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The Comma Calmly Considered
Greek Orthodox Church 1710 Printing
of

Euthymius Zigabenus' *Panoplia*

By

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Introduction

This is the sixteenth paper of the series. This essay has selections from my paper "The Witness of God is Greater." In this essay, my goal is to highlight some of the amazing evidence that I have discovered in collating sources for my paper. I give some comments in order to direct my readers through these points.

- For ever, O LORD, thy word is settled in heaven. (Psalm 119:89)
- The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times. Thou shalt keep them, O Lord, thou shalt preserve them from this generation for ever. (Psalm 12:6-7)
- Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path. (Psalm 119:105)
- Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. (Matt 24:35)

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Brief Remarks : Greek Orthodox 1710 Printing of Euthymius' *Panoplia*

In the last paper (15 - The Comma Calmly Considered - Cyril Lucaris & the Eastern Church Synods) we saw how the Patriarch of Constantinople (formerly the Patriarch of Alexandria) Cyril Lucaris published a Greek bible for the Eastern Church. The bible had 2 columns, one the original Greek, and the second column had the "modern" Greek. The Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses were in the Greek text. Publishing a bible for the public was considered radical and dangerous by the Greek Orthodox Church. The Greek Orthodox Church and the other Eastern Churches formulated a confession (in Greek) affirming the traditional doctrine and condemning the Reformation as a heresy. That confession also contained the Heavenly Witnesses. These events left the critics completely stumped and merely complaining that Cyril Lucaris' bible "borrowed" from the Reformation Greek bibles. As for the Greek confession affirmed at three Synods of the Eastern Churches, the critics had no knowledge that these Synods had occurred nor the text of the confession.

This paper focuses on the historical context concerning the *editio princeps* of Euthymius' *Panoplia* printed in 1710. As was mentioned in the last paper Cyril intended to print a bible for the Greek people, the printing presses he set up were destroyed by the French army (ordered to do so by the Pope). The bible was then printed by the Dutch government. This circumstance is indicative of the historical fact that the Eastern Churches had no access to a printing press unless they went to Western European countries. Although some presses had been set up around 1650 by Reformation groups now in Eastern Europe, there was nothing for the Greek Orthodox church until about 1700. Manuscripts for the Eastern churches were being copied by hand well into the 18th century. The Reader will remember that the critics regarded any manuscript that was transcribed after the time of printing (in Western Europe) as possibly infected with the comma interpolation. However, the fact that Eastern Europe had no presses until the late 17th century demonstrates that manuscripts from the East could not be simply dismissed. Moreso, the fact that manuscripts were hand copied indicated that these manuscripts were handed down by fellow Christians.

Constantinople was a Christian city since the days of Constantine the Great (d. 337). The city remained a significant center of Christianity and Christian history until its fall to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Nevertheless, the Greek Orthodox church continued in that city and the surrounding area of Eastern Europe. The incursions of Ottoman armies continued into Eastern Europe until they were turned back at the Battle of Vienna in 1683 when John III Sobieski's Polish husaria cavalry broke the siege of the city, scattering the Ottoman army. The victory in 1683 was the beginning of regaining Eastern Europe from Ottoman control (liberating Hungary, Buda, Belgrade in 1688). Finally, the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 returned Hungary to the Habsburgs, the Peloponnese to Venice and Podolia to Poland. The Ottoman empire would gradually weaken, recede, and become "the sick man of Europe". These important events would allow the Greek Orthodox Church to set up presses in Moldova publishing the *Panoplia* of Euthymius in 1710. Presenting the history of the Greek Orthodox Church demonstrates an unbroken succession from the time of Constantine the Great. The survival of this Christian community and its hierarchy is the definition of a "living community. Moreso, Euthymius was a theologian of Constantinople where he composed the *Panoplia* 1100 AD.

It is at this important historical context that the Greek Orthodox Church decides to publish an official edition of the *Panoplia* by Euthymius (circa 1100 AD). Now the Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox Church want to aid Christians in the West by offering an *antidote* to the Reformation heresy: The *Panoplia* of Euthymius. This work was a standard and well known reference for the Greek Orthodox. Compiled by Euthymius about 1100 AD by request of the Emperor, the *Panoplia* contains selections of the fathers works against heresies of every kind. The Greek Orthodox Church would sponsor an all out effort to create a pristine edition using their manuscripts (from Mt Athos) and their Greek scholars to collate the edition. The entire work would be dedicated and introduced by the Patriarch and chief Greek scholar. The introduction admonished Christians to

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use this work to eradicate heretical teachings among them. The Greek Orthodox church excluded any outside influences upon their 1710 printed edition of Euthymius' *Panoplia*. The work would be printed exclusively in Moldova under the complete control of the Greek Orthodox church and its scholars and editors. The work was edited and compiled by their scholars with their manuscripts and sponsored by their Patriarchs. The Greek Orthodox church would then print hundreds of copies to be distributed to the West as a gift to any Christian that will accept it. This 1710 edition has never been revised and is to this day the official and approved edition of Euthymius *Panoplia* (originally composed and collated in 1100 AD).

In chapter 12 of the *Panoplia*, we find Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus*. What is astounding is that in the section on the first epistle of John: the Heavenly & Earthly witnesses in Greek. So, we find the Heavenly & Earthly Witnesses in the work of a 5th century father, Cyril of Alexandria.

Dear Reader, looking at this situation, isn't this historical context exactly how the textual critic's picture of the original manuscripts (exemplars) being created/copied? Shouldn't we expect that the printed edition to be as close as it could get to what was known and used for centuries in the Byzantine community? What need would there be for any "textual criticism" in such a case? The origin of the work and the group that used it for centuries is creating a pristine edition for their first printing. This edition is intended to be for the Greek Orthodox Community and given to anyone else who it might benefit. No guess work is needed to determine the correct variants, manuscripts, etc. of the work because the living community is very familiar with the text. With the provenance guaranteed for this printed edition, we would expect that the edition would be everything that the textual critics have determined by their "science". This event could be considered "the control" in an experiment. This is another test case for the supposed "science" of textual criticism. If the Heavenly & Earthly witnesses appear in this work (Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus*), wouldn't that be "**game over**"? Wouldn't these critics have to admit that their paradigm was "**broken**"? Could the critics really assume such omniscience (hubris) to insist that the Greek Orthodox church should have consulted them before undertaking this project? Could the Greek Orthodox also be part of the "vast conspiracy" (as the critics assert)? We will return with more in the next paper confronting the critics' complaints and frivolous objections.

Prayers

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The Orthodox Church under the Ottoman Empire

- Mehmed II allowed the Ecumenical Patriarchate to remain active after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Under Ottoman rule, the Greek Orthodox Church acquired power as an autonomous millet. The ecumenical patriarch was the religious and administrative ruler of the entire "Greek Orthodox nation" (Ottoman administrative unit), which encompassed all the Eastern Orthodox subjects of the Empire. (millet: in the Ottoman Empire the "millet" was an independent court of law pertaining to "personal law" under which a confessional community was allowed to rule itself under its own laws.)
- In contrast to Catholicism which was associated with enemy Austria, the Orthodox Church was an accepted institution under the Ottomans, but the number of churches and monasteries was greatly reduced so as to make room for the new mosques being built, and the majority of churches became mosques during Ottoman rule. As such, the Orthodox Church was not extinguished nor was its canonical and hierarchical organization completely destroyed. Its administration continued to function though to a lesser degree, no longer being the state religion. One of the first things that Mehmet the Conqueror did was to allow the Church to elect a new patriarch, Gennadius Scholarius

Isolation from the West

- As a result of the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, and the Fall of Constantinople, the entire Orthodox communion of the Balkans and the Near East became suddenly isolated from the West. The Russian Orthodox Church was the only part of the Orthodox communion which remained outside the control of the Ottoman Empire. It is, in part, due to this geographical and intellectual confinement that the voice of Eastern Orthodoxy was not heard during the Reformation in sixteenth century Europe. As a result, this important theological debate often seems strange and distorted to the Orthodox; after all, they never took part in it and thus neither Reformation nor Counter-Reformation is part of their theological framework.
- [History_of_the_Eastern_Orthodox_Church_under_the_Ottoman_Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Eastern_Orthodox_Church_under_the_Ottoman_Empire). Wikipedia.
<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Eastern_Orthodox_Church_under_the_Ottoman_Empire>

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Euthymius Zigabenus & Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1048-1118 AD)

• Euthymius Zigabenus or Zigadenus or Zygadenus (Greek: Εὐθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός or Ζυγαδηνός; died after 1118) was a 12th-century monk and commentator on the Bible. He was a friend of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus, for whom he wrote a lengthy work on heresies, *Panoplia Dogmatica* or *Panoply of Doctrine* (or "Full Armour of Belief"). This began in the apostolic era and continued down to the Bogomils, some of whom he personally examined. The entry on the Bogomils is our main source of information about them. Nothing is known about his life.[1] He was a monk and lived in the monastery of the Virgin Mary near Constantinople. He was favoured by both the emperor and his daughter Anna Comnena, who extols his learning and piety in her *Alexiad*.[2] He also wrote a commentary on the Psalms, one on the four gospels, and one on the letters of St. Paul. These are based mainly on patristic sources. (Euthymios Zigabenos. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Euthymios_Zigabenos>)

• Alexios I Komnenos (Greek: Ἀλέξιος Κομνηνός, c. 1048 – 15 August 1118), Latinized Alexius I Comnenus, was Byzantine emperor from 1081 to 1118. Although he was not the founder of the Komnenian dynasty, it was during his reign that the Komnenos family came to full power. Inheriting a collapsing empire and faced with constant warfare during his reign against both the Seljuq Turks in Asia Minor and the Normans in the western Balkans, Alexios was able to curb the Byzantine decline and begin the military, financial, and territorial recovery known as the Komnenian restoration. The basis for this recovery were various reforms initiated by Alexios. His appeals to Western Europe for help against the Turks were also the catalyst that likely contributed to the convoking of the Crusades. Alexios I had overcome a dangerous crisis and stabilized the Byzantine Empire, inaugurating a century of imperial prosperity and success.[48] He had also profoundly altered the nature of the Byzantine government.[56] By seeking close alliances with powerful noble families, Alexios put an end to the tradition of imperial exclusivity and co-opted most of the nobility into his extended family and, through it, his government. Those who did not become part of this extended family were deprived of power and prestige. (Alexios I Komnenos. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexios_I_Komnenos>)

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Historical Context : Composition of the *Panoplia*

• [Miladinova] Our knowledge of the circumstances around the compilation of the *Panoplia* in the twelfth century come from two sources—the history of the reign of Alexios I, written by his own daughter Anna Komnene, and, second, the prologue of the anthology itself. The episode in Alexiad (in which the Porphyrogenita ["born in purple"] Anna Komnene mentioned the *Panoplia*) has remained famous for the history of the dualistic heresy of the Bogomils. Alexios I and his brother "sebastokrator" [senior court position] Isaak feigned they wanted to become followers of the Bogomils and invited the leader of the heresy Basil the Physician to the Blachernai palace in Constantinople. Encouraged by their invitation, Basil revealed to them the secret teaching, without knowing that at the time of the conversation his words were being written down and that members of the clergy and the Constantinopolitan court were standing silently behind a curtain. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 1-2)

• [Anna Comnena] I am desirous of writing so as to set forth a full account of the Bogomilian heresy; but I will pass it over, as I do not wish to defile my tongue. And those who wish to understand the whole heresy of the Bogomils I will refer to the book entitled Dogmatic Panoply, which was compiled by my father's order. For there was a monk called Zygabenus, known to my mistress, my maternal grandmother, and to all the members of the priestly roll, who had pursued his grammatical studies very far, was not unversed in rhetoric, and was the best authority on ecclesiastical dogma; the Emperor sent for him and commissioned him to expound all the heresies, each separately, and to append to each the holy Fathers' refutations of it; and amongst them too the heresy of the Bogomils, exactly as that impious Basil had interpreted it. The Emperor named this book the Dogmatic Panoply, and that name the books have retained even to the present day. But now my story must return to Basil's death. (Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, Book 15.9; Translated by Elizabeth Dawes, *The Alexiad of Princess Anna Comnena*, 1928, p. 415; <sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/annacomnena-alexiad.asp>.)

• Anna Komnene (Greek: Ἄννα Κομνηνή, Ánna Komnēnē; 1 December 1083 – 1153), commonly latinized as Anna Comnena,[1] was a Byzantine princess, scholar, physician, hospital administrator, and historian. She was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and his wife Irene Doukaina.[2] She is best known for her attempt to usurp her brother, John II Komnenos,[3] and for her work *The Alexiad*, an account of her father's reign.[4] At birth, Anna was betrothed to Constantine Doukas,[5] and she grew up in his mother's household.[6] She was well-educated in "Greek literature and history, philosophy, theology, mathematics, and medicine." [5] Anna and Constantine were next in the line to throne[7] until Anna's younger brother, John II Komnenos, became the heir in 1092.[8] Constantine died around 1094,[9] and Anna married Nikephoros Bryennios in 1097.[10] The two had several children before Nikephoros' death around 1136.[8] Following her father's death in 1118, Anna and her mother attempted to usurp John II Komnenos.[11] Her husband refused to cooperate with them, and the usurpation failed.[5] As a result, John exiled Anna to the Kecharitomene monastery, where she spent the rest of her life.[12] In confinement there, she wrote the *Alexiad*. [4] She died sometime in the 1150s; the exact date is unknown.[13] (Anna Komnene. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anna_Komnene>)

• [Travis] Euthymius Zygabenus lived at Constantinople in the eleventh century, in the reign of Alexis Comnenus [1081-1118 AD]. He compiled a work which is commonly called the *Panoplia Dogmatica*, of which he gives the following account (here abbreviated) in his preface or introduction. **"Our King and Master, Alexis, having caused the declarations of the holy Fathers, the supporters of the true faith, to be**

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collected together in one treatise, by wise and learned men of the present age, deputed to me the office or placing the sentences of those Fathers in order, and distributing them aptly in their proper stations.” (Travis, Letters to Edward Gibbon, 3rd Edition, 1794, p. 26-27)

- [Kusabu] Immediately after Basil's trial in ca. 1100, Alexios I Comnenos ordered Zygabenos to compile the *Panoplia*, a refutation of heresies including the recent addition of the Bogomils. It is likely that Zygabenos worked to carry out Alexios I's policies toward heresies and that Zygabenos' view of the Bogomils represented a decisive moment for the Bogomil issue in Constantinople. (Kusabu, Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymios Zygabenos, 2013, p. 217)

- [Miladinova] The trial against the Bogomils and their leader Basil the Physician had led to the creation of one of the most authoritative anthologies in Byzantium. *Panoplia Dogmatike*, commissioned at the personal behest of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), was created by the redoubtable Constantinopolitan theologian Euthymios Zygadenos. This anthology (as "a double-edged sword") contains texts from the Church Fathers and refutes in chronological order the important heresies from early Christian times until the heretical movements of the twelfth century. Since its compilation the *Panoplia* became a key source on Orthodox theology. The text of the *Panoplia* is known in more than 140 Greek manuscripts. In the fourteenth century it was translated into Old Church Slavonic. The Latin translation, prepared by the Italian humanist Pietro Francesco Zini, was published in Venice in 1555 during the years of the Council of Trent. A reprint of this Latin translation followed in 1556 (Lyon), in 1575 (Venice), in 1577 (Lyon) and later the translation was included in *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*. The first printed edition of the Greek text came relatively late—in 1710 in the Romanian Principality of Wallachia at a time of the shift from manuscript culture to printing for the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. This latest text was used as *textus receptus* for the edition in volume 130 of *Patrologia Graeca* [Migne]. This book shows how the *Panoplia Dogmatike* continued to be read long after the twelfth century and was used in ways that went beyond the expectations of Emperor Alexios I and his theologians. By examining the reasons for the publication of the Greek *editio princeps*, the study gives snapshots of the history of the anthology in the Early Modern period and uses sources that until now were not related to the anthology. The first printed Greek edition of the *Panoplia* came before the national movements in South-Eastern Europe when the Orthodox elite were using the Greek language regardless of their national identity. In this way the text has retained the universality with which it was created in the twelfth century as an authoritative book to be read in the confines of the Orthodox "Oikoumene" [Orthodox Christians wherever they dwell]. Nevertheless, the times have significantly changed and this is why the study touches on the transformation and adaptation of the Byzantine legacy. Most [PAGE 2] important for the publication of the *Panoplia* in terms of the political legacy was the princely patronage for the [1710] edition by rulers who claimed the heritage of the Byzantine emperors as defenders and benefactors for the Orthodox. In the Early Modern period (1500-1800) this important book was used in theological discussions and was enriched with new interpretations on the transubstantiation and Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 1-2)

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Panoplia : Editio Princeps (Tîrgoviște 1710)

• [Miladinova : The Guardianship of the Holy Places and the Orthodox] The story of the first [printed] Greek edition of the *Panoplia* should start much earlier than the actual publication with a landmark historical event—on 12th September 1683 during the last siege of Vienna the allied Christian army under the command of the Polish King John iii Sobieski were victorious over the Ottoman forces. This victory changed the balance of power between the Ottomans and Western Europe. The Ottoman army suffered a heavy defeat. In the following year the empire was threatened by the incentive of Pope Innocent XI which led to the creation of the "Holy League" between Austria, Venice and Poland. Russia joined two years later. These events had repercussions for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ On several earlier occasions King Louis xiv of France had supported missionary activities by the French Catholics in Jerusalem.¹² He intended to use the Holy City as a basis for a further extension of his influence and demanded from the Ottoman authorities the right of guardianship of the Holy Places and the pilgrims visiting them. By that time, the Ottoman Empire was successful in foreign policy and it could allow itself to give no heed to such demands. After the battle of Vienna, fearing that France would also take part in the new alliance, the Ottoman Empire conceded to the demands of French diplomacy to give the protection over the Holy Places in [PAGE 37] Jerusalem to the Catholics. In this way in 1689 the Orthodox church lost key positions they had over the guardianship of the Holy Places. This happened during the office of the redoubtable Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheos ii Notaras, who spent the rest of his life in efforts to oppose the influence of the Catholics.¹³ Left without many possibilities for action, he sought political support from the Russian Tsars and the Orthodox rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia. An important part of his program was the publication of a series of anti-Catholic editions. In fact, the *Panoplia* was one of these books. Patriarch Dositheos was directly involved in and inspired the edition of the *Panoplia* in Wallachia, although his name is not mentioned. The research into the circumstances which necessitated the editio princeps of the *Panoplia* has shown that this edition was printed by the Orthodox after twenty years of effort. Because of the time that had elapsed from the initial idea to publish the *Panoplia* until the final realization of the project, the names of the men who actually initiated the publication are not mentioned; these were the successive Orthodox Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Dositheos ii Notaras, and Chrysanthos Notaras (1707–1731). First, they tried to publish the *Panoplia*, together with other polemical books in Russia but they finally published part of these books with the support of the rulers of the Romanian Principalities. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 36-37)

• [Miladinova] With the strong support of **Patriarch Dositheos**, Greek printing presses had already started to produce Orthodox editions of polemic character in Moldova (1682) and in Wallachia (1690).¹ Since the attempt to establish printing presses in Constantinople in 1627 under Patriarch Cyril I Lukaris, this was the first time the Orthodox could print books in the confines of the Ottoman Empire. In this way the printing presses in Wallachia and Moldova were able to compete with the printing activities of the Calvinists, who had established a printing press in 1638 in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), in Transylvania. Almost every Orthodox edition was an answer to the activities of their Calvinist opponents. This position of the Romanian Principalities was due to the fact that they preserved their autonomy from the Ottoman Empire and became important centers of Orthodox culture. In this way at the turn of the eighteenth century the Principalities had already taken on an important role in the preservation of Orthodoxy. The patriarchs of Jerusalem frequently visited the Principalities, including Patriarchs Theophanes III (1606–1644), Paisios (1645–1660), Nektarios (1661–1669) and later Chrysanthos Notaras. **But it was the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheos II, Notaras, who established the printing presses in Moldavia under the ruler George Ducas.**² In this way, Dositheos, the undisputed [PAGE 39] leader of Orthodoxy at that time, made Wallachia and Moldavia the headquarters for his activities and the printing presses, which the patriarch supported, produced a small panoply of books, directed against Catholic and

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Calvinist “propaganda” in Southeastern Europe.³ **These editions remain monuments to early printing in Romania. Many of them are of polemic character and already anticipate the future edition of the *Panoplia*.** (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 38-39)

• [Miladinova] It is known that during the seventeenth century most of the Orthodox mistrusted the Greek books printed by “the Schismatics” in the West. Thus, the emphasis on the fact that the *Panoplia* was printed on Orthodox soil certainly had value in the eyes of the people behind the Greek edition. For them, it was a book uncontaminated by the heterodox... (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 107)

• [Miladinova] The time when the *Panoplia* [Tîrgoviște 1710 edition] was published **marked the transition from manuscripts to book printing for Orthodox Christians in South Eastern Europe.** For this reason the text of the *Panoplia* was a part of the common phenomenon in which printed texts coexisted with the manuscript versions. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 97)

• [Miladinova] ...the publication of the Greek editio princeps [1710] was related to the major theological discussions among the Orthodox during the seventeenth century over the words used to define the Eucharist and as a reaction of the Orthodox to the controversies in the West over Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist, in particular the transubstantiation. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 112)

• [Kusabu] **The actual source manuscripts for the Tîrgoviște [1710] edition remain uncertain.** (Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zigabenos*, 2013, p. 134-135)

• [Kusabu] According to Wickert and Papabasileiou' lists, Zigabenos utilized the textual excerpts from Church authors in the process of compiling the *Dogmatike Panoplia* and the authors include Athanasios of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites, Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, John of Damascus, John Chrysostomos, Leontios of Byzantium, Leontios of Napoli, Maximos Confessor and Patriarch Photios. In addition to those named Fathers, scholars found that Zigabenos utilized the works of Bartholomaios of Edessa, Patriarch Germanos I, Eutymios of Acmonia, Patriarch Nikephoros, Niketas Byzantinos, Theodore Studites, and other anonymous anthologists. (Kusabu, *Comnenian Orthodoxy and Byzantine Heresiology in the Twelfth Century: A Study of the Panoplia Dogmatica of Euthymios Zigabenos*, 2013, p. 9-10)

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Panoplia (1710 edition) Gifted to Foreign Dignitary

• [Miladinova] The first reference to the Greek [Tîrgovişte, 1710] editio princeps is attested around three years after the publication; this is before 1714. It is narrated by Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736) and this account can be accepted as trustworthy. (fn. 2. Bibliotheca Graeca, vol. 8, book 5, chapter 7, 1966, p. 331) In the entry on the *Panoplia* in the *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Fabricius writes that he kept in contact with Michael Eneman (1676–1714), a chaplain of the Swedish Embassy in Constantinople. Towards the end of his life Eneman returned to Europe as a professor of oriental languages at Uppsala University. He shared with Fabricius (*mecum communicavit*) that he met the Orthodox Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras in Constantinople. Chrysanthos was apparently delighted with the recent edition of the *Panoplia*, so much so that he presented it as a gift to the Swedish chaplain. Thus, the information which Fabricius provides on the publication comes indirectly from Patriarch Chrysanthos himself. (Miladinova, *Panoplia Dogmatike* by Euthymios Zygadenos, 2014, p. 88)

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Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus* in the Euthymius' *Panoplia*

HITS:

- From the Epistle of John. "And he that keepeth his commandments dwelleth in him, and he in him. And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us." (1 John 3:24) If God is the one who dwells in us when the Holy Spirit dwells in us, how is the Spirit not both God and from God? How is it not, when he who has the Spirit carries God as an inhabitant in him? God who says through the prophet, "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God." (2 Cor. 6:16) If the Spirit is God and from God, will any man recklessly saying that the Spirit is a creature, escape eternal punishment?
- From the same. **"And it is the Spirit which testifieth because the Spirit is the truth. And there are Three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one. And there are three that give testimony on earth: the spirit and the water and the blood. And these three are one. If we receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater." (1 John 5:6-9)** See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God; for having said, that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses, a little onward he has, "the witness of God is greater." (1 John 5:9) **How then is he a creature, who is declared to be God with the Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity?**
- Euthymius, *Panoplia*, Chapter 12 - selections from Cyril of Alexandria's *Thesaurus*
 - **Greek:** Ἐκ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς. "Καὶ ὁ τηρῶν τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ μένει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γινώσκομεν, ὅτι ἐν ἡμῖν μένει ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος οὗ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν." (1 John 3:24) εἰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ἡμῖν οἰκοῦντος, Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κατοικῶν, πῶς οὐ Θεὸς, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα; ὅπερ εἴ τις ἔχει Θεὸν ἐνοικοῦντα φορεῖ, ὃς καὶ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου φησὶν, "ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν Θεός." (2 Cor. 6:16) καὶ εἰ Θεὸς, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα, τίς αὐτὸ ρίψοκινδύνως, ὅτι γενητὸν εἶη λέγων τὴν αἰώνιον ἐκβήσεται κόλασιν;
 - **Greek:** [Ἐκ] τῆς αὐτῆς. **"Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστὶν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν."** (1 John 5:6-9) θέα δὴ πάλιν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ Θεὸν τε, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ φυσικῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. εἰρηκῶς γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ το μαρτυροῦν, μικρόν τι προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, "ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν." (1 John 5:9) πῶς οὖν ἐστὶ ποίημα τὸ τῶν ὅλων Πατρὶ **συνθεολογούμενον**, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος **συμπληρωτικόν**;

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Appendix: The Mysterious Omission of Porson

• [Burgess] The learned Prelate [Richard Simon] attributes the origin of the seventh verse in Latin to a Latin gloss on the eighth; and its first appearance in Greek to a Greek translation of the Lateran Decrees, which was made about the year 1300. That the first quotations of the seventh verse were made prior to the first composition of the Latin gloss by nearly two centuries, I have shewn in the preceding pages (and elsewhere, that the verse was extant in Greek many centuries before the Lateran Council of 1215). As a proof of its existence in Greek before the meeting of the Lateran Council, I shall here add the authority of Euthymius Zigabenus, who lived (according to Cave) about the year 1116. And I am the more desirous of adducing his authority, because Mr. Porson, in the account which he has given of it [*Letters to Travis*], has not dealt quite fairly with his author, or his own readers. The passage of the original is in f. 112, col. 1. (ριβ' [p. 112r]) of the Tîrgoviște edition of the *Panoplia Dogmatika* (Greek: Πανοπλία Δογματική) 1710, the only edition of the Greek text.

"Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια· Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. Εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:6-9) Θεὰ δὴ πάλιν, ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. Εἰρηκῶς γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, μικρόν τι προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, "Ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μείζων ἐστί." (1 John 5:9) Πῶς οὖν ἐστί ποιήμα [τὸ τῶν ὄλων Πατρὶ συνθεολογούμενον, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν;] (Euthymius, *Panoplia*, Chapter 12; Migne Graeca, PG 130.871-872; Tîrgoviște, 1710, ριβ' [p. 112r])

• [Burgess] The words inclosed in brackets are omitted in Mr. Porson's translation, which is as follows:

• [Porson] "*And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear record on earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and the three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater.*" See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God; for having said, that it is the Spirit of God that witnesses, a little onward he adds, the witness of God is greater. How then is he a creature, &c. [Omitted: who is declared to be God with the Father of all things, and complete of the Holy Trinity?]

• [Burgess] To his translation Mr. Porson has subjoined the following observations:

• [Porson] "Upon this passage I observe, first, that an author, who adopts this reasoning" [that is, without the clause omitted by Mr. Porson] "must have been ignorant of the seventh verse. How could he otherwise have missed the opportunity of insisting upon the *connumeration* of the three persons," [which is in the untranslated clause he does *not* miss,] "the assertion of their joint testimony, and their *unity*? Euthymius's reasoning at present receives all its vigour from the close conjunction of the sixth, eighth, and ninth verses, and is only clogged by the insertion of the seventh."

• [Burgess] With the omitted clause before us, it is clear, that the whole vigour of Euthymius's reasoning does not depend on the sixth, eighth and ninth verses. Even the translated passage asserts more than is contained in those verses. "See now again, how the preacher of truth calls the Spirit by nature God, and of God, *God, and of God by nature* (Greek: Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς)," that is, of the same nature with God. That the

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Spirit is God, Euthymius exemplifies by a comparison of the sixth and ninth verses. "For (the preacher of truth) having said, that it is the Spirit that beareth witness, a little onward he adds, 'the witness of God is greater,'" thus identifying the Spirit with God. But *God, and of God by nature* (Greek: Θεόν τε καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ θυσικῶς), that is, or the same nature with God, conveys a declaration of the Divinity of the Spirit, which is not contained in the sixth and ninth verses, much less in the eighth, which relates solely to the *human nature* of Christ, - *viz.* to his *expiration* on the cross, and to the *water* and *blood* that issued from his side. [Burgess: Mr. Porson understands πνεῦμα, in the eighth verse, of the *human spirit*, or *breath*, (see Letters, p. 351, 397) which is the meaning adopted by Eucherius, Cassiodorus, Erasmus, &c.] **GOD OF GOD** must mean two distinct persons. But the Spirit is not distinguished from the Father and *connumerated with him* except in the seventh verse. The sixth and ninth verses are, therefore, not sufficient for the reasoning of Euthymius. "How *therefore*," (concludes Euthymius, from the whole passage) "How is he [the Spirit] a creature, &c." - Here Mr. Porson unaccountably closes the passage by his *et cetera*. I say, unaccountably, because the omitted words relate expressly to the seventh verse." "How therefore is he a creature, who is declared to be **God with the Father** of all things, and **completive of the Holy Trinity**?" that is, with the Father and the Son, constituting the Holy Trinity. This is a conclusion drawn from the whole quotation from St. John. But there is nothing that resembles this doctrine in the sixth, eighth, or ninth verse, which can belong only to the seventh. **There** [in verse 7] undoubtedly the Spirit is declared to be God with the Father, and to be one of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. In the omitted clause we have that **CONnumeration** (Greek: συνθεολογούμενον), and **UNITY** (Greek: τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος συμπληρωτικόν), - insisted on, which Mr. Porson requires, as an evidence of the seventh verse, but which he lost sight of, or at least withheld from his readers, by the omission of the last clause.

- [Burgess] The observations of Euthymius being an express appeal to the Epistle of St. John for the Deity of the Holy Spirit, and inferring *from thence* that he is God, - God of God, - of the same nature with God, - and one of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, the seventh verse is indispensable to the passage in the *Panoplia*, however it may have been omitted in the Latin translation, and the Moscow Trinity College and Bodleian Manuscripts. The Turgovist edition was printed from Eastern MSS collated with a copy in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The MSS of the *Panoplia* appear to have suffered greatly by transcription, and multiplication of copies. Fabricius says, that Chrysanthius [editor of 1710 edition] supplied from a Vienna MS what was deficient in the Eastern MSS observing, at the same time, that a whole chapter is wanting in the Vienna MS which is extant in the oriental copies. Matthaei has given in the Preface to his edition of Euthymius' commentary on the four Gospels, some copious supplements to the Turgovist edition of the *Panoplia*.

[Note: The MSS in Moscow found by Mathaei were not used for the 1710 edition. These MSS which Mathaei collated (Fabricius indicates suffered from mutilation) were completely destroyed when Napoleon's army burned Moscow. The Vienna MSS were only used for headings of titles. The Latin edition sponsored by the Vatican was based on an unknown Greek MSS that was prepared for Zini to translate and omits many parts of the *Panoplia* which are critical of the Roman Church. The MSS used for the 1710 edition were collected from Mt Athos and the Byzantine libraries and have yet to be discovered. One can reasonably assume that these manuscripts were destroyed during the two world wars and the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. See: Nadia Miladinova's *The Panoplia Dogmatike by Euthymios Zygadenos*, 2014, pages 1-106.]

- [Burgess] I am unable to account for Mr. Porson's omission of the final clause in the passage of Euthymius. I cannot ascribe it to accident, and I am unwilling to impute it to design. But, whatever was the cause, the fact of the omission may serve as some abatement to the argument "from the silence of the Fathers" (Latin: *ex silentio Patrum*), so often urged against the controverted verse.

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- [Burgess] May we not derive some further light from this passage of Euthymius, to illustrate the history of 1 John v.7 ? The first and only edition of the Greek text of the *Panoplia* contains the seventh verse. But the MSS collated by Matthaei and Mr. Porson omits the verse. It is not found in the Latin Translation, nor in Cyril's Thesaurus, to which Euthymius refers for his materials in the part of the *Panoplia*. Yet the conclusion of the passage, in which the Spirit is connumerated, first **expressly** with the Father, and then, **tacitly** with the Father and the Son, in the Holy Trinity, requires the seventh verse, so clearly and imperatively, that if not a single Greek MS of the *Panoplia* were extant, there could be no doubt, that Euthymius must have written it, - the internal evidence demanding it, though the external evidence were decidedly against it.
- Burgess, A Vindication of 1 John, V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, 1823, 2nd edition, p. xxxv-xxxix.

31. α. 21.

Euthymius

ΠΑΝΟΠΛΙΑ ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙΚΗ

ἈΛΕΞΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ,

Περίχρησα ἐν συνόψει τὰ τῆς μακαρίου καὶ θεοφάνους πατρὸς
συγγραφεύτα, ἕως τῆς δὲ καὶ διασκελιστικῆς ἀρμονίας παρὰ
Εὐθυμίου Μεγαχῆ τοῦ Ζιγαδωνῆ περὶ ταῦτα.

Ἐπὶ ἀνατροπῇ, καὶ καταφθορᾷ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων δογμάτων τε καὶ
διδαγμάτων τῶν ἀθίωον Ἀριστοκράτου, τῶν κακῶς κατὰ τῆς
ἰερας αὐτῶν θεολογίας λυτήσαστων.

Ἀφιερωθέντα

Ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου, ὑψηλοτάτου, καὶ θεοσιπῆς Ἀυθέντου καὶ
Ἡγούμενου πύσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίου Κυρίου
Ἰωάννου Κωνσταντίνου Μπασιραμπα
Βασβόδα τοῦ Μπραγκοβάνου.

Τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ καὶ Σοφιστικῷ Τίτῳ αὐτοῦ
Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Στεφάνῳ Βασβόδα
τῷ Μπραγκοβάνῳ

Παρὰ τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου καὶ Λογιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Δρύσεως
Κυρίου Κυρίου Ἀθανασίου,
οὐ καὶ τοῖς ἀεικλώμασι νῦν πρώτων τετύπωσται

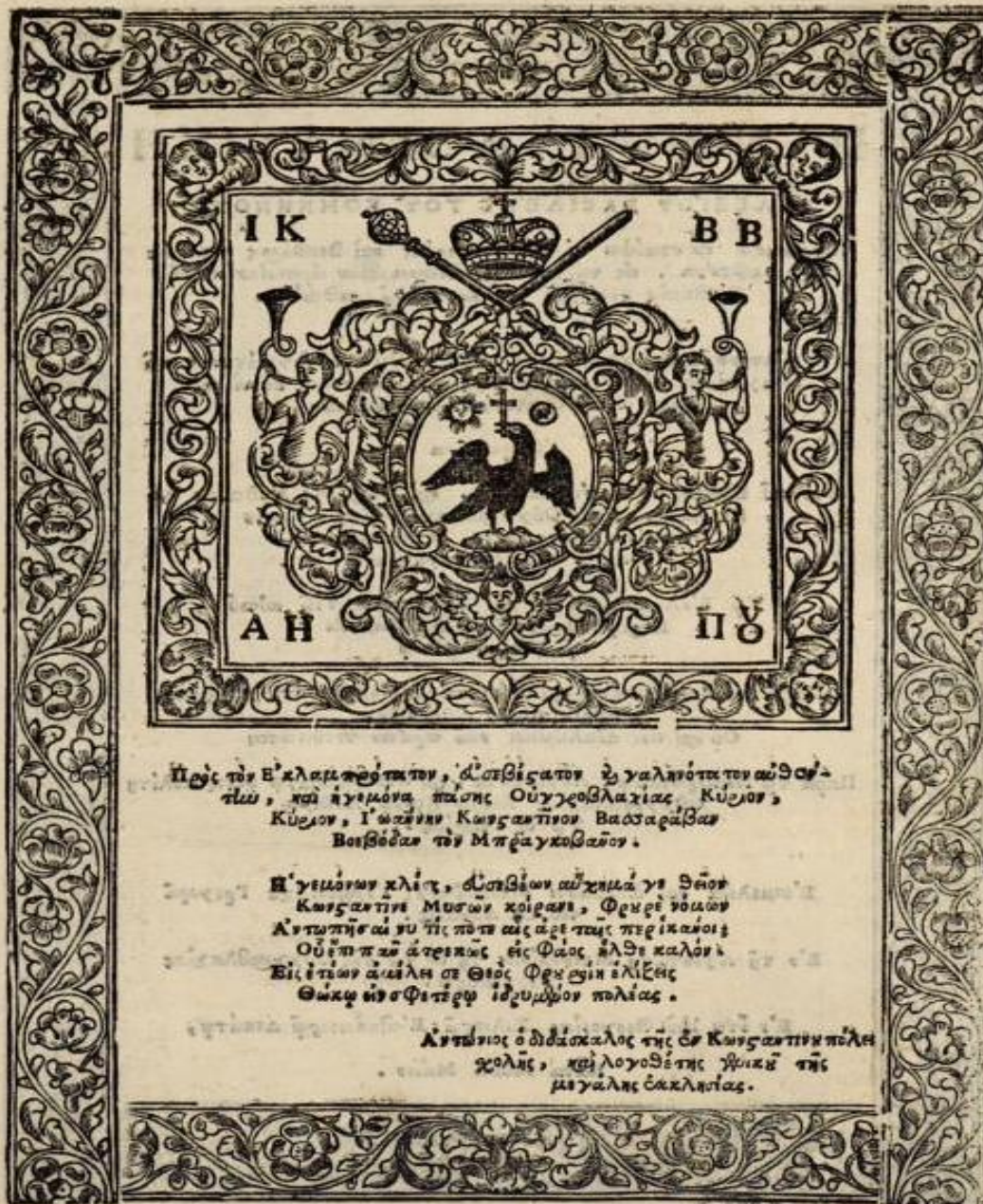
Παρὰ τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ, Λογιωτάτῳ, καὶ Θεοπροβλήτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ
Οὐγγροβλαχίας Κυρίῳ Κυρίῳ Ἀιδίμῳ
τῷ Ἰβηρίας.

Ἐπιμελέα καὶ διορθώσει Μητροφάνης Ἰεραμονάχου Γεργοῦ
τοῦ ἐκ Δαδώνης.

Ἐν τῇ Ἀγιωτάτῃ Μητροπόλει τῇ ἐν τῷ τῆς Οὐγγροβλαχίας
Γεργοβύσῳ.

Ἐν ἔτει δὲ θεογονίας Χιλιοσῶ Ἐπισημοπορῶ Δεκάτῳ,
Κατὰ Μῦνα Μαΐου.

*Ἀγορεύει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν Ἀθανασίᾳ ἀποστολῆν ἕως τῆς ἐπιπέρας ἐπιπέρας
ἀριστερῆς καὶ
Ἰβηρίας*



πτερ ἢ δὴ πρὸς τὸ μὲν ἐκ μέλιτος ἢ γλυκύτης . ἔκ
πυρρῆς ἢ θερμότης . ἢ ὑδατος ἢ ψυχρῆς . ἔκ κεν ἢ
μετοχικῶς ἄγιον τὸ Πνεῦμα κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνων
λόγον , Φυσικῶς δὲ μάλλον , καὶ ἰσχυρῶς .

Τὸ ἔκ μετοχῆς ἄγιον , ὁμοίον ὡς πτερ ἢ παρ-
χον τῆς προγαγοῦντος ἀγιασμοῦ , αὐτὸ καθ'
ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐν ἰδίᾳ φύσει κείσεται , ὡς πτερ
ἢ κεν ἢ ἀνθρώπος , ἢ κεν ἄγγελος τυχόν , ἢ
καὶ τις ἐτέρη φύσις λογικῆ . λαγύτως αὖ τοίνυν
ἡμῖν οἱ ἐκ μετοχῆς τῆς Θεῆς ἢ Πατρὸς τὸ Πνεῦ-
μα τοιμῶντες λέγειν ἄγιον εἶναι , καὶ ἢ Φυσι-
κῶς , τί ποτε ἀρα αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ἰδιότητι
ἔστιν ; ἀλλ' ἢ ὅσον ἔπεσον ἡκιστα μὲν παρὰ ταῖς
θείας γραφάς . ἔκ ἀρα ἔκ μετοχῆς , ἢ δὲ ἔκ
συνθέσεως ἄγιον , ἀλλ' ἢ εἶτα καὶ φύσις ἀγια-
στικῆ , καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἢ Πατρὸς , ἢ ἕως ἡ-
πίου , ποιότητος , ὡς πτερ ἢ κεν ἢ γλυκασμός τῆ
μέλιτος , καὶ ἢ ὅσον ἀνδρὸς ἀσώδεια .

Τὸ ἔκ μετοχῆς πρὸς γινόμενόν τι πῶς ὄντων ,
ἔστιν καὶ ἀφαιρετὸν . μόνα γὰρ τὰ ἰσχυρῶς
πρὸς ὄντα τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀχωρίστως πρὸς ἀφαιρέσει
φαίνονται . εἰ τοίνυν ἔκ προσηλίκαις τῆς , ἢ
συμβιβαστικῶς κείσεται φασὶν ἔκ τῷ Πνεύματι
τὸν ἀγιασμένον , ὁμολογῶσιν πάντως , ὅτι καὶ
ἀποτυμβίωται διωκόσεται . ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀγιότητος
διχα τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγειν εἶναι διωκόμενον ποτε , κα-
τὰ τὸ ἐκείνων ἐπιχειρήματα , ἀλλὰ τούτου διωστι-
βίς . ἔκ ἀρα ἔκ μετοχῆς ἄγιον τὸ Πνεῦμα ,
ἢ ὡς ἔκ Θεοῦ Φυσικῶς .

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ρωμαίους ἐπιστολῆς .

Οὐ δὲ μὲν φησὶν , ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστίν .
εἶτα βραχὺ ἐπιλέγει , σιωπῶν τῷ νόμῳ
τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἀνθρώπον . καὶ πάλιν ,
ὅτι ὁ νόμος τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐκ Χριστοῦ
Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε με ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς α-
μαρτίας , καὶ τοῦ θανάτου . ἴδου τὸν νόμον ὀνο-
μασθῆναι πνευματικόν , τὸν τῆς τοῦ Πνεῦ-
ματος , ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ Θεὸν νόμον ἀποκαλεῖ .
γυμνοτέρῳ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐφέξῃς , ὅτι Θεὸς εἶναι τὸ
Πνεῦμα δεικνύει βούνη , ὁ νόμος τοῦ Πνεύματος τῆ
ζωῆς . ἴνα μὴ μόνον νομοθετοῦν εὐρίπεται τὸ
Πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον , ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ Πνεῦμα ἰσχυρῶ-
χον ζωῆς . ἢ τίς ἢ ζωῆς ἢ πάντως ὁ λέγων Χρι-
στος , ἐγὼ εἶμι ἢ ἀλήθεια , καὶ ἢ ζωῆς .

Ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους .

Αλλὰ ἀπλήρως ἀφαιρέσει , ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθήτε , ἀ-
λλὰ ἰδικαιώθητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ , καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῆς Θεῆς ἡμῶν .
ἔκ κεν εἰ μόνον Θεῶ τὸ ἔχοναι συχωρεῖν ἀμαρ-
τίας ἀσώδην , ἀφίπει δὲ καὶ δικαιοῦ ἢ τὸ Πνεῦ-
μα μαγικῶς ἀποδικνύον τῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀνθρώποις , Θεὸς
ἀρα τὸ πᾶν θεῖα ἐέργουσαν ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ Φυ-
σικῶς .

Ἐκ τοῦ Βλαγγελλίου .

Αλλὰ λέγου ὑμῖν , ὅτι εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς ὑμᾶς ἔ-

λῶθιρῶσθ , ἀλλοίεσθ . ποιήματα μὲν γὰρ τὸ
διωκόμενόν ποιεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἑστί , μόνα δὲ
ὡς τῶν , καὶ κληρονομα τῶ ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς
πρὸς ἐλθόντι λόγῳ . εἰ τοίνυν μόνα πρὸς ἑλῶ-
θιρῶσθ καλῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ Τύχ , φαίνετ' ἢ τὸ
Πνεῦμα τοῦ το ποιῶν , πᾶς ἔκ ἐστὶ τῆς κρίσεως
αὐτοῦ πᾶς αὐτὸς πάντα πράττων μετὰ διωκά-
μους θεοπροφητῆς ; εἰ δὲ τούτο , ἢ κτίσμα ἐστίν ,
ἢ δὲ κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα Κυρίου . πολλῶν γὰρ ὁ
λόγος τίς ἀσβεστῶν ἔχει .

Ἐκ τῆς Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῆς .

Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί . πᾶσα
δύσκις ἀγαθῆ , καὶ πᾶν θέρμα τίλειον ἀνώ-
θου ἐστὶ καταββαῖνον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶ Φωτῶν .
εἰ ἔκ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν Φωτῶν ἢ ποικίλη τῶ θεῶν
χαρισμάτων κατακίμματα ὄντι , φησὶ δὲ ὁ
Παῦλος ταῦτα πάντα ἐργεῖται τὸ Πνεῦμα
διωρῶν ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστῷ , καὶ ὡς βέλτεται , πᾶς
ἢ Θεός , καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ , καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ,
τὸ τα πάντα ἐργεῖται τῷ Θεῷ κριπῶνται ,
ἢ τὸ τὸ ἔχουσικῶς ; ἔκ κεν κτίσμα καθάπερ
ἄλλοι λαγύτες φασὶν .

Ἐκ τῆς Πέτρου ἐπιστολῆς .

Συνφρονίσασθε ἢν , καὶ ἐπίψατε εἰς πρὸς ὀ-
χῆς , πρὸ πάντων δὲ τῶ ἐξιστῆς ἀγαπῆς
ἐκτενῆ ἔχοντες , ὅτι ἢ ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆ-
θος ἀμαρτιῶν . φιλόξενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους , ἀδύ-
ρογγοῦσθε . ἕκαστος καθ' ὃ ἔλαβε χάρισμα ,
εἰς ταῦτα αὐτὸ διακονῆτες , ὡς καλοὶ οἰκοδό-
μοι ποικίλης χάριτος Θεοῦ . ὅρα δὲ μοι πάλιν ,
ὅτι τὸ ἀγιῶ Πνεύματος ἔχουσικῶς , καὶ ὡς
αὐ βέλτεται , πᾶς θεῖα χαρίσματα διανεμοῦσθ τε ,
καὶ ἐκαστῷ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπιμερῶντες , ὁ θαυμα-
στος Πέτρος ἐκ Θεοῦ τῆς τιμαρῆς χάριτος πᾶν
ποικίλῃς τε , καὶ ὄντι εἶναι διέχουσικῶς , ἔκ
ἀλλοτέρῳ τῆς θεῖας φύσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα εἰδὸς .
Θεὸν ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα καλῶντες τὸ Πέτρον , ὡς
ἢ δουρεθῆς , καὶ παρὰ ὄρων ὁ τοῖς ποιήμασθ
ἐργεθῶν τούτου τιθεῖς , καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀγίων
ἀποστόλων κηρύγμασθ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς ἰδέσθαι εἰσὶν
πινδύωσθ κατατολμῶν .

Ἐκ τῆς Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς .

Καὶ ὁ πρῶν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ , ἐκ αὐτῶ
μῖναι , καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ αὐτῶ . καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶ κινώ-
σασθ , ὅτι ἐκ ἡμῶν μόνον ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἢ
ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν . εἰ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἐκ ἡμῶν
οἰκῶντες , Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κατακίμῶν , πᾶς ἢ Θεός ,
καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ; ὅπερ εἰπερ ἔχει Θεὸν
ὄνομα τῶ φερῆ , ὅς καὶ διὰ τοῦ πρὸς φάτε φε-
σὶν , ὄνομα τῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς , καὶ ἐμπροσθητῶσθ ,
καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῶν Θεός . καὶ εἰ Θεός , καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ
τὸ Πνεῦμα , τίς αὐτὸ εἰσὶν ἰδέσθαι , ὅτι ἢ κεν
εἰ ἢ λέγων πᾶν αἰώνιον ἐκβασθῆται κέλευται ,

Τῆς αὐτῆς .

Καὶ

ΚΑΙ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία. ὅτι τρεῖς ἵπτοι οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἐν ἑνί. καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ γῆ, τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἶμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ. ἐν τῷ μαρτυροῦντι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνοντες, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. Διὰ δὲ πάλιν, ὅτι τὸ ἁλθαθίαιος ὁ κηρύξ Θεοῦ τῆς καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ Φωτικῆς τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖ. Ἐκκαὶς γὰρ, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, μικρὸν τὸ προελθὼν ἐπιφέρει, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Θεοῦ μέγαν ἐστὶ. πῶς γὰρ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα τὸ τῶν ὅλων Πατρὶ σωθιολογῆ μῦθον, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας

Τριῆδος συμπληρωτικόν.

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ματθαίου Εὐαγγελίου.

ΤΟΥ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἡμετέρα. μνηστέρου ἐστὶν γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Μαρίαν τὴν Ἰωσήφ. πρὶν ἢ σωματικῶν αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως ἐν γαστρὶ ἔκχεσθαι ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου. ἐν μόνῳ τὸ δεικνύοντι κτίσθαι τῇ θείᾳ προσηγορίᾳ Φύσει, καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῆς θεοπρεπῶν τὸ ἕκαστον, κτίσθαι δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ ἕνα τὸν, τὴν αὐτὸ πεποιθὸν λέγων, καὶ ἑνοσιβήτης τὸ ὅμοιον, καὶ παράφρων ὁμοειδιστικῶν.

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου.

ΟΣοὶ δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἕνα ἕνα πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἡμετέρας, οἱ οὐκ ἔλαβον τῶν, καὶ ἐκ θεληματος ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἡμετέρας. ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι ἐστὶ τὸ διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐκ Χριστοῦ ἀναγνῶντος ἡμᾶς ἐν σωτηρίᾳ, ὡς αὐτοῦ δὲ τὰ τε χάρων ἡμετέρας ἡμᾶς χρηματίζονται Θεοῦ, πῶς ἐκ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐστὶ ὅτι δὲ ἡμετέρας Πνεύματος ἡμεῖς οἱ πνεύσαντες, μαρτυροῦμεν λέγων ὁ ἑαυτῆς πρὸς Νικόδημον. τὸ Πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ, καὶ τίς τὸ φωνῶν αὐτοῦ ἀκούει, ἀλλὰ ὅσα οὐδὲς τὸ εἶδος ἐρχεται, ἡ πᾶν ἕσπερον, καὶ τῶς ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ ἡμετέρας ἐκ τοῦ Πνεύματος.

Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Ο Ἰησοῦ δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὃν ἐγὼ πέμψω ὑμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἁλθαθίαιος, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται, ἐκείνος μαρτυροῦσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ὡσπερ τις καρπὸς τῆς ἐκείνης αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, ἀγύνητος δὲ, καὶ ἀκτιστος ὁ Πατήρ, πῶς αὐτῆς ἡμετέρας τὸ ἕκαστον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν Πνεῦμα, πῶς δὲ ναὸς Θεοῦ χρηματίζονται ἡμεῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα λαβόντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐστὶ Θεὸς κατὰ τίς πνεῦν ἀβυσσῶν.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Εἰ τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντα ἐρῶντα καὶ τὰ βῆθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁμοίως ὡς ἐκ ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ

ἐπερῶντος, ἀλλὰ τὸ θείας ἐστὶ φύσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. διὸ καὶ τὰ βῆθη τοῦ Θεοῦ γινώσκου, ἐκ ἐπίσταται τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆ καὶ οἰκία. καὶ οἱ πᾶσι ἀγνοοῦντες πνεῦν ἑρῶντα νομίζου, τὸ τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς κείμενον ὁμοίως. ὁ γὰρ ἐρῶντα Φύσι τὰς καρδίας οἶδε τὸ τὸ φρονεῖν τῆς πνεύματος. καὶ οἱ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ ἐκ ἀγνοοῦν ἐρῶντα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἐπίσταται πρὸς ἡμετέρας τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ ἀγνοοῦν ἐρῶντα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ βῆθη. πῶς γὰρ ἐκ ἀγνοοῦντες τῶν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ὡς οἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἐκ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ καὶ τὸν Θεοῦ καὶ οἶδε οἶδον, ἐμὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐκαστὸν γὰρ τῆς ἐρῶντα ἡμετέρας. καὶ οἱ ψυχῆ ἐκ ἐρῶντα τὰ ἐαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταται. καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀκριβῶς πνεῦν τῶν Θεοῦ ἔχει. καὶ ὡσπερ καὶ οἶδε τὸν Πατέρα, ἐμὴν ὁ Τίος, καὶ οἱ τὸ Τίον, ἐμὴν ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ τὸ Φύσι καὶ οἶδε τὰ τῆς Θεοῦ, ἐμὴν τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐρῶντων τὸ κοινὸν τῆς φύσεως διδασκόμεθα. ἐπειδὴ οἱ οὐ πᾶσαν ἀναγκαστικῶν νοσηντες, οἱ τῆς ἁγίας Φύσις, καὶ Εὐνομίας μαθητικῶν βλασφημίας, αὐτὸν φασὶν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναγκαστικῶς ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος δείκνυσι τὸ τὸ Πνεύματος πρὸς ὅσον. ἡμεῖς γὰρ φασὶν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς κτίσεως ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἕνα ἰδιώτην τὰ ἕκαστον τοῦ Θεοῦ χαριστικῶν τὰ ἡμῖν, καὶ καὶ λαλοῦμεν ἐκ ἐκ διδακτικῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλὰ διδακτικῶν Πνεύματος ἁγίου, πνεύματικῶς πνεύματικῶς συσκευοῦντες. ψυχικὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπος καὶ ἐκ τῆς Πνεύματος. μετὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἡ δύναμις γινώσκου, ὅτι πνεύματικῶς ἀνακρίνει. τίς γὰρ ἐγὼν καὶ Κυρίου, ὅς συμβιβάζει αὐτόν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡχοῦμεν. καὶ οἱ τὸ εἶπεν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Θεοῦ, ἰδιώτην ἡχοῦμεν τῶν κόσμων, ἀλλὰ τὸ θείας ἀπαρχὸν ἡσίας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἰδιώτην, ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς ποιῶν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ τίς χάρων λαμβάνουσι οἱ πνεύσαντες. διὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ διδασκων, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχει τίς ὑπαρξίν, καὶ κίενης ὑπαρχῆς τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὁμοειδιστικῶς, καὶ οἱ ἡμετέρας. ἀλλὰ ὡς οἶδον ὁ μόνος τὸν Τίον ἐπισημῶντος, καὶ ὁ μόνος τὸν Πατέρα γινώσκων, καὶ τὸ μόνον Πατέρα, καὶ Τίον ἐπισημῶντος. ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῦ μεμαθήκαμεν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς ὅσον ἐκ ἰδιώτην. ἀρκῶμεθα δὲ τῶν διδασκῶν μετῶν τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν ἀσέβητος τὰ ἀσέβητος.

Τῶν αὐτοῦ.

Εἰ πᾶν ὁ Ληκῶν ἐκ τῆς Πραξίον, ὅτι Ληκῶν τῆς γῆς τῶν Κυρίων, καὶ νηστέρων τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐκ Ληκῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

γιορ,

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[For a full bibliography : See my paper "The Witness of God is Greater"]

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