

AperTO - Archivio Istituzionale Open Access dell'Università di Torino

"How, Why and When the Italians Were Separated from the Orthodox Christians". A Mid-Byzantine Account on the Origins of the Schism and its reception in the 13th-16th Centuries

This is the author's manuscript

Original Citation:

Availability:

This version is available <http://hdl.handle.net/2318/1530077> since 2018-08-15T07:41:02Z

Publisher:

Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance

Terms of use:

Open Access

Anyone can freely access the full text of works made available as "Open Access". Works made available under a Creative Commons license can be used according to the terms and conditions of said license. Use of all other works requires consent of the right holder (author or publisher) if not exempted from copyright protection by the applicable law.

(Article begins on next page)

COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D'HISTOIRE
ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

MONOGRAPHIES 39

**RÉDUIRE LE SCHISME ?
ECCLÉSIOLOGIES ET POLITIQUES DE L'UNION
ENTRE ORIENT ET OCCIDENT
(XIII^e-XVIII^e SIÈCLE)**

édité par
Marie-Hélène BLANCHET
et
Frédéric GABRIEL

*Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'université Paris-Sorbonne
et de l'Institut d'histoire de la pensée classique (CNRS-ENS de Lyon)*

ACHCByz
2013

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Marie-Hélène BLANCHET & Frédéric GABRIEL, Dynamiques de la communion : la chrétienté entre schisme et unions	1
1. Contextes polémiques et tentatives conciliaires	
Enrico MORINI, L'Union vue par les « antiunionistes » : l'orthodoxie ecclésiologique et l'incohérence de l'orthodoxie de Lyon à Florence	13
Michel STAVROU, Les tentatives gréco-latines de rapprochement ecclésial au XIII ^e siècle.....	41
Claudine DELACROIX-BESNIER, Les Prêcheurs de Péra et la réduction du schisme (1252-1439) ...	57
Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, Nil Cabasilas et les projets de concile œcuménique pour l'Union des Églises	75
Sebastian KOLDITZ, Deux exégèses d'un texte controversé : Ioannès Eugénikos et Juan de Torquemada sur le décret florentin de l'Union des Églises	83
Laurent TATARENKO, Entre Union universelle et négociation locale : les projets unionistes dans la métropole de Kiev (fin du XVI ^e – milieu du XVII ^e siècle)	101
2. Élaborations doctrinales et contestations de l'Union	
Luigi SILVANO, "How, why and when the Italians were separated from the Orthodox Christians" : a mid-Byzantine account of the origins of the Schism and its reception in the 13 th –16 th centuries	117
Antonio RIGO & Marco SCARPA, Le opere antilatine di Gregorio Palamas a Bisanzio e tra gli Slavi (XIV-XV secolo)	151
Christos TRIANTAFYLLOPOULOS, Late Byzantine attitudes towards Union between the Greek and the Latin Churches: the case of Makarios, metropolitan of Ankyra (1397–1405)	163
Marie-Hélène BLANCHET, La réaction byzantine à l'Union de Florence (1439) : le discours antiromain de la Synaxe des orthodoxes.....	181
Frédéric GABRIEL, Tradition orientale et <i>vera Ecclesia</i> : une critique hiérosolymitaine de la primauté pontificale. Nektarios, de Jassy à Londres (v. 1671-1702)	197
3. L'Union en question aux frontières	
Christian GASTGEGER, Eine Unionsschrift des katholischen Klerus aus Korfu von 1369/70 ...	239
Konstantinos VETOCHNIKOV, La politique religieuse des autorités génoises vis-à-vis de l'Église grecque de Caffa (Crimée, XV ^e siècle).....	261
Dan Ioan MUREȘAN, Le patriarcat latin de Constantinople comme paradoxe ecclésiologique	277
Niki PAPAÏLIAKI, Des schismatiques et des orthodoxes : action missionnaire française et unité de l'Église en Grèce aux XVII ^e et XVIII ^e siècles	303
Vera G. TCHENTSOVA, Le patriarche d'Antioche Macaire III Ibn al-Za'îm et la chrétienté latine	313
Aurélien GIRARD, <i>Nihil esse innovandum?</i> : maintien des rites orientaux et négociation de l'Union des Églises orientales avec Rome (fin XVI ^e – mi-XVIII ^e s.)	337
Index	353
Liste des contributeurs	367
Résumés	369

ABRÉVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i>
ACO, ser. sec.	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda</i> , ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1984-
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and modern Greek studies</i> . Leeds
BSl.	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i> . Praha
Byz. Forsch.	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i> . Amsterdam
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> . Berlin – New York
CCSG	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i> . Turnhout
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae</i>
DARROUZÈS,	<i>Regestes 1, 5; 1, 6; 1, 7</i> J. DARROUZÈS, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. 1, Les actes des patriarches. 5, Les registres de 1310 à 1376</i> , Paris 1977; 6, <i>Les registres de 1377 à 1410</i> , Paris 1979; 7, <i>Les registres de 1410 à 1453</i> , Paris 1991
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks papers</i> . Washington
ÉO	<i>Échos d'Orient : revue d'histoire, de géographie et de liturgie orientales</i> . Bucarest
GRUMEL, <i>Regestes 1, 2-3</i>	V. GRUMEL, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. 1, Les actes des patriarches. 2-3, Les registres de 715 à 1206</i> , 2 ^e éd. rev. et corr. par J. DARROUZÈS Paris 1989
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i> . Wien
LAURENT, <i>Regestes 1, 4</i>	V. LAURENT, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. 1, Les actes des patriarches. 4, Les registres de 1208 à 1309</i> , Paris 1971
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
MM I-VI	<i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana collecta</i> , ediderunt F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, 6 vol., Vindobonae 1860-1890, réimpr. Aalen 1968
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana periodica : commentarii de re orientali aetatis christianae sacra et profana</i> . Roma
ODB	<i>The Oxford dictionary of Byzantium</i> , A. P. KAZHDAN, editor in chief, 3 vol., New York – Oxford 1991
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , accur. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1856-1866
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , accur. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844-1865
PLP	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , erstellt von E. TRAPP, Wien 1979-1996
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
RALLÈS-POTLÈS I-VI	<i>Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων</i> , ὑπὸ Γ. Α. ΡΑΛΛΗ καὶ Μ. ΠΟΤΛΗ, ἐν Ἀθήναις [Athènes] 1852-1859
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i> . Paris

<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i> . Paris
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i> . Roma
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i> . Paris

“HOW, WHY AND WHEN THE ITALIANS WERE SEPARATED FROM THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS” A MID-BYZANTINE ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGINS OF THE SCHISM AND ITS RECEPTION IN THE 13th–16th CENTURIES*

Luigi SILVANO

Les opuscles De origine schismatis publiés par Hergenröther [...] ont de telles données contradictoires qu'ils ne méritent aucune considération : ce sont manifestement des élucubrations de polémistes tardifs.¹

I. THE GREEK *OPUSCULA DE ORIGINE SCHISMATIS*

The medieval Greek literature concerning the doctrinal as well as ritual discrepancies between the “orthodox” Byzantines and the “heretical” or “schismatic” Latins constitutes a weighty and varied *corpus* which comprises both lengthy and complex theological dissertations in the form of treatises or dialogues, as well as more handy compendia of the main *quaestiones disputatae* which entered the heresiological compilations (as is the case, for instance, with the chapters dedicated to the *Filioque* or to the azymes in the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus and in the *Thesaurus Orthodoxiae* of Niketas Choniates), or constituted essential “lists of errors” of the Latins.² A particular branch of

* This work was made possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–13, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU/89/1.5/S/61104 with the title “Social sciences and humanities in the context of global development—development and implementation of postdoctoral research”. I wish to thank for their support and help the colleagues and friends of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca and of the Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, who hosted me in Vienna in 2011 and 2012. I am grateful to my good friend Anthony M. Cummings for proofreading my English.

1. GRUMEL, *Regestes* 1, 2-3, p. 329. The texts mentioned here were published by J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia*, Ratisbonae 1869 (henceforth: HERGENRÖTHER, *Monumenta*), pp. 154–81; on these *opuscula* see also J. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius Patriarch von Constantinopel : sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*, t. I-III, Regensburg 1867–9 (henceforth: HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*); here, t. III, pp. 843–76, an analysis of the contents and sources of the three *opuscula*, as well as of some other Byzantine and Slavic accounts on the schism.

2. For an overview of these genres of Byzantine theological literature I refer to the fundamental H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959 (in particular, for the Comnenian and Paleologan period, pp. 609–29 and 663–89); see also the observations of J. DARROUZÈS, *Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins*, *REB* 21, 1963, pp. 50–100, at p. 87. On the outlines

this literature comprises some usually brief outlines on the oecumenical councils³ and on the origins of the schism between Rome and Constantinople.

This latter had been, since the ninth century onwards, “a central issue of doctrinal debate and of doctrinal development,”⁴ and several short treatises were produced on this topic by the Byzantines, such as the one attributed to a Niketas of Nicaea *chartophylax* (written ca. 1100) and the one composed at the end of the 12th century by Neophytos the recluse.⁵

Three more were published in 1869 with the title of *Opuscula de origine schismatis* by Joseph Hergenröther.⁶ These short accounts, that can probably be dated to the 12th–13th century,⁷ identify as the principal cause of the fracture between the Roman and Byzantine Churches the diffusion in the West of the “Italian heresy,” whose main connotations are said to be the addition of the *Filioque* clause to the formulation of the Creed and the introduction of unleavened bread into the eucharistic celebration. These writings insist more on the adulteration of the Creed and of the liturgy than on the

of “errors” of the Westerners see T. KOLBABA, *The Byzantine lists : errors of the Latins*, Urbana 2000; EAD., Byzantine perceptions of Latin religious “errors” : themes and changes from 850 to 1350, in *The crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, ed. by A. LAIOU and R. P. MOTTAHEDEH, Washington 2001, pp. 117–43; M.-H. BLANCHET, Les listes antilatines à Byzance aux XIV^e–XV^e siècles, *Medioevo greco* 12, 2012, pp. 11–38. *Titulus* XIII of Euthymius Zigabenus’ *Panoply* is a confutation of the *Filioque* (see PG 130, col. 875), while *tit.* XXIII concerns the azymes (which refutation is indeed addressed to the Armenians, and not to the Latins; the text is published *ibid.*, col. 1174–89). The *tomoi* 21 and 22 (κατὰ Λατίνων), of Niketas Choniates’ *Dogmatike panoplia* contain respectively a refutation of the *Filioque* and a discussion concerning the *azyma* controversy, and were not included (because of their “anti-Catholic” contents) in Migne’s edition of the treatise (PG 140): on this issue I refer to an instructive set of articles by L. BOSSINA, the most recent of which is: Niketas Choniates as a theologian, in *Niketas Choniates : a historian and a writer*, [ed. by] A. SIMPSON and S. EFTHYMIADIS, Geneva 2009, pp. 165–84 (for the others see *ibid.*, p. 165 n. 1).

3. Francis Dvornik accomplished some preliminary research on the subject, and prepared a first list of manuscripts in the major European libraries containing versions of such Byzantine opuscles: see F. DVORNIK, *The Photian schism : history and legend*, Cambridge 1948, p. 452–57.

4. J. PELIKAN, *The Christian tradition : a history of the development of doctrine*. 2, *The spirit of Eastern christendom (600–1700)*, Chicago – London 1974, quoted from the 1977 paperback edition, p. 146.

5. An edition of Neophytos’ opuscle Περί τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ ὅτου χάριν καὶ πότε ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Ῥώμη καὶ ἡ νέα Ῥώμη διεστήκασιν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, in which the two issues of the history of councils and of the schism are treated one after the other, was provided by I. Π. ΤΣΙΚΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ [I. P. TSIKNOPOULLOS], *Tὰ Ἑλλάσσενα τοῦ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου*, *Byzantion* 39, 1969, pp. 318–419, at pp. 352–7; a commentary thereon *ibid.*, pp. 357–60; see also C. GALATARIOU, *The making of a saint : the life, times, and sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 236–7 and 267. On Niketas’ pamphlet *Quibus temporibus et quarum criminationum causa a Constantinopolitana ecclesia seiunxerit se Romanorum ecclesia* (PG 120, col. 713–20; different redactions survive in manuscripts) see P. STEPHENSON, *The legend of Basil the Bulgar-slayer*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 74–7 (with bibliography).

6. The texts will be referred to henceforth as follows: *opusc.* I (= HERGENRÖTHER, *Monumenta*, pp. 154–63); *opusc.* II (= *ibid.*, pp. 163–71); *opusc.* III (= *ibid.*, pp. 171–81). The Greek texts are accompanied by a Latin translation by Hergenröther.

7. See HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, pp. 843–76, who also provides an analysis of the contents and sources of the three *opuscula*, as well as of some other Byzantine and Slavic accounts of the schism. GRUMEL, *Regestes* I, 2–3, pp. 329–30, has suggested a dating for the *corpus* to the 13th–14th century; STEPHENSON, *The legend* (quoted n. 5), p. 76, n. 48 endorses such a chronology, and adds: “Tia Kolbaba has indicated to me that the work in question [*scil.* *opusc.* III] almost certainly was composed after 1274.” However T. KOLBABA, The legacy of Humbert and Cerularius : the tradition of the “Schism of 1054” in Byzantine texts and manuscripts to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in *Porphyrogenita : essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. by C. DENDRINOS *et al.*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 47–61, at p. 54 n. 24, had proposed dating *opusc.* III to the twelfth century.

doctrinal implications of such changes: they do not introduce any discussion regarding the theological significance of the double procession or of the symbolism of the bread as concerns the nature of the incarnation of the Son. Second, and most significantly, they insist on the Frankish origin of the heresy, and on the fact that the Franks are responsible for the above mentioned aberrant innovations, whilst the Roman ecclesiastical authorities did not agree, and rather consented with the Byzantine patriarchs in defending the original practice. Third, the opuscles explicitly exonerate Photius for any allegation concerning the schism, and consequently tend to shift the rupture forward and place it in the early eleventh century,⁸ when the papacy also eventually came to adopt the *Filioque*. This same set of historical arguments is to be found in writings by Photius and later authors, such as the already mentioned Niketas of Nicaea: the author of the original account from which the three *opuscula* derive was surely familiar with such a tradition.

Hergenröther was of the idea that these “bizarre fables” were the product of a complete lack of historical consciousness and chronological awareness, and revealed the Byzantines’ ignorance of the situation in the West (an opinion later shared by V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès).⁹

It is in fact undeniable that some of the historical information provided by such accounts is untrustworthy and inconsistent; their apologetic intention is also evident, as they appear to have been written, as we saw, in order to relieve the Greek Church, and Photius in particular, of the accusation of having caused the fracture dividing Eastern and Western Christianity (the non-existence of a “Photian schism”, by the way, was eventually proven correct by Francis Dvornik in his 1948 book). Nevertheless, as Hergenröther himself had to admit, these *opuscula* provide a good insight into the mentality of the Byzantine Christians and supply important evidence for the study of the long-lasting though inexorable progress of religious as well as cultural division and mutual estrangement which occurred between the Orthodox Greeks and Catholic Latins from the time of the Crusades (from which such writings stem) onwards.¹⁰

8. Our sources presuppose, therefore, the existence of a neat division between the Carolingian episcopate and clergy on the one side, and the Roman and Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchies on the other: a schism mostly underestimated or even ignored by modern scholarship—as noticed by V. PERI, *Il Filioque divergenza dogmatica? Origine e peripezie conciliari di una formulazione teologica*, *Anuario de historia de la Iglesia* 8, 1999, pp. 159–79, reprint. in ID., *Da Oriente e da Occidente : le Chiese cristiane dall'impero romano all'Europa moderna* (Medioevo e umanesimo 108), a cura di M. FERRARI, Padova 2002, vol. II, pp. 718–49, at pp. 738–43—, but which Byzantine ninth-century writers seem to be aware of: Photius, for instance, recalls in some epistles the errors of the Franks, while he “sees bishops south of the Alps as allies in the fight against the addition to the Creed” (T. M. KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin heretics : Byzantines and the Filioque in the ninth century*, Kalamazoo 2008, pp. 149–50).

9. Cf. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, p. 843: “Es ist höchst interessant zu betrachten, wie in späteren Jahrhunderten die vom christlichen Abendlande getrennten Griechen sich den historischen Thatbestand der Spaltung zu erklären und zurechtzusetzen suchten, welche abenteuerlichen Fabeln in einer großen Zahl von Handschriften uns darüber begegnen. Bei dem gänzlichen Mangel an historischem Bewußtsein, an chronologischer Genauigkeit und Kenntniß abendländischer Zustände konnten sich unter den Griechen auch abgeschmackte Mährchen vielfachen Eingang verschaffen.” See also HERGENRÖTHER, *Monumenta*, p. 10, where the *opuscula* are said to be *fabulis referta* (“stuffed with tall tales”). I have already quoted the opinion of Grumel and Darrouzès (see above and n. 1).

10. The bibliography on this subject is too vast to be included here; I refer the reader to the studies by Kolbaba mentioned above, n. 2, 7 and 8; a stimulating and still valuable reading on the issue of Western-Byzantine relations is H. HUNGER, *Graeculus perfidus, Ἰταλὸς ἱταμὸς : Il senso dell'alterità nei rapporti greco-romani ed italo-bizantini*, Roma 1987.

Despite Dvornik's *desideratum* that "it would be of great advantage to publish a new edition of the Greek treatises on the schism,"¹¹ no further research has been conducted so far specifically on this "strange corpus of texts exemplified by Hergenröther's edition" of the three *opuscula*.¹² The only available edition remains Hergenröther's, which is not based on a complete inspection and correct evaluation of the manuscript evidence. Moreover, Hergenröther's transcriptions are more often than not affected by errors, omissions, and unjustified emendations, as I have verified through collation of the manuscripts of *opusc.* III. A modern, synoptical edition and a commentary on the whole corpus of *opuscula*, as well as a study of their diffusion and influence on contemporary and subsequent Byzantine authors, seem thus to be worth undertaking.

On this occasion I merely intend to provide a new edition of the third, longest *opusculum*,¹³ and to say a few words on its main features and on its reception during the last centuries of Byzantium and in early-modern Europe.

II. THE *OPUSCULUM DE ORIGINE SCHISMATIS* NO. III HERGENRÖTHER: SUMMARY AND SOURCES

The general lines of the account are more or less the same in the three texts, though the third one presents some additions, the most consistent being the introductory section (§§ 1–3) devoted to the alleged heresiarch Lucius (Λεύκιος), whose historicity is more than dubious, at least in the terms we are given here.¹⁴

11. DVORNIK, *The Photian schism* (quoted n. 3), p. 456 n. 2. The scholar drew here a provisional list of manuscripts containing other copies (or more often different redactions) of the *opus.* I and II Hergenröther and of the above mentioned treatise by Niketas of Nicaea. A more in-depth investigation of the catalogues of Greek manuscripts would probably allow to identify further additions.

12. KOLBABA, *The legacy of Humbert* (quoted n. 7), p. 54.

13. See above, n. 6.

14. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, p. 853 had proposed an identification either with Lucius of Samosata, a heretic from Alexandria referred to by GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, *Oratio* 25, 11 (*Discours.* 24–26, introd., texte critique, trad. et notes par J. MOSSAY avec la collab. de G. LAFONTAINE, Paris 1981, p. 182) as "the second Arius" (and also mentioned by THEODORETUS OF CYRRHUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 21–3: *Kirchengeschichte*, Hrsg. von L. PARMENTIER, 3., durchges. Aufl. von G. Ch. HANSEN, Berlin 1998, pp. 247–62), or with Leukios/Lucius Charinos, who lived in the fifth century and is remembered by Christian writers as the author of some apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*. First mentioned by Augustine (*Contra Felicem* 2, 6), Lucius' *Acts* were condemned for their dualistic contents by bishop Turribius of Astorga in his epistle *De non recipiendis in auctoritatem fidei apocryphis scripturis etc.* written ca. 440 (see PL 54, 5, col. 694 C). A book entitled *Peregrinations of the Apostles* and attributed to a Lucius was read by Photius, who in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 114) deems it a mass of "childish oddities, incredible stories, lies, nonsense and contradictions," and defines it as "the source and mother of all heresies." For a fuller treatment of this topic see K. SCHÄFERDIEK, *The Manichean collection of apocryphal Acts ascribed to Leucius Charinus*, in *New Testament apocrypha. 2, Writings relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and related subjects*, ed. by W. SCHNEEMELCHER, Engl. translation ed. by R. McL. WILSON, Cambridge – Louisville 1992, pp. 87–100. This tradition might have induced the author of the original account of the anonymous *Vita Sancti Gregorii Agrigentini*, on which the author of our *opusculum* depends for this section, to choose the name Lucius as that of a heretic by antonomasia: see LEONTIOS PRESBYTEROS VON ROM, *Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent*, kritische Ausgabe, Übers. und Kommentar von A. BERGER, Berlin 1995, pp. 376–7. A similar story is to be found in the opusculum *Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων* by patriarch Symeon II of Jerusalem († 1098; this attribution has been questioned; the treatise, however, seems to date back to the 1090s or 1100s: see KOLBABA, *The legacy of Humbert* [quoted n. 7], p. 54) published by B. LEIB, *Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes au début du xii^e siècle*, Roma 1924 (this 131-page volume corresponds indeed to the fascicle 9 of *Orientalia Christiana*, T. II, 3, 1924, pp. 135–263; I quote according to this pagination), pp. 217–39. (Ps.-)Symeon (*ibid.* §§ 6–7, pp. 220–1) tells of the impious Lucius, also known as Felix (Φῆλιξ), a disciple of Apollinaris who allegedly introduced azymes into

Lucius (Λεύκιος), an astrologer and sorcerer,¹⁵ was also a follower of the impious teachings of Mani, Marcion, Valentine and a pneumatomachist¹⁶ (all such heresies had been banished by the sixth council);¹⁷ he also shared those heretics' distorted conception of the incarnation, stating that the son of God had inhabited and vivified an originally inanimate body (he was, therefore, an Apollinarist), according to which he had introduced the practice of using unleavened bread in the eucharistic liturgy. This Lucius held public discussions on matters of dogma with Saint Gregory of Agrigento, while they both were in Palestine; eventually Lucius was exiled from there, and found shelter in Agrigento. After Gregory's accession to the episcopal see (and removal from office due to the calumnious accusations of his adversaries, led by Sabinus and Crescentinus), he took control over the Agrigentine Church, where he committed many impious acts, such as removing the martyrs' relics preserved

the eucharistic celebration; he is said to have taught his heresy in Agrigento, to have come to Rome and to have been eventually elected pope, thanks to his simulated piety and sanctity. Finally, (Ps.-)Symeon overtly blames the Latins, for they "have received from this all-abominable man the use of celebrating the eucharist with azyme bread" (*ibid.* § 7, p. 221). According to HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, pp. 860–2, the "Felixsage" resulted from a reworking of the story of Lucius. On the identification of Lucius/Felix see also LEIB, *ibid.*, pp. 186–7. In adding the name Felix to that of Lucius, (Ps.-)Symeon might have had in mind Felix II, antipope from 355 to 365; also Niketas of Nicaea (PG 120, 716 A–B) holds Pope Felix responsible for a schism with Constantinople (here, however, the text explicitly refers to Felix III, 483–92, and to the "Acacian" schism).

15. The association of astrology and magic with heterodox beliefs and heresy is a topic among early Christian writers: see for instance T. HEGEDUS, *Early Christianity and ancient astrology*, New York 2007, esp. pp. 139–47; and G. SEAMENI GASPARRO, I rischi dell'Hellenismòs: astrologia ed eresia nella *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, in *Des évêques, des écoles et des hérétiques: actes du colloque international sur la « Réfutation de toutes les hérésies »*, Genève, 13–14 juin 2008, éd. par G. ARAGIONE, E. NORELLI, Prahins 2011, pp. 189–217, esp. p. 200 and following (with rich bibliography). Byzantine authors often associate astrology with "hellenism" and heresy (see e.g. the *Vita Symeonis Stilitae iunioris*, chapter 161 ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, Bruxelles 1962–70). In spite of the firm condemnation of those practices issued by the Church on several occasions, it is now well established that the relationship of the Byzantine clergy to astrology and other occult practices remained ambivalent, and that these branches of wisdom also continued to be cultivated by ecclesiastics; for a discussion of the issue see P. MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues: la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance (VII–XIV siècle)*, Paris 2006; and M. MAVROUDI, Occult science and society in Byzantium: considerations for future research, in *The occult sciences in Byzantium*, ed. by P. MAGDALINO, M. MAVROUDI, Geneva 2007, pp. 39–95. Γοητεία (here in the adjectival form) is one of the commonest terms used by Byzantine writers referring to magic: cf. R. P. H. GREENFIELD, A contribution to the study of Palaeologan magic, in *Byzantine magic*, ed. by H. MAGUIRE, Washington 1995, pp. 117–53, at p. 120.

16. In Christian and Byzantine sources these three heresiarchs (all assertors of a dualistic theology) and their respective sects are frequently associated (often together with others): see e.g. JOHN CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae* 3, 10 (PG 47, col. 365A, 26–7); EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *Ancoratus* 63, 6 (ed. K. HOLL, I, Leipzig 1915, p. 76); GEORGIOS MONACHOS, *Chronicon*, ed. C. DE BOOR, rev. P. WIRTH, Stuttgartiae 1978², p. 791, 25 etc.; see also the anonymous text published by P. HOFFMANN, Une lettre de Drosos d'Aradeo sur la fraction du pain (Athous Iviron 190, AD 1297/1298), in *RSBN* 22–3, 1985–6, pp. 245–84, at pp. 266–7, and the parallels quoted there at pp. 268–70 n. 86, 89 and 92. Pneumatomachists (often referred to as Makedonianoi) believed the Spirit to be a created being, and thus inferior to the Father and the Son: a detailed treatment can be found in P. MEINHOLD, Pneumatomachoi, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 21, 1, *Plautius–Polemocrates*, Stuttgart 1951, col. 1066–101; see also K.-H. UTHEMANN, Pneumatomachoi, in *ODB* III. The doctrine of an inanimate body of Christ, whose soul would be replaced by divine *logos* or heavenly *nous*, comes from Apollinarism: unleavened bread symbolizes the human body (of Christ) deprived of a human soul, whilst leavened bread offers a correct image of the incarnation of the Son.

17. The sixth ecumenical council (Constantinopolitanum tertium) of 680–1, which reaffirmed the condemnation for Manicheans, Marcionites, Valentinians, Apollinarists and other heretics: see *ACO*, *ser. sec.* 2/1–2, *conc. Const. III, actio VIII*, p. 258, 21–3; *actio X*, p. 308, 7; *actio XVI*, p. 700, 16–9 al.

within the holy altar of the local church. Afterwards, together with his disciples Sabinus and Crescentinus, Lucius went to Rome; but he was revealed as a heretic and the Pope sent him into exile in Spain.¹⁸ The source of this first section of the account is explicitly declared to be the *Life of Saint Gregory of Agrigento*: in fact, the narration corresponds in its general lines to chapters 56 and 90 in Berger's edition of that text.¹⁹ However, this "Leuciusfabel" (as Hergenröther emphatically defined it²⁰) is also to be found in other sources, such as the tract on the azymes attributed to Symeon II patriarch of Jerusalem.²¹

At this point the anonymous compiler inserts a literal quotation of a couple of passages from book XV of the *Epitome historiarum* of John Zonaras (§§ 4–5), this time without making the reader aware of the borrowing; the excerpted text concerns some crucial events of the late eighth–early ninth centuries: after the death of Pope Adrian (Adrian I, † 795 AD), a troubled election put on the papal throne Leo (Leo III, 795–816), who entered into deep conflict with the Roman nobility and sided with Charlemagne, whom he finally crowned emperor; already Pope Gregory (Gregory III, 731–41) had made alliance with the Frankish rulers and had withdrawn his loyalty from the Byzantine emperor. Exchanges of ambassadors and negotiations between the courts of Charlemagne and of Empress Irene regarding the projected wedding between the two sovereigns failed due to the opposition of the influential eunuch Aetios, who aimed at securing the crown of Byzantium for his brother Leo.²² This excerpt from Zonaras has the function, in our narration, of introducing the Franks and explaining how the Roman popes (and thus the "Italians" or "Latins" *tout court*) abandoned their duties towards their legitimate (i.e. Roman-Byzantine) emperors, and endorsed instead the rule of the new Carolingian kings (both *opusc.* I, 1–2 and II, 1 briefly recall, at their beginning, the seventh ecumenical council, Pope Adrian, his successor Leo, and the coronation of Charlemagne).

From this point on the narration of *opusc.* III follows the general pattern of *opusc.* I and II. Paragraph 6 (cf. *opusc.* I, 1; II, 2) explains how, since the arrival of Charlemagne, the heresy of Lucius, which had originally spread in the Frankish territories, put down roots in Rome: the equivalence of "Franks" and "heretics" is thus implied.²³ This heresy grew and

18. As BERGER, *Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent* (quoted n. 14), pp. 370–1, points out, most probably the hagiographer did not know Spain, and might have mentioned it because it represented to a Byzantine a remote and exotic location, and was traditionally depicted (as results from other mid-Byzantine sources) as a destination for refugees and banished people: see M. VALLEJO GIRVÉS, *El exilio bizantino: Hispania y el Mediterráneo occidental (siglos V–VII)*, in *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica: de la antigüedad tardía a la edad moderna*, I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA, ed. (Nueva Roma 24), Madrid 2004, pp. 117–54, esp. pp. 120–3; we must then agree that "ese destierro [...] en Hispania de los protagonistas de la *Vita Gregorii Agrigentini* resulta ficticio" (*ibid.*, p. 123).

19. BERGER, *Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent* (quoted n. 14); see *ibid.* pp. 377–8, 394–5, and *passim*.

20. HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, p. 869, *passim*.

21. See above, n. 14.

22. A circumstance reported by THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883–5, II, p. 475, 11–5 and 27–32 and other Byzantine sources.

23. The addition of the *Filioque* formula to the *symbolum* was officially recognized by the Frankish episcopate in the local synods held in Frankfurt 794, Cividale del Friuli 796, and Aachen 809. Pope Adrian I allowed the *symbolum* with the addition to be recited during the mass, but he did not authorise any change of the Creed's *textus receptus*. It is possible that already in 807 the modified Creed was recited in the churches of Jerusalem by the Frankish Benedictine monks. Around 808–10 Pope Leo III issued the *Ratio Romana or Ratio de symbolo fidei inter Leonem III papam et missos Caroli imperatoris*, in which he endorsed the objection to the addition made by Thomas, patriarch of Jerusalem. Leo opted for a compromise solution, condemning

gained supporters under Leo's successors, who were all orthodox (§ 7: cf. *opusc.* I, 1; II, 3): Stephen (Stephen IV, 816–7), Paschal (Paschal I, 817–24), Eugene (Eugene II, 824–7), Valentine (827), Gregory (Gregory IV, 827–44), Serge (Serge II, 844–7), Pelagius.²⁴ At this point the account introduces a pope named Leo who is clearly identified as the successor of Serge (II) and the predecessor of Benedict (III): however, the actions referred here to this pope do not concern Leo IV (847–55), as one would expect, but indeed again Leo III: having ascertained the dangerous diffusion of the heresy, Leo (III) sent for help (in the person of learned preachers) to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (807–21) – and not to Constantinople, because at that time the imperial city was troubled with the second phase of iconoclasm (cf. *opusc.* I, 2–3; II, 3). Thomas sent as his envoys to Rome four monks: Michael (the later saint *synkellos*), his disciples Theodoros and Theophanes (the later saints *grapti*) and Iob. During their trip to Rome, the monks stopped in Constantinople, for they were also expected to bring some catechetical letters there; there they were denounced before emperor Theophilus as iconodules and were prevented from carrying on in their trip to Rome (§ 8; cf. *opusc.* I, 4; II, 4–5). Our author here explicitly quotes as his source the anonymous *Life of Saint Michael the Synkellos* (BHG 1296, dating to the second half of the ninth century), which indeed mentions two more reasons for the monks' journey. Apart from this detail, however, the other circumstances evoked in the opusculum correspond to the narration provided by Michael's hagiographer: the monks, headed to Rome, dwelled for a while in Constantinople, where, because of their iconophile beliefs, they were put to trial, condemned and imprisoned.²⁵

the insertion of the *Filioque* formula in the Creed's official text, but not the doctrine of the double procession. For all this see PERI, *Il Filioque divergenza dogmatica?* (quoted n. 8), pp. 723–7; P. GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse zwischen Ost- und Westkirche im Frühmittelalter*, Berlin 2002, especially pp. 123–59. I omit bio-bibliographical information on the popes mentioned here and in the following: on this issue I refer the reader to the *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vol., Roma 2000.

24. Serge II's successor was indeed Leo IV (847–55). The last pope named Pelagius was Pelagius II (579–90).

25. See the introduction of *The life of Michael the Synkellos*, text, transl. and commentary by M. B. CUNNINGHAM (Belfast Byzantine texts and translations 1), Belfast 1991, especially pp. 9–17. The anonymous hagiographer mentions three reasons for the journey: first, Michael was sent to help the pope cope with the issue of some "priests and monks belonging to the nation of the Franks" (chapter 6, transl. p. 55) who recited the Creed with the addition of the *Filioque* formula and chanted it in such a version during the mass. Such a dispute appears to have arisen in Jerusalem between the Frankish Benedictines and the Greek monks; it is known that Leo III intervened in the dispute (see above, n. 23), though it seems unlikely that he appealed for advice to his fellow-patriarch in Jerusalem: this must be an exaggeration by the *Vita's* author (see CUNNINGHAM, *ibid.*, p. 141; according to the reconstruction provided by C. SODE, *Jerusalem, Konstantinopel, Rom : die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi* [Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 4], Stuttgart 2001, pp. 163–202, however, the "sogennante Jerusalemer Filioquestreit" would rather be a product of modern historiography). Second, the monks would have been sent to ask for financial aid, due to the fact that the "impious Hagarenes" (*ibid.*, p. 57) had imposed a new tax on the churches of Jerusalem, which the local clergy was unable to pay. Third (chapter 7), to answer the request of Theodore of Stoudios, who had been banished from Constantinople and had sent an epistle to the patriarch of Jerusalem to get help in contrasting the iconoclast emperor Leo (V) and patriarch Theodotos. CUNNINGHAM, *ibid.* pp. 11–2, concludes that "whereas the issues of the *filioque* and the Arab attacks could thus represent genuine reasons for Michael's journey, the third reason suggested in the *Life* presents chronological difficulties. [...] Vailhé [P. S. VAILHÉ, *Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti saint Théodore et saint Théophane*, ROC 6, 1901, pp. 314–32, 610–42] proves the hagiographer's inaccuracy in this instance, pointing out that in May 814, the date which is assigned in the *Life* for Michael's arrival in Constantinople, Leo V had not yet revived iconoclasm, the patriarch Nikephoros had not yet been replaced by Theodotos, nor was Theodore of Stoudios yet in exile; [...] we must conclude with Vailhé that the saints arrived in Constantinople in 812 or 813, during the reign of Michael I."

Having failed to get any assistance from the eastern patriarchates, Pope Leo (here surely Leo IV) decided to show publicly on the portal of the church the shields²⁶ made under

On this see also V. PERI, Leone III e il *Filioque*: echi del caso nell'agiografia greca, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 25, 1971, pp. 3–58, reprint. in ID., *Da Oriente e da Occidente* (quoted n. 8), vol. II, pp. 588–658, at pp. 597–601. On the contrary, SODÉ, *Jerusalem* (quoted above), pp. 202–7 and 298–9 argues that all the motivations adduced by the hagiographer for the trip are inconsistent, and suggests that the aim of the journey of Michael and his companions might have been to accomplish a pilgrimage to Constantinople and Rome. More convincingly, M.-F. AUZÉPY, De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e–IX^e siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène, *TM* 12, 1994, pp. 183–217 (reprint. in EAD., *L'histoire des iconoclastes* [Bilans de recherche 2], Paris 2007, pp. 221–57—I quote according to the first edition), pp. 210–1, supposes that Michael and the two brothers had quitted Jerusalem in 813 “non pas comme ambassadeurs du patriarche Thomas, mais parce qu'ils étaient en conflit avec lui. La raison du conflit n'est pas connue, mais on peut remarquer que Thomas paraît se rapprocher de Rome plutôt que de Constantinople;” this might explain why the hagiographer felt obliged to invent alternative reasons for the journey, deliberately mixing up “un amalgame des problèmes qui avaient agité tant le patriarcat de Constantinople [...] que celui de Jérusalem,” and resorting to a “tour de passe-passe chronologique [...] pour donner des raisons officielles et idéologiques à un départ pour raisons personnelles: en Palestine, la question du *Filioque* et le durcissement des Arabes fournissent les raisons du départ, que l'hagiographe repousse par ailleurs de deux ans et fixe en 815, pour faire de trois lavriotes des victimes de l'empereur hérétique, Léon V, donnant ainsi une raison irréprochable, du point de vue de l'orthodoxie, à l'arrêt de leur mission à Constantinople.” Be that as it may, after their arrival in Constantinople in 813 during the reign of Michael I, the monks delayed their departure for Rome, and after the new iconoclast persecution broke out under emperor Leo they sided with the iconophiles (“ce choix, notons-le, est personnel et n'est pas la conséquence de leur origine palestinienne, puisque, au VIII^e siècle, la Palestine était, apparemment, peu concernée par la question des icônes”: *ibid.* pp. 211–2), and were, therefore, denounced and imprisoned.

26. According to the life of Saint Leo III included in the *Liber Pontificalis*, three silver shields containing an inscription with the *symbolum* were made under that pope: two of them, one in Greek, one in Latin, were collocated to the left and to the right of the *confessio* in the church of St. Peter (*Le Liber Pontificalis*, texte, introd. et commentaire par L. DUCHESNE, Paris 1955², vol. II, p. 26, ll. 18–20: “pro amore et cautela orthodoxe fidei fecit [...] scutos ex argento II, scriptos utrosque symbolum, unum quidem litteris grecis et alium latinis, sedentes dextra levaque super ingressu corporis”—I have not modified the orthography); another one, with the inscription in Latin only, was set up at St. Paul's church (*ibid.*, ll. 28–9: “fecit et super ingressu corporis scutum ex argento purissimo, in quo orthodoxe fidei symbolum scribi praecepit”). Most probably the two bigger shields with the Greek and Latin versions were placed at the entrance of Saint Peter's church, whilst in St. Paul there was only one smaller shield with the Creed in Latin only: a particular ignored by Byzantine sources, with the exception of John Bekkos; see V. PERI, Il simbolo epigrafico di Leone III nelle basiliche romane di San Pietro e di San Paolo, *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 45, 1968, pp. 191–222, reprint. in ID., *Da Oriente e da Occidente* (quoted n. 8), vol. II, pp. 527–61, at pp. 539–40 and pp. 550–1. On the form of these shields see A. MICHEL, *Humbert und Kerullarios* (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 21 and 23), Paderborn 1924–30, I, 20, n. 5, pp. 115–6, who notices that they are referred to as *tabulae* by the Latin sources, whilst Photius calls them either ἀσπίδες, i.e. *clipei*, oval or round shields, as in *mystag.* 88, or θυρεοί... ὡς περ στήλαι, i.e. *tabulae*, larger and quadrangular shields, as in *Epistula* 291, 81 (ed. B. LAOURDAS – L. G. WESTERINK, 3 vol., Leipzig 1983–5, III, pp. 138–52: 141). The *opuscula* probably depend on Photius, the most ancient source on this episode, who only mentions two silver shields; *opusc.* II, 5 mentions two bronze shields, whilst *opusc.* I, 5 and III, 9 generally talk about “shields”. Photius, as well as the *opuscula*, does not tell of the existence of a parallel Latin version. The three *opuscula* agree with Photius in attributing to Leo IV the decision to display the shields, so far preserved in the church's treasury, on the facade of the “church of the Romans” (neither Photius nor the opuscles specify in which church they were exposed; we may suppose that they allude to St. Peter). Photius mentions two popes named Leo, to be identified with Leo I and Leo IV, as he most probably confuses Leo III and Leo IV, attributing to the latter the commission of the shields (PERI, *ibid.*, p. 544–51). Also the three *opuscula* mingle Leo III and Leo IV, as they attribute to the latter contacts with the Eastern Church which happened under the former: an anachronism due to the confusion (“tutt'altro che impensabile,” as PERI observes *ibid.*, p. 551) between two homonymous pontiffs. The Greek text of the *symbolum* carved on these shields was reputed lost until Vittorio Peri demonstrated that it is to be found, transliterated into Latin characters, in the *Sacramentarium gelasianum* (ed. G. L. DOSSETTI, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli*,

another pope Leo at the time of the fourth ecumenical council,²⁷ which bore a carved inscription with the text of the *Symbolum-Nicaenum* (§ 9; cf. *opusc.* I, 5; II, 5).

Leo's successor, Pope Benedict (Benedict III, 856–8), ordered that the Creed should be read and chanted in Greek in every church under his jurisdiction, and prescribed that no pope should ever be accepted into communion by other ecclesiastical authorities without having previously made his own profession of orthodox faith (§§ 9–10; cf. *opusc.* I, 6; II, 6).²⁸ This section most likely depends on paragraphs 87–8 of Photius' *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* (PG 102, col. 376–80).

Paragraph 11 begins with the commemoration of a series of Roman patriarchs (also present in *opusc.* II, 7) who maintained communion with the see of Constantinople: Paul, Stephen,²⁹ Nicholas (Nicholas I, 858–67), Adrian (Adrian II, 867–72), John (John VIII, 872–82). The latter sent envoys to patriarch Photius, in order to summon a council: the synod was celebrated in Constantinople in 879–80 and was attended by the papal legates, i.e. the bishops Paul (of Ancona) and Eugene (of Ostia) and cardinal Peter, who also ratified its decisions. This synod is the so-called council of Union or second Photian council, which proclaimed the ecumenicity of the council of Nicaea 787, sanctioned the rehabilitation of Photius and, apart from other issues, overtly prohibited any change to the original Creed's formula: the latter is the only decision mentioned in the *opusculum* (such as in *opusc.* II, 7). Here again, the main source appears to be Photius' *Mystagogy* (§ 89, PG 102, col. 380A–382A). The compiler of the *opusculum* was interested in stressing the communion between Photius and Pope John,³⁰ and more importantly the consent of the Roman and Byzantine clergy in the condemnation of the *Filioque*, i.e. the most significant feature of the Frankish-Italian heresy.³¹ *Opusc.* III then quotes *ad*

Roma 1967, p. 174; the same text was then transposed into Greek by C. H. TURNER, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis monumenta juris antiquissima*, II, Oxonii 1907, p. 472), and this text matches exactly with the Latin redaction quoted by Abelardus in chapter IV of his *Sic et non* (PL 178, col. 1357 A–C). Falsifications of this *symbolum* were produced both in Frankish milieu (the so-called *Fides Leonis*, containing the *Filioque*) and in Byzantium: a Greek 14th century forgery was published by V. PERI, Leone III e il Filioque: ancora un falso e l'autentico simbolo romano, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 4, 1968, pp. 3–32, now in ID., *Da Oriente e da Occidente* (quoted n. 8), vol. II, pp. 562–87, at pp. 583–7.

27. As noticed by PERI, Il simbolo epigrafico (quoted n. 26), p. 550, n. 85, the reference in *opusc.* III, 9 to Pope Leo who “avendo iscritto la colonna dell'ortodossia (traendola) dal quarto santo concilio, l'aveva fatta riporre nel Tesoro in un periodo anteriore,” sounds ambiguous and may be explained as the result of the confusion between the title of *stele tes orthodoxias* (“colonna dell'ortodossia”), attributed in the East to the *Tomus ad Flavianum* by Leo I the Great (the tome or letter addressed to Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, dated June 13, 449, regarding the coexistence of the divine and human natures in Christ; it was read and accepted at the fourth ecumenical council, which met in Chalcedon in 451; it is referred to as *tome* or *stele* by Byzantine sources, such as for instance GEORGIOS MONACHOS, *Chronicon* [quoted n. 16], p. 612, 17–8; LEO, METROPOLITAN OF SYNADA, *Epistula* 11, 25, ed. M. POLLARD VINSON, Washington DC 1985, p. 16 etc.), and the column on which Leo IV had exposed a *symbolum* which had already been written on before him and which bore a text conforming to that of the *symbolum* proclaimed by the most ancient ecumenical councils.

28. The same anecdote on Leo and Benedict is to be found in later sources, such as the anonymous writing concerning John Bekkos and Photius published by J. DARROUZÈS and V. LAURENT, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273–1277)* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 16), Paris 1976, pp. 529–37, at pp. 529–31.

29. Neither Paul I (757–67) nor the popes named Stephen and numbered from I to V may fit this chronology.

30. The (initial) consent between Photius and the Roman papacy is also emphasized by other Byzantine sources, such as NIKETAS CHONIATES, *Thes.*, t. 22 (on this, see BOSSINA, *Niketas* [quoted n. 2], p. 180).

31. Our source presupposes therefore the existence of a neat contraposition on this fundamental issue between the Carolingian clergy and the Roman and Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchies (see above, n. 8). On

litteram some passages from the proceedings of that council, namely from the sixth and the seventh sessions, which state the prohibition to modify the Creed;³² whilst the text of the *actio* VII printed by Mansi only has the very beginning of the Creed pronounced on that occasion,³³ the author of the *opusculum* supplies the entire text of the *symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* (*opusc.* I omits the narration of the events concerning the council, whereas in *opusc.* II, 7 they are briefly summarized; neither quotes the Acts).

The account then turns back to the heretics, who, being exiled from Rome, had fled to Bulgaria; the Bulgarians risked being contaminated by their teachings, had Photius not sent letters to the local bishops in order to warn them against such heresy. The compiler stresses that these letters did not provoke any rupture with Pope John, as the Roman Church was prey to this heresy only after many years (§ 12).³⁴

the Constantinopolitan council of 879–80 see DVORNIK, *The Photian schism* (quoted n. 3), pp. 159–201; V. PERI, Il concilio di Costantinopoli dell'879/80 come problema filologico e storiografico, *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 9, 1977, pp. 29–42, reprint. in Id., *Da Oriente e da Occidente* (quoted n. 8), vol. I, pp. 269–85; Id., Il ristabilimento dell'unione delle chiese nell'879/80: il concilio di Santa Sofia nella storiografia moderna, *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 11, 1979, pp. 18–37, reprint. *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 286–310; G. DAGRON, L'Église et l'État (milieu IX^e-fin X^e siècle), in *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*. 4, *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, sous la dir. de J.-M. MAYEUR et al., Paris 1993, pp. 167–240, and in particular 169–86; L. SIMEONOVA, *Diplomacy of the letter and the cross: Photius, Bulgaria and the papacy, 860s-880s*, Amsterdam 1998, pp. 317–24.

32. Though in the past some scholars have doubted the authenticity of the proceedings of the sixth and seventh sessions of the 879–80 council, these are now generally considered to be genuine (for a discussion of the issue and a survey of the different positions see DVORNIK, *The Photian schism* [quoted n. 3], pp. 194–6). The text of the proceedings is available in I. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, t. XVII, Venetiis 1772, col. 374–526 (“Pseudo-synodus Photiana”). Mansi's edition depends on the text prepared by the Jesuit Jean Hardouin in 1714 (the transcription had indeed been materially executed for him from a Vatican manuscript by his brothers Philippe Amyot d'Inville and Joseph de Jouvancy in 1703). A census of the extant copies (dozens, according to Peri) and of the different versions (one containing the Acts of the first four sessions, another those of all seven sessions) and a critical edition of them is a *desideratum*: PERI, Il concilio di Costantinopoli [quoted n. 31], pp. 284–5 and 299–310. The passages included in the *opusculum* come from the proceedings of the *Actio sexta* (Mansi, col. 512–20), and from those of the *Actio septima* (*ibid.*, col. 520–4). The *opusculum* reproduces the text with some omissions (also of entire sentences and passages: for instance, after παραπέμπομεν of Mansi 517 A, the text jumps to 520 E καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν κτλ., thus omitting a considerable part of the *Actio sexta*). While some textual variants are likely to be due to the redactor of the *opusculum* (such as in the case of the erroneous ἀπλανεστάτους—my edition, l. 106—for Mansi's ἀπλανεστάτη), others might suggest that he depends on a manuscript tradition partially different from that of Hardouin's-Mansi's exemplar (as in the case of the following readings: 118 τούτου: τοῦ προτέρου Mansi; 137 μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῖν διαφοιτήσαν: μακαρίων καὶ ἱερῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν μεχρὶς [sic] ἡμῶν διαφοιτήσαν Mansi; 147 τολμήσει: τολμήσειεν Mansi; 148 ἀφαιρεῖν: ἀφελεῖν Mansi; 150 ὁμολογίαν: ὁμολόγησιν Mansi; 153 οἰκουμενικῆς μεγάλῃς συνόδου: οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλῃς συνόδου Mansi). The author of the *opusculum* supplies the text of the *Symbolum Nicaenum* omitted by Mansi, who after Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα (121) reads καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τέλους and resumes from οὕτω φρονούμεν (133).

33. The insertion of a *horos* or *symbolum* within the proceedings was a common practice since the first councils; in the case of the council of 879–80, “the time for the proclamation of the *horos* was held over till the session that was attended by the emperor, who presided and proposed the Symbol of the council of Nicaea and of Constantinople for adoption as the Symbol of faith of the present synod. After a dogmatic introduction, the Symbol was read out by the protonotary Peter, after which the Fathers firmly forbade any alteration, addition or suppression to be made to the Symbol. The emperor then, together with his sons, signed the Acts of the Council and the Symbol. [...] The *horos* was adopted by acclamation” (DVORNIK, *The Photian schism* [quoted n. 3], p. 195).

34. Most probably the reference here to “epistles” alludes to the *encyclica* to the Eastern patriarchs, i.e. those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem (*Epistula* 2, ed. LAOURDAS – WESTERINK [quoted n. 26], I, pp. 39–53); in this letter, dated 867 (but the text as we read it is probably a later reworking of the original one) Photius warns the Western missionaries in Bulgaria to make no addition to the *symbolum*; lines 101–207 are devoted

Both Pope John and his successors Marinos (Marinos I, 882–4), Adrian (Adrian III, 884–5) and Stephen (Stephen V, 885–91) were in communion with the Greeks. It was with Formosus (891–6) that the heresy definitively took root in Rome; Formosus, though not overtly, but in disguise, was in fact an offspring of it, and entrusted several ecclesiastical positions to his fellow heretics (cf. *opusc.* I, 7; *opusc.* II, 7).³⁵ The popes elected after Formosus were all heretics, though all of them feigned orthodox devotion: Boniface (Boniface VI, 896), Stephen (Stephen VI, 896–7), Romanus (897), Theodore (Theodore II, 897–8), John (John IX, 898–900), Benedict (Benedict IV, 900–3), Leo (Leo V, 903), the “demoniac” Christopher (antipope, 903–4) and his “accomplice” and successor Sergius. The latter is said to have lived at the time of Basil the Bulgar Slayer and to have included in his systatic letter to the patriarch of Constantinople—he, too, named Sergius (Sergius II, 999–1019)—a profession of faith that contained, as never before, the *Filioque* formula³⁶ (§§ 14–5): the *opusculum* must refer, therefore, not to Christopher’s successor Sergius III (904–11), but to Sergius IV (1009–12).³⁷ Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople, then, having tried in vain to recall his Roman colleagues to their prior devotion, removed their names from the diptychs, thus interrupting the tradition of commemorating the pope during the divine liturgy, and breaking communion with the Roman see (§ 16: cf. *opusc.* I, 8–10; II, 9–10). A mention of this schism, which allegedly happened under Patriarch Sergius II and the reign of emperor Basil II, also occurs in other Byzantine accounts written after 1054, as in the lists of errors of the Latins composed by Niketas of Nicaea.³⁸

to the erroneous addition of the *Filioque* which is taught among the Bulgars by the Westerners and contain a brief confutation of the theological premises of it. The letter also offers a summary of allegations of Latin errors, most of which were to be found in the heretical teachings of the Western missionaries in Bulgaria (erroneous practices concerning fasting, celibacy of priests, baptism, etc.; see SIMEONOVA, *Diplomacy* [quoted n. 31], pp. 231–40). A similar warning concerning the addition to the Creed is to be found in Photius’ letter to the patriarch of Aquileia (*Epistula* 291, ed. LAOURDAS – WESTERINK [quoted n. 26], dated ca. 883/884); here Photius refers to Popes Leo I and Leo III, Adrian I and John VIII, and insists on the fact that they kept the *symbolum* untouched, as did the vast majority of Western theologians and of the Church fathers; Photius also recalls that the legates recently sent to Constantinople by Pope John (for the 879–80 council) agreed on the original formula of the *symbolum*. I would exclude an allusion to the famous letter to Boris of Bulgaria (*Epistula* 1, ed. LAOURDAS – WESTERINK [quoted n. 26], I, pp. 1–39). On those writings by Photius see also KOLBABA, *Inventing* (quoted n. 8), pp. 57–72, 104–7 and 118–9, who also reflects on the questioned attribution to Photius of both *ep.* 2 and the *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*.

35. As to the “Formosan schism”, also known to Slavic sources, DVORNIK, *The Photian schism* (quoted n. 3), p. 260, noticed that, in spite of the testimony of our treatise, “it all goes to prove that Formosus did not break off relations with the Byzantine Church,” and that most probably (*ibid.*, n. 3) “Greek ill-feeling for Formosus as expressed in the later treatises on the Schism is probably due to Formosus’s activities in Bulgaria, which possibly started rumours about his heretical doctrine on the *Filioque* of which he is accused in those writings.”

36. The “Carolingian” symbol which included the *Filioque* clause was probably introduced in the liturgical usage of the Roman Church in the early eleventh century, perhaps under Pope Benedict VIII in 1014: see GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse* (quoted n. 23), pp. 313–6.

37. Again a confusion between homonyms, as in the case of Popes Leo III and IV (see n. 26).

38. The chronology of the removal of the name of the pope in the diptychs of the oriental patriarchates is difficult to ascertain; a *terminus ante quem* is 1054. According to a well-known epistle of Peter, patriarch of Antioch (*Epistula 5 ad Cerularium*, ed. C. WILL, *Acta et scripta [...]*, Lipsiae – Marburgi 1861, pp. 192, 29–193, 3), the pope’s name was still commemorated in Antioch and Constantinople in 1007–9, but sometime after this usage was dismissed. The alleged Sergian schism is mentioned in the *opuscula* as well as in other Byzantine texts, such as the treatise by Niketas of Nicaea (PG 120, col. 717 D), which states that the removal of the name of the pope from the diptychs dates back to the years of Patriarch Sergius II and Pope Sergius IV; other sources maintain that the communion between the Roman popes and the Constantinopolitan patriarchs lasted until the patriarchate of Sergius II (see for instance Ps.-PHOTIUS, *epit. de Sp. s. mystagogia*, PG 102,

The story ends here, while both the other two texts published by Hergenröther include the facts concerning patriarch Michael Keroularios (*opusc.* I, 10; II, 11), and one of them continues until the times of emperor Alexius Comnenus (*opusc.* II, 12–3).³⁹

To sum up, our *opusculum* appears to be an amplified version of the account attested by the other two redactions. Apart from some omissions and additions,⁴⁰ the distinctive feature of *opusc.* III is the constant effort to quote the sources of the story, whilst in the other two the facts are simply narrated without any reference to a possible provenance of the information. The compiler resorted to an ample range of *fontes*, both literary texts (hagiographies, histories, epistles) and official documents (such as the *Acta* of the Photian council of 879–80). This might prove that the compiler of *opusc.* III had access to a good library, and most significantly that he was concerned with the historical likelihood of the account (though he seems unable to judge the reliability of his sources). A *terminus post quem* for the composition of *opusc.* III is provided by the publication of the history of John Zonaras (mid-twelfth century), the most recent source to be overtly quoted by the author of the *opusculum*; a *terminus ante quem* is provided by the redaction of the two treatises of Georgios Moschamper (last two-three decades of the thirteenth century), in which long passages of the *opusculum* itself are plagiarized (see below).⁴¹

All this having being said, only a thorough analysis of the entire manuscript evidence and a parallel edition of the three texts could lead to more reliable conclusions on the genesis and date of this corpus of *opuscula*.

III. A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PLAGIARISM AND ITS *FORTLEBEN*

A central role in the diffusion of our account of the origins of the schism during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was played by Georgios Moschamper, an obscure theologian who was active in the last third of the thirteenth century.⁴² According to V. Laurent, Moschamper, a fierce anti-Latin polemicist and opponent of the Union

col. 396 A-B: Καὶ μέχρι τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σεργίου οἱ Πρώμης ἀρχιερεῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης συστατικὰς τῆς ἐαυτῶν θρησκείας ἐκπέμποντες ἐπιστολάς εἰς πάντας τοὺς πατριαρχικοὺς θρόνους τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως ἀπαράλλάκτως ἐνέταττον; the passage was included by Euthymius Zygabenus in his *Panoplia*, tit. XIII: cf. PG 130, col. 876 D); on this issue cf. GRUMEL, *Regestes*, pp. 329–30, and A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit: das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Köln 2002, pp. 36–45, with indication of all texts in which the “Sergian schism” is mentioned; STEPHENSON, *The legend* (quoted n. 5), pp. 74–5; GEMEINHARDT, *Die Filioque-Kontroverse* (quoted n. 23), pp. 316–21. In *opusc.* II, 9, Boniface is said to be καλός; moreover, Christopher is explicitly referred to as he who officially introduced the *Filioque* formula into the Creed and the use of azymes into the liturgy.

39. *Opusc.* II, 13 mentions the writings against the azymes and the *Filioque* composed by Euthymius Zygabenus and John Phournes on commission of Alexios I Comnenus, as well as John Zonaras’ canonical compilation. As to Keroularios, KOLBABA, *The legacy of Humbert* (quoted n. 7), p. 55, could not individuate any “securely datable treatise” (and for sure no “twelfth century treatise”) referring to him.

40. I have underlined the main discrepancies between the texts. On this, see also HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, t. III, pp. 858–9.

41. This *terminus ante quem* excludes the later chronology suggested by GRUMEL, *Regestes* (see above, n. 7).

42. Moschamper’s biography was reconstructed by V. LAURENT, *La vie et les œuvres de Georges Moschabar*, *ÉO* 28, 1929, pp. 129–58; see also ID., *À propos de Georges Moschabar, polémiste antilatin*, *ÉO* 35, 1936, pp. 336–47. Further information in LAURENT and DARROUZÈS, *Dossier grec* (quoted n. 28), pp. 19–24; *PLP* VIII, no. 19344. More recent studies include X. ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΣ [Ch. SABBATOS], *Γεωργίου Μοσχάμπαρ Ἀπόδειξις ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον βλάσφημον κεφάλαιον τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένο “περὶ θεῶν ὀνομάτων” ἀκριβέστερον*, *Θεολογία* 72, 2001, pp. 487–544; Δ. Ι. ΜΟΝΙΟΥ [D. I. MONIΟΥ], *Γεώργιος Μοσχάμπαρ. Ἐνας ἀνδονοτικός θεολόγος τῆς πρώιμης Παλαιολογείας περιόδου. Βίος καὶ ἔργο*, Ἀθήναι [Athens] 2011;

of the Churches ratified at the Council of Lyons in 1274, had concealed his radical opinions under the reign of the unionist emperor Michael VIII, during which he pursued a quite brilliant career as a teacher and a churchman; nevertheless, in those same years he anonymously authored and disseminated several anti-Latin pamphlets, mostly dealing with the issue of the *Filioque*. When the new emperor Andronikos II rejected his father's politics and repudiated the deliberations of Lyons, Moschampar disclosed his own harsh feelings towards the *Latinophrones* and the Western Christians, and acknowledged his authorship of his writings.

The most successful one (to judge from the number of surviving manuscript copies) seems to have been the *Dispute with a Latinophron and follower of Bekkos on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, a lengthy refutation of the doctrine of the double procession, in the form of a dialogue between an "Orthodox" and a supporter of the Latin theories. Only two manuscripts preserve the original version of the treatise, in 52 chapters, whilst all the remaining copies transmit an abridged version, consisting of the first 20 chapters of it. At the beginning of the tract, before tackling the core of the discussion and the analytical examination of the theological arguments, the Latinophron asks the Orthodox to explain how and when the two Churches were divided; the Orthodox's reply entails nothing more than the very text of our *Opusculum de origine schismatis*.⁴³ Moschampar also incorporated the same text in a chapter of his *Capita antirrhethica contra Johannem Beccum*,⁴⁴ a prolix refutation of the opinions of the former patriarch of Constantinople and staunch defender of the unionist ideal, who had fallen into disgrace and had been imprisoned under Andronikos II. On both occasions Moschampar extensively plagiarized the *opusculum*, as we can see from the following *specimina*.⁴⁵

here, at pp. 283–455, an edition of the *Capita antirrhethica contra Beccum*. All other works by Moschampar lack a modern edition, as well as a thorough and overall study.

43. The dialogue's shortened redaction was published as a work by Maximos Margounios: Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ταπεινοῦ Κυθέρων ἐπισκόπου Διάλογος. Τὰ πρόσωπα, Γραικὸς καὶ Λατίνος, (ἦτοι) ὀρθόδοξος καὶ Λατίνος. Place and year of publication do not appear in the book, which according to É. LEGRAND (*Bibliographie hellénique ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, I, Paris 1894, p. 238) and others was printed in Constantinople in 1627. Others have suggested, more convincingly, that the book was printed in London in 1624: see L. AUGLIERA, *Libri, politica, religione nel Levante del Seicento: la tipografia di Nicodemo Metaxas primo editore di testi greci nell'Oriente ortodosso* (Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Memorie. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti 62), Venezia 1996, pp. 34–5, 237. On this treatise's manuscript tradition see LAURENT, *La vie* (quoted n. 42), p. 146; LAURENT and DARROUZÈS, *Dossier grec* (quoted n. 28), pp. 21–2; L. SILVANO, Massimo Planude o Giorgio Moschampar? Sull'attribuzione di un libello antilatino contenuto nel ms. Vindobonense theol. gr. 245, *Medioevo greco* 6, 2006, pp. 199–203; ID., Un inedito opuscolo *De fide* d'autore incerto già attribuito a Massimo Planude, *Medioevo greco* 10, 2010, pp. 227–61, at pp. 228–33. A tentative Italian translation of the *opusculum* in the version provided by Moschampar's *Dialogue* may be read in L. SILVANO, L'origine dello scisma in un dialogo di Giorgio Moschampar, *Porphyra* 13/2, 2009, pp. 13–23.

44. Chapter 33, in MONIOU, Γεώργιος Μοσχάμπαρ (quoted n. 42), pp. 447–53; the same portion of chapter 33 of the *Contra Beccum* had previously been published in Δ. Ι. ΜΟΝΙΟΥ [D. I. MONIOU], Μὴ ἀνέκδοτη πραγματεία τοῦ Γεωργίου Μοσχάμπαρ, *Byzantina* 28, 2008, pp. 69–80—here, Moniou did not make any reference to the unique source of Moschampar's account, i.e. our *opusculum*; also in her recent monograph, however, the issue of the chapter's sources is not given much attention.

45. The underlined passages in the first column are those omitted by Moschampar in the writings quoted in the facing columns; in the second and third columns I have put into italics the original sections of Moschampar's texts (i.e. those not borrowed from the *opusculum*). The only significant variant of Moschampar's versions is *πέμπτην οἰκουμένην συνόδον* instead of *ἑκτὴν οἰκουμένην συνόδον* of the *opusculum*.

Opusculum de origine schismatis
no. III Hergenröther, par. 1–3.

Georgius Moschamper, *Dialogus contra Latinophronem de Processione S. Spiritus*, pp. 9–10 Metaxas.

Georgius Moschamper, *Capita antirrhethica contra Beccum*, cap. 33, pp. 447, 1–448, 27 Moniou.

Λατίνος. – Τί οὖν ἐκπαλαι τὰς ἀναδέματι καθυποβληθείσας αἱρέσεις ἢ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκκλησία ἔσεβε καὶ κατεῖχε; Καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, πῶς ἐν ταῖς οἰκουμενικαῖς συνόδοις οἱ ταύτης ἀρχιερεῖς ἀπήντων καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν ἐπεκύρουν; Πῶς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ὁ Ἀδριανὸς παρῶν ἐπεσφράγισε σύνοδον, εἰ τὰς ἐκπαλαι ἀναδέματι καθυποβληθείσας αἱρέσεις ἔσεβε καὶ κατεῖχε; Ξενίζοντα ταῦτα λέγεις, ὦ οὗτος. Εἰ δ' ὕστερον ἢ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέπεσεν ἐκκλησία, φράσον πότε καὶ παρὰ τίνος, καὶ πῶς τὴν τοιαύτην πέπονθε πτώσιν· τάχα ἂν οὕτως ἐπιγνωσώμεθα καθαρώς τὴν περὶ τούτων ἀλήθειαν.

Γραικός. – Οὐδαμῶς ἐκπαλαι τὰς τοιαύτας αἱρέσεις ἢ τότε ἀγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία τῆς Ῥώμης ἔσεβε καὶ κατεῖχεν· ὕστερον δὲ καὶ προσφάτως ἐπὶ τε τῆς βασιλείας κυρίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Βουλγαροκτόνου καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Σεργίου πατριαρχίας, ἢ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκκλησία ἐκλάπη καὶ κατετυραννήθη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἀθέων αἱρέσεων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πέπονθεν πτώσιν· ὅπως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τίνος καὶ πότε, ἦδη σοι ὡς ἐν βραχεὶ διεξέρχομαι.

Λεύκιός τις ὀνόματι τὴν δι' ἀστρονομίας γοητευτικὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένος καὶ τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου αἵρεσιν ὅλην ἐκπεπωκώς, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μάνεντος Οὐαλεντίνου τε καὶ Μαρκιῶνος (αὕτη γὰρ ἢ αἵρεσις τὴν μὲν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀπαρνείται, οὐράνιον καταγγέλλουσα προσεληφέναι τὸν κύριον σῶμα, ἄψυχόν τε καὶ ἄνουν, ἀρκεῖν ἀντὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν θεότητα φάσκοντες· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἄζυμον ἐκτελοῦσι θυσίαν, κατάλληλον τῷ προσληφθέντι ἀψύχῳ τε καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὡς φασὶ σῶματι), ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν πνευματομαχικὴν

Κεφάλαιον λγ'. Περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ διὰ τίνων ἡ Ῥώμης ἐξέπεσεν ἐκκλησία.

Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Μαξίμου [scil. ὁμολογητοῦ] Λεύκιός τις ὀνόματι, τὴν δι' ἀστρονομίας γοητευτικὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένος καὶ τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου αἵρεσιν ὅλην ἐκπεπωκώς, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μάνεντος, Οὐαλεντίνου τε καὶ Μαρκιῶνος (αὕτη γὰρ ἢ αἵρεσις τὴν μὲν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀπαρνείται, οὐράνιον καταγγέλλουσα προσεληφέναι τὸν κύριον σῶμα, ἄψυχόν τε καὶ ἄνουν, καὶ ἀρκεῖν ἀντὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν θεότητα φάσκοντες· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἄζυμον ἐκτελοῦσι θυσίαν, κατάλληλον τῷ προσληφθέντι ἀψύχῳ τε καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὡς φασὶ σῶματι), ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν πνευματομαχικὴν

Λεύκιός τις ὀνόματι τὴν δι' ἀστρονομίας γοητευτικὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένος καὶ τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου αἵρεσιν ὅλην ἐκπεπωκώς, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μάνεντος Οὐαλεντίνου τε καὶ Μαρκιῶνος (αὕτη γὰρ ἢ αἵρεσις τὴν μὲν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀπαρνείται, οὐράνιον καταγγέλλουσα προσεληφέναι τὸν κύριον σῶμα, ἄψυχόν τε καὶ ἄνουν, ἀρκεῖν ἀντὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὴν θεότητα φάσκουσα· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἄζυμον ἐκτελοῦσι θυσίαν, κατάλληλον τῷ προσληφθέντι ἀψύχῳ τε καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὡς φασὶ σῶματι), ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν πνευματομαχικὴν

οὗτος ὁλην ἐκπεπωκώς αἵρεσιν· μετὰ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκτὴν οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, ἥτις τὰς τοιαύτας αἵρέσεις τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε μετὰ τῶν αἰρεσιάρχων τούτων, εἰς ὅψιν ἦλθε τῷ ἁγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ὑστερον ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερατεύσαντι καὶ πλείστας ἄμφω ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ συγκροτήσαντες διαλέξεις (ἐκεῖσε γὰρ οὗτοι ἐτύγχανον τότε) κατακράτος ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος τοῦτον κατήσχυεν. Εἶτα ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκδιωχθεὶς κατήντησεν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ἐν τινὶ σπηλαίῳ κρυπτόμενος, διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγορίου κατάσχεσιν τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ δόλου ἐπέβη καὶ πλείστα μιὰρὰ ἐκεῖσε κατεργασάμενος, ὥς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν καταστρέφειν διὰ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τὰ λείψανα ἐξελεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς (ἡγεῖτο γὰρ βδελυκτὰ ταῦτα ὁ βέβηλος, <καὶ> ἐναπέρριψεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος), ὥς καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦδε Γρηγορίου ὁ λόγος διαγορεύει σαφέστατα. Εἶτα κάκειθεν πάλιν ἀποδιώκεται διὰ τὰς ἀνοσιουργίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαμβάνει μετὰ Σαβίνου καὶ Κρησκεντίνου τούτων ὑπερμαχεῖν ἱμειρόμενος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου κατηγορίας συμπλέκειν· ὅθεν καὶ φωραθεὶς ἐξόριστος εἰς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα ἐκπέμπεται· κακεῖσε γοῦν διὰ τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γοητείας αὐτοῦ πλείστον λαὸν ἀπατήσας, τὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτοις ἐξήμεσε βόρβορον.

οὗτος ὁλην ἐκπεπωκώς ἦν αἵρεσιν· μετὰ τὴν πέμπτην οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, ἥτις τὰς τοιαύτας αἵρέσεις τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε, μετὰ τῶν αἰρεσιάρχων τούτων εἰς ὅψιν ἦλθε τῷ ἁγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ὑστερον ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερατεύσαντι· καὶ πλείστας ἄμφω συγκροτήσαντες διαλέξεις κατὰ κράτος ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος τοῦτον κατήσχυεν. Εἶτα ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐκδιωχθεὶς κατήντησεν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγορίου κατάσχεσιν· διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐκκλησίας ἐπέβη καὶ πλείστα μιὰρὰ ἐκεῖσε κατεργασάμενος, ὥς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν καταστρέφειν διὰ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τὰ λείψανα ἐξελεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς (ἡγεῖτο γὰρ βδελυκτὰ ταῦτα ὁ βέβηλος), κάκειθεν πάλιν ἐκδιωχθεὶς διὰ τὰς ἀνοσιουργίας αὐτοῦ, τὴν Φραγγίαν κατέλαβε κακεῖσε διὰ τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γοητείας αὐτοῦ πλείστον λαὸν ἀπατήσας, τὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτοις ἐξήμεσε βόρβορον.

οὗτος ὁλην ἐκπεπωκώς αἵρεσιν· μετὰ τὴν πέμπτην οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, ἥτις τὰς τοιαύτας αἵρέσεις τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε, μετὰ τῶν αἰρεσιάρχων τούτων εἰς ὅψιν ἦλθε τῷ ἁγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ὑστερον ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερατεύσαντι· καὶ πλείστας ἄμφω συγκροτήσαντες διαλέξεις κατὰ κράτος ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος τοῦτον κατήσχυεν. Εἶτα ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐκδιωχθεὶς κατήντησεν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγορίου κατάσχεσιν· διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐκκλησίας ἐπέβη καὶ πλείστα μιὰρὰ ἐκεῖσε κατεργασάμενος, ὥς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν καταστρέφειν διὰ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τὰ λείψανα ἐξελεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς (ἡγεῖτο γὰρ βδελυκτὰ ταῦτα ὁ βέβηλος), κάκειθεν πάλιν ἐκδιωχθεὶς διὰ τὰς ἀνοσιουργίας αὐτοῦ, τὴν Φραγγίαν κατέλαβε κακεῖσε διὰ τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γοητείας αὐτοῦ πλείστον λαὸν ἀπατήσας, τὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτοις ἐξήμεσε βόρβορον.

Both Moschampar's redactions omit some particular information (yet not always insignificant: the mention in *opusc.* III, 1 of the location of the first meeting between Gregorius and Lucius, i.e. Palestine, is lacking in Moschampar, with the result that Lucius is abruptly said to have been banished from that region) and also longer passages (for instance, Moschampar does not copy the part of paragraphs 4–6 borrowed from Zonaras, and omits a considerable part of paragraph 11, concerning the Photian synod of 879–80 and the related proceedings). The portions derived from the *opusculum* are not all the same in the *Capita* and in the *Dispute* (the latter, for instance, omits par. 7 and synthesizes par. 10, whilst the former omits par. 14).

Thanks to the fact that it provided an ample as well as handy repertory of polemical arguments and patristic quotations on the issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit, Moschampar's *Dispute with a Latinophron*, and in particular its abridged, anonymous 20-chapter version, enjoyed a wide diffusion in the Byzantine-Orthodox world; it was printed probably in 1624 by Nicodemus Metaxas under a false attribution to the former bishop of Kythera Maximos Margounios (1549–1602),⁴⁶ and manuscript copies of it were produced and circulated till the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

Starting with the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, Greek uniate theologians and scholars also showed an interest in Moschampar's treatise: this was the case with Cardinal Bessarion, who owned a copy of the abridged version of the treatise,⁴⁸ and with Leone Allacci (1586–1669), who published and translated some passages of it.⁴⁹

From the sixteenth century onwards Moschampar's treatise, together with other writings by Byzantine historians and theologians, made its way north of the Alps. Protestant intellectuals were interested in such texts because they were the expression of a different point of view—non-Roman Catholic—on the history of the Church and in particular on several doctrinal and juridical points (such as the Roman pope's primacy) that were objects of dispute at that time.⁵⁰ Manuscript copies of Moschampar's treatise belonged to

46. See n. 43.

47. 15 manuscripts have been listed by ΜΟΝΙΟΥ, Γεώργιος Μοσχάμπαρ (quoted n. 42), pp. 89–99. The list, however, is not complete: there are at least three more copies, one dating back to the fourteenth century (MS Hagion Oros, Μονὴ Ξενοφώντος 14 = Athon. 716), the other two written after the Constantinople edition (MS Zagora, Δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη 68, of the eighteenth century; MS Athens, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων 128, of the nineteenth century—this one seems to contain a fragmentary redaction). I will return to this issue on another occasion.

48. Under Bessarion's supervision the text was copied in the MS now Venice, Marc. gr. Z 150 (coll. 490), dated 1431.

49. *Leonis Allatii in Roberti Creyghtoni apparatus, versionem et notas ad historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Silvestro Syropulo [...]*, Romae 1674 (I was not able to consult the edition printed in Rome in 1665) pp. 194–6. Allacci quotes (alternatively reporting the Greek text or translating it into Latin) some passages from the anonymous redaction of Moschampar, corresponding to *opusc.* III, 9–10 and 13. Allacci quotes again *opusc.* III, 9–10 in Greek (with facing Latin translation), again via Moschampar/Margounios, in his confutation of the legend of the popess Johanna (*Leonis Allatii De Ioanna papissa fabula commentatio*, Romae 1630, p. 17; Allacci suggests “Barlaam monachus” as the possible author of the *Dispute*), and returns in other writings to the shields engraved with the *symbolum* commissioned by Pope Leo III (cf. PERI, *Il simbolo epigrafico* [quoted n. 26], pp. 531–2).

50. On the interest of both Catholic and Protestant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scholars in Byzantine literature see at least the surveys by L. CANFORA, *La riscoperta dei Bizantini*, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*. 3. *Le culture circostanti*. 1, *La cultura bizantina*, a cura di G. CAVALLO, Roma 2004, pp. 635–90, and A. BEN-TOV, *Lutheran humanists and Greek antiquity: Melanchthonian scholarship between universal history and pedagogy* (Brill's studies in intellectual history 183), Leiden – Boston 2009; see also the considerations of D. van MIERT, *Project Procopius: Scaliger, Vulcanius, Hoeschelius and the pursuit of early Byzantine history*, in *Bonaventura Vulcanius, works and networks: Bruges 1538 – Leiden 1614*, papers ed. by H. CAZES (Brill's studies in intellectual history 194), Leiden – Boston 2010, pp. 361–86, at pp. 364–6. In particular, Byzantine texts on issues such as the history of the schism, the ecumenical councils, and the papal primacy became fashionable, as well as controversial figures like Photius (“primo Lutero” according to the counter-reformed Catholics: L. CANFORA, *La biblioteca del patriarca: Fozio censurato nella Francia di Mazzarino* [Piccoli saggi 2], Roma 1998, p. 232); hence the interest in writings such as the “anti-Photian collection” and the Acts of the councils of 869–70 and 879–80: on this issue I refer the reader to the other studies published by L. Canfora and his school, such as the recent G. CARLUCCI, *I Prolegomena di André Schott alla Biblioteca di Fozio*, Bari 2012.

the libraries of the Lutheran scholar and theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–75)⁵¹ and of the bibliophile and philologist Johannes Sambucus (1531–84: formally a Catholic, though he “almost certainly sympathised with Lutheranism”).⁵²

Our itinerary ends with the Flemish classicist and collector of manuscripts Bonaventura Vulcanius.⁵³ One autograph notebook of his, now preserved at Leiden’s University Library, contains, among other material, the draft of a partial Latin translation of Moschampar’s *Dialogue with a Latinophron* (MS Vulc. gr. 9, ff. 86^r–87^v).⁵⁴ Vulcanius must have had at his disposal an anonymous and untitled version of the treatise, for the title he gives is not attested in the manuscripts containing Moschampar’s treatise that I have been able to see so far: “*Alius dialogus Latini et Graeci de causis divulsionis ecclesiarum orientalis et occidentalis.*” What follows, however, is unequivocally the incipit of Moschampar’s dialogue (cf. ed. Metaxas, p. 7):

LATinus: – *Quamobrem divellimini a nobis, neque communicatis nobiscum, perinde ac si Christiani nulla ratione essemus, quin iam a nullo tempore participes vobiscum fuerimus eiusdem divinae regenerationis, immo vero etiam sacrae ac divinae mensae, unumque vobiscum existentibus corpus Christi, nunc vero a nobis, ut qui a serpente refugistis? Dic itaque nobis absque metu, et studio veri, ut constare nobis possit huius tantae dissensionis causa [...]*

At f. 87^{r-v} one finds the portion of Moschampar’s *Dialogue* derived from our *opusculum*, beginning with the words: “*Leucius quidam nomine praestigiaticem ex astrologia arte summam peritiam erat consequutus, atque universam Apollinaris haeresim ebiberat ut et Manetis, Valentini et Marcionis*” (cf. ed. Metaxas, p. 10, and ll. 3–5 of my edition); the text abruptly breaks off at the end of f. 87^v with the words: “*citius enim quispiam exigui alicuius vitii ubertim compos fiat, quam magnae alicuius virtutis exiguum portionis consequatur, ut*” (cf. ed. Metaxas, p. 11). The following pages (ff. 88^r sq.) contain, again in a Latin version by Vulcanius, the beginning of another dispute between an orthodox figure and some cardinals on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which the Flemish humanist later published together with a treatise by Neilos Cabasilas on papal primacy, which translation he had also written down in this same notebook. Most of the folia of this MS were not bound together, and the remaining folia with annotations from Moschampar’s treatise are likely to have been lost. Thus, we cannot tell from this scant fragment what opinion Vulcanius might have had of the whole story. Though it is difficult to frame Vulcanius’s personal beliefs and convictions in matters of religion, there is no doubt that he was interested (at least from the point of view of the philologist and scholar well versed in

51. MS Vat. Palat. gr. 409, an apographon of Bessarion’s copy: cf. SILVANO, *Un inedito opuscolo* (quoted n. 43), pp. 233–4.

52. A. S. Q. VISSER, *Joannes Sambucus and the learned image: the use of the emblem in late-Renaissance humanism*, Leiden – Boston 2005, p. 29. His copy of Moschampar’s dialogue is now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: MS Vindob. Theol. gr. 245: cf. SILVANO, *Un inedito opuscolo* (quoted n. 43), p. 237.

53. On Vulcanius see the rich and up-to-date collection of essays edited by CAZES, *Bonaventura Vulcanius* (quoted n. 50). A survey of his editions of Greek and Byzantine works is found in the paper by Th. M. CONLEY, *Vulcanius as editor: the Greek texts*, *ibid.*, pp. 337–50.

54. See P. C. MOLHUYSEN, *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis. Codices manuscripti. 1, Codices Vulcaniani*, Lugduni Batavorum 1910, pp. 5–6. The manuscript also contains other drafts of the Latin versions later published by Vulcanius within his editions of Neilos Cabasilas (*Nili archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis de primatu papae Romani [...]*, Lugduni Batavorum 1595) and Agathias (*Agathiae Historici et Poetae [...] De imperio et rebus gestis Iustiniani imperatoris, libri quinque [...]*. *Accesserunt eiusdem Epigrammata Graeca*, Lugduni Batavorum 1594).

Byzantine history and literature) in such medieval works demonstrating the “errors” of the Roman Catholics, such as the above mentioned one by Cabasilas.⁵⁵

To be sure, Vulcanius’ testimony is revealing as to the enduring success of this account on the origin of the schism, which, though providing a partial and not entirely trustworthy reconstruction of the events, has for centuries attracted the scholarly attention of theologians and historians of various extractions and confessions.

IV. MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

To my knowledge *opusc.* no. III Hergenröther is transmitted as a separate, free-standing and self-contained work by two only manuscripts now held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. As similar texts are often to be found in manuscripts either without titles, or with different titles, or as parts of other works (as is the case with our *opusculum*, which was inserted by Georgios Moschamper in two of his treatises), it is possible that other copies of the text do exist.

Of these two manuscripts, the oldest one is MS Marc. gr. 575 (coll. 849: henceforth, M), dated 1426⁵⁶. This is a large miscellany of 399 paper folia (mm. 290 x 200 ca.) containing mostly dogmatical treatises, canonical collections, anti-heretical and anti-Latin texts. The *opusculum de origine schismatis* begins at f. 380^r, occupies the two following folia (both wrongly numbered as “382”) and ends at f. 383^v, where it is followed, apparently without interruption (if one does not count a larger than usual space after the last word of the *opusculum*, and the bold initial letter of the first word of the new textual unit) by what appears to be an anti-Latin compilation, containing a list of errors of the Latins regarding dogmatic as well as ritual issues (the *Filioque*, the azymes etc.), which ends at f. 384^v. This compilation (which is not to be found in the other known witness of *opusc.* III) is introduced as an appendix to the account on the origins of the schism (*inc.*: Οὐ χρῆ δ’ οὖν συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ συγκοινωνεῖν ὅλως τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣν οὐδὲ ἐκκλησίαν δεῖ καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ συνέδριον ἀποστασίας κτλ.). The handwriting is thin and full of abbreviations, and the ink faded here and there (and this fact may explain some of Hergenröther’s misunderstandings and erroneous readings).

55. It is not easy to state which confession Vulcanius sided with or sympathised with: the issue is discussed by, among others, E. LEDEGANG-KEEGSTRA, Vulcanius et le réformateur Théodore de Bèze, in *Bonaventura Vulcanius* (quoted n. 50), pp. 147–65, at p. 163; H. DAUSSY, L’insertion de Bonaventure Vulcanius dans le réseau international protestant, *ibid.*, pp. 167–83, at pp. 182–3; A. VAN DER LEM, Bonaventura Vulcanius, forgeron de la Révolte, *ibid.*, pp. 215–22, at p. 222. It is likely that Vulcanius might have shared the view of Cabasilas on the inconsistency of the papal claim to primacy and on the non-existence of purgatory, and that he published the Byzantine theologian’s works as “a reaction against the pronouncements of the Council of Trent” which had proclaimed such dogmas (CONLEY, Vulcanius as editor [quoted n. 53], p. 342).

56. See Plate 1. A full description of the manuscript is provided by E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti. 2, Thesaurus antiquus, codices 300–625*, Roma 1985, pp. 481–8. Ff. 51–84 and 356–99^v (thus the section containing, among other texts, the *opusculum*) were written by Nikolaos Phagiannis from Maniotochorion in Peloponnesus, whose signature appears on the last page (cf. M. VOGEL and V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p. 360). The scribe who wrote ff. 1 sq. was Gerardos or Girardos, originally from Patras or Methone, who copied several manuscripts in the 1420s–1440s and was in contact with several Greek émigrés and Italian humanists such as Andronikos Kallistos, Francesco Filelfo, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona (see *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, erstellt von E. GAMILLSCHEG und D. HARLFINGER, Wien 1981–1997, vol. I, no. 80; vol. II, no. 107; vol. III, no. 144). I collated the manuscript both *in situ* and through digital reproductions.

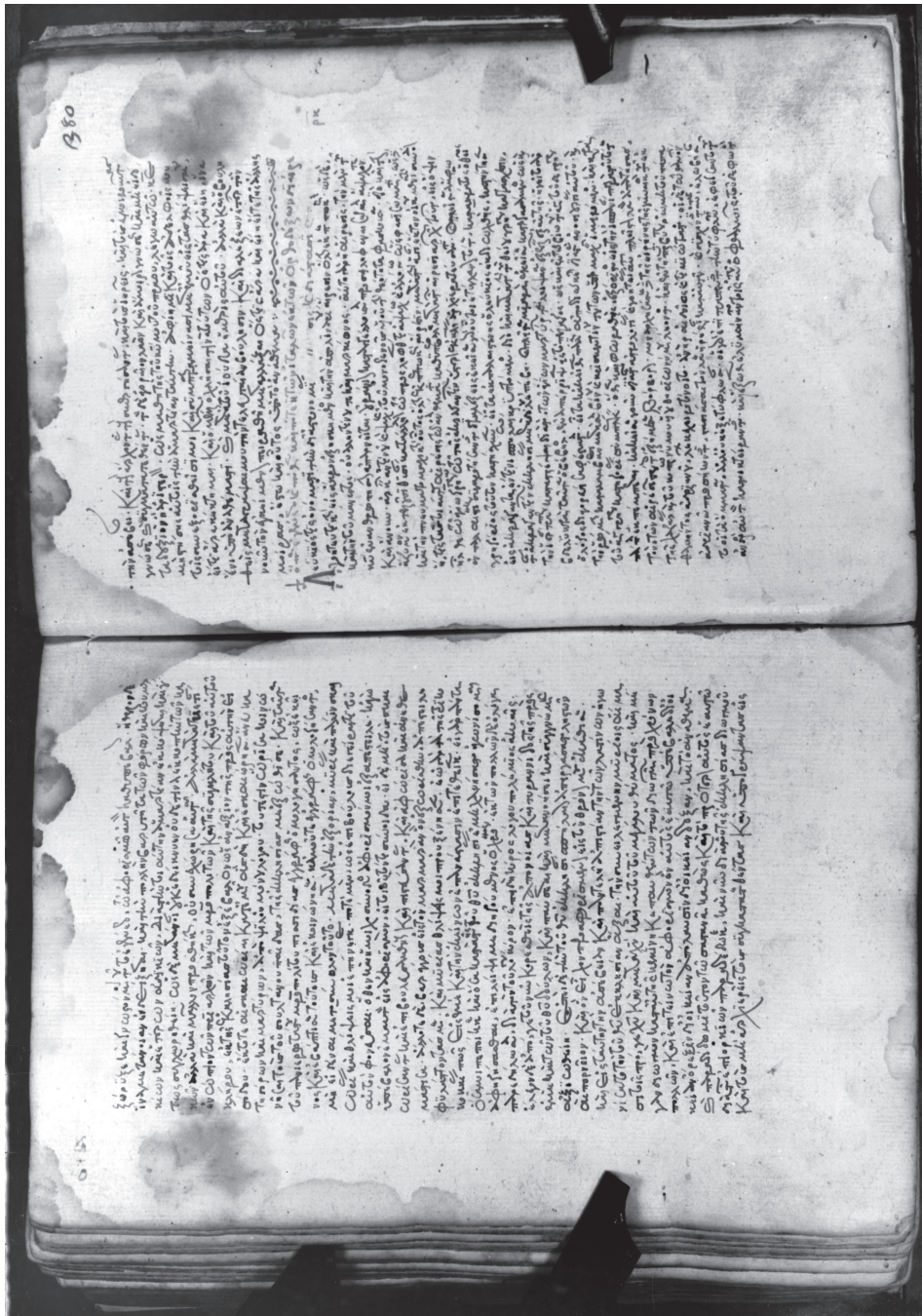


Plate 1 – Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. gr. 575 (coll. 849), ff. 379^v–380^r.
 Courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana. Further reproduction forbidden by any means.

The second witness is MS Marc. gr. III 5 (coll. 1077, *olim* Nanianus CCXXIX: henceforth, V),⁵⁷ a mid-sixteenth century manuscript consisting of 438 paper folia (mm. 315 × 215 ca.). It hands down canonical and theological texts and other writings (mostly in excerpts) by the Church fathers and by several Byzantine authors, including some pieces on the history of the councils and some anti-Latin treatises. The scribe who wrote the *opusculum* (at ff. 328^v–33^r) and the majority of this manuscript's pages had a calligraphical hand. A second, more cursive, hand wrote a certain number of emendations⁵⁸ as well as some marginal scholia which I have mostly included in the critical apparatus.

The text provided by M is generally correct: apart from some minor orthographic faults, it only shows a couple of textual inconsistencies (also shared by V): the first one occurs at line 18 of the present edition, for which I accepted Hergenröther's integration of a *καί* (though I am not completely satisfied with the result); the second one is *ἀπλανεστάτους* instead of *ἀπλανεστάτη* at l. 106. As for V, it could well descend from M, in comparison to which it shows numerous omissions of words as well as of entire sentences, and several simplifications (as one can verify by consulting the critical apparatus).⁵⁹ Only on a very few occasions is a reading of V preferable to the corresponding one in M: this is possibly due to the intervention of the (otherwise not so diligent) copyist (see for instance l. 97, where V reads *τοποτηρητῶν*, whilst M has *ποτηρητῶν*; ll. 147 and 149, where V has *προσθεῖναι* and *προστιθέναι* instead of respectively *προθεῖναι* and *προτιθῆναι* of M).⁶⁰ It is, however, possible that both manuscripts stem from a common ancestor (which might or might not have contained the above mentioned appendix, that we read in M only; in the second case, which seems more likely to me, M's copyist either composed this appendix on his own, or derived it from another source).

As we have seen, the original version of the opusculum remained unpublished until 1869, though the account itself was disseminated through Moschamper's plagiarized redaction, the same printed as a work of Maximos Margounios in 1627. Leone Allacci, who quoted some passages of the *opusculum*, depends on this edition.

Hergenröther published the text of M. He did not collate the text with V, but added in the footnotes the variants he found in the redaction attested by MS Mon. gr. 28 (ca. 1550: indeed a copy of the above mentioned MS Marc. gr. Z 150)⁶¹ and by Margounios' edition (which he quoted via Allacci), without knowing that this redaction is due to Moschamper's later reworking.⁶²

57. See Plate 2. For a description of this MS see E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices Graeci manuscripti*. 1, *Codices in classes a prima usque ad quintam inclusi*. 2, *Classis II, codd. 121-198, Classes III, IV, V, Indices*, Roma 1972, pp. 156–68. I collated the manuscript *in situ*.

58. Such as *παραρνέντος* rectified to *παραρρνέντος*, and *τεθελιωμένη* rectified to *τεθεμελιωμένη*.

59. See n. 49. I have not recorded in the apparatus all minor variants and spelling faults of V, such as the following (entries are preceded by line number): 23 *κακέισε* M : *κακέισαι* V; 27 *Ἀδριανῶ* M : *Ἀνδριανῶ* V; 66 *Κωνσταντινουπόλει* M : *Κωνσταντίνου πόλει* V; 71 *σκευοφυλακείου* M : *σκευοφυλακίου* V; 74 *τὸ οἶνον* : *τὸ οἶον οὐ* V; 86 *αἰδιμον* M : *αἰδιμον* V; 87 *τοποτηρητῆς* M : *τοποτηριτῆς* V; 94 *συγκροτηθείσης* M : *συγκροτιθείσης* V; 126 *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα* M : *ἐνανθρωπίσαντα* V; 159 *τοποτηρητῶν* M : *τοποτηριτῶν* V; 164 *ταμείοις* M : *ταμείois* V; 181 *Ἀδριανού* : *Ἀνδριανού* V; 200 *ἰθύναντος* M : *ἰθύνοντος* V; 206 *ἐκτιθένται* : *ἐκτιθέντα* V.

60. See also the following instances, in which I have printed the form attested by V: 11 *ἀρχιερατεύσαντι* V : *ἀρχιερατεύσαντι* M; 21 *Κρησκεντίνου* V : *Κρησκεντίνου* M.

61. See n. 48.

62. On MS Mon. gr. 28 see *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*. 1, *Codices graeci Monacenses 1-55*, neu beschrieben von V. TIFITXOGLU, revidiert sowie mit Einl.

Hergenröther's edition is affected by lots of inaccuracies, and introduces some needless emendations.⁶³ Moreover, it omits the long passage of the text containing the excerpt from the Acts of the Constantinopolitan synod of 879–80.⁶⁴

V. THE PRESENT EDITION

This edition of the *opusculum* is based on the two Marciani manuscripts. In case of equally acceptable forms, I have most often opted for the one handed down by M. I have occasionally corrected minor faults in the spelling, and I have normalized accents and breathings. I have adopted Hergenröther's paragraph divisions.

SIGLA

H. : ed. Hergenröther 1869;

M : MS Marc. gr. 575 (coll. 849), AD 1426;

V : MS Marc. gr. III 5 (coll. 1077), saec. XVI.

und Registern versehen von K. HAJDÚ und G. DUURSMA, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 171–9; SILVANO, Un inedito opuscolo (quoted n. 43), p. 233.

63. Here follows a list of *errata* for Hergenröther's edition (abbreviated H.) paired with the manuscript readings (entries are preceded by line number): 3 *ὀνόματι* : *ὀνομαστί* H.; 6 *προσειληφέναι* : *προσειληφέναι τὸν κύριον* H. (cl. MS Mon. gr. 28); 6–7 *τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ* : *τοῦ μονογενοῦς* H.; 8 *καὶ ἀλόγῳ* : *τε καὶ ἀλόγῳ* H.; 18 *βέβηλος* : *βδελυκτός* H.; 20 *κάκειθεν* *πάλιν* : *κάκειθεν* H.; 21 *ἰμειρόμενος* : *ιαψόμενος* H.; 22 *συμπλέκειν* : *συμπλέκων* H.; 24 *τούτοις ἐξήμεσε* : *ἐξήμεσε* H.; 25 *τῆς Εἰρήνης* : *Εἰρήνης* H.; 28 *καὶ συσχόντες αὐτὸν* : *om.* H.; 29 *κατοικτείραντες* : *οικτείραντες* H.; 41 *τῆς Εἰρήνης* : *Εἰρήνης* H.; 49 *λύμης* : *λύμην, τὴν addito ante τῶν τοιούτων αἱρέσεων* H.; *μετέδιδον* : *μετεδίδουν* H.; 73 *μετακινήσαι* : *μεταμιγήσαι* H.; 74 *τὸ οἰονοῦν* : *τὸ ὁποιοῦν* H.; 83–4 *πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* : *πατριάρχην* H.; 84 *ὅθεν* : *ὅπερ* H.; 89 *διαβεβαιούμενον* : *διαβεβαιούμενος* H.; 90 *ἔτι* : *οἱ* H.; 161 *ὅτι πλείστης* : *πλείστης* H.; 162 *τῶν τε* : *τῶν* H.; 163 *ἀνέγνω* : *ἔγνω* H.; 166 *ἀγία ἐκκλησία* : *ἐκκλησία* H.; 168 *τῷ τοι* : *τότε* H.; 175 *εὐσεβεστάτην οὐσαν* : *εὐσεβεστάτης οὐσης* H.; *ἐπὶ τῆς* : *καὶ τῆς* H.; 198 *αὐτοὺς* : *αὐτὸν* H.; 201 *Σεργίου τοῦ αἰρεσιάρκου* : *Σεργίου φημί καὶ Χριστοφόρου* H. (cl. MS Mon. gr. 28); 203 *αὐτῷ* : *αὐτοῦ* H.; 212 *ἀνακεκαλυμμένως* : *ἀνακεκαλυμμένην* H. In some instances H. reports alleged erroneous readings of M, whilst the manuscript gives the correct reading: at l. 168–9 M correctly reads *πρὸς Βουλγάρους*, not *πρὸς Βουλγαρίαν*; at l. 172 *διέπτυσαν*, not *διέπτισαν*; at l. 176 *συναινέσει*, not *συνέσει*.

64. My edition, § 11, from l. 93 *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρακτικά* to l. 161 *ἀπεκόμισαν ταῦτα*.

**Ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ πόθεν καὶ πότε ἡ τῶν Ἱταλῶν
ἐκ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων διαίρεσις καὶ διάστασις**

1. Λεύκιος τις ὀνόματι τὴν δι' ἀστρονομίας γοητευτικὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἐξησκημένος καὶ τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου αἵρεσιν ὄλην ἐκπεπωκώς, ὥς δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μάνεντος Οὐαλεντίνου τε καὶ
5 Μαρκιῶνος (αὕτη γὰρ ἡ αἵρεσις τὴν μὲν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν ἀπαρνείται, οὐράνιον καταγγέλλουσα προσειληφέναι σῶμα ἄψυχόν τε καὶ ἄνουν, ἀρκεῖν ἀντὶ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τὴν θεότητα φάσκουσα· διὸ καὶ τὴν ἄλζυμον ἐκτελοῦσι θυσίαν, κατάλληλον τῷ προσληφθέντι ἀψύχῳ καὶ ἀλόγῳ ὥς φασὶ σῶματι), ὥς δὲ καὶ τὴν πνευματομαχικὴν οὗτος ὄλην ἐκπεπωκώς αἵρεσιν· μετὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἔκτην οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, ἣτις τὰς τοιαύτας αἱρέσεις
10 τῷ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε μετὰ τῶν αἰρεσιαρχῶν τούτων, εἰς ὅσιν ἤλθε τῷ ἀγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ὑστερον ἐκκλησίας ἀρχιερατεύσαντι καὶ πλείστας ἄμφω ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ συγκροτήσαντες διαλέξεις (ἐκέισε γὰρ οὗτοι ἐτύγχανον τότε) κατακράτος ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος τοῦτον κατήσχυεν.
2. Εἴτα ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ὁ Λεύκιος ἐκδιωχθεὶς κατήντησεν εἰς Ἀκράγαντα ἐν τινὶ σπηλαίῳ
15 κρυπτόμενος· διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ Γρηγορίου κατάσχεσιν τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ δόλου ἐπέβη καὶ πλείστα μιὰρὰ ἐκέισε κατεργασάμενος, ὥς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν καταστρέψαι διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων τὰ λείψανα ἐξελεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς (ἤγειτο γὰρ βδελυκτὰ ταῦτα ὁ βέβηλος, <καὶ> ἐναπέριψεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος), ὥς καὶ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἀγίου τοῦδε Γρηγορίου ὁ λόγος διαγορεύει σαφέστατα.
3. Εἴτα κάκειθεν πάλιν ἀποδιώκεται διὰ τὰς ἀνοσιουργίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καταλαμβάνει
20 μετὰ Σαβίνου καὶ Κρησκεντίνου τούτων ὑπερμαχεῖν ἱμερόμενος καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου κατηγορίας συμπλέκειν· ὅθεν καὶ φωραθεὶς ἐξόριστος εἰς τὴν Ἰσπανίαν παρὰ τοῦ τότε πάπα ἐκπέμπεται· κακεῖσε γοῦν διὰ τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γοητείας αὐτοῦ πλείστον λαὸν ἀπατήσας, τὸν τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτοις ἐξήμεσε βόρβορον.
4. Μοναρχισάσης δὲ τῆς Εἰρήνης τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρας καὶ τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου
25 υἱοῦ θηριωνύμου Λέοντος καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ τοῦ πάπα θανόντος Ἀδριανοῦ, Λέων κεχειροτόνητο, ἀνὴρ αἰδοῖος καὶ τιμώτατος· οἱ δὲ τῷ θανόντι Ἀδριανῷ προσήκοντες στασιάσαι τὸν λαὸν ἠρέθισαν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συσχόντες αὐτὸν ἐλωβήσαντο οἱ τὰ ὄμματα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξετύφλωσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐπιτραπέντες τὴν τύφλωσιν ἐφείσαντο τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὸν κατοικτεῖραντες,
30 καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐλυμήναντο τοῖς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐστήρησαν. Ὅς μετέπειτα τῷ τῶν Φράγγων ῤῃγὶ προσρueὶς Καρούλῳ, παρ' ἐκείνου εἰς τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποκατέστη

3–24 Λεύκιος – βόρβορον : cf. Leont. Presb. *vita Greg. Agrig.* 56, p. 213, 5 ss. et 90, p. 254, 18 ss. Berger | 26–40 ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ – ἐκυρίευσαν : Io. Zon. *epit. hist.* XV, 13, 10–7 (pp. 298, 15–300, 2 Büttner-Wobst)

1 καὶ πότε M : om. V | 3 γοητευτικὴν M : γοητικὴν V | τὴν (2) : ante hoc altera manus add. εἰς in V | 4 ὄλην M : ὅλως V | ἐκπεπωκώς M : ἐκπεπτωκώς V | Οὐαλεντίνου M : Οὐαλεντινιανου V | 6 σῶμα M : σῶμα καὶ V | 8 οὗτος ὄλην M : οὕτω ὅλως V | 9 ἐκπεπωκώς M : ἐκπεπτωκώς V | 10 καθυπέβαλε V : καθυπέβαλλε M | 16 μετὰ δόλου post ἐπέβη praebebet V | 18 καὶ supplevit H. | 22 Ἰσπανίαν M : Σπανίαν V | 23 αὐτοῦ om. V | 25 τῆς Χαζάρας M : Χαζαράς V | 26 θανόντος M : ἀποθανόντος V | 27 κεχειροτόνητο : κεχειροτόνοιτο M : κεχειροτόνητο V | 29 ἐξετύφλωσαν M : ἐτύφλωσαν V | 30 μετέπειτα M : καὶ μετέπειτα V

How, why and when the Italians were separated and divided from the Orthodox Christians

1. There was a man called Lucius, very well versed in astrological magic, who had completely absorbed the heresy of Apollinaris, Manes, Valentine and Marcion (this heresy denies the incarnation of the Lord and proclaims that he assumed a heavenly body deprived of soul and reason, and affirms that Divinity operates in place of the reason and the soul of the Only-Begotten Son; consequently, its devotees celebrate the eucharistic sacrifice with unleavened bread, in analogy with that body allegedly deprived of soul and reason), and also the whole heresy of the Pneumatomachs. After the sixth holy ecumenical Council, which placed under anathema these heresies and their inventors, he came into the presence of Gregory, who later became bishop of Agrigento, at a time when both happened to be in Palestine; they argued on many occasions, and the divine Gregory prevailed, putting him to shame.

2. Then, having been banished from Palestine, Lucius reached Agrigento, and hid in a cavern; after the divine Gregory was appointed to the episcopal see he entered by fraud into the Church of Agrigento and committed several impious acts therein, such as turning the holy altar upside down in order to retrieve from it the relics of the holy martyrs (for this irreligious man considered them abominable, and threw them into the sea), as is clearly told in the *Life of Saint Gregory*.¹

3. Once more he was also banished from this place, due to his impious actions, and reached Rome together with Sabinus and Crescentinus, because he wished to defend them and level accusations against Gregory. Hence he was unmasked and sent into exile in Spain by the pope of that time. There, having deceived many people by means of his astrology and sorcery, he vomited into them his heresy's mire.

4. During the reign of Irene, wife of the emperor named after a beast, Leo [IV], the son of [Irene] the Chazarian and of the "Copronymy"², in Old Rome, Pope Adrian [I] came to death, and Leo [III], a pious and most honoured man was elected his successor. The relatives of the dead pope Adrian roused the populace to rage against Leo; they seized him and they offended his eyes; they did not blind him completely, however; in fact, those who had received the task spared him from being blinded: they had compassion for him and caused him some external excoriations only, but did not deprive him of light. Then Leo rushed up to Charles, king of the Franks, and was restored to the Roman seat by him, and

1. Lucius' impious actions were mostly committed after Gregory's removal from office and during his two years' imprisonment. Gregory had been falsely accused of fornication by his adversaries, and was eventually found innocent when the woman who had been discovered in his bed told Pope Gregory the Great that she had been persuaded to be part of these evil machinations by the priest Sabinus.

2. Emperor Constantine V.

35 θρόνον καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀντημύνατο· ἐξ ὅτου καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη ὑπὸ τοὺς Φράγγους ἐγένετο, τοῦ
 Καρούλου ταινωθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ὀνομασθέντος. Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ
 τοῦ προτέρου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπῆλθον οἱ Φράγγοι, ἐκ γένους ὄντες τῶν Γερμανῶν, καὶ
 40 ἦσαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιοι· ἐπὶ δὲ Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου ὃ τε πάπας Γρηγόριος διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου
 κακοδοξίαν ἀποστὰς τοῦ ὑπέκειν τῷ ἀσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ ἐκείνῳ καὶ δασμοφορεῖν καὶ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
 ἀσεβῶς προεστῶσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐπέισατο τοῖς Φράγγοις καὶ τὰς πρὸς
 ἐκείνους μάχας κατέλυσεν· ἐπὶ δὲ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ταύτης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Εἰρήνης οὗτος ὁ
 45 πάπας Λέων καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς εἰσεδέξατο καὶ οὕτω τῆς Ἰταλίας πάσης καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης
 αὐτῆς ἐκυρίευσαν.

5. Τῆς Εἰρήνης δὲ μοναρχησάσης, ὡς λέλεκται, ὁ τῶν Φράγγων ἀρχηγὸς Κάρουλος βασιλεὺς
 Ῥωμαίων ἀναγορευθεὶς πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὴν Εἰρήνην ζητῶν συζευχθῆναι αὐτῇ κατὰ
 συμβίωσιν γαμικὴν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνη τοῦτο ἀβούλητον ἔδοξε, καὶ γέγονεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκτομίας
 Ἀέτιος παραδυναστεύων πᾶσαν ἐκίνησε μηχανὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀποτελεσθῆναι τὴν συζυγίαν· οὗτος
 45 γὰρ πάντα δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν οἰκείον ὁμαιμον Λέοντα ἀξιώσαι τῆς βασιλείας διὰ
 μελέτης πεποιήτο.

6. Τῷ γοῦν Καρούλῳ τούτῳ συνείποντο καὶ οἱ τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτων ἐργάται καὶ μύσται
 Λευκίου· κἀκεῖσε γοῦν διατριβόντες οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπατῶντες ἀφέλεστέρους,
 εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεθεῖλκον καὶ τῶν τοιούτων αἱρέσεων λύμης τούτοις μετέδιδον. Ὅθεν καὶ τοῦ χρόνου
 50 παραρρυέντος πλείστοι τῆς κακίας μετελάμβανον ταύτης καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπλατύνετο· καὶ γὰρ
 «θάττον ἂν τις ὀλίγης κακίας μεταλάβῃ πλουσίως, ἢ ἀρετῆς βαθείας καταμικρόν», φησὶν ἡ
 θεολόγος φωνή.

7. Τῷ τοι καὶ μεθ' ἱκανοὺς χρόνους ἀπὸ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦδε τοῦ Λέοντος πάπα πλείστων
 κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀρχιερέων χρηματισάντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Στεφάνου φημί, Πασχαλίου, Εὐγενίου,
 55 Βαλεντίνου, Γρηγορίου, Σεργίου τοῦ καὶ Πελαγίου, ἕτερος Λέων ἀγιώτατος τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 ταύτης ἀναδεξάμενος οἶακας, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ποιμνὴν θεασάμενος λυμαιομένην ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης
 αἱρέσεως, στέλλει πρὸς Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχην Ἱεροσολύμων, παραδηλῶν αὐτῷ
 τὴν περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ λύμην, ἅμα καὶ ἐξαιτῶν ἄνδρας λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιστήμονας
 πεμφθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἀποσόβῃσιν τῶν τοιούτων αἱρέσεων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν δυνατόν
 60 εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν πέμψαι διὰ τὴν δευτέραν ἐκεῖσε κατάρχειν εἰκονομαχίαν καὶ τὸν
 θριώνυμον κατατυραννεῖν τύραννον.

41 Τῆς Εἰρήνης – λέλεκται : Io. Zon. *epit. hist.* XV, 13, 18 (p. 300, 3 Büttner-Wobst) | 41–6 ὁ τῶν
 Φράγγων – πεποιήτο : Io. Zon. *epit. hist.* XV, 13, 22–4 (pp. 300, 15–301, 4 Büttner-Wobst) |
 51 θάττον – καταμικρόν : Gr. Naz. *or.* 2, 12, 6–7 Bernardi | 55–65 Λέων – Θεοδώρου : cf. *vita Mich.*
Sync. 6–8, pp. 56–60 Cunningham

32 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς V | τοῖς ἐχθροῖς M | 35 ad πολέμιοι altera manus in V mg. notavit haec: σημείωσαι·
 ἰστέον ὅτι μετὰ Λέοντα τὸν μετὰ Ἀδριανόν, πρόεδρον Ῥώμης ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκκλησίας
 Στεφάνου, Πασχαλίου, Εὐγενίου καὶ Βαλεντίνου, μετὰ τούτους Γρηγόριος ἐκεχειροτόνητο, εἴτα Σέργιος,
 ὁ καὶ Πελάγιος, Λέων, Βενέδικτος, Παῦλος, Στέφανος, Νικόλαος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φωτίου, Ἀδριανός, Ἰωάννης,
 Μαρίνος, Ἀδριανός, Στέφανος, οὗτοι πάντες ὁμολογοῦντες ἦσαν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀγίου συμβόλου καθὼς
 καὶ παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων συνόδων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνου κηρύττοντες καὶ διατρανοῦντες ἐκπορεύειν τὸ
 πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον | 35 ὁ τε M : ὅτε V | 38 αὐτοῦ om. V | 39 τῆς Ῥώμης M : Ῥώμης V | 43–4 ὁ ἐκτομίας
 Ἀέτιος (Αἰτίος ms.) M : Ἀέτιος ὁ ἐκτομίας V | 48 ἀφέλεστέρους M : ἀσφαλεστέρους V | 49 τούτοις
 μετέδιδον M : μετέδιδον V | καὶ (2) om. V | 51 μεταλάβῃ MV : μεταλάβοι Gr. Naz. | 56 τῆς om. V

pushed back his enemies. From that time on, Rome too was under the control of the Franks: Charles was crowned by Leo and was called emperor of the Romans.

The Franks, a Germanic people, had reached Italy under Justinian the first, and were enemies to the Romans; under the reign of Leo [III] the Isaurian, then, Pope Gregory [III] withdrew from his obedience to that impious emperor, because of the latter's heretical beliefs, and from being subject to him and in communion with the impious supreme authorities of the Church of Constantinople, and made an alliance with the Franks, ending the conflicts with them. Later, under the reign of Constantine [VI] and of his mother Irene, this pope, Leo [III], received them in Rome, and thus they became lords of all Italy and of Rome itself.

5. At the time when Irene was on the throne alone, as has been mentioned before, Charles, sovereign of the Franks, having been nominated emperor of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Irene with the intent of marrying her. Such a marriage did not seem inconvenient to her, and it might have been arranged, had not the eunuch Aetius, a person of great authority at court, employed every possible stratagem to avoid the celebration of that union. In fact he, who had great influence at court, was acting with the aim of putting his own brother Leo on the throne.

6. Some initiates to those heresies and followers of Lucius in fact accompanied Charles; during their stay in Rome, they cheated the plainest people, attracted them and communicated to them the impurity of those heresies. As time passed, many people came to adopt these wicked beliefs, and the evil grew: in fact, as the voice of the Theologian says, "more quickly would any one take part in evil with slight inducement to its full extent, than in good which is fully set before him to a slight degree."³

7. Some years after the death of the pope named Leo [III], and after the succession of numerous popes on the papal throne in Rome—I mean Stephen [IV], Paschal [I], Eugene [II], Valentine, Gregory [IV], Sergius [II] and Pelagius—another Leo [IV], a most holy man, took the helm of that Church. As he saw that his flock was being corrupted by this heresy, he dispatched envoys to Thomas, the most holy patriarch of Jerusalem, to inform him of the corruption that was being spread in his own Church, and to ask for learned and virtuous men to be sent to him to help get rid of the heresies. It was not possible to ask for assistance from Constantinople, because the second phase of iconomachy had begun there, along with the tyranny of the usurper named after a beast [Leo V].

3. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, Oration 2, *In defence of his flight to Pontus*, transl. G. W. BROWNE and J. E. SWALLOW, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Second series. 7, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nazianzen*, New York 1893 (repr. Grand Rapids 1955), pp. 204–27, § 12, at p. 207.

8. Στέλλονται τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦ ἱεράρχου τοῦδε Θωμᾶ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἄνδρες λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιστήμονες, ὃ τε σύγγελλος Μιχαὴλ ἅμα τοῖς δυσὶν αὐταδελφοῖς Θεοδώρῳ τε καὶ Θεοφάνει, τοῖς γραπτοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα ὕστερον διὰ τὰς θείας εἰκόνας, σὺν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Ἰῶβ ὁ θαυμάσιος, 65 ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς βίοις τῶνδε τῶν ἁγίων, Μιχαὴλ φημι τοῦ συγγέλλου καὶ τοῦ γραπτοῦ Θεοδώρου, ἀναγεγραμμένα καὶ ταῦτα τυγχάνει. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει χριστιανούς ἐμελλον κομίζειν ἐπιστολὰς κατηχητικὰς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ πατριάρχου, ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπηγγέλθησαν, κατὰδηλοι γίνονται τῷ ἀσεβεῖ Θεοφίλῳ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ῥώμην πορείας ἐξείργονται.
9. Μανθάνει ταῦτα ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἁγιώτατος πάπας Λέων, λυπεῖται, ἀδημονεῖ· εἴτα τί; Ἐξάγει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ σκευοφυλακείου τὰς ἱεράς τοῦ θεοῦ συμβόλου ἀσπίδας (ἅς ὁ ἁγιώτατος Λέων ὁ πάπας, ὁ τὴν στήλην τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας συγγράψας, ἀπὸ τῆς τετάρτης ἁγίας συνόδου προεναπεθησαύρισε θείῳ κινούμενος πνεύματι, καὶ ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε τοὺς μέλλοντας μετακινήσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου συμβόλου τὸ οἰονοῦν) καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ταύτας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστηλοῖ πρὸς τὸ 70 ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων.
10. Ὁ δέ γε μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχιερατεύσας θεῖος Βενέδικτος, καὶ οὗτος τὴν τοιαύτην λύμην τῆς αἰρέσεως θεασάμενος, καὶ ἑλληνιστὶ κελεύει ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον καὶ μετὰ μέλους εἰς ἅπασαν ἐκκλησίαν τελοῦσαν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ πατριαρχεῖα ἐπιστέλλει μὴ δέξασθαι πάπαν τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς κοινωνίαν πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίαν ὀρθόδοξον κομίση 80 πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίαν.
11. Εἴτα μετὰ τὸν θεῖον τοῦτον Βενέδικτον κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπισκοπησάντων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Παύλου, Στεφάνου, Νικολάου καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ, ὁ θεῖος μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἰωάννης ὁ πάπας ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ κληρικοὺς λόγῳ κεκοσμημένους καὶ ἀρετῇ ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Φώτιον, σύνδοον ἐξαιτῶν κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων αἱρέσεων συγκροτῆσαι· ὅθεν 85 καὶ γέγονε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μεγίστην ἐκείνην συνεκρότησε σύνοδον, ἣτις καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἐβεβαίωσε σύνοδον καὶ κανόνας ἐξέθετο καὶ συνέριθον ἔσχε τὸν αἰοίδιμον ἐκείνον καὶ θεῖον Ἰωάννην τὸν πάπαν στείλαντα πρέσβεις καὶ τοποτηρητάς αὐτ' αὐτοῦ εἰς συγκρότησιν τῆς τοιαύτης ἁγίας συνόδου, Παῦλον καὶ Εὐγένιον ἐπισκόπους καὶ Πέτρον πρεσβύτερον καὶ καρδινάλιον διαβεβαιούμενον διὰ τούτων τῶν πρεσβέων, σῶαν εἶναι ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀκίνδυνον 90 τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἁγιωτάτην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἀνηκέστων παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης τῶν Ἰταλῶν αἱρέσεως, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ μοναχῶν τὰ σπέρματα ταύτης ἐπιπολάζῃ.
- Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἁγίας συνόδου ὡς οἶόν τε συντόμως ἐκθήσομαι. Τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ταύτης συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης ἐν τῇ βασιλευούσῃ ταύτῃ τῶν πόλεων ὡς

66–9 Ἐπεὶ – ἐξείργονται : cf. *vita Mich. Sync.* 9 sqq., pp. 62 sqq. Cunningham

63 τε (1) om. V | 66 καὶ ταῦτα om. V, α i.l. addito | 67–8 ταῦτα... ἀπηγγέλθησαν scripsi (an potius τοῦτο... ἀπηγγέλθη legendum?) : τοῦτο... ἀπηγγέλθησαν M : οὗτοι... ἀπηγγέλθησαν V | 68 Ῥώμην M : τὴν Ῥώμην V | 72 ὁ τὴν στήλην M : τὴν στήλην V | 74 ταύτας M : ταύτης V | 76 ad Βενέδικτος mg. add. V: σημείωσαι ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος Βενέδικτος πάπας Ῥώμης ὥρισεν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον ἑλληνιστὶ | 88 καὶ (3) om. V | 89 διὰ τούτων M : ὡς διὰ τούτων V | 91 τῶν Ἰταλῶν αἱρέσεως M : αἱρέσεως τῶν Ἰταλῶν V | 92 ἐπιπολάζῃ M : ἐπιπολάζοι V | 93 ἐκθήσομαι M : ἐκτεθήσομαι V

8. Therefore the above-mentioned patriarch Thomas sent from Jerusalem some learned and virtuous men, Michael the *synkellos* together with the two brothers Theodoros and Theophanes (who later were inscribed⁴ on their foreheads because of their veneration for the holy icons), and with them also Job the marvelous, as it is written in the lives of these saints, I mean Michael the *synkellos* and Theodore *graptos*. However, as they were about to bring to their fellow Christians in Constantinople some catechetical letters on behalf of the patriarch of Jerusalem (for they had also received this task from him), they were discovered by the impious Theophilus, and were prevented from pursuing their trip to Rome.

9. The most holy pope Leo [IV] came to know these facts, and was chagrined and grieved at this news. What then? He drew out from the sacristy the holy shields carved with the holy Creed (the most holy pope Leo [I], he who wrote the *Pillar of orthodoxy*, had kept them since the fourth holy synod, guided by holy inspiration, and had subjected to anathema all those who would ever attempt to change anything in this holy Creed), and set them on the front of the church, so that they might be read by everyone.

10. His successor too, the divine Benedict [III], having ascertained the corruption caused by this heresy, ordered that the holy Creed should be read and chanted also in Greek within every church belonging to the jurisdiction of Rome; moreover, he informed all the other patriarchates not to accept a Roman pope into the community unless he had previously sent to every Christian church his own orthodox profession of faith.

11. After the pontificate of the divine Benedict, his successors on the episcopal seat of that Church were Paul, Stephen, Nicholas [I], Adrian [II], and then the divine John [VIII]. The latter sent learned and virtuous bishops and clerics to the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, in order to demand the convocation of a council against these heresies. So it happened, and he summoned that famous great council in Constantinople which confirmed the seventh council, and produced canons; Photius received the assistance of the celebrated and divine pope John, who sent his presbyters and delegates to participate in the holy synod: they were bishops Paul and Eugene, and Peter, presbyter and cardinal; through these envoys he confirmed that the holy Church of Rome was safe regarding the faith and free from danger, and had not yet suffered any irreparable damage from the heresy of the Italians, even if its seed had spread over some of the priests and monks.

I will expose, as briefly as I can, the contents of the Acts of that council. As we said, this great council was summoned in the Queen of cities; the most pious emperors Basil [I],

4. *Scil.* with injurious verses.

- 95 ἔφημεν, προκαθεσθέντων τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων βασιλέων Βασιλείου καὶ Λέοντος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἐκείνου φωστήρος Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης ὡς ἔφημεν τούτων πρέσβων καὶ τοποτηρητῶν, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ Βασιλείου μητροπολίτου Μαρτυροπόλεως καὶ Ἡλίας πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τοποτηρητοῦ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Κοσμᾶ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ πάσης τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, οἱ ἁγιώτατοι πρέσβεις καὶ τοποτηρηταὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐβόησαν· «Πρέπον ἐστὶ μὴ ἕτερον ὄρον καινουργηθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην κρατούμενόν τε καὶ δοξαζόμενον ἀναγνωσθῆναι τε καὶ ἐπιβεβαιωθῆναι».
- 100 «Ὅθεν καὶ Φώτιος ὁ ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης ἔφη· «Κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ σὺν ἱερέων ἡμῶν ἀναγινωσκέσθω». Καὶ δὴ προτραπείς Πέτρος διάκονος καὶ προτονοτάριος ἀνέγνω· «Τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν σεπτὴν καὶ θεῖαν διδασκαλίαν τοῖς τῆς
- 105 διανοίας κόλποις ἀδιστάκτω γνώμῃ καὶ τεθεμελιωμένῃ πίστει καθαρότητι καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἁγίων μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων τὰς ἱερὰς διατάξεις καὶ τοὺς κανονικοὺς τύπους ἀπλανεστάτῃ κρίσει συνεξοσιούντες τε καὶ συνδιασώζοντες, ναὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν ἑπτὰ συνόδων, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς ἁγίου πνεύματος ταῖς ἐπιπνοίαις ἰθυνομένων τε καὶ ἐνεργουμένων, τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τοὺς κανονικοὺς θεσμοὺς ἀπαρატρώτους τε καὶ ἀκαπηλεύτους, εἰλικρινεστάτῃ τῇ
- 110 καὶ ἀκλονήτῳ δόξῃ τιμῶντες τε καὶ διαφυλάττοντες, ἀποβαλλόμεθα μὲν οὓς ἐξεκκλησίασαν, στέργομεν μὲν δὲ καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιους ἔχομεν οὓς οἶα δὴ ὁμοδόξους καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας καθηγητὰς τιμῇ καὶ σέβας ὅσιον ὀφειλομένους ἀπέφηναν· οὕτω περὶ τούτων φρονούντες τε καὶ κηρύττοντες τὸν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ πατέρων καὶ μέχρι ἡμῶν κατεληλυθότα τῆς ἀκραιφνεστάτης τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστει ὄρον καὶ διανοίᾳ καὶ γλώσσει στέργομεν τε καὶ πᾶσι διαπρυσίῳ τῇ φωνῇ περιαγγέλλομεν,
- 115 οὐδὲν ἀφαιροῦντες, οὐδὲν προστιθέντες, οὐδὲν ἀμείβοντες, οὐδὲν κιβδηλεύοντες· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀφαίρεσις καὶ ἡ πρόσθεσις μηδεμιᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ τεχνασμάτων ἀνακινουμένης αἰρέσεως, κατάγνωσιν εἰσάγει τῶν ἀκαταγνώστων, καὶ ὕβριν τῶν πατέρων ἀναπολόγητον· τὸ δὲ κιβδηλοῖς ἀμείβειν ῥήμασιν ὄρους πατέρων πολὺ τούτου χαλεπώτερον· διὸ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς πίστει ὄρον πόθῳ θεῷ καὶ διανοίᾳ εὐθύτῃ ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ αὕτη σύνοδος ἐνστερνιζομένη τε καὶ
- 120 θειάζουσα, καὶ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας στερέωμα ἐν αὐτῷ θεμελιουσά τε καὶ ἀνεγείρουσα, οὕτω φρονεῖν καὶ κηρύσσειν πᾶσιν ἐμβοᾷ τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον· «Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων· καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἄληθινόν ἐκ θεοῦ ἄληθινου, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ
- 125 πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται
- 130 τέλος· καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ

95–100 προκαθεσθέντων – ἐβόησαν : cf. *acta synodi Photianae a. 879/880*, ap. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XVII, 512 C–513 A (cf. *supra*, n. 32) | 100–21 Πρέπον – παντοκράτορα : *ibid.* 516 A-D | 121–33 Πιστεύω – αἰῶνος : *Symb. Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum, ACO, ser. sec.*, 1, 2 p. 80, 3–16

95 ἔφημεν V : ἔφαμεν M | 97 τοποτηρητῶν V : ποτηρητῶν M | 98 πρεσβυτέρου M : πρεσβυτέρου καὶ πρέσβεως V | 106 ἀπλανεστάτῃ correxi cl. Mansi XVII, 5 : ἀπλανεστάτους MV | 114 πᾶσι M : πάσῃ V | 116 ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ M : τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ V | 119 καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ αὕτη σύνοδος ἐνστερνιζομένη om. V | 121 τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον M (rubro atramento), om. V

Leo [VI] and Alexander presided over it, together with Patriarch Photius, that luminous man, and, as we said, the envoys and delegates from Rome, and also Basil, metropolitan of Martyropolis⁵, Elias, presbyter and legate from Jerusalem⁶, Cosmas, presbyter of Alexandria⁷, the whole holy council being convened. The most holy envoys and delegates from Old Rome proclaimed: "We should not produce a new Creed, but rather read and confirm the old one, as it is valid and professed all over the world."

Hence Photius, the most holy patriarch, said: "Let us read it, according to the judgment of our brothers, together with our priests." Peter the deacon and *protonotarios*, having received the order, read: "We honour and we preserve in the depth of our thoughts, with steady will and with firm and pure faith, and with unshakeable judgment, the venerable and divine teaching of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ as well as the sacred precepts of his holy disciples and apostles and the canonical decrees; moreover, we venerate and retain with the most sincere and unmoved conviction the announcement and the incorrupt and veritable canonical decisions of the holy and ecumenical seven councils, for they were guided and accomplished by the inspiration of the unique and divine Holy Spirit. We reject those who have gone out of the Church; on the contrary, we love and accept in communion those who share our opinions in matters of dogma and who have shown themselves truthful interpreters of piety and hence worthy of honour and sacred veneration. Thus, as we believe and profess what we have so far recited, we embrace with our minds and tongues the Creed of the most incorrupt faith of the Christians which has been sent by the Fathers and has come down to us, and we proclaim it in a loud voice to everybody, without making any omission, addition, change or adulteration; in fact, any omission or addition, even if not directly caused by any heresy produced by a trick of the devil, nevertheless causes a reproof of things which are irreprehensible, and an inexcusable outrage to the Fathers; even worse is to adulterate with mendacious words the definitions issued by the Fathers. For this reason, this holy and ecumenical council confirmed and venerated the first Creed of the faith with a desire for God and soundness of thought, and reinforced and proclaimed its fundamental value as a means of salvation, and proclaimed that the holy Creed was to be professed and announced to everyone as follows: 'We believe in one God, Father, all-sovereign, maker of heaven and earth, of all things seen and unseen. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who was begotten from the Father before all the ages, light from light, true God from true God, begotten, not made, of the same substance with the Father, through whom all things came into existence, who because of us men and our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnated by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and was made man, was crucified on our behalf under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried and arose on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and is seated at the right of the Father, and is coming again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds

5. And delegate of Theodosius, patriarch of Antioch.

6. On behalf of Patriarch Elias III.

7. *Apokrisiarios* of Patriarch Michael II.

σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· εἰς
 μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
 προσδοκῶ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν». Οὕτω φρονοῦμεν, ἐν
 ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἐβαπτίσθημεν, δι' αὐτῆς πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν θραυομένην τε καὶ
 135 καταλυομένην ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος ἀπέδειξε· τοὺς οὕτω φρονούντας ἀδελφούς καὶ πατέρας καὶ
 συγκλήρους τῆς ἁνυ πολιτογραφίας ἐπιγραφόμεθα· εἰ δέ τις ἐτέραν ἔκθεσιν παρὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν
 σύμβολον τὸ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων πατέρων ἡμῖν διαφοιτήσαν τολμήσειεν ἀναγράψασθαι
 καὶ ὅρον πίστεως ὀνομάσαι, συλῆσαι τε τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς θεσπεσίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν ὁμολογίας καὶ
 140 ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐρησιλογίαις τοῦτο περιᾶναι, κοινόν τε μάθημα τοῦτο προθεῖναι πιστοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἐξ
 αἱρέσεως τινὸς ἐπιστρέφουσι, καὶ ῥήμασι νόθοις ἢ προσθήκαις ἢ ἀφαιρέσεσι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ
 ἱεροῦ τούτου καὶ σεβασμίου ὅρου κατακιβδηλεύσαι ἀποθρασυνθεῖν, κατὰ τὴν ἡδὴ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν
 ἐκφωνηθεῖσαν ψήφον ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, εἰ μὲν τῶν ἱερωμένων εἴη τις,
 παντελεῖ καθαιρέσει τοῦτον καθυποβάλλομεν, εἰ δὲ τῶν λαϊκῶν, τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπομεν».
 Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ὁ παρὼν ἱερὸς σύλλογος ἐξεβόησε· «Πάντες οὕτω φρονοῦμεν, οὕτω
 145 πιστεύομεν, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ἐβαπτίσθημεν τε καὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ βαθμοῦ ἡξιώμεθα· τοὺς
 ἐτέρως παρὰ ταῦτα φρονούντες, ὡς ἐχθροὺς θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡγούμεθα· εἰ τις παρὰ τοῦτο
 τὸ ἱερὸν σύμβολον τολμήσει ἕτερον ἀναγράψασθαι ἢ προσθεῖναι ἢ ὑφέλῃν καὶ ὅρον ὀνομάσαι
 ἀποθρασυνθεῖν, κατάκριτος καὶ πάσης χριστιανικῆς ὁμολογίας ἀπόβλητος· τὸ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖν ἢ
 προστιθεῖναι ἀτέλῃ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα μέχρι σήμερον ἀνέκαθεν κατιοῦσαν
 150 ὁμολογίαν ἡμῶν δείκνυσι καὶ τῆς τε ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίαν
 καταγινώσκει· εἰ τις τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο ἀπονοίας ἐλάσας τολμήσει ὡς ἀνωτέρω λέλεκται ἕτερον
 ἐκθέσθαι σύμβολον καὶ ὅρον ὀνομάσαι, ἢ προσθήκην ἢ ὑφαίρεσιν ἐν τῷ παραδεδομένῳ ὄρω
 ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς μεγάλης συνόδου ποιῆσαι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω». Ἡλίος
 ὁ θεοσεβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Κοσμάς ὁ πρέσβυς
 155 Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶπον· « Ἀνάθεμα τοὺς ἄλλοι τι παρὰ τοῦτο φρονούντας· ἀνάθεμα τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο
 τὸ κοινὸν σύμβολον ἀνομολογούντας τῆς πίστεως».
 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθησαν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σπουδῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ ζήλῳ διαπύρῳ καὶ συναινέσει
 τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Ἰωάννου πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεοφιλεστάτων
 πρεσβέων Παύλου καὶ Εὐγενίου τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοποτηρητῶν, Πέτρου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου
 160 πρεσβυτέρου καὶ καρδινάλιου, οἱ καὶ μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον Ἰωάννην
 τὸν πάπαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὰ πρακτικὰ ἀπεκόμισαν ταῦτα. Ὅς καὶ μετὰ θυμῆδός ἐστι πλείστης
 δεξιόμενος ἐν ἐπηκόῳ πάντων τῶν τε ἀρχιερέων αὐτοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ μοναχῶν κατὰ τὴν
 ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησίαν ἀνέγνω· εἶθ' οὕτως καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν ἀναγνωσθῆναι
 165 ταῦτα προσέταξε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐναποθησαυρισθῆναι ταμιεῖοις, εἰς ἔλεγχον μὲν τῶν τὴν
 εὐσέβειαν ἀθετούντων, βεβαίωσιν δὲ τῶν τὴν ὀρθὴν κατεχόντων ὁμολογίαν. Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ
 πρακτικὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἁγίας συνόδου σῶζονται ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ κατέχονται
 ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν.

133–43 Οὕτω φρονοῦμεν – παραπέμπομεν : cf. *acta synodi Photianae a. 879/880*, ap. Mansi, *ibid.*, 516 D–517 A | 144–53 Καὶ μετὰ – ἔστω: *ibid.*, 520 E–521 A | 153–6 Ἡλίος – πίστεως: *ibid.*, 517 A

138 πίστεως M : τῆς πίστεως V | θεσπεσίων M : τῶν θεσπεσίων V | 139 ἢ τοῖς om. V | 147 προσθεῖναι V : προθεῖναι M | 149 προστιθεῖναι V : προτιθεῖναι M | εἰς om. V | 151 εἰ τις τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο ἀπονοίας ἐλάσας τολμήσει ὡς ἀνωτέρω λέλεκται om. V | 155 τοὺς (1) V : τοῖς M

from the Father, and together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, who spoke through the prophets. And in one only holy, catholic and apostolic Church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins. I look forward to the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen'. This is our belief, and we were baptised in this profession of faith, by means of which every heresy is broken and destroyed, as the Word of truth has shown: we inscribe the names of those who believe this as brothers, fathers and companions within the blessed community; but if one should dare to expose in a different way the above-mentioned holy Creed which has come to us from the holy Fathers and to call this adulterated version a 'definition of faith', thus insulting the dignity of those holy men's profession and adapting it to his own opinions, and to present it as a doctrine to either the faithful or those who have come back from heresy; and if one should dare to adulterate with spurious words and additions or subtractions this antique, sacred and venerable definition, against the will already expressed by the ecumenical synods that have preceded us, then: if he belongs to the clergy, we will sentence him to deposition; if he is a layman, we will cast an anathema on him." After this was read, the entire holy synod proclaimed: "We all believe this, we conform to this belief, in this confession we have been baptised and we have been given our sacerdotal rank; we consider all those who believe differently enemies of God and of the truth; if someone should dare to compose another one in the place of this sacred Creed or to change it either by addition or by subtraction and to call it a 'definition', he is to be considered a despicable person and deprived of any communion with Christians; in fact, to delete any part of it or to add anything to it invalidates the profession concerning the holy and consubstantial Trinity which has come down to us to this day, and denies the apostolical tradition and the teaching of the Fathers. Thus, as has been said before, if someone, having reached such a degree of foulness, should dare to produce another Creed and call it a "definition", or to add or subtract something from the definition which has come to us from that holy and ecumenical great council, let anathema rest on him." Elias, the most pious presbyter and legate of Jerusalem, and Cosmas, presbyter of Alexandria⁸, said: "Anathema will be cast on those who believe any differently from this; anathema on those who do not profess the common Creed of faith."

These things were decided in Constantinople thanks to the great effort, ardent zeal and intelligence of John, the most pious pope of Old Rome, and of his legates beloved by God, the bishops Paul and Eugene, and of Peter, priest and cardinal beloved by God, who with fear of God and all effort brought these proceedings to the most holy pope John in Rome. The latter received them with great joy and read them in the presence of all his bishops, priests and monks in the Church of Rome; moreover, he ordered them to be read in all his jurisdiction and to be preserved in the churches' treasures, to serve as an accusation of those who would subvert the devotion, as well as a support to those who preserve the correct confession. Hence, the proceedings of this holy synod are still preserved in our holy Church and are respected by orthodox Christians.

8. See n. 7.

12. Τῷ τοι καὶ ἐκ Ῥώμης τῶν τοιούτων αἱρέσεων οἱ ἐργάται ἐκδιωχθέντες, ὥχοντο πρὸς Βουλγάρους καὶ διεσπάρσαντο ἂν τούτους τῆς εὐσεβείας νεοπαγεῖς ὄντας ἐτι τῇ πίστει, εἰ μὴ ὁ τῆς
 170 εὐσεβείας βοώτης θεοτάτος Φώτιος δύο καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς πᾶσαν πέπομφε τὴν ὑφήλιον, στηλιτεύων ἅμα καὶ διελέγχων τὴν τούτων ἄθεον αἵρεσιν, αἱ καὶ τοῖς Βουλγάροις ἀπεκομίσθησαν, καὶ τούτων διέπτυσαν τὰς φθοροποιούς καὶ θεοῦ ἀφιστώσας τούτων αἱρέσεις, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὁρίων τοὺς τῆς ἀνομίας ἐργάτας καὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου προδρόμους ἀπήλασαν. Ἄλλ' οὐ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῆς Ῥώμης διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιστολῶν διέτεμεν ὁ θεοτάτος Φώτιος, ὡς οἱ
 175 τῆς δυσσεβείας συνήγοροι διατείνονται, εὐσεβεστάτην οὖσαν τῷ τότε ἐπὶ τῆς θειοτάτης συνόδου τῆς συγκροτηθείσης σπουδῇ τε καὶ συναινέσει τοῦ θειοτάτου Ἰωάννου τοῦ πάπα· ἀλλ' οὖν γε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον μᾶλλον συνέδρῃσε καὶ ἐστήριξε καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐκφεύγειν ἐργάτας παρήνει, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ παραδρομὴν πλείστων ἐτῶν ἐκλάπη δολίως καὶ κατετυραννήθη ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως.
13. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ θειοτάτου πάπα κοίμησιν, κατὰ διαδοχὴν διελθόντων τοῦ τε Μαρίνου πάπα καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ Στεφάνου, Φόρμοςός τις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, μαίευμα τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως, δολίος ὢν τὸν τρόπον, δολίως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν εὐσέβειαν, δολίως καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης ἐπέβη· καὶ γοῦν τῇ συνήθει ὑποκρίσει καὶ δολιότητι οὗτος αἰ χρώμενος, οὐδαμῶς ἀκμὴν ὅλως ἡγάπα τι τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας μετακινήσαι δογμάτων ἢ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν εἰς
 190 τοῦμφανὲς ἀγαγεῖν, ὑφορώμενος κίνδυνον· μόνον δὲ τοὺς τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης ἐργάτας παρήνει τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποκρίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔσπευσεν ἐμφυτεύειν καὶ τὰ μείζονα τούτοις ἀξιώματα ἐγχειρίζειν. Ἐκτοτε γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς αἱρεσιῶται κατὰ διαδοχὴν εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον θρόνον ἀνήγοντο καὶ τῇ ὑποκρίσει τῆς εὐσεβείας αἰ χρώμενοι κρυφίως τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐδίδασκον αἵρεσιν, οὐδαμῶς ὅλως τολμώντες μετακινήσαι τι τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δογμάτων τε καὶ
 195 πραγμάτων μέχρι καὶ ὀγδόου κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ Φορμόσου αἱρεσιάρχου.
14. Τοῦ γὰρ καταράτου τοῦδε Φορμόσου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορρήξαντος διέρχονται κατὰ διαδοχὴν τοῦ τε χρόνου καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως πάπαι Βονιφάτιος, Στέφανος, Ῥωμανός, Θεόδωρος, Ἰωάννης, Βενέδικτος, Λέων καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ὁ δαιμονόφορος Χριστοφόρος καὶ Σέργιος ὁ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐργάτης, οἱ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ὑπῆρξαν κυροῦ Βασιλείου τοῦ Βουλγαροκτόνου τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν
 200 καλῶς ἰθύναντος, τοὺς δ' ἀρχιερατικούς οἰακας Σεργίου πατριάρχου θειοτάτου τοῦ καὶ κατὰ διάμετρον φερομένου εὐσεβεῖα καὶ ἀγιότητι τοῦ προρρηθέντος Σεργίου τοῦ αἱρεσιάρχου.
15. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ κατάρατος καὶ δαιμονοφόρητος Χριστοφόρος εἰδὼς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ συνεργάτης αὐτῷ Σέργιος τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς αἱρέσεως λύμην περικρατήσασαν ἅπαν τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίας τὸ πλήρωμα, καὶ μηδένα κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι καταστρέφουσι καὶ πρακτικῶς
 205 τὴν εὐσέβειαν, τὸ θεῖον φημί τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως σύμβολον, τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ἱερὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως παραδόσεις· ἐκτίθενται δὲ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἅπασαν αἵρεσιν ἐμφανῶς μηδὲν δεδιότες.
16. Εἴτα μανθάνει ταῦτα ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σέργιος, στέλλει γραφάς, στέλλει πρέσβεις, ἀνακαλούμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν προτέραν ὡς δῆθεν εὐσέβειαν· οἱ δὲ ἀποκρούονται, ἀποστρέφονται, μυκτηρίζουσι, κενοὺς ἀποπέμπουσι τοὺς σταλέντας· εἴτα
 210 πάλιν μανθάνει ταῦτα ὁ πατριάρχης, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων διπτύχων ἐξωθεῖται τούτους ἀναφορᾶς, διὰ τὸ ἀνακεκαλυμμένως αὐτοὺς ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν καὶ μὴ ἐθέλοντας ἀπαντῆσαι εἰς σύνοδον.

172 καὶ ἐκ V | θεοῦ M : θεῷ V | 173 τῆς om. V | 176 συναινέσει M : συνέσει V | τοῦ πάπα M : πάπα V | 180 τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ θειοτάτου M : τοῦ θειοτάτου Ἰωάννου V | 181 τις om. V | 190 μόνον M : μόνους V | 191 ἔσπευσεν M : ἔσπευδεν V | 194 ὅλως om. V | 206 ἅπασαν om. V

12. When the promoters of these impious heresies were banished from Rome, they went to the Bulgarians, and they would have corrupted those people, who were still neophytes in the Christian faith, had the divine herald of devotion Photius not sent two catholic epistles to the entire world, to accuse and unmask those ungodly men's heresy: these letters were also brought to the Bulgarians, and thanks to them they discarded those corrupting heresies which separate one from God, and chased from their own territories the promoters of injustice and forerunners of the Antichrist. Thus, it was not Photius who separated us from the Church of Rome because of these epistles, as the heralds of impiety maintain: at the time of the divine council organised thanks to the efforts and the advice of the most divine pope John, the Church [of Rome] was extremely pious. On the contrary, Photius even strengthened the bonds [with the Western Christians], and advised them to cast away those evil men; it was only after many many years that [the Western Church] was fraudulently deceived and fell into the tyranny of this heresy.

13. The most divine pope John died, and his successors were Marinos [I], Adrian [III] and Stephen [V]; then a man named Formosus, an offspring of that heresy, who was cunning in behaviour, and who fraudulently simulated piety, and by means of fraud came into the Church; he continued to live according to his habitual imposture and dissimulation, and did not at all want to change any of the dogmas of piety yet, nor to bring forward his own belief, because he feared that he might be in danger; also, he counseled the adepts of the heresy to feign devotion, and at the same time he eagerly sought to implant them in the Church and to assign the most prominent positions to them. In the time following, heretics were elevated as successors to the pontifical see, who continued to feign piety as well as to teach their heresy in secret. However, they did not at all dare to change any of the Church's dogmas and acts until the eighth heretical successor of Formosus.

14. After the death of this accursed Formosus, his successors, under the aspect of both the succession in the ministry and the sharing of the same heretical beliefs, were Popes Boniface [VI], Stephen [VI], Romanus, Theodore [II], John [IX], Benedict [IV], Leo [V], and after them the demoniac Christopher and Sergius [III/IV] the adept of the Devil, who lived at the time of Emperor Basil [II] the Bulgar-Slayer, he who governed the Empire well, and of Sergius [II], the most divine patriarch [of Constantinople]: this one, for his devotion and sanctity, was diametrically opposed to the above-mentioned Sergius, the heresiarch.

15. Thus, this accursed and demoniac Christopher, followed by his collaborator Sergius [IV], having realised that this disgraceful heresy had prevailed over the whole Church subject to their jurisdiction, and fearing no danger, factually overturned the devotion, as concerns, I mean, the divine Creed of the orthodox faith, the holy and sacred eucharistic sacrifice and the other traditions of the orthodox faith, and publicly set forth all their heretical beliefs, without any fear.

16. The most holy patriarch of Constantinople Sergius [II] learned these facts, sent letters and envoys in order to recall them to their former devotion: they refused, rebutted, sneered at the envoys and dismissed them empty-handed. The patriarch, having learned of this, had their names expunged from the holy and divine diptychs, for they persisted in openly proclaiming their heresy and did not want to meet in a synod.

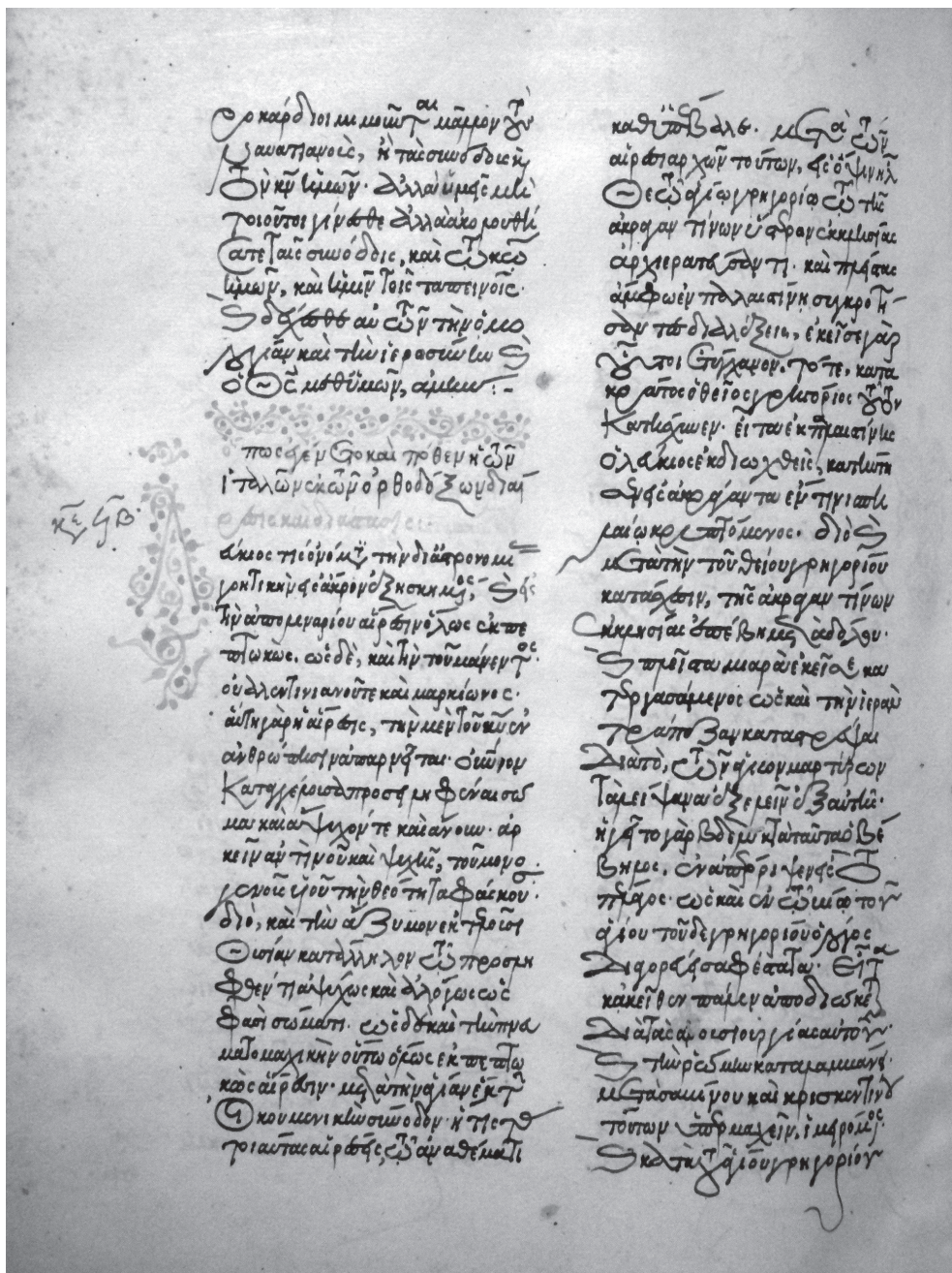


Plate 2 – Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Marc. gr. III 5 (coll. 1077), f. 328r.

Courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Repubblica Italiana.

Further reproduction forbidden by any means.