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► **To cite this version:**

Vassa Kontouma. Venetian Crete in the 16th Century: the Perspective of Religious Sciences: Paper presented at the workshop "Ecclesiastical Chant in Venetian Crete (16th c.)", Ecole française d'Athènes, Athens, May 2-4, 2019.. 2020. hal-03059681

**HAL Id: hal-03059681**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03059681>**

Preprint submitted on 13 Dec 2020

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# VENETIAN CRETE IN THE 16<sup>th</sup> CENTURY THE PERSPECTIVE OF RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

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Paper presented at the workshop  
“Ecclesiastical Chant in Venetian Crete (16th c.)”, École française d'Athènes  
Athens, May 2-4, 2019

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– DRAFT –

I would like to express my very warm thanks to Professor Flora Kritikou for having me associated since the beginning to this challenging project, and Professor Tassos Anastassiadis for his friendly and rigorous support.

The project is huge; it is also extremely exciting for a non-musicologist of my kind. In fact, in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine culture, and especially religious culture, music holds a prominent place. However, scholars dealing with Religious Sciences very rarely have the opportunity to deal with its technical, but even historical sides. For them – for us – Byzantine and Post-byzantine music remains an unexplored continent, a *terra incognita*. Being myself a specialist of John of Damascus, I experienced very close this reality, or let's rather say this serious problem, which of course has now to be overcome by collective work, and by teams like ours.

Concerning Venetian Crete in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, where both main European religious cultures meet and develop in peculiar ways, the challenge seems even overwhelming and could mobilize a lifetime. Fortunately, and by contrast with other regions and periods, important archives have been preserved, and many studies have already been conducted in the last century. I shall not dwell too much on that point, a complete bibliography being prepared by some of us by now. Let me only mention the most significant contributions of G. Gerola, M. Manoussakas, Z. Tsirpanlès.

However, we also notice that this abundant literature is sometimes confessionally-oriented, not only because of the opacity of the exchanges between Orthodox and Catholic communities in Venetian Crete, but also because of the permeability between them, a permeability that many scholars preferred to ignore, being themselves the advocates of one confession or another. As a first step, we will thus have to ***examine and understand these historiographic trends*** and try to interpret them in order to deliver a comprehensive assessment. In my view, analysis should be conducted on following topics:

- Roman hierarchies and Greek prelates united to Rome (esp. *protopapades*); clergy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople travelling or dwelling in Crete.
- Ecclesiastical and religious politics; exchanges with central administrations.

- Cultural life related to religious trends.

But where to start?

From the point of view of Religious sciences, two high priority fields could be defined: *prosopography*; comparative analysis of primary *theological documentation*.

### *A renewed prosopography*

The prosopography of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Latin clergy has been sufficiently studied, even if more information could be provided on several aspects. On the contrary, the prosopography of the Orthodox clergy dwelling in Crete is much less studied, and the same goes for the Greek rite clergy united to the Roman Church. Worse, the staff constituting the hierarchy of cantors in Cretan major places of worship has been largely ignored. In that sense, I believe that examining information provided by the musical manuscripts themselves, as proposed in our project, will be quite rewarding. However, archive material, or information provided by other compositions used during the cult (homiletical texts, prefaces of printed liturgical books, etc.), as well as by lists of subscribers, shall also contribute to prosopography. Regarding archive material, it is important to bear in mind that many documents already published or studied are not necessarily exploited from the point of view that interests us – music. It will have to be reconsidered.

### *Comparative analysis of theological sources*

Here, we are in the heart of the field of Religious sciences.

Let us recall that in the 16th C., theological and controversial literature experiences interesting developments. The decisions of the Council of Florence (1439), which have never been canceled by the Latins, remain a reference, although Venetians know that they have to deal with caution with the Greek population on Crete, especially after the fall of Constantinople and the refugee's arrival. Moreover, the Catholic Church is fully engaged in the Counter-Reformation of the Council of Trent (1542/45-1563). For the Orthodox theology, one of the main centers of production is Venice, where the influence of Latin theology is strong, but not imposing as in Rome.

It is understandable that the reality of the exchanges becomes particularly complex. Thankfully, the period sees also the outstanding development of Greek typography: a good portion of the works that will carry weight in the exchanges are available in print. Though, as I will show it today, important problems remain and shall be solved, if we wish to understand what really happened.

Ideally, one aim of our project would be to build up a corpus of theological works originating from or responding to the concerns of the Cretan communities of that period, but also to explore on the basis of this corpus a certain number of original themes, related of course to the world of ecclesiastical music:

- sacramental theology,
- liturgical commentaries
- homiletics and other theoretical texts used in a liturgical context.

Of course, the name of Ioannes-Ioseph Plousiadenos is well known. He reflects the approach of the Union. From the Greek “Orthodox” side, some theologians of Cretan origin who shall primarily hold our attention are Zacharias Skordylios, Meletios Pegas, Maximos Margounios or Ioannes Nathanael. Although not a Cretan, Gabriel Severos shall also be considered: as an archbishop of Philadelphia with headquarters in Venice, he had a major influence on 16<sup>th</sup> C. Greek theology.

Today, I will take a single example involving, among others, the personalities of the theologian and Patriarch of Alexandria Meletios Pegas – an Orthodox of Cretan origin (ca 1551-1601) – and the protopsaltes of Chandax Dèmètrios Tamias (fl. 1610-ca 1661), in order to illustrate the entanglement of problems involving historiography, manuscript and book studies, prosopography, and of course some theology. These are questions that we shall face in the context of our project.

### *The case of the Ms. Paris gr. 1254*

So, let us begin with a Parisian manuscript, which has already much drawn the attention of scholars, the **BnF Paris gr. 1254** of the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Century [*olim* Bibliothèque royale 2418/2, quoted by error by Fabricius and Renaudot under the number 4218<sup>1</sup>].

This manuscript is available through an open access digitization, so it is easy to consult it at any time. It is a very nice copy of 20 Homilies of Meletios Pegas, all being preached in Constantinople in the years 1587 and 1588.

It has to be underlined that the manuscript arrived in Paris exactly a century later, in 1687 or 1688, in the context of the second mission of Antoine Galland in the East, and the Embassy of Pierre de Girardin who, in a letter written in Constantinople and dated March 10, 1687, announced to have gained access – with the help of a livournese renegade – to more than two hundred Greek and oriental manuscripts of the Library of Sultan Mustapha I<sup>st</sup>. A list of some 53 manuscripts sent than to Paris has been conserved in the ms. BnF NAF 1328.

[photo > non ligatus] / bound in Paris, at that time.

Through found in this list by Manoussakas, our ms. Paris gr. 1254 had not yet been connected to the Library of the Sultan. In my opinion, this is though a highly probable hypothesis.

Manoussakas, who dedicated a very interesting and informative paper to this manuscript, located its origins in Crete – even if it was impossible for him to prove that it had been copied there. For him, three clues or evidences connected it to the island:

- a possessor’s note of a certain Joseph Metropolitan of Seteia, dated 1666;
- a laudatio of Pegas in latin verses, indicating the existence of two printed books of the patriarch;
- a composition of the protopsaltes Demetrios Tamias, copied on a blank page of the manuscript.

[more precisely: the hymn Πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κροτήσατε χεῖρας, ἀλαλάξατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φωνῇ ἀγαλλιάσεως, ἦχος α΄ – preserved in two mss : Sinai 1440 ; Paris gr. 1254].

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<sup>1</sup> Renaudot, *Gennadii*, p. 91.

I don't wish to dwell further on the description of the codex, even it's very interesting from many points of view. Let's note that the second clue, the latin verses, is not an evidence. There is also another point, that has been elucidated by Vranousses, and later by Litsas: the ms. contains also a dedication letter to a certain Ioannes Simontas. Manoussakas could not identify this person. But through Vranousses work, we now know that he was a rich merchant from Epirus, who dwelled in the Romanian Principalities, but also in the Polish-Lituanian Commonwealth, especially in Lv'ov and Vilnius. He was well acquainted with Kyrillos Loukaris, a disciple of Meletios Pegas, and though him, to Pegas himself. It also appears that he funded the edition of a book of Pegas, printed in Vilna in 1596 [see Legrand, n°218].

Our Simontas has nothing to do with Crete. At the time where Pegas prepared for him the copy of his homilies, he was himself in Constantinople. However, two facts shall be considered: first, the Paris gr. 1254 has many features of a text prepared for print. It is possible that the dedication letter included – which is not signed – is not designed to reach its addressee in a manuscript form, but in printed form. In that case, the *laudatio* in latin verses could also be part of the printing project. Second, as in the case of the first printing operation, the shipper of the manuscript is Kyrillos Loukaris. And we know that Loukaris, a Cretan himself, travelled many times in Crete. So, the 24<sup>th</sup> of December 1598, he was preaching in honor of Saint Catherine [Chrysostomos 1939, p. 72]. In that case, the manuscript Paris gr. 1256, which in fact never reached the printing press, could have been arrived in Crete as soon as the year 1598.

Between the very end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and 1666, it seems that the manuscript circulated in the circle of the protopsaltes Demetrius Tamias. I say circle, because nothing proves that Tamias had it in hand: the writing of this piece is not its own, as it can be noticed through a comparison with the original letter of support of the catholic bishop Marc Antonio Sebastiano Quirino written in 1624. One might wonder, however, why the small composition of Tamias was copied on a prominent place, on the blank page following the index and preceding the text of the homilies. Is it sheer coincidence, or is there a meaning that we have to discover? In fact, many hypotheses could be made. It has also to be reminded that Pegas himself wrote several letters to Cretans. What remains however as a fact, is the link operated between an official text of the Orthodox Pegas – a text to be used in a liturgical context, homilies – and a composition of the protopsaltes of Chandax Tamias, a man fully integrated in the Greek-Venetian Church establishment.

### *Meletius Pegas on music*

Searching for this link – but having not yet elucidate the problem, as I must confess – I found an interesting element which I shall present to you by now.

It has to do with another work of Pegas, namely his *Ὁρθόδοξος διδασκαλία* published in 1769 under the supervision of Neophytos Kausokalybites (1713-1784). This is a very rich, but also little known work, since the edition is very rare. In fact, by now, it's easier to have access to a ms. of it, namely the BL Add 10074, which is digitized and online. Fortunately, a copy of the book is preserved in the Library of the Parliament, in Athens, and I consulted it few days ago. The work of Pegas is a dialogue between a master (διδάσκαλος) and his pupil (μαθητής) on various issues of Orthodox faith. In the third part of the book, which deals mainly with Christian

practice and sacramental theology, there are few pages dedicated on prayer. They seemed quite interesting to me, and I wish to read them with you.

But before considering this text, some exterior indications:

- as said, the text is little known; however, it has been quoted by Nicodemus Hagioreites, in his *Pedalion*, ed. Leipzig 1800, in a footnote related to the canon 75 of the Council *in Trullo*. NB. Nicodemus was close to Neophytos Kausokalybitis.

- there is another point that could be discussed: in the ms. Marcianus gr. II 156, f. 83a-96b, the anonymous theoretical writing *Διάλεξις ὅπου κάμνει ο Διδάσκαλος με τὸν μαθητὴν περὶ τῶν σημαδίων τῆς μουσικῆς* (published by Giannopoulos) is also a dialogue between a master and his pupil (though the style is quite different of that of Pegas).

But let us now read and comment Pegas' text.

### ***Text – Meletios Pegas, 'On Prayer'***

- BL Add. 10074, ff. 93-95 [[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_10074](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_10074)]
- Ed. *Ὁρθόδοξος διδασκαλία*, συγγραφεῖσα μὲν παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου Πατριάρχου τῆς μεγάλης Πόλεως Ἀλεξανδρείας κυρίου Μελετίου τοῦ Πηγᾶ... νῦν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς θεοφρουρητῆτος ἡγεμονίας... Γρηγορίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Γκίκα Βοεβόδα, ἐπιμελεία καὶ δαπάνη τοῦ ... Ἱεροσολύμων Πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἐφραίμ ἐν τῇ Τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ ... Μητροπολίτου κυρίου Γρηγορίου ... δι' ἐπιδιορθώσεως τοῦ ... Πρωτοσυγκέλλου Καισαρίου, ἀψχθ' παρὰ Γρηγορίῳ ἱερομονάχῳ τυπ., p. σκθ'-σλδ'.
- [= Βουλή ΣΒΕ 1769 ΟΡΘ]
- Cit. Nicodemus Hagioreites, *Πηδάλιον τῆς νοητῆς νηός* ..., Athènes 1841<sup>2</sup>, p. 164; Zante 1864<sup>3</sup>, p. 286.
- Original materials: [https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1VwDIOWk\\_HW085D5VIu\\_T42N2ZVdNcSxJ?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1VwDIOWk_HW085D5VIu_T42N2ZVdNcSxJ?usp=sharing)

M. Περὶ προσευχῆς νῦν λέγωμεν.

Δ. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ ἔντευξις νοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν τῶν ἐπιγείων ὑπεραρθέντος, εἴτε σιγῶσα, εἴτε καὶ διὰ φωνῆς αἰτουσά τι, ἢ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἐπὶ τοῖς λη[φ]θεισιν, ἢ γεραίρουσα καὶ ὑμνοῦσα τὸν εὐεργέτην, ἢ τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ὑστερήματα ἐξομολογουμένη.

M. Τὶ δεῖ φωνῆς, εἰ αὐτάρκης σιγῆ;

Δ. Θεὸς οὐ δεῖται φωνῆς. Ὅσα γὰρ φωνᾶς, τόσα καὶ σιγᾶς, αἴεις νοεραῖς<sup>2</sup>. Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς χρῆζομεν φωνῆς ὑπομνησκούσης, ἅπερ τῷ νοῖ προσήκει προσεύχεσθαι πρὸς Θεόν.

M. Καὶ ὥστε εἶναι αἴσια ἃ αἰτούμεθα, ὡς δὴ μηδαμῶς μὴδ' ἀνθρωπείαν ἀκοὴν δεδιέναι. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφασαν τῶν ἔξω τινές. [in marg. : **διατὶ ἡ προσευχὴ δεῖται φωνῆς**]

Δ. Πνεύματι δὲ προσευχόμεθα, καὶ σιγῶντες, ἐπειδὴ περ πνεύματι ὄντι τῷ Θεῷ, οὐ δυνάμεθα προσομιλῆσαι αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ πνεύματι. Πέφυκε γὰρ τὸ ὅμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ προσπελάζειν. Ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δεσπότην, μεγάλην χρησάμενον φωνῆ προσευχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάθους [see Lk 23, 46]. Μωσῆς δὲ ὁ μέγας, καὶ σιγῶν [f. 93<sup>v</sup>] ἀκήκοεν, ὡς μεγαλοφωνότατα προσευχόμενος· *Τὶ βοᾶς πρὸς με;* [Ex 14, 15] Προσηύξατο καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀράμενος, φωνὴν μὴ ἀφείς [see Lk 22, 44]. [in marg. : **πῶς καὶ διατὶ ἡ προσευχόμεθα πνεύματι**]

M. Τὴν ψαλμωδίαν ποῦ τάττομεν;

Δ. Προσευχὴ καὶ ἡ ψαλμωδία ἕμμελος, μέλους δὲ χρῆσις ἐν τοῖς θείοις οὐκ ὀλίγη, ὁ λόγος μετὰ μέλους, τουτέστιν ἐναρμόνιος θελξίνος πέφυκε. Καὶ γοῦν εὐχερέστερον καταμαλάττει τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ κινεῖ ὅποι ἂν βούληται, παντὸς ἂν διατιθέμενος. Ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε καὶ καταλύγει, ἔστιν

<sup>2</sup> Synesius, Hymn IV : Ὑμνῶ σε, μάκαρ, καὶ διὰ φωνᾶς, ὑμνῶ σε, μάκαρ, καὶ διὰ σιγᾶς. Ὅσα γὰρ φωνᾶς, τόσα καὶ σιγᾶς, αἴεις νοεραῖς. [ed. Synesii, *De dono*, Bâle 1563, p. 144].

ὅπου καὶ παρακαλεῖ, καὶ οἷον εὐέλπιδα τίθησι, καὶ γεραρώτερον δὲ πρὸς αἶνον τοῦ τῶν ὅλου Θεοῦ τὸ ἔμμελον. Δι' ὃ καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς εὐθυμίαν κελεύει τὴν ψαλμωδίαν παραλαμβάνει τὸ λόγιον – *εὐθυμεῖ γὰρ τίς φησι, ψαλλέτω* [Jc 5, 13] –, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. Ψάλλετε τῷ Θεῷ φησι, ψάλλατε. [in marg. : **μουσικῆς περί·**] Συνετῶς δὲ γ' ὅμως. Μὴ γὰρ παντοίας ψαλμωδίας, καὶ μουσικῆς εἶδος νομίσης χρήσιμον. Πέφυκε γὰρ τὸν τόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύειν<sup>3</sup> μουσική, τὸ σεμνὸν ἀποβαλοῦσα, καὶ ψιλὴν ἀναλαβοῦσα τέρψιν, τὴν μαιεύτριαν τῶν ἡδονῶν. Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸ σεμνὸν, καὶ σύμμετρον τῆς μουσικῆς εὐπρόσιτον, διὰ τὸ ἀκμαιοτέρας καὶ νεωτέρας κατασκευάζειν τὰς καρδίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐτονωτέρας, εἰς ὑμνωδίαν τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ Θεῷ, οἷον ἀνασπῶσα τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σώματος (ἀρμονία γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι οἰκειότατον, μέσην ἔχουσα φύσιν σώματος καὶ παχύτητος, καὶ πνεύματος ἀυλότητος), οὕτω πάλιν ὑπέρμετρος μουσική, καὶ τῷ ἡδέϊ παρὰ τὸ μέτρον ἐνασχολουμένη, οὐχ ἡδύνει, ἀλλ' ἐκλύει, καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι ἐπάγει τὴν καρδίαν. Μέχρις ἐαυτῆς ἰσθῶσα τὴν φορὰν, καὶ μὴ ἀνεχομένη προσαναβαίνειν ἀνώτερον τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ κατασχοῦσα καὶ ἀνακόπτουσα, καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν, ὅτι τοῦτο λανθάνει ποιοῦσα [f. 94], ἐκθηλύνοντος τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἡδέως, καὶ μεθύσκοντος τῇ θέλξει τὸν νοῦν. Ἐπει καὶ φωνὰς τὰς ἀνθρώποις φύσει ἐνυπαρχούσας ἀποδεχόμενοι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς περιεργωδέστερα τὰ δι' ὀργάνων κρούσματά τε καὶ ἐμπνεύματα, οἱ πατέρες ἀποδιοπομποῦσι.

M. Θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν, εἰ ῥυθμῷ, καὶ μέτρῳ, καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ συγκραθεῖς λόγος, πολὺ δύναται. Ἐξανίστησι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρμονία, ὡς ποτ' Ἀλέξανδρον Τιμόθεος τὸ φρύγιον ἄδων μέλος. Σωφρονεῖν πείθει, ὡς Πυθαγόρας μεθύοντας εἰς σωφρονισμὸν ἀνακαλέσατο, ἄδειν κελεύσας τὸν αὐλητὴν τὸ δῶριον. Καὶ δὴ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λόγος ἰσχυρός. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσευχῆς μέρος, αἰτήσις, εὐχαριστία, δοξολογία, ἐξομολόγησις, ψαλμὸς, αἴνεσις, καὶ αἶνος. Φέρ' εἶδωμεν εἰ ἐπ' ἀδείας κεῖται τοῖς βουλομένοις προσεύχεσθαι ὅπως ἂν καὶ δόξῃ, ἢ κἂν ταῦτα, πῶς τοῦτο, καὶ τίσι ρήμασι, ἢ ποίοις ἐπὶ πράγμασι, ποιητέον προσδιωρίσθῃ.

Δ. Ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ διδάξας ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῆς καρδίας προαναπέμπει, καὶ προανακόπτει αὐτῶν τὴν πρόοδον, αὐταῖς φαύλαις πράξεσιν, ὁ καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν παιδαγωγῆσας τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλίας, αὐτὸς ἐξεπαίδευσε, καὶ τίσι ρήμασι, καὶ περὶ τίνων, καὶ πῶς δεῖ προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ οἷον ἐντυγχάνειν Θεῷ. [in marg. : **ὅτι ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς πῶς δεῖ προσεύχεσθαι**] Ὡς ἔστιν ἐπικίνδυνον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐντεύξεσι καὶ ρημάτων ἀμελεῖν. Ἐχρῆν οὖν, τὸν παραθαρήσαντα ἡμᾶς εἰς προσευχὴν, ἐπιβεβαίαις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν, ὅτι ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσωμεν ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ληψόμεθα παρὰ Πατρός, αὐτὸν καὶ διδάξαι τίνα ἦν, ἃ εἰκὸς αἰτεῖν, εἰ μὴ μέλλοιμεν τῶν αἰτήσεων ἀποτυγχάνειν, ἵνα μὴ, ἢ ἀνωφελῆ αἰτούμενοι παρὰ Θεοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἢ μάταια παρὰ τῆς ὄντος σοφίας, ἢ παρὰ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος μικρά, ἢ ἐπιβλαβῆ παρὰ τοῦ παναγάθου, ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ [f. 94v] τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐμπαθείας, καὶ προσπαθείας, καὶ ἀσθενείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς, καὶ ἀπροσωπολήπτου, καὶ παντοδυνάμου, καὶ μακροθύμου, καὶ πανοικτίρμονος Θεοῦ, ἐξεγείρομεν καθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀγανάκτησιν, καὶ γένηται ἡμῖν εἰς ἀμαρτίαν κατὰ Δαβὶδ ἢ προσευχὴ ἡμῶν.

M. Πῶς οὖν ἐδίδαξεν προσεύχεσθαι ὁ Σωτὴρ;

Δ. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς, ἕως τοῦ ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ προσευχὴ ἦν ἐδίδαξεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, καὶ προσευχῶν ἰδία. [in marg. : **τίς ἡ προσευχὴ ἣν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Σωτὴρ**]

M. Καὶ πῶς καὶ προφηῆται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ διδάσκαλοι ἄλλοις ρήμασιν ἐσθ' ὅτε τυγχάνουσι προσευζάμενοι, ἐσθ' ὅπου δὲ καὶ καταρῶμενοι τισίν;

<sup>3</sup> John Chrysostom, Theophrastos, etc.

Δ. Πᾶσα προσευχῆς δύναμις, εἰς ταῦτην ἀναφέρεται δυνάμει. [in marg. : **ὅτι πᾶσα ἄλλη προσευχὴ ταύτη περιέχει δυνάμει**] Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ῥήμασιν ἄλλοις δοκεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν φέρεται σκοπὸν, ὃν συλλέξας ἐνταῦθα ἐξέθηκεν ὁ Σωτῆρ. Ἦ γὰρ δόξαν Θεοῦ, ἢ βοήθειαν τῆς ἡμῶν ἀσθενείας κατὰ τε παθῶν, καὶ ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἢ αἴτησιν περιέχει ἀγαθῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τινὰς ἐκφαντικώτερον διηγουμένους, ἢ τὰς τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἀγαθότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οἷον ἐξομολογουμένους τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐτοῦ εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος, ἢ τὰς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσθενείας ἀνάγκας, τὰς τῶν παθῶν ὁρμὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν, τὰς ἐπιβουλάς τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων, τὰς ἐπιφορὰς πρὸς τὸ ἐμποιῆσαι οἶκτόν τινα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τρόπους τῆς βοηθείας ὑποτυποῦσιν. Ἀνάστηθι γὰρ Κύριε φησὶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου, ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν, καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξ ἐναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων με. Ἀναμιμνήσκουσι γὰρ καὶ Θεῷ τῶν προτέρων οἰκτιρμῶν, Ποῦ εἰσι τὰ ἔλεή σου τὰ ἀρχαῖα Κύριε φάσκοντες. Ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ δικαιολογίας ἐπιπλέκουσιν, Ἡμεῖς γὰρ λαός σου, [f. 95] καὶ πρόβατα νομῆς σου, ἃ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐγνωμοσύνην παρίστησιν. Εἰ δέ σοι καὶ ἀρὰς ἐπαρᾶσθαι φαίνεται τις, τῷ τοῦ λόγου εἶδει ἐχρήσατο εἰς μελλόντων πρόρρησιν, τουτέστι προσευξάμενος, ἢ εἰπεῖν οικειότερον δοκῶν προσεύχεσθαι, προεφήτευσεν, ὡς Δαβὶδ πολλαχοῦ, καὶ Παῦλος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἠλεγξε γὰρ ὡς τοῖχον κεκονιαμένον, καὶ προεφήτευσεν ὅτι τύπτειν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἔμμελλεν, καὶ καταρώμενος δὲ οὐ κατὰ τοῦ πλάσματος φέρονται τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐμφολευούσης τῷ πλάσματι κακίας, καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου πονηροῦ, τοῦ καθοπλίζοντος εἰς κακίαν. Λέγουσι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιποθοῦντες, μὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κακίαν ἀπολέσθαι, ἵνα ἐκποδῶν γενομένης, τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλημα γένηται, καὶ ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, ἃ πάντα τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξαν ἀποβλέπει.