

# THE WORKS OF GREGORY THE SINAÏTE\*

BY  
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## *B) The text*

Saint Gregory the Sinaïte's works have been published and re-published, translated and retranslated,<sup>140</sup> but no critical edition has ever been attempted. Yet such an edition is undoubtedly called for. Not only does our present text contain incorrect titles and doubtful readings; it is not even the full text.

It is not my intention to try to present a revised text based on the available manuscripts. What I am offering here, as in the previous section, consists of «preliminary notes» originally intended as «contributions» to a full critical edition, over which (as mentioned in my preface) I had begun to collaborate with Dr. H.-V. Beyer. Being an able scholar, endowed by his professional position with every facility for the collection and deciphering of the necessary microfilms, Dr Beyer

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\* *Continuation.* See *Theologia* Vols 52, 4 (p. 631-681) *St Gregory the Sinaïte: Discourse on the Transfiguration*; 53, 1 (p. 30-62), *St Gregory of Sinai's life story and spiritual profile*; and 53, 2 (p. 417-429), *The works of Gregory the Sinaïte, A) Structure and titles of the works, with summary outline of their contents.*

140. Readers approaching Gregory through the medium of English have had so far to make do with what is after all only an English translation of a free Russian version of an uncritical text, curtailed for purposes of edification. Theophan the Recluse, retired Bishop of Tambov and Vladimir, who brought out his Russian translation in 1877, took certain liberties with St Gregory's full Greek text. This started a faulty tradition which has reflected itself in the English version based on his Russian by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer, *Writings from the Philokalia* (London 1951), which, while giving the whole of *Κεφάλαια Α'*, 1-137, omits all of *Β'* and *Γ'* and the first *κεφαλαίον* of *Δ'* and reproduces certain cautionary remarks by Theophan. The same authors produced a further volume entitled *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London 1954) from which St. Gregory of Sinai is omitted altogether. Jean Guillaud's *Petite Philocalie de la Prière du Coeur* (Paris 1953) has the advantage of translating into French directly from the Greek original, but it too is far from complete where Gregory is concerned; it gives, for example, only seven extracts from *Κεφάλαια Α'*. Similar remarks apply to the *Kleine Philokalie* brought out by Matthias Dietz S. J. (Zürich 1976).

All these publications, however imperfect their coverage, have of course fulfilled a valuable function in stimulating Western interest in the mystical writers of the Orthodox East and providing earnest seekers with some practical initiation into the methods of prayer practised there. But it is time a more complete and critical textual basis was laid down.

will, I presume, have no difficulty in soon producing such a critical text himself, since a volume by him entitled *Leben und Werke Gregors von Sinai* has been announced as a coming contribution to the learned series *Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*.

A new and improved English version of the *Philokalia* is now in course of publication, based directly on the Greek original,<sup>141</sup> but it is having to trust to Notaras' and Nikodemus' text wherever nothing better exists for the time being. It is much to be hoped that before this new English *Philokalia* reaches St Gregory of Sinai in one of its future volumes, Dr Beyer will have provided the translators with a complete, correct and reliable Greek text based on the best manuscripts.<sup>142</sup> But in any case I trust that both the new editors and he will take into account what I have written in the previous section about the titles of Gregory's works and will include in their versions the proem of *Κεφάλαια Δ'* to Nippon the «vigil-keeper».

And I now also pass on to them and to Dr Beyer the following supplement to *Κεφάλαια Γ'*, 8, to which my attention has been drawn by its appearance in two Oxford codices.<sup>143</sup> As their text is clearly incomplete, I have collated it with one other manuscript in Paris, Cod. Coislin. 378,<sup>144</sup> which seems to represent the full text. Other mss. which

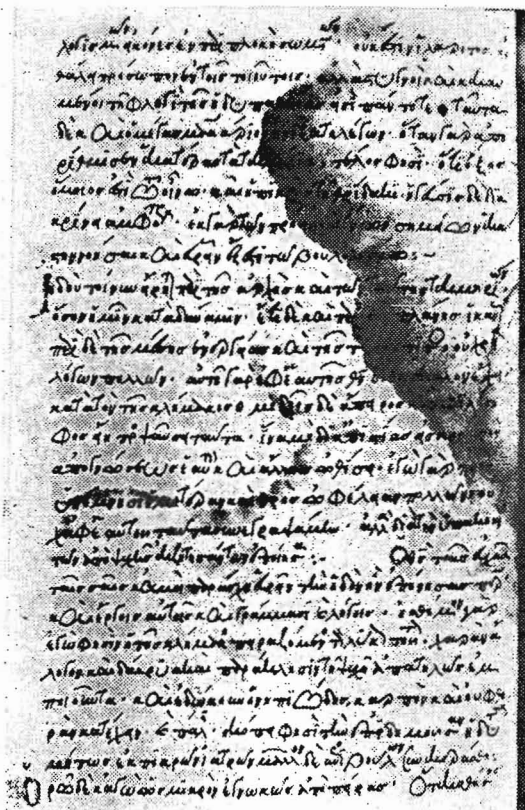
141. *The Philokalia. The complete text compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, translated from the Greek and edited by G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard and Kallistos Ware... Vol. I (London 1979), Vol. II (1981). What would be even better, of course, would be a critical Greek text, with apparatus and biblical and patristic references on one page, and a modern translation with explanatory notes on the other. But such editions are unfortunately very costly nowadays and the reading public for them is shrinking.

142. May I say, however, that I hope he will abstain from debasing this purely objective and technical task by adulterating its product with quotations from Karl Marx, John Locke, Kant and other philosophers and by injections of his own neo-Barlaamite views on the human psychological origin of the Divine Light, the «Messalianism» of Gregory the Sinaite, the unorthodoxy of Gregory Palamas, the «eternal memory» of Gregoras and Akindynos, and so on.

143. See their mention below; and also (in respect of watermarks and dating) note 120, above. But since H and B are mutually interdependent, they cannot together carry more weight than a single ms., where a choice between variants has to be made.

144. For the Coislin ms., which is also of the 14th-15th century, see R. Devreese, *Le Fonds Coislin (Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des Manuscrits grecs, Vol. II, Paris 1945)*. A photograph of one page of it is given here.

may be found to confirm this version are Vindob. theol. gr. 201<sup>145</sup> and Vatic. Ottobon. gr. 450 (15th cent.). It is definitely supported as a whole by Vatic. gr. 1746.<sup>146</sup>



Fol. 8v of Cod. Paris. Coislin 378 (Final paragraph of Κεφάλαιον Γ').

145. Cf. note 129, above. At the time of writing, Hunger and Kresten, in their revised and very detailed catalogue of the Vienna mss., have not, unfortunately, yet reached theol. gr. 201, so that one only has Von Nessel's, dated 1690, to go by. It mentions a series of 35 kephalaia!

146. P. Canart's excellent catalogue of the *Codices Vaticani Graeci* 1745-1962. (Vol I, Rome 1970) shows that in Cod. 1746 Κεφάλαια Δ' begins with the unedited proem and differs somewhat from the *Philokalia* in its x. 15, while Κεφάλαια Γ' appears to agree substantially with the whole of the additional text supplied by Coislin. 378. He points to the close resemblance to all the above of the text in Ottob. gr. 450; but the Ottobonianians have been too sketchily catalogued by Ferron and Battaglini (Rome 1898) to enable one to do much more than refer to Canart's witness.

Κεφάλαια Δ' (Εἰδησις Ἀκριβής), συνέχεια τοῦ κεφ. ι'  
κατὰ χειρόγραφά τινα.

Cod. Bodleian. Holkham gr. 31, 14-15ου αἰῶνος, φ. 407<sup>v</sup>-409<sup>v</sup> (=H)

Cod. Bodleian. Barocc. gr. 213, 14-15ου αἰῶνος, φ. 326<sup>v</sup>-327<sup>r</sup> (=B)

Cod. Parisin. Coislin. 378, 14-15ου αἰῶνος, φ. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup> (=P)

[ι'. Ἐνέργεια πλάνης ... ἀνάπτεται τὴν σύγκρασιν τῆς σαρκός, αἰτίαν λαμβάνουσα ... τὴν ψυχὴν ... πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκειν, ἵνα τῇ ἔξει φ. 7<sup>v</sup> ἡδοναθῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὴν χάριν κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκδιώξῃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ], καὶ (P) λεληθότως μοιχεύει, καίων καὶ φλογίζων αὐτοῦ τὰ μέλη τῇ ἡδοναθείᾳ·  
5 καὶ δοκεῖ θεῖαν εἶναι χάριν καὶ παράκλησιν, τὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν καὶ θερμαίνουσαν τὸν νοῦν ἀγνώστως, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτίας, μᾶλλον δὲ πλάνης καὶ ἡδοναθείας, φλογερὰν ἐνέργειαν. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος εἰδώς, ἠρώτησε ταῦτα καὶ φησι· συνεργὸν κέκτημαι ὡσπερ τὴν ἔξωθεν πύρωσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν τῆς φυσικῆς ἐπιθυμίας κίνησιν κοινωνόν, πρὸς τὴν  
10 οἰκειὰν ἐνέργειαν τῆς πλάνης ἐξάπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

(ια'.) Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι ἡ πλάνη ἢ καῦσις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸ φιλήδονον πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐμφιλοχωροῦν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν τῆς σαρκός διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν βρωμάτων. Πῦρ δὲ ὢν ὁ Κύριος, εὐδῆλον ὅτι ψυχρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατὰ φύσιν,  
15 ἀλλὰ κατὰ παρατροπήν, διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὴν θεῖαν θέρμην ἀπολέσας, φ. 8<sup>r</sup> τὴν ποι//οῦσαν πῦρ φλέγον τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτῆς· καὶ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτία ψυχρὰ οὕσα κατὰ στέρησιν θεῖαν. Ὁ δαίμων, κατὰ φύσιν πῦρ ὢν, ἐξάπτει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τῇ ὑγρότητι τῆς ἡδοναθείας ψύχει, τὰς ἐπιθυ-

1-3. Βλ. Φιλοκαλίαν (ἐν Ἀθήναις 1976) Δ', 70 (PG 150, 1312) 8-9 ἔξωθεν πύρωσις· πρβλ. Ἰωάννου Σιναΐτου, Κλίμαξ ΙΕ', πγ' (PG 88, 904A) 16 Ψαλ. 103 (104), 4· ὁ ποιῶν... τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον

5 δοκεῖ P δοκεῖ H 6 οὐκ P 7-10 Τοῦτο γὰρ ... τὸν ἄνθρωπον παραλ. P  
11 ια'. προσθήκη συντάκτου | πρὸ Δεῖ δὲ προστ. ἐπικεφαλίδα Περὶ τοῦ τί ἐστὶν πλάνη H Ἔτι περὶ πλάνης P | δὲ παραλ. P 13 ἐπιθυμητικὸν HBP 14 δαίμων P  
15 διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ὡς τὴν θεῖαν θερμασίαν HB 16 πύρως φλόγα τοὺς μετόχους αὐτῆς P 16-18 παραλ. καὶ ἡμῶν ... τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ P 18 μετὰ τῇ προστ. οὖν P

*Translation*<sup>147</sup>

*Kephalaia IV (Precise Notice), continuation of Ch. 10 in some manuscripts.*

[Ch. 10. *The influence of delusion ... stirs up the commingling tendency of the flesh, taking as its purpose... to attract the soul to itself, in order that the man, beset by feelings of sensuality, may gradually expel grace from himself;*] and it imperceptibly debauches him, burning and inflaming his limbs with voluptuousness; and this seems to him to be grace and consolation, acting on him and warming his mind in an unknowable way, and not the fiery influence of sin, or rather of delusion and lust. For St John of the Ladder, realising this, raised questions about it and he says: «I have acquired as helpmate the burning which comes from without»,<sup>148</sup> and thus too the man acquires as partner the movement of natural desire, (tending) to fasten him onto the specific influence of delusion.

11. Now it behoves us to know that delusion is the flaring up of sin, while the influence of sin is the spirit of sensuality, which tends to haunt the affectibility of the flesh because of the pleasures of food. And since the Lord is fire,<sup>149</sup> it is clear that the demon is cold: not cold by nature, but by perversion, having lost through sin that divine warmth which «maketh its ministers a flaming fire»; while our own sinning too is cold owing to deprivation of God. The demon then, though fire by nature, fastens onto the man and chills him with lascivious moistness, arousing

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147. For scriptural and patristic quotations calling for no particular comment, see references in footnotes to the Greek text.

148. This must be a reference to (though not indeed a literal quotation from) the passage in *keph. 83 of Klimax XV* — the lengthy Discourse on Chastity, — where John the Sinaite, after a long series of questions as to how human nature can possibly be overcome, hears nature's reply, which includes the sentence; «It is my boast that I have love in me as mother; and on the one hand I have my mother as cure of and overall relief from *the burning which comes from without*; but on the other, previous relief and acts performed give birth to opportunities for the flame from within to burn and evil thoughts to be set in motion».

The passage, which gives a somewhat distorted interpretation, may not be the work of Gregory, but only a scholiast's gloss. It is absent from the Coislin manuscript.

149. Note the nominative absolute instead of the genitive ὄντος τοῦ Κυρίου. A similar construction appears at the end of this same sentence (ἀμαρτία ψυχρὰ οὖσα). We have already noticed two other such instances in the Discourse on the Transfiguration (378-379 and 382-384).

μίας ἐνεργῶν καὶ εὐπαράδεκτον τὴν ἡδονὴν ποιῶν, κατὰ μίμησιν δῆθεν  
 20 ἥσπερ ἀπώλεσε, τὴν αἰσχροουργίαν ἀπόλαυσιν διηνεκῆ κεκτημένος.  
 Μάχη οὖν δύο τινῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐνεργείας γίνεται, τῆς πλάνης  
 καὶ τῆς χάριτος, διὰ τὸ θέλημα· οὐ κοινωνία δέ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν  
 βορβόρῳ λάμπων οὐ μίγνυται οὐδὲ βλάπτεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξηραίνει τὸν  
 25 βόρβορον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ χάρις ἀμιγῆς ἐστὶ ταύτης καὶ ἄχραντος, τήκει δὲ  
 ταύτην μάλιστα, ἀλλ' ἀφανίσει τελείως οὐ βούλεται διὰ τὸ εἶναι δοκί-  
 μιον τῆς ἡμῶν ἐπ' ἄμφω ῥοπῆς. Θέλει γὰρ μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν προαιρέ-  
 σεως κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκμειῶσαι ταύτην ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, ἵνα νομίμως ἐν  
 τῷ σταδίῳ τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἀγωνισάμενοι στε-  
 30 φανωθῶμεν, καὶ ὄμεν ἀληθινοὶ μάρτυρες, οὐχ Ἑλληνας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν  
 τὸν Σατανᾶν ἐκνικήσαντες. Τὰς μὲν προσβολὰς ὡς πυρκαϊὰς καθ' ὄραν  
 ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνάπτουσα, τὴν κάμινον δὲ τῆς σαρκὸς διὰ τῆς ἡδοναθείας ἐκ-  
 καίουσα, τοὺς ὑπουργοὺς δὲ δαίμονας διὰ τῶν λογισμῶν ἐτοιμάζουσα  
 κολάζειν καὶ βιάζειν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας εἰδωλον, ἡγῶν  
 τὴν προσβολήν, θῦσαι καὶ κάμψαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τὸν νοῦν, (ἡ πλάνη  
 35 ἐνεργεῖ). Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τεκμήρια αὐτῆς καθορῶνται ἐν τῷ ἐνεργεῖν·  
 ἡ σκληροκαρδία ἡ ἀκατάνυκτος, ἐν τισὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξ ὕλης δάκρυον, ἡ  
 ἐπαρσις, ὁ τύφος, ἡ γαστριμαργία, ἡ πολυλογία, ἡ ὀλιγωρία, τὸ φανη-  
 τιᾶν καὶ καυχᾶσθαι, ἡ ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀνώμαλος θέρμη· βάρος ψυχῆς,  
 φ. 8<sup>v</sup> χαύνωσις μελῶν, κάθυγρος ἡδύτης, κίνησις καὶ γαυρία σώματος, ||  
 40 λογισμῶν εἰκόνας ἐν περιπλοκῇ σωματίων. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἰλαρότης, οὐ θάλ-  
 λει πρόσωπον ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἀλλὰ στρυγνοὶ καὶ κεκαυμένοι τῇ φλο-  
 γὶ τῆς ἡδοναθείας εἰσὶ πάντοτε. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγας Μακάριος ἡνί-

21-25 πβλ. Ψευδο-Μακαρίου, 'Ὀμιλία Η', 2,5 καὶ ΜΑ', 1-2 (PG 34, 528-9,  
 532AB καὶ 768-9). 22-23 ἥλιος ἐν βορβόρῳ πβλ. Ψευδο-Μακαρίου, 'Ὀμιλία ΙΣΤ',  
 3 (PG 34, 616AB) 28 τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλόν· Β' Τιμ. 8', 7 - πβλ. Α' Τιμ. ζ', 12  
 38-39 ἀνώμαλος θέρμη, κάθυγρος ἡδύτης· πβλ. Κεφάλαια Δ', 1' (Φιλοκαλία Δ', 76·  
 PG 150, 1324C) 42 Ψευδο-Μακαρίου, 'Ὀμιλία Ζ', 3 (PG 34, 525B)· ἴδε καὶ Κε-  
 φάλαια Ε', τέλος (Φιλοκαλία Δ', 76· PG 150, 1345).

19 ποιεῖ H 20 διηνεκεῖ P 23. βορβόροις HB | οὐδέ· ἡ HB  
 24 οὕτως HB 25 βούλεται — (ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ 26 ῥοπῆς, 29 αὐτόν, 30 ἐκν-  
 κήσαντες, 39 καὶ γαυρία, 40 — κη σωματίων οὐκ ἔστιν) — δυσανάγνωστον  
 λόγῳ σκωληκώσεως B 26 θέλη P 27 καταμικρὸν HBP | ταύτ' HB  
 33 ἡγῶν· τουτέστι HB 34 θῦσαι HB | κοινωνῆσαι P 34-35 ἡ πλάνη ἐνεργεῖ·  
 προσθήκη συντάκτου | καθ' ὁρῶνται H 37-38 φανητιᾶν P 38 ἐργάζεσθαι· ἐνε-  
 ργεῖσθαι HB 39 χαύνωσις P 40 πυρὶ πλοκῆ H (B δὲ σκωληκώβρωτος)  
 40-41 θάλει P | ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις· λήγει κολοβὸν τὸ κείμενον HB.

his desires and making pleasure seductive, in imitation indeed of the pleasure he himself has lost, having obtained shamelessness as his constant enjoyment. So a fight for the will takes place between two things, delusion and grace. However, they do not mingle with one another. But just as the sun shining on mud is not mixed with it or harmed, but even dries up the mud, so too grace remains unmixed with delusion and undefiled, indeed it melts it away; yet it does not choose to destroy it entirely, since it is a means of testing our critical balance as between both. For it wishes, with the aid of our own deliberate choice, gradually to lessen the latter influence altogether in the course of the struggle, so that having «fought the good fight» according to the rules in the stadium of the mind, we may be crowned victors and be veritable martyrs, who have defeated not the Greeks but Satan himself. (Delusion acts) by kindling temptations<sup>150</sup> like fires within us at all hours, by stoking up the furnace of the flesh with lasciviousness, and by providing its servants the demons with thoughts with which to torment us and force us to sacrifice our mind to the idol of concupiscence (that is, to the temptaticn) and bend it and make it participate therein. And the following are the signs of delusion observable during its activity: impenitent hard-heartedness, yet capped in some with tears of material origin; elation, conceit, gluttony, talkativeness, heedlessness; ostentation and boasting; irregular warmth while (the influence is) in action;<sup>151</sup> heaviness of soul, slackness of limbs, over-wet sweetness, movement and prancing of the body, thought-images representing entanglement of bodies. There is no cheerfulness in such persons, no flourishing of the countenance,<sup>152</sup> but always they are sullen and consumed with the burning flame of sensuality. Now these are things which Makarios the Great also hinted at in what he

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150. Προσβολή (approach, attack), in ascetic literature, takes on the special meaning of «temptation».

151. Ἐν τῷ ἐργάζεσθαι (while at work) refers here not to the hesychast's manual labour, but to the action of delusion in his soul. The verb more commonly used by St Gregory is ἐνεργεῖν, and the whole subject of this group of kephalaia, as the title and sub-title rightly bring out, is how to recognise the different action (influence, «energy») of grace and of its counterfeit, delusion.

152. Here the two Oxford mss. break off, while the Paris one continues. St Gregory himself is praised in Kallistos' *Life* for his cheerfulness and the brightness of his face.

ξατο λέγων· όταν γὰρ ἀπηρίθμησεν ἑκατέρας τὰ τεκμήρια, τέλος φησί,  
 45 ὅτι ὄξος ὁμοίος ἐστι τῷ οἴνῳ καὶ ἡ πικρὸς τῇ θρίδακι, ἡ γεῦσις δὲ δια-  
 κρίνει ἀμφοτέρα· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν προειρημένων σημείων ἐκάστην νοῆσαι  
 καὶ εὑρεῖν ἔξεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ.

(ιβ'). Ἰδὸν τοίνυν εἴρηται περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης τεκ-  
 μηρίων, ὅσον ἡμῖν κατὰ δύναμιν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πλάνης ἱκανόν.  
 50 Περὶ δὲ τῆς μέσης ἐνεργείας καὶ τῆς τελειότητος οὐ χρεῖα λόγων πολλῶν,  
 «αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς Θεὸν διδάσκαλον ἔχει» κατὰ τὸν τῆς Κλίμακος.  
 Μηδεὶς δὲ ἀπειρος, κἂν φιλόσοφος εἴη, προσπαύσει ταῦτα, ἵνα μὴ δι'  
 ἀπιστίας εἰς κρημνὸν ἀπογνώσεως ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλους ὠθήσῃ. Ἐγὼ  
 γὰρ πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν ἡμετέραν καὶ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν πολλῶν, οὐκ ἀφ'  
 55 ἑαυτοῦ ταῦτα συνεγραψάμην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπακοὴν τῶν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς  
 ἐκζητησάντων ἐποίησα.

(ιγ'). Ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς σαῖς κἄμοι παράσχη εὑρεῖν τὴν  
 ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπόνησας, Πάτερ, καὶ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς καὶ γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις.  
 («Ἡσθόμην» γὰρ «ἐγώ» φησιν ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος «πειραζόμενος τὸν  
 60 λόγον τοῦτον, χαρὰν ἄλογον καὶ δάκρυα καὶ παράκλησιν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀπα-  
 τηλῶς ἐμποιοῦντα· καὶ ἐδόκουν ὁ νηπιώδης καρπὸν καὶ οὐ φθορὰν  
 κατέχειν»· καὶ πάλιν «σκόπει» φησὶ «τὴν ἐπιδημοῦσαν ἠδύτητα, μήπως  
 ἐκ πικρῶν ἰατρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπιβούλων, συνεκεράσθη».

50 Ἰωάννου Σιναΐτου, Κλίμαξ KH', ξγ'· πβλ. ξβ' (PG 88, 1140C)  
 56 εὐχαῖς ταῖς σαῖς· δηλαδή, τοῦ Λογγίνου (βλ. κεφ. α') 58-61 Ἰωάννου Σιναΐ-  
 του, Κλίμαξ IE', λθ' (PG 88, 888D) 61-62 τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Κλίμαξ KZ', μς' (PG 88,  
 1116C)

45 νοῆσαι P 47 ἀρχῆς P 48 ἱκανῶν P 49 τελειότητος P 50 αὐτῇ  
 P | Κλήμακος P 51 κἂν P 52 ὠθήσει P 53 ὑπόμνησι P / οὐχ P  
 58 Κλήμακος P 60 ἐδώκουν P



said; for having enumerated the signs of both, he finally declares that vinegar resembles wine and endive is like lettuce, but taste distinguishes both;<sup>153</sup> for whoever wishes to is able to perceive and identify each through the aforesaid signs.

12. So now we have dealt, to the best of our power, with the beginning and with the signs thereof,<sup>154</sup> and also we have said enough concerning delusion. But about the middle phase of (divine) action and about its perfection,<sup>155</sup> there is no need to say much, for «this by itself has God as its teacher» according to the author of the Ladder. Yet no one without experience, though he be a philosopher,<sup>156</sup> shall touch upon these matters, lest owing to disbelief he thrust himself over a precipice of despair. For as for me, I have written the above as a reminder to us and for the benefit of many, not on my own initiative; nay, I have only acted in obedience to those who asked for it from the heart.

13. May God, by thy prayers, grant that I too may find the path which thou hast toiled over, Father,<sup>157</sup> in very deed and in writing and speech. For John of the Ladder says: «I, being tempted, have experienced this wolf, deceitfully instilling irrational joy and tears and consolation in the soul; and childish as I was, I thought I was reaping fruit and not corruption». And again he says: «Scrutinise the sweetness that settles on thee, lest it turn out to have been concocted by bitter, or rather by treacherous physicians».

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153. The reference is to the third paragraph of the 7th Macarian Homily: «Endive looks like lettuce, but one is sweet and the other, for all its likeness, is bitter.» St Gregory has himself added the comparison between vinegar and wine. This same passage turns up again, almost word for word, but without reference to Μακάριος, right at the end of Κεφάλαια Ε'. The notion of discernment by taste is also mentioned in Κεφάλαια Δ', ι', where Gregory refers it to «Scripture», i.e. apparently to Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 36 (37), 23-24.

154. This sentence demonstrates the authenticity of the text, being a reference back to the initial chapters of this letter to Longinos, where Gregory complains that many who have set out on the path to enlightenment fail, through negligence, to make progress, ἀρκοῦμενοι μόνον εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν, ἦν εὖρον. He then goes on (κ. δ') to describe the τεκμήρια τῆς ἀρχῆς (the signs characteristic of the initial phase).

155. The middle phase (ἡ μεσότης τοῦ φωτισμοῦ) and the perfection (ἡ τελειότης) have also been mentioned in κ. δ', which then ends with the explanation that beginners receive the action of grace (ἡ ἐνέργεια), those half-way on receive the enlightenment (φωτισμὸς) and the perfect achieve purification and resurrection.

156. May this perhaps be an allusion to Varlaam of Calabria, the philosopher who started the hesychast controversy?

157. The Father is Longinos, to whom this whole treatise is addressed as a let-

The above text, of which one can hardly dispute the authenticity owing to the similarity of its doctrine and terminology to those of our author's known chapters, neatly rounds off the letter to St Gregory's disciple Longinos. It definitely supplies its ending, for it is immediately followed in the Coislin manuscript by quite other matter beginning with the 9th chapter of *Κεφάλαια Δ'*. 'Ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ ὡς μικρὸν ἐγνωκῶς (sic) ἀπὸ πείρας, ὅτε καθίσσης...

Ware had suggested<sup>158</sup> that «a systematic examination of the manuscripts may well reveal other works by Gregory of Sinai.» I do not think further works than what is published here are likely to come to light, but certainly the gaps in the text of those already known need filling in. The palaeographical labour required should not be very great, for Gregory's writings are not at all common in the surviving manuscripts. The following is an attempt to plan out the terrain to be covered. Though probably sufficient for all practical purposes, it does leave aside what appear to be only excerpts. Figuring in compilations (mostly late) drawn from a selection of ascetic writers — the so-called *ἐκλογαί*, — such extracts are usually brief and unsatisfactory for the establishment of a critical text. But there might possibly be one or two exceptions.

To begin with the Greek-speaking world, one looks in vain for any of this author's works in the catalogues of most of the best-known collections: the National Library, the Benaki and Byzantine Museums, the Philosophical and Theological Faculties of Athens University, the Greek Patriarchal Libraries of Constantinople and Alexandria, or those of Mt Patmos, Cyprus and Khalke.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, a close examination reveals nothing except a few manuscripts on Mt Athos<sup>160</sup> — generally covering

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ter (see its first sentence). As he is almost certainly identical with the Longinos mentioned in Ch. XIII of the *Life* as being one of Gregory's «disciples» (a pupil belonging to what Kallistos calls *ἡ τῶν ἑλλῶν μαθητῶν ἱερωτάτη σειρά*), this paragraph exemplifies the delicacy, respect and humility with which the Saint treated those who put themselves under his spiritual guidance.

158. Op. cit., p. 3.

159. It would be tedious to enumerate the titles of the many manuscript catalogues consulted *in vain*, covering some countries and libraries mentioned here. The reader can rest assured that no stone has been left unturned in a world-wide search for Gregory of Sinai's works. Bibliographical references will be given whenever a catalogue has yielded something positive for inclusion in the list below.

160. S p. Lampros' *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts ... on Mt Athos* (Cambridge 1895, 1900) is still valid and provides a more or less complete coverage in combination with Sophronios Efstathiades' *Catalogues* for Vatopedi

only Κεφάλαια Γ', Δ' and Ε' (the only complete collection of all five sets of chapters dates from 1734!) — and one each in Jerusalem,<sup>161</sup> Constantinople,<sup>162</sup> Mt Sinai<sup>163</sup> and the Meteora,<sup>164</sup> though owing to the great dispersion and incomplete and uncoordinated cataloguing of the manuscripts in minor collections which still prevails in Greece, something may easily escape notice.

If this is all that comes to light on Greek terrain, it can be no surprise to find that there is very little indeed in the rest of the world. In Italy, two early Vatican manuscripts including Κεφ. Γ', Δ' and Ε' exist,<sup>165</sup> but there is nothing at St Mark's in Venice, at the Laurentiana in Florence or the Ambrosiana in Milan, at the National Libraries of Turin and Naples or in any of the 70 odd lesser Italian libraries (a few of them in Rome) containing Greek manuscripts. In France, the Bibliothèque Nationale has two manuscripts covering only Γ' and Δ' but outside Paris, in provincial centres such as Strasbourg, there is nothing.<sup>166</sup> Similarly, in the British Isles there are four good manuscripts at the Bodleian in Oxford,<sup>167</sup> but they cover mainly Κεφ. Δ. and Ε'

(with Arkadios Vatopedinos, Cambridge, Mass. 1920), Lavra (with Spyridon Lavriotes, *ibid.* 1925) and Kausokalyvia (with Evloghios Kourila, Paris 1930). Several supplementary descriptions of mss. overlooked by Lampros, particularly at Iviron, Pantokrator, Dionysiou, Xeropotamou and Stavronikita have appeared since his day. I have not been able to consult them all, but my impression is that for the purposes of this study they can have little to add to the coverage provided as above.

161. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, Vol. I-III, V (Petrograd 1891-1915).

162. *Ibid.* Vols IV-V. (Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει).

163. V. Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum* (Oxford 1886). V. Beneshevich's *Catalogus codicum...* (Petrograd 1911, 1917) followed, but is incomplete and does not confirm data quoted here from Gardthausen.

164. N. A. Bees, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*. Only Vol. I, posthumously published by Athens Academy and covering Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως, has appeared.

165. See P. Canart, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1745-1962*, Vol. I (Rome 1970) and E. Feron et F. Battaglini, *Codices Mss. Graeci Ottoboniani* (Rome 1893).

166. See H. O. Mont, *Inventaire sommaire des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, t. I-IV (Paris 1886-1898), Ch. Astruc et M. - L. Concasty, *Le Supplément grec* (Paris 1960) and R. Devreese, *Le Fonds Coislin* (Paris 1945).

167. H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. Bibliothecae Bodlianae* (Oxford 1853, 21969); R. Barbour, *Summary description of the Greek mss. from the Library at Holkham Hall*, in *Bodleian Library Record* VI, 5 (August 1960) 591-613.

while there is nothing at all in the British Museum, at Cambridge, Dublin, Glasgow or elsewhere. Vienna provides one codex with  $\text{Κεφ. Γ'-E'}$  in it;<sup>168</sup> but there is nothing at Munich or elsewhere in Germany or Austria, nothing in the Netherlands or Belgium, Poland, Switzerland or Scandinavia, the U.S.A. or Canada. In Spain, Madrid and Salamanca contribute nothing, while the Escorial supplies just three kaphalaia of series A'.<sup>169</sup> In Russia, there is nothing at Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev or Odessa; but Moscow<sup>170</sup> does hold the 16th century copy of Kallistos' *Life* on which P o m i a l o v s k i i based his published text,<sup>171</sup> and possesses two other manuscripts of the same century, one of them covering A' and the other some further kephalaia. At Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia, Ankara and in the rest of the Balkans one draws a blank too. It is rather a meagre haul, especially where  $\text{Κεφάλαια A'}$  and B' are concerned.

One wishes it were possible to ascertain from what source M a k a r i o s N o t a r a s, former Bishop of Corinth, and his copyist derived the not quite complete text of Gregory's five works which he handed over to Nikodemos of Athos in about 1779-80 for inclusion in the first edition of the *Philokalia*. He is said by P a i s s y V e l i c h k o v s k y<sup>172</sup> to have worked mainly on texts belonging to Vatopedi, and T a c h i a o s has indicated Cod. 605 of that monastery's library as probable source of the bulk of his material.<sup>173</sup> But dating from the 13th century, it did not of course include Gregory of Sinai. There seems to be no manuscript on the Holy Mountain to-day, which could provide an answer to this question.

P. A. S y r k ū<sup>174</sup> has suggested that the Saint's works enjoyed

168. Daniel de Nessel, *Catalogus codicum mss. graecorum... Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesariae Vindoboniensis* (Vienna 1690). From 1950 onwards a much improved catalogue has been in course of publication by H. Hunger and O. Kresten, but it appears not to have yet reached Theol. gr. 201.

169. A. Revilla and G. de Andrés, *Catalogo de los Codicos Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de el Escorial* (Madrid 1936-1967).

170. The Moscow Patriarchal Library, later that of the Holy Synod, is now housed as a separate unit at the State Historical Museum of Moscow. Archimandrite Vladimir's *Catalogue* (in Russian, Moscow 1894) is still valid.

171. The only other copies I know of are on Mt Athos in Codd. Lavras 1553 (Δ 63) of the 18th century (a.d. 1752), ff. 1-9 and 14-116, Panteleim. 173 (5680) of the 16th, ff. 63r-124v, and Iviron 557 (4677) of the 18th, § 3.

172. A.-E. Tachiaos, *De la Philokalia au Dobrotoljubie: La création d'un «sbornik»*, in *Cyrrilomethodianum* V (1981) 208.

173. *Ibid.*, 210-211.

174. P. A. S y r k ū (Sircu) *K istorii ispravleniĭa knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke*,

greater popularity and diffusion in Slavonic translation than in their original Greek. If that were to prove true, the translated versions might possibly help to solve any textual problems left outstanding by the penury of the Greek sources. But to investigate this would require a long labour of love by a real specialist. Various stages in the development of «Slavonic» would have to be taken into account, beginning with its late mediaeval Bulgarian and Serbian forms and ending with Russian Church Slavonic «of the new period».

I end this section by giving, in tabulated form, the positive data collected. It is not claimed that the list is quite exhaustive, but it is unlikely that anything else will turn up which can materially alter the picture. Demotic Greek versions and mere excerpts from ἐκλογαὶ are ignored. The reader is reminded (see the first part of this section, p. 429) that the five sets of Gregory's Κεφάλαια are being designated here by the Greek capitals Α', Β', Γ', Δ', and Ε', followed by the numbers of the kephalaia themselves, in cases where the *Philokalia* prints such numbers. Where a set is only partially represented or there is some doubt, the asterisk corresponding to it is given in brackets. Where the full ending of Γ' (edited above on p. 705) or the proem to Δ' (see p. 422) are known to be included, an asterisk figures in the *columns headed, respectively, by the minuscules γ' and δ'*. Regarding Dionysiou 442, see note 136, above. The date given for Koutloum. 14 is putative only, but obviously L a m p r o s' description («12th cent.») cannot apply.

Description of Codex				Sets of Chapters						
<i>Number and item</i>		<i>century or date</i>	<i>sheets or pages</i>	<i>A'</i>	<i>B'</i>	<i>Γ'</i>	<i>γ'</i>	<i>δ'</i>	<i>Δ'</i>	<i>E'</i>
<b>MT. ATHOS</b>										
<i>Lavra</i>	687, § 3-5	17th	f. 65 <sup>r</sup> - 230 <sup>v</sup>	*	*	*	—	—	—	—
	1397, § 5-6	18th	f. 91 <sup>r</sup> - 103 <sup>v</sup>	—	(*)	—	—	—	—	*
	1412, § 8	15th	f. 110 <sup>r</sup> - 114 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	*	—	—	—	—
	1413, § 4	18th	f. ?	—	*	—	—	—	*	*
	1495, § 2-6	1734	II, f. 1 <sup>r</sup> - 117 <sup>r</sup>	*	*	*	—	—	*	*
	1528, § 27	16th	f. 165 <sup>r</sup> - 168 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
<i>Vatopedi</i>	484, § 20	16th	f. 169 <sup>r</sup> - 170 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
	617, § 2	18th	f. 8 <sup>r</sup> - 19 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
<i>Pantokrator</i>	98 (1132), § 5	18th	f. ?							(κεφάλαια)
<i>Kouiloumouision</i>	14 (3083), § 42	14th	p. 514 - 521	—	—	—	—	—	—	(*)
<i>Dionysiou</i>	163 (3697), § 32	17th	f. ?	—	—	*	—	—	—	—
	442 (3976), § 2	15th	f. 268 <sup>r</sup> - 279 <sup>v</sup>	(*)	(*)	—	—	—	—	*
<i>Iviron</i>	506 (4626), § 21, 23	15th	f. 204 <sup>v</sup> , 210 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	*	*	(*)
	557 (4677), § 4	18th	f. ?							(λόγοι)
<i>Panteleimon</i>	634 (6141), § 2	18th	f. 17 <sup>v</sup> - 41 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	(*)
	806 (6314), § 5	18th	p. ? - 726	—	*	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Kausokalyvia</i>	14	18th	f. 200 <sup>r</sup> - 211 <sup>r</sup>	—	*	*	—	—	*	*
	34, § 28	18th	f. 791 <sup>r</sup> - 801 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
<i>Jerusalem</i>										
	Patriarchate II, 378, § 4	18th	f. 117 <sup>r</sup> - 125 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
	Metochion (C/ple) 264, § 11	15th	f. 126 <sup>r</sup> - 135 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	*	—	*	*	*
	§ 16-17		f. 150 <sup>v</sup> - 155 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	*	*	—
	<i>Mt. Sinai</i> 465	14th	f. 1 -	—	—	—	—	*	(*)	—
	<i>Meteora</i> (Metamorph.) 197, § 34	14th	f. 213 <sup>v</sup> - 220 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	*	*	—
	<i>Moscow</i> (Synodal) 247, § 18	16th	f. 50 <sup>r</sup> - 110 <sup>r</sup>	*	—	—	—	—	—	—
	424	16th	f. 364 <sup>v</sup> - 377 <sup>v</sup>						*?	*?
	<i>Paris</i> , Supplément gr. 64	15/16th	f. 119-134	—	—	—	—	*	*	—
	Coislin 378, § 1	14th	f. 1 <sup>r</sup> - 10 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	*	*	*	*	—
	<i>Oxford</i> , Bodl. Holkham gr. 31	14/15th	f. 401 <sup>r</sup> - 408 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	(*)	(*)	*	(*)	—
	Bodl. Barocc. 59	15th	f. 205 <sup>r</sup> - 226 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
	Bodl. Barocc. 81	14/15th	f. 169 <sup>r</sup> - 191 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	—	—	*	*	—
	Bodl. Barocc. 213, § 4	14/15th	f. 320 <sup>r</sup> - 327 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	(*)	(*)	*	(*)	—
	<i>Vienna</i> Theol. gr. 201, § 37	15th?	f. 167 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	*?	*?	*	*	*?
	<i>Escorial</i> 581	14th	f. 253 <sup>r</sup> - 253 <sup>v</sup>	(*)	—	—	—	—	—	—
	<i>Rome</i> , Vatican. gr. 1746, § 10	15th	f. 201 - 211	—	—	*	*	*	*	*
	Vatican. Ottobon. 459	15th	f. 20 - 36	—	—	*	—	—	*	*

(To be continued)