced from several facts, espe-
cially the omission of a passage on apocata-
tasis, a doctrine of very questionable ortho-
doxity. Unconnected with this relationship is
the fact that in at least two cases Trapezun-
tius preserves what must have been the origi-
nal 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, elimi-
nated some errors that had crept into the trans-
lation. Four years later, in 1521, a second
edition appeared. It was the work of Andreas
Cratander who used a different Greek manu-
script containing notes in the hand of Beatus
Rhenanus; these he used to make corrections.
This manuscript also is now lost.

Trapezuntius' technique of translating, al-
most 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' trans-
lation of *De vita Moysis* remains the only one
for which evidence exists (see below p. 186);
it appeared in all *Opera omnia* editions of
Nysenus, although with revisions of Ducaeus
in the 1615 and later editions.

**Introduction** (ed. of Vienna, 1517). Grego-
rii Episcopi Nysseni Viri et vitae sanctitate et
ingenii magnitudine inter Graecos Christianae
professionis assertores praeceptiui de vitae per-
fectione sive vita Moysi, Liber utilissimum per
Georgium Trapezuntium e Graeco in Latinum
conversus et iam primum in solidioris doctrin-
nae studiosorum emolumentum quam fieri po-
tuit 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. Grempe-
rius deditissimius cliens post humilem sui
commendationem salutem et felicitatem optat.

**Inc.:** (p. 2) Cum esset, reverendissime Prae-
sul, et ordinis et officii debito (ed. debeto) am-
plissimae tuae dominationis demerenda cupi-
dissimus, quippe quem clericus ego et publice
modo patrem et Principem et privatim clien-
tulus indulgentissimum patronum iamdudum
agnoscam, obtulit se commode materia. Nemo
pe ut libros meos evolvens, quos ab illustri-
bus plerisque auctoris conscriptos sed laten-
tes hactenus tenebris ac a me quo possint ab
oblivionis inuria vindicari multis partim imp-
ensis partim laboribus summa certe fide et
diligentia conquisitos, in librum Gregori Ny-
seni inciderem quem doctissimus ille idemque
sanctissimus vir de vita Moysi sive de vita
perfecta inscripsit. Cuius doctrina ac utili-
tate pensata, quae illi certe utraque quam
uberrime insunt, statui eius ipsius his primum
typis divulgati studiosis facere copiam, quo
hac ratione qui meope ingeni nequeo, alienis saltam rem litterariam more meo iuvarem idque, Praesul amplissime, sub nomine tuo potissimum, nam optimo tibi vigilantissimoque ac plane et vitae integritate et nominis ac famae splendore Moysi illi simillimoAnti- stiti id munus maxime videbatur conveniens, quo non ego solum gratitudinis officio si non plene, pro modo tamen ut ille meo fungerer, verum etiam cuius tibi frugem solidioris doctrinae studiosi omnes ferant acceptam incipientque me autore (cum tamen vel praeterea continuia in litteratos beneficiant cunctos tibi reddas obnoxios) hinc quoque debere quam plurimum. Talis enim est libellus iste quem nescio an ab autore suo Beato Gregorio Nysae Episcopo maximorum virorum Basilii magni fratre, et alterius Gregorii Nazianzeni synchrono atque aequali tanto vito plus splendoris recipiat, quam ei ipsis vicissim reddat, adeo ut mihi videatur divinum illum virum ingeni tam assequi putuisse qua omnia totius Mosai- cae illius Exodi acta libello isto perstringens et tantum mysteriourum pelagus tam angustis tutum limitibus complexus undecumque non interpretatione solum luculentissima exequeretur verumiam ad vitae perfectionem indi dem quam in dei Opt. max. amicitia sitam ostendit (haec enim materia atque intentio operis), compendiosissimum iter demonstraret. Accedit ipsis quoque Georgii Trapezuntii vir doctissimus idemque eloquentissimus ea elegantia libellum hunc latinum fecit, ut eum non Paraphrasibus aliquis translatius (ed. tralaltitio), sed ex veteribus illis Romanis facundissimus quisiam indigeno sermone conscriptisse credi queat quoque quid equidem (licet a quibusdam non desyderetur in hoc potissimum litterarum genere) censeo tamen pro tempore nostrorum felicitate et maxime libello et ad gratiam sane legentium conciliandum et auctoratem tuendam profuturum. Effec deique Philippus Gundelii charissimi mihi nec indicii hominis adminiculo, ut mendis quoque quae nonnullae librariorum forte incuria irreparablent deterrus et quam castigatissime impressus in manus hominem prodeat. Quae omnia ipsius libelli recessu haberi quam fronte promitt malo. Eoque, Reverendissime amplissimeque Antistes, Epistolae tandem finem faciam, ne fabulae ut ita dixerim gratiam prologi molestia corrupmat, 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 xeniolo pro reliqua tua in me benignitate facias meque clientulum tuum qua hac tenus indulgentia prosequaris ex animo rogo atque oro. Vale ornatisimae atque amplissime Praesul. Viennea Idibus Decem. Anno incarnatae divinitatis MDXVII.

p. 4 contains an epigram, Ad Lectorem, by I anus Hadelius, Poet Laureate. Pp. 5–6 contain a long poem, Piis Lectoibus, by Philippus Gundelii Pataviensis (who was mentioned above as aiding Gremer in establishing the text). At the bottom of p. 6, is yet another poem by Udalricus 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 Trapezuntii Praefatio in vitam Moysi per Gregorium Nyse- num Fratrem Basili M. editam, et per eundem Trapezuntium e graeco in latinum traductam. [Inc.]: (p. 9) Nuper, Reverendissime pater (i.e. Ludovico Scarampi), beati Gregori Nyseni de vita moysi qua perfectam hominis vitam ostendere voluit, opus profecto perutilde, de graeco in latinum traduxi. Quod multis de causis dominationi tuae statui dedicare, vel quia in eo scripturae involucra explicanter ac enodantur (quam rem ad ecclesiasticos viros pertinere nemo unquam dubitavit) vel quia, qui traducunt aliquid aut ipsi de se parient, soleant magnis plerumque viris ac dominiis 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 ignorantam. Quare rerum
ipsarum serie ad haec usque nunc pervenisse
satis sit. Illud sane non praetermittendum bea-
tum hunc Gregorium, cuius opus transtulimus,
Magni illius Basili fratrema fuisset, Nysae epi-
scopum, virum tam in saecularibus quam in
divinis doctrinis eruditissimum, virtutis quo-
que omni numero praeditum. Quod tu ipse in
hoc opere legendo (si tamen prae occupation
nibus 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 delecta-
tatione animi spectant et si nihil ad cursum
diligentiae illi praetermissit quos vincere opta-
tant, oculos tamen cursum ipsorum solliciti
prospicientes clamant atque hortantur incita-
reque ac efficere se (om. Ms) putant ut veloci-
us equi pervolent (provolent, Ms) cum huc
atque illuc una cum equis ineffectur . . . / . . . [Exp.]: (p. 48) Id enim certe perfecto est
ut non timore paenarum sieti mancipium a
vitis declines nec virtutem spe premiorum qua-
si mercator amplexarit (nec praemiorum spe
virtutem amplexarit quasi mercator, Ms.) sed
unum terribile arbitreris ab amicitia dei repelli
(Sed unum tantummodo terrible arbitreris
ab amicitia dei, Ms.) unum expetibile solum,
amicitiam dei, qua sola (solum, Ms.) meo judi-
tio (judicio meo, Ms.) vita hominis perfectur.

Finis. Laus Deo.

Bibliography: J. Monfasani, George of Tre-

Manuscripts:

(*) Città del Vaticano, Vatican City, Vat.
Lat. 255, s. XV, fols. 3–60. (Cod. Vat. Lat.,
Vol. I.185; Fabricius BG I.X.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
Urb. Lat., Vol. I.380–381 “Praefi fol. 201 inter-
pretis praefatio ad rev. patr. L. Scarampi”).

(*) Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbiblio-
theek 3457: s. XV. (Tabulae Bibl. Palat. Vin-

Editions: 1517, mense decembre, Vienne
Pannoniae (Vienna): apud Ioannem Cremp-
erium per Hieronymum Vietorem, expensis Leo-
ardi et Lucae Alantae fratrwm. NUC. Panzer
IX.34.183; Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.168;
Fabricius-Harles IX.103, note q (Gregorio for
Georgio); Apostolo Zeno, Dissertazioni Vos-
ianae I.8: Legrand III.226–227. BL; (C-S).

1521, mense maio, Basileae (Basel): apud
Andreas Cratandrum. NUC. Panzer VI.228.
407; Graesse 3.148; Hoffmann 2.188; Maity-
taire 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, Vienne Pannoniae (Vienna): apud
Io. Gremerium. 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 Niceron,
XX, p. 78) corrects this statement.

? Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg): Fab-
ricius IX.104 mentions this as a spurious
edition cited by Loescher, Stromata, p. 281,
1.149.

1628, Paris: mentioned by Giornale, op. cit.
and Niceron Vol. XIV, p. 329. This is proba-
ably a misprint for 1638.

Biography:

CTC II.137. See in addition: P. O. Kris-
teller, Renaissance Thought and Its Sources,
New York, 1979, pp. 158–160; J. Monfasani,

2. Revision of Fronto Ducaeus

Fronto Ducaeus believed that Trapezuntius’
translation was inadequate, and he revised it,
using for his work a now unknown manu-
script belonging to the Abbot of Beaupré, Vul-
cobius, and also the Greek text published in

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Leiden in 1593 by D. Hoeschelius. Unfortunately the manuscript sources used by both Hoeschelius and Vulciobius 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.


*Text* (ed. of Paris 1615). Ducaeus’ changes from the edition of 1517 are italicized. [Inc.]: (1.167) Quemadmodum qui certamen equorum non sine magna delectatione animi spectant, et si nihil ad cursum diligentiae illi prae-termittant quos vincere optant, oculos tamen cursum ipsorum solliciti prosperici, clamant *desuper* atque hortantur, incitateaque ac efficere se putant, ut velocius *feratur auriga, cum una cum equis clangorem edant, ac magnum quasi flagellum in ipsos extendant atque incitant . . . . [Expl.]: (1.256) unum terribile arbitrarì ab amicitia dei repellì; unum expetibile solum, amicitiam dei; qua sola meo iudicio vita hominum perficitur. *Hoc ipsum ubi sublata ad sublimiora ac diviniora 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 Joccher 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 Levvenklauis is mentioned by Moore and Wilson in *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 Raphaelii 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


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 Statius.

Translation

I. Achilles Statius

Achilles Statius 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, Oratioes nonnullorum Graeciae Patrum, in Rome in 1578. Statius 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 Nyssenus and of seven other Greek fathers and four of works of Chrysostom.

Statius 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 Statius Servus Sal. [Inc.]: Si quid est animis hominum levandis oblectandisque oportunum maxime accommodatumque, ea vero est ipsa pulcherrimae rerum varietas et quae non solum quæ delectamur mira quaedam atque elegans species existit sed incredibili quoque voluptas capitur ... (Statius 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 maior sem idem et fugio et amo, quippe quo nihil est ad narrandum iucundius. Cuius enim pae hominis lingua Abraham ipso atque eis omnis documentis non mirifice delectatur atque adficitur ... / ... [Expl.]: (p. 41) Ieiunii gladium tantisper iugulo supponamus, dum quemadmodum olim Abraham salutari in stirpe inhaerentem ac detentum cernamus aignum. Quo de agno Baptista Iohannes ait, Ecce Agnum Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi. Ipsa gloria, imperium, honor, adoratio nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Edition:

1578, Romae (Rome): apud Franciscum Zanettum. In Oratioes nonnullorum Grae-
GREEK AUTHOR

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 Amphilochoi 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 Lusitanorum 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.


II. ADHORTATIO AD POENITENTIAM
(SIVE IN MULIEREM PECCATRICEM,
SIVE IN EOS QUI ACERBIUS
ALIOS IUDICANT)


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 Nyssenus 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. Combeis (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
TRANSLATION

1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin version of Nyssenus, *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam* which was first published in Venice in 1553 in his volume which contained eleven other works of Nyssenus. For details see above p. 107.

*Ad eos qui durius et acerbius alios iudicant* (ed. of Venice, 1553). [Inc.]: (p. 89) Homo Pharisaeus et ex Evangelio Lucae nuper accepsimus, Dominum ad convivium invitavit 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 ASSUMPTIO)


*Biography: J.* Daniélou, “Grégoire de Nyse et l’origine de la fête de l’ascension” in


TRANSLATIONS

1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Nyssenus’ *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 Nyssenus’ 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; propertia et hunc et quoscumque nanciscit potimum ex eodem interprete, qui ab Ecclesia pro- batus esse videretur, selectos excedimus, ut De pauperibus amandis, In mulierem peccatricem, De dormientibus et de Christi nativitate eiusdemque resurrectione (Or. I).

*Text* (ed of Venice, 1553). [Inc.]: (p. 84) Quam dulcis hominum comes Propheta David in omnibus vitae itineribus, quam aptus spiritalibus cunctis aetatiibus, quam omni proficien- tium ordini conditionique commodus inveni- tur . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 86) Proinde nos item, quantum possimus, 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 Iesus Domino nostro, cui gloria in sae- cula 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.

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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 Nyssen's *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 propheta, quibus ea rebus imitatio poterit efficii, nempe dilectione Dei, vitae mansuetudine, adversus odio prosequentes animi lenitatem, ut doctrina prophetarum nos ad eam, quae ad praecipitam 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


One scholar, H. Usener, questioned the authenticity of this encomium on Gregory of Nyssa's brother, Basil (*Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, P, Bonn, 1911, 255), but there is no question today regarding Nyssen's authorship.


TRANSLATIONS

1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of Nyssen's *In Basilium 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 ferialis, quas per ordinatam quamdam vicissitudinem et seriem his diebus et iam celebravimus et rursus celebramus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 355) ad illud ententes 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 fratem* 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 Contarensus.

Dedication (ed. of Venice, 1574). Optimo atque ornatissimo Philippo Contarensi Pavii (sic) viri optimi et clarissimi filio Petrus Franciscus Zinus Canonicus Veronensis S.D. [Inc.]: Superioribus mensibus dum tu, Philippus Contarens carissime, cursu secundissimo ad tutum quietis et verae tranquitatis 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 consolaver, cum veteribus amicis, id est cum libris, in gratiam rediens ac studiorum meorum laboris 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, seconcaram. Ea igitur praelar scripta relegens cum eorum nulla amplius exempla cernere reripir et memoria ac lectione omnium digna existimarem, haud alienum institutis meis esse duxi, si operam darem ut rursus impressorum typis excluderentur. Illa igitur tibi ut patrui pietatis ac probitatis haeredi, quo meae tum in illum, tum etiam in te benevolentiae atque observantiae memoriam conservat, impressa mittimus. Atque ut munusculum nostrum accessione aliqua locupletius atque ornatus feter, adiunximus pulcherrimam D. Gregorii Thaumaturgi orationem in Eiphania . . . Accedent praeterea decem aliae Gregorii Nysseni Orations elegantisissimae. Quoniam igitur ego te nunc propter locorum intercapedinem nec praeantem videre nec alia ratione absentem alloqui valeo, hi te viri sanctissimi meo nomine invisent tecumque pro me colloquentur. Atque utinam me hinc discendens consili 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 fugiendi, sed altiora quaedam tibi vitae perfectioris propensi, tamquam Moses periculosos istis Reip. Christianae temporibus et Dei populo ancipiti admodum pugna cum Diabo1o cumque communibus Christianorum hostibus decertante, in excelsum religionis Iesuitarum montem ascendisti sublatis contemplationibus precatioisque manibus assidue caelestem Patrem obseca, qui Christianam Rempublicam pretioso filli sui unigeniti sanguine redemptam non modo a Diabo1o et peccatis omnibus servet incolarem, verum etiam ab infidelium armis tua1ur, ut sine timore de manu inimicorum liberati serviamus illi in sanctitate et iustitia omnibus diebus nostris. Vale.


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 TRAPEZUNTIIUS

Leone Allacci in his Diatriba de Georgiis (Paris, 1651) p. 126, states that Trapezuntius made a translation of Gregorius Nyssenus, Oratio de laudibus Basilli 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).


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.


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; quamquam autem venient ex Aegypto legati, et praeveniante manus ipso- rum Deo ac regna terrae, triumphalem nobis- cum hymnum concinit ei, qui omnes ad suum regnum invitat, cui gloria et potestas in sac- cula. 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. Eis exordium iucunda et elegantì allegoria a conviviiis sumpta miram prae se fert modestiam, cuiusmodi frequenter utitur initiis et dregessionibus Ioannes Chrysostomus ut et ipsius Nysseni germanus Basilii. (First Nota) 101e. nuda sermonis In manuscripto lacuna hic erat.../...[Expl.]: (II.98) Malum non secundum essentiam sed secundum

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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


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 Nyssenus’ 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.


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 Nyssenus’ In s. Pascha IV. He added six pages of commentary.

Dedication (ed. of Leipzig, 1564). Joachim Camerarius Pabeperg. Gotislobo Roteromundus 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 collocuti tecum sumus cum huc ex Italia discendens 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

teat 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 dissimulare tua illa esse,
et meas dispositiones de eis cum silientio

et attentione audire, sane non nihil puduit
me insictiae huius, cum certius indicium de

his fecisset filius meus. Hoc tamen est com-

modi secutum, quod quaedam exprimendo
edita cum studiosis bonarum literarum iam

sunt communicata, quaedam nunc communi-
cantur retentata a me voluntate et permissione

tua. Atque ita quidem ut mea interpretatio
 accruederet, quae tamquam usurae nomine pen-
deretur, qualscumque illa quidem, certe non

prorsus futulis neque in hoc generare, 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
propiter eam notitiam quae inter nos esse cepit,
et voluntatis tuae erga meos propensionem.

Quam non dubito te tali genere nautem et sic
institutum studiose esse conservaturum utque

facias te oro. A me autem et meis omnem
contentionem gratificandi inserviendique vol-
luntati tuae repromitto. Teque feliciter vivere
Aprilis natali meo sexagesimo quarto (1564).

Text. [Inc.]: Quae affectio est in cupidis ta-
ilium spectaculorum ad prata floribus referta.
quorum oculus non defigitur in uno quopiam
apparentium, propter aequalem temporis ho-
norem et speciem . . . [Expl.]: Fiamus
autem et nos ii qui perspicere veritatem pos-
simus, et particpes Deitatis, secundum Spiritu-
sus sancti donum, in Christo Iesu Domino
nostro, cui gloria in saecula. Amen.

Lectoribus. (f. E) Praeclara est et memora-
bilis sententia, quae quadam in epistola Con-
stantini Imperatoris inserita legitur: Eum qui
a veritate abetet, 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 de-

fend 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

amanitus pia studia legeretur inque eo con-
vertendo in sermonem latinum operam me

non male posuisse spiro. Mihi certe ea et iu-
cunda fuit et aliquid attulit utilitatem. Atque

sunt penes me et alia ab hoc composita inter-
que ea celebratus a multis dialogus de immor-
talitate animorum quem mihi aliquando hos-
piti Erfordiae commodavit dignitate et doctr-
ina praestans Ioannes Langus Theologus exi-
mius. Hieronymus autem Wolfius, vir erudi-
tione doctrinae clarus et necessitudinis singu-
laris usu mecum coniunctus, spem mihi ostendit

κατηχήσας huius autors brevi profuturae
in locum ipsius quoque, et illum dialogum

nos studebimus aliquando adiuvante Deo edi-
tione nostra cum aliis communicari. Interea
haec grata acceptaque sibi esse patientur pio-
rum studiorum colores non male profecto

tempus, quod in eis legendis posuerint, con-
sumpturi. In exemplari quod habuimus, non-
nihil erat mendorum. Nos librariorum mani-
 desta errata correximus. De caeteris cuiusque

esto iudicium. Placuit etiam in nostra inter-
pretatione 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, Cam-
bridge.

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 trans-
slated into Latin thirty works of Gregory of
Nyssa, in 1567 translated two others, the De
deitatis Filii et Spiritus sancti and De occorsu
Domini. They were published at Cologne in
1568 in a volume whose main work was Sif-
anus’ Latin version of Theophylactus of Ach-
rida, In Acta Apostolorum and which also

contained treatises on the Presentation in the

Temple by Amphiloctus, Cyril of Jerusalem,
John Chrysostom, and Timothy of Jerusalem. The translations, except for the *De deitate filii*, were dedicated to Severinus Sceavardus 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 Nyssenus 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, generose domine Hieronyme, opuscula quaedam divi Gregorii Episcopi Nysseni in Latinum sermonem convertenda suscepisset, offendi exemplum, quod unico primum utebar, adeo corruptum et mutilum, ut in multis locis me expediere non possem nec sententiam authoris explicaturum me esse sperarem. Itaque quum per fratres tuos Marcum et Iohannem consequutus essem ex Bibliotheca amplissimi viri Dominii Iohannis Jacobi 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 reperri orationem, quae in meo apographo non extabat. Quam quum descriptissem 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 restitiui, 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 prodiert. Itaque quum *scholia* Theophylacti in *Acta Apostolica* divi Lucae a me conversa editurus essem, hanc quoque orationem Graecam simul et Latinam recognovi atque corexi et ita emendavi, ut sperem fore, ut quum in oratione Graecae homines docti admodum paucum desiderent, tum meam conversionem haud multum vituperant atque reprehendunt. Quum igitur scholiarum 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 assereret. Itaque cum impredem cogitarem de nostra veteri amicitia renovanda atque redintegranda, 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 nostrae amicitia redintegretur, quae non quidem dissulta 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 officis frequenter, culta celebrae atque, deinde propter plurima atque summa in me collata beneficia, non solum a patre tuo Antonio, amplissimo, liberalissimo atque optimo vire, verum etiam a fratribus tuis Marco et Iohanne; adhaec, quod compertum habeo te utpote egregie Graecis et Latinis litteris 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 percepisses putabo. Bene vale, ex monasterio Steinveld XI Kalendas Septembres. Anno 1567.

Text. [Inc.]: (p. 261) Quale quidam in floridis pratis accedere solet iis qui earum rerum spectandarum studio tenentur, quorum oculi propter pulchritudinis decus aequale non in uno aliqo flore, qui in conspectu sit, defigitur, sed dum nullo non potiri volunt, in omnes cupiditate fusi, id quod in eo negotio sumnum est saepememuro non assequuntur . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Verum efficiamur etiam nos dono Spiritus sancti perspicacibus 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 Dialexen 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 Nyssenus, H. Oelschlegel, in his Prolegomena to In s. Pascha IV.

Narratio Historiae de Abrahamo Isaacum filium immaculato oratorice explicata a Gregorio Nissae Episcoopo, Adamo Th. Siber, interprete.

Text (ed. of Wittenberg, 1614). [Inc.]: (Vol. I.171) Alio migrare a domesticum tum cognatu, tum sedibus Abrahamum iubet Deus et Patriarcha illum alienae terrae incolatum firme ac prussionum spe pleno animo perferebat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (I.177) At Pater post illum poplisti insistens, et laeva capillum ad se reflectens, demisso ac miserabili vultu puerum intueretur simul armatum gladio dextram ad mactationem sustollit iamque adeo ferri acies corpus prope stringit, quum tandem vox ad eum divi nitus defertur quae factum prohibit.

Nota. [Inc.]: (1.270) Ad diem perendinum
hora quarta dictabo publice Historiam Abrahami Isaacum filium immolaturi eamque sui ac diversis tum orationibus distinctam, tum affectibus variatam expressam a Graeco Gregorii Episcopi Nyssae, viri eloquentissimi. Qua quidem ex re duplicem fructum capiendum, 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 procivi sit, ita multiplicem usum habeat, tum sermonem Graecum recolendi, tum Latinum excolendi, tum utrumque inter se contendendi.

Edition:

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 Riviys 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 Dialexeion 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.


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 Nyssenus’ Ep. ad Letoium where Oudin ends, “Denique (i.e. Ad Letoium, was published) Augustae Vindelicorum ex versione Gentianii Herveti, anno 1591 cum Oratone de Divinitate Filii et Spiritus Sanctii.” 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 Poly morphus.

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 2v) Quae non facile inven.; to μη δύνασθαι ἐλλειπτικός, διὰ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι quod facile invenire aliquis nequeat. Venit autem mihi in mentem scripsisse librarium to pro τῷ. In iis quae sequuntur de apicularem opere scribatur ἱσορθόμου. . . . [Expl.]: (f. E 5) (on Conspectrum se Spiritum sanctum) Quod sequitur de furto Ananiae, ἢν ἐν παραβόστῳ με in eo extrinsecus assumetur intelli-
VII. In diem luminum
(IN BAPTISMUM CHRISTI ORATIO).

Edition:
1564. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See CTC II.100.

The Greek title in many early manuscripts is: εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν φωτῶν ου εἰς τὰ ἄγια φῶτα. However Monacensis gr. 370 (s. X) used by the only Latin translator, Sifanus, gave the title as εἰς τὸν ἄγιον 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 Nyssenus. 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

1. Laurentius Sifanus

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of In diem luminum under the title De sancto baptismate 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 Ecclesiæ consuetam, quando etiam carnalium curarum posthabito negotio iusta plenitudine ad cultum Dei concurristis . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 340) Exsultet anima mea in Domi-
VIII. IN DIEM NATALEM.


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 Nyssenus. Severus of Antioch (c.465–538) quoted it as Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus' treatise (PG 46: 1129–1138). The compiler of the work, not Cyril himself, was responsible for this borrowing.


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 Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus. 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 audiant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (f. 70r) Idcirco communis rerum omnium procreaturum concensus exurgit Dominum suum una voce collaudantium, sic omni lingua coelestium, terrestrorum 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.


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 novilionio, inquit David, in insigni die solemnitatis 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, terrestrialium 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). Illusirissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Bernardo Principi Anhaldino, comiti Ascaniae, Domino Zerbesti et Bernburgi, Principi ac Domino S. Clementis, Ioachimus Camerarius Papepergensis S. D. [Inc.]: Quo magis crescre impor-tunitatem hominum animadverte, levitate et audacia sese incitante indies vehementius, Illustriiss. Principe, hoc crebrius reverendissi-mam memoriam Illustriiss. Principis Georgii patrui Clementiae tuae renovavi animo meo. Id quod appropinquantibus ferioriames NATALi-tis accidit quadem affectione singulari in re-cordatione religiosi studii et accuratae diligentiae illius diebus festis, quos Ecclesia Christi solennes haberet cohonestandis non modo riti-bus ceremoniarum decentibus, sed et doctrinae salutaris explicatione et actionum sacra-rum exquisita ac vera usurpatione, quibus solis et unicus sacris placetibus Deo aeterno hic princeps, quando ipse operatur esset et tunc sacerdotis fidelis munere fungeretur, nihil unquam ostare passus est, nonnumquam tali-bus temporibus ipse secum luctans et corporis infirmam valetudinem animi magnitudine atque robore sustentans... [Expl.]: Quam aeternum Deum tota mente precor, ut ipse et protegeo tueri et stabilendo conservare et augendo ornandoque completere com-modis omnique felicitate velit benignitate im-mensae misericordiae suae infinita. Tuam Illus-triss. Celsitatem bene valere opto. Vale. Lipp-siae die antecedente brumam Anni Christi de-sinentis. MDLXIII.


Lectoribus. [Inc.]: Veteres etiam libriarib describendis libris fuisses minus interdum diligen-tes deprehenditur, sed recentiorum ine-urnita negligetia indignas labes et maculas in urit monumentis antiquorum. Nos autem in his orationibus nisi ea quae vel caeco, ut dici-tur, apparteret mendoza esse quorumque cor-rectio esset in promptu et explorata, mutare voluimus nulla, ac de caeteris nostras potius mentiones 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 ingratam . . . (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) sequabantur Basilii qui Caesareae Cappadociae et Gregorius qui in oppi-do et ipso Cappadociae Nassiano 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 . . . Basilii autem . . . habuit fratres quatuor, ex quibus duo in monastica vita permanerunt, unus ex reliquis duobus episcopis Petrus fuit, alter Gregorius qui has orationes ad populum Ecclesiae sibi commissae habuit, ea fuit in urbe Nyssa, Cariae quidem, ut opinor. Nam multae diversis in locis hoc nomine fuisse perhibentur. Nimiis autem studiosae eloquentiae et artificiosae rhetoricae immodie cum deditus videretur, et plus opera, quam religiosis cura patetetur et deceret professionem statumque ipsius, ponere non modo in veterum monumenta huius generis legendo, sed alios quoque explicando . . . (Camerarius continues with further biographical remarks, referring to letters of Nazianzen and Basil. In the latter case he mentions De differentia essentialiae et hypostaseos which he believes Basil wrote to Gregory of Nyssa. He mentions other works of Nyssenus: In S. Stephanum, Contra Eunomium, “De fabrica hominis” i.e. De opificio hominis, “conciones complures”, comminationes in Cantica cantorum et Ecclesiasten, De vita et factis Gregorii Pontici cognomento Theodori). . . Nuper tamen sumus nacti dispositionem per quam elaboratam illi, quam exposuit sermone habitu cum sore Macrina, de anima et resurrectione et inscripsit Macrina. Item de Fato epistolam ad Theophilum Alexandrinum. Item libellum contra foenatores et alia quaedam. Quae si tempus et res feret, ipsa quoque curabimus edenda. Est mihi visa eiusdem capitum doctrinae expositio, titulu μεγάλης κατηχήσεως quam et ipsam spero me opera et diligentia amicorum brevi aedetur et alios 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. Antolin, Catalogo 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 Antolin. 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 Nyssenus. He assessed Zinus’ translation in the light of Hoeschelius’ 1587 Greek text and that preserved in the “Codex Morelli” (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-
possible erat teneri eum ab illo.

Editions:
See above p. 78.

Biography:
See above pp. 71–72.

IX. **Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt.**


**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 1615 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. Craz and who made valuable suggestions regarding the complicated *fortuna* of the translations of this work).

1. **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. Mor elium.

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 aliii 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 murmuratus qui crucifixii ministri sumus? Veluti pater aut mater tuas insolentias exacerbationesque amplector.

**Editions.**

(photo) 1550, Parisis (Paris): Apud G. Morel ium, ad scholas Conquereñas (Gr.-Lat.) Hoffmann 2.185; Maittaire III.586; Gesner Appendix, p. 44; *Cat. de la réserve XV* siècle de la Bibl. de l'Univ. de Paris, ed. Ch. Beaulieux, Supplément (1541–1550); NUC. Copies were located through the kind assistance of André L'Héritier 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).


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:**


**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 conteremata, homini donum praeclorissimum, quod venit ab eo qui ipsum creavit; quam ob rem dicitur factus fuisset ad Dei similitudinem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 611) Quid magnum est si murmur adversus nos excidet, qui sumus ministri eius qui cruci est affixus? Tanquam pater et mater accepio tuam asperitatem et irrationem.

**Editions:**

1573. See Composite Editions.

1605. See Composite Editions.

**Biography:**

See CTC I.109.

**3. GUILELMUS SIRLETUS or ANONYMUS of his circle.**

A Latin translation of Nyssenus’ *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. Nyssenus’ 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 possessione non aliunde profecta sed insita natura, homini donum praeclorissimum, 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 murmurent qui crucifixi ministri sumus. Ut pater aut mater tuam duriam admittat tuamque irrationem.

**Manuscript:**


**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 (γ, η, σ, etc.) But in the margin opposite the title he wrote in a mixture of Greek and Latin letters a number of items: Gregorius definiatur (sic) et λόγος Επιγορος. codem modo ΝΥΣΣΗΣ ut nourses. Further on he wrote: θεος definiatur (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. Aii) Gregoric (sic) episcopi qu(onda)m? Niseni contra egresentes increpationibus. divina vere et sacra res est sermo Dei possessio singularis non alliundae(sic) admoda sed mixta cum natura homini donum pretiosissimum in eum proficiscens a Deo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. Aiv) scito tibi . . . quae illic sunt. sunt . . . tari et vigilantes et qui non ludunt illius regni jani tores. vident animam separationis ferentem (f. Aiv) 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. m1 2 n° 4. Found in a copy of the 1550, Paris edition; see above.

X. IN SANCTUM EPHRAEM.


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 Nysensus 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.


On Greek translations of the Syriac Ephraem, see Geerard, CPG II, p. 366 and literature cited

Translations

I. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS.

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of
the Ps. Nyssenus' *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 referunt. Nos Deum precarium ut quemadmodum hoc institutum imprimeri sacros libros communis hominum salutis causa suscepsum tenemus, sic ipsa quae ex nostra officina prodeunt sanctorum vivorum monumenta et omnibus utiliter ac salutariter legantur.

**Dedication.** Optimo ac sapientissimo Veronae pontifici D. Hieronymo Trevisano Petrus Francisius Zinus S.D. [Inc.]: (fol. a4r). 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 republished Venetae nobilitatis flore datum esse Sponsum atque Pastorem intellectum, ego summum animi mei gaudium tantisper caelare constitui, dum sanctissimum quemdam senem, qui multis iam seculis paene mutus ac sordidus in tenebris iacet, 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 Basili frater luculenta ac bene longa orationis summis laudibus in coelum exultit . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (a5v) ut iam nullo unquam terrore deseraras sed praesens omni officio, ac pietate et amore perpetuo complectare. Vale. Ex oppido Lonati VIII Cal. Iulii MDLXI.

Vita fol. 122r sq., expl. fol.142r

_Text [Inc.]:_ (p. 145) Arcana divinis in Evangelii similitudo me adpropositum diciondi argumentum adhortatur et linguam silentii fraeno inservientem solvit cogitationomque vias tanquam spatiosos campos exaequat et parat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 155) una cum angelis sacrificans Trinitati omnium nostrorum recordare nobisque peccatorum veniam impetrat, ut sempiterna regni coelestis beatitudine perfruamur in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

**Manuscript:**


**Editions:**


1574. See Composite Editions.


**Biography:**

See CTC II.155.

2. GERARDUS VOSSIUS

Gerardus Vossius (c. 1550–1609), to be carefully distinguished from the better known Protestant Gerhardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), made a Latin translation of the Ps. Nyssenus *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, Montalto and Sirleto (d.1585). In editions of Nyssenus' works Vossius' translation was preferred to that of Petrus Zinus.

_Dedication_ (ed. of Rome, 1732). [Inc.]: Bienne antequam in excelsam istam Ecclesiae speculam, sedem Petri, evehertis, 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 alis alia huius nostri instituti noveris, temporis, sicut petimus, pro tuo et communi commodo denuncia.

A prayer and poem in Greek follow.


_Editions:_

*Opera of Ephraem._


1603, Coloniae (Cologne): apud A. Quen-

telium. In _S. Ephraem Syrus, Opera omnia nunc recens latinate donata, interprete et scholiaste Gerardo Vosso._ 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 paucu ex postremis verbis Testamenti Ephraem Nyssenus depromptit suaque de eo historiæ inseruit, aliquæque alis eiusdem scriptis huc retulit et suo hic instituto optime accommodavit, sicut iam ante demonstratum est.

_Editions:_

See above.

_Biography:_

See above, p. 65.
Later Vitae Based on the Pseudo-Nysseanus 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. Nysseus' 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. Nysseus' 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. Nysseus and other manuscripts of Metaphrastes. Assemani, in reprinting Hervetus' text, emended it to accord with the story as told by Ps. Nysseus.


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. Nysseus' 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. Nysseus' 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.

peccatorum nostrorum, in quae collapsi sumus. Quoniam ipsi Christo et Deo nostro convenit omnis honor et adoratio, cum Pater 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 FLAGILLAM IMPERATRICEM


Translations

1. Laurentius Sifanus

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of the funeral oration In Flacillum, 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 Nyssenus also wrote a funeral oration. Flacilla was the wife of the emperor Theodosius. “Flosruit (Nyssenus) item temporibus Gratiani atque Theodosii maioris et minoris et ultra quod coniicere licet. Nam extant inter eius scripta non modo fratris divi Basilli, qui obit imperante Gratiano, verum etiam Placillae Pulcheriaeque sororum Theodosii junioris memoriae habitae funebres orationes a me Latinae factae.

Fronoto 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 praefect Dominus huic familiæ . . . / . . . [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 habeamus, per Christum lesum 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 Nyssenus’ In Flacillum 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 Theodo-
sius. 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) Lau-
dat hac oratione funeris Placillam, Augustam
Theodosii senioris Imperatoris Romani uxo-
rem 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 adora-
tio 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, Lei-

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.1X), unfortunately now lost, named Chry-
sostom 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 Homo-
lia VII of Ps. Chrysostom under the title, De
locu I Ep. ad Corinth. VI.18: Omne pecca-
tum 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 Vindobonen-
sis theol. gr. 35 (s. XIII) where its text like
that of four other works of Nyssenius is ab-
ridged (See above p. 17). When J. Gretser
was preparing the editio princeps he stated
that he used a manuscript “ex Caesarea Vien-
nensi 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 be-
ing 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 Monu-
sq. It also appears in Galland, Bibliotheca
Veterum Patrum Vol. VI:708 where Galland
adds, “Latinam versionem Gallicolius 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 “Abschiedrede
des Nestorius, überliefert unter dem Namen
des hl. Chrysostom und des hl. Gregor von
Nyssa,” Zeitschr. für Kathol. Theol. 38 (1914)
92–99.
GREEK AUTHOR

TRANSLATION

1. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

Gentianus Hervetus made a Latin translation of Nyssenus' *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 Nyssenus, 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 (1 Cor 6:18), oratio. [Inc.]; (p. 561) Terribils tuba Apostolorum praecepti, multa quidem etiam alia testificans exercitu 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 MELETIUM EPISCOPO


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 Nyssenus. See Spira, *op. cit.* pp. 345–416.

TRANSLATIONS

1. 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 Nyssenus' works. See a. below. J. G. Krabinger, for his 1835 bilingual edition of this oration, included Sifanus' translation "hic ilic 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, coronaatum coronati, animo castum corde puri, praecolum sermonis ministri sermonis . . . / . . . [Expl.]; (p. 416) Meraciori et vinarioi
temperatura fecundioribusque ac largioribus
eos excipite sermonis calicibus, ut vobis rursus
in laetitiam luctus convertatur, per Christum
ium 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 DUCAES

Fronto Ducaeus made some revisions in
Sifanus' Latin version of In Meletium. Ducaeus' revision appeared in the 1615 and later
editions of Nyssenus' works. The changes are
not great, but the explicit does differ notice-
ably.

Text (ed. of Paris, 1615). [Inc.]: (1.955)
There are no changes in the incipit . . . / . . .
[Expl.]: (II.964) Meraciori mixto et fecundio-
ribus ac largioribus eos excipite sermonis cali-
cibus, ut vobis rursus in laetitiam luctus con-
vertatur, per gratiam unigeniti Dei Filii, per
quem gloria Deo et Patri in saecula saeculo-
rum. 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. Meletium (sic) Archiepiscopum Anti-
ochenum (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 simi-
lem, athletam athletae, coronatum coronati,
castum mundi corde, verbi praecoxem qui
ministri sunt Verbi . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 159)
Hoc vinum dilutius temperatum, maioribus
sanctae dictiosis pociis ministrate, ut nobis
rursum in laetitiam et gaudium luctus con-
vertatur, id nobis elargiente unigenito filio Dei,
cui gloria in aeternum. Amen.

Edition:
1574. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See CTC II.155.

COMMENTARY

a. FRONTO DUCAES

Fronto Ducaeus discussed the changes he
made in L. Sifanus' version of In Meletium in
notes published in his 1605 edition of Greg-
ory of Nyssa's works. These Notae were re-
printed in subsequent Opera omnia editions of
Nyssenus.

Notae (ed. of Paris, 1605). [Inc.]: (II.86)
(on 955d) qua ratione sistam prolabentem 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)

om.
Recent editons: PG 46:497-537; 1967, Lei-

De mortuis is one of the works of Gregory
of Nyssa which is preserved in the uncial manu-
script Vat. gr. 2066 (a. 1X/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 Pa-
tristica, 10 (1967), 35-43; A. Carlini, "Appunti
sul testo del De mortuis di Gregorio di Nissa

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GREEK AUTHOR


TRANSLATIONS

1. PETRUS FRANCISCUS ZINUS

Petrus Zinus’ Latin version of Nyssenius’ 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 conside-rasse, . . . [Expl.]: (p. 136 v) Deus autem noster et Dominus Iesus Christus, qui afflic-tos atque humiles consolatur, consoletur animos vestros et misericordia benignitateque sua vos ad se diligendum inflammavit atque corr-orboret, quoniam ipsi est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Editions:
1553. See Composite Editions.
1562. 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 comprehendidur vitam transeunt . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 166) Deus autem noster et dominus Iesus Christus, qui consolatur humi-les atque demissos, consolabitur corda vestra et confirmabit in sui dilectionem per misera-iones suas quoniam et gloria in secula seculorurn. 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 occursu Domini, de Deipara vir-gine et de iusto Simeone.

Opinion is still divided on the authenticity of De occursu 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 Matephrastes. Thus the unknown author of the preface to the 1573, Paris Latin edition of Nyssenus' works mentioned that Surius' revised and expanded edition (1570 sq.) of L. Lippomano's De probatis vitis sanctorum, included De occasu and attributed it to Nyssenus, but added that he himself felt that Simeon Metaphrastes had 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 occasu (though not the life of Macrina in his Opera omnia edition of Nyssenus.


TRANSLATIONS

1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus described the circumstances surrounding his translation of De occasu 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 Nyssenus, Amphiloctius 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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus. Sifanus considered De occasu a genuine work of Nyssenus.

Dedication: Genere, pietate atque eruditione ornatissimo atque optimo viro domino Severino Scaevardo a Meroda, Religiosae domus divi Antonii Coloniae Agrippinae Praeceptorii, Laurentius Sifanus I. U. Doctor S.P.D. [Inc.]: Quum ante aliquid annos, Domine venerande, has quinque orationes in caput secundum Evangelii a divo Luca conscripti (quemadmodum videlicet ex praecepto Mosaicae legis Dominus noster Iesus Christus circumcisus et in templum a parentibus portatus atque illic a Prophetia Simeone exceptus sit) ex codice quodam Graeco, quem amplissimus atque clarissimus vir Dominus Johannes Jacobus Fuggerus ex Augusta Vindelicorum ad me miserat, ut ex eo quaeam opera divi Gregorii Nysseni, quae converteda susceperam, emendarem, descriptissem ac descriptas Latinas facere in animo habere, ita multa in eis offendi mutilia 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 restituere quae in meo desiderabantur, deseruerem infectam. Sed postea longis intervallis, quum nulla spes esset consequendi melioris apographi, iterata saepius earum lectio atque recognitio, collatique sententiae diversorum idem argumentum tractantium assiduo frequenti studio difficiilia superandi (ut plerumque fit ubi a Deo Opt. Max. hominum industria adivatur) rem eo deduxi, ut propemodum mihi sentientiam earum orationum coniecturis assque 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 ίως 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, verumtiam cum hominibus eruditissimis comparandus mecum agere cepit ut has orationes recognoscerem et emendatas adicerem ad opus scholorum Theophylacti in acta Apostolica divi Lucae a me conversum in linguam Latinam. Feci haud invitus ut amico petenti atque etiam tolerabiles conditione proponenti morem gererem et obsecundarem. Itaque summum otium nactus et aurum in his montibus, quae caloribus dierum canicularium naturae meae admodum adversos et inimicos frangeret atque temperaret, in contubernio domini Iacobii Panhusii Abbatis Steinveldii, pietate, eruditione atque prudentia ornatus viri, apud quem librorum copia defuit, easdem orationes summo labore atque diligentia extrema recognovit, emendavit atque correcxi et Arnoldo permisi ut eas Theophylacto in publicum prodeuntem ad amplificandam illius autoritatem 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 contingat, abunde satis magnu praemio labores meos compensatos esse putabo. Nam si quid adiumenti ab hoc rogo, quod spero, hominibus sacrarum ac divinarum literarum studiosius 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 Septembris, 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 occursu 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, coelestem 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:
1615. See Composite Editions.
1617. See Composite Editions.
1638. See Composite Editions.
1858. See Composite Editions.
1863. See Composite Editions.
1859. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See above pp. 71–72.

2. GENTIANUS HERVETUS

The Latin translation of De occursu 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.


Editions:

In Lippomano-Surius, Historiae . . . de probatis viitis 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)


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. Salmo, “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 Patriocio 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 similarem, immo plane Deum esse censebat . . . (Zinus continues discussing the value of beneficentia) . . . Itaque cum superioribus diebus a studiis publicis ferati relaxandi animi et vitandi caloribus gratia vir doctissimus tuisque amantissimus Ioannes Christoforsonus Britannus et ego in Antonii Giberti Equitis ornatisissimi atque humanissimi juvenis bibliotheca plurimis atque optimis libris instructissima essemus unaque cum ipso magna cum voluptate variis pro suo quisque studio libros evolveremus, in codicum 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 benignitatem complectendos pauperes cohoratur. Quas ego statim avide tamquam thesaurum arripius easque verbis latinis expressi, ut si tibi non dislicuisissent, 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 incidemus, sed ut, quando aliter non possamus, 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 Nyssenae. See above p. 107 . . . ] . . . / . . . [Expl.]: tum divinis documentis impulsia colant et exerceant, ut vel Dii sint, ut dicebat Antiqutias, 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 praeidet, atque adeo omnes, qui se vereae pietatis et eius vivendi rationem, quae ex virtute est, magistros profitentur, hominibus illis sunt admodum similis, qui grammaticam docent et prima tradunt elementa literarum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 146 v) Illud autem obsecrat, ut absoluta mandatorum observantia decoratus dissedat 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.
1559. 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


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 Nyssenus' works in 1615, stated that he made use of Hoeschel's printed text, a codex Canteri and a codex Morelli (Montepessulanus 122). See Van Heck's preface, op. cit. pp. 89–90.

Translations

1. 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 contemplazione 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.


Editions:

1562. See Composite Editions.
1571. See Composite Editions.

Biography:

See above p. 63.

XVIII. IN PENTECOSTEN SIVE
DE SPIRITU SANCTO


Translation

1. Petrus Franciscus Zinus

Petrus Zinus made a Latin translation of Nyssenus' 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. Galland 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 clarus efficiat David, dum apte suavisissimam illam citharam ad usum eius semper accommodat... [Expl.]: (f. 89) Bibamus pietales 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

Recent editions: 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 Nyssenus; 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 Nysenus 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 Nysenus, Gretser nevertheless felt that the oration could be assigned to him.

frenare desine. Id ut facias, hos duos, Nysse-
num et Alexandrum preceptores ad te allego,
quos ut spero etiam teae causa benigno vultu
dignaberis. Vale Vir Amplissime. Ingolstadt
Kalend. Martii MDCXX.

Præfatio ad Lectorem: Orationem in Sanctos Apost. Petrum et Paulum principio muti-
lam describendum curavimus ex chartaceo
vetusto codice M. S. Bibliothecae Caesareae
Vennensis, in quo solius D. Gregorii Nysseni
plures orationes una cum hoc Encomio ine-
rant. Ex quo aliquid suspicari poterat, etiam
hoc eodem Patri, tanquam auctori adscibi
debere, sed repugnare videtur genus dicendi,
quod Gregorio longe grandius et magnificen-
tius est. At in mentem revocandum est ipsum
etiam Nyssenum non ubique sibi parem appa-
rere, praecipue in sermonibus ad populum,
quos captui plebis accommodare concinnare
oporet . . . (Gretser goes on to say that Greg-
ory 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 excis, vel potius exesis, compluribus
pagellis decurtatus fuisset. Ego eo libentius
huic orationi evulgandae aliquid operae impendi,
quod plura iam sanctissimi et eruditis-
simi huuii patris monumenta in publicum pro-
tulerim, 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 indicatum
conciliatamque elementorum securitatem in-
veniens . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 384) quamodo
scilicet orbeb terrarum ad salutem perpetue-
ritis, Christum in vobis ipsis habentes et
circumferentes, quem simul cum Patre et Spi-
ritu sancto adornandum praedicaestis, nunc et
semer in saecula. Amen.

Editions:
(*) 1620. Ingolstadt: apud E. Angermiam.
(Gr.-Lat.). Contains Gretser’s Greek text and
Latin translation of In SS. Petrum et Paulum
along with works of Alexander Prodromos
and others. Hoffmann 2.185. BL.
1740. See Composite Editions.

XX. IN PRINCIPIUM IEIUNIORUM

Editio princeps: 1617, Ingolstadt (ed. J.
Gretser).

Recent editions: PG 40:369–389 (Homilias
XIV of Asterius); 1707, Leiden, in Asterius of
Amasea, Homilies I-XIV (ed. C. Datema),

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 As-
terius in a single manuscript (op. cit. p. 197).
Most of the codices assign it to Gregory of
Nyssa, though some favor Gregory of Caesa-
rea.

Jacob Gretser based his editio princeps on
Vindobonensia 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

1. JACOBUS GRETSENUS

In 1617 Jacob Gretser published in Ingol-
stadt a small volume containing three works,
which he ascribed to Nyssenus; 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 alicui
abici Graecus textus defuit. Haec iactura ut


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


Bibliography: See under In Flacillam, above p. 208. This oration was als published in Εγκυκλοπαιδεία φιλολογική in 1710 by Patusas.

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.


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 lacrimis oratio non possit institui . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 126) Quapropter abiiciumus, fratres, moerorem susceput ob eos qui dormierunt, quo soli afficiuntur illi, qui spem non habent. Spes autem Christus est, cui Gloria et imperium in saecula saeculum. Amen.

Edition:
1574. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See CTC II.155.

XXII. IN QUADRAGINTA MARTYRES, ORATIONES I a AND I b.


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.


Translations
1. LAURENTIUS SIFANUS

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation 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.

Oration I a.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562). [Inc.]: Quas res existimo plerisque graves ac molestas esse, his ipse animo laetor. Molestum enim nimium plerisque est comprimi inter se et con stipari; 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 praetemissa sunt ad narrationem pertinentia auxilio Dei supplebuntur. Ei gloria in saecula. Amen.

Oration I b.

Text (ed. of Basel, 1562) [Inc.]: Heri martyres ad sese populum vocabant; nunc hospital Ecclesiae ipsi sese offerentes excipiantur. Lex autem quaedam convivialis ut circulares et vulgares istas epulas alii alis convivis certa vicissitudine praebant 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 saeculum. 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.

Oration I a.

Text (ed. of Venice, 1574). [Inc.]: (p. 103) Quibus angi discriciarique multos conicio,
iiis animus meus perfunditur voluptate. Nam quod illi se vicissim affligi urgerique iure moleste ferunt, id est mihi laetitia caput . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 112) Quod si divina gratia nobis concesserit, ut vos iterum quiete audientes alloquamur ea, quae nunc omittimus, Deo adiuvante prosequerur. 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 circuitus et orbe quodam celebrantur, suo tempore vicissim rependant ii, qui convivio accepti fuerant . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 117) quia demid illi certamina fortiter subeuntes et per flammas transeuntes incolumes poti sint. Fexit autem Deus, nos item ut ea digni efigiam 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


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

1. Jacobus Gretserus

Jacob Gretser was the first to make a Latin version of Nyssenus' 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 quadragina 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 accepserunt et usque ad hoc tempus conservant initio instantis mensis armis induti ad campum satis planum et aquabilem 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 Nyssenus as the author, but later studies have confirmed Severus of Antioc as the writer.

Oratio V has also evoked some discussion. In the past generally held to be Nyssenus', its authenticity has in recent times been doubted by J. A. de Aldama (Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum, No. 149), J. Daniêlou (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. Daniélov, "Chronologie des sermons de St. Grégoire de Nyssa," *Rech. de Science Rel.* 29 (1955) pp. 350, 351, 362, 368, 369, 370.


**XXIV. IN SANCTUM PASCHA I**

(DE TRUIDI INTER MORTEM ET RESURRECTIONEM DOMINI NOSTRI IESU CHRISTI SPATIO)


**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 bona 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 ponderantur, si quid boni prophetarum oracula praenuntiatur, 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 Jesu 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.
1859. See Composite Editions.

**Biography:**
See CTC II.155.

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**Commentaries**

### a. Framo Ducaeus

For his 1605 Latin edition of Nyssenus' works, Framo Ducaeus wrote notes on *Orationes I, II and IV In sanctum Pascha.* They are entitled *Notae in Oratione 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 Propheta-rum) ei tis prophitik h' foun'tas swipe' fousin si quid boni, quod supra naturam sit, propheta-rum oracula. et paulo post omnis Dei benedictio pásca ἤ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐλογία omnis Christi benedictio . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (II.78) (on 712 a) Cum ad patrem ascendero, tunc tibi licebit me tangere. ut loquitor Dominus. Io. 20.17.

*Notae in Orationem II.* [Inc.]: (II.78) 714 d. dixit vespere sabbati) Ut tollatur ambigui-

### 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 Framo Ducaeus on two works: *In Sanctum Pascha I* (see above) and *De sancto Theodoro.* The works themselves were not printed in the 1618 edition.


**Edition:**
1740. See Composite Editions.

**Biography:**
See above pp. 52–53.

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**XXV. In sanctum Pascha II Quod nullo modo contrarii inter se sint Evangelistae**


Recent editions: PG 46:628–652; 1922, Paris

*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 Nyssenus’ authorship. Serious discussion about its authenticity arose when François Combeis in 1648 published the sermon from a manuscript which named Hesychius of Jerusalem as author (Graecolatinae patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium II.743–774). In his comments Combeis offered some reasons for doubting Nyssenus’ 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 Combeis. 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: Σενήρου Ἄντιόχειας ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου οὗτος. 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 Combeis.

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 translations. 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 Combeis so many years later, that the style and content made Nyssenus’ 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 difficillimatum et solutionum. Excerpta per compendium ex Evangelica consonantia (printed by Cotelier, Ecclesiae Graec. Monumenta III: 1 sq., reprinted in PG 93:1391–1488), for example at Difficilas I and its Soluto. (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.

TRANSLATION

1. 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. Combebis 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 Montfaucun and Galland reprinted Combebis’ 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 benigneitatem 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)


**TRANSLATION**

1. **LAURENTIUS SIFANUS**

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation 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 convventus ac celebritates frequentant . . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 216) qui hoc omne quod videtur constituat, 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).


**TRANSLATIONS**

1. **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 requeis, quae benedictionem Dei accepit, in qua requievit Dominus ab operibus suis, pro salute mundi mortis efficacia fracta feriatus, 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 chordum 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 Nyssenus' works, Camerarius' translation was certainly known in his native Germany. It was reedited for textbook use in 1626 by Henricus Oelschlegelius.


_De sancto et salutifero Paschate. [Inc.]:_ Ipsa quidem vera Sabbati quies, accepta benedictione Dei, qua acquevit 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 huuius 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 paraphrasis, notis grammaticis et rhetoricas, philologicas et theologicas". Even this statement fails to describe the detailed treatment he accords the treatise of Nyssenus. 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 _praefacios et prooimia_ 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 _fideiusor_).


_Epistola Nuncupatoria._ Generosissimo ac familiae tam antiquitate quam splendore Nobilissimo Viro, Domino Hildebrando ab Einsidel Seniori in Gnadstnicin ac Wolfftitz Maecenati suo Opt. Max. nec non ipsi Neapote vere Nobili adolescenti Alexandro De Miltiz in Schenckenberg Musurum et Gratia rum pullo. S.P.D. [Inc.]: (p. A a) Numquam institutum eorum probavi qui properteara tantum omnes libros evolvunt, omnia veterum monimenta excutiunt, universos velut manes priscorum vexant, ut domi duntaxat sua evadant docti, alios in honestis conventibus tangan talibusque plurimos saucios a se dimittant, vehementer etiam atque etiam interim praecaventes, ne ad eximiae suae eruditionis ac doctrinae abdyta penetrent alii, aut si quae penetrasse non sciant, 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 misericors, profliget improbos, fulmina et tonitra 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 quotidianam horam in erundis Novi Testamenti vocabulis occupatum, ut Graecarum litterarum formas, nominam, notatatem concideres, nomina et verba flectere atque inter se coniungere ac copulare nosces: Ut adeo Alexander Miltiius Novi Testamenti libros non minus perpetuo haberet comites, quam Iliadem Homericam Alexander Magnus . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. A5v) Sed ne in suspicacionem amor veniat, parce verbis, et ut libellum hunc, in quo nomen tuum, velut lucem centem aliquam stellam, scintillare volui, serena fronte accipias, Tuum de me iudicium constantre tuearis, in sinu Musarum feliciter adolescentas, nobilitatem pietate, pietatem doctrina ornes, atque sic magnis Reipublicae negotiis plene matruescas, calide voveo, precorque. Valete, vivite et forvet. Generosissime Dominae ab Einsiedel, hoc observantiae meae auctorementum: Tuque Nobilissime Alexander a Miltiz, amoris in Te mei argumentum. Dabam Misene, ex Schola Electoris Saxoniae, Dominica Christi ingredientis cum triumpho in sanctam Urbem, inter Ramos palmarum et olearum, inter faustissimae populi acclamationes. Anno 1626. V. V. Generosiss. et splendidiss. Nobilit. a cultu perpetuo M. Heinricus Oelschlegelius, Electoralis, quae ibidem est, scholas Collegiae.

The contents of the volume before Oelschlegel's Latin version of the Nyssenus 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 Clader, 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.)
4. Praelogium 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 formalis. On the form (oratuncula) and language.
   III. De causa materialis. 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).


(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, discersit et evanuit et ad nihilum (ad non ens) nunc abiti, 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. Prooimidion 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).


Edition:

(micro) 1626, Dresdae (Dresden): apud Wolkangum Seiffertum Bibliopol. At the end of the volume after the Errata Typographei maximme conspicua is a page with a seal and: Freibergae Hermendororum. Excudebat Georgius Hoffman. Anno 1626. NUC (C1Y).

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 Stephanaum. 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 Mosis. 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; Ἑκατοντας S(ive) Century ima magici hieroglyphicarum omnia studiose juvenituis officia τῆς κώδικα complexa et ab Alumnis electoralis ad Albim scholae germanicis atque latinis versibus expressa, Freiberg, 1624; D. Mart. Lutheri catechesis minor, germanice lat. et graecae etc.

Bibliography: Joacher, 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 τῆς ἀρχαίας τοῦ θανάτου ἐνσαββατίσαι Graecorum nomen significationem habet inertiae vel etiam facultatis agendi prorsus adeptae. Ex Hebraico autem sabbato Graecum composit autur verbum ἐνσαββατίσαι . . . / . . . [Exp.]: (p. E 7) et illustrat 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.

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 Nyssenus (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 Nyssenus' Opera on which he worked, beginning with that of 1605.

In luciferam sanctam 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 regnavit, 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. Stubbings, 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 Nyssenus' works.


animi sententia pulcherrime praestitit atque hoc egregium opus ad umbilicum ductum Regiam Pontificiamve μεγαλοπρέπειον ne sit labor editionis in damno desiderat. Ego hoc breve sed eximium specimen ingenii tanti diutius eruditorum et φιλοτιμίον Senatui invidere nolui, sed has ἄπαρχας quam primum virtutis illi tuae, ob quam te summam Rex Christianissimus amplitudine et apice magistratuum dignum putavit, ob quam es praesidium, arx, decus, κύδος καὶ ἔρκος omnium protonym phιλολόγου καὶ φιλοκάλων, libens dare, dicare, consecrare volui. Et nisi id facerem, mihi Musae et Gratiae quarum et μέλημα iure succenseant. Tu, vir praestantissime, habe tibi munus hoc λόγιον δόσιν ολίγην τε φίλην τε et semper. Quod si esse velis, nihilque malis, χαίρε τε καὶ μέγα αὐξε, μεγ' ἀνθρώπουσιν ὅνειαρ 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 emersit... et clarissimis radiis orbem terrarum operuit... / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 15) Ac rursus, Dominus regnavit, exultet terra, laetentur 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 1.162.

XXIX. IN SANCTUM STEPHANUM PROTOMARTYREM


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 1.605) 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

1. Laurentius Sifanus

Laurentius Sifanus made a Latin translation of In sanctum Stephanum I which was

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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 fustum ex die festo, et gratiam pro gratia accipimus . . . [Expl.]: (p. 106) ut non solum spectatores Stephani certaminis, verumiam repleti Spiritu sancto gratiae participes simus, adersionem adversarium, 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 praecella bonorum est consequentia? Quam suavis hilaritatis successio? Ecce enim diem fustum 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 discipiantium confusionem 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, Antolin, Cat. Ms 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.


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 Nyssenus' 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 praecella bonorum series, quam dulcis laetitiae successio. Ecce enim celebratatem 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 profigandos 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.)

**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.]: ἀποδόσεως. Quoniām ceperunt aliquando nudi in ludis et pales-
stra decertare Graeci, autore vel Orsippo Megarensi vel Acantho Lacedaemonio, . . . / . . , Ab uno quodum 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 Hoeschelius' 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. M. τί περὶ τὸ σκέδος . . . τὸ ἐγκείμενον quid circa veritatis vas malignitatem exerces atque omissō 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 SANCITO THEODORO MARTYRE**


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 Nyssenus, 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.

**Biography:** J. Daniélon, “Chronologie des sermons,” *Recherches de Science Reli-
N.Y., 1975, pp. 17, 18, 21, 24–25; and also his “Les passions des martyrs,” *Subsidia Hagi-
ographica* 13 (1921) p. 156. See earlier statements in favor of authenticity by Natalis Alexander, *Sel. Hist. Ecclés.* saec. IV, Ch. 6,

**Translations**

1. 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 Vien-
nensis. However his identity with Jacobus Nogueras 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. Nogueras 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 Nyssenus that he had read some of his orations.


Manuscript:

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 populos Christi, qui gregis sanctus ac regale estis sacerdotium, qui undique et ex urbibus et ex agris catervatim confluxistis, unde signo itineris accepi ad hunc sacram locum venistis? . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (p. 411) O vir admi-

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 Nyssenus, 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.


Editions:
In works of Nyssenus: 1574. See Composite Editions.
GREEK AUTHOR

In L. Surius De probatis vitis sanctorum: 1618, Cologne.

Biography:
See CTC II.155.

COMMENTARY

a. JACOBUS GRETSEUS

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 ἄγιον μεγαλόμαρταρα Θεόδωρον τὸν Τύρωνα. Apud Suriium tomo VI estat . . . ex Simeone Metaphraste . . . Exhibit idem Surii tomus . . . et alteram Nysseni ipsius ex interpretatione Petri Francisci Zini . . . / . . . [Expl.]: (III, p. 70.2) Sifanus πολίτευμα perperam vertit republica Christianorum; melius Zinus, Christianorum vita tanquam in frugifero solo praecelam et admirabilem ad finem usque segement ferat.

Editions:
See above pp. 42–43.

Biography:
See above pp. 52–53.

XXXII. CONTRA USURARIOS (FOENERATORES).


Translation

1. JACOBUS GRETSEUS

Jacob Gretser made a Latin translation of Contra usurarios which was published twice in 1596 in Ingolstadt by D. Sartorius, once in Opuscula nunnulla 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 vererit”. 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 Greuter had another manuscript source although some different readings may have been his own invention. De Sinner printed his own Greek text along with Greuter'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 continetur bonis legibus et praeceptis, in quibus videre est legislatorem duo generatim spectare . . . / . . . *[Expl.]*: (p. 127) sufficiere 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.
- 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.

**Biography:**
See above pp. 52–53.

**XXXIII. DE VITA GREGORII THAUMATURGI**

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

*De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* (*De vita beati Gregorii miraculorum opificis*), an encomium-life of the saint, appears both in editions of the works of Nyssenus and of Gregory Thaumaturus. 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 Nyssenus' 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 Nyssenus' day.


**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 Nyssenus’ *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.


Excipe dignanter, Sergi prefecte beate, Gregorii vitam, luculento themate comptam, Nathinneus orans Petrus quam transplantuit apte

Ex danahis scriptis linguis reddendo latinis. Presul Athanasius hoc iussit promere digne, Parthenopense decus, placidus qui trinus habetur,

Ductus amore tuo, germano nectare farthus.


Et nos beati Gregorii Thaumaturgi Vitam ex loquela athtica transferentes, imitando eam quam sanctus Gregorius Nyssenius pontifex in peregrina, hoc est in greca, lingua compo-suit, plurimis additis, plurimis adempitis, ut racio utilissima postulabat, sensum attendentes latinis viris compendiose curavimus ministrare.

Gregorius Nyssenus

Gregorii Neocesariensis pontificis scripturus invocando fautorum spiritum sanctum qui ei omnibus auxiliator exitit, flagito caritatem vestram attentis auribus illam audire et devoto animo ac tenaci mente retinere, credentes per omnia non me adulationi sed veritati fidelier deservire. Superfluum enim et inane opus est in laudem tanti patris desudare et auditorum animas ad imitationem non proficere. Ipsa autem deus pacis cuius est dare velle et posse, ipse et nobis referentibus et vobis audiendibus opem suae misericordiae largiri dignetur, qua

Text. [Inc.] (p. 168) Igitur Gregorius Neocesarianus Ponti urbe genitus inclitam secundum saeculi gloriae a parentibus traxit prosapiam quamquam gentilitatis erroribus teneruntur obnoxii. Sed quoniam dei gratia suum famulum murum inexpugnabilem praedominaverat in facie ecclesiae Gregorium, tenebrarum caligo retinere non valuit, immo potius splendida lampa effectus . . . . [Expl.] (p. 179) Depositus est vero quinto decimo kalendarem decembris, regnante dominio nostro ihesu christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per cuncta saecula saeculorum. Amen.


Manuscripts:


(*) Montecassino, Ms. 139, s. XI, misc., fols. 261–287. (Inguez, Cat. 1.223).


(*) Montecassino, Ms 149, s. XI, misc., (no fols given). (Inguez 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.).


(*) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 15: s. XIII. (Telfer, ibid.).

Editions: (Dedicatory Poem).


Editions: (Text of Vita).


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. Agrippini (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 lohanne papa (955–964), et in hac civitate Parthenopensi tertio
praesule Athanasio (907–958), et Iohanne consule ac duce, ... Devo's 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 Glos-sarium 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 Armenienses(!) This latter an error for Thaumaturgus. Devo's later added S. Restituta. This list superseded 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 "Rdo M' Gentiano . . . il quale mi ha
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 Neoaeasariensis Episcopi, illius miraculis clari viri, quem ob id Graeci θαυματουργον appellant. Erat enim vehementer depravatum meum exemplum, ut fere sunt ea, quae hoc tempore describuntur ab hominibus plumque inducis ac sui emolumenti magis rationem habentibus quam publice utilitatis. Exemplar autem vestrum (i.e. J. J. Fuggeri) eti correctum erat (qualia solent esse pleraque antiqua) tamen praeter diversas, quae multis in locis inibi reperiebantur, lectiones in plerisque locis adeo literae erant obsolete atque obscureae, ut multum legenti negotii exhiberent. Haec idcirco commemoror, ut sicubi offendit 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 eademque rem spectat; magnus enim ille Gregorius cum vobis convenienti 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 adieci mus. (The Paris editions for whose text F. Ducaeus was chiefly responsible, add: Christo porro talia per servos suos miracula operanti conventi gloria honor et adoration, 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 Nyssenus' 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 Neoaeasarea 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 Nyssenus' *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 Nyssenus' life of the saint.

*Vita et encomium sancti Gregorii Thauma-

Editions:
1604. See Composite Editions. I am indebted to F. E. Crazn who inspected the copy at Harvard and provided copies of pertinent material.
1622. See Composite Editions.

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 conscripsit hic S. Gregorius Episcopus Nyssenus . . . . [Expl.]: (p. 327) ne debito suo epilogo carere videatur oratio, tum quod hoc vel simili modo suas concludere sermones Nysseno et aliis orthodoxy sanctis patribus usitatissimum sit.

Editions:
1604. See Composite Editions. A copy of the incipit and explicit was provided by F. E. Crazn.
1622. See Composite Editions.

Biography:
See above p. 65.

Doubtful Translations

1. 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 "linguaram veterum cultor".

No trace of Bovius' versions has been discovered.


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.
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS


3. In Josephum et Mariam.


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.


John of Damascus quoted this work in Sacra parallela (PG 96:475–478).

7. In vinum novum (Lk. 5:37).


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 (‘Αει δειν μνησθῶ τῆς Θεος).

Panormitanus I.E.10 (s. XII) names Nyssenus as author.


b. In annuntiationem Deiparae et contra Arium impium (Πῇ προσέγρα 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 (1144b); III. 140 (1076u); III.171 (1148n); III.270 (1139m); and Ehrhard II.97; Aldama No. 479.


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. Bickертштeth called attention to a Nota by E. M. Tonioio in 1970 which demonstrated that BHG Auct. 1139n and 1076u were not independent works but excerpts from this oration. BHG 1148n may be another such case.


In annunciationem s. virginis Mariæ (Σήμερον ἁγγελικὴ 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. Vossiuss.


2. In conceptionem s. Annae

Parisinus. Bibl. nat. Grec 50 (Omont 1.63) (s. XII) names Nyssenus as author and Oxon. Bodl. Seld. B. 53 (s. XIII-XIV) ascribes it to “Nyssenus sive cuisuscunque sit”.


This is a work of Georgius Nicomediensis. The similarity of the name of this comparatively little known author to the name of Georgius Nyssenus probably caused the copyist to substitute the name of the more famous writer.

3. Epistola ad Evagriou monachum

Editions: See CTC II.111 sq. under Epistola 243 of Nazianzen. 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. Daniёlou 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. Harneck 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. R. Refoule 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
GREGORIUS NYSSENUS


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 Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus.


5. IN MULIERES UNGUENTIFERAS

Vat. gr. 1641 (s. X-XI) names Nyssenus as author.

See J. A. de Aldama, op. cit. No. 116. This is another sermon of Gregory of Antioch and was probably attributed to Nyssenus for the same reasons as 2 and 4 above.


6. DE VISITATIONE

Vat. Barb. gr. 456 (s. XII-XIII) names Nyssenus 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 Nyssenus’ Oratio I 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 Nyssenus’ style. The work merits further study. A copy was kindly provided by Charles Ermatinger of Saint Louis University.

7. VITA ALEXII (Ἐχρήν ὁς ἀληθῶς τοῦ τὸ δεῖξον χρήμα)

Cambridge Trin. 197 (B.9.1) (s. XI-XII) and Holkham 91 (s. XVI) name Nyssenus as author.

Geerard CPG II, No. 3225; Ehrard 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.


APPENDIX III

LATE LATIN TRANSLATIONS

A. Epistolae.


B. Opera ascetica, dogmatica et exegetica.


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 Theorani disputatio cum Nereste. 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.


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.


Appendix IV

Vernacular Translations

Early Vernacular Translations before 1700.


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 geteutscht 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. Fier Fr. Zino;* it included also two works of Philo; all three were published in the same year in Zinus’ Latin version.


1575–1580 (?) *Oraison de S. Grégoire de Nyssé à l'encontre de ceux qui ont à contrecœur les répréhensions, traduite du grec en français par N. de Vaulx, (BN Cat. 64 p. 158, No. 79, date and place lacking).*

1604–1605, Paris. *French version of Epistolai II, De ipsis 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 Nysses par Fédéric Morel.*


1608, Paris. *Discours sur la Passion et Resurrection de Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, translaté de l'original grec de saint Grégoire evesque de Nysses par Fédéric Morel.*


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. 111.413).*

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. *Oraatio catechetica, trans-
lated and commented on by W. C. van Unnick.


1971, Utrecht. Het leven van de heilige Macrina, translated and commented on by F. van der Meer and G. Bartelink.

English


1961, New York. From Glory to Glory, translations from Nyssenus’ ascetical works with comment by J. Daniélou and H. Musurillo.


French


1863, Paris. Éloge funèbre de S. Melèce, traduit par E. Sommer.


1946, Quebec. Traité de la formation de l’homme par S. Grégoire de Nyssé.


1967, Paris. Excerpts from In Canticum. La colombe et la ténèbre, translated by M.
Canivet and J. Daniélou.


German


1874, 1880, Kempten. Translation of a number of works by H. Hayd and J. Fisch, Bibliothek der Kirchenväter (2 vols.).


1927, Munich. Translations of a number of works by K. Weiss and E. Stolz in Bibliothek der Kirchenväter.


1968, Leyden. Encomium in S. Stephanum protomartyrem, text, commentary and translation by O. Lendle.


Hungarian

1972, Budapest. De anima et resurrectione, Ad Graecos, Oratio catechetica, one oration In sanctum Pascha (not identified), In Pentecostien, all translated by Ladislaus Vanyo.

Italian


1967, Alba. La vita di Mosè, translated by C. Brigatti.


Polish


Roumanian


**Russian**

1859, Moscow. A Russian translation of the *Opera omnia*, in eight volumes.

1861–1872, Moscow. A second edition, also in eight volumes of the previous work.

1868, St. Petersburg. Translations of a number of Gregory's works in the *menaion* of Archbishop Makarios, *Menei Çetij*. Citations may be found under individual works in Geerard CPG II.

**Spanish**
