

Byzanz

Demetrius Cydones' Translation of Bernardus Guidonis' List of Thomas Aquinas' Writings and the Historical Roots of Byzantine Thomism

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I. Introduction

1. *Bernardus de Gailbac, Bernardus Guidonis, and the Dominicans of Pera: the Channel of Transmission of Aquinas' Works in Byzantium*

Byzantine Thomism¹, that is the Greek translation, spread and influence of several important writings of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) on Late Byzantine philosophical and theological thought (14th–15th century), has recently been divided into three phases². The first³, from the beginnings of the Byzantines' acquaintance with Aquinas' works (ca. 1300) up to the date (1354) of Demetrios Cydones' translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, is rather obscure, because of the scarcity of the relevant evidence⁴. Some light on this phase may be shed by a hitherto unedited translation by Demetrios Cydones, that of Bernardus Guidonis or Bernard Gui or Bernard Guion's (ca. 1261–1331) list of Thomas Aquinas' writings (ch. 53–54 of Bernardus' ‚Legenda S. Thomae de Aquino de ortu, vita et obitu ac gestis ejus‘; post August 1323, ante June 1326)⁵.

To begin with what is already known, the origins of Byzantine Thomism are directly (if not exclusively) connected with the history of the missionary activity of the Dominican friars in Byzantium from the last decades of the 13th century

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Antonis Fyrigos (Rome), Prof. John Monfasani (New York), Dr. Michele Trizio (Cologne) and Dimitris Kasapides (Xanthi), who spent much of their valuable time to find out several of my *desiderata* as well as to discuss with me particular points of this article.

² A. Fyrigos, *Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio (con una nota sulla „Defensio S. Thomae adversus Nilum Cabasilam“ di Demetrio Cidone)*, in: A. Molle (ed.), *Tommaso d'Aquino e il mondo bizantino*, Venafro 2004, 27–72.

³ Fyrigos, *Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio* (nt. 2), 27–31.

⁴ The second one extends from 1354 to the end of the 14th century (Fyrigos, *Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio* [nt. 2], 32–50), and the third from the beginnings of the 15th century to the end of Byzantium (op. cit., 50–59).

⁵ On the date see D. M. Prümmer (ed.), *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis notis historicis et criticis illustrati. Fasciculus 3: Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis auctore Bernardo Guidonis (Documents inédits publiés par la Revue Thomiste 3)*, Tolosa 1928, 163–164.

onwards⁶. In late 1299, the Dominican Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac (late 13th–early 14th century), who had from 1284 served his order in various places of Europe and in various offices, arrived in Constantinople, where he learnt Greek in order to combat, through discussing, writing and translating, the dogmatic errors⁷ of the ‚dissident‘ Greeks. According to Bernardus Guidonis, Guillaume

„profecit [...] in lingua Graeca ita quod eam plene scivit et libros Latinos fratris Thomae in Graecam transtulit, sicut audivi a sociis suis, qui ibidem eum fuerunt conversati, quos ego postmodum vidi [...]“⁷

This is the earliest known evidence for an elaboration of some sort of translation of some of Thomas Aquinas' writings into Greek⁸. As this information

⁶ A general survey of this history (which officially starts from 1228, when the general assembly of the Order founded the „*provincia Graeciae*“) is offered by G. Cioffari, *Domenicani nella storia. Breve storia dell'Ordine attraverso i suoi protagonisti. I: Il Medioevo (Memorie e Documenti 27)*, Bari 2005, 261–289. A detailed exposition is to be found in two excellent recent monographs: T. M. Violante, *La provincia domenicana in Grecia (Dissertationes historicae 25)*, Rome 1999; C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles (Collection de l'École française de Rome 237)*, Rome 1997. Most of the previous important contributions to the study of the missionary activity of the Dominicans in Byzantium, especially those by R.-J. Loenertz and A. Dondaine, are cited in Fyrigos, *Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio* (nt. 2), 27–29. Cf. H.-J. Sieben, *Die früh- und hochmittelalterliche Konzilsdece im Kontext der ‚Filioque‘-Kontroverse*, in: *Traditio 35* (1979), 173–207, especially 191–196.

⁷ Bernardus Guidonis, *Compilatio historica Ordinis Praedicatorum*, in: R.-J. Loenertz, *Les missions dominicaines en Orient au XIV^e siècle et la Société des Frères Pègrinants pour le Christ*, in: *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum 2* (1932), 1–83, especially 66 (Appendix I). The text had been earlier edited by C. Douais, *Les frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Chapitres, couvents et notices*, Paris–Auch 1885, 414–415, and by E. Martène/U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum ... amplissima collectio*, vol. 6, Paris 1729, 516–517. Cf. J. Quetif/J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti notisque historicis illustrati*, vol. 1, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1719, 460; D.-A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des frères Prêcheurs*, vol. 2, Paris 1905, 501, no. 4; T. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi. Vol. 2: G–I*, Rome 1975, 91 (s. v. „Guillelmus Bernardi Galliacensis“).

⁸ „Some of the Latin works of the friar Thomas“ is obviously the correct rendering of „*libros Latinos fratris Thomae*“, cf. e. g. B. Palazzo, *L'Arap-Djami ou Église Saint-Paul à Galata*, préface par E. Mamboury, Istanbul 1946, 66; G. Cioffari, *Domenicani nella storia* (nt. 6), 265; M.-H. Congourdeau, *Frère Simon le Constantinopolitaine*, O. P. (1235?–1325?), in: *Révue des études byzantines 45* (1987), 165–181, especially 167, nt. 10; 176; B. Bydèn, „Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms!“, *Latin Philosophy in Greek Translations of the Thirteenth Century*, in: J. O. Rosenquist (ed.), *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture (Transactions of the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul 13)*, Stockholm 2004, 133–157, especially 136. I dare guess that Bernardus Guidonis, instead of writing in clearer Latin „*libros quosdam transtulit*“, omitted the indefinite pronoun because he was subconsciously thinking in French, as follows: „il traduisit *des* livres latins de fr. Thomas“ and left the indefinite article unrendered because of the lack of articles in Latin. Construing this ambiguous Latin phrase as meaning that Guillaume translated all the writings of Aquinas (cf. e. g. Anonymous, *L'ordine di S. Domenico a Costantinopoli*, in: *Bessarione 4* (1898–99), 413–424, especially 415: „*le* opere di S. Tommaso d'Aquino“) would be an absurdity. Even translating this phrase as „*plusieurs ouvrages*“ (R.-J. Loenertz, *Les missions dominicaines* [nt. 7], 7) implies more than what is actually contained in the text. By the way, let us examine the following statement by the bitter anti-Thomist Matthaos Angelos Panaretos (2nd half of the 14th century), which had caused the surprise of G. Mercati: „[Aquinas' writings]... άγνωστα τη εκκλησια της νέας Ῥώμης εύγχανον και πάσι τοίς όρθόδοξοις έως της βασι-

came to the reporter *ex auditu* and no remnants of these translations are extant at all, we do not know which work or works (or parts of work or works) were translated⁹. This *silentium* may indicate these translations did not spread outside the small Catholic circles in Byzantium¹⁰.

If we press the question of the identity of these Thomistic works, Guillaume's missionary zeal *contra errores Graecorum*⁶ can be regarded as an indication that the texts translated referred to the *Filioque* and the Greeks' rejection of it¹¹. This suggests that these texts may in principle have been *Summa theologiae*⁶ I, q. 36, a. 2–4 and *Summa contra Gentiles* IV, 24–25. This guess is somewhat reinforced by the fact the Guillaume, some time after 1307, wrote a polemical *Tractatus de objectionibus Graecorum contra processionem Spiritus sancti a Filio*¹².

Furthermore, what is more important, I. D. Polemis put forward some evidence for the content of these translations. In the Introduction to his *editio princeps* of Manuel Moschopoulos' (ca. 1265–ca. 1316) *Contra Latinos*¹³ he points out that one of the Latin arguments for the *Filioque* reported by Moschopoulos sounds very much like a Scholastic one produced by the Dominicans of Pera, for example by Simon of Constantinople¹⁴. In this context, Polemis edited a small part of one of Simon's Greek treatises, which is very close to the 1st paragraph of Moschopoulos' polemical writing¹⁵. It may have been the case that Simon's passage was an elaboration of the following passage from the long „Respondeo“ of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*⁶ I, q. 36, a. 2:

„Dictum enim est supra quod Filius procedit per modum intellectus, ut verbum; Spiritus sanctus autem per modum voluntatis, ut amor. Necessse est autem quod amor a verbo procedat; non enim

λείας του εὐσεβεστάτου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνου“; „κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς βασιλείας“, however, „Θεσσαλονικεὺς τις Κυδώνης τὸ ἐπώνυμον“ translated „πάντα τὰ βιβλία ἐκείνου“ (G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone*, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV (Studi e Testi 56), Vatican City 1931, 11, nt 4). Mercati, if he knew of Cydones' translation of Bernardus Guidonis' list of Thomas' writings, may have thought of the hypothesis that Panaretos was not referring to an alleged translation of the entire bulky corpus of Aquinas' works by Demetrius Cydones but just to a translation of a catalogue of these works, namely that attached by Bernardus to his biography of Thomas Aquinas.

⁹ Cf. Quetif/Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (nt. 7), 460: „*Quinan vero illi libri [fratris Thomae de Aquino] [Bernardus Guidonis] non indicat.*“

¹⁰ Cf. e. g., Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone* (nt. 8), 11, nt. 4; Palazzo, *L'Arap-Djami* (nt. 8), 76; Fyrigos, *Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio* (nt. 2), 29.

¹¹ Cf. Violante, *La provincia domenicana* (nt. 6), 122: „Fra Guglielmo Bernardo di Gaillac [...] fu il primo a tradurre in greco le [*melius*: ‚alcuni‘] opere di Tommaso d'Aquino ad uso dei frati, probabilmente per l'utilizzo sia nella predicazione sia nei dibattiti teologici.“

¹² Edition: F. Stegmüller, *Ein lateinischer Kontroverstraktat gegen die Griechen*, in: *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* (1954), 123–150.

¹³ I. D. Polemis, *An Unpublished Anti-Latin Treatise of Manuel Moschopoulos*, in: *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 46 (1996), 251–264, especially 253–254; cf. id., *Theophanes of Nicaea. His Life and Works*, Wien 1996, 88–89.

¹⁴ On Simon cf. *infra*, 834.

¹⁵ Polemis, *An Unpublished Anti-Latin Treatise* (nt. 13), 255, 1–9.

*aliquid amamus, nisi secundum quod conceptione mentis apprehendimus. Unde et secundum hoc manifestum est quod Spiritus sanctus procedit a Filio.*¹⁶

Let us see Demetrios Cydones' translation of this passage:

„Προαιποδεδεικται γάρ κατὰ μὲν τὸν τοῦ νοῦ τρόπον, ὡς λόγον, τὸν Υἱὸν προτείνει, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ τὸν τῆς θελήσεως, ὡς ἀγάπην. Ἐνάγκη δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην ἐκ τοῦ λόγου προτείνει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀγαπῶμεν εἰ μὴ τοῦθ' οὐπὲρ ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα τῇ συλλήψει τοῦ νοῦ. Ὅθεν καὶ τούτου φημὲν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.“¹⁶

In addition, in Simon's polemical piece the power through which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son is called „πνευστικὴ δύναμις“¹⁷. This is hardly Classical or Byzantine Greek; the word „πνευστικός“ occurs no more than a dozen of times in the entire Greek literature accessible in the TLG (version E). This phrase is to be found in the next article of Aquinas' ‚Summa theologiae‘ (I, q. 36, a. 3 ad 2), where (*nil mirum!*) the core of Simon's passage occurs:

„Ad secundum dicendum quod, si Filius acciperet a Patre aliam virtutem numero ad spirandum Spiritum sanctum, sequeretur quod esset sicut causa secunda et instrumentalis, et sic magis procederet a Patre quam a Filio. Sed una et eadem numero virtus spirativa est in Patre et Filio, et ideo aequaliter procedit ab utroque. Licet aliquando dicatur principaliter vel proprie procedere de Patre, propter hoc quod Filius habet hanc virtutem a Patre.“

In Cydones' translation:

„Εἰ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἄλλην τῷ ἀριθμῷ δύναμιν τοῦ προβάλλειν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἶπετο ἂν τοῦτον ὡσπερ δευτέραν εἶναι αἰτίαν καὶ ὀργανικὴν, καὶ οὕτως μᾶλλον ἂν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξεπορεύετο ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ μία προβλητικὴ δύναμις ἐστὶν ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίσης παρ' ἑκατέρου πρόρρισι, εἰ καὶ ἐνίοτε λέγοιτο ἀρχοειδῶς ἢ κυρίως προτείνει ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, διὰ τὸ τὸν Υἱὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἔχειν τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην.“¹⁸

Therefore Simon's and Moschopoulos' texts tend to verify Guidonis' report that some Thomistic translations into Greek were produced by Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac in the late 13th century, at least of some parts of the *articuli* of the ‚Summa theologiae‘ that touch upon the *Filioque*¹⁹. According to the approximate but plausible estimation by A. Fyrigos²⁰, Guillaume Bernard de Gaillac produced his Thomistic translations no earlier than 1305²¹.

¹⁶ Ms. Vat. gr. 609 (an autograph of Cydones), f. 58^r14–16.

¹⁷ Polemis, An Unpublished Anti-Latin Treatise (nt. 13), 254.

¹⁸ Ms. Vat. gr. 609, f. 58^r14–16. Cydones apparently avoided the non-Classical „πνευστικός“ and rendered „*virtus spirativa*“ with the roughly-synonymous phrase „προβλητικὴ δύναμις“.

¹⁹ The relevant passage from Aquinas' ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, i. e. IV, 24, 12–13, does not bear any verbal similarity with Simon's and Moschopoulos' passages, at least with those brought to light by Polemis, An Unpublished Anti-Latin Treatise (nt. 13).

²⁰ Fyrigos, Tomismo e anti-Tomismo a Bisanzio (nt. 2), 29.

²¹ Incidentally, this means that Moschopoulos' piece against the Latins should be placed after that date.

According to Georgios Pachymeres²², in 1307, the emperor Andronicos II (1282–1328), under pressure from the patriarch Athanasios I (1304–1310), who regarded Guillaume and his Dominicans as a threat to the integrity of the religious convictions of the Greek Orthodox populace of the capital city²³, expelled them. Guillaume and his company moved to Pera, by then a Genovese colony (modern Taksim, in Istanbul), where they installed themselves with more stability²⁴. As a result, „the convent of Pera soon became not only a center of studies but also a channel through which Scholastic theology, especially that of Aquinas, was transmitted in Greece.“²⁵

To detect, however, a concrete route of this transmission by finding the links that connect Guillaume, who was the first to have ever brought some of Thomas' writings to Byzantium and translated some of them, with Demetrius Cydones, whose translative *œuvre* as well as philosophical and theological thought is the first instance of Byzantine Thomism proper, we have to move to another Dominican, Bernardus Guidonis. Bernardus was a famous Dominican friar, due, on the one hand, to his important historical literary production and, on the other, to his intensive inquisitorial activity²⁶. Leaving aside the remaining biographical elements²⁷, what is important for our investigation is that Bernardus met with the „*socii*“ of Guillaume in Pera²⁸, who told him about the translation of some of Aquinas' writings into Greek by their spiritual guide. Now it can be reasonably well assumed that Bernardus, as a biographer of the glory of the

²² Georgius Pachymeres, De Andronico Palaiologo VI, 28, in: I. Bekker, Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim, vol. 2 (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae), Bonn 1835, 536, 15–539, 2 (= Patrologia Graeca 144, 589–596). Cf. Anonymous, L'ordine di S. Domenico (nt. 8), 414–415.

²³ Cf. Bekker, Georgii Pachymeris (nt. 22), 537, 2–3: „[...] διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς θρησκείας ζηλωτικόν“.

²⁴ Cf. the testimony of Bernardus Guidonis (Loenertz, Les missions dominicaines (nt. 7), 66): „*De Constantinopoli vero transiit ultra in villam, quae vocatur ‚Pera‘, ubi similiter locum habuit ad habitandum cum fratribus XII conventualiter verbum Domini praedicans et disputans contra errores Graecorum [...]*“; cf. also the comments by Loenertz, op. cit., 7–8.

²⁵ Violante, La provincia domenicana (nt. 6), 151.

²⁶ Cf. A.-M. Lamarrigue, Bernard Gui (1261–1331): un historien et sa méthode, Paris 2000; G. Mollat (ed.), Bernard Gui. Manuel de l'Inquisiteur, 2 voll. (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge 8–9), Paris 1964; A. Pales-Gobilliard (ed.), Le Livre des sentences de l'inquisiteur Bernard Gui: 1308–1323, 2 voll. (Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 30), Paris 2002. Bernard, in fifteen years of interrogating people accused of heresy in Toulouse, out of over seven hundred cases of guilty verdicts sentenced to death forty-two.

²⁷ A succinct biography of Bernardus is offered (along with essential bibliography) in Cioffari, Domenicani nella storia (nt. 6), 194–196. A vast amount of biographical evidence is contained in the Cahiers de Fanjeaux 16 („Bernard de Gui et son monde“), Toulouse 1981. Cf. also the old but useful work by A. Thomas, Histoire littéraire de la France, vol. 35, Paris 1921, 139–232.

²⁸ I cannot share the estimation of Palazzo, L'Arap-Djami (nt. 8), 66, adopted by Violante, La provincia domenicana (nt. 6), 152, that Bernardus „connut personnellement Guillaume de Gail-lac“. On the contrary, Bernardus states that his information is second-hand („*sicut audivi a sociis suis, qui ibidem eum fuerunt conversati, quos ego postmodum vidi*“).

Dominicans²⁹, when hearing Aquinas' name being mentioned along with the information that a holy man such as Guillaume tried to make some of the works of the *doctor angelicus* accessible to the ‚schismatic‘ or ‚dissident‘ Greeks, thought it advisable to pass to the company of the late³⁰ Guillaume his own list of Aquinas' works, that is chapter 53 („*De numero et nominibus librorum et tractatum sancti Thomae doctoris*“) and chapter 54 („*Sequitur de opusculis sancti Thomae doctoris*“) of his biography of Thomas Aquinas, thus offering them the opportunity to translate this list into Greek and show in a visible way to the Greeks the importance of the Dominican intellectual figure whose arguments for the *Filioque* the Greeks used to despise contemptuously.

Is this a mere conjecture or something to be taken for more or less certain? To judge, let us reconstruct the chain of some important Latin figures in Pera after Guillaume. Friar Simon of Constantinople³¹, a Catholic of the first generation after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, after coming back from Montenegro, where he was exiled from 1261 onwards, is attested to have joined the convent of Pera in 1299³². Since he lived as late as *ca.* 1325 (he died in the aube of his tenth decade), it is highly probable that he had been among Guillaume's comrades whom Bernardus says he met personally. Simon, being expert both in Greek and Latin, wrote numerous treatises on behalf of the *Filioque*.

The missionary zeal of Simon of Constantinople and the textual material he had at his disposal were passed on to our last missing link, Philip de Bindo Incontri (or Philip of Pera)³³, who, according to his own words, when Simon

²⁹ Prümmer (ed.), *Fontes vitae S. Thomae* (nt. 5), 168–256; Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works is in 217, 7–222, 6 as well as in 260, 3–263, 20. The text of this edition was reproduced by A. Ferrua, *S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes precipuae*, Alba 1968, 125–195; list of works in 189, 7–195, 18. Cf. the old edition of Bernardus' biography by C. Oudin, *Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquis...*, Lipsiae 1722, coll. 272–276. Prümmer's edition is also available on the internet, URL: <http://www.corpusthomicum.org/lbgui/html>. Cf. Guidonis' brief description of Aquinas' figure in his writing ‚*Fratres viri illustres in scriptis et doctrinis*‘, 8 (H.-D. Simonin, *Notes de bibliographie dominicaine*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 9 [1939], 192–203, here 202): „*Frater Thomas de Aquino, Apulus, doctor egregius et famosus in orbe, quam plurima scripsit. Cujus doctrinam sanam et lucidam totus Oriens et Occidens sine invidia iudicando amplectitur et miratur et eam habere se gaudet et gloriatur. Ipsa namque tamquam lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectam diem, donec lucifer oriatur. Indeque hauriunt universi etiam obtrectatores et aemuli in occulto. Cujus librorum numerus [a hint at the title of chapter 53 of his ‚*Legenda S. Thomae*‘: „*De numero et nominibus librorum et tractatum sancti Thomae doctoris*“) *magnus et multus fere ubique est notus; ideo non ponitur hic*“.*

³⁰ Cf. „postmodum vidi“ (cf. nt. 7 and nt. 28).

³¹ See A. Dondaine, „*Contra Graecos*“. *Premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains d'Orient*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 320–446, especially 405–406; Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque* (nt. 6), 212; Congourdeau, *Frère Simon le Constantino-politaine* (nt. 8).

³² Cf. nt. 24.

³³ Cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri O.P. du couvent de Pera, Inquisiteur en Orient*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948), 265–280; Quetif/Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (nt. 7), 646.

was ninety, was a young novice under the patronage of this aged Dominican friar (even though he was also a member of the Peregrinant Friars) and was inspired by his spiritual guide to polemicise against the Greeks³⁴. Philip (d. after 1362), an inquisitor of the „*Contrata Romaniae*“³⁵, was all too naturally interested in a writing by another inquisitor, Bernardus Guidonis, about whom he would presumably have heard from Simon. And, to put the last ring in the chain, it is highly probable that Philip was the Dominican priest about whom Cydones, the translator of the text under discussion, that is Bernardus Guidonis' list of Thomas Aquinas' writings, says that he taught him Latin³⁶. That Philip would have passed to Demetrius' hands Bernardus' list of Aquinas' works is highly probable, since, according to the information offered by Cydones³⁷, Philip in

³⁴ Violante, *La provincia domenicana* (nt. 6), 152.

³⁵ Loenertz, *Les missions dominicaines* (nt. 7), 78–79: „*Fr. Simon Constantinopolitanus ordinis Praedicatorum, qui satis erat imbutus scientia Graeca magis quam Latina, quem vidi nonagenarium existentem, qui multa scripta dimisit contra Graecos, ex cuius scriptis et libris initium habui contra Graecos disputandi [...]*“; cf. T. Kaeppli, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages de Philippe Incontri de Péra*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), 163–183, especially 172, nt. 44.

³⁶ *Apologia I*, in: Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* (nt. 8), 361, 63–74; 362, 98–100; 362, 6–363, 9. That Philip of Pera was the teacher of Demetrius was suggested by G. Mercati (op. cit., 514, „aggiunta“ to 361): „Più volte m'è venuto il pensiero che quel domenicano sia stato fra Filippo da Pera, il quale appunto fioriva alla metà del secolo XIV e volentieri disputava coi Greci, com'egli stesso ricorda ne' suoi scritti.“ His suggestion was accepted as plausible by most scholars; cf., *inter alios*, B. Altaner, *Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 53 (1934), 436–493, especially 476; R.-J. Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants (Dissertationes historicae 7)*, Rome 1937, 81–82; id., *Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri* (nt. 33), 271–272; A. Kern, *Der Libellus de notitia orbis Johannes' III. (de Galonifontibus?) O. P. Erzbischofs von Sultanyeh*, in: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938), 82–123, especially 101 (Cydones is alluded to in John III's „*Libellus de notitia orbis*“ 3, 10–14); Palazzo, *L'Arap-Djami* (nt. 8), 80, nt. 1; S. G. Papadopoulos, „*Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θεωμιστικῶν ἔργων: φιλοθεμιστὰ καὶ ἀντιθεμιστὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς θεολογίας (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Φιλεκαπαιδευτικῆς Ἐταιρείας 47)*“, Athens 1967, 27; F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones. Briefe. Übersetzt und Erläutert. Erster Teil, erster Halbband: Einleitung und 47 Briefe* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 12), Stuttgart 1981, 12, nt. 58 (with some reservation); F. Kianka, *The Letters of Demetrius Kydones to Empress Helena Kantakouzene Palaiologina*, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992) (= A. Cutler/S. Franklin [eds.], *Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*), 155–164, especially 158; Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque* (nt. 6), 190, 444, s. v. „Philippe de Bindo Incontri alias de Péra“; id., *Philip de Péra O.P. et Demetrius Kydonès*, in: *Nicolaus* 30 (2003), 339–345, especially 343 (with some reservations). Mercati's suggestion fits perfectly in the picture of the development of Byzantine Thomism in Pera presented here. R.-J. Loenertz, *Manuel Paléologue et Démétrius Cydonès. Remarque sur leur correspondance (deuxième partie)*, in: *Échos d'Orient* 37 (1938), 107–124, especially 110, nt. 3, and id., *Fr. Philippe de Bindo Incontri* (nt. 33), 272–280 suggested that an unqualified „*Φίλιππος*“ mentioned in two of Demetrius' epistles (Epistle 31, l. 58; Epistle 110, l. 53, in: R.-J. Loenertz (ed.), *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1* [Studi e testi 186], Vatican City 1956, 62; 149) should be identified with Philip of Pera. A new indication on behalf of this identification is offered below in nt. 55.

³⁷ *Apologia I*, in: Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* (nt. 8), 362, 99–100.

his teaching used as a means of practicing translation from Latin into Greek Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*³⁸.

This suggestion is reinforced by the close similarity of the way Demetrios depicts Aquinas in the context of his narration of how he was initiated into the study of Latin and started translating Aquinas into Greek as well as of the close connection of the translation of Guidonis' list with the translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles*. Let us see the relevant evidence in detail.

2. *Demetrios Cydones' translation of Bernardus Guidonis' Legenda S. Thomae de Aquino de ortu, vita et obitu ac gestis ejus', chapters 53–54*

2.1. *The authorship of the translation*

Among the works of Demetrius Cydones listed around three centuries ago by J. A. Fabricius one reads: „Liber de vita, doctrina et miraculis Thomae Aquinatis.“³⁹ Strangely enough, Fabricius did not list this piece among Cydones' translations; further, more is the pity, he did not mention his sources at all. Yet the strong similarity of the title of this enigmatic piece to the title of Guidonis' biography of Aquinas makes it probable that this notice by Fabricius represents an oddment of some information with regard to Cydones' translation under discussion.

To my knowledge, A. Turyn was the first modern scholar to identify the content of the foll. 117^{vb}5–118^{vb}46 of Ms. Marc. gr. II, 2 (1012) as a Greek translation of chapter 53–54 of Bernardus' *Legenda*⁴⁰. Turyn, having focused on this codex because of its being explicitly dated on fol. 117^v and thus fitting the scope of his research task, was not principally interested either in the identity of the *manus* of these folios or in the authorship of the translation.

³⁸ Let us recall that Philip's *Libellus qualiter Graeci recesserunt ab oboedientia Ecclesiae Romanae* (Kaeppli, *Deux nouveaux ouvrages* [nt. 35], 170) is the earliest known testimony (1357) for Demetrius Cydones' conversion to Catholicism; cf. F. Kianka, *Demetrius Cydones* (c. 1324–c. 1397): Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Byzantium and the West in the 14th Century, Diss. Fordham University 1981, 155–156; C. Delacroix-Besnier, *Conversions constantinopolitaines au XIV^e siècle*, in: *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 105 (1993), 715–761, especially 737. A brief account of the history of the Dominicans of Pera as well as of Cydones' relation with Philip de Pera is offered by Delacroix-Besnier, *Philip de Péra* (nt. 36).

³⁹ J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca sive notitia scriptorum veterum Graecorum ... Editio nova ... curante G. C. Harles*, vol. 5, Hamburg 1808 [reprint: Darmstadt 1966], 404, no. 19.

⁴⁰ A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, vol. 2: *Plates*, Urbana–Chicago 1972, 232. Cf. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte* (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung, Munich 1977, 197, nt. 821.

A decade later, E. Mioni, in his description of the Greek codices of the Marcian Library of Venice, did not add anything to the information offered by Turyn⁴¹. As soon as he detected, however, that the *manus* of these folios is that of Demetrius Cydones, he notified privately the relevant evidence to F. Tinnefeld⁴², who in the introduction to his commented translation of Demetrius Cydones' ‚Epistles‘ plausibly attributed the translation to Demetrius⁴³.

True, the handwriting is a strong but not conclusive piece of evidence for ascribing the authorship of a text or translation to the scribe. In our case, however, this evidence is accompanied by the following fact. The autograph folios which contain the translation of Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings precede the folios 119^r–304^v, which contain the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘⁴⁴. This is not a mere coincidence; for, in the former translation, where the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ (Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων) is listed, Cydones inserted the following parenthetical sentence: „[...] ὅπερ [sc. βιβλίον] ἐστὶ τὸ παρόν.“⁴⁵

This urges us to identify the author of the translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ with the author of the translation of Bernardus' list of Aquinas' writings. Furthermore, an examination of the list of the Latin manuscripts containing the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ reveals that Aquinas' apologetic masterpiece is

⁴¹ E. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum. Volumen I. Pars prior*, Rome 1981, 87–88.

⁴² Tinnefeld, *Demetrius Kydones. Briefe* (nt. 36), 71 (no. 2.11).

⁴³ A comparison of the folios of this translation with the specimen offered by Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts* (nt. 40), plate 185, or with Ms. Vat. gr. 609, whose folios 8^v–131^r and 147^r–172^v come from Demetrius' hand (cf. R. Devreese, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. 3: *Codices 604–866*, Vatican City 1960, 16), leaves no room for doubt at all. Incidentally, Cydones' handwriting in these folios is characterized by extremely small letters, just like, e.g., the autograph Ms. Vat. gr. 609, where his translation of the *Prima Pars* of Thomas' ‚Summa theologiae‘ is extant (cf. e.g. the specimen from f. 23^r available in tables 1 and 2c in Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* [nt. 8]), and unlike the large letters he used, e.g., in Ms. Marc. gr. 1012, foll. 1–117, where a copy of Maximus Planudes' translation of Augustine's ‚De Trinitate‘ partly by Demetrius and partly by another hand is extant; cf. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti* (nt. 41), 88 (frust. I); G. Rigotti, *Introduzione*, in: M. Papathomopoulos/I. Tsavari/G. Rigotti (eds.), *Αγουστίνου Περι Τριάδος βιβλία πεντεκαίδεκα, ἄπερ ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετένεγκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανουδῆς. Εἰσαγωγή, ἑλληνικὸ καὶ λατινικὸ κείμενο, γλωσσάριο*, vol. 1, Athens 1995, LXXXIII. Apparently, Cydones used extremely small letters when scribing extremely long texts such as Thomas' *summae* and larger ones when transcribing texts of normal size.

⁴⁴ Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti* (nt. 41), 88. Cf. A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, vol. 1: *Text*, Urbana–Chicago 1972, 232–233. I did not have the opportunity to find out the identity of the *scriptura* of these folia. If these folios came from Cydones' hand, it goes without saying that Cydones prefaced his translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ by means of Guidonis' list; if not, it is just as plausible that Cydones used a scribe to copy his translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, since the parenthetical sentence „[...] ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ παρόν“ still proves that he was aware of which text would follow his translation of Guidonis' list.

⁴⁵ Cf. paragraph 4/4 of the edition below.

not prefaced by Bernardus' list in any of them⁴⁶. This means that we can be almost certain that it was Demetrios' own idea to do so⁴⁷.

2.2. *Intention: Praefationis instar to the translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘*

The fact that Cydones placed Guidonis' list just before Aquinas' ‚Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων‘ means that he intended to preface his first translation of a Thomistic work, that of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, which he regarded as „τῶν [sc. βιβλίων] ἐκείνου [sc. Aquinas] τὸ τελεώτατον καὶ τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἶον ἄνθος“, by means of this list⁴⁸. This idea may have crossed Cydones' mind for

⁴⁶ Cf. the description of the manuscript tradition of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ in the *editio Leonina* (Thomae Aquinatis ... opera omnia iussu edita Leonis XIII, Tomus decimus tertius: Summa contra Gentiles ... cum commentariis Francisci de Sylvestris Ferrariensis, Rome 1918, XII–XVI), where 101 codices are mentioned, with the description of the manuscript tradition of Bernardus Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings by Prümmer, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae* (nt. 5), 163–167, where 12 codices are mentioned. It must be noted that Prümmer did not elaborate a full list of the manuscripts of the work he edited, because he was fortunate to base his edition on an autograph (cf. op. cit., 167). He did, however, insist on studying the most ancient manuscripts, those of the early and middle 14th century, that is the manuscripts belonging to a period practically identical with that in which Cydones produced his translation of Guidonis' list. This bestows on his list a special value for the point that Cydones' decision to preface his Greek version of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ by a Greek version of Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works was his own. In general, the short span between Bernardus' elaboration of this list (1323/26; cf. nt. 5) and Cydones' translation of it (1365) is too short to allow for the absolutely hypothetical and complicated scenario that a (thus far undiscovered) Latin codex was produced that contained both the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ and Bernardus' list and that that codex came into Cydones' hand and offered him the idea of translating them both. The scenario that it was through the Dominicans of Pera (whom, as we saw, Guidonis had contacted) that Cydones was acquainted with Guidonis' list is incomparably more plausible.

⁴⁷ By the way, since the codex which contains both translations (or, at least, its first item) dates from 1365 (Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts* [n. 40]; Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti* [nt. 41], 87), namely a decade later than the first redaction (1354) of Cydones' translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ (cf. e.g. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θεολογικῶν ἔργων* [nt. 36], 28–32), it is probable that the codex under discussion represents the last revision of this translation.

⁴⁸ *Apologia I*, in: Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* (nt. 8), 362, 5–6. Demetrios was extremely fascinated by this work, which he apparently regarded as the best Christian apologetic piece ever written (Demetrios Cydones, *Epistle 33*, ll. 72–76; ed. R.-J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance* [nt. 37], 66): „[...] εἰ Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου πάντες παρήσαν καὶ εἶδει Θεοῦ ἀνὰ πρός αὐτοὺς ‚περὶ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐλπίδος‘ (I Petr. 3,15) διαγωνίζεσθαι, οὕτως ἂν καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους ἠτήθησαν, ὡς Πλάτωνα ἂν κάκεινους εὐθὺς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἐλέσθαι.“ Demetrios' latent Scriptural citation („ἔτοιμοι αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀπολογία παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι ὑμᾶς λόγον περὶ τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐλπίδος“) implies that he had in his mind especially Thomas' apologetic masterpiece, i.e. the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘. This passage sheds light on a similar one in his *Epistle 103*, ll. 65–66 (op. cit., 141): „... ἢ τούτων [sc. the Latins] Μοῦσα τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Πλάτωνος σεμνότερα ... Τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνους [sc. the Latins] ἔλκον [him] ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη καὶ τὸ πανταχοῦ μετὰ τῶν εἰκότων λόγων ἐπὶ τὰς διαλέξεις χωρεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας πάντας ἐκπλήττον καὶ ἀρῆν τὴν περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς σπουδῆν ἀποφαίνον“ (cf. *Epistle 33*, ll. 58–59, op. cit., 65). „Ἐκπλήττον“ may entitle us to describe Cydones' attitude towards the Latins (especially towards Thomas

the following reasons. First of all, a precedent was available to him. Maximus Planudes, who in 1286 translated Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae* (Περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας) translated also (with some slight adaptations and additions) a short *Vita Boethii*⁴⁹ as an introduction to his translation of Boethius' masterpiece. To judge from the content of this *Life*, Planudes thought it necessary to produce a Greek version of it, not only to offer the Greek-speaking reader the opportunity to realize the close connection of the very production of the *Consolatio philosophiae* with the dramatic circumstances of the author's life (which are expounded in § 3) and enable him to evaluate the *Consolatio philosophiae* in a better way but also to inform the Greek-speaking readership about Boethius' literary production by means of the short list of Boethius' works contained in the *Life* (§ 2)⁴⁹.

Cydones, on his part, who definitely knew of Boethius' translation⁵⁰, also thought it useful to have recourse to a biography of the author of the work he translated. Apparently, however, he realized that the most important feature of Aquinas' biography was the very fact of his being an author – one of the most outstanding authors in the entire history of Christian literature. He decided, therefore, to focus on Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings. Such a list was the most eloquent evidence of the superiority of a Westerner, Thomas Aquinas, to any Byzantine theologian and philosopher. Cydones declares explicitly that showing this superiority was the main purpose of his producing translations of

Aquinas) as the result of a „culture shock“. Cf. Cydones' well-known description of the first reaction of his teacher, Neilos Cabasilas, after his acquaintance with the translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles* (Apologia I, in: Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* [nt. 8], 391, 27–31): „[...] τῆς Λατίνων σοφίας ἐγκώμια πλεῖστα διήει· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ Θωμᾶ βιβλίων μανικός ἦν ἐραστής καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐνηφιζέτο πολλῶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων διδασκάλων ἠτάσθαι, δηλὸς τε ἦν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πεπονθὼς ὅπερ καὶ γὰρ [...]“. Cf. my remarks on the occasion of detecting some Thomistic influence on Demetrius Cydones' close friend, Nicholas Cabasilas: J. A. Demetracopoulos, Νικολάου Καβάσιλα „Κατὰ Πύρρῳνος“. Πλατωνικός φιλοσοπεπτικισμός καὶ ἀριστοτελικὸς ἀντισκεπτικισμός στὴ βυζαντινὴ διανόηση τοῦ 14^{ου} αἰῶνα [with an English summary: Nicholas Cabasilas' „Contra Pyrrhonem“. Introduction, Critical Edition, Modern Greek Translation, Philosophical Analysis, and Historical Context], Athens 1999, 156, nt. 34.

⁴⁹ M. Papatomopoulos, Ἀννιτίου Μαλλίου Σεβηρίνου Βοηθοῦ βιβλὸς Περὶ παραμυθίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας, ἦν μετῆνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς Λατίνων φωνῆς εἰς τὴν ἐλλάδα διάλεκτον Μάξιμος μοναχὸς ὁ Πλανουδῆς. Édition critique du texte grec, avec une introduction, le texte latin, les scholies et des index (Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi Byzantini 9), Athens–Leiden 1999, lxxvi (Vita Boethii) and lxxvi (Βοήθου βίος).

⁵⁰ Both for the general reason that this translation was widespread in Late Byzantium and for the special reason that it is just as natural for a Byzantine who was converted to Catholicism and devoted a large part of his energies to transmitting the philosophical and theological thought of the Latin West to his own country to show a special interest for Latin works translated into Greek before him. Even more, one of the copies of Planudes' translation of Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, namely Ms. Vat. gr. 706, foll. 23–78, was in all probability made by Demetrius Cydones with the collaboration of the scribe Isidoros; cf. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (nt. 43), 188–191; Papatomopoulos, Ἀννιτίου Μαλλίου Σεβηρίνου Βοηθοῦ (nt. 49), LVII, no. 32.

Thomistic works from 1354 onwards⁵¹. To serve such a purpose, putting such a list first (just as in modern books a list entitled „By the same author“ and put in a place easily discernible to anybody's eyes is offered to the reader as a sort of advertisement) was a very good idea.

Further, in this list, which formed part of a full biography of Aquinas⁵², explicit praise of his intellectual abilities is contained⁵³. Furthermore, Guidonis offered some information⁵⁴ about the way of the composition of the ‚Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων‘ (‚Summa contra Gentiles‘) which was highly flattering for Aquinas and impressed Cydones so much that he reproduced it: „Ὅπερ [sc. the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘] συντάττων συνεχῶς τῶν ἐξῴθεν αἰσθήσεων οὕτως ἠρπάζετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν παντάπασι τοῖς θεοῖς σχολάζειν.“ This praise is close to that of Demetrios himself, in whose ‚Apologia I‘ we read: „Πάντως δὲ ἤδη τὸν Θωμᾶν οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν συγγραμμάτων καὶ τῷ τῶν ἐννοιῶν μετεώρῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν συλλογισμῶν ἀνάγκῃ, μεθ' ἧς πάντα ἔπεισι, καὶ τοῖς ἐξῴ Στηλῶν οἰκοῦσι γνώριμον ὄντα.“⁵⁵

That Aquinas was an extraordinarily prolific writer goes without saying for any reader of Bernardus Guidonis' list. And describing Thomas' thoughts („ἐννοιαί“) as „μετέωροι“ is just a monolectic reproduction of Bernardus' report that Aquinas, when composing the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, was so absorbed

⁵¹ Apologia I, in: Mercati, Notizie di Procoro (nt. 8), 364, 33–48; 365, 80–366, 99; cf. F. Kianka, Demetrios Cydones and Thomas Aquinas, in: Byzantion 52 (1982), 264–286; id., Demetrios Cydones (nt. 38), 129–136.

⁵² Cf. nt. 5.

⁵³ Cf. paragraph 3/3 and 4/4 of the edition below.

⁵⁴ Cf. below, 852. Bernardus alludes to some amusing events reported in his ‚Legenda‘ (chapter 96: „*Qualiter ipse orans vel meditans saepius visus est quasi in extasi positus mente raptus*“), one of whose took place during the period Aquinas was writing the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ (Ferrua, S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae [nt. 30], 157–159): „*Erat autem mirabile videre hominem utentem sensibus et cum sensibilibus conversari subito rapti et mente abstrahi et quasi ab hominibus separari et ad caelestia elevari quasi non esset ubi corporaliter inhaereret. [...] Domine, non miremini, quia frequenter sic abstrahitur [sc. Thomas], ut cum quibuscumque personis fuerit, non loquatur. [...] Parcatis mihi, domine, quia credebam esse in studio et occurrit mihi una pulchra ratio ad propositum super illo opere, quod nunc scribo, quae mihi valde placuit et de qua mirabiliter sum gavisus. Scribebat autem tunc temporis ‚Summam contra Gentiles‘.*“

⁵⁵ Apologia I, in: Mercati, Notizie di Procoro (nt. 8), 362, 2–5. Cf. Cydones' defence of Aquinas' wisdom in Epistle 97, ll. 59–61 (Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance [nt. 36], 134): „Ἀρκοῦσι γὰρ αὐτῷ [sc. Aquinas] οἱ Γαδεῖρων ἐξῴ καὶ μέχρι Στηλῶν Ἡρακλέους οἰκοῦντες, οὐ τῆς σοφίας τοὺς ὄρους οὐδεὶς οἶός τε γέγονεν ὑπερβῆναι“. Obviously, this reference to „Γάδειρα“ serves the purpose of emphasizing the universal recognition of Aquinas' wisdom. Would it be, however, too much to construe this double reference of Cydones to the extreme Western borders of the then regarded as the only inhabited zone of the earth as an additional indication for Mercati's suggestion (nt. 26) that Cydones' teacher of Latin and initiator to Thomism was Philip de Bindo Incontri, who was a Dominican of Spanish origins? Cf. the strikingly similar way in which Cydones describes, within a different context, the Spanish origins of some other Dominican friars (Demetrios Cydones, Epistle 185, ll. 1 and 15–16, in: R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 2 (Studi e testi 208), Vatican City 1960, 57): „Οἱ ἐξ Ἰσπανίας φέρειοι [...] ἀπὸ Γαδεῖρων παρ' ἡμᾶς τινας ἤκειν [...]“. The nationality of Philip is known from the ‚Libellus de notitia orbis‘ of Johannes de Sultaniyeh; Kern, Der ‚Libellus de notitia orbis‘ [nt. 37], 101, 11–12; cf. Delacroix-Besnier, Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque (nt. 6), 190.

in his thoughts that he was very often losing contact with reality. These qualities, Cydones adds, are most obvious in the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘⁵⁶. This addition reflects the fact that Bernardus expounds these qualities on the occasion of mentioning the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ in his list.

Moreover, Cydones reproduces further praise of Aquinas by Bernardus. Bernardus, when referring to the ‚Summa theologiae‘ (in Cydones' translation ‚Σύνταγμα τῆς ὅλης θεολογίας), writes that Thomas „[...] τὸν ἐπιτομώτατον τρόπον [1] ἀγνοούμενον τοῖς πρότερον [2] ἐξεύρε καὶ παραδέδωκεν, οὐκ ἄνευ θείας χάριτος ἰδίως ἐπελθούσης αὐτῶ.“⁵⁷. Likewise, Cydones, in his ‚Epistle 333‘, ascribes to Aquinas the qualification of originality with regard to the same quality in similar terms:

„Ὁ δ' ἂν τις ἰδιαίτερον εἰπὼν εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς τῷ ζητήματι μαχομένους λογισμούς, ὡς ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ῥηθεῖεν, προτιθήσιν· καὶ τούτους οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε λύσας, ἀλλ' ὥστε μὴδ' ἐκείνους λοιπὸν ἔχειν ὃ, τι ἀντειποῖεν, οὕτω πανταχόθεν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι καταδείξῃ τὸ ζητούμενον [...]. Ὡς τὴν τῶν [1] διδασκαλίας οὐδένα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ [2] χρησάμενον ἴσμεν. Τὸ γὰρ τοῖς κατασκευάζουσι τὸ προκειμένον λόγους προστιθέμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀνασκευάζειν αὐτὸ πειρωμένους καὶ τούτους οὐδὲν πρὸς ἔπος ὄντας ἐλέγχειν, τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ κράτιστον τῆς ἐπιστήμης οἱ περὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις φασίν⁵⁸, μηδενὸς καταλειπομένου λοιπὸν, ὃ φαινόμενον ἐξαιφνης ὥσπερ ληστής τὴν ἀληθειαν ἦν ἐδοκοῦμεν ἔχειν δύναται ἂν ἡμῶν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ γυμνοῦς αὐτῆς ἀποπέμψαι.“⁵⁹

What does „ἐπιτομώτατος“ („*compendiosus*“) mean? For sure, it does not mean „brief“, „abridging“, „synoptic“⁶⁰; for it would be utterly absurd to state that Aquinas was the inventor of the theological genre of *compendium*⁶¹. Besides, it would be pointless to classify under this genre his voluminous ‚Summa theologiae‘, to which Guidonis refers. In fact, the true meaning of the word can be sought in the prologue of the II^a II^{ae} of this work as well as in the prologue of the ‚De articulis fidei et Ecclesiae sacramentis ad archiepiscopum Panormitanum‘, both of which were translated by Demetrius Cydones. In the former

⁵⁶ Apologia I, in: Mercati, Notizie di Procoro (nt. 8), 362, 5–6.

⁵⁷ Cf. paragraph 3/3 of the edition below.

⁵⁸ Cf. Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, VII. 14, 1154a22–26: „Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον δεῖ τὰ ληθῆς εἰπεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ψεύδους· τοῦτο γὰρ συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν πίστιν· ὅταν γὰρ εὐλογον φανῇ τὸ διὰ τί φαίνεται ἀληθῆς οὐκ ὄν ἀληθές, πιστεύειν ποιεῖ τῷ ἀληθεῖ μᾶλλον“; cf. also Kianka, Demetrius Cydones (nt. 38), 274 and 285.

⁵⁹ Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 2 (nt. 55), 267, 13–26.

⁶⁰ For the full range of meanings of ‚compendiosus‘ see: Thesaurus linguae Latinae editus auctoritate et consilio Academiae quinquae Germanicarum Berolinensis, Gottingensis, Lipsiensis, Monacensis, Vindobonensis, vol. 3, 2, Leipzig 1900, coll. 2036–2037 (s. v.); A. Forcellini [e. a.], Lexicon totius Latinitatis, vol. 1, Bologna–Pavia 1965, 726–727 (s. v.); P. G. W. Glare, Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1982, 374 (s. v.). Cf. Albertus' Magnus explanation of the word: „[...] *brevem quidem, sed tamen sufficientem*“, thus quoted in: P. Lehmann/J. Stroux, Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert, vol. 2 C, ed. O. Prinz/J. Schneider/T. Payr/P. Dinter, München 1999, coll. 1046, 38–39.

⁶¹ „Concise“ is an accurate translation, even though it does not reveal the full meaning of the term, cf. C. Le Brun Gouanvic, L'histoire de saint Thomas d'Aquin de Guillaume de Tocco. Traduction française du dernier état du text (1323) avec introduction et notes, Paris 2005, 53.

Aquinas says: „*Erit igitur compendiosior et expeditior considerationis via, si simul sub eodem tractatu consideratio procedit de virtute et dono sibi correspondente, et vitii oppositis, et praeceptis affirmativis vel negativis.*“⁶² Apparently, in this context „*compendiosior*“ means „more profitable“, „more suitable.“ What, however, does this „profit“ consist in? Aquinas decided to follow a certain way of treating the vast issue of virtues and vices because of a principal merit of this way; thanks to it, repetition was eliminated at no cost with regard to the integrity of the content. And the literary result of using this method was no shorter than several hundred dense pages.

In the latter, Aquinas writes: „*Postulat a me vestra dilectio ut de articulis fidei et Ecclesiae sacramentis aliqua vobis compendiose pro memoriali transcriberem, cum dubitationibus quae circa haec moveri possent.*“ Obviously, in the case of an apologetic work, „*compendiose*“ means refuting the objections of the opponents of faith and including the objections themselves. In other words, „*compendiose*“ means covering a subject-matter in the fullest possible way, the counter-arguments included, without spending superfluous words and space. What the Scholastics of the 13th century onwards wanted to avoid was composing long treatises which, though *prima facie* fully covering a topic, would fall short of that task because of lack of method. This is exactly the way Demetrios Cydonès explained Guidonis' passage in his ‚Epistle 333‘.

As a point of fact, as M. Jugie has remarked⁶³, it is not entirely true that Aquinas was the inventor of the method *pro* and *contra*⁶⁴. The theological literary genre of *summa* and the ‚dialectical‘ approach of the various matters (arguments *contra*; arguments *pro*; *responsio*; refutation of the arguments *contra*) as a means of constructing the ‚*articuli*‘ of a ‚*summa*‘ was not coined by Aquinas; having its roots in Aristotle's dialectic, it had a long history in Western Medieval jurisprudence

⁶² In Cydonès' translation (non-critical edition by G. Leontsinis/A. Glycophrydi-Leontsini, Δημητρίου Κυδώνη, Θομᾶ Ἀκρινάτου Σούμμα θεολογική ἐξελληνισθεῖσα, Athens 1976, 28, 1–5): „Ἔστι (melius ἔσται) τοίνυν βραχυτέρα καὶ ῥᾶων ὁδὸς θεωρίας εἴπερ ὁμοῦ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πραγματεῖαν ἢ θεωρία προῖοι περὶ τε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ ταῦτῃ ἀναποκρινομένου χαρίσματος καὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων παθῶν καὶ τῶν καταφατικῶν ἢ ἀποφατικῶν ἐντολῶν“. For the few other occurrences of the lexeme ‚*compendiosus*‘ in Aquinas cf. R. J. Deferrari/M. I. Barry/I. McGuiness, A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas Based on the „*Summa Theologica*“ and Selected Passages of His Other Works, Washington (DC) 1948, 184 (s. v.); R. J. Deferrari/M. I. Barry, A Complete Index of the „*Summa Theologica*“ of St. Thomas Aquinas, Washington (DC) 1956, 58 (s. v.).

⁶³ M. Jugie, Démétrius Cydonès et la théologie latine à Byzance aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, in: *Échos d'Orient* 27 (1928), 385–402, especially 394, nt. 1.

⁶⁴ Actually, Bernardus Guidonis relied upon Tolomeo da Tocco's relevant reference (*Historia sancti Thomae de Aquino* 18): „[...] *propter modum docendi compendiosum, apertum et facilem; qui, pro eo quod fuit insolitus, simul cum ejus scientia creditur ei fuisse divinitus inspiratus*“, in: C. Le Brun Gouanvic, *Ystoria sancti Thomae de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco* (1323). *Édition critique, introduction et notes* (*Studies and Texts* 127), Toronto 1996, 129; Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (nt. 7), 166; D. M. Prümmer, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis notis historicis et criticis illustrati. Fasciculus 3: Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis auctore Bernardo Guidonis* (*Documents inédits publiés par la Revue Thomiste* 3), Tolosa 1928, 86, 13–15; Ferrua, *S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae* (nt. 29), 54, 25–28. Guillelmus' ‚*insolitus*‘ was extremized by Guidonis as ‚*prius ignotus*‘.

as well as Scholastic theology from the early 12th century onwards⁶⁵. Cydones' dependence on Bernardus Guidonis, however, even with regard to a rather erroneous historical assertion stands as an indicator of the importance ascribed by the initiator of Byzantine Thomism to Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings⁶⁶.

Demetrius Cydones' motive for making the translation under discussion having been detected, a conjecture with regard to its occasion may be added. In the summer of 1365 Cydones received a letter from a friend, George the Philosopher, in which Aquinas was attacked as „ignorant“ and the addressee was advised „not to waste his time studying him.“⁶⁷ This was presumably too much for Demetrius to remain silent. He replied to George calmly but clearly that Aquinas has no need of defence; his fame has spread in all over the world⁶⁸. The fact, however, that the exchange of these letters took place, as we will see in the next paragraph, in the same year as Cydones' elaboration of the translation under discussion may suggest that it was George's blatant ignorance of Aquinas' value and world-wide reputation that stimulated Demetrius to produce such a translation for the monolingual Greeks who had not as yet realised the highest place of Thomas Aquinas in the history of Christian theological thought.

2.3. *Dating the translation*

As we saw, in Ms. Marc. gr. II, 2 (1012) Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works comes immediately after Maximus Planudes' Greek translation of Augustine's ‚De Trinitate‘ (foll. 1^r–117^v) reproduced for the most part by Demetrius Cydones. At the end of Planudes' translation (fol. 117^v4), as A. Turyn has noticed, Cydones wrote: „Ἐτελειώθη ἡ βίβλος ἥδε κατὰ τὸ ,ζωογ‘“ (AM 6873, i.e. AD 1364–65)⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ Cf. e.g., J.W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages: 1000–1300*, Lexington (Mass.) 1971, 73–76; B. Price, *Medieval Thought. An Introduction*, Cambridge 1992, 137–138; G. Makdisi, *The Scholastic Method in Medieval Education. An Inquiry into its Origins in Law and Theology*, in: *Speculum* 49 (1974), 640–661. On particular *Summae* of the 12th and 13th centuries as sources of Aquinas' ‚Summa theologiae‘ see the interesting article of L. E. Boyle, *The Setting of the „Summa theologiae“ of Thomas Aquinas*, in the collection of his own studies: *Facing History: a Different Thomas Aquinas. With an Introduction by J.-P. Torrell* (Textes et études du Moyen Âge 13), Louvain-la-Neuve 2000, 65–91 (first publication as vol. 5 of the Étienne Gilson Series, edited by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1982), especially 78 sqq. Still what does hold true is that Aquinas' ‚Summa theologiae‘ is an outstanding instance of programmatically tackling any issue this way.

⁶⁶ On the way of composition of this list by Bernardus cf. G. F. Rossi, *Gli opuscoli di San Tommaso d'Aquino (continuazione e fine)*, in: *Divus Thomas* 55 (1953), 211–236; id., II: *Dipendenza del catalogo di Bernardo Guidonis dal ms. Vat. Lat. 807*, in: *Divus Thomas* 56 (1954), 362–371.

⁶⁷ Demetrius Cydones, *Epistle 97*, ll. 54–57, in: Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance*, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 134; cf. Kianka, *Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas* (nt. 51), 276.

⁶⁸ Cf. nt. 55.

⁶⁹ Cf. nt. 41.

This suggests that the translation that follows the ‚De Trinitate‘ either dates from 1365 or was elaborated shortly afterwards⁷⁰. An earlier chronology cannot, of course, be excluded in principle. As we have seen, however, in part 2.1., Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works was placed by Demetrios at the head of his translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘. Since Demetrios' translation of Guidonis' list is not extant in any of the fourteen codices containing Demetrios' translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ either *in toto* or *in parte*⁷¹, except for Ms. Marc. gr. II, 2 (1012), in which both translations were written by Cydones himself, the conclusion may be drawn that Cydones conceived of the idea of prefacing his translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ by means of Bernardus' list not in 1354, when he finished the translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘, but later, in all probability in 1365.

This dating has an interesting corollary regarding the date of composition of Cydones' ‚Apologia I.‘ According to the evidence thus far brought forward, this work was written after 1362/63⁷². Now, as we saw in part 2.1., in the ‚Apologia I‘ of Demetrios Cydones some echoes of the Greek version of Guidonis' text are discernible. If, therefore, 1365 is indeed the date of Cydones' translation of chapters 53–54 of Guidonis' ‚Legenda S. Thomae‘, the ‚Apologia I‘ should be placed in 1365 or shortly afterwards – and, obviously, not later than 1368, since the official condemnation of Demetrios' beloved brother Prochoros by the Orthodox Byzantine Church is not mentioned or suggested at all, in spite of the fact that many occasions for such a reference existed⁷³. Consequently, ‚Apologia I‘ can be regarded with much certainty as having been written between 1365 and 1368.

Another latent use of Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings occurs in Cydones' ‚Epistle 333‘ (ll. 1–13), which dates from 1386–87, to Maximos Chrysoberges (d. 1410/29)⁷⁴. There Cydones praises his addressee for eagerly studying some of his own Greek translations of Thomas Aquinas' works by means of these words:

⁷⁰ Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (nt. 44), 233 remarks that, „strictly speaking, this subscription [i. e. the subscription of the date] covers only the preceding part of the volume“ (i. e. the folia containing Augustine's ‚De Trinitate‘). As we will see, however, assuming that this dating covers the following part as well fits pretty well with the remaining evidence.

⁷¹ Cf. the list of manuscripts offered by Papadopoulos, ‚Ελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θεωμυστικῶν ἔργων‘ (nt. 36), 35–43.

⁷² Cf. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones. Briefe* (nt. 27), 66 (no. 1.6.1); cf. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro* (nt. 8), 138. This is inferred from the fact that in this work Neilos Cabasilas (ca. 1295–1362/63) is mentioned in a way implying that he was no more alive.

⁷³ A. Rigo, *Il monte Athos e la controversia palamitica del concilio del 1351 ad Tomo sinodale del 1368: Giacomo Trikanas, Procoro Cidone e Filoteo Kokkinos*, in: id. (ed.), *Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino* (Orientalia Venetiana 16), Firenze 2004, 1–177, especially 99–134.

⁷⁴ According to F. Tinnefeld's suggestion, accepted e. g. by N. Russell, *Palamism and the Circle of Demetrios Cydones*, in: C. Dendrinis [e. a.] (eds.), *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of J. Chrysostomides*, Aldershot–Burlington (VT) 2003, 153–174, especially 169.

„Καλῶς ποιεῖς τοῖς τοῦ μακαρίου Θωμᾶ λόγοις προσκείμενος. [...] Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτός τε τὸν θεῖον λόγον [1] πλουσιώτερον ἔξεις ἐνοικούντα σου τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφθόνοος ὄν τούτου δεόνται χορηγήσεις, *καινὰ καὶ παλαιά* [Mt 13:52] [2a] δυνάμενος *ἐκφέρειν* [2b] ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐαγγελικὸν *γραμματέα* [Mt 13:52]. Ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ πολλὸς ὁ τῶν *θειῶν* [3] νοημάτων *θησαυρός* [Mt 13:52] [4] παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλεπὸν ὅ τι τῶν εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων οὐκ ἂν εὗροις ἐν τοῖς τούτου *συγγράμμασιν* [5], ἢ καθ' αὐτὸ ζητούμενον, ἢ δι' ὧν ἄλλοθι ἄλλα ζητεῖ ἢ καὶ λύει, αὐτὸ συναφαινόμενον.“⁷⁵

This way of exalting the exceptional importance of Aquinas' *œuvre* looks like a paraphrase of the introductory paragraph of Bernardus Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works, which Cydonēs, wishing to transfer into Greek only a bare list of Aquinas' works, skipped and left untranslated:

„*Donum autem scientiae et intelligentiae collatum divinitus* [3] *sancto Thomae evidentius declaratur in multiplici eius opere scripturarum* [5]. *Qui ut scriba doctissimus* [Mt 13:52] *,de thesauro* [4] *suo protulit* [2b] *nova et vetera* [Mt 13:52] [2a], *de Novo scilicet et Veteri Testamento*⁷⁶, [1] *et abscondita diversarum scientiarum produxit in lucem. Numerus autem librorum ac tractatum ac operum eius quae ad Dei laudem et fidei dilatationem eruditionemque studentium tam in philosophicis quam in divinis ipse conscripsit* [5] *in sequentibus conscribuntur*.“⁷⁷

As is apparent from the remark „κατὰ τὸν Εὐαγγελικὸν γραμματέα“ (sc. according to the ideal religious personality called by Mathew „γραμματεὺς“/„scriba“), Demetrius noticed that Bernardus used Mt 13:52 („πᾶς γραμματεὺς μαθητευθεὶς τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁμοίος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότῃ, ὅστις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά“, „*omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum similis est homini patri familias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera*“)⁷⁸. Yet he did not reproduce the Scriptural passage in its Greek version; as his intention was the same as Guidonis', that is praising Aquinas as an exceptional Christian author, he inserted into his epistle the passage in the version in which it occurred in Guidonis' text. Thus, instead of the ambiguous (as well as Attically awkward) „ἐκβάλλει“ he wrote „ἐκφέρειν“, which corresponds exactly to Guidonis' (and Vulgate's) „*profert*“, and one of the meanings of which is ‚producing a writing.‘ And, as we saw, immediately afterwards (Epistle 333, ll. 13 sqq.), Cydonēs reproduced Guidonis' estimation that Aquinas was the first to introduce an all-embracing method of investigating any issue by integrating into his writ-

⁷⁵ Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonēs. Correspondance, vol. 2 (nt. 55), 266–267.

⁷⁶ This is a commonplace of the Patristic exegetical tradition; to confine myself to the greatest Latin authority, see Augustine's ‚*Quaestiones XVI in Evangelium secundum Matthaum*‘, 15, in: A. Mutzenbecher, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini quaestiones evangeliorum cum appendice quaestionum XVI in Matthaum* (CSEL 44B), Turnhout 1980, 138–139 (= PL 35, 1374); ‚*De civitate Dei*‘ XX, 4, in: B. Dombart/A. Kalb (eds.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De civitate Dei libri XI–XXII* (CSEL 48), Turnhout 1955, 703 (= PL 41, 662); ‚*Contra Faustum Manichaeum*‘ XV, 2, in: J. Zycha (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De utilitate credendi, De duabus animabus, Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum, Contra Adimantum, Contra epistolam Fundamenti, Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (CSEL 25), Prague/Vienna/Leipzig 1896, 418, 19–419, 2 (= PL 42, 304).

⁷⁷ Prümmer (ed.), *Fontes vitae S. Thomae* (nt. 5), 217, 1–3.

⁷⁸ This is also attested to by the fact the he uses the Scriptural „γραμματεὺς“ to denote Mathew as the author of his Gospel.

ings and thoroughly discussing not only the arguments *pro* but also the arguments *contra*⁷⁹.

There is, however, one more case of using Guidonis' ‚Legenda‘, chapters 53–54 by Cydones. In his ‚Epistle 25‘, through which he dedicates his translation of Pseudo-Augustine's ‚Soliloquia‘ to the empress Helena Kantacouzene Palaiologina⁸⁰, he praises Augustine as follows: „Ὁ δὲ [sc. Augustine] [...] ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ γραμματεὺς, μαθητευθεὶς μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, δυνάμενος δ' ἐξ ὧν πλουτεῖ, καινὰ προφέρειν, καὶ παλαιὰ [Mt 13:52].“⁸¹ This way of using Mt 13:52 is obviously an application of Bernardus Guidonis' eulogy of Aquinas to the case of Augustine⁸².

From the fact that one of the sources of Demetrios' ‚Epistle 25‘ (1371–74) and ‚Epistle 333‘ (1386–87) is Guidonis' ‚Legenda‘, chapters 53–54 there results that Demetrios' translation of Guidonis' list of Aquinas' works is anterior to the earlier of these epistles, that is anterior to 1372–73⁸³. Of course, this evidence for the date of the translation under discussion is less precise than Cydones' explicit dating of it in 1365; it is, however, important to the extent that it accords with the approximate dating of ‚Epistle 25‘ by R.-J. Loenertz.

A highly accurate dating, however, may be provided by the following evidence. As we saw, Cydones, in the middle of the summer (i. e. July) of 1365, defended Aquinas against the vague and arbitrary accusations formulated against him by George the Philosopher. In this defence no mention or allusion is made

⁷⁹ Compare also Cydones' Epistle 333, l. 1 (Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 266: „[...] τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοῦ [...]“ with his translation of Bernardus Guidonis' brief introduction to the second part of his list of Aquinas' works: „ὁ μακάριος οὗτος [...]“ (cf. below, 855). *Rebus sic stantibus* the date of Cydones' ‚Epistle 333‘ would in principle stand as a *terminus ante quem* for the translation of Bernardus Guidonis' list – or, vice versa, the date of the translation would stand as a *terminus post quem* for the epistle. This, however, proves hardly illuminating, since in the epistle (l. 1, op. cit., 266) the existence of more than one Thomistic works translated into Greek is attested („τοῖς τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοῦ λόγοις“) and (ll. 37–38, op. cit., 267) the addresser informs us that he translated these works when still „too young“, that is many-many years ago. Likewise, granted that the translation of Guidonis' list was carried out, according to the date of the relevant manuscript, in 1365, this date is a *terminus post quem* for the epistle. Cydones' statement, however, that he was very young when translating Aquinas' writing(s) by then studied by Chrysoberges makes it plausible to place the epistle much later than this year.

⁸⁰ Cf. J. A. Demetracopoulos, The Sitz im Leben of Demetrius Cydones' Translation of pseudo-Augustine's ‚Soliloquia‘. Remarks on a Recent Edition, in: Quaestio 6 (2006), 191–268, especially 222–225, where the question of the identity of the translated Latin work is re-examined and F. Tinnefeld's suggestion for the pseudo-‚Soliloquia‘ is reinforced.

⁸¹ Epistle 25, ll. 16–18, in: Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 54.

⁸² Cf. Cydones' lateral defence of the „σοφώτατος“ Augustine on the occasion of his systematic defence of Aquinas in his unedited ‚Defensio S. Thomae de processione Spiritus sancti adversus Nilum Cabasilam‘ (Ms. Vat. gr. 614, fol. 124^r; Ms. Vat. gr. 1103, fol. 43^v): „Καὶ ἄλλα δ' ἂν τις ἂν εἶποι ὑπὲρ Ἀγουστίνου καὶ Θεοῦ παρατιούμενος, ὡς οὐ δικαίως κακῶς ἀκουσάντων“; cf. M. Rackl, Die Ungedruckte Verteidigungsschrift des Demetrios Kydones für Thomas von Aquin gegen Neilos Kabasilas, in: Divus Thomas 22 (1920), 303–317, especially 316.

⁸³ Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 54.

to Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings, in spite of the fact that such a reference, if possible, would be imperative for a defender of Aquinas who would happen to be the translator of this list. On the contrary, as I suggested, Demetrius was probably motivated by these accusations to make this translation. To the extent, therefore, that this may correspond to the facts, it can be said that Demetrius translated this text after July 1365 and, probably, before September of the same year (since the last month of the Byzantine calendar is August). This amounts to saying that Demetrius Cydones probably translated Bernardus Guidonis' ‚Legenda‘, chapters 53–54 in August 1365.

2.4. *A Case of Influence of Cydones' Translation: Georgios Scholarios – Gennadios II*

Apart from the translator himself⁸⁴, a century later, the most fervent Byzantine Thomist, Georgios Scholarios – Gennadios II⁸⁵, in the Preface to his ‚Compendia‘ of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ and the *Prima Pars* of the ‚Summa theologiae‘, when composing a brief but well-known eulogy of Aquinas as a writer, theologian, and philosopher, wrote:

„[Thomas ...] πλείστα μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτελικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, πλείστα δὲ εἰς τὴν Παλαιὰν καὶ Νέαν Γραφὴν συνεγράφατο ἐξηγούμενος, πλείστον δὲ ὑποθέσεων ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἰδίοις ὄφθη βιβλίοις, τῶν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν θεολογίαν, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτελικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀναγομένων. Οἷς πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἡμεῖς ἐνετύχομεν, ὀλίγοις μὲν τοῖς ἐρμηνευθεῖσιν ὑπ' ἄλλων [sc. Demetrius and Prochoros Cydones] πρότερον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐναυθὰ ἐπιτεταμμένα βιβλία εἰσὶ, τοῖς σύμπασι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Λατινικοῖς πρωτοτύποις, ὧν ἕνα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φωνήν ἡρμηνεύσαμεν.“⁸⁶

Scholarios' explicit statement that he somewhere saw an almost complete series of Aquinas' works does not leave room for seeing in his phrase „Οἷς πᾶσι σχεδὸν ἡμεῖς ἐνετύχομεν“ a hint at the translation of Bernardus Guidonis' list, as the case may be with Panaretos' statement⁸⁷. There are, however, several parallels between his general description of Aquinas' literary production and Cydones' translation of Guidonis' list as well as between Scholarios' specific

⁸⁴ Cf. section 2.2. and 2.3.

⁸⁵ On Scholarios' Thomism, cf. J. A. Demetracopoulos, Plethon and Thomas Aquinas (in Modern Greek: Πλήθων καὶ Θωμάς Ἀκινάτης: ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ θωμισμοῦ; with Four Appendices, including a critical editio princeps of Plethon's Extracta Thomistica (Greek Byzantium and the Latin West: Philosophy – Studies 2), Athens 2004, 72–79, 127–135 and 169–170, where the full bibliography on this topic is used and some new evidence is produced. An extensive English abridgment of this monograph under the title: Georgios Gemistos-Plethon's Dependence on Thomas Aquinas' ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ and ‚Summa Theologiae‘, was published in: Archiv für mittelalterliche Philosophie und Kultur 12 (2006), 276–341.

⁸⁶ L. Petit/X. A. Sidéridès/M. Jugie (eds.), Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἅπαντα τὰ εὐρισκόμενα. Œuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios, vol. 5: Résumé de la „Somme contre les Gentils“ et de la première partie de la „Somme théologique“ de saint Thomas d'Aquin, Paris 1931, 1, 19–2, 6.

⁸⁷ Cf. nt. 8.

description of the ‚Summae‘ and Guidonis‘ way of praising these Thomistic masterpieces.

(1) Scholarios, when referring to Aquinas‘ commentaries on various Aristotelian works, writes twice: „εις την Ἀριστοτελικήν φιλοσοφίαν“, just as Bernardus wrote that Aquinas „<scripsit etiam> Εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίαν.“⁸⁸

(2) Scholarios‘ reference to Aquinas‘ commentaries „εις τὴν Παλαιὰν καὶ Νέαν Γραφήν“ sounds like an echo of Guidonis‘ declaration that Aquinas „*de thesauro suo protulit nova et vetera, de Novo scilicet et Veteri Testamento*“.

(3) Furthermore, Scholarios, intending to inform his reader about Aquinas‘ treatises, writes: „πλείστον δὲ ὑποθέσεων ἡγεμῶν ἐν ἰδίοις ὤφθη βιβλίαις“, just as Bernardus wrote that Aquinas „οὐκ ὀλίγας πραγματείας ζητημάτων συνέγραψε περὶ διαφορῶν ὑποθέσεων.“⁸⁹

(4) In addition, Scholarios‘ depiction of the qualities of Aquinas‘ two ‚Summae‘ is very close to Bernardus‘ description of the same thing in Cydones‘ translation:

Scholarios:

„[...] διὰ τε πλῆθος [1] καὶ μέγεθος τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων [2] καὶ τὸ πλάτος [3] τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀκριβολογίας [4] [...].“⁹⁰

Bernardus Guidonis:

„[...] Σύνταγμα τῆς ὅλης θεολογίας“ <scripsit>, ἦν πλείοσιν [1] ἐπιχειρήμασιν [2] ἐξήπλωσεν [3] ... κατὰ ζητήματα καὶ ἐπιχειρήματα [2] διακεκριμένοις καὶ λεπτοτέροις λόγοις [4] [...].“⁹¹

2.5. The Quality of Cydones‘ Translation

What about the quality of Cydones‘ translation? Though it would be an exaggeration to say that it is a perfect translation, it does hold true that it is a good one as well as that the translator has many excuses for the faults detected and the lacunae left out (cf. the critical apparatus). First of all, the excuse he appeals to for the problematic points of his translation of the ‚Summa contra Gentiles‘ applies to the translation under discussion, too:

„[...] ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιο τὴν τῶν βιβλίων σπάνιν. Μόλις γὰρ ἑνὸς εὐποροῦμεν, ὅθεν ἐχρῆν μεταφέρειν, ὥστε τὴν ἐκείνου φθορὰν οὐκ ἦν ῥαδίως φαρᾶσαι ἢ διορθῶσασθαι, οὐκ ὄντος

⁸⁸ Cf. below, 854.

⁸⁹ Cf. below, 854.

⁹⁰ Petit/Sidéridès/Jugie (eds.), Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου (nt. 86), 1, 7–9.

⁹¹ Cf. paragraph 3/3 of the edition below. If Scholarios‘ dependence on Cydones‘ translation of Guidonis‘ ‚Legenda S. Thomae‘, 53–54 is to be taken for granted, one may infer that Scholarios elaborated his ‚Compendium Summae contra Gentiles‘ by using Ms. Marc. gr. II,2 (1012), ff. 119^r–304^v, which is, after all (to judge, at least, from the list of manuscripts elaborated by S. G. Papadopoulos in his dissertation: Ἑλληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις θωμιστικῶν ἔργων [nt. 37], 35–43; Ms. Marc. gr. II,2 (1012) is missing), the only 14th century codex containing the ‚Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων‘ almost in toto.

ἐτέρου ᾧ τὸ ἐν ἐκεῖνο τις παραβάλλων ἠδύνατ' ἂν μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας στοχάσασθαι. Λατινικῶν γὰρ βιβλίων οὐκ ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν ταμειῖον, ἀλλ' ἔδει τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν εὕρισκομένοις ἀρκεῖσθαι.⁹²

On the basis of the hypothesis that Bernardus' list reached Cydones' hands through Philip de Bindo Incontri, who was provided with it by the few Dominicans of Pera, it is not so plausible to suppose that the availability of many copies of this list had been amongst the priorities of those Dominicans.

Demetrius' second excuse for the awkward points of his translation of the ,Summae', that is, his inexperience, which was due to his youth as well as to his lack of time⁹³, can hardly be applied to the translation under discussion, not only because Bernardus' text is short as well as easy enough to translate but also because this translation was carried out after the completion of the translation of the two incomparably longer and more difficult ,Summae'⁹⁴. Indeed, the use of a defective or a not so clearly written Latin manuscript is probably the only way to explain, e.g., the three extensive lacunae⁹⁵ or Cydones' rendering „in *Lucanis*“ as „ἐν Πακάνοις.“⁹⁶ One should not, however, exclude the possibility that Cydones was not as trained in reading Latin manuscripts as he needed for decoding some Latin abbreviations of the ends of the words, which confused him several times.

A study, though, of the manuscript tradition and the *status textus* of the list of Guidonis should take into account Cydones' translation. For example, some incipits of Aquinas' works are longer in this translation than in the modern edition of the Latin text⁹⁷. Furthermore, there are some words and phrases

⁹² Demetrius Cydones, Epistle 333, ll. 42–46, in: Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 2 (nt. 55), 268.

⁹³ Ibid., ll. 37–42, 267 sq.: „Πάνυ γὰρ νέος τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῶν τοῦ Θωμᾶ λόγων ἦν ἄμην, δὲ οὐπὼ τῆς Ἰταλῆς γλώσσης ὅσον ἐβουλόμην συνελεξάμην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τῶν κοινῶν φροντίδες καὶ ἀσχολίαι, αἷς με βασιλεὺς τότε φέρων προσέδησε, καὶ τὸ δεῖν τὰς πάντων χρείας μανθάνοντα δήλας ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖν, οὐ πάνυ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀκριβοῦς συνεχώρησεν.“ See also his Epistle 103, ll. 63 sq., in: Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 141: „Ἐμὲ γὰρ καὶ πάνυ νέον ὄντα τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι [sc. the Latins] κατέσχευεν ἐπιθυμία, ἐν ὀλίγοις οἷς οἶός τ' ἦν τῆς φωνῆς συνιέναι, τῆς ἐκεῖνων στοχαζόμενος διανοίας [...].“ Cydones' self-criticism should not be construed as a mark of „characteristic modesty“, as, e.g., N. Russell, Palamism and the Circle of Demetrius Cydones (nt. 75), 169 estimates; to bring forward just a counter-example, Cydones translated the ,Summa contra Gentiles' throughout without knowing the syntactical phenomenon of the *tractio gerundiva*, cf. J. A. Demetropoulos, Georgios Gennadios II – Scholarios' „Florilegium Thomisticum II (De fato)“ and its Anti-Plethonic Tenor, in: Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales 73 (2006), 301–376, especially 361, nt. 258. In 1371 Cydones declared himself to be only a little away from fully mastering Latin: Demetrius Cydones, Ad Johannem Palaiologum oratio; ed. R.-J. Loenertz, Démétrius Cydonès. Correspondance, vol. 1 (nt. 36), 22, 14 sq.: „[...] ὀλίγου ταύτη πρὸς τὸ τέλειον λειπομένου [...].“

⁹⁴ On the date of these translations see a *Forschungsbericht* in: J. A. Demetropoulos, Νικολάου Καβάσιλα „Κατὰ Πύρρωνος“ (nt. 48), 155, nt. 30; 156, nt. 31.

⁹⁵ In paragraph 3/3 of the edition below, and -/70 as well as in the prooemium of ch. 54.

⁹⁶ In paragraph 2/2 of the edition below.

⁹⁷ Nos. 53/50, 61/58 (see the relevant notes on the Greek text).

which obviously correspond to some Latin ones not to be found in the edition of the original writing based on the author's autograph⁹⁸. In addition, there are two Thomistic works (nos. 15 and 16) which occur only in Cydones' translation⁹⁹. Experts in the Latin tradition of Guidonis' text may therefore find Cydones' translation useful, if only for the manuscript tradition of the Latin text.

3. *Sigla editionis*

For the present provisional edition, only the translator's autograph is used. The translation is also preserved partially in cod. Mosqu. Syn. 332 (olim 259) (XVII s.), foll. 1^r–7^r, which does not seem to stem from Marc. Gr. II, 2 (1102). Research into the manuscript tradition of the translation of Guidonis' list of Aquinas' writings is currently carried out by the contributors of the „Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus“ project and might bring to light more evidence.

For the reader's convenience the following sigla are used:

<α β γ>: litterae a Cydone omissae;

<a b c>: voces tantum in textu originali lectae;

[α β γ]: voces Graecae nihil eis correspondens in textu Latino habentes;

[1, 2, 3 .../1, 2, 3 ...]: numerus operis in Cydonis versione, quem numerus operis in catalogo Bernardi Guidonis sequitur.

Let me note here that the initial letters left unwritten by Cydones to be written later with red ink were added with special reference, the reason being that Cydones did this some dozen times in a relatively short space – both at the beginning of each paragraph and at the beginning of the title of each of Aquinas' works.

With regard to the apparatus: I avoided making two apparatuses, one strictly critical and one where the results of the comparison I made between the original and the translation would be offered, the reason for this being the unequal length of the former and the latter. Actually, since the edition is based exclusively on an autograph, the strictly critical remarks are quite few. At the same time, editing a Greek translation of a Latin text renders it imperative to focus on affording the reader as much evidence as possible regarding the way the translator worked.

The two indices (Latino-graecus and Graeco-latinus) appended to the edition help the reader to grasp the lexical aspect of Cydones' production.

⁹⁸ Cf., e. g., nos. 1/1, 14/15, 18/16, 21/19 (see the relevant notes on the Greek text).

⁹⁹ Cf. nt. 144.

II. Text

⟨Bernardi Guidonis Legenda S. Thomae, 53.⟩

De numero et nominibus librorum et tractatum sancti Thomae doctoris

[1/1] ⟨Sc̄ripsit enim⟩ Ἐπι τοῖς τέσσαρσι βιβλίοις τῶν „Ἀποφάσεων“ βιβλία τέσσαρα, πρῶτον δηλονότι καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον, ἔργον καθαρὸν μὲν τῆ φράσει, βαθὺ δὲ τῆ διανοίᾳ, σαφὲς δὲ ἐν τῆ ἀναγνώσει καινοῖς τε ἐπιχειρήμασι¹⁰⁰ πλατυνόμενον. [Ἔναι ἀρχαί·]¹⁰¹

[2/2] Μετὰ δὲ τριετίαν ἐν τῷ διδασκαλικῷ¹⁰² θρόνῳ τοῦ Παρισίου τελέσαι ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ πάπα Οὐρβανοῦ χρόνων, ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίβων ἕτερον¹⁰³ συν⟨έγραψε⟩¹⁰⁴ Ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἀποφάσεων, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς αὐτοῦ ὁ ⟨dominus⟩ ἀδελφὸς Πτολεμαῖος μαρτυρεῖ ὁ τῆς Τολλέτας ἐπίσκοπος, μαθητῆς καὶ ἀκροατῆς τούτου γενόμενος καὶ ἰσχυριζόμενος ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν¹⁰⁵ ἐν τῷ κοινοβίῳ τῷ ἐν Πακάνοις¹⁰⁶. Εἰ δὲ¹⁰⁷ νῦν οὐχ εὐρίσκεται, λάθρα δὲ ὑφαιρεθῆναι πιστεύεται, ὥστε μὴ δημοσιευθῆναι¹⁰⁸ ἐκ τούτου.

[3/3] Ἐτι, *Σύνταγμα τῆς ὅλης θεολογίας* ⟨sc̄ripsit⟩, ἦν¹⁰⁹ πλείοσιν ἐπιχειρήμασιν¹¹⁰ ἐξήπλωσεν ⟨et⟩ ἄλλως παρὰ τὰς πρότερον αὐτοῦ πραγματείας, καθὼς ἡ θεολογικὴ ὕλη ἀπῆται, θαυμαστῆ καὶ προσηκούσῃ τάξει κατὰ ζητήματα καὶ ἐπιχειρήματα¹¹¹ διακεκριμένους καὶ¹¹² λεπτοτέρους λόγοις ἀφοριζόμενοις¹¹³ ταῦτα, ἃ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων¹¹⁴ διδασκάλων ῥητοῖς ἠσφαλίζετο. Ἐν ᾧ *Σύνταγμα* ⟨cunctis⟩ τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰδέναι τὴν θεολογικὴν ἐπιστήμην οὕτως ὠφελίμως ταύτην ἐξέθετο, ὥστε ἰδεῖν ἐπιστήμην καὶ νοήσεως καὶ καταλήψεως ῥαδίαν. Ἐτι, τὸν ἐπιτομώτατον¹¹⁵ τρόπον ἀγνοούμενον τοῖς πρότερον¹¹⁶ ἐξεῦρε καὶ παραδέδωκεν¹¹⁷, οὐκ ἄνευ θείας¹¹⁸ χάριτος ἰδίως ἐπελθούσης αὐτῷ. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ *Σύνταγμα*

¹⁰⁰ Pro „articulis“, quod in textu Latino critico legitur, Cydones forsitan ‚argumentis‘ legebatur.

¹⁰¹ Post ἀρχαί lacuna invenitur.

¹⁰² Ex cod. διδασκαλικῷ correxi.

¹⁰³ In textu originali „iterum“ jacet.

¹⁰⁴ E textu Latino („sc̄ripsit“) conjeci. Συν in fine lineae scriptum esse contigit; quam ob rem Cydones finem lineae finem quoque vocis, quam eo scripsit, esse existimavit.

¹⁰⁵ Sic („illud“).

¹⁰⁶ Nomen proprium in textu Latino „Lucano“ est.

¹⁰⁷ Cydones pro „quod“ ‚quodsi‘ legisse videtur.

¹⁰⁸ In textu Latino „fuit multiplicatum“ legis; Cydones vero forsitan ‚fuit publicatum‘ legebatur.

¹⁰⁹ Sic pro ὁ, scilicet *Σύνταγμα*; Cydones a genere nominis Latini („Summam“), quod a genere nominis Graeci, „*Σύνταγμα*“, cum quo nomen Latinum transtulit, attractus est.

¹¹⁰ In textu originali „articulis“ legitur; Cydones tamen forsitan ‚argumentis‘ legebatur.

¹¹¹ In textu Latino „articulos“ legis.

¹¹² Cydones ‚distinctis et‘ legebatur.

¹¹³ In textu originali „determinans et declarans“ legitur. Ibi versio Graeca sensum non facit.

¹¹⁴ Sic („sanctorum“).

¹¹⁵ In textu Latino „compendiosum“ legis; Cydones vero forsitan ‚compendiosissimum‘ legit.

¹¹⁶ Cydones forsitan pro „prius“ ‚prioribus‘ legebatur.

¹¹⁷ Textus Latinus sic habet: „... sic utiliter laboravit, quod viam sciendi, intelligendi et comprehendendi facilem modum atque compendiosum prius ignotum invenit et tradidit“.

¹¹⁸ Cydones forsitan ‚divinae‘ pro „donis“ legebatur.

εἰς τρία διεΐλε μέρη, εἰς φυσικὸν δηλονότι, ἠθικὸν καὶ μυστηριώδες. Ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ διαλέγεται¹¹⁹ περὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως¹²⁰, καὶ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν θείων, δεύτερον περὶ τῶν κτισμάτων, ἐπιγράφεται δὲ *Πρώτον μέρος τοῦ Συντάγματος*. Τὸ δὲ *Δεύτερον μέρος*, τὸ ἠθικὸν δηλονότι, εἰς δύο βιβλία διεΐλεν. Ὡς ἐν μὲν τῷ προτέρῳ <agit et> διορίζεται περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ παθῶν καθόλου· ὁ ἐπιγράφεται· *Πρότερον τοῦ δευτέρου*. <In secundo vero volumine agit et determinat descendendo ad materias virtutum et etiam vitiorum in speciali; et intitulatur *Secunda secundae*>¹²¹, ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν ὕλην ἔχον τῷ¹²² πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Ἔστι δὲ ὠραϊσμένον φιλοσόφων λόγοις καὶ ἐπιχειρήμασι καὶ ἁγίων χρήσεσι κατησφαλισμένον. Τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ [ἴσου *Θεολογικοῦ*] *συντάγματος* τέταρτόν ἐστι βιβλίον¹²³. ὁ διατοῦτο „μυστηριώδες“ καλεῖται, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραγματεύεται [118^r, col. a] καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ ὄλου τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς Σαρκώσεως τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἐπιγράφεται τοῦτο *Τελευταῖον μέρος τῆς ὅλης θεολογικῆς πραγματείας*, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τέλος ἐστὶ καὶ τελευταῖον αὐτῷ πεπραγμάτευται. Ὁ γράφων ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὸν βίον καὶ φθάσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ θανάτου ἀτελεῖς καταλέλοιπεν.

[4/4] Ἔτι, συνέθηκεν ἄλλο βιβλίον ἐπιγραφόμενον *Κατὰ Ἑλλήνων*, εἰς τέσσαρα τμήματα διηρημένον· ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ παρόν¹²⁴. Ἔστι δὲ ἔργον τῆ μὲν φράσει διακεκριμένον¹²⁵, καινότητι τε λόγων καὶ λεπτότητι βαθύ. Ὅπερ <praecipue> συντάττων συνεχῶς τῶν ἔξωθεν αἰσθήσεων οὕτως ἠρπάζετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν παντάπασι τοῖς θείοις σχολάζειν.

Οὐδαμῶς δ' ἂν παράλογον <alicui> δόξειεν, εἰ ὁ προειρημένος διδάσκαλος καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς αὐτοῦ κἂν τῇ *Θεολογία* πολλάκις, ὅπου δεῖ <ad propositum>, ταῖς κοσμικαῖς καὶ ἀνθρωπίναις τῶν φιλοσόφων <et ethnicorum> ἐπιστήμαις χρήται· τὰ γὰρ ὑποκείμενα πασῶν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν ἐκ τοῦ <eodem> θείου προΐασι νοῦ, ἐξ οὗ ἡ ἀλήθεια¹²⁶ τῆς θείας σοφίας προέρχεται¹²⁷, ἥπερ εὐλόγως αἱ ἐπιστήμαι πᾶσαι δουλεύουσιν ὡς θεράπαινοι¹²⁸.

[5/5] Ἔτι, γέγραφε προστάξαντος τοῦ <domini> πάπα Οὐρβανοῦ *Ἐπὶ τοῖς τέσσαρσιν Εὐαγγελίοις* ἔργον <insigne> θαυμαστῶς συνυφασμένον τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων ῥητοῖς <et auctoritatibus> [τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν Γραικῶν]· ἐξ ὧν οὕτω συνεχῆ

¹¹⁹ In textu Latino „agit et definit“ legis.

¹²⁰ In textu originali pluralis („naturis“) invenitur.

¹²¹ Istaec lineae a Cydone propter homoioteleuton omissae sunt.

¹²² Ex cod. τοῦ correxī.

¹²³ Cydones recte, ut videtur, „est“ pro „et“ legebat („Tertia autem pars Summae e<s>t quartum volumen ejusdem ...“).

¹²⁴ Haec sententia deliberate a Cydone addita est; quod indicat hanc versionem praefationi ad translationem *Summae contra Gentiles*, quae versionem catalogi Bernardi in eodem codice sequitur (ff. 119^r–306^v; cf. Mioni, *Codices Graeci manuscripti*, vol. 1 [nt. 41], 88, no. 3), a Cydone intendi esse.

¹²⁵ In textu Latino „disertum“ legis. Cydones forsitan „distinctum“ legit.

¹²⁶ In textu originali pluralem („veritates“) legis.

¹²⁷ In textu Latino pluralis („emanant“) legitur. Haec doctrina in *Summa contra Gentiles* I,7,3 exponitur.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Summam theologiae* I,1,5 ad 2.

πεποίηκε τὴν τῶν *Εὐαγγελίων*¹²⁹ ἐξήγησιν, ὥσθ' ἑνὸς δοκεῖν διδασκάλου¹³⁰ <esse> γραφὴν.

[6/6] Ἔγραψε¹³¹ δὲ καὶ <*Expositionem*> ἐπὶ τοῖς *Εὐαγγελίοις τῶν Κυριακῶν* <*totius anni*>· ὁ σπανίως¹³² εὐρίσκεται.

[7/7] Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου <domino> Οὐρβανοῦ πάπα προστεταχότος συνέταξε¹³³ τὴν ὅλην *Ἀκολουθίαν*¹³⁴ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν τε ἡμερινὴν δηλονότι καὶ τὴν νυκτερινὴν καὶ τὴν τῆς λειτουργίας.

[8/8] Ἔτι *Ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὸ Κατὰ Ἰωάννην* <scripsit>, μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς πέντε κεφαλαίοις, ἰδιόχειρον· τὸ δ' ὑπό<λοιπον>¹³⁵ λέγεται ὁ φρὰ *Ῥαϊνάλδος* ὁ τοῦτου ἑταῖρος συγγράψαι¹³⁶, τοῦ πατρὸς¹³⁷ ὑπαγορευόντος, ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν <doctor> αὐτὸς διορθωσάμενος ἐνέκρινεν.

[9/9] <Scripsit etiam> *Ἐξήγησιν*¹³⁸ εἰς τὴν <*Epistulam* Pauli> πρὸς *Ῥωμαίους*.

[10/10] <Item>, *Εἰς τὰς Πρὸς Κορινθίους*¹³⁹.

[11/11] <Item>, *Εἰς τὴν* <*Epistulam* Pauli> πρὸς *Ἑβραίους* μέχρι τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου κεφαλαίου.

[12/12] Τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας *Ἐπιστολάς* <*Pauli*> συνέγραψεν ὁ ῥηθεὶς *Ῥαϊνάλδος*, πάλιν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπαγορευόντος καὶ ὕστερον διορθωσαμένου¹⁴⁰.

[13/13] <Scripsit etiam> *Ἐξήγησιν εἰς Ἡσαΐαν*¹⁴¹ τὸν προφήτην· ἦν δάκρυσι καὶ προσευχαῖς καὶ τῇ τῶν μακαρίων¹⁴² ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐπιστασίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ σπουδῇ συνεγράψατο¹⁴³.

[14/15] Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ *Εἰς Ἱερεμίαν* [τὸν προφήτην] <scripsit>,

[15/-] τὸν *Ἰεζεκιήλ*

¹²⁹ In textu originali „uniuscujusque Evangelistarum quattuor“ legis.

¹³⁰ In textu originali „auctoris“ legis. Forsitan Cydones „doctoris“ legebat.

¹³¹ In textu Latino „Fertur scripsisse“ legis.

¹³² In textu originali „vix aut rarissime“ jacet.

¹³³ In textu Latino „dictavit et ordinavit“ legitur.

¹³⁴ In textu Latino „officium ecclesiasticum“ legis.

¹³⁵ E textu originali („residuum“) conjeci atque integravi. Vox imperfecta in fine lineae iterum (nt. 85) jacuisse contingit.

¹³⁶ In cursu lineae συγγράψας jacet, cum συγγράψαι superscriptum est. Versio verbi superscripta magis eligenda esse mihi videtur, quia in 22/20, ubi casus quidam similis occurrit, Cydones infinitivo usus est.

¹³⁷ In textu Latino „ipso“ legitur.

¹³⁸ In textu Bernardi „postillas“ legis.

¹³⁹ „*Epistulam*“. Re vera Thomas super utrisque *Epistulis ad Corinthios* commentarium composuit; quod Cydones certe intellexit, cum τὰς scriberet, quod eum in textu Latino „Epistulas“ legisse implicat.

¹⁴⁰ Textus Latinus sic habet: „Ab inde vero sunt postillae ejus super sequentes *Epistulas* Pauli reportatae per praedictum socium suum post ipsum legentem, quod idem doctor fertur postmodum correxisse“.

¹⁴¹ Ex *Ἡσαΐαν* correxi.

¹⁴² In textu Bernardi „sanctorum“ jacet.

¹⁴³ Hoc frustulum omnino perperam translatum est; nam in textu Latino haec legis: „Scripsit etiam *Super Esaiam postillam*, quae raro invenitur. In cuius passu quodam textus difficili post orationes et lacrymas ejus sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, qui ipsum instruxerunt, habuit visionem“.

[16/–] καὶ τὸν Δανιήλ¹⁴⁴.

[17/14] Εἰς τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Ἰώβ, διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν διδασκάλων τῆς τοῦ γράμματος συνεχείας φροντίσαι.

[18/16] Ἰδιον¹⁴⁵ Εἰς τοὺς Θρήνους [Ἱερεμίου].

[19/17] Εἰς τὸ Ἰαῖσμα τῶν Ἰαῖσμάτων, [ἄλλο].

[20/18] Ἔτερον, Εἰς τὰ τρία ἑβδομα τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου, ἥτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου Ψαλμοῦ μέχρι τοῦ ...¹⁴⁶.

[21/19] Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦ Περι ψυχῆς [Ἀριστοτέλους].¹⁴⁷

[22/20] Τὸ υπόλοιπον τοῦ Κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὁ φρὲ Πέτρος ντὲ Ἄντρια λέγεται γράψαι ἐκείνου ὑπαγορευόντος.

[23/21] Ὁ ῥηθεις διδάσκαλος οὐκ ὀλίγας¹⁴⁸ πραγματείας ζητημάτων συνέγραψε περὶ διαφόρων ὑποθέσεων, διαφοροῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν¹⁴⁹ [αὐτὰ] διακρίνων <et prosequens> καὶ διασαφῶν τὴν [118^r, col. b] ἀλήθειαν, ἅπερ¹⁵⁰ ἐπιγράφονται Ζητήματα περὶ ἀληθείας.

[24/22] Ἔτι, Ζητήματα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως.

[25/23] <Item>, Ζητήματα περὶ ψυχῆς.

[26/24] <Item>, Ζητήματα περὶ ἀρετῶν.

[27/25] <Item>, Ζητήματα περὶ κακοῦ.

[28/26] <Item>, Ζητήματα περὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων κτισμάτων.

[29/27] Ἄλλο μέγα βιβλίον, <XI> προβλήματα διειλεγμένα¹⁵¹.

<Scripsit etiam> εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίαν·

[30/28] Εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῶν Φυσικῶν·

[31/29] Εἰς τὸ Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά·

[32/30] Εἰς τὰ Περι οὐρανοῦ τρία βιβλία·

[33/31] Εἰς τὸ Περι γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς·

[34/32] Εἰς τὰ δύο τῶν Μετεώρων·

[35/33] Εἰς τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον τοῦ Περι ψυχῆς·

[36/34] Εἰς τὸ Περι αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν·

[37/35] Εἰς τὸ Περι μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως·

[38/36] Εἰς τὰ Ἠθικά·

[39/37] Εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα τῶν Πολιτικῶν·

[40/38a] Εἰς τὸ Περι αἰτιῶν καὶ

[41/38b] Εἰς τὰς Πρόκλον Προτάσεις·

¹⁴⁴ Tituli 15 et 16 in textum originale addi possunt.

¹⁴⁵ in textu originali „Idem“ invenis.

¹⁴⁶ Hic lacuna invenitur. Frustulum sic habet: „Frater vero Raynaldus socius ejus dicitur reportasse postillam *Super tres nocturnos Psalterii*, ipso legente, quae incipit: „in omni opere suo dedit confessionem sancto“.

¹⁴⁷ In textu Latino haec legis: „Item, idem frater Raynaldus reportavit *Super primum librum „De anima“*“.

¹⁴⁸ Sic („parvas“).

¹⁴⁹ Sic Cydones „articulos“ reddit.

¹⁵⁰ Sic pro „ἅπερ“ (sc. πραγματεῖται).

¹⁵¹ In textu originali haec leguntur: „Item scripsit *XI quodlibeta disputata*“.

[42/39] *Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον τῶν Ὑστέρων ἀναλυτικῶν*

[43/40] *Εἰς τὸ Περὶ ἐρμηνείας.*

〈54. Sequitur de opusculis sancti Thomae doctoris〉

Ἄλλὰ καὶ μικρὰς¹⁵² πραγματείας 〈et libellos ad instantiam diversarum personarum〉 ὁ μακάριος οὗτος¹⁵³ συνέθηκε, τὰ ἀφ' ¹⁵⁴ ἐκάστων πεμπόμενα ἀμφίβολα διαλύων ταῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποκρίσεσιν. 〈Qui tractatus collecti in unius voluminis corpore ipsum efficiunt satis magnum. Et intitulantur communiter *Opuscula sancti Thomae*. Et possunt coordinari in uno volumine ad beneplacitum ordinantis, quia unus ab alio non dependit.〉 Εἰσι δὲ ἀριθμῶ περι τὰ¹⁵⁵ τεσσαράκοντα, ὀλίγω πλείω ἢ ἐλάττω ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐφεξῆς παράκεινται, 〈videlicet〉

[44/41] *Πραγματεία περὶ τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀρχῶν, πρὸς τὸν φρεὶ Σίλβεστρον.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει δύνатаί τι εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἶη“.

[45/42] Ἄλλο· *Περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῆς ὕλης*¹⁵⁶. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „〈Ἐ〉πει περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν δεῖ λόγον λαβεῖν“.

[46/43] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀντικειμένων.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπειδὴ τέσσαρα εἰσιν αἱ ἀντιθέσεις“.

[47/44] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀτομότητος.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει δύο εἰσι γνωστικαὶ δυνάμεις ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ“.

[48/45] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἀκαριαίου* 〈*seu de instantibus*〉. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει πάση διαμονῇ σύνεστι τὸ ἀκαριαῖον“.

[49/46] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἢ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ λόγου.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου κατανόησιν, ἦγουν τοῦ „λόγου““.

[50/47] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ἐν τῷ νῷ λόγου.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει περὶ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ νῷ λόγου, οὗ ἄνευ ἢ τῆς Τριάδος εἰκὼν οὐχ εὐρίσκεται παραδεδομένη¹⁵⁷ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ“.

[51/48] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῶν φυσικῶν κινήσεων τῆς καρδίας*¹⁵⁸ ἢ περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν τῆς φύσεως ἐνεργειῶν, πρὸς τινὰ στρατιώτην ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἄλπεων διατριβόντα. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει ἐν τισὶ τῶν φυσικῶν σωμάτων“.

[52/49] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῆς κινήσεως τῆς καρδίας, πρὸς τὸν μαῖστωρα Φίλιππον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Οὐρανίου Κάστρου.* Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπει πᾶν τὸ κινούμενον“.

¹⁵² In textu Latino „diversos“ legis.

¹⁵³ In textu originali „sanctus Thomas doctor“ jacet.

¹⁵⁴ E codicis ἐφ' correxi.

¹⁵⁵ Τὰς (sc. πραγματείας) expectares.

¹⁵⁶ In textu Latino „*Tractatus de natura materiae*“ legis. Vox „Tractatus“, quae omnium titulorum sequentium initium est, a Cydone innoxie ommissa est.

¹⁵⁷ In textu originali „expressa“ legitur.

¹⁵⁸ Titulus in textu Latino „*De motibus corporis*“ est. Cydones e lapsu oculi titulum operis sequentis animadvertit et in Latinum vertit aut pro „corporis“ ‚cordis‘ perperam legit.

- [53/50] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ὄντων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῆς οὐσίας, πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἐταίρους*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ ἡ μικρὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πλάνη [προϊοῦσι γίνεται μείζων]¹⁵⁹“.
- [54/51] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ ἀποδείξεως*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Πρὸς τὸ γνῶσιν ἔχειν“.
- [55/52] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ σοφισμάτων, πρὸς τινὰς ἐνδόξους σοφιστὰς*¹⁶⁰. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ ἡ Λογικὴ λογικὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη“.
- [56/53] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ ἀγγέλων ἢ τῶν χωριστῶν οὐσιῶν, πρὸς τὸν φρεῖ Ραϊνάλδον*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς τῶν ἀγγέλων λαμπρότησι“.
- [57/54] Ἄλλη· *Πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις*¹⁶¹ τῶν Ἀβεροϊστῶν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας¹⁶² τοῦ νοῦ. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ὡσπερ πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι φύσει ἐφίενται τοῦ εἰδέναι“¹⁶³.
- [58/55] Ἄλλη· *Περὶ κλήρων, εἰ δεῖ*¹⁶⁴ τοῦτοις χρῆσθαι, πρὸς <dominum> Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μπούργου. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἡτήσατο παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ σὴ ἀγάπη“.
- [59/56] *Περὶ τῶν κρίσεων*¹⁶⁵ τῶν ἄστρον, εἰ ἔξεστι τοῦτοις χρῆσθαι, πρὸς τὸν φρεῖ Ραϊνάλδον. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ ἐξήτησας ἴνα σοι γράψω“.
- [60/57] *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἄρχειν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πρὸς τὴν δούκαιναν Μπαρμπατίας*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τὰ γράμματα <receri> τῆς σῆς λαμπρότητος“.
- [61/58] *Ἀπολογία ἐπὶ τοῖς τεσσαρακοντατριεῖς*¹⁶⁶ κεφαλαίοις, πρὸς τὸν μαῖστωρα τῆς (118^v, col. a) τάξεως. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ [καὶ μαῖστωρι τῆς ἀγίας ἡμῶν τάξεως Θωμᾶς ὁ σὸς ταπεινὸς δούλος]“.
- [62/60] *Ἀπολογία ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἕξ κεφαλαίοις, πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βενετικῶν*¹⁶⁷ ἀναγνώστην. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Αναγνωσθέντων τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων εὐρομεν, [ἀδελφὲ τιμώτατε]“.
- [63/59] *Ἀπολογία ἐπὶ πολλοῖς κεφαλαίοις*¹⁶⁸, πρὸς τὸν μαῖστωρα Γεράλδον τὸν Πεζοντίνον ἀναγνώστην¹⁶⁹. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τῷ φιλάτῳ <sibi> ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ“.
- [64/61] *Πραγματεία πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Οὐρβανὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν Γραικῶν αἰρέσεις*¹⁷⁰. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τὸ βιβλίον τῆς σῆς ἀγίας ὑπεροχῆς δοθέν μοι“.
- [65/62] *Περὶ βασιλείας <principum>*, πρὸς τὸν ῥήγα Κύπρου. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Λογιζομένῳ μοι τί με δεῖ τῆ βασιλικῆ μεγαλειότητι προσενεγκεῖν ἄξιον“.
- [66/63] *Περὶ τῶν μετὰ τρόπον προτάσεων*. Οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ ἡ μετὰ τρόπον πρότασις“.

¹⁵⁹ Ex Aristotelis *De caelo et mundo* I, 271b8–9: „καὶ τὸ μικρὸν παραβῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπισταμένοις γίνεται πόρρω μυριοπλάσιον“.

¹⁶⁰ Sic („artistas“).

¹⁶¹ In textu Latino „errorem“ legis.

¹⁶² Cydones „veritate“ pro „unitate“ omnino perperam legit.

¹⁶³ Aristoteles, *Metaphysica* I,1,1 (980a21): „Πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει“.

¹⁶⁴ In textu originali „licet“ legis.

¹⁶⁵ Cydones „iudiciis“ pro „indiciis“ legit. Quod cum editione textus Bernardi discordat (cf. editionem Prümmeri, 220,33, necnon Ferruae, 194,1: „Tractatus de *iudiciis* astrorum...“), etiamsi cum editione Leonina ejus operis (ed. A. Dondaine, Sancti Thomae de Aquino opera omnia jussu Leonis XIII P.M. edita, tomus XLIII, Romae 1976, 187) accordet.

¹⁶⁶ Sic (τεσσαράκοντα τρισὶ expectares).

¹⁶⁷ Sic („Venetum“ accusativus singularis, non genitivus pluralis est).

¹⁶⁸ In textu originali „articulos“ legis.

¹⁶⁹ Cydones „lectorem“ pro „lectorum“ legisse videtur.

¹⁷⁰ In textu Latino „errores“ jacet.

- [67/64] Πραγματεία περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου αἰδιότητος, <*utrum possit esse ab aeterno*>. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Υποκειμένου κατὰ τὴν καθολικὴν πίστιν“.
- [68/65] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Συμβόλου Ἐξήγησιν. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τὸ πρῶτον καὶ¹⁷¹ ἀναγκαῖον Χριστιανῶ“.
- [69/66] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα Ἐξήγησιν τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ <„*Ave gratia plena*“>¹⁷². Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τρία περιέχονται ἐν τῷ ἀσπασμῷ τούτῳ“.
- [70/67] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα Ἐξήγησιν τῆς Κυριακῆς προσευχῆς, τῆς „Πάτερ ἡμῶν.“¹⁷³ Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τῶν ἄλλων προσευχῶν ἡ Κυριακὴ προσευχὴ ἀρχοειδεστέρα ἐστίν“.
- [71/68] Ἄλλη, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν¹⁷⁴ τῆς πίστεως καὶ περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Πανορμίταριον. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐζήτησε παρ' ἐμοῦ ἡ ἀγάπη σου, ἵνα περὶ τῶν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχῶν τε καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυστηρίων“.
- [72/69] Ἄλλη, ἐν ἧ περιέχεται Μετρία¹⁷⁵ σαφήνεια τινῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς πίστεως, ὧν ταῖς μὲν ἐναντιοῦνται Γρακοί, ταῖς δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ταῖς δὲ Σαρακηνοί, πρὸς τινα ψάλτην Ἀντιοχέα. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος Πέτρος“.
- [–/70] <Tractatus continens *Expositionem primae Decretalis de summa Trinitate*, „*Firmiter credimus*“; qui incipit: „*Salvator noster*“.>
- [73/71] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα Ἐξήγησιν τοῦ δευτέρου μέρους τῶν Κανόνων, τοῦ λέγοντος· „Καταδικάζομεν καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζομεν“. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐκτεθειμένου τοῦ τύπου τῆς καθολικῆς πίστεως“.
- [74/–] Ἄλλη, Περὶ τῆς τελειότητος τῆς πνευματικῆς ζωῆς. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐπεὶ τινες τὴν τελειότητα ἀγνοοῦντες“.
- [75/72] Ἄλλη, Περὶ τοῦ τύπου τῆς μυστηριώδους ἀφέσεως, πρὸς τὸν μαῖστωρα τῆς τάξεως. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἀναγνωσθέντος τοῦ βιβλίου“.
- [76/73] Ἄλλη, Περὶ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων μίξεως, <*qualiter sunt in mixto*>, πρὸς τὸν μαῖστωρα Φίλιππον. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἀμφισβητήσιμον παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶωθεν εἶναι“.
- [77/74] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα Ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὸ Περὶ ἑβδομάδων τοῦ Βοητίου. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Πρόσδραμε πρῶτος τῷ οἴκῳ σου“¹⁷⁶.
- [78/75] Ἄλλη, Εἰς τὸ Περὶ Τριάδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς γεννήσεώς μου ἐξιχνιάσω“¹⁷⁷.
- [79/76] Ἄλλη, περιέχουσα Ἐξήγησιν τῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου βιβλίων τοῦ Περὶ θεῶν ὀνομάτων.
- [80/77] Ἄλλη, Περὶ τελειότητος τῆς χριστιανικῆς εὐσεβείας. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τῆς χριστιανικῆς εὐσεβείας πρόθεσις“.

¹⁷¹ In textu Latino „quod est“ legitur.

¹⁷² Lc 1,28: „ave, gratia plena“/„Χαῖρε, κεχαριστομένη“.

¹⁷³ Mt 6,9: „Pater noster“/Πάτερ ἡμῶν“.

¹⁷⁴ Textus originalis „articulis“ habet.

¹⁷⁵ In textu Latino „brevis“ legis.

¹⁷⁶ Eccles. 32,11: „praecurre autem prior in domum tuam“/„ἀπότρεχε εἰς οἶκόν“.

¹⁷⁷ Sap. 6,22: „ab initio nativitatis investigabo“/„ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ἐξιχνιάσω“.

[81/78] Ἄλλη, *Κατὰ τῶν μαχομένων ταῖς τάξεσι*¹⁷⁸, *τουτέστι κατὰ Γουλιέλμου ντὲ Σάντο Ἀμόρε καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῶν*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ὅτι <ecce> οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου ἤχησαν“.¹⁷⁹

[82/79] Ἄλλη, ἐπιγραφομένη *Σύνοψις θεολογίας, πρὸς τὸν φρεῖ Ραϊνάλδον*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ὁ τοῦ αἰδίου Πατρὸς [Λόγος]“.

[83/80] Ἄλλη, *Περὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς ἀγάπης νόμος ἀναγκαῖός ἐστι*¹⁸⁰ τῶ ἀνθρώπῳ. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Τρία εἰσὶν ἀναγκαῖα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ“.

[84/81] Ἄλλη, *Περὶ εἰμαρμένης*. Ἦς ἡ ἀρχή· „Ζητεῖται¹⁸¹ περὶ εἰμαρμένης, εἰ ἔστι“.

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¹⁷⁸ In textu originali „religionem“ legitur, quod Cydonem „religiones“ legisse suggerit.

¹⁷⁹ Ps. 82,3: „ecce inimici tui sonaverunt“/„ἰδοὺ οἱ ἐχθροὶ σου ἤχησαν“.

¹⁸⁰ In textu Latino „fuit“ legis.

¹⁸¹ Mioni (*Codices Graeci manuscripti ... Volumen I...* (nt. 32), 88) perperam „ἤτηται“ legit.

¹⁸² The first numbers indicate the number of work and the line in the electronic edition by E. Alarcón, URL: <http://www.corpusthomaticum.org/lbgui/html>. The numbers in parentheses correspond to the page and line numbers of Prümmer's edition, *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis notis historicis et criticis illustrati*. Fasciculus 3: *Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis auctore Bernardo Guidonis* (Documents inédits publiés par la Revue Thomiste 3), Tolosa 1928, 217, 7–222, 6; 260, 3–263, 20), and the numbers in square brackets refer to the page and line number of the reprint of this text by A. Ferrua, *S. Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes precipuae*, Edizioni Domenicane, Alba 1968, 189, 7–195, 18, who, let it be noted, omitted the work no. 65 of Bernardus' list.

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