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The Comma Calmly Considered

Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373 AD)

Disputatio Contra Arium

(ca. 340)

by

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:May 2026

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Introduction

This is the seventeenth 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

John's first letter contained the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses (I John 5:7,8). I have presented many facts that demonstrate this to be true. When Scripture provides truths about God in inspired words, the Christian community uses these concepts and words in their discussions and controversies. The Heavenly Witnesses allusions can be divided into three parts: i) Three witnesses being the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; ii) "Father, Word, Spirit" (Greek: πατήρ, λόγος, πνεῦμα) as a phrase to indicate the persons of the Godhead; iii) and "the three are one" (Greek: οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι). The reason the fathers use these allusions is because they are found in Scripture (the Heavenly & Earthly Witnesses). These allusions render the defense of Godhead (the persons and the equality of the persons) to be God's truth. The claim that the fathers are simply theologizing from their own philosophical perspective of God, is an empty and baseless attempt to avoid the obvious truth concerning the actual reason why these allusions are so prolific in the works of the fathers.

The *Disputatio Contra Arium* is a work written in Greek and clearly quotes the last clause of the Heavenly Witnesses as Scripture.

...[a baptism] given to the faithful in the thrice-blessed name? And besides all these, John says: "And the three are the one"

=== Other Allusions in Athanasius writings ===

- οὕτω Πατήρ, Λόγος καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τρία πρόσωπα, καὶ εἷς τῇ φύσει Θεὸς (Athanasius)
- Μία γὰρ ἡ θεότης καὶ εἷς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι. (Athanasius)

Since the 16th century critics, skeptics, and the heterodox have attempted to diminish this obvious evidence. Their *ad hoc* theories claim the verse(s) are an interpolation. To this day, we can see these *ad hoc* arguments on the Wikipedia page *Johannine Comma*. The most primary of these false claims is that this work *Disputatio Contra Arium* was written in the 7th century by Maximus the Confessor. Thus Athanasius cannot be the author of this work neither can the dialogue be his words. The critics thus use the term *Pseudo-Athanasius* for the work. So, these terms *Pseudo-Athanasius* and the persistence of re-dating the work in the 7th century are used to cast grave doubt on this evidence. Much to the contrary, scholarship and examination of the work has completely overturned these assertions providing us with substance evidence that the work was always credited to Athanasius (of his words), part of his works from the 4th century, and finally an obvious reference to I John 5:7 again defending the person of the Holy Spirit.

The following collation of evidence will demonstrate that the *ad hoc* theories of the critics are completely without basis in fact. Since the lame assertions against this work by the critics, scholarship has moved on and actually dug deep into this work and its origins. A Greek work in the 4th century quoting I John 5:7 in the early 4th century is a broadside to the entire narrative of the critics. Finally, evidence has surfaced that contrary to the critics' fantastical narratives the person of the Holy Spirit was being debated in the early 4th century even in the East (see: Appendix: Pneumatology in the 4th century). The theological controversy over the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Godhead in debates and theological writings is the last nail in the coffin of these critics' theories. Only the confirmation bias is deliberately used to frame any mention of this work and its devastating evidence. I pray this exposition of the evidence and uncovering of the truth would bless you and others who are earnestly seeking to know. Once again, I ask you to use your own eyes, ears, mind, and praying in the Spirit for guidance when considering the evidence herein.

Prayers.

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Greek Manuscripts 60 AD to 800/850 AD : Containing I John 5:7-8

- GA 01 : Sinaiticus : 4th century : *St Catherine's Monastery* (**Alexandrian text**)
- GA 03 : Vaticanus : 4th/5th century : Found in Vatican (**Alexandrian text**)
- GA 02 : Alexandrinus : 5th century : Unknown [Cyril Lucaris (d. 1638 AD)] (**Alexandrian text**)

Greek Manuscripts : Listed by Age

1st Century

- [None]

2nd Century

- [None]

3rd Century

- [None]

4th Century

- GA 01 London, the British Library, Add. 43725 (IV) : Sinaiticus
- GA 03 Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 1209 (IV) : Vaticanus

5th Century

- GA 02 London, British Library, Royal 1 D. VIII (V) : Alexandrinus
- GA 048 Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 2061, fol. 198, 199, 221, 222, 229, 230, 293-303, 305-308 (V) double palimpsest : f308v : **1 John 5:5-21 : 3 columns : Damaged : Unreadable**
<ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste/?ObjID=20048>

6th Century

- GA 296 Egypt, Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, N.E Σπ. ΜΓ 48, 53, 55 (VI) : f001 : **Damaged : Unreadable** <ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/manuscript-workspace?docID=20296>

7th Century

- [None]

8th Century

- [None]

List of 500 by Century

8th to 9th Century = 1 (GA 044)

9th Century = 8

10th Century = 29

11th Century = 82

12th to 18th century = 430

>>Total Manuscripts: 550

===

78% of the 550 mss are 12th century and older

Further Examination of the List of 500 NT Greek I John 5

- *The Johanneum Comma An Inquiry - Part 1 - GA 048, GA 0269, and GA 025 (2025)*
- *The Comma Johanneum An Inquiry - Part 2 - 9th Century Greek Manuscripts - Commentaries (2025)*
- **Academia Page:** <https://independent.academia.edu/MidusItis>

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Early Manuscripts are all from one Geographic Area : Egypt

The Textual Critic Scholars Aland & Aland declared that the early manuscripts (papyri) have a number of problems. First they only represent one geographical area of Christendom which spread to all of the Roman Empire. The second is that these Greek texts are not textual examples for the New Testament Scriptures. These papyri manuscripts are considered "free text" and thus cannot be used to determine which "text type" is the earliest (there are a number of text types : the Textual Critics are convinced - despite these issues - that the Alexandrian text is the closest to the original). These issues are still present with us today.

• **[Aland & Aland : 8. Text of the Early Period]** To understand the textual history of the New Testament it is necessary to begin with the early manuscripts. By this we mean manuscripts no later than the third/fourth century, for in the fourth century a new era begins... (shown in Table 3 on p. 57). This makes a total of forty-three papyri and five uncials (or more strictly four uncials, because 0212 is a Diatessaron text and should not be counted; cf. p. 104). **...We should not forget that apart from 0212 (found at Dura Europus), all the early witnesses listed above on p. 57 are from Egypt, where the hot, dry sands preserved the papyri through the centuries (similar climatic conditions are found in the Judaeian desert where papyri have also been discovered). From other major centers of the early Christian church nothing has survived. This raises the question whether and to what extent we can generalize from the Egyptian situation.** Egypt was distinguished from other provinces of the Church, so far as we can judge, by the early dominance of Gnosticism; this was not broken until about A.D. 200, when Bishop Demetrius succeeded in reorganizing the diocese and establishing communications with the other churches. Not until then do we have documentary evidence of the church in Egypt, although undoubtedly not only the gnostic but also the broader Church was represented there throughout the whole period. At almost the same time the Catechetical School of Alexandria was instituted as the first "Christian university." Quite possibly Bishop Demetrius... but this hypothesis, however intrinsically possible, does not square with the evidence of the manuscripts up to the third/fourth century. **Thus P45, P46, P66, and a whole group of other manuscripts offer a "free" text, i.e., a text dealing with the original text in a relatively free manner with no suggestion of a program of standardization (or where these manuscripts also imported from elsewhere?). Some have gone so far as to interpret these "free" texts as typical of the early period. But this cannot be correct, as a fresh collation of all the manuscripts of the early period[10] by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research has shown. The "free" text represents only one of the varieties of the period...** The text of the early period prior to the third/fourth century was, then, in effect, a text not yet channeled into types, because until the beginning of the fourth century the church still lacked the institutional organization required to produce one. Its earliest representatives are Polycarp and Justin, about 130-150 (in earlier writings New Testament quotations are too sporadic or too elusive, especially for the Gospels). (Kurt Aland & Barbara Aland. The Text of the New Testament (1989) pp. 56-57, 59-64 [text interrupted by images])

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Overview : Allusions in the Church Father's Works

It is my opinion based on faith and a mountain of evidence that John's first letter contained the Heavenly and Earthly Witnesses (I John 5:7,8). I have presented many facts that demonstrate this to be true. When Scripture provides truths about God in inspired words, the Christian community uses these concepts and words in their discussions and controversies. The Heavenly Witnesses can be divided into three parts: i) Three witnesses being the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; ii) "Father, Word, Spirit" (Greek: πατήρ, λόγος, πνεῦμα) as a phrase to indicate the persons of the Godhead; iii) and "the three are one" (Greek: οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι).

The first part is alluded to by **Clement of Alexandria** (in Greek) found in this citation:

- Prophetic Extracts. 13.1: **"By two and three witnesses every word is established." By Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, by whose witness** and help the prescribed commandments ought to be kept. (Clement of Alexandria. Prophetic Extracts. 13.1; ANF, vol 8)

ο Greek: Πᾶν ῥῆμα ἵσταται ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων, ἐπὶ πατρός καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐφ' ὧν μαρτύρων καὶ βοηθῶν αἱ ἐντολαὶ λεγόμεναι φυλάσσεσθαι ὀφείλουσιν.

(Clement of Alexandria. Eclogae ex Scripturis propheticiis. 13.1; Migne Graeca PG 9.703-704)

The second part is alluded to by **John Chrysostom** (in Greek) found in this citation:

- [De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania] But, **O Father, and Word, and Spirit**, the triune being and might and will and power, deem us, who confess you as the unconfused and indivisible substance, also worthy to be the ones standing at your right hand when you come from heaven to judge the world in righteousness, for rightly yours is the glory, honor, and worship, to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, now and for always, and for eternity." (Chrysostom, About the knowledge of God and the Holy Theophanies; Translation kjvtoday.com,

<www.kjvtoday.com/home/the-father-the-word-and-the-holy-ghost-in-1-john-57>)

ο Greek: Ἀλλ', ὦ Πάτερ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα, ἡ τρισυπόστατος οὐσία, καὶ δύναμις, καὶ θέλησις, καὶ ἐνέργεια, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντάς σου τὰς ἀσυγχύτους καὶ ἀδιαιρέτους ὑποστάσεις, ἀξιώσον καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου στάσεως, ἡνίκα ἔρχῃ ἐξ οὐρανῶν κρῖναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· ὅτι πρέπει σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. (Chrysostom, De Cognitione Dei et in Sancta Theophania; Migne Graeca, PG 64.6A).

The third part alluded to by **Origen** (in Greek) is found in this citation:

- Scholia on Psalm 122:2 "Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress." The Spirit and the body are servants to their masters (the Father and the Son); the soul is the maiden to her mistress (the Holy Spirit); and the Lord our God is the three [persons], **for the three are one**. So, the eyes of servants look at the hands of their masters while they issue orders through gestures. It could also be that the hands of the masters, who are the Father and the Son, are the angels belonging to them both, while the hands of the mistress, who is the Holy Spirit, are the powers that are proper to the Holy Spirit. . (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII)

ο Greek: Ἴδου ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν, ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ παιδίσκης εἰς χεῖρας τῆς κυρίας αὐτῆς, οὕτως οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς Κύριον Θεὸν ἡμῶν, ἕως οὗ οἰκτιρήσῃ ἡμᾶς, κ. τ. ἐ. Δοῦλοι κυρίων Πατρός καὶ Υἱοῦ πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ κυρίας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἡ ψυχὴ. Τὰ δὲ τρία Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· **οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν**. Ὀφθαλμοὶ γοῦν δούλων εἰς χεῖρας κυρίων ὁρῶντες, ὅτε διὰ χειρῶν νεύοντες κελεύουσιν. Ἡ χεῖρες κυρίων

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μὲν Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱοῦ οἱ ἑκατέρου ἄγγελοι· κυρίας δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος αἱ οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ
δυνάμεις. (Origenis Selecta in Psalmos CXXII, Migne Graeca, PG 12.1633).

Sometimes we can find a combination of these unique parts:

- **Father, Word, Spirit, Trinity, one nature,**
 - Greek: Πάτερ, Λόγε καὶ πνεῦμα· Τριάς, φύσις μία
- **Theodore the Studite** (759-826 AD) : Epigrams
- <www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/18874>
- <www.dbbe.ugent.be/types/3088>
- 244 COD. 100 : A.D. 1111 : Plate 440 (K. Lake, 1936, VI, p. 14)

Acts of John (circa 150-200)

• [Attridge] To explore the phenomenon, I shall focus on the Acts of John, a work of Christian fiction written sometime in the second century, perhaps as early as the second quarter of that century. Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* (CChrSA 1-2; 2 vols.; Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1983), 2:694-700, date the work to the second half of the second century, arguing that it was used by Acts of Peter, Acts of Thomas and Acts of Paul. Lalleman, *Acts of John*, 208-212, 268-270, dates the work to the second quarter of the century, arguing that it influenced the final form of the Apocryphon of John and Apocalypse of Peter, that its Christology, with its intense focus on Christ and its portrait of him as polymorphic and polyonymous, is attested for the first half of the second century, but not later, and that the kind of Gnosticism it attests is pre-Valentinian. Hill, *Johannine Corpus*, 259, dates the work to around 150. ...Most scholars agree that what can be reconstructed is a composite work with strong affinities to some of the less "orthodox" varieties of second century Christianity. Exactly how the work was composed and what the precise affinities are has been a matter of continuing discussion. (Attridge, "The Acts Of John And The Fourth Gospel". in *From Judaism to Christianity: Tradition and Transition*, 2011, p. 256-257.)

HIT:

- Again with me say thou:
Glory be to thee, **Father**;
Glory to thee, **Word**;
Glory to thee, **Holy Ghost**.
- <gnosis.org/library/actjohn.htm>.
 - **Greek:**
96. πάλιν ἐμοὶ λέγε·
δόξα σοι **πάτερ**·
δόξα σοι **λόγε**·
δόξα σοι **πνεῦμα ἅγιον**.
 - *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha Post Constantinum* Tischendorf Deno Edidervnt Ricardvs Adelbertvs Lipsivs Et Maximilianvs Bonnet, 1891, p. 199.

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Athanasius of Alexandria (296-373 AD)

• Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–298 – 2 May 373), also called Athanasius the Great, Athanasius the Confessor or, primarily in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Athanasius the Apostolic, was the 20th bishop of Alexandria (as Athanasius I). His intermittent episcopacy spanned 45 years (c. 8 June 328 – 2 May 373), of which over 17 [years] encompassed five exiles, when he was replaced [and exiled] on the [direct] order of four different Roman emperors. Athanasius was a Christian theologian, a Church Father, the chief defender of Trinitarianism against Arianism, and a noted Egyptian leader of the fourth century. His parents were wealthy enough to afford giving him a fine secular education.[1] He was, nevertheless, clearly not a member of the Egyptian aristocracy.[8] Some Western scholars consider his command of Greek, in which he wrote most (if not all) of his surviving works, evidence that he may have been a Greek born in Alexandria. Historical evidence, however, indicates that he was fluent in Coptic as well given the regions of Egypt where he preached.[8] Some surviving copies of his writings are in fact in Coptic, though scholars differ as to whether he himself wrote them in Coptic originally (which would make him the first patriarch to do so), or whether these were translations of writings originally in Greek.[9][8] According to Sozomen,"the Bishop Alexander 'invited Athanasius to be his commensal and secretary. He had been well educated, and was versed in grammar and rhetoric, and had already, while still a young man, and before reaching the episcopate, given proof to those who dwelt with him of his wisdom and acumen'". (Soz., II, xvii) [1] Conflict with Arius and Arianism as well as successive Roman emperors shaped Athanasius' career. In 325, at the age of 27, Athanasius began his leading role against the Arians as a deacon and assistant to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria during the First Council of Nicaea. Roman emperor Constantine the Great had convened the council in May– August 325 to address the Arian position that the Son of God, Jesus of Nazareth, is of a distinct substance from the Father.[4] Three years after that council, Athanasius succeeded his mentor as archbishop of Alexandria. In addition to the conflict with the Arians (including powerful and influential Arian churchmen led by Eusebius of Nicomedia), he struggled against the Emperors Constantine, Constantius II, Julian the Apostate and Valens. He was known as Athanasius Contra Mundum (Latin for Athanasius Against the World). Nonetheless, within a few years after his death, Gregory of Nazianzus called him the "Pillar of the Church". His writings were well regarded by all following Church fathers in the West and the East, who noted their rich devotion to the Word-become-man, great pastoral concern and profound interest in monasticism. Athanasius is counted as one of the four great Eastern Doctors of the Church in the Catholic Church.[5] In the Eastern Orthodox Church, he is labeled as the "Father of Orthodoxy". Athanasius is the first person to identify the same 27 books of the New Testament that are in use today. He is venerated as a Christian saint, whose feast day is 2 May in Western Christianity, 15 May in the Coptic Orthodox Church, and 18 January in the other Eastern Orthodox Churches. He is venerated by the Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Churches, the Catholic Church, the Lutheran churches, and the Anglican Communion. (Athanasius of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Athanasius_of_Alexandria>)

• One crucial and decisive event in his role as Alexander's assistant. He made a visit with Alexander to the Thebaid, the desert district in upper Egypt where he came in contact with the early desert monks, ascetics who lived lives of celibacy, solitude, discipline, prayer, simplicity, and service of the poor. Athanasius was deeply affected by this visit and "set on fire by the holiness of their lives." (<www.bartleby.com/210/5/021.html>).
<www.desiringgod.org/messages/contending-for-ourall>)

Athanasius of Alexandria: "Works Too Numerous to Mention"

• [Jerome] Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, hard pressed by the wiles of the Arians, fled to Constans emperor of Gaul. Returning thence with letters and, after the death of the emperor, again taking refuge in flight, he kept in hiding until the accession of Jovian, when he returned to the church and died in the reign of Valens. Various works by him are in circulation; two books Against the nations, one Against Valens and Ursacius, On virginity, very many On the persecutions of the Arians, also On the titles of the Psalms and the Life of Anthony the monk, also Festal epistles and other works too numerous to mention. (Jerome, On Illustrious Men, 87. Athanasius; NPNF02 vol 3)

• [Athanasius writings incomplete and fragmentary] In addition to those [writings] of which fragments have been mentioned above) a Refutation of Arianism is referred to in Letter 52, etc. ...The above enumeration includes all the writings attributed with any probability to S. Athanasius. The fragmentary character of many of them is no great presumption against their genuineness. Abbat Cosmas in the sixth century advised all who met with anything by Athanasius to copy it, and if they had no paper to use their clothes for the purpose. This will readily explain (if explanation is needed) the transmission of such numerous scraps of writing under the name of the great bishop. It will also partly explain the large body of Spurious works which have sheltered themselves under his authority. (NPNF02, vol 4. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters. Prolegomena, p. LXV-LXVI <www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf204.v.iii.i.html>)

• [Abbat Cosmas] A Legate of "the Abbat Michael, Pope of Alexandria." Cosmas, in common with other Easter legates, supported Photius in his successful opposition to the demands of Rome : and it is remarkable that the acclamations of the Council prayed for long life to the Patriarchs Photius and John : Thus reducing the Pope to second place. (Neale, The Patriarchate of Alexandria, 1847, vol 2, p. 168) • Venerable Cosmas the Eunuch and Hermit of Palestine. Saint Cosmas the Hermit lived during the sixth century in the Pharan wilderness of Palestine. An account of the Bikaneia presbyter Abba Basil about Saint Cosmas is located in the book Spiritual Meadow (Ch. 40) compiled by Saint John Moschus. He was strict about fasting, a firm defender of the Orthodox Faith and Church dogmas, and profoundly knowledgeable in Holy Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers. Saint Cosmas particularly revered the works of Saint Athanasius the Great and told those to whom he spoke: "If you come across a word of Saint Athanasius and have no paper, write it upon your clothing." He had the habit to stand at prayer all night Saturday through Sunday. Having once come to Antioch, he died there, and the patriarch buried his body at his monastery. Abba Basil relates that when he came to venerate the grave of Saint Cosmas, he found there a beggar, who told him: "It is a great Elder whom you have buried here!" He explained that he had been paralyzed for twelve years, and received healing through the prayers of Saint Cosmas. (Venerable Cosmas the Eunuch and Hermit of Palestine. The Orthodox Church in America. <oca.org/saints/lives/2014/08/03/102194-venerable-cosmas-the-eunuch-and-hermit-of-palestine>)

• [Moschus. Spiritual Meadow. Chapter XL] The life of Cosmas, the eunuch. A story told us by abba Basileus, a presbyter of Byzantium - I myself visited this same abba Cosmas when he was in the Laura of Pharan, and I stayed there for twelve years. He was talking to me once for my soul's health and mentioned something from the sayings of holy Athanasius, archbishop of Alexandria. "If you come across something from the works of Athanasius," he said, "and you haven't got any paper with you to write it down on, write it on your clothing." This was typical of how great was the zeal which this old man had for our holy fathers and teachers. This abba Cosmas was also said to have remained standing from first Vespers through the night till Sunday morning, singing psalms and reading, both in his cell and in church, never sitting down once, until at last when the

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services were complete, he would sit and read the Gospels until the [last] Collect was said. (Moschus, The Spiritual Meadow, Chapter 40. Life of Cosmas the eunuch; Translated by Benedict Baker

<www.monachos.net/content/patristics/patristicteksts/173-moschus-meadow>; Migne Graeca, PG 87/3 2891-2896)

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Athanasius Spoke for Alexander at Nicaea 325 AD

- [circa 451 AD : Dioscorus (patriarch of Alexandria), praying to the martyred Marcarius in heaven] "Say to Athanasius, 'My father, the charioteer of Israel and its driver, let your spirit be doubled upon me, for this is the crucial time when I have need of the tongue of Alexander', which is you [Athanasius]" (Dioscorus, Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw XIII.2-3; Translated by David W. Johnson, 1980, p. 83)

- Macarius of Tkôw (d. 451/452), bishop of Tkôw noted for poverty, sanctity, and healing powers who was martyred for opposing the Council of Chalcedon (feast day: 27 Babah). The Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw (d. 451/452) is meant to be a discourse delivered by Dioscorus I, patriarch of Alexandria, to a group of monks who have come to visit him in exile at Gangra in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea. ...Dioscorus then begins a long reminiscence about Macarius, beginning with their meeting on the docks of Alexandria, as he and the Egyptian bishops prepare to embark for Constantinople at the command of the emperor Marcian. ...Internal evidence indicates that the Panegyric was composed in Greek in or around Alexandria. It survives in Sahidic and Bohairic translations, and several unedited manuscripts of Arabic versions are extant. (David W. Johnson, "Marcarius of Tkôw" in Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia, CE:1492a-1494a, <ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/1243>)

- [History of the Patriarchs] So when Constantine, the believing prince, died in a good old age, Constantius his son was enthroned after him, but did not remain firm in the orthodox faith, only fearing and respecting the people. Then Arius found his opportunity, and aimed at taking hold of the prince, and drew him to his own mind, and corrupted his heart, and induced him to incline the empire to his doctrine, and led him astray, till he sent and summoned Alexander from Alexandria to Constantinople. For the prince did not know the power of Alexander, nor the cause for which he had anathematized Arius and removed him from the Church. Now Alexander had grown old and advanced in years, although he was strong in sense and sound in faculties; and Athanasius was his interpreter and scribe and mouthpiece, through the power of the Holy Ghost, on account of his knowledge of the orthodox faith. So the Father Alexander took his seat in the presence of the prince, who then summoned Arius; and Arius uttered his impure discourse, and multiplied his vile phrases. But Athanasius confuted him by the arguments which he delivered, and brought his discourse to naught. Thereupon Arius was troubled, and broke up the assembly, saying : «We will have another sitting.» And since Arius knew that he had no power against Athanasius, he gave money to the attendants at the royal doors, and settled with them that they should prevent Athanasius from entering with the others into the next assembly. So when the morrow came the prince commanded to bring them in; but when Alexander entered, the doorkeepers prevented Athanasius [410 the Apostolic] from entering. When the prince had taken his seat, the patriarch being present also, Arius spoke and delivered a long discourse. So the Father Alexander turned to the right and left, but could not see Athanasius, his scribe; and therefore he was silent. Then the prince said to him : «Why dost thou not speak?» Alexander replied : «How shall I speak without a tongue?» So the prince knew that he meant Athanasius, and commanded to bring him in. But when Arius saw that Athanasius had entered, he went out hastily, and would not remain. Then Alexander said to the prince : «Know, O prince, that the cutting off of this Arius took place at the council; and it was not I alone that cut him off, but thy blessed father, the prince, and all the members of the council cut him off, and the prince wrote his anathema in his own handwriting. Therefore if thou wilt look at the letter of thy father, thou wilt find that it is in his handwriting. Shall I then say of him that was excommunicated by the prince Constantine and the members of the council that I will absolve him? Nay, that would be an act of heresy on my part. For thy father in truth wrote his anathema and his excommunication in his own handwriting, at the council which took place at Nicaea.» So when the prince heard this speech, he was afraid of his brother, that if he should break the command of his father, his brother would find in that a pretext

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for plotting against him; and therefore he dismissed the Father Alexander, and restored him to his see. Thus Arius justly remained anathematized, and bound by the censures of the 411 Church, for he had supposed that he would succeed in obtaining his desires by his power over the prince, and by giving money to the attendants. (Severus of Al'Ashmunein (Hermopolis), History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic church of Alexandria, Part 2, chapter 8, Athanasius I, the apostolic, the twentieth patriarch, 326-373, p. 409-411)

- The History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria[1] is a major historical work of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria. It is written in Arabic,[2] but draws extensively on Greek and Coptic sources. The compilation was based on earlier biographical sources. It was begun by Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa', although one scholar contests its attribution to him.[3] It was continued by others including Michael, bishop of Tinnis (11th century, writing in Coptic, covering 880 to 1046), Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig, deacon of Alexandria, and Pope Mark III of Alexandria (for 1131 to 1167). (History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Patriarchs_of_Alexandria>)

• [Book 1.15. After the Synod of Nicaea, on the Death of Alexander] A little after this, Alexander bishop of Alexandria having died, Athanasius was set over that church. Rufinus relates that this [Athanasius] when quite a boy, played with others of his own age at a sacred game: this was an imitation of the priesthood and the order of consecrated persons. In this game therefore Athanasius was allotted the episcopal chair, and each of the other lads personated either a presbyter or a deacon. The children engaged in this sport on the day in which the memory of the martyr and bishop Peter was celebrated. Now at that time Alexander bishop of Alexandria happened to pass by, observed the play in which they were engaged, and having sent for the children, enquired from them the part each had been assigned in the game, conceiving that something might be portended by that which had been done. He then gave directions that the children should be taken to the church, and instructed in learning, but especially Athanasius; and having afterwards ordained him deacon on his becoming of adult age, he brought him to Nicæa to assist him in the disputations there when the Synod was convened. This account of Athanasius Rufinus has given in his own writings; nor is it improbable that it took place, for many transactions of this kind have often occurred. Concerning this matter it will suffice to have said the above. (Socrates Scholasticus, Church History Book I.15; Translated by A.C. Zenos; NPNF02, vol 2; Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight. <www.newadvent.org/fathers/26011.htm>.)

Disputatio Contra Arium (circa 350-400 AD)

• [Rigolio : Overview & Aspects] 24. Ps. Athanasius, Disputatio Contra Arium. Date of composition: late fourth cent. The Disputatio is an extensive dialogue arguing against Arian doctrine that, in the current edition, features Athanasius and Arius as speakers. The text opens with a narrative section that, presented as if written by Athanasius in first person, sets the scene and explains the occasion of the dialogue (1-3). The rest of the [PAGE 116] text consists entirely of the exchanges between the two speakers, and unexpectedly ends with Arius' abjuration of his belief and conversion to Nicene doctrine (45-46). 275 The narrative introduction, scene setting and Arius' eventual conversion make the Disputatio significantly different from the other surviving Pseudo-Athanasius dialogues in that they do not feature a narrative voice or an elaborate scene setting. ...A remarkable feature of the Disputatio is that its author appears especially concerned with the format of the debate. Athanasius takes the lead in suggesting [PAGE 117] and implementing the format that the speakers have agreed on. ...In addition, according to the same scholar [Stockhausen], the author of the Disputatio may have been aware of Athanasius' Orations against the Arians, but the polite tone of the dialogue marks the distance from the aggressiveness of the Orations. 279 ...At the same time, Von Stockhausen suggests that significant features of the Disputation should be understood in the tradition of the Socratic dialogue. As the prologue makes clear, the dialogue is presented as taking place while the main character is walking together with a group of followers, a description that suggests a circle of philosophers having a conversation while walking; the reference to the weakness of Athanasius' body (ὀσθένεια) may likewise be a literary element. In the first part of the conversation at least, the questions asked by Athanasius are short and often expect a yes or no answer. Despite his initial designation as an "anthropomorphic beast" at the beginning of the dialogue (3=441B), Arius strikes one simply as a less expert theologian, and his behavior has been compared to that of a junior speaker in a Socratic dialogue. (24. Ps. Athanasius, Disputatio Contra Arium; Rigolio, Christians in Conversation, 2019, p. 115-117)

• [Andrist: 4th Century Genre Dialogue] All these dialogues begin *ex abrupto* and do not present any literary context; all of them are found in the tradition of Athanasius, even though they are sometimes attributed to other authors, such as Maximus Confessor; and all of them [PAGE 46] can be dated in the last decade of the fourth or the first half of the fifth century. Moreover, there are reasons to envisage that these techniques of writing dialogues concentrating on arguments and ideas might ultimately be related to the School of Didymus in Alexandria and more or less directly reflect an academic way of debating in this intellectual circle.⁸ This tendency to 'depersonalise' the characters in literary dialogues seems to have enjoyed some success in scholarly circles of the time, as exemplified by two other contemporary texts. This tendency to 'depersonalise' the characters in literary dialogues seems to have enjoyed some success in scholarly circles of the time, as exemplified by two other contemporary texts. (Andrist, "Literary Distance and Complexity in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Greek Dialogues Adversus Iudaeos (late 4th - early 9th c.)", 2017, p. 45-46)

• [Andrist: Unique Aspects of Disputatio] 3. (= IX) "Disputatio contra Arium" (= "*Dialogus in synodo Nicaena*", CPG 2250): So far, this dialogue is the least researched within the texts discussed here and most difficult to date (but see now from Stockhausen 2010). It is characterized above all by its rather long, partly scenic structure. Introduction, according to which Arius is refuted by Athanasius. Especially in Greek tradition, this dialogue often circulates without the others' Texts. In the Armenian tradition it is occasionally in two dialogues divided and sometimes found together with "dial. Athan. et Zacch." (Andrist, Pseudathanasianische Dialoge, 2011, p. 356)

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• [Martin : 1 Jn 5:7 in Context of Dialogue] From page 145 to the middle of page 147 the Orthodox Author, who defends the Divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Arian, after having established at large in this Dialogue the eternal and consubstantial Divinity of the Son, and proved by divers Texts of Scripture [PAGE 140] these two fundamental truths, that the Son is God with the Father, and that the Holy Ghost is like manner God (with the Father and the Son), concludes the mystery of the Trinity (on page 147) with some reflections upon Moses, Elias, and St. Paul. He says, "that this Apostle [Paul] was therefore carried up into the third Heaven because he bore the Trinity in his heart; God being willing to teach us by this example, that no person can ascend into Heaven, unless he has the same faith which St. Paul had. And the quickening and salutary Baptism, by which we receive remission of sins, and without which no person was ever admitted into Heaven: Is it not administered to the Faithful in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost? Besides all this St. John says, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE." (Martin, The genuineness of the text of the first Epistle of Saint John 5:7, 1722, p. 139-140)

HIT:

- 43. *Arius*. "Where is it written that the [Holy] Spirit is God?"

Athanasius: Everywhere the divine Scriptures declare that God is the Holy Spirit, and not separated from the glory of God and the Father and the Only-Begotten. For thus Peter speaks in the Acts to Ananias: Did he not abide with you, and was sold into your power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart, to lie to the Holy Spirit? Thou hast not lied to men, but to God. Dost thou see how he whom he had previously called the Holy Spirit, afterwards calls God? Thus likewise blessed Paul, in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians, writes: "And the Lord direct your hearts into the love of God and the patience of Christ. Whom do you wish to understand in this Epistle? Whom do you think is called Lord? Is it God the Father, the Lord of all things, or the Holy Spirit? For he has named Christ there. For if in the former place you understand the Father, God is certainly the Holy Spirit: but if you wish the Holy Spirit to be signified there, then he is the Lord himself: which if he is Lord, he is certainly God. For it is written, I am the Lord thy God. Inquire further, and you will find it written everywhere that the effectual power of the Holy Spirit is the same, and that it is not separated from the glory of the Father and the Son. *Arius*: Why then does Scripture nowhere say that the Spirit is honored with the Father and the Son? *Athanasius*: The Holy Scriptures speak all things openly: but as regards the present question, all the holy powers which are in heaven, as Isaiah teaches, unceasingly honor the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son. *Arius*: It is nowhere written that the Holy Spirit is honored with the Father and the Son.

44. *Athanasius*: You are mistaken. When Isaiah had seen the glory of the Lord, and the host of the holy virtues, what did he say to them, among the divine praises? Is it not, Holy, holy, holy? Why do they not transcend that number in singing, nor do they detract anything from it? Certainly for the reason that it is unlawful to treat anyone except the Trinity with such honor, and to detract anything from that hymn, because of the holy and blessed divinity of the Trinity, content in unity with itself. Why did Moses teach the people to bend their neck and their knees three times on the earth, to worship? but to denote the worship of the Trinity in one Godhead? But even the holy Elijah raises the dead at the third breathing, to shew that no man can be worthy of eternal life, thus, if first only is received the coequal and consubstantial and life-giving Trinity, through reverential faith in the soul. which by the sentence of fire consumes all [kinds of] deadly sins [transgressions], which are killing the soul, and is making alive the eternal life that have obtained it. Neither could Paul otherwise have ascended to the third heaven, unless he had possessed in his heart the indelible and consubstantial faith of the Trinity. God willing to show through this, no one could be able of being driven into the kingdom of heaven, that didn't happen

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by the faith that inhabited within Paul. **Likewise isn't it the remission of sins procured by that quickening and sanctifying ablution [baptism], without which no man shall see the kingdom of heaven, [a baptism] given to the faithful in the thrice-blessed name? And besides all these, John says: "And the three are the one". (1 John 5:7)**

ο Greek: 43. Ἄρ. εἶπε· Θεὸς ποῦ γέγραπται τὸ Πνεῦμα; Ἀθ. εἶπε· Πανταχοῦ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν αἱ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ ὅτι Θεὸς ἐστὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐ κεχώρισται τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ δόξης. Λέγει γὰρ Πέτρος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι πρὸς Ἀνανίαν· « Οὐχὶ μένον σοι ἔμενε, καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχε; τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ. » Ὅρᾳς πῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις ὅπερ ἔφη Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις ἔφη Θεόν; Ἔτι μὴν καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου λέγοντος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δευτέρᾳ Ἐπιστολῇ οὕτως· « Ὁ δὲ Κύριος κατευθύνει ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. » Τί θέλεις ἐν τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ νοῆσαι; Τίνα Κύριον ὀνομαζόμενον; τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων δεσπότην Θεὸν Πατέρα, ἢ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον; Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν ὑπερίθμησεν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Πατέρα προτάξῃς, Θεὸς ἐστὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα· εἰ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα προομολογήσῃς, Κύριος τυγχάνει· εἰ δὲ Κύριός ἐστι, καὶ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει· γέγραπται γάρ· « Ἐγὼ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου. » Ζήτησον δὲ, καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀπανταχοῦ γεγραμμένον, ὅτι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας τυγχάνει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ δόξης οὐκ ἀπέζεукται. Ἀρ. εἶπε· Διὰ τί οὖν ἡ Γραφὴ οὐδαμοῦ λέγει τιμᾶσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ; Ἀθ. εἶπεν· Αἱ ἅγαι Γραφαὶ πάντα σαφῆ διαλέγονται· εἰς ὃ δὲ ἐσμεν τοῦ ἐπὶ παρόντος, αἱ ἅγαι δυνάμεις πᾶσαι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀπαύστως τιμῶσι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ὡς Ἡσαΐας λέγει, σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ. Ἄρ. εἶπε· Σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ οὐ γέγραπται οὐδαμοῦ τιμᾶσθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ἀρ. εἶπε· Σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ οὐ γέγραπται οὐδαμοῦ τιμᾶσθαι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. 44. Ἀθ. εἶπε· Πεπλάνησαι. Ἡνίκα εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου, καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων, τί ἔφη λέγειν βοῶσας ἐν ταῖς θεαῖς ὑμνωδαίς; Οὐχ, « Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος; » Διὰ τί οὕτε ἀνωτέρω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου ἐπανιόντα ὑμνοῦσιν, οὔτε μὴ κατωτέρω ὑποβαίνοντα μειοῦσι τὸν αἶνον; Πάντως τῷ μὴ ἐκτὸς τῆς Τριάδος θέμις τοιοῦτω γέρα τιμηθῆναι τινα, μῆτε ἐλαττώσαι τινα τὸν ὕμνον, διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν θεότητα τῆς Τριάδος, ἐν μονάδι οὔσαν αὐτάρκη. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς τίνος ἕνεκεν τὸν λαὸν ἐδίδασκε, τρίς κάμψαντα ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὰ γόνατα, προσκυνῆσαι; Οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος προσκύνησιν τῆς ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἠλίας, τρίτῳ φυσήματι ἐγείρει τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας; οὐδὲν ἕτερον δεικνύς, ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι τινα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀξιωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πρῶτον ἀναλήψεται τὴν ἰσότημον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν Τριάδα διὰ τῆς σεβασμιωτάτης πίστεως ἐν ψυχῇ, ἥτις πυρὸς δίκην ἀναλίσκει τὰ νεκρὰ πάντα πταίσματα, τὰ νεκροῦντα τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ζωοποιεῖ τὴν κεκτημένην αὐτὴν αἰδίων ζωὴν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν χριστοφόρον Παῦλον μὴ ἄλλως δεδυνῆσθαι ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἀνεληλυθέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐκέκτητο ἐν στέρνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἀνέκλειπτον καὶ ὁμοούσιον πίστιν· ὁ Θεὸς βουλόμενος δεικνύναι διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος, μηδένα εἰσελάσαι δύνασθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνοικησάσης ἐν Παύλῳ μὴ γεγονότα. **Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν παρεκτικὸν, καὶ ζωοποιὸν, καὶ ἁγιαστικὸν λουτρὸν, οὐ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ὀνομασίᾳ δίδεται τοῖς πιστοῖς; Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν Ἰωάννης φάσκει· «Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.» (I Joan. V, 7). (Disputation Contra Arium 43-44; Migne Graeca, PG 28.497-500)**

Disputatio contra Arium : España San Lorenzo de El Escorial Real Biblioteca Mss. Ψ. II. 10th century (Andrés 445)

f24r.line.012 Ἀθ. εἶπε·

f24r.line.013 Πεπλάνησαι. Ἦνίκα εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου, καὶ τὰ στρατό-

f24r.line.014 πεδα τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων, τί ἔφη λέγειν βοώσας ἐν ταῖς

f24r.line.015 θεαῖαις ὑμνωδαῖς; Οὐχ, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος; Διὰ τί οὔτε ἁ-

f24r.line.016 νωτέρω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου ἐπανιόντα ὑμνοῦσιν, οὔτε μὴ

f24r.line.017 κατωτέρω ὑποβαίνοντα μειοῦσι τὸν αῖνον; Πάντως τῷ μὴ

f24r.line.018 ἐκτὸς τῆς Τριάδος θέμις τοιοῦτῳ γέρα τιμηθῆναί τινα, μήτε ἐ-

f24r.line.019 λαττώσαι τινα τὸν ὕμνον, διὰ τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν θεότητα

f24r.line.020 τῆς Τριάδος, ἐν μονάδι οὔσαν αὐτάρκη. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς τί-

f24r.line.021 νος ἔνεκεν τὸν λαὸν ἐδίδασκε, τρεῖς κάμψαντα ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν

f24r.line.022 αὐχένα καὶ τὰ γόνατα, προσκυνῆσαι; Οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος προ-

f24r.line.023 σκύνησιν τῆς ἐν μιᾷ θεότητι; Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἡλίας,

f24r.line.024 τρίτῳ φυσήματι ἐγείρει τὸν υἱὸν τῆς χήρας; οὐδὲν ἕτερον δει-

f24r.line.025 κνὺς, ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι τινα τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἀξιωθῆναι, εἰ μὴ

f24r.line.026 ἄρα πρῶτον ἀναλήψεται τὴν ἰσότημον καὶ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν

f24v.line.001 Τριάδα διὰ τῆς σεβασμιωτάτης πίστεως ἐν ψυχῇ, ἥτις πυ-

f24v.line.002 ρὸς δίκην ἀναλίσκει τὰ νεκρὰ πάντα πταίσματα, τὰ νεκροῦν-

f24v.line.003 τα τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ ζωοποιεῖ τὴν κεκτημένην αὐτὴν αἰδίων ζωὴν;

f24v.line.004 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν χριστοφόρον Παῦλον μὴ ἄλλως δεδυνῆσθαι

f24v.line.005 ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ ἀνεληλυθέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐκέκτητο ἐν στέρνοις

f24v.line.006 αὐτοῦ τὴν τῆς Τριάδος ἀνέκλειπτον καὶ ὁμοούσιον πίστιν· ὁ Θεὸς

f24v.line.007 βουλόμενος δεικνύει διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος, μηδὲνα εἰ-

f24v.line.008 σελάσαι δύνασθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τῆς

f24v.line.009 ἐνοικησάσης ἐν Παύλῳ μὴ γεγονότα. Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁ-

f24v.line.010 μαρτιῶν παρεκτικὸν, καὶ ζωοποιὸν, καὶ ἁγιαστικὸν λουτρὸν, οὗ χω-

f24v.line.011 ρὶς οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τρισμα-

f24v.line.012 καρίᾳ ὀνομασίᾳ δίδοται τοῖς πιστοῖς; Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν

f24v.line.013 Ἰωάννης φάσκει· Καὶ οἱ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν..

(Disputation Contra Arium 44; f24r-f24v : Images 58, 59)

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Fathers Cite Disputatio as the words and work of Athanasius

- [Migne Graeca] Furthermore, the Greeks of the 12th Century recognized [Disputatio Contra Arium] as a genuine work of Athanasius. (Latin: Porro vides Graecam saeculi xii synodum agnovisse ut genuinum Athanasii opus. Migne Graeca, PG 140.209, fn. 7)
- Niketas or Nicetas Choniates (Greek: Νικήτας Χωνιάτης, ca. 1155 to 1217), whose real surname was Akominatos (Ακομινάτος), was a Greek Byzantine government official and historian – like his brother Michael Akominatos, whom he accompanied to Constantinople from their birthplace Chonae (from which came his nickname, "Choniates" meaning "person from Chonae"). Nicetas wrote a history of the Eastern Roman Empire from 1118 to 1207. His theological work, (Thesaurus Orthodoxae Fidei), although extant in a complete form in manuscripts, has been published only in part. It is one of the chief authorities for the heresies and heretical writers of the 12th century. (Niketas Choniates. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niketas_Choniates>)
- [Thesaurus. Book 25.6] St Athanasius's, from his discourse speech, which was given at the holy first great synod at Nicaea towards Arius (Nicetae Choniatae. Thesauri Lib. XXV.6; Translated by Pavlos D Vasileiadis, correspondence, 15 December 2018)
 - Greek: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου, ἐκ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ λόγου, ὃ ἐποίησατο ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν ἁγίᾳ πρότῃ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειον. (Nicetae Choniatae. Thesauri Lib. XXV.6; Migne Graeca, PG 140.209)
- John XI Bekkos (also, commonly, Beccus; name sometimes also spelled Veccus, Vekkos, or Beccos), (c. 1225 – March 1297) was Patriarch of Constantinople from June 2, 1275 to December 26, 1282, and the chief Greek advocate, in Byzantine times, of the reunion of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. John Bekkos was born in Nicaea among the exiles from Constantinople during the period of Latin occupation of that city, and died in prison in the fortress of St. Gregory near the entrance to the Gulf of Nicomedia.[1] (John XI of Constantinople. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_XI_of_Constantinople>)
 - [Union of the Old Church and the new Rome] For forthwith St. Athanasios the Great, in the disputation with Arius that took place at the Synod in Nicaea, which begins, "By God's providence, I was on my way with my most beloved brethren, having visited the servants of God dear to me" [Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A], says: "[From such examples] we learn that the Son was begotten from the essence of God the Father."
- [Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C] The same [Father], in the discourse that begins, "You did well in indicating to me the discussion that you had," [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca 25, 416A] says thus: "Son and creature could not be the same, unless His essence be thought to be both from God and external to God." [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne 25, 448A] And much further on in the same discourse [he says]: "The essence of the Son is not something devised from without, nor is it introduced from non-existent things; rather, it springs from the essence of the Father as radiance from light and as vapor from water." [Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca PG 25, 460C] (John XI Bekkos, The union of the old church and the new Rome; Migne Graeca, PG 141.143C; Father Patapios, Correspondence, January 2019)
 - Greek: Αὐτίκα γὰρ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν εἰς πρὸς Ἀρειον διαλέκτῳ τῇ γενομένῃ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ · «Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἀπήειν προσεληλυθὼς σὺν τοῖς φιλάτοις μου ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὶ ποθοῦ μένους τοῦ [Θεοῦ] Χριστοῦ δούλους.» [Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A] φησὶν [Psalm. CIX. 3.] Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα · «Τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς

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γεννηθέντα [ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων] μανθάνομεν.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C] Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ · «Καλῶς ἐποίησας δηλώσας μοι τὴν γενομένην παρὰ σοῦ ζήτησιν.»[Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca 25, 416A] οὕτω φησὶν · «Οὐκ ἂν εἴη αὐτός Υἱός καὶ κτίσμα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ νομιζήται.»[Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne 25, 448A] Καὶ μετὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ · «Οὐκ ἔξωθέν τις ἐστὶν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἢ τοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισέχθη, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφυ, ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, καὶ ὡς ὕδατος ἀτμίς.»[Epistola de Nicaenis decretis. Migne Graeca PG 25, 460C] (John XI Bekkos, De unione Ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae; Migne Graeca, PG 141.143C)

• [Union of the Old Church and the new Rome] Athanasius the great in his discourse to Arius that took place at the synod of Nicaea, which at the beginning mentions that “With God’s providence I left so that to come together with my brothers to Christ’s servants that are convinced by me”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A]; “therefore God saying to his Son through the prophet, ‘From the womb, before morning-star, I brought you forth,’ [Ps 109:3b] means the generation of the Son from the fatherly essence.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D] And just below: “For no other reason he mentions womb, only for representing that the Son himself was brought forth [or, generated] by the Father’s essence.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D-477A] And just below: “When, then, the Scripture says that from womb was brought forth [or generated] the Son, the origination of the Son from the divine substance is meant.” And just below: “And that the Son is brought forth [or, generated] from the essence of the God and Father we learn [from these examples].”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C] (John XI Bekkos, The union of the old church and the new Rome; Translation by Pavlos D Vasileiadis, correspondence, December 2018.)

◦ Greek: Ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρειὸν διλέλει τῇ γενομένη ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ, “Τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίᾳ ἀπῆει προσεληλυθὼς σὺν τοῖς φιλάτοις μου ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοὶ πειθομένους τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλους,”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 440A] φησὶν· “Οὐκοῦν ὁ Θεὸς λέγων πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον Υἱὸν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, «Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε,”[Psalm cix, 3] σημαίνει τὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρικῆς οὐσίας γέννησιν τοῦ Υἱοῦ.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D] Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Δι’ οὐδὲν ἕτερον γαστέρα ὀνομάζει, ἢ ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας γεγεννηθῆναι.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 476D to 477A] Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Ὅταν οὖν φάσκη ἡ Γραφὴ ἐκ γαστρὸς γεγεννηθῆναι τὸν Υἱὸν, τὴν ἐκ τῆς θεϊκῆς ὑποστάσεως γνησιότητα τοῦ Υἱοῦ σημαίνει.” Καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγα · “Τὸν οὖν Υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα [ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων] μανθάνομεν.”[Disputatio contra Arium. Migne Graeca PG 28, 477C] (John XI Bekkos, De unione Ecclesiarum veteris et novae Romae; Migne Graeca, PG 141, 707-708)

• [Council of Florence 1438-1443 AD] ...[The council began in Ferrara, but] was transferred to Florence in 1439 because of the danger of plague at Ferrara and because Florence had agreed, against future payment, to finance the Council.[1] The Council had meanwhile successfully negotiated reunification with several Eastern Churches, reaching agreements on such matters as the Western insertion of the phrase “Filioque” to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, the definition and number of the sacraments, and the doctrine of Purgatory. Another key issue was papal primacy, which involved the universal and supreme jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, including the national Churches of the East (Serbian, Greek, Moldo-Wallachian, Bulgarian, Russian, Georgian, Armenian etc.) and nonreligious matters such as the promise of military assistance against the Ottomans. The final decree of union was a signed document called the Laetentur Caeli, “Let the Heavens Rejoice”. Some bishops, perhaps feeling political pressure from the Byzantine

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Emperor, accepted the decrees of the Council and reluctantly signed. Others did so by sincere conviction, such as Isidore of Kiev, who subsequently suffered greatly for it. Only one Eastern Bishop, Mark of Ephesus, refused to accept the union and became the leader of the opposition back in Byzantium, while the Serbian patriarch did not even attend the council. The Russians, upon learning of the union, angrily rejected it and ousted any prelate who was even remotely sympathetic to it, declaring the Russian Orthodox Church as autocephalus (i.e., as having its "own head"). Despite the religious union, Western military assistance to Byzantium was ultimately insufficient, and the fall of Constantinople occurred in May 1453. The Council declared the Basel group heretics and excommunicated them, and the superiority of the Pope over the Councils was affirmed in the bull *Etsi non dubitemus* of 20 April 1441.[1] ...In early April 1438, the Greek contingent, over 700 strong, arrived at Ferrara. On 9 April 1438, the first solemn session at Ferrara began, with the Eastern Roman Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople and representatives of the Patriarchal Sees of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem in attendance and Pope Eugene IV presiding. The early sessions lasted until 17 July 1438 with each theological issue of the Great Schism (1054) hotly debated, including the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the Filioque clause in the Nicene Creed, Purgatory and papal primacy. Resuming proceedings on 8 October 1438, the Council focused exclusively on the Filioque matter. Even as it became clear that the Greek Church would never consent to the Filioque clause, the Byzantine Emperor continued to press for a reconciliation. ...The Council soon became even more international. The signature of this agreement for the union of the Latins and the Greeks encouraged Pope Eugenius to announce the good news to the Coptic Christians, and invite them to send a delegation to Florence. He wrote a letter on 7 July 1439, and to deliver it, sent Alberto da Sarteano as an apostolic delegate. On 26 August 1441, Sarteano returned with four Ethiopians from Emperor Zara Yaqob and Copts.[8] According to a contemporary observer "They were black men and dry and very awkward in their bearing (...) really, to see them they appeared to be very weak".[9] At that time, Rome had delegates from a multitude of nations, from Armenia to Russia, Greece and various parts of north and east Africa.[10] ...Nicholas of Cusa was a member of the delegation sent to Constantinople with the pope's approval to bring back the Byzantine emperor and his representatives to the Council of Florence of 1439. At the time of the council's conclusion in 1439, Cusa was thirty-eight years old and thus, compared to the other clergy at the council, a fairly young man though one of the more accomplished in terms of the body of his complete works. (Council of Florence. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_of_Florence>)

• [Council of Florence - 10 martii 1439] The blessed Athanasius in his dialogue disputing in the council against Arius, speaks so as well in these words. This is the passage: "The Spirit, therefore, is of the substance of Father and Son, whose grace is in the Symbolum as the Son of God names Him in the holy Symbolum as Third, where it has: Going out, baptize them in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." From this, namely that in the holy Symbolum He is placed as Third Person, Athanasius concludes that He is one substance with the Father and the Son and thus, that He necessarily has His substance through the Father and Son. [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium in concilio Nicaeno, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 480.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina - collatio IV, unv. XVII - 10 martii 1439", p. 165-166, lines 36ff; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)

• Latin: Iste beatissimus Athanasius in illo dialogo disputans in concilio sic contra Arium ita dicit etiam istis verbis. Hec est epistola. "Spiritus igitur ex patris et filii substantia est scilicet cuius gratia, filius dei nominat eum in sanctificato simbolo tertium in simbolo, ubi habet : 'Euntes baptizate eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.' Ex hoc Athanasius, quod pontiur in simbolo sanctificato tertia persona, concludit, quod sit [PAGE 165] substantia patris et filii et sic, quod necessario habeat substantiam a patre et filio. [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium in concilio Nicaeno, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 480.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina, collatio IV, unv. XVII - 10 martii 1439", p. 165-166, lines 36ff)

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- [Council of Florence - 8 martii 1439: #1] Athanasius speaks thus, that all could understand the response and vain refutation which you have produced; therefore in his dialogue against Arius he said, just as alleged: "If, therefore, the Spirit is not of the substance of Father and Son, whose grace God includes in the saying of the Son of God in the holy Symbolum: 'Going out, teach them, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.'" [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172, lines 28-32; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)

- Latin: Dicit Athanasius sic, ut omnes intelligunt responsionem et vanam confutationem, quam fecistis; in illo dyalogo contra Arium ita dixit, prout allegavi: "Si ergo non est de substantia patris et filii spiritus, cuius gratia connumeravit deus dei filius in sanctificationis simbolo dicens: 'Euntes docete omnes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.'" [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence, Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439, p. 172, lines 28- 32)

- [Council of Florence - 8 martii 1439: #2] Therefore Athanasius appeals to the saying of the holy Symbolum: "If the Spirit were not of the substance of Father and Son, He would not be placed in this Symbolum." [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172-173, lines 39ff; Translated by Jeroen Beekhuizen, correspondence December 2019)

- Latin: Ideo Athanasius vocat sanctificationis symbolum dicens: "Si spiritus non esset de substantia patris et filii, non [PAGE 173] poneretur in hoc simbolo." [Ps.-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium, c. 38 = Migne PG 28, 489B.] (Council of Florence, "Sessio Florentina - collatio III, univ. XVI - 8 martii 1439", p. 172-173, lines 39ff)

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Date of Dialogue : Internal Evidence

- [Fairbairn] In this article, I seek to add to the relatively small amount of literature on Athanasius' hermeneutics by attending carefully to his hermeneutical argument in *Contra Arianos*. As is well known, this crucial work, perhaps written in the early 340s, contrasts the doctrine of Arius' lost writing *Thalia* with Athanasius' own teaching... (Fairbairn. "Context, Context, Context: Athanasius' Biblical Interpretation in *Contra Arianos*." *Perichoresis*, vol. 12, no. 2, Emanuel University Press, 2014, p. 120.)

- [Stockhausen] Bernhard Voss considered whether it could not be deduced from this that the dialogue arose very early and that there is thus real contemporary knowledge. (Stockhausen, *Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium*, 2010, p. 150)

- [Martin: Early Date] The Orthodox, represented in this Dialogue under the name of Athanasius, demands of the Arian, represented by the name Arius, whether by saying the Emperor Constantine reigns by Sea and Land, they did not thereby say that the Son Constantius did not reign there also. The Arian answers, it would be very dangerous to say that Constantius does not reign with Constantine his Father. It appears plainly from all this, that this Dialogue must have been composed whilst the Emperor [PAGE 138] Constantine was living, and at the time Constantius was sent into the East, where he made himself famous by the victories he gain'd over the enemies of the State, about the year 336 somewhat before the death of the great Constantine, which fell out on the 22nd of May, 337 which evidently proves that this Dialogue must have been written about the year of our Lord 336 and wrote withal in the East, where Constantius was that year. (Martin, *The genuineness of the text of the first Epistle of Saint John 5:7*, 1722, p. 137-138)

- **David Martin** (7 September 1639 – 9 September 1721), a learned French Protestant theologian, was born at Revel, in the diocese of Lavaur. He was educated at Montauban, and at the academy of the reformed at Nîmes. He afterwards studied divinity at Puy-Laurent, whither the academy of Montauban had been removed. Having been admitted to the ministry in 1663, he settled as pastor with the church of Esperance, in the diocese of Castres. In 1670 he accepted an invitation to the church of La Caune, in the same diocese, where he officiated till the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685. In 1686, the magistrates of Deventer invited him to become professor of divinity and pastor of the Walloon church in that city; but the regency of Utrecht, where he had taken up his residence, fully appraised of his merit, prevailed upon him to accept the office of pastor in their city. He had studied his native language grammatically; and when the French Academy was about to publish the second edition of their Dictionary, he sent them remarks and observations, of which they availed themselves, with polite acknowledgements to the author. He died of a violent fever in 1721, after he had completed his eighty-second year. (David Martin French theologian. Wikipedia.

<en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Martin_(French_theologian)>

- [Stockhausen: Dialogue Dated circa 350] Another interesting text can be found in Chap. 22.94 Athanasius makes clear in his argument that the Son is also "true God," and that John 17:3, in this sense, is an example. Arius wanted to understand the verse in such a way that only God is "true God", but the Son is not, so that "and Jesus Christ whom Thou has sent" (καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν) is no longer part of the intent of "that they might know thee, the only true God" (ἵνα γινώσκωσι σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν), that so the "and" (καί) is not an additive "even" "also" (καί). Athanasius then tells Arius that it is a συνδεσμός, so that the two parts of the sentence are to be considered together and in no way separate. And to clarify his argument, he now cites the following comparison: "When someone tells his neighbor about Constantine, he says: Know the only Augustus

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and autocrat of the earth and of the sea, the Emperor Constantine and his son Constantius! Does he confess then the son together with the father? Yes or no?"⁹⁵ Whereupon Arius answers: "There is no small danger in saying that Constantius does not rule with his father Constantine, by subsuming him under him."⁹⁶ And then Athanasius counters: "With Constantine and Constantius you see the greatest danger, but with Jesus Christ and his father you are not afraid if you are so extreme. You have to apply such worship to the Lord, as well as to the said Constantine. You do not steal anything from his son Constantius, that is, that he is Augustus, and everything that was previously said about his father, that nowhere else do you recognize the unity of dignity than through him."⁹⁷ Bernhard Voss ⁹⁸ considered whether it could not be deduced from this that the dialogue arose very early and that there is thus real contemporary knowledge. [Voss, *The dialogue in early Christian literature*, 1970, p. 333, fn. 50] This [337 AD] seems unlikely to me, since here in principle a situation is made clear in which of the three Constantine (d. 327) sons only Konstantius is left, since only and especially he is led in the father-son comparison, so this comparison at the earliest after the year 350 can be formulated. It seems to me, therefore, rather scholarly knowledge, which is attached here by the author: That of the Constantine sons ultimately only the surviving Konstantius has played an important role in the history of the Church. Such scholarly knowledge of the author can also be observed in some other places: Thus, in Chap. 20 another comparison with the emperor led, in Ch. 25 f. a very detailed comparison of the house construction and also in chap. Finally, a comparison of the calendar calculation based on the lunar cycle. (Stockhausen, *Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium*, 2010, p. 149-150)

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Disputatio : Contemporary Work Referenced : Clementine Homilies (circa 300-320 AD)

- [Voss] The author knew the pseudo-clementines. What version he had in mind is not very sure. 31 (480 C) He refers to Klemens. (Voss, The dialogue in early Christian literature, 1970, p. 333, fn. 50)

- [Mention of Clement in Dialogue] Are you suggesting that my body is eternal [like God]? Have you not at some time or another listened to Clement, the student of Peter the apostle, who condemns such a doctrine? (Disputatio Contra Arium. 31; Migne Graeca, PG 28.480C-D; Translated by Jake Lake, correspondence July 2019)

- Greek: Σὺ δὲ τί φῆς με αἰῶδιον συντίθεσθαι τὸ Θεῖον; Οὐκ ἐπηκροάσω ποτὲ Κλήμεντος τοῦ παρακολουθήσαντος Πέτρῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὃς καθαιρεῖ τὴν τοιαύτην δόξαν; (Disputatio Contra Arium. 31; Migne Graeca, PG 28.480CD)

- [Clementine Homilies : Overview & Date] The original author (of the Clementine Homilies) shows a detailed knowledge of the towns on the Phoenician coast from Caesarea to Antioch. He was an Arian, and Arianism had its home in the civil diocese of the Orient. He uses the Praeparatio Evangelica of Eusebius of Caesarea (written about 313). In 325 that historian mentions the dialogues of Peter and Appion as just published — presumably in his own region; these were probably the nucleus of the larger work completed by the same hand a few years later. Citations of Pseudo-Clement are by the Palestinian Epiphanius, who found the romance among the Ebionites of Palestine; by St. Jerome, who had dwelt in the Syrian desert and settled at Bethlehem; by the travelled Rufinus; by the Apostolical Constitutions, compiled in Syria or Palestine. The work is rendered into Syriac before 411. The Arian author of the Opus imperfectum cited it freely. It was interpolated by a Eunomian about 365–70. All these indications suggest an Arian author before 350 in the East, probably not far from Caesarea. ...the [Clementine] Homilies (books 10–14), preserved in two British Library manuscripts, one of which was written in the year 411. Some fragments of the Clementines are known in Arabic, Armenian and in Slavonic. (Clementine literature. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clementine_literature>)

- [Stead Affirms] This work (Clementine Homilies) cannot be later than the mid-fourth century, since it was used by the writer of the Recognitions (c. 360-380), which in turn was translated by Jerome. (Stead, Divine Substance, 1977, p. 218)

Disputatio HIT very similar to Clement Homilies

• [Clementine Homily IX.23] This then we would have you know, that unless any one of his own accord give himself over as a slave to demons, as I said before, the demon has no power against him. Choosing, therefore, to worship one God, and refraining from the table of demons, and undertaking chastity with philanthropy and righteousness, and being baptized with the thrice-blessed invocation for the remission of sins, and devoting yourselves as much as you can to the perfection of purity, you can escape everlasting punishment, and be constituted heirs of eternal blessings. (Clementine Homilies, Homily IX.23; ANF 8, p. 279) (See also: Homily IX.19, PG 2.255-256, ANF 8, page 279; Homily IX.23, PG 2.257-258, ANF 8 p. 279; Homily XIII.4, PG 2.331-332, ANF 8 p. 300-301)

• Greek: Καὶ τοῦτο οὖν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν δαίμοσιν δοῦλον ἐκδῷ (ὡς τάχιον εἶπον), ὁ δαίμων τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔχει. ἓνα οὖν θεὸν σέβειν ἐλόμενοι καὶ «τραπέζης δαιμόνων» ἀποσχόμενοι καὶ σωφροσύνην μετὰ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀναδεξάμενοι καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ εἰς ἅφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισάμενοι τῷ ὅσον δύνασθε ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀγνείας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδόναι δύνασθε κολάσεως αἰδίου· υσθέντες αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν κληρονόμοι καταστήναι. (Clementine Homilies, Homily IX.23; Migne Graeca PG 2, 257-258) (See also: Homily IX.19, PG 2.255-256; Homily IX.23, PG 2.257-258; Homily XIII.4, PG 2.331-332)

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Disputatio has Rare Variant of Jn 14:28

- [Jn 14:28 variant in Disputatio] To confirm his point Eusebius appeals to two passages from the Gospel of John: "The Father who sent me is greater than I" (cf. Jn 6:44; 14:28)... The form of Jn 14:28 [My Father who sent me is greater than I] is not found elsewhere in Eusebius. Opitz notes ad loc. that it is found in Origen, Comm in Ioh. 32, 29, 363 (GCS Origenes 4, 475) and frequently; De prin. 4, 4, 8 (GCS Origenes 5, 360); Ps-Athanasius, Disputatio contra Arium 1 (PG 28, 440A); and Arnobius [255-330 AD], Conflictus cum Serapions 2, 1 (CCL 25A, 87). (Lienhard, Marcellus of Ancyra and Fourth Century Theology, 1999, p. 74, fn. 14) [Jn 14:28: Ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ πέμψας με μείζων μου ἐστὶ (TR: ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστὶ)]

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Disputatio In Manuscripts of Athanasius Works

• [Stockhausen: Disputatio part of Earliest MSS Corpus] The Disputatio contra Arium is in the context of the so-called x-collection... The x-collection is an independent, well-defined compilation of writings of Athanasius, whose special feature is that it contains a table of contents and excerpts from a letter from Photios to his brother Tarasios on the writings of Athanasius and that in addition to their composition (in contrast, especially to the y-collection, but also to the b-tradition) is handed down very homogeneous. It contains the following Athanasian and pseudo-Athanasian scriptures: Oratio contra gentes (CPG 2090), Oratio de incarnatione verbi (CPG 2091), †Disputatio contra Arium (CPG 2250), Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae (CPG 2092), Orationes contra Arianos I–III (CPG 2093), †De incarnatione et contra Arianos (CPG 2806), Epistula encyclica (CPG 2124), Epistulae ad Serapionem I–II (CPG 2094), †Epistula catholica (CPG 2241), †Refutatio hypocriseos Meletii et Eusebii (CPG 2242), Epistula ad Epictetum (CPG 2095), †Contra Apolinarem II–I (CPG 2231), In illud: qui dixerit verbum in filium (CPG 2096), †De passione et cruce domini (CPG 2247), Epistula ad Marcellinum (CPG 2097), De virginitate (CPG 2248) und †Testimonia e scriptura (CPG 2240). As can be seen in this list, the disputatio contra arium is not at the very beginning of the collection. But as it comes to stand in accordance with the writings of Contra gentes and De incarnatione (which does not deal with the question of Arian), it functions as an introduction to the "anti-Arianic" writings of Athanasius, which are summarized in this collection, in so far as the disputatio contra Arianos, that it reproduces a discussion between Athanasius and Arius at the Synod of Nicaea itself, which binds Athanasius' writings to be classified thematically and chronologically according to the Synod of Nicaea, and illuminates the background of the dispute. (Stockhausen, Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium, 2010, p. 138-141)

Codex Patmiacus A 4 membr. s. X. [10th century]

- contra gentes M 25,69,23 [Refutation of the Gentiles]
 - de incarnatione M 25,96D [On the incarnation of Christ]
 - disputatio cum Ario M 28.440.1 [Dialogue with Arius]
 - ep. ad. episc. Aeg. M 25.537.1 [Letter to the Bishop of Egypt and Libya]
 - contra gentes M 25.53.40 [Refutation of the Gentiles - continued]
 - I, II c. Arian. M 26.12 [Against the Arians, Book 1 and 2]
- (Opitz, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius, vol 23, 1935, p. 9-10)

Codex Genuensis 5, membr. s. X/XI. [10th 11th century]

- de incarnatione M 25.197.10 [On the incarnation of Christ]
 - disputatio cum Ario M 28.440 [Dialogue with Arius]
 - epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae; M 25.537 [Letter to the Bishop of Egypt and Libya]
- (Opitz, Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Athanasius, vol 23, 1935, p. 11-12)

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Disputatio in Slavonic

- [Lytvynenko] The Disputation was translated into Slavonic four times, from both Greek and Latin. Today, it is preserved in over forty Greek manuscripts (including an uncial codex dated to the eighth/ninth century) and in about thirty Slavonic manuscripts. Together with my colleagues, Irina M. Gritsevskaia and Vittorio S. Tomelleri, we are preparing a critical text of the Slavonic version. I am also working on the Greek edition of the Disputation for the “Athanasius Werke” series (De Gruyter). (Lytvynenko. Viacheslav V. “From Greek to Slavonic: St Athanasius of Alexandria in Translation.” The Pappas Patristic Institute (April 6, 2022)

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Affirmed by John Mill (1645– 1707 AD) : Acclaimed Pioneer in NT criticism

• [J. Mill] For only then did the author of the *Disputatio in Concilio Nicaeno Habita* ("Debate Held at the Council of Nicaea"), under the name of Athanasius, cite this text [1 John 5:7]. But from where, you will ask, did this writer know what had remained hidden from the other Greeks for several centuries? From older Greek codices, uncorrupted and complete. For just as the scattering of the Christians of Asia seems to have brought it about that many codices with this comma missing were read in Greece and various other places, so, without any doubt, did some intact codices, brought to foreign countries during the same period, remain hidden in private people's homes. (J. Mill, *The New Testament, with the variant readings MSS. copies and version, edition, manuscripts and writings of the Church Fathers*, 1710, p. 585; Translated by Sara Van der Pas, correspondence, August 2020)

• John Mill (c. 1645 – 23 June 1707) was an English theologian.[1] Mill is noted for his critical edition of the Greek New Testament which included notes on over thirty-thousand variant readings in the manuscripts of the New Testament.[2] Mill's *Novum testamentum græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. exemplarium, versionum, editionum SS. patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, et in easdem nolis* (Oxford, fol. 1707) was undertaken with the encouragement of John Fell, his predecessor in the field of New Testament criticism; it took thirty years to complete and was a great advance on previous scholarship. The text is that of Robertus Stephanus (1550), but the notes, besides including all previously existing collections of various readings, add a vast number derived from his own examination of many new manuscripts, and Oriental versions (the latter unfortunately he used only in the Latin translations). Though the amount of information given by Mill is small compared with that in modern editions, it is probable that no one, except perhaps Tischendorf, has added so much material for the work of textual criticism. He was the first to notice the value of the concurrence of the Latin evidence with the Codex Alexandrinus, the only representative of an ancient non- Western Greek text then sufficiently known; this hint was not lost on Bentley. Mill's work noted over 30,000 discrepancies between some 100 extant New Testament manuscripts. His work was attacked by Daniel Whitby and Anthony Collins. Whitby's *Examen* claimed that Mill had destroyed the validity of the text; Collins received a reply from Bentley (*Phileleutherus lipsiensis*). Bentley defended Mill noting essentially that Mill was not responsible for the differences between the various manuscripts, he only pointed them out. Bentley further noted that Christendom had indeed survived despite the errors, essentially asserting that Whitby's attacks were unfounded. (John Mill (theologian). Wikipedia. <[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mill_\(theologian\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Mill_(theologian))>)

Athanasius works translated into Armenian 4th Century

- Mesrop Mashtots (362–440 AD), also known as Mesrob the Vartabed, was an early medieval Armenian linguist, composer, theologian, statesman and hymnologist. He is best known for inventing the Armenian alphabet c. 405 AD, which was a fundamental step in strengthening Armenian national identity.[2] He was also the creator of the Caucasian Albanian and Georgian alphabets, according to a number of scholars.[3][4][5][6][7] Mesrop Mashtots was born in a noble family ("from the house of an azat" according to Anania Shirakatsi) in the settlement of Hatsekats in Taron[8] (identified as the village of Hac'ik in the Mush plain),[9] and died in Vagharshapat. He was the son of a man named Vardan.[10] Koryun, his pupil and biographer, tells us that Mashtots (in his work he does not mention the name Mesrop) received a good education, and was versed in the Greek and Persian languages.[8] On account of his piety and learning Mesrop was appointed secretary to King Khosrov IV. His duty was to write in Greek and Persian characters the decrees and edicts of the sovereign. Leaving the court for the service of God, he took holy orders, and withdrew to a monastery with a few chosen companions. There, says Koryun, he practiced great austerities, enduring hunger and thirst, cold and poverty. He lived on vegetables, wore a hair shirt, slept upon the ground, and often spent whole nights in prayer and the study of the Holy Scriptures. This life he continued for a few years. Mesrop, as noted, had spent some time in a monastery preparing for a missionary life. With the support of Prince Shampith, he preached the Gospel in the district of Goghtn near the river Araxes, converting many heretics and pagans. However, he experienced great difficulty in instructing the people, for the Armenians had no alphabet of their own, instead using Greek, Persian, and Syriac scripts, none of which was well suited for representing the many complex sounds of their native tongue. Again, the Holy Scriptures and the liturgy, being written in Syriac, were, to a large extent, unintelligible to the faithful. Hence the constant need of translators and interpreters to explain the Word of God to the people.

- Mesrop, desirous to remedy this state of things, resolved to invent a national alphabet, in which undertaking Isaac and King Vramshapuh promised to assist him. It is hard to determine exactly what part Mesrop had in the fixing of the new alphabet. According to his Armenian biographers, he consulted Daniel, a bishop of Mesopotamia, and Rufinus, a monk of Samosata, on the matter. With their help and that of Isaac and the king, he was able to give a definite form to the alphabet, which he probably adapted from the Greek. Others, like Lenormant, think it derived from the Avestan. Mesrop's alphabet consisted of thirty-six letters; two more (long O and F) were added in the twelfth century. Anxious that others should profit by his discovery, and encouraged by the patriarch and the king, Mesrop founded numerous schools in different parts of the country, in which the youth were taught the new alphabet. But his activity was not confined to Eastern Armenia. Provided with letters from Isaac he went to Constantinople and obtained from the Emperor Theodosius the Younger permission to preach and teach in his Armenian possessions. Having returned to Eastern Armenia to report on his missions to the patriarch, his first thought was to provide religious literature for his countrymen. Having gathered around him numerous disciples, he sent some to Edessa, Constantinople, Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and other centres of learning, to study the Greek language and bring back the masterpieces of Greek literature.

- The first monument of this Armenian literature is the version of the Holy Scriptures. Isaac, says Moses of Chorene, made a translation of the Bible from the Syriac text about 411. This work must have been considered imperfect, for soon afterwards John of Egheghiatz and Joseph of Baghin were sent to Edessa to translate the Scriptures. They journeyed as far as Constantinople, and brought back with them authentic copies of the Greek text. With the help of other copies obtained from Alexandria the Bible was translated again from the Greek according to the text of the Septuagint and Origen's Hexapla. This version, now in use in the Armenian Church, was completed about 434. The decrees of the first three councils — Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus — and the national liturgy (so far written in Syriac) were also translated into Armenian, the latter

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being revised on the liturgy of St. Basil, though retaining characteristics of its own. Many works of the Greek Fathers also passed into Armenian. The loss of the Greek originals has given some of these versions a special importance. Saint Mashtots is buried at a chapel in Oshakan, a historical village 8 km (5.0 miles) southwest from the town of Ashtarak. (Mesrop Mashtots. Wikipedia. <en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mesrop_Mashtots>)

- [Armenian Title of Work] Dialogue on the Council of Nicea against Arius, in the year 310 of the divine incarnation, in the days of the pious emperor Constantine and the blessed Pope Sylvester and of the episcopacy of Byzantium of Alexander. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 47)

- [Casey's Summation of Armenian Manuscript Corpus] In spite of some uncertainties the evidence before us suggests the following history of the Armenian version of Athanasius. At various times between the fifth and eighth centuries works of a dogmatic and edifying character attributed to Athanasius were rendered into Armenian. At various times between the fifth and eight centuries works of a dogmatic and edifying character attributed to Athanasius were rendered into Armenian. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 58)

- [Armenian manuscript - 5th century colophon for Athanasius works including "Disputatio" reads] End of the Seventeen works of St. Athanasius translated by our first translators [Mesrop (362-440 AD) and his school] from Greek into the Armenian language. (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 53)

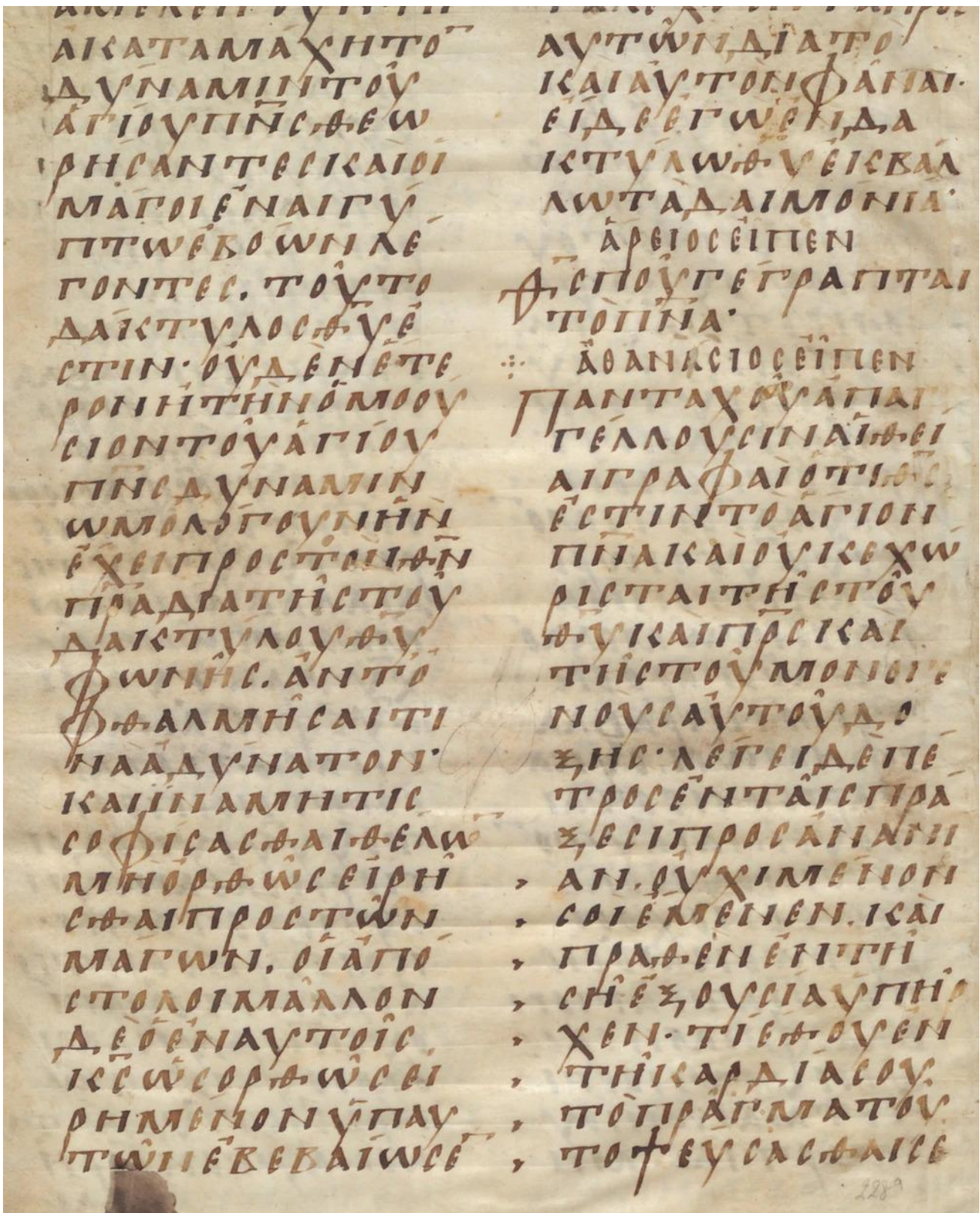
- [Armenian manuscript - 8th century colophon reads] End of the five treatises of St. Athanasius which were translated of late by Stephen bishop of Siunik. He completed what was ordered by thee, O sublime, thrice blessed doctor of like name and favor with the great son of a barren woman. (fn. 21: The person here referred to as the instigator of Stephen's translation is undoubtedly John Odznetzi, Armenian Catholicos, A.D. 717-728. It is possible that the translations were made as part of the preparations for the synod of Managkert, A.D. 726) (Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 51-53)

- [Stockhausen - Title Date 310 AD is correct given error and Alexandrian calendar] Even more interesting, however, is the title variant offered by the (late) Codex Laurentianus Riccardianus 4 (Q) and the Armenian translation: "Dialogue on the Council of Nicea against Arius, in the year 310 of the divine incarnation, in the days of the pious emperor Constantine and the blessed Pope Sylvester and of the episcopacy of Byzantium of Alexander." [Translation from Casey, Armenian Manuscripts of St. Athanasius, 1931, p. 47] (Greek: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάλεκτος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ πρὸς Ἄρειον ἐν ἔτη [sic!] τῆς Θείας σαρκώσεως τι ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλείας Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα Σιλβέστρου καὶ ἐπισκόπου Βυζαντίου Ἀλεξάνδρου) What is striking about this title is first of all the dating of the Synod of Nicaea in the year anno domini 310, since at first glance there seems to be an obvious mistake. It is to be assumed, however, that the year was not erroneously stated by the author of this title, but is only erroneously handed down, so that there is a corruption: It seems obvious to use τι to τιε as the text continues after the year with ἐν, so that only the letter ε would have failed. On the basis of this conjecture, there is a date to the year 315 anno domini, which according to the Alexandrian era of the world, which puts the incarnation in the year 9 AD, would lead to the proper chronology of the Synod of Nicaea. The consequence of the date of the Synod of Nicaea after the Alexandrian World-era is that at least this title, if not the entire disputatio against Arius, is likely to be located in Alexandria. (Stockhausen, *Die pseud-athanasianische Disputatio contra Arium*, 2010, p. 141-142)

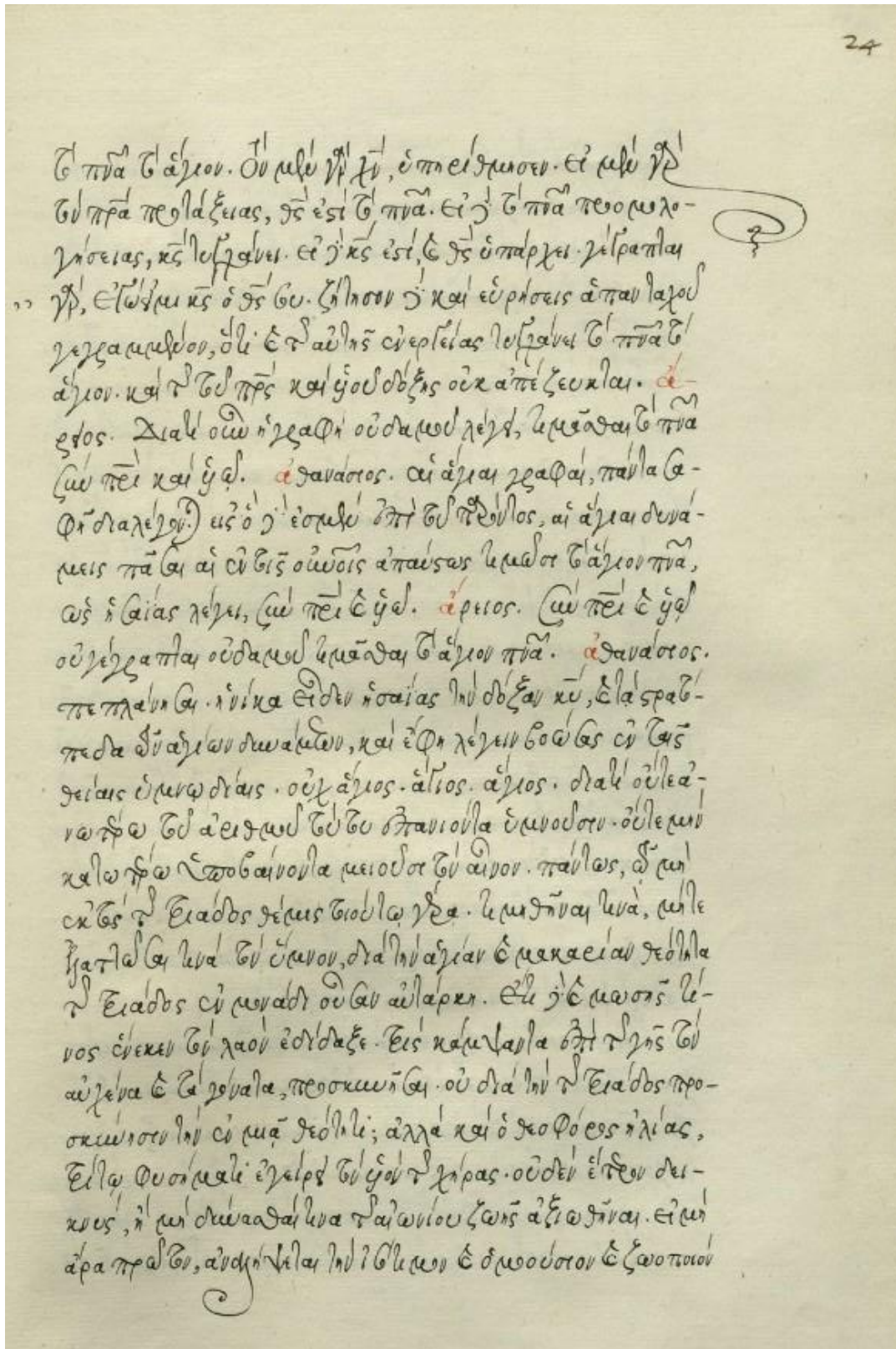
Appendix: Pneumatology in the 4th century

• [Williams] Throughout the *De trinitate* the Holy Spirit is rigorously and repeatedly defended as partaking in the fullness of deity.⁶ This emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in a relation of absolute equality with the other two divine persons represents a marked difference from most other Latin Trinitarians of the Neo-Nicene period. For in the work of Hilary of [PAGE 101] Poitiers, as in that of Phoebadius of Agen, Gregory of Elvira, and the *Commentarius in symbolum Nicaeanum*, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit receives only marginal attention. Simonetti has argued therefore that this treatment of the Holy Spirit in *De trinitate* demands a date after 380 since in the west 'only the *De Spiritu Sancto* of Ambrose, which is from 381, shows interest in this aspect of Trinitarian polemic'.¹¹⁷ Such issues of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son were articulated in the east much earlier, as Simonetti observes in Athanasius' letter to Serapion (dated f.370). Surely this letter is symptomatic of an interest already current though not articulated with the precision of later years. One can venture back almost a decade to the 'Epistola Catholica' and the *Tomus of Alexandria* (362) and find the early stages of an intentional language which was used apologetically to substantiate the equality of the Spirit with the Father and Son. In chapter 5 of the *Tomus*, the readers are asked to acknowledge that the Holy Spirit subsists along with the Father and the Son, making a 'Holy Trinity, one Godhead, and one beginning, and that the Son is co-essential with the Father, as the fathers said; while the Holy Spirit is not a creature, nor external, but proper to and inseparable from the essence of the Father and the Son'.⁸ If the writer of the *De trinitate* had had previous exposure to eastern Trinitarian theology of this type, which is certain in the case of Eusebius of Vercelli, there are equally good grounds for believing that *De trinitate* was written not as late as Simonetti claims, but perhaps shared the responsibility for introducing the terminology of a full Trinitarianism to the west. Even if we were to draw such hard and fast lines between the exchange of eastern and western theologies, we must amend Simonetti's assessment about the presence of a burgeoning doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the west. Already by 366, fierce debate had begun in the Illyrian provinces over the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son. This is seen in the minutes of the *Altercatio* between Germinius and Heraclianus, during which the first third of the dialogue concerns the full divinity of the Holy Spirit. Against Germinius' insistence that the Spirit is created, the Nicene layman Heraclianus argues that the Scriptures teach a divine Trinity.¹¹⁹ From this passage it does not naturally follow that the debates over the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit were already in full swing by 366. It does sufficiently demonstrate, along with the documents of 362, that the pro-Nicenes were being compelled to articulate a doctrine of the [PAGE 102] Spirit by the later 360s that answered their opponents' hierarchical form of Trinitarianism and which was consistent with their own arguments for the nature of the Father and Son. The *De trinitate* does not offer theologically sophisticated arguments for the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and Son. Indeed, the treatise assumes the full divinity of the Holy Spirit in the course of its argumentation just like the writer of the *Commentarius*. But here the writer is acutely aware that the doctrine continues to have its detractors and must be affirmed if one intends to be faithful to the full teaching of Nicaea. (Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Nicene-Arian Conflicts*, 1995, p. 100-102)

<books.google.com/books/about/Ambrose_of_Milan_and_the_End_of_the_Nice.html?id=XI4y2iZANMEC>.



Uncial codex from Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, containing four leaves with the Pseudo-Athanasian Disputation with Arius (St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, F. 906 (gr.) 050, Granstrom 75, eighth/ninth centuries) chapters present 35-37



Disputatio contra Arium : España San Lorenzo de El Escorial Real Biblioteca Mss. Ψ. II. 10th century (Andrés 445), f24r : Image 58

[illegible]

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Appendix: List of the 500 (1986, p. 163-166)

1. JOH. 5,7-8

163

■ 72 1. JOH. 5,7-8

οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες το
πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι
τρεις εις το εν εισιν

1/2 το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εις
το εν εισιν

01	02	03	018	020	025	048	049	056	0142
0296	1	2	3	5	6	18	35	36	38
42	43	57	69	81	82	88T	90	93	94
97	102	103	104	105	110	131	133	141	142
149	172	175	177	180	181	189	201	203	204
205	209	216	221T	226	234	250	254C	256	263
296	302	307	308	309	312	314	319	321	322
323	325	326	327	328	330	337	363	365	367
368	378	383	384	385	386	390	393	394	398
400	404	421	424	425	431	432	440	442	450
451	452	453	454	457	458	459	460	462	464
465	466	467	468	469	479	483	489	491	496
498	506	517	547	582	592	601	602	603	604
605	606	607	608	614	616	617	618	619	620
621	622	623	624	625	627	630	631	632	633
634	635	636*	637	638	639	641	642	643	656
664	665	676	680	699	720	743	757	794	796
801	808	824	832	876	901	910	912	913	914
915	917	919	920	921	922	927	928	935	941
945	959	986	996	1003	1022	1040	1058	1066	1069
1070	1072	1075	1094	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104
1105	1106	1107	1115	1127	1149	1161	1162	1175	1241
1242	1243	1244	1245	1247	1248	1249	1250	1251	1270
1292	1297	1311	1315	1319	1354	1360	1367	1384	1390
1398	1400	1404	1424	1482	1495	1501	1503	1505	1508
1509	1521	1523	1524	1548	1573	1594	1595	1597	1598
1599	1609	1610	1611	1617	1618	1619	1622	1626	1628
1636	1637	1642	1643	1649	1656	1661	1668	1673	1678
1704	1717	1719	1720	1721	1722	1723	1724	1725	1726
1728	1729	1730	1731	1732C	1733	1734C	1735	1736	1737
1738	1739	1740	1742	1744	1745	1746	1747	1748	1749
1750	1751	1752	1754	1757	1758	1761	1762	1763	1765
1767	1768	1769	1780	1827	1828	1829	1830	1835	1836
1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846
1847	1849	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858
1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1867	1868	1869	1870
1871	1872	1873	1874	1876	1877	1880	1882	1885	1888
1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1897	1899	1902	1903
2080	2085	2086	2125	2127	2130	2138	2143	2147	2186
2191	2194	2197	2200	2218	2221	2242	2243	2255	2261
2288	2289	2298	2344	2352	2356	2374	2378	2400	2404
2412	2423	2431	2466	2483	2484	2492	2494	2495	2501
2502	2516	2523	2527	2544	2554	2558	2587	2625	2626
2627	2652	2653	2674	2691	2696	2704	2712	2716	2718S
2723	2736	2774	2776	2777	2805				

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 446

1/2B το πνευμα το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εις το εν
εισιν

4	51	206	223	429T	522	628	1405	1456	1490
1741	1753	1831	1832	1889	1896	2131	2180	2279	2508

Grunewald, Winfried, and K. Junack. 1986. Das Neue Testament Auf Papyrus. 1, Die Katholischen Briefe. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter. page 163.

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164

1.30H. 5,7-8

2511 2675C 2705
ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 23

1/2C το πνευμα και το υδωρ και αιμα και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν

1646

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

1/2D το πνευμα το υδωρ το αιμα και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν

2675*

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

1/2E το πνευμα και υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν

2464

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

1/2F το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν

044

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

1/2G το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εις εν εισιν

218 1359 1563 1718 1875

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 5

1/2H το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις το εν εισιν

62 456 615 1448 1702 1727 1850

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 7

1/2I το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εν εισιν

254* 436 444 1067 1352 1409 2475 2541

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 8

1/2J το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εις το εν

76 1743 2746

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 3

Grunewald, Winfried, and K. Junack. 1986. Das Neue Testament Auf Papyrus. 1, Die Katholischen Briefe. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter. page 164.

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1.JOH. 5,7-8

165

1/2K το πνευμα και το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις εν τω εν εισιν

1732* 1881

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 2

1/2L το πνευμα το υδωρ και το αιμα και οι τρεις το εν εισιν

999 2401

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 2

3 απο του ουρανου πατηρ λογος και πνευμα αγιον και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν και τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες επι της γης το πνευμα το υδωρ και το αιμα

629

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

4 εν τω ουρ.πατ.λογ.κ.πν.αγ.κ.ουτοι οι τρ.εν εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη πν.υδ.κ.αιμα

61

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

5 εν τ.ουρ.πατ.λογ.κ.πν.αγ.κ.οι τρ.εν εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη τ.πν.κ.τ.υδ.κ.τ.αιμα κ.οι τρ.εις τ.εν εισιν

636C

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

6 εν τ.ουρ.πατ.λογ.κ.πν.αγ.κ.ουτ.οι τρ.εν εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη πν.κ.υδ.κ.αιμα κ.οι τρ.εις το εν εισιν

918

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

6B εν τ.ουρ.πατ.λογ.κ.πν.αγ.κ.ουτ.οι τρ.εν εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη τ.πν.τ.υδ.κ.τ.αιμα κ.οι τρ.εις τ.εν εισιν

429L

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

6C εν τ.ουρ.ο πατ.ο λογ.κ.τ.αγ.πν.κ.ουτ.οι τρ.εν εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη τ.πν.κ.τ.υδ.κ.τ.αιμα κ.οι τρ.εις τ.εν εισιν

221L 2318 2473

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 3

Grunewald, Winfried, and K. Junack. 1986. Das Neue Testament Auf Papyrus. 1, Die Katholischen Briefe. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter. page 165.

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1. JOH. 5,7-8

6D εν τ.ουρ.ο πατ.κ.ο λογ.κ.τ.αγ.πν.κ.ουτ.οι τρ.εν
εισ.κ.τρ.εισ.οι μαρτ.εν τη γη τ.πν.κ.τ.υδ.κ.τ.αιμα
κ.οι τρ.εις τ.εν εισιν

88L

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 1

V AUSLASSUNG, SIEHE TESTST. 71

1240 1886

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 2

X UNLESERLICH

33 1734*

ANZAHL DER ZEUGEN: 2

Z LUECKE

P9	P20	P23	P54	P72	P74	P78	P81	04	093
0116	0156	0173	0206	0209	0232	0245	0246	0247	0251
0285	122	197	356	567	610	612	626	640	644
712	911	997	1277	1526	1652	1759	1848	1859	1904
2201	2303	2310	2441	2718	2731	2741	2799		

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