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NICETAS DAVID

THE LIFE

OF

PATRIARCH IGNATIUS

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HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

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NICETAE DAVIDIS

VITA

IGNATII PATRIARCHAE

EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT  
ANDREW SMITHIES

ADNOTAVIT  
JOHN M. DUFFY

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS,  
EDIDIT JOHN M. DUFFY

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NICETAS DAVID  
THE LIFE OF PATRIARCH  
IGNATIUS

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

*by*

ANDREW SMITHIES

*with notes by*

JOHN M. DUFFY

DUMBARTON OAKS  
RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION

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the text and translation of this volume have been verified  
by John Duffy and Nigel Wilson.*

*In memoriam*  
*magistri eruditi et serenissimi*  
*L. G. Westerink*



# CONTENTS

Preface	ix
Introduction	xi
Abbreviations	xxxvi
Sigla	xxxvii
Text and Translation	2
Notes	134
Maps	160
Indexes	
Greek Proper Names	165
Greek Terms and Vocabulary	170
Index Fontium	185
General Index	188



## PREFACE

In 1987 Andrew Smithies submitted a critical edition of the text of the *Vita Ignatii*, along with an English translation, as a doctoral dissertation to the State University of New York at Buffalo, where his research was directed by the late L. G. Westerink. Subsequently Dr. Smithies, an Englishman by birth, took up residence in Australia, where he became a professional librarian in a field far removed from Byzantine studies. He has had a very successful career in libraries and until his recent retirement was in charge of the Australian Antarctic Division Library near Hobart on the island of Tasmania. In the intervening years his dissertation has been cited with some frequency, but has not been easily reachable for consultation. In view of the importance of the *Vita Ignatii* as a historical and cultural document and given the excellent quality of Dr. Smithies' edition and translation, there has long been a desire to see the work fully published in the *CFHB* series. In 2003, during a term spent at Dumbarton Oaks, I had the opportunity, kindly granted by the then Director of Byzantine Studies, Alice-Mary Talbot, to make the Smithies work the focus of a "reading group" for resident fellows and other scholars. The scholars participating were—in addition to Dr. Talbot—Denis Sullivan, Sofia Kotzabassi, Emmanuel Papoutsakis, Paul Stephenson, Aaron Johnson, and Conrad Leyser. The results of this productive exercise were a short list of minor improvements for text and translation and a longer list of additions to the apparatus of sources, the latter greatly facilitated by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, a resource not yet readily available in the 1980s.

In more recent times I was able to engage the services of a talented Harvard undergraduate, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, who did an expert job of converting the original typescript of Introduction,

Greek text, and apparatus to electronic documents. Dr. Smithies did the same for the translation. For my part, I have contributed the set of notes to the text, and the Greek indices.

It remains for us to thank Nigel Wilson for verifying the quality of the text and translation, and to acknowledge the expertise and skillful help of the Dumbarton Oaks Publications Department, in particular Joel Kalvesmaki, Lionel Yaceczko, Noah Mlotek, and Kathleen Sparkes.

—John M. Duffy

## INTRODUCTION

### AUTHOR AND WORK

The *Vita Ignatii* attributed to Nicetas David the Paphlagonian is closely linked with the so-called Anti-Photian Collection, the greater part of which was probably compiled in the last decade of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup> That collection is presented as additional material in some manuscripts of the Greek acts of the anti-Photian eighth synod of Constantinople (869–870), and in most cases it is accompanied by the *Vita Ignatii*.<sup>2</sup> That fact led Assemanus to conjecture that Nicetas was also responsible for compiling the Anti-Photian Collection and in this he is followed by Dvornik, who admits, however, that some material must have been added after 899, probably by another copyist.<sup>3</sup> This assumes that Nicetas died in the 890s, which is close to the older accepted date of ca. 890.<sup>4</sup>

Using internal evidence from the *Vita Ignatii* itself, however, Jenkins has shown that a much more likely time for its composition is the period following the tetragamy scandal of 906–907.<sup>5</sup> Jenkins argues that Nicetas found in the situation faced by Ignatius over Bardas's sexual laxity a close parallel with that of Leo VI's fourth marriage and he sees a reference to the latter in a passage of the *Vita Ignatii* (PG 105:505D–508D = 28.29–32.2 in this edition), which he believes to have been inspired by a letter of Arethas on the same subject written in 906.<sup>6</sup> He is less convincing, however, as Westerink has pointed out,<sup>7</sup> when he tries to equate this passage with the hostile tract (mentioned in the *Vita Euthymii*)<sup>8</sup> which Nicetas wrote against patriarch Euthymius and emperor Leo in 907. That tract must have been a separate and highly libellous pamphlet. Nevertheless, Jenkins's thesis seems essentially correct and

has the advantage of explaining Nicetas's motives in writing the *Vita Ignatii*: to castigate the conduct of patriarch Euthymius in the tetragamy scandal and to calumniate Photius, master of his own former master, Arethas, who had betrayed Nicetas with his change of mind on the same tetragamy issue.

Following the discovery of the hostile tract mentioned in the *Vita Euthymii* Nicetas was brought to trial and saved only by Euthymius himself, who interceded with the emperor on his behalf. Nicetas was then allowed to retire to (or was perhaps confined in) the Euthymian monastery of Agathou, where he remained for two years (908–910). It would seem, then, that the most likely date for Nicetas's composition of the *Vita Ignatii* would be between 910 and 920, the year in which all previous dissensions were closed by the reunion synod held in Constantinople, at which whatever had been written or said against Ignatius and Photius was declared forever anathema.<sup>9</sup>

Whether Nicetas alone was responsible for the content of the *Vita Ignatii* is not known. Karlin-Hayter thinks it unlikely that the narrative of events prior to 878 was the result of Nicetas's personal research and suggests that Nicetas simply reedited and added material to an already existing anti-Photian document.<sup>10</sup> In view of the fact that the *Vita Ignatii* is the only one of Nicetas's numerous panegyrics to contain anything of historical value,<sup>11</sup> this interpretation may well be correct. Whatever the case, it is quite natural that it should have been appended to the earlier body of material known as the Anti-Photian Collection.

Further biographical details on Nicetas the Paphlagonian are provided by Jenkins, who suggests that he was born not earlier than ca. 885 on the basis that "if Nicetas was still Arethas's pupil in 906, he is not unlikely to have been much over 20; but if he was already setting up as a teacher himself, he will not, however brilliant, have been less."<sup>12</sup> There is no indication of how long Nicetas lived, but Jenkins accepts Vogt's statement that he was still writing as late as 963.<sup>13</sup> Jenkins also reviews the many accretions which appear with Nicetas's name in various combinations in the different

manuscripts, which have resulted in some modern scholars distinguishing up to three different people.<sup>14</sup> He rightly dismisses the title “bishop of Dadybra” either as a misinterpretation of Δᾶδ (sc. David) or as confusion with an earlier Nicetas, bishop of Dadybra, who signed the acts of the Seventh Council in 787, and concludes that there is no need to assume any more than a single individual. Westerink adds information on two of these accretions, pointing out, in relation to the term *rhetor*, that in the addresses of Arethas’s letters Nicetas is called a *scholastikos*, which usually means a lawyer; and that the designation “Nicetas, also called David,” in which David is supposed to be the monastic name, is comparatively rare in the manuscripts, which may indicate that he took vows only later in life.<sup>15</sup> In connection with this latter point it is interesting to note that in the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Vita Ignatii* (Venice Marcianus gr. 167 = B) the work is attributed to “Nicetas, servant of Jesus Christ,” and the words “who is also David, the Paphlagonian” are added in the margin by another hand.

#### TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The verdict of the reunion synod of 920, which had declared everything written or said against Photius and Ignatius forever anathema, was still being felt more than five hundred years later, at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). At the opening of the fourth session at Ferrara, Cardinal Cesarini repeated an earlier request for the Greeks to lend him the book containing the Acts of the Eighth Synod (against Photius) and provoked a strongly worded response from Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus, who pointed out that the acts of that synod had been annulled and reiterated the declaration of anathema. It was only when the Cardinal quickly added that he wished to consult only the Acts of the Sixth and Seventh Synods (also contained in the book) that the metropolitan agreed to provide a copy for him.<sup>16</sup> Mark’s unionist opponent, Gregory Mammias, patriarch of Constantinople, also writes in his refutation of Mark’s profession of faith<sup>17</sup> that a book containing the same synod material was held by Μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου (ἐν τῇ

Πέτρος)<sup>18</sup> and, furthermore, that a book containing the *Vita Ignatii* was held by Μονὴ (τῆς Θεοτόκου) τῆς Περιβλέπτου.<sup>19</sup>

It was another figure who played a prominent role in the Council of Florence, Cardinal Bessarion, who was ultimately responsible for the transfer of the text of the Anti-Photian Collection from East to West. An enthusiastic scholar and patron of scholars, he determined after the fall of Constantinople to collect as much as he could of extant Greek literature and in 1468 he bequeathed over thirty cases of manuscripts to St. Mark's in Venice. Two of these manuscripts, numbers 193 and 194 in the inventory published by Omont,<sup>20</sup> correspond to Venice Marcianus gr. 167 (**B**) and Munich gr. 436 (= **C**), the two oldest surviving manuscripts which contain the *Vita Ignatii* and the Anti-Photian Collection.

After Bessarion's death the manuscripts given to Venice were poorly protected and part of the collection found its way into private libraries. Despite an apostolic brief which excommunicated all who unlawfully kept volumes in their possession, the manuscripts were only partly restored.<sup>21</sup> One of the casualties was Munich gr. 436 (**C**), which is already noted as missing from the library in the catalogue compiled in 1545.<sup>22</sup> It does, however, appear to have remained in Venice, where it was used as a source for at least two other copies and eventually came into the possession of Manuel Glynzounios, a copyist and seller of books and manuscripts who was active in Venice from about 1570 until his death in 1596.<sup>23</sup> Although Glynzounios bequeathed all his manuscripts to the king of Spain, there is no trace of them going to Madrid or the Escorial, and Sicherl makes a strong case for believing that the fifty or so Greek codices put up for sale in Venice in 1602 and bought for the Augsburg library by Marcus Welser were in fact the manuscripts of Glynzounios.<sup>24</sup> They subsequently passed from Augsburg to Munich in 1806.<sup>25</sup>

The rediscovery of the *Vita Ignatii* and the Anti-Photian Collection in the West is closely associated with the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and no fewer than seven of the extant manuscripts were copied around this time (**EFGHJMP**). A key figure in that

activity was Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,<sup>26</sup> Charles V's ambassador to Venice from the year 1538 or earlier and one of the Spanish emperor's representatives at the opening of the Council of Trent. A learned scholar and patron of the arts, he built up a magnificent library during his stay in Venice, employing scribes whom he sometimes sent to other parts of Italy or even outside the country in order to acquire or copy manuscripts. Escorial gr. X-I-5 (= **E**) was copied for Mendoza from the Venice codex (**B**) by Andronic Nuccius, probably in 1545, and corresponds to numbers 151, 152, and 153 of Mendoza's library.<sup>27</sup> It was in summer 1545 that his library was transferred from Venice to Trent and was thus made generally available to those attending the Council.<sup>28</sup>

From 1538 to 1546, the most active period in the creation of Mendoza's library, his librarian was Arnold Arlenius,<sup>29</sup> a copyist and editor skilled in both Latin and Greek, and he was constantly rendering services to travelers such as copying or acquiring books and manuscripts. He may well have been instrumental in acquiring a copy of the Venice codex (**B**) for the well-known Basle printer Henricus Petri, to whom Basle gr. O.II.25 (= **F**) is known to have belonged. This codex is made up of two manuscripts, the first of which contains the same material as the Venice codex, and it is at the head of the second manuscript that a later note makes the attribution to Arlenius.<sup>30</sup>

Of the remaining manuscripts of this group, Madrid gr. O.29 (= **G**) was copied in Venice in 1557 by Cornelius of Nauplion (from the colophon). The latter is known to have copied at least fourteen other codices in Venice between 1551 and 1565,<sup>31</sup> a number of them for Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla, the great literary patron and collector of manuscripts, who later became Cardinal of Coria, then of Burgos. The manuscript under discussion does not seem to have belonged to the Burgos collection, but strangely enough it did closely follow the movements of the Cardinal's library after his death.<sup>32</sup> Amsterdam University 68 (= **H**) belonged to Cardinal Granvelle, another of Charles V's representatives at the Council of Trent. Ottobonianus gr. 27 (= **J**) and Vatican gr. 1452 (= **P**) both

belonged to Cardinal Sirleto, who was scriptor and (from 1554) custodian of the Vatican library and provided patristic texts from the manuscripts of the Vatican for the Council of Trent.<sup>33</sup> After Sirleto's death his manuscripts were sold to Cardinal Colonna in 1588<sup>34</sup> and it was in Colonna's library that Cardinal Baronius discovered the manuscripts of the *Vita Ignatii* (**P**) and the Anti-Photian Collection (**J**), of which he made extensive use in his *Annales ecclesiastici*, written between 1588 and 1601.<sup>35</sup> After Colonna's death the library was eventually sold to the Duc d'Altemps in 1611, but in the following year Paul V bought back thirty-six of Sirleto's Greek manuscripts for the Vatican. Altemps had copies of these manuscripts made for himself in 1619–20 and Ottobonianus gr. 138 (= **Q**) is the Altempsonian copy of Vatican gr. 1452 (**P**). Finally, the other manuscript belonging to this group, Munich gr. 27 (= **M**), provided the exemplar from which **P** was copied.

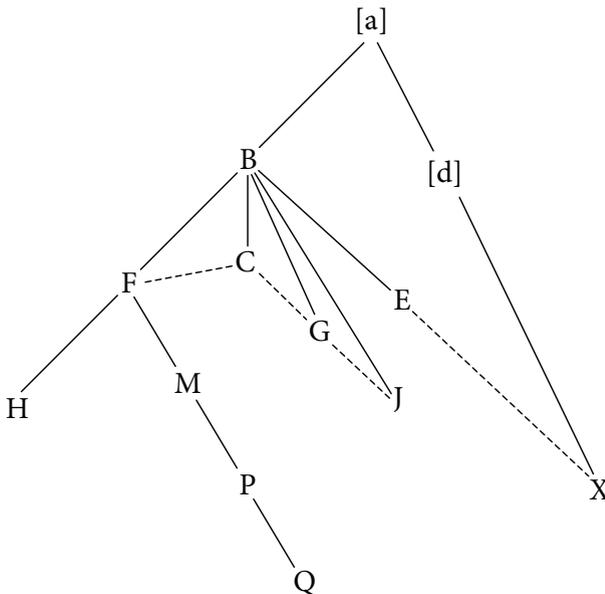
All the manuscripts so far mentioned derive directly or indirectly from Venice Marcianus gr. 167 (**B**). However, one seventeenth-century manuscript, Metochion Panagiou Taphou 361 (= **X**), seems to represent a branch of the text independent from **B**. Interestingly enough, this version of the text of the *Vita Ignatii* also appears to be represented by one of the manuscripts used by M. Raderus,<sup>36</sup> who produced the first printed edition of the Anti-Photian Collection (including the *Vita Ignatii*) in 1604.

Two other sixteenth-century manuscripts survive which contain the text of the Anti-Photian Collection (incomplete at the end) but do not include the *Vita Ignatii*. Both manuscripts belonged to the great humanist and scholar Antonio Agustin, another figure who played a prominent part at the Council of Trent.<sup>37</sup> Vatican gr. 1183 was copied by Manuel Glynzounios<sup>38</sup> (perhaps using as his exemplar Munich gr. 436 = **C**)<sup>39</sup> and was then offered for sale to Agustin in an extant letter dated 6 April 1581.<sup>40</sup> Escorial gr. X-II-8 (= de Andrés no. 368)<sup>41</sup> contains exactly the same material as Vatican gr. 1183, was numbered next to it in Agustin's library and may well prove to be a copy of it. In 1587, the year following Agustin's death, his library was acquired by the Escorial, except for certain

items (including Vatican gr. 1183) which were appropriated by the Vatican.<sup>42</sup>

#### INDIVIDUAL MANUSCRIPTS

All surviving manuscripts of the *Vita Ignatii* except for Metochion Panagiou Taphou 361 (**X**) derive from Venice Marcianus gr. 167 (**B**), and the paramount importance of this manuscript was long ago recognized by K. Schweinburg.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately, the copyists of Basle O.II.25 (**F**), Madrid O.29 (**G**) and Ottobonianus gr. 27 (**J**) appear to have complicated the picture somewhat by consulting a second exemplar in addition to **B**. The evidence suggests that **F** and **G** both made extensive use of Munich gr. 436 (**C**), while **J** seems to have closely followed **G** for some sections. Another branch of the tradition is represented by Metochion Panagiou Taphou 361 (**X**) and by the unknown manuscript used by Raderus for his edition (= [**d**]). Again the situation appears to be somewhat complicated, as **X** also has clear links with Escorial gr. X-I-5 (**E**). The overall relationship of the surviving manuscripts is illustrated by the following stemma:



**B** Venice Marcianus gr. 167, 14th century, folios 174.<sup>44</sup> The manuscript once belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, as a note of possession written in Greek and Latin indicates (folio 1<sup>v</sup>), and it can be identified as no. 193 in the inventory of Bessarion's manuscripts (see n. 20). Damage suffered from water and insects has made the codex difficult to read in places, but most of the doubtful readings can be verified by agreement among the derivative manuscripts and are consequently not mentioned in the apparatus criticus. Mioni identifies two scribes, the first writing folios 1–36, the second folios 117–73. Another hand has made a marginal addition at folio 1<sup>r</sup> and a comment at folio 23<sup>r</sup>.<sup>45</sup> The codex contains the following material:

- I. Acta Concilii Constantinopolitani IV vel Oecumenici VIII (869–870) et additamenta cum illis connexa.
  1. Nicetas David Paphlago, *Vita Ignatii patr. CP.* (ff. 1–36).
  2. Michael Syncellus, *Laudationis Ignatii patr. CP. fragmentum* (ff. 37–39).
  3. *Libellus de causa Ignatii*, missus ad Nicolaum papam Romae a Theognosto monacho (ff. 39–43v).
  4. Nicolaus I, episcopus Romae, *Epistolae duae* (ff. 43<sup>v</sup>–46).
  5. Epiphanius archiep. Cipri, *Epistola ad Ignatium patr. CP.* (f. 47<sup>r-v</sup>).
  6. Acta Concilii (ff. 47<sup>v</sup>–116).
- II. *Acta synodi Photii Constantinopoli habitae* pro unione ecclesiarum ann. 879–880 (ff. 117–163).
- III. Photius patr. CP., *Excerptum ex encyclica epistola ad archiepiscopales thronos Orientis* (ff. 163<sup>v</sup>–164<sup>v</sup>); *De Spiritus Sancti mystagogia* (ff. 164<sup>v</sup>–173<sup>v</sup>).

The last item is imperfect and breaks off in mid-sentence with the words καὶ φθοροποιῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολαύνουσιν εἰ . . . (= PG 102.345B11).

A detailed examination of the text of the *Vita Ignatii* in manuscripts **CEFGJ** shows that their copyists all used **B** as exemplar. The mistakes and omissions in **B**, as compared with Raderus's edition (= **v**, for vulgata), are usually taken over by the rest, as these sample readings illustrate:

14.11	ἐξέτρεφε v: ἐξέστρεφε <b>BEFGJ</b> (C deficit)
30.28	ἀθεσμίαις v: ἀθεσίαις <b>BEFGJ</b> (C deficit)
40.3	καὶ πᾶσαν βάσανον v: om. <b>BEFGJ</b> (C deficit)
68.30	φυγαὶ v: φημί <b>BEFGJ</b> (om. C)
74.9	ἴν' v: om. <b>BCEFGJ</b>
82.3	ἦν v: om. <b>BCEFGJ</b>
84.9	κατέστεψε v: καταστέψας <b>BCEFGJ</b>
86.9	δείλαιος v: δίκαιος <b>BEFGJ</b>
96.11	σπουδῆς v: παντὸς <b>BEFGJ</b>
106.1	ὁ ὁμολογητῆς v: om. <b>BEFGJ</b>
124.21	τὴν αὐτοῦ κοινωνίαν v: τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας <b>BEFGJ</b>

**C** Munich gr. 436, 14th century, folios 104.<sup>46</sup> The manuscript once belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, as a note of possession in Latin and Greek indicates (folio 1<sup>r</sup>), and it can be identified as no. 194 in the inventory of Bessarion's manuscripts (see n. 20). The codex contains the same material as **B** but is damaged at the end and breaks off in actio VI of the Photian synod (= **B** item II). A long section is also missing from the text of the *Vita Ignatii* (8.6 τέκνων . . . 56.6 σπηλαίοις καὶ), which otherwise follows **B** very closely. In several places the copyist has corrected the exemplar, e.g.,

62.29	παρὰ <b>B</b> : περὶ <b>C</b>
72.29	πρὸς <b>B</b> : πρὸ <b>C</b>
76.22	ἀλόγως <b>B</b> : ἄλογος <b>C</b>
114.20	περίεστι <b>B</b> : περιέστη <b>C</b>
116.15	προσφευγόντων <b>B</b> : προσφευγόντων <b>C</b>

There are a number of small omissions (e.g., τε at 4.9; φημί καὶ at 68.30–31; ἐν at 70.16; ἀλλ' at 74.6; πᾶν at 94.17; θεὸν at 102.12) and a longer one at 114.3–4 (αἱ θαυματουργαὶ τοῦ ἱεράρχου προσπελάζουσιν) caused by the copyist's eye wandering from the immediately preceding word πελάζουσιν to the later προσπελάζουσιν. Sample mistakes and misinterpretations:

56.26	ταύτας <b>B</b> : πάντας <b>C</b>
58.14	χριστὸς <b>B</b> : κύριος <b>C</b>

68.6	ποθοῦντες <b>B</b> : ποθοῦντες <b>C</b>
76.30	κεχειροτόνητο <b>B</b> : κεχειροτόνητε <b>C</b>
80.1	ιδιόχ(ει)ρα <b>B</b> : ιδιότερα <b>C</b>
92.7	ἀπροσπαθῶς <b>B</b> : ἀπροπαθῶς <b>C</b>
94.13	ἀνίστασθαι <b>B</b> : ἐνίστασθαι <b>C</b>
106.13	ἐπύθετο <b>B</b> : ἐπίθετον <b>C</b>

**E** Escorial gr. X-I-5 (de Andrés no. 347), 16th century, folios 245.<sup>47</sup> The manuscript was copied by Andronic Nuccius for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who is recorded in a surviving part of the Marciana loan register as having borrowed the Venice codex (**B**) on 29 March 1545, and as having returned it on 26 September of the same year.<sup>48</sup> Nuccius is known to have copied at least four other codices in Venice for Mendoza between 1541 and 1543 and it seems highly likely that his copy of the Venice codex was made in 1545.<sup>49</sup> The manuscript contains the same material as **B**, breaking off in mid-sentence at the same point, but the whole is preceded by Hierocles' commentary on the Pythagorean *Carmen aureum* (ff. 1–47). De Andrés mentions two watermarks, which he compares with Briquet no. 761 (Udine 1533; var. ident. Laibach 1534) and no. 493 (Udine 1524–30; var. simil. Arnoldstein 1529). The copyist follows **B**'s text of the *Vita Ignatii* very closely but has also corrected the exemplar in many places, e.g.,

20.11	τέρας <b>B</b> : κέρας <b>E</b>
52.12	πλεῖα <b>B</b> : πλείω <b>E</b>
60.28	τού<τω> <b>B</b> : τούτω <b>E</b>
62.29	παρὰ <b>B</b> : περὶ <b>E</b>
66.12	νότον <b>B</b> : νῶτον <b>E</b>
72.29	πρὸς <b>B</b> : πρὸ <b>E</b>
102.13	παράφυσιν <b>B</b> : παρά φύσιν <b>E</b>
118.22	τί γὰρ εἶ <b>B</b> : τί γὰρ ἦ <b>E</b>

There are a number of small omissions (e.g., καὶ at 6.2; φασὶ at 6.26; καὶ at 10.22; δὲ at 22.15; οὗς at 24.16; τὴν πονηρὰν at 24.27; etc.) and two longer ones at 52.5–6 (καὶ τήξεως . . . σταυροῦντες αὐτὸν) and at 126.28–29 (κατεδεῖτο . . . ἡσφαλίζετο), which were apparently caused by the copyist's eye wandering down to another occurrence

of the same word (in the first case) or word ending (in the second case) in the line below. Sample mistakes and misinterpretations:

- 10.2 ἐπανηρημένος **B**: ἀνηρημένος **E**  
 16.21 ἀντείχοντο **B**: ἀντείχοντες **E**  
 22.6 πνεύματος **B**: πεύματος **E**  
 26.22 μετεωριζόμενον **B**: –ομένη **E**  
 30.5 καὶ τῷ **B**: καὶ τὸ **E**  
 74.3 θαμβούμενος **B**: θορυβούμενος **E**  
 122.24 λόγον **B**: λόγου **E**  
 124.24 ἀναθεματισμένω **B**: ἀναθεματισμένω **E**

F Basle gr. O.II.25 (Bibliothèque de l'Université 28), 16th century, folios 172 and 130.<sup>50</sup> The codex comprises two manuscripts, the first containing the same material as **B** and breaking off at the same point, the second containing Hermias's commentaries on Plato's *Phaedrus*. It once belonged to the well-known Basle printer Henricus Petri, as a note at the head of the first manuscript indicates: "Hic liber est D. Henricopetri quem ab eo Car. Utenhovius commodato accepit." Nothing is known about Car(olus?) Utenhovius, but the loan of the codex to him may have had something to do with one of the copies made from it (see **H** and **M** below). At the beginning of the second manuscript is a note by R. Faesch dated 1632: "Huncce codicem a. circiter 1530, una cum aliis comment. graecis in Platonem accepit Henricus Petri typographus celebris Basiliensis ab Arnoldo Paraxylo Arlenio, qui in contubernio vixit Don Diego Hurtadi a Mendoza, Caroli V. imp. ad Venetos legati." Faesch's source was apparently Marcus Hopperus in the dedicatory letter to his edited works of Plato in Greek printed by Henricus Petri in 1556, but the approximate date 1530 can hardly be right, as Arlenius was Mendoza's librarian from 1538 to 1546.<sup>51</sup> The attribution to Arlenius may well be correct, but it is not clear whether the first manuscript as well as the second is covered by the statement. The codex has a watermark which closely resembles Briquet no. 3086 (Laibach 1543).<sup>52</sup>

For his text of the *Vita Ignatii* the copyist appears to have consulted **B** and **C** simultaneously, since the peculiarities of each are

exhibited throughout. **F** repeats **B**'s marginal addition at 2.4–5, takes over the mistakes of **B** at 62.29 (παρὰ) and 72.29 (πρὸς), and follows **B** in all places mentioned above where words have been omitted in **C**. On the other hand, **F** frequently takes over the idiosyncrasies of **C**, e.g.,

- 56.10 θήρας **B**: θύρας, et η supra υ, **CF**  
 58.14 χριστὸς **B**: κύριος **CF**  
 80.1 ιδιόχ(ει)ρα **B**: ιδιότερα **CF**  
 82.27 φραγγίας **B**: σφραγγίας **C** σφαγίας **F**  
 88.4–5 πάντες λιβέλλους μετανοίας **B**: πάντες [space] μετανοίας **C** πάντες [space] καὶ μετ. **F**  
 92.7 ἀπροσπαθῶς **B**: ἀπροπαθῶς **CF**  
 94.13 ἀνίστασθαι **B**: ἐνίστασθαι **CF**  
 118.25 παιδίων **B**: παίδων **CF**

Finally, **F** also exhibits some mistakes and misinterpretations of its own, which are generally also found in the derivative manuscripts **HMP**, e.g.,

- 6.10 εἰρήνην **BC**: εἰρημένην **FHMP**  
 8.1 παντέφορον **BC**: παντάφορον **FHMP**  
 56.24 ἐξωνεῖτο **BC**: ἐξανεῖτο **FHMP**  
 60.8 ἐκείνας **BC**: ἐκεῖνον **FHMP**  
 66.6 μετατεθεῖς **BC**: μετατιθεῖς **FHMP**  
 72.12 σολέας **B**: [space]λέας **C** πολέας **FHM**, **P** a. corr.  
 80.17 ἐνεγέγραπτο **BC**: ἐνεδέγναπισι **FHMP**  
 116.8 νεφρικῶ **B**: νεφριτικῶ **C** νεφ[space]κᾶν **FHMP**

At the end of the *Vita Ignatii* manuscripts **FMP** add the phrase: τέλος τῆς πρώτης ὁμιλίας.

**G** Madrid gr. O.29, 16th century, folios 300.<sup>53</sup> The manuscript was copied by Cornelius of Nauplion in Venice in 1557, as the colophon indicates, and it contains the same material as **B**, breaking off at the same point. As with **F**, the copyist appears to have consulted **B** and **C** simultaneously for his text of the *Vita Ignatii*. In addition to taking over the mistakes of **B** mentioned above (under **B**), **G** also follows **B** in many of the places where words have been omitted in

**C** (e.g., τε at 4.9; φημί καί at 68.30–31; ἐν at 70.16; ἀλλ' at 74.6; πᾶν at 94.17), and the idiosyncrasies at 70.19 (ἐγγγάγγραις) and at 114.8 (συμβαλλεῖν) appear in **BG** alone. On the other hand, a number of **C**'s idiosyncrasies appear only in **CG**, e.g.,

- 70.1        σαυτὸν **B**: αὐτὸν **CG**  
 76.30      κεχειροτόνητο **B**: κεχειροτόνητε **CG**  
 88.21      ἀπολογία **B**: ἀπολογία **CG**  
 94.11      πεσὸν **B**: πεσὼν **C**, a. corr. **G**  
 102.12     θεὸν **B**: om. **CG**

Furthermore, in the long section missing from **C** (8.6–56.6), **G** often follows the **F** group against **B**, which suggests that at the time of copying the section was present in **C**, e.g.,

- 8.9        καταπιέζων **B**: καὶ ἀπιέζων **FGHMP**  
 12.15      φιλοπ(ό)νως **B**: φιλόπυρος **FGHMP**  
 18.10      καταγχομένων **B**: καταχομένων **FGHMP**  
 24.6       προῆγε **B**: προῆδε **FG**  
 26.12      ὑπεποιεῖτο **B**: ἐπεποιεῖτο **FGHMP**

There are a number of small omissions in **G** (e.g., ὦν at 6.23, καὶ καταπαυθεῖσαν at 8.17, etc.) and a longer one from 40.15 (αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup>) to 42.33 (μυτιλήνη). The copyist has also introduced a whole host of his own mistakes (samples under **J**, below).

**H** Amsterdam University 68, 16th century, folios 319.<sup>54</sup> The codex has the distinctive Turkish leather binding of Cardinal Granvelle and includes an ex-libris of Nicolaus Joseph Foucault (d. 1721). It contains the same material as **B**, breaking off at the same point (ff. 1–189), but this is followed by another work of Photius (*Diatriba de voluntatibus in Christo gnomis*) and letters of Clement of Rome and Basil the Great. Da Costa distinguishes three separate hands, two of which were involved in copying folios 1–189.<sup>55</sup> For the text of the *Vita Ignatii* the copyist follows **F** very closely (sample conjunctive errors under **F** above) except that additions above the line and corrections found in **F** are generally ignored by **H**. There are a number of small omissions (e.g., ἀρετῆς at 42.10; ἦν ὁρᾶν . . .

θαυματουργίαν at 108.18; ἔνστασιν at 126.4) and the copyist has introduced some peculiarities of his own, e.g.,

- 8.29 μετεσχηκότα **F**: μεσχηκότα **H**  
 16.15 προσηγάγετο **F**: προσηγάτε **H**  
 40.10 αὐτοῦ τοῖς **F**: αὐτοῖς **H**  
 58.18–19 κατατακέντες **F**: κατακέντες **H**  
 76.15 ψευδοσύλλογον **F**: ψευδοσύλλον **H**

**J** Ottobonianus gr. 27, 16th century, folios 402.<sup>56</sup> The codex belonged to Cardinal Sirleto and can be identified as number 41 among his Greek theological manuscripts.<sup>57</sup> In addition to the anti-Photian material, the manuscript also contains the *Acts of the Second Synod of Nicaea* (ff. 1–219). Folios 221 to 401 contain the same material as **B**, breaking off at the same point, except that the *Vita Ignatii* (ff. 292–315<sup>v</sup>) appears out of order, following **B** item I.6 and preceding **B** item II. Canart distinguishes a number of copyists and correctors, one of whom was responsible only for copying the *Vita Ignatii*. Folios 292 to 315 have a distinctive watermark, but Canart can find no parallel in Briquet.

For his text of the *Vita Ignatii* the copyist appears to have followed **B** for the most part (sample conjunctive errors under **B** above), but also to have made occasional use of **G**. The errors of **G** are found scattered throughout **J**, but in at least one small section (on page 64) **J** appears to have been using **G** exclusively. Sample conjunctive errors:

- 24.9 σκληρότατα **B**: κληρότητος **G** σκληρότητος **J**  
 64.16 ἐξέτασις **B**: ἐξέτασε **GJ**  
 64.20 ἐχειροδότησεν **B**: ἐχειροδότε<sup>ev</sup> **G** ἐχειροδότε **J**  
 64.22 τιν' ἄλλον **B**: τ' ἤελλον **GJ**  
 64.30 γίνεται **B**: γίαν **GJ**  
 66.1 τις **B**: τε **GJ**  
 78.13 μάμαντος **B**: μάμαρτος **GJ**  
 80.26 δεσμούμενον **B**: θεσμούμενον **GJ**  
 92.18 καταδοχῆς **B**: καταδοκῆς **GJ**  
 120.5 σύγγραμμα **B**: σύγγραμα **GJ**

The copyist has also corrected **B** in several places, e.g.,

- 2.17 διεστῶς **B**: διεστὸς **J**  
 20.11 τέρας **B**: κέρας **J** (following **G**)  
 62.29 παρὰ **B**: περὶ **J** (following **G**)  
 78.12 τῷ **B**: τὸ **J**  
 94.7 μόλιβον **B**: μόλιβδον **J**

There are a number of small omissions (e.g., τὸν τῶν at 10.30; οὖν at 18.22; χαλεπὸν at 56.14; καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἁμαρτίας at 100.3; καὶ προφητικώτατον at 122.7) and a longer one at 104.14–15 (ὁ θεῖος ἰγνάτιος τοιαύταις νουθεσίαις καὶ διδασκαλίαις). The copyist has also introduced some peculiar errors of his own, e.g.,

- 4.24 ὑπῆρχε **B**: ὑπήσχε **J**  
 8.2 φυγάδων **B**: φυγάδα **J**  
 8.11 ἐντεῦθεν **B**: ἦταθεν (*sic*) **J**  
 10.2 ἐπανηρημένος **B**: ἀνηρημένος **J**, etc.

**M** Munich gr. 27, 15th and 16th centuries, various hands, folios 499.<sup>58</sup> In addition to the anti-Photian material, the codex contains writings of Bessarion and others on the procession of the Holy Spirit, material relating to the synod of Ephesus and a treatise on the heretical writings of Acindinus and Barlaam (incomplete at the end, where the manuscript is damaged). Folios 284 to 463 contain the same material as **B**, breaking off at the same point. The copyist follows **F**'s text of the *Vita Ignatii* very closely (sample conjunctive errors under **F** above), but a whole series of marginal corrections have been added by what looks like a different hand. Almost all of these have been faithfully repeated by **P**, which clearly used **M** as exemplar. Sample marginal corrections:

- 8.9 καὶ ἀπιέζων **FMP**: ἴσως καταπιέζων add. mg. **MP**  
 12.26 παιδοτριβούνιος **FMP**: ἴσ. παιδοτριβούμενος add. mg. **MP**  
 26.9 ἐναποθέμεθα **FMP**: ἴσ. ἐναποθέμενος add. mg. **MP**  
 34.29 τὰ **FMP**: ἴσως τε add. mg. **MP**  
 40.23 παρεδίδου **FMP**: ἴσως παρεδίδουν add. mg. **MP**  
 60.28 καυχασμὸν **FMP**: ἴσως καγχασμὸν add. mg. **MP**

- 78.9 φίλια **FMP**: ἴσως φίλιαν add. mg. **MP**  
 94.7 μόλιβον **FMP**: ἴσως μόλιβδον add. mg. **MP**

There are a number of small omissions (e.g., τε at 4.9; δὲ at 8.23; καὶ<sup>1</sup> at 36.16; δὲ at 38.10, etc.) and the copyist has introduced some peculiar errors of his own, which are generally also found in **P**, e.g.,

- 4.9 ἀγνοοῦσιν **F**: ἀγνοῦσιν **MP**  
 4.24 ἄνω μεταχωρήσαντος **F**: ἄνωθεν χωρήσαντος **MP**  
 10.21 οὔτε **F**: ὅτε **MP**  
 18.11 ἄφθονον **F**: ἄφονον **MP**  
 32.8 ἐπιδαψιλεύεται **F**: ἐπιδαψιλεύετε **MP**  
 46.23–24 ἐνδυσάμενος **F**: ἐνδησάμενος **MP**  
 48.10 χειροτονηθεῖς **F**: χειροτονησθεῖς **MP**  
 54.19 ἀνειλημμένος **F**: ἀνειλημένος **MP**, etc.

**P** Vatican gr. 1452, 16th century, folios 62.<sup>59</sup> The codex belonged to Cardinal Sirleto and can be identified as number 128 among his Greek theological manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> It has a watermark which closely resembles Briquet no. 518 (Verona 1545). The manuscript contains only the *Vita Ignatii* and is clearly a copy of **M** (sample conjunctive errors and identical marginal corrections under **M** above). The copyist has also introduced some peculiar errors of his own, e.g.,

- 12.7 νικήτας **M**: νικήσας **P**  
 34.29 προσεπέλασε **M**: προσέλασε **P**  
 38.31 ἔρευναν **M**: εὔρευναν **P**  
 56.7 ἀποστολικῶς **M**: ἀποστολιστῶς **P**, etc.

**Q** Ottobonianus gr. 138, 17th century, folios 100.<sup>61</sup> As mentioned above, this codex is the copy of **P** made for the Duc d'Altemps in 1619–20 after Paul V had bought back thirty-six of Sirleto's Greek manuscripts (including Vatican gr. 1452) for the Vatican.<sup>62</sup>

**X** Metochion Panagίου Taphou 361, 17th century, folios 132.<sup>63</sup> The codex contains six miscellaneous items followed by an acephalous text of the *Vita Ignatii* (ff. 92–132). The colophon has a note of possession written in Greek by a certain Gregory of Crete, but

unfortunately it is not possible to decipher what appears to be a family name. In addition to the section missing at the beginning (2.1–24.15), the text of the *Vita Ignatii* has several lacunas (92.28–94.11; 98.1–104.15; 106.7–114.7; 114.15–116.7) and another section (44.17 τῶν γνωσιωτέρων . . . 52.28 εἰσελθεῖν), omitted in its proper place, has been included at a later point (after ἐβλασφημεῖτο at 60.30). The large number of instances in which **X** and the text of Raderus's edition are in agreement against the other manuscripts indicates that the version in **X** derives, at least in part, from [**d**] (the unknown manuscript used by Raderus), and corresponding readings have been reported in the apparatus criticus (**Xv**). Elsewhere, however, **X** joins the tradition found in **B** and its derivatives against the edition, and it has not been thought necessary to report these readings in the apparatus, e.g.,

- 24.31 ἀποτρίψασθαι **BX**: ἀπορρύψασθαι **v**  
 26.3 κρίνει **BX**: κρίνων **v**  
 26.24 προσχωρεῖ **BX**: προχωρεῖ **v**  
 26.27 ἀποκείρας **BX**: ἀπόκειραι **v**  
 26.30 κατὰ **BX**: om. **v**, etc.

Furthermore, in a number of places **X** follows the peculiar errors of **E**, which seems to indicate that the latter or one of its derivatives provided the **B** group exemplar for **X**'s version. Sample conjunctive errors:

- 26.22 μετεωριζόμενον **v**: μετεωριζομένη **EX**  
 30.5 καὶ τῷ **v**: καὶ τὸ **EX**  
 52.5–6 καὶ πήξεως . . . σταυροῦντες **v**: om. **EX**  
 122.24 λόγον **v**: λόγου **EX**  
 124.24 ἀναθεματισμένῳ **v**: ἀναθεματισμένῳ **EX**  
 126.28–29 κατεδεῖτο . . . ἠσφαλίζετο **v**: om. **EX**

**X** provides few worthwhile readings in its own right and only the following corrections (made by **X** or its exemplar?) have been retained:

- 56.12 ἐξεσπασμένον **X**: ἐξηπτασμένον **Bv**  
 56.14 δρόμωσι **X**: δρομεῦσιν **B** δρομεῦσι **v**  
 82.15 προφερόμενα **X**: προσφερόμενα **Bv**

In general, the copyist displays an indifference to textual accuracy and is frequently responsible for arbitrary rewriting, tendentious changes, and transpositions of the text, e.g.,

- 24.21–22 οὐκ ἀγαθὸς δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν πικρὸς **Bv**: οὐκ ἀγαθὸς μέν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν πονηρὸς καὶ πικρὸς **X**
- 58.25 ἐπισυστάσεως ληστρικῆς **Bv**: ληστ. ἐπιστάσεως **X**
- 70.15–16 οὐδὲ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλείου τῶν λόγων κατακούων ἠύλαβήθης **Bv**: οὐδὲ τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἀγίου βασιλείου ἠύλαβήθη ἀκούων **X**
- 78.16 κεκρατηκῶς **Bv**: βεβασιλευκῶς **X**
- 84.21–22 τῇ εἰσόδῳ συμπεσοῦσαν **Bv**: εἰσόδοις ἐμπεσοῦσαν **X**
- 104.23 θεοῦ νόμον **Bv**: θεοῦ φόβον **X**
- 116.14 ἀλύσεως πᾶσαν **Bv**: ἀλύσεως ἥς τοὺς ἱεροὺς πόδας πρῶτον ἄνδρες κατέκλεισαν ἀσεβεῖς πᾶσαν **X**
- 124.17 τις αὐτῶν αὐτῷ μετὰ ταῦτα κοινωνεῖν ἀνωμολόγησεν **Bv**: τινα αὐτῶν κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ εὗρεν ἀνομολογοῦντα μετὰ ταῦτα **X**

All such idiosyncracies and inaccuracies have been left out of the apparatus.

The copyist has also added numerous marginal comments, sometimes to make brief mention of some of Nicetas’s main points, sometimes to indulge in anti-Photian exclamations. “Just look at Photius’s virtue!” appears several times, always sarcastically, and ὦραιοι is found more than once in praise of anti-Photian rhetoric. Furthermore, at the point where Nicetas mentions Photius excommunicating the Pope (76.15–16), the copyist exclaims: “Just see what the new devil is perpetrating!”

#### EDITIONS, TRANSLATIONS

1. Editio princeps of the *Vita Ignatii* by M. Raderus, *Acta sacrosancti concilii octavi* (Ingolstadt, 1604), 78–193. Raderus edited the whole of the Anti-Photian Collection, but it is not clear which manuscripts he used. Assemanus states that he collated the Munich manuscripts (CM) with codices of the Vatican and Antonio Agustin (J and Vatican gr.

1183).<sup>64</sup> However, this cannot be the full picture, as it does not account for the unknown manuscript (= **[d]**) used by Raderus. The readings of the edition are recorded in the apparatus as **v** (= vulgata) and where Raderus mentioned a variant, the readings are recorded as **v**<sup>1</sup> and **v**<sup>2</sup> (e.g., at 24.20 etc.) Raderus also provided a translation into Latin, which was published with the text.

2. Raderus's text and translation were then republished with additional annotations in the various collections of church councils:

*Concilia generalia ecclesiae catholicae* (Rome, 1608–1612), 3.2:302–47.

P. Labbe and G. Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia* (Paris, 1671–1672), 8:1179–1260.

I. Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum* (Paris, 1715), 5:943–1009.

I.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Venice, 1769–1798), 16:209–92.

Their final republication was in PG 105:488–574. PG column numbers are given in the inner margin of the text in this edition.

3. The *Vita Ignatii* was translated into vernacular Greek in 1640 by Neophytus Rhodinus and presented to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. It survives today in the Vatican library as Borgianus gr. 17.<sup>65</sup>

#### EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

In establishing the text the readings of **B** have been preferred except where an alternative in the edition seems obviously correct or where words appear to have been omitted from **B** (e.g., καὶ πᾶσαν βάσανον at 40.3; ἴν' at 74.9). Whenever **B** and **v** are at variance, the difference is highlighted in a positive apparatus, in which all readings that make any kind of sense by themselves are recorded. The readings of all manuscripts deriving from **B** have been eliminated, except for the small number of cases where they have corrected the text by a successful conjecture (e.g., 20.11 κέρας **EGJ**: τέρας **B** πέρασ

v). This also applies to **X**, which otherwise appears in the apparatus only when it has readings in common with **v**, in order to illustrate what might have been the reading of **[d]**.

Spelling errors in **B** and **v** have generally been corrected silently unless they are of some special interest. Cases such as the following have not been mentioned:

- 2.25 ἀπηλλαγμένοις **B**: ἀπηλαγμένοις **v**
- 4.6 παρακολουθήσασαν **B**: παρακαλουθήσασαν **v**
- 8.17 μισαρὸς **v**: μισαρὸς **B**
- 10.11 συνωμοτῶν **v**: συνομοτῶν **B**
- 24.16 παρρησιάσαιτο **v**: παρρησιάσατο **B**
- 28.17 ἀμυνεῖσθαι **Xv**: ἀμηνῦσθαι **B**
- 40.21 μιτυλήνην **Xv**: μυτιλήνην **B**
- 62.16 συνετέτατο **Xv**: συνετέταττο **B**
- 70.19 ἐν γάγγραις **Xv**: ἐγγγάγγραις **B**
- 114.8 συμβαλεῖν **Xv**: συμβαλλεῖν **B**

**B** seems to prefer -γγ- to -γκ- (see also 114.17 ἐγκυμονοῦσα **v**: ἐγγυμονοῦσα **B**, etc.).

Numerous cases of iotacism, particularly in **B**, have also been passed over in silence, e.g.,

- 6.3 διθύνας **v**: διθηύνας **B**
- 6.11 πριγκιπίους **B**: Πριγκιπιείους **v**
- 8.6 ἀπηνηῆ **v**: ἀπεινηῆ **B**
- 20.9 λεκανομάντιν **v**: λεκανομάντην **B**
- 20.14 ὑπομεμενηκῶς **v**: ὑπομεμενικῶς **B**

With regard to movable nu the text follows **B**'s practice, which is generally correct in using it only before vowels (though it often applies the same principle at the end of sentences too). There are, however, a few exceptions in **B** to the general rule (e.g., ἐξέκοψεν at 28.16; δρομεῦσιν at 56.14; πάθεσιν at 98.32; πίστεσιν at 100.14).

In matters of elision too the text follows **B**'s practice, which again seems reasonably consistent. Prepositions with final vowels are generally elided before a following vowel (exceptions with ὑπὸ at 8.8; 28.8; 124.23), as are ἀλλὰ and other commonly elided words. The particles δέ and τε are generally not elided, except when combined

with the negative (i.e. οὐδ', μητ'). There are a few exceptions to this, however (e.g., δ' ἄν at 2.20; τ' ἐγγέγονει at 38.9; δ' ἄρ' ἦν at 76.5; δ' ἀληθὲς at 116.26). Crasis is used by **B** when appropriate.

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

- 1 For a detailed account of this material see F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948), 216–78.
- 2 Two known exceptions are Vatican gr. 1183 and Escorial gr. X-II-8, which are discussed in more detail on p. xvi.
- 3 G. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca iuris orientalis canonici et civilis*, vol. 1, *Codex canonum ecclesiae Graecae* (Rome, 1762), 322–25. Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, 274–75.
- 4 K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1897), 167.
- 5 R. J. H. Jenkins, “A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the *Vita Ignatii*,” *DOP* 19 (1965): 244–47.
- 6 R. J. H. Jenkins and B. Laourdas, “Eight Letters of Arethas on the Fourth Marriage of Leo the Wise,” *Hellenika* 14 (1956): 298–303.
- 7 L. G. Westerink, “Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World,” in *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessalonike, 1975), 181.
- 8 P. Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii* (Brussels, 1970), 106, 9–10. For a detailed reconstruction of Nicetas’s part in the tetragamy affair based on the evidence of *Vita Euthymii*, Arethas’s letters to Nicetas, and Nicetas’s letters to Arethas and others, see Westerink, “Nicetas the Paphlagonian,” 178–82.
- 9 [The date at which the *VI* was written has long been the subject of scholarly debate and disagreement, mainly due to the lack of indisputable data either within the *Life* itself or available from other sources. In modern times the issue seemed to have been more or less settled by an important short article that Romilly Jenkins published under the title, “A Note on Nicetas David Paphlago and the *Vita Ignatii*” (above, n. 5). Jenkins argued that the document reflected Nicetas David’s emotional preoccupation with the Tetragamy struggle of 906–907, was partly composed in that period, and probably completed in the years 908–910. That timeframe has generally been accepted and A. Smithies, as we see, went a step further and posited the reasonable *terminus ante quem* of 920, based on the promulgation of the Tome of Union in that year. In recent times, however, a Russian scholar, Irina Tamarkina, has reopened the discussion. Her careful study, “The Date of the Life of the Patriarch Ignatius Reconsidered,” *BZ* 99, no. 2 (2006): 615–30, not only subjects each of the traditional arguments to minute scrutiny, but also brings into the picture some passages from lesser-known writings of Nicetas David and other relevant texts. She does succeed in highlighting the precariousness of the evidence cited

by Jenkins and makes a plausible case for distancing the composition of the *VI* from the context of the Tetragamy affair. Her own suggested time frame is between 886 (after the death of Emperor Basil I) and 901–902 (the beginning of the patriarchate of Nicolaus Mysticus, the third successor of Photius).

It seems to me that, after everything has been taken into account, the most secure estimate of the time of composition would be the first or second decade of the tenth century. JMD.]

- 10 Karlin-Hayter, *Vita Euthymii*, 218.
- 11 As Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 168, points out.
- 12 “Note on Nicetas David Paphlago” (see n. 5), 243–44. The quoted text is on 243, n. 18; the passage that refers to him setting up as a teacher is in *Vita Euthymii* (see n. 8), 104, 19.
- 13 A. Vogt, “Deux discours inédits de Nicéas de Paphlagonie,” *Orientalia Christiana* 23 (1931): 6.
- 14 “Note on Nicetas David Paphlago,” 241–43.
- 15 Westerink, “Nicetas the Paphlagonian,” 178, 182.
- 16 J. Gill, *Quae supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, pt. 1, *Res Ferrariae gestae, Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores*, series B (Rome, 1953), 5:89–91.
- 17 *Apologia contra Ephesii confessionem*, PG 160:89B–C.
- 18 On this monastery see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin, Première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, vol. 3, *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969), 421–29 (no. 26).
- 19 On this monastery see *ibid.*, 218–22 (no. 96).
- 20 H. Omont, “Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion (1468),” *Revue des bibliothèques* (1894): 156.
- 21 C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l’Escurial* (Paris, 1880), 183.
- 22 C. Castellani, “Il prestito dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca di San Marco in Venezia ne’ suoi primi tempi e le conseguenti perdite de’ codici stessi,” *Atti del Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 55 (1896–97): 321, n. 3.
- 23 On Glynzounios see M. Sicherl, “Manuel Glynzounios als Schreiber griechischer Handschriften,” *BZ* 49 (1956): 34–54; P. Canart, “Nouveaux manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Glynzounios,” *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 39–40 (1972–73): 527–44. Sicherl discusses Munich gr. 436 in 51 n. 90.
- 24 Sicherl, “Manuel Glynzounios,” 43ff. See also n. 46 below under manuscript C.
- 25 W. Hörmann, “Das Supplement der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Stadtbibliothek” in *XΑΛΙΚΕΣ: Festgabe für die Teilnehmer am XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, München, 15–20 September 1958* (Freising, 1958), 42.

- 26 On Mendoza see H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* (London, 1961), 2:280–82, etc.; Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 165ff.
- 27 Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 372 n. 1. For the date see discussion below under manuscript E.
- 28 Jedin, *History*, 474.
- 29 On Arlenius see Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 185–89.
- 30 Discussed in more detail below under manuscript F.
- 31 M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), 233–34.
- 32 See Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 47–56, 71, 78 n. 1.
- 33 Jedin, *History*, 471, etc.
- 34 Canart, “Nouveaux manuscrits,” 530, n. 2, describes what happened to Sirleto’s manuscripts from the time of his death down to their acquisition by the Vatican.
- 35 C. Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici, una cum critica historico-chronologica P. Antonii Pagi* (Lucca, 1738–59). On Baronius see Dvornik, *Photian Schism*, 371–75, etc.
- 36 I have been unable to identify this manuscript or to locate a copy of Raderus’s original edition. See discussion at p. xxvii.
- 37 On Agustin see Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 280ff.
- 38 Canart, “Nouveaux manuscrits,” 530–31. He also gives a detailed description of this manuscript (no. 161 of Agustin’s library), 534–35.
- 39 Suggested by Sicherl, “Manuel Glynzounios,” 51 n. 90. This can be ascertained only by a full collation of all the manuscripts containing the text of the Anti-Photian Collection.
- 40 Quoted by Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, appendix no. 17, and discussed at 297–98. Also discussed by Canart and Sicherl (see nn. 38–39 above).
- 41 G. de Andrés, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1965), 2:273. It was no. 162 of Agustin’s library.
- 42 Canart, “Nouveaux manuscrits,” 531 and n. 3.
- 43 See *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolarum tomus VII (Karolini aevi V)* (Berlin, 1928), 371. [N. G. Wilson has raised the possibility that X may in fact be derived from Rader’s edition; due to the loss of the Smithies collation materials in a fire, the testing of this hypothesis has not been feasible. JMD.]
- 44 See E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti: Thesaurus antiquus*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1981).
- 45 [N. G. Wilson, who has examined the manuscript, thinks that there might be three scribes at work, although he would not be completely confident about this, because of the considerable variation in the script. JMD.]
- 46 See I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae* (Munich, 1810), 4:352–54. Prior to 1806 the manuscript was in Augsburg and is recorded as “Inferioris Bibliothecae,

armario primo, num. 13” in the catalogues of E. Ehinger (*Catalogus bibliothecae amplissimae rei publicae Augustanae*, Augsburg, 1633) and A. Reiserus (*Index manuscriptorum bibliothecae Augustanae*, Augsburg, 1675). It is not found in the earlier catalogues of M. Mangerus (1575), D. Hoeschelius (1595), and V. Schonigk (1600).

47 See E. Miller, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial* (Paris, 1848), 293; de Andrés, *Catálogo de los codices*, 245–46.

48 Castellani, “Il prestito dei codici,” 327–28. See also Graux, *Essai sur les origines*, 372 n. 1.

49 See Vogel and Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber*, 31.

50 See H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques de Suisse* (Leipzig, 1886), 15.

51 On Arlenius see above, p. xv and n. 29.

52 For this information I am grateful to Dr. Martin Steinman, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel (letter dated 29 May 1975).

53 See E. Miller, “Bibliothèque royale de Madrid: Catalogue des manuscrits grecs,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 31, no. 2 (1886): 75.

54 See H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs des bibliothèques des Pays-Bas* (Leipzig, 1887), 12–13 (Amsterdam, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 5[14]); M. B. Mendes da Costa, *Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam: Catalogus der Handschriften*, vol. 2, *De Handschriften der Stedelijke Bibliotheek* (Amsterdam, 1902), 14.

55 It is interesting to speculate that Georgios Tryphon, who copied Amsterdam University 69 (containing the *Bibliotheca* of Photius and dated May 1548) for Cardinal Granvelle, may have been connected with the copying of this codex. According to a surviving part of the Marciana loan register he borrowed a manuscript containing letters of Gregory of Nazianzus and of Basil on 21 August 1547 and returned it on 26 October of the same year (Castellani, “Il prestito dei codici,” 338). On the latter date he borrowed (among others) Venice gr. 167 (**B**) and a codex containing *Bibliotheca Photii* (*ibid.*, 340). For this line of inquiry to fit what is already known about the manuscripts of the *Vita Ignatii*, we would have to assume that this was the occasion for the copying of **F** and that the latter was then used (by Tryphon and associates?) as exemplar for copying the first part of **H**.

56 See A. Capecelatro, *Codices manuscripti graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti*, rev. E. Feron and F. Battaglini (Rome, 1893), 25.

57 The inventory drawn up on the Cardinal's death is preserved in Vatican lat. 6163. For this identification and other details about the manuscript I am indebted to P. Canart (letter dated 9 July 1975).

58 See I. Hardt, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1806), 140–56. The manuscript was recorded as no. 115 in the catalogue of 1602 (A. Sartorius, *Catalogus graecorum manuscriptorum codicum qui asservantur in inclyta serenissimi utriusque Bavariae Ducis . . . bibliotheca*, Ingolstadt, 1602, 45–48).

59 See *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani and P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Subsidia hagiographica* 7 (Brussels, 1899), 126.

60 For this identification and other details about the manuscript I am indebted to P. Canart (letters dated 27 January and 9 July 1975).

61 See Capecelatro, *Codices manuscripti graeci*, 78.

62 See G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistenti nell' Ottoboniana*, vol. 4, *I codici Altempsiani acquistati da Paolo V* (Vatican City, 1938), 121.

63 See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Κατάλογος κωδίκων εύρισκομένων εν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μετοχίου τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου,” *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν εν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1899), 335.

64 Assemanus, *Bibliotheca iuris orientalis*, 259.

65 See P. F. de' Cavalieri, *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Rome, 1927), 130.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>DACL</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> (Paris–Leipzig, 1901–27)
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991)
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
<i>PmbZ</i>	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1998–), compiled by R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch, I. Rochow, et al., based on preliminary work by F. Winkelmann
<i>SV</i>	<i>Synodicon Vetus</i>

## SIGLA

B*	Venice Marcianus gr. 167, s. XIV
C	Munich gr. 436, s. XIV
E	Escorial gr. X-I-5, s. XVI
G	Madrid gr. O.29, s. XVI
J	Ottobonianus gr. 27, s. XVI
X	Metochion Panagiou Taphou 361, s. XVII
v	Editio M. Raderi, Ingolstadii, 1604
Westerink	L. G. Westerink
< >	addenda
[ ]	supplenda in lacuna codicis
( )	compendia soluta
††	corrupta

\*The folio divisions of **B** are given in the inner margins of the text.



The Life  
of  
Patriarch Ignatius