

## The Greek and Latin Background to Scholarios' Thomistic Scriptural Quotations in his *Compendium of Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologiae I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>\**

Panagiotis Ch. Athanasopoulos

Scholarios was a fervent admirer of Thomas Aquinas<sup>1</sup>, as can be deduced by the fact that not only did he incorporate numerous Thomistic passages<sup>2</sup> in his works<sup>3</sup>, but he also produced several abridgments and translations of Thomistic works. In numerous cases, Thomistic passages quoted by Scholarios include Scriptural quotations. This is also the case with some of his Sermons<sup>4</sup>, several abridgments<sup>5</sup>, *florilegia*<sup>6</sup>, and translations<sup>7</sup>, as well as a few of his dogmatic writings<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Θωμᾶν γὰρ τὸν ἐξ Ἀκίνου οὐκ οἶδα εἶ τις ἐμοῦ πλέον τετίμηκε τῶν αὐτῶ προσεχόντων· οὐτ' εἶ τις αὐτῶ προσέχει, τούτῳ δεήσειν οἶμαι Μούσης ἐτέρας, ἀγαπητὸν μέντ' ἂν εἶναι παντὶ προσέχειν αὐτῶ καλῶς δύνασθαι (Scholarios, *Translation of Armandus de Bellovisu's Commentary in Thomas Aquinas' De Ente et Essentia*, Pr., 47–50, in Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, Paris 1933, 179, l. 25–28); cf. J. A. Demetracopoulos 2004, 20, n. 12; Idem 2018, 237.

<sup>2</sup> Such passages have already been pointed out in the edition of Scholarios' *corpus* (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 1–8, Paris 1928–1936 [passim]), whereas additional passages have been spotted by certain scholars (Podskalsky 1974, 305–323; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2002; Idem, 2006, 334–336; Idem, 2007, passim; Idem, 2017, 134–152; 2018, 259–265; Athanasopoulos 2015, passim).

<sup>3</sup> Tinnefeld (2002, 493–522), has classified Scholarios' works as 1) Dogmatic, 2) Apologetic, 3) Exegeses, 4) Ethical-Pastoral, 5) Personal apologies - autobiographies, 6) Preaching and homiletic, 7) Prayers in prose, 8) Works in poetic form, 9) Epistles, 10) Philosophical works, 11) Various, 12) Translations and abridgments of Latin works, and 13) Spurious or uncertain. Demetracopoulos (2010B, 85) has stated that the framework of this classification "looks like a sophisticated development of A. Erhard's classification" (1934, 103).

<sup>4</sup> E. g. *On Fast* (for some indicative cases, see n. 46); *On Almsgiving* (see J. A. Demetracopoulos 2017, passim); *On Eucharist* (e. g. 7, 19–20 [Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 1, 129, l. 18–19] = Ps.-Thomas Aquinas, *De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, 2 [Parmensis, vol. 17, 178A]; see Petit, Sideridès, Jugie 1928, 129, appar. crit. ad l. 11).

<sup>5</sup> Namely, *Compendium of Summa contra Gentiles* (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 5, 1–338, passim); *Compendium of Summa Theologiae I<sup>a</sup>* (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 5, 338–510, passim); *Compendium of Summa Theologiae I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 1–153); and *Compendium of Summa Theologiae II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. Scholarios has abridged qq. 65–189 of Thomas' *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* in Par. Gr. 1237 (J. A. Demetracopoulos 2017, 159; see Leontsinis & Glycophrydou-Leontsini 1976, 15, n. 5). For a description of the ms., see Omont 1886, 274; Leontsinis & Glycophrydou-Leontsini, *ibid.*; Cataldi Palau 2008, 290). Hereafter, Thomas' *Summa contra Gentiles* is abbreviated as *SG*, whereas Scholarios' relevant *Compendium* as *Compendium of SG*; Thomas' *Summa Theologiae* is abbreviated as *ST*, whereas Scholarios' *Compendium of Summa Theologiae I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* as *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*.

<sup>6</sup> *Florilegium Thomisticum I* and *II* (ed. in J. A. Demetracopoulos 2002, 167–168 and J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 345–365 respectively).

In fact, such Thomistic Scriptural quotations stem from certain Latin versions of the Bible and mainly from the Vulgate Parisian text, which Thomas Aquinas quoted frequently<sup>9</sup>. On the one hand, in his *Commentaries* on the *Pastoral Epistles* – to mention just one example – Thomas utilized (apart from the Parisian text) the *Glossa Ordinaria*, several *correctoria* (mainly the one by Hugh of St. Cher) and Biblical concordances; on the other hand, also available to him was the Old Latin Bible, along with Jerome’s revisions<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, many Scriptural quotations in the Thomistic texts had indirectly been drawn from various sources that he utilized<sup>11</sup>. From the above deductions, the following question arises: How did Scholarios consider such quotations?

Since Scholarios, as a Byzantine scholar, presumably had solid knowledge of the Greek text of the Bible, he was capable of ‘correcting’ or ‘restoring’ such Latin quotations. Still, as will be seen below, many Scriptural quotations in his works clearly indicate their Latin provenance<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, as it is known, such quotations in certain works of Scholarios are in fact derived from Demetrios Kydones’ translations<sup>13</sup> of some of Aquinas’ works<sup>14</sup>.

In this paper, I will present the Greek and Latin background of Thomistic Scriptural quotations in Scholarios’ *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, focusing on (a) Kydones’ *modus interpretandi* of such quotations in his *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* (which is the source text of Scholarios’ *Compendium*) and (b) the Scriptural quotations in Scholarios’ *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup> per se*. On this foundation, I will attempt to address the following questions: (a) what

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<sup>7</sup> E. g. Scholarios, *Prolegomena In Logicam* I, 6 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 7, 7, l. 6–22); see Petit, Sideridès, Jugie 1936, 7, appar. crit. ad l. 6.

<sup>8</sup> E. g. *On the divine Providence I–II* (see J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 314–323; 2010B, 89–91).

<sup>9</sup> Ayo 1988, 9; 163.

<sup>10</sup> Sirilla 2008, 30–33.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. in *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup> q. 113 a. 2 ad 3*, Thomas cites Augustine’s *On marriage and concupiscence*, I, 26 (29), 13–17 (Urba & Zycha 1902, 241, l. 25–242, l. 3), including the cited text of *Sirach* 21, 1: *Ad tertium dicendum quod, sicut Augustinus dicit, in libro de nuptiis et Concup., si a peccato desistere, hoc esset non habere peccatum, sufficeret ut hoc moneret Scriptura: «Fili, peccasti: non adicias iterum.» Non autem sufficit, sed additur: «Et de pristinis deprecare, ut tibi remittantur.»* (Leonina, vol. 7, 330A–B).

<sup>12</sup> J. A. Demetracopoulos 2004, 83–84; Idem 2007, 318, n. 47; Idem 2010B, 89–91.

<sup>13</sup> For these translations, see Papadopoulos 1967, 25–52; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2010A, 825.

<sup>14</sup> J. A. Demetracopoulos 2004, 83–84; Idem 2007, 318, n. 47.

was Scholarios' opinion on the valid versions of the Bible, given that certain retro-versed Latin Biblical passages had been assimilated into his texts, (b) why did he offer a Greek translation of some passages extant in Aquinas' works but absent in the *Septuagint*?

### 1. The Background of Scholarios' Scriptural quotations

As expected, Scholarios quoted from a certain Greek version of the Bible (*Septuagint* or the Byzantine text of the *New Testament*<sup>15</sup>), only on the premise that he didn't have a Latin source to draw from<sup>16</sup>.

Scholarios, *Response to Mark of Ephesus'*

*Jn. 16, 15; 17, 10; 10, 30*

*Syllogisms on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, 1*

(19).1–3 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 3, 477, l. 5–7)

Οἱ Λατῖνοι τῶν ἱερῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἀκούοντες·

πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατήρ ἐμά ἐστι.

«Πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατήρ, ἐμά ἐστι» καὶ πάλιν· «Τὰ

τὰ ἐμά πάντα σά ἐστι καὶ τὰ σά ἐμά...

ἐμά πάντα σά ἐστι, καὶ τὰ σά ἐμά» καὶ πάλιν· «Ἐγὼ

ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἔν ἐσμεν.

καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἔν ἐσμεν»...

However, in many cases, Scholarios provided a slightly altered text. This may have resulted from his source or an elaboration by Scholarios himself or even due to an error in the manuscript tradition<sup>17</sup>. Such instances are common and expected in Scholarios' texts, where he assimilates a Greek Scriptural passage, either directly from the Greek Bible or indirectly, i. e. via some other Greek author's text.

Yet, the case is different with Scholarios' translations and abridgments of Latin works, as it is with some of his sermons and dogmatic works, when a Scriptural quotation is derived

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<sup>15</sup> Hereafter, the quotations from the *Septuagint* follow the text of *Göttingen Septuaginta* 1931–2006 or (when the former is not available) that of Rahlfs & Hanhart 2006; those from the Greek *New Testament* follow the Byzantine text of CSPMT, 2014; those from the *Vulgate Old Testament* follow the *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatum versionem ad codicum fidem*, Romae, 1926–1995; those from the *Vulgate New Testament* follow the edition of Wordsworth, White & Sparks 1889–1954.

<sup>16</sup> Hereafter, the single underlined text indicates concordances and the double underlined text the opposite.

<sup>17</sup> See e. g. the citations of *Is.* 1, 11; 1, 13–14, and *Am.* 5, 21–22 in Scholarios, *Refutation of the Jewish error* (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 3, 274, l. 2–7).

from a certain Latin author, mainly Thomas Aquinas as translated by Demetrios Kydones<sup>18</sup>.

For example, in his *Compendium of SG*, Scholarios draws from Thomas' citation of *Proverbs* in Demetrios Kydones' translation, as preserved in the ms. Taurinensis Gr. 23<sup>19</sup>, which is the exact ms. that Scholarios utilized<sup>20</sup>:

<b>Thomas, <i>SG</i>, lib.</b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i></b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium</i></b>	<b><i>Prov.</i> 8, 7</b>
<b>1 cap. 1 n. 1</b>	<b>(Taur. Gr. 23, f. 1<sup>r</sup>, l. 5–</b>	<b>of <i>SG</i>, I, Pr.5–7 (Petit,</b>	
<b>(23489) (Marc,</b>	<b>7)</b>	<b>Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 5, 2,</b>	
<b>Pera, Caramello,</b>		<b>l. 28–30)</b>	
<b>vol. 2, 1A)</b>			
Veritatem	«Ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ	«Ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ	ὅτι ἀλήθειαν
meditabitur guttur	<u>λάρυγγ</u> μου, ἐβδελυγμένα	<u>λάρυγγ</u> μου,	μελετήσῃ ὁ
meum, et labia	δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χεῖλη	ἐβδελυγμένα <sup>21</sup> δὲ ἐναντίον	<u>φάρυγγ</u> μου,
mea detestabuntur	ψευδῆ, <u>τὰ δὲ χεῖλη μου</u>	ἐμοῦ χεῖλη ψευδῆ, <u>τὰ δὲ</u>	ἐβδελυγμένα δὲ
impium. <i>Prov.</i> 8–7.	<u>ἐλέγξει τὸν ἀσεβῆ</u> », φησὶν	<u>χεῖλη μου ἐλέγξει τὸν</u>	ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ
	ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῶν	<u>ἀσεβῆ</u> », φησὶν ἐν ἐννάτῳ <sup>22</sup>	χεῖλη ψευδῆ.
	<i>Παροιμιῶν Σολομών.</i>	τῶν <i>Παροιμιῶν Σολομών.</i>	

Kydones' quotation is based to a certain extent on the Vulgate *Proverbs*, as the readings *λάρυγγ* and *τὰ δὲ ... ἀσεβῆ* indicate. Thus, his text, which in turn is adopted by Scholarios, is different from that of the *Septuagint*. Similarly, Scholarios' dependence on Kydones' translation is further indicated by certain misreferences by Kydones which are integrated into Scholarios' text:

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q.</b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i></b>	<b>Scholarios,</b>	<b><i>Job</i> 21, 14</b>
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<sup>18</sup> See n. 14. Nevertheless, in a few cases Scholarios quotes a Thomistic Scriptural quotation directly from the Latin text. E. g. Scholarios' *On Eucharist*, 7, 19–20 (see n. 4).

<sup>19</sup> For a description of the ms., see Pasinus 1749, vol. 1, 93–94.

<sup>20</sup> Frassinetti 1953, 80–81; Papadopoulos 1967, 38, n. 68; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2017, 26.

<sup>21</sup> ἐβδελυγμ- ed.: correxi.

<sup>22</sup> ἐννάτῳ ed.: fort. legendum ἐνάτῳ.

<b>6 a. 8 co. (Leonina,</b>	<b>(Marc. Gr. 147, f. 47<sup>v</sup>,</b>	<b><i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup></i></b>	
<b>vol. 6, 63A)</b>	<b>l. 16–17)</b>	<b>II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 6 a. 8.13–14</b>	
		<b>(Petit, Sideridès, Jugie,</b>	
		<b>vol. 6, 14, l. 12–13)</b>	
secundum illud <i>Iob</i>	κατὰ τὸ <u>εἰκοστὸν</u>	κατὰ τὸ <u>κβ'</u> τοῦ Ἰώβ·	ὁδοὺς σου
<u>XXI</u> : <i>Scientiam viarum</i>	<u>δεύτερον</u> τοῦ Ἰώβ· τὴν	«Τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν	εἰδέναι οὐ
<i>tuarum nolumus.</i>	ἐπιστήμην τῶν ὁδῶν	ὁδῶν σου οὐ θέλομεν».	βούλομαι.
	σου οὐ θέλομεν.		

Apparently, Kydones' Latin source ms. reads *XXII* (instead of *XXI*) or at least this was the number that Kydones read. Whatever the case may be, neither Kydones nor Scholarios consulted a Greek ms. in order to correct this misreference. All the above indicate that before proceeding with Scholarios' Thomistic Scriptural quotations in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, it is necessary to figure out Kydones' treatment of such quotations in his *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*<sup>23</sup>.

## 2. Kydones' Thomistic Scriptural quotations in his *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*

In many instances, Kydones translates<sup>24</sup> Thomas' Latin reference faithfully, without considering the Greek Bible<sup>25</sup>. Accordingly, the Biblical passages in Kydones' translation may totally differ from the Greek text of the Bible:

<sup>23</sup> The critical *editio princeps* of Kydones' *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* is currently being prepared by the author. The text provided in this study is that of Marc. Gr. 147, which is the copy of Kydones' autograph and the only ms. preserving the entire text. Yet, in each case, the text of Marc Gr. 147 has been collated to the other mss. so that the solidity of the examples is undisputable. As regards the examples from Thomas' *SG*, the author follows the text of Taur. Gr. 23 (see n. 20).

<sup>24</sup> For various aspects of Kydones' *modus interpretandi*, see Papadopoulos 1970, 22; Moutsopoulos 1976; 1979; 1980; Demetracopoulos 1982, 314–317; Kalamakis 1996, 40–49; Koltsiou-Niketa 1999, 23–25; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2002, 83–84 & 172–173, n. 503; Moutsopoulos 2002; Glykophrydi-Leontsini 2003, 180–185; Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 63\*–81\*; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 318–319, n. 47; Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 109, 216–217 (n. 120) & 298; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2010B, 89–91; Wright 2013; Athanasopoulos (**forthcoming**), 000.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Papadopoulos 1970, 22; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2002, 83–84 & 172–173; Idem 2007, 318–319, n. 47. For such a practice in the translation of some Augustinian or Ps.-Augustinian Scriptural quotations by Kydones, see Kalamakis 1996, 43–44; Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 77\*–78\*, respectively.

Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 21 a. Kydones' *Translation* (Marc. *Is. 3, 10–11*

3 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, Gr. 147, f. 96<sup>v</sup>, l. 15–17)

166A)

<u>dicitur Isaiiae III: Dicite</u>	<u>λέγεται ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου:</u>	<u>εἰπόντες: Δήσωμεν τὸν</u>
<u>iusto quoniam bene:</u>	<u>λέγετε τῷ δικαίῳ καλῶς, ὅτι τὸν</u>	<u>δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχηστος ἡμῖν</u>
<u>quoniam fructum</u>	<u>καρπὸν τῶν εὐρημάτων αὐτοῦ</u>	<u>ἐστι: τοίνυν τὰ γεννήματα τῶν</u>
<u>adinventionum suarum</u>	<u>φάγεται. Οὐαὶ τῷ ἀσεβεῖ εἰς τὸ</u>	<u>ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται. Οὐαὶ</u>
<u>comedet. Vae impio in</u>	<u>κακόν· ἢ γὰρ ἀνταπόδοσις τῶν</u>	<u>τῷ ἀνόμῳ· πονηρὰ κατὰ τὰ</u>
<u>malum: retributio enim</u>	<u>χειρῶν αὐτοῦ γενήσεται αὐτῷ.</u>	<u>ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ</u>
<u>manuum eius fiet ei.</u>		<u>συμβήσεται αὐτῷ.</u>

Kydones translates this quotation considering exclusively Thomas' text and, thus, he provides a text very different to that of the *Septuagint*. Yet, the meaning of Kydones' version is very close to that of the Greek Scripture. In the same vein, Kydones translates *ad verbum* Thomas' text, as shown in the following example:

Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 51 a. 4 Kydones' *Translation* (Marc. Gr. *Sirach 15, 3*

s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 329A) 147, f. 179<sup>v</sup>, l. 18–19)

dicitur <u>Eccli. XV: Implevit</u>	<u>λέγεται ἐν τῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ</u>	<u>ψωμιεῖ αὐτὸν ἄρτον</u>
<u>eum Dominus spiritu</u>	<u>Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ· ἐνέπλησεν αὐτὸν ὁ</u>	<u>συνέσεως καὶ ὕδωρ</u>
<u>sapientiae et intellectus</u> <sup>26</sup> .	<u>Θεὸς πνεύματος σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως.</u>	<u>σοφίας ποτιεῖ αὐτόν.</u>

Apparently, Kydones' translation of this quotation bears a Latin background. Moreover, Kydones' misreference to *Ecclesiastes* may have resulted from a misreading of the abbreviation *Eccli.* (= *Ecclesiasticus/Siracides*) in his Latin copy<sup>27</sup>, which in fact implies that

<sup>26</sup> For the special readings of Thomas' Scriptural quotation, see *Sirach 15, 3, appar. crit.*

<sup>27</sup> P. Demetracopoulos, 1982, 317; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 319, n. 47; Idem 2017, 140 (and n. 50). This is also the case with Marc. Gr. 147 (ff. 17<sup>r</sup>–491<sup>r</sup>), which preserves Kydones' *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*.

he did not consult any Greek ms. of the *Septuagint*, in order to verify this reference.

Interestingly enough, the way that Kydones translates the titles of the Biblical Books (with the exception of *Ecclesiasticus*) has not attracted the attention of scholars<sup>28</sup>.

The examples above indicate that Kydones did not consider it necessary to amend such translated quotations to the Greek Bible, since they more or less had a similar meaning to the Greek text. However, a few Scriptural quotations in Kydones' *Translation* do not occur in the *Septuagint* at all; thus, they form a rare mini-*corpus* of Latin-based Greek *OT* citations, absent from the *Septuagint*:

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 93 a. 5 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 7, 165B)</b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i> (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 340<sup>r</sup>, l. 7–9)</b>	<b><i>Prov.</i> 8, 29</b>
Sed contra est quod dicitur <i>Prov.</i> VIII: <u>Quando</u> <u>circumdabat mari terminum</u> <u>suum, et legem ponebat aquis</u> <u>ne transirent fines suos.</u>	Ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον λέγεται ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Παροιμιῶν· ὅτε περιετίθει τῇ θαλάσῃ ὄρον, καὶ νόμον ἐδίδου τοῖς ὕδασιν ὥστε μὴ ὑπερβῆναι τὰ ὅρια αὐτῶν.	<u>quando circumdabat mari</u> <u>terminum suum, et legem</u> <u>ponebat aquis, ne</u> <u>transirent fines suos.</u>

Given that the text of *Proverbs* was popular in Byzantium, it is very interesting that Kydones produced a translation of a passage absent from the Greek *Septuagint*. As a conscientious translator, Kydones translated what he read in his Latin Thomistic ms., given that his main concern was to provide the exact meaning of Thomas' text<sup>29</sup>.

On the contrary, often enough, Kydones' translation was partially or fully identical to the Greek text of the Bible<sup>30</sup>, especially when the quotations were brief and were derived from well-known passages, which Kydones may have quoted by heart. Yet, in his *Translation of Prosper from Aquitaine's Florilegium from Augustine's Works*, Kydones seemed to have

<sup>28</sup> J. A. Demetracopoulos 2017, 140 and n. 50.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Kalamakis 1996, 40; Koltziou-Niketa 2005, 64\*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Kalamakis 1996, 44; Koltziou-Niketa 2005, 75\*–77\*; 78\*–80\*.

considered the Greek text of the Bible for some difficult passages, but only while revising his text at a second stage<sup>31</sup>. Given that the hard task of translating the voluminous *Summae* was time-consuming, I assume that he did not constantly consider the Greek text of such Scriptural passages, while translating. However, Kydones did consider the Greek text of the Bible in several cases, as shown below:

**Thomas, ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 5 a. 4**    **Kydones' Translation (Marc. Ps. 16, 15**  
**4 co. (Leonina, vol. 6,**    **Gr., f. 39<sup>v</sup>, l. 25–26)**  
**50B)**

dicitur in <i>Psalmo XVI</i> :	λέγεται ἐν τοῖς Ψαλμοῖς:	χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ
<i>Satiabor cum apparuerit</i>	χορτασθήσομαι ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναί	ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου.
<i>gloria tua.</i>	μοι τὴν δόξαν σου.	

As the interchange of the Latin sentence “cum...gloria” with the prepositional phrase “ἐν...δόξαν” indicates, the adaptation of Kydones’ translation to the Greek text of *Psalms* was deliberate rather than incidental. It is noteworthy that Kydones read *μοι* in concordance to the groups L’ and A’ of the Greek manuscript tradition of the *Psalms*<sup>32</sup>. In the same vein:

<b>Thomas, ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 4 a. 4</b>	<b>Kydones' Translation (Marc. Gr.,</b>	<b>Mt. 5, 8</b>
<b>s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 41A)</b>	<b>f. 33<sup>v</sup>, l. 12–13)</b>	
dicitur <i>Matth. V: Beati</i>	λέγεται ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τοῦ Κατὰ	μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ
<i>mundo corde, quoniam ipsi</i>	Ματθαῖον· μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ	τῆ καρδία, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
<i>Deum videbunt.</i>	καρδία, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.	τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται.

Again, the *ad sensum* translation of *mundo* as οἱ καθαροὶ is congruent to the very well-known citation from *Mt.* Still, in some brief quotations, the coincidence of Kydones’ translation with the Greek text of the Bible may have been unintentional, resulting from a selection of terms and syntax coincidentally identical to the Greek quotation. Alternatively,

<sup>31</sup> Kalamakis 1996, 44.

<sup>32</sup> See *Ps. 16, 15, appar. crit.* For these groups, see *Göttingen Septuaginta*, vol. 10, 63; 70.



Kydones seemed to occasionally have translated some parts of Thomas' text freely<sup>33</sup>.

Nevertheless, since Kydones' Thomistic source ms. is unknown, some discrepancies found in his translation of Thomas' text may have resulted from errors in the manuscript tradition or even due to fault of his own. In fact, discerning what the case may be each time, is not always possible, as shown below:

**Thomas, *ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 34 a. 3 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 237A)**      **Kydones' *Translation* (Marc. Gr., f. 131<sup>r</sup>, l. 18–19)**      ***Ps. 15, 11***

dicitur enim in <i>Psalmo XV</i> :	λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ψαλμοῖς:	πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης
<i>Adimplebis me laetitia cum</i>	Πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ	μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου·
<i>vultu tuo; <u>delectationes</u> in</i>	τοῦ προσώπου σου· <u>τερπνότης</u>	<u>τερπνότητες</u> ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ
<i>dextera tua usque in finem.</i>	ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος.	σου εἰς τέλος».

Most probably, Kydones' reading *τερπνότης* is derived from a reading *delectatio* extant in his unknown source ms., given that both *delectatio* and *delectationes* are testified in the Latin manuscript tradition of *Psalms*<sup>34</sup>. Then again, one may raise the possibility that Kydones' source ms. read *delectationes*. In such a case, *τερπνότης* may have been derived either from a certain misreading by Kydones – which in fact seems improbable, considering the fact that by then Kydones was already experienced in reading the Latin minuscule – or by Kydones' intention to translate *delectationes* in the singular, since it is an abstract term. In any case, his translation provides a meaning congruent to both the Latin and the Greek text of *Psalms*.

Given that accuracy was a *desideratum* for Kydones<sup>35</sup>, he seldom left the translation of some Scriptural quotations incomplete. In fact, every time that Kydones faced a difficulty in his Latin copy, he left a *lacuna* in his text intending to return later and offer a better concise

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 80\*.

<sup>34</sup> See *Ps. 15, 11*, *appar. crit.*

<sup>35</sup> Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 64\*; Eadem, 2009, 109; Wright 2013, 24–25.

translation<sup>36</sup>, after having searched for the meaning of a specific term or, as far as we are concerned, after consulting the Greek text of the Bible, as shown below:

**Thomas, ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 9 a. 6 Kydones' Translation (Marc. Gr., Phil. 2, 13**

**s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 82A) f. 55<sup>v</sup>, l. 22–23)**

Apostolus dicit, <i>ad Philipp.</i>	φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ	ὁ Θεὸς <u>γάρ</u> ἐστὶν ὁ
II: <i>Deus est qui operatur in</i>	τῆς Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους· ὁ Θεός	ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν <u>καὶ</u> τὸ
<i>nobis velle et perficere.</i>	ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ θέλειν	θέλειν καὶ τὸ <u>ἐνεργεῖν</u>
	καὶ τὸ <lacuna>	

Kydones follows Thomas' text in omitting *γὰρ* and the first *καὶ*, which nevertheless are extant in the Greek text of *Philippians*; in the same vein, he read *nobis* instead of *vobis* (*ὕμῖν*)<sup>37</sup>. Moreover, unless Kydones' Latin source ms. was responsible for the *lacuna*, he was confused regarding the appropriate translation of *perficere*, which could be translated either literally (*τελειοῦν*) in concordance to the Latin text of Thomas or *ad sensum* (*ἐνεργεῖν*) congruently to the Greek Bible. Notably, Kydones had translated this Scriptural quotation some years back, by opting for *τελειοῦν*<sup>38</sup>.

As one can deduce, all of the above fall under the context of Kydones' literary production, a significant part of which was aimed at the union of the two Churches. Kydones' painstaking enterprise to translate certain Thomistic works indicates that, in his view, Thomas was an *auctoritas*. In the same breath, the Thomistic Scriptural quotations were treated as genuine to a certain extent. Yet, when necessary, Kydones considered the Greek text of the Bible, as well. The *consensus* of all the practices exhibited above is Kydones' aim at offering the accurate meaning of the Latin text<sup>39</sup> and at the same time, providing a text attractive to the

<sup>36</sup> This was Kydones' practice in his *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup>*, as well (Wright 2013, 24–26).

<sup>37</sup> For these special readings of Thomas' citation, see *Phil. 2, 13, appar. crit.*

<sup>38</sup> Demetrios Kydones, *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup>* q. 105 a. 4 s. c. (Vat. Gr. 609, f. 128<sup>r</sup>, l. 38–39): Ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον λέγεται ἐν τῷ β<sup>9</sup> τῆς πρὸς Φιλιππησίους· «ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ τελειοῦν».

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Koltziou-Niketa 2005, 64\*; 73\*.

Byzantine reader. For this exact reason he tried to maintain the order of the words of his Latin copy and combined the *ad sensum*<sup>40</sup> and *ad verbum*<sup>41</sup> translation mode.

### 3. Scholarios' Thomistic Scriptural quotations in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*

In terms of provenance, Scholarios' Thomistic Scriptural quotations may: (a) have a discernible Latin background (partially or fully), (b) have no traceable Latin background, being identical to the Greek Bible, and (c) be of dubious provenance.

#### a) Quotations with discernible Latin background

This class includes retro-versed Thomistic Scriptural quotations, provided that in many instances Scholarios follows Kydones' translation, especially when the meaning is congruent to the Greek Bible<sup>42</sup>. Such quotations are more or less faithful translations of the Latin text:

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 2 a. 5 arg. 1 (Leonina, vol. 6, 21A)</b>	<b>Kydones' Translation (Marc. 147, f. 23<sup>v</sup>, l. 3)</b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 2 a. 5.4–5 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 4, l. 25–26)</b>	<b><i>Sirach</i> 30, 16</b>
Dicitur enim <i>Eccli.</i> XXX: <i>Non est census supra censum salutis corporis</i> <sup>43</sup> .	Λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ λ' τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ· «οὐκ ἔστι κίνσος ὑπὲρ τὸν κίνσον τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ σώματος.»	Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ· «Ὁὐκ ἔστι κῖνσος ὑπὲρ τὸν κῖνσον τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ σώματος»...	Οὐκ ἔστιν <u>πλοῦτος</u> <u>βελτίων</u> <u>ὑγείας</u> σώματος.

Given that the term *κῆνσος*, already testified in the *New Testament*, was used by Church Fathers and Byzantine authors respectively, neither Kydones nor Scholarios considered to

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Koltsiou-Niketa 2005, 64\*; Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 109.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Kalamakis 1996, 44; Glykophrydi-Leontsini 2003, 181.

<sup>42</sup> J. A. Demetracopoulos 2002, 83–84; 172–173.

<sup>43</sup> For the reading *supra*, see *Sirach* 30, 16, *appar. crit.*

“correct” this reading to *πλοῦτος*, so as to adapt it to the Greek Bible. In the same vein, Scholarios does not hesitate to adopt a clearly Latin-based version of *Ecclesiastes* from Kydones’ translation, as shown below:

Thomas, <i>ST I</i> <sup>a</sup>	Kydones’	Scholarios,	<i>Eccle. 12, 14</i>
II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 21 a. 4 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 167A)	<i>Translation</i> (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 97 <sup>r</sup> , l. 24–25)	<i>Compendium of ST I</i> <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup> , q. 21 a. 4.1–3 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 27, l. 10–12)	
dicitur <i>Eccle.</i> ult.: <i>Cuncta quae fiunt adducet Deus in iudicium, sive bonum sit sive malum</i> <sup>44</sup> .	λέγεται ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ· πάντα τὰ γινόμενα παράξει Κύριος εἰς κρίσιν, εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν.	ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ λέγεται· «Πάντα τὰ γινόμενα παράξει Κύριος εἰς κρίσιν, εἴτε ἀγαθόν, εἴτε κακόν».	ὅτι <u>σύμπαν τὸ ποίημα</u> <u>ὁ Θεὸς ἄξει ἐν κρίσει,</u> <u>ἐν παντὶ</u> <u>παρεωραμένῳ. ἐὰν</u> <u>ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐὰν</u> <u>πονηρόν.</u>

Insofar as to the extent of their importance, such cases are spotted in certain other Thomistic translations and abridgments of Scholarios<sup>45</sup>, in some of Scholarios’ sermons<sup>46</sup> and in a few of his dogmatic works<sup>47</sup>. Of further interest is the adoption of a few Thomistic quotations from the *OT* which Scholarios considered genuine, although they were absent from the *Septuagint* (in accordance to Kydones’ practice exhibited above<sup>48</sup>):

<sup>44</sup> For the special readings of Thomas’ Scriptural quotation, see *Eccle. 12, 14, appar. crit.*

<sup>45</sup> E. g. in his *Prolegomena ad Logicam* 1, 10–16 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 7, 7, l. 10–16), Scholarios first declared the Thomistic provenance of his text (Scholarios, *Prolegomena in Logicam*, I, 6, in Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 7, 7, l. 6), and then he integrated Thomas’ text including two quotations from *Sirach* 14, 22 (which in fact is *Ecclesiastes* 14, 20) and *Sapientia* 7, 14. In both cases, Scholarios’ Thomistic text is that of Kydones.

<sup>46</sup> E. g. in Scholarios, *On Fast*, 10.11–17 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 1, 89, l. 13–20) the editors of Scholarios’ text have identified its dependence upon Thomas’ *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 147 a. 5 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 1, Paris 1928, 86, appar. crit. ad l. 6); yet, Scholarios cited material from q. 148 as well (Thomas, *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 148 a. 6 co. [Leonina vol. 10, Romae 1899, 175A–B]) as translated by Kydones. Again Scholarios maintained the form of Kydones’ Latin-based quotations (as preserved in Par. Gr. 1237, f. 274<sup>v</sup>, l. 3–5). For more examples of this kind, see J. A. Demetracopoulos, 2017, passim.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Scholarios’ *On the divine Providence* II, 11, 19–20 (along with its Scriptural quotation) is derived from Thomas’ *SG*, lib. 3 cap. 75 n. 15 (J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 318, n. 47).

<sup>48</sup> See ch. 2.

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 112 a. 2 co. (Leonina, vol. 7, 324B)</b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i> (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 469<sup>v</sup>, l. 24)</b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 112, a. 2.13–14 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 141, l. 34–35)</b>	<b><i>Prov. 16, 1</i></b>
secundum illud <i>Prov.</i>	κατὰ τὸ 13' τῶν	κατὰ τὸ ἑκκαίδέκατον τῶν	<u>Hominis est</u>
XVI: <u>Hominis est</u>	<u>Παροιμιῶν</u> τοῦ	Παροιμιῶν· « <u>Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου</u>	<u>animus</u>
<u>praeparare animus</u> <sup>49</sup> .	<u>ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶ</u>	<u>ἐστὶ προετοιμάσαι τὸν</u>	<u>praeparare</u>
	<u>προετοιμάσαι τὸν νοῦν.</u>	<u>νοῦν</u> ».	

In all these cases, Scholarios faithfully copied the Thomistic Scriptural quotations as translated by Kydones. Still, in some cases, Scholarios' text offers a 'corrected' version of Kydones' quotations based on the Greek text of the Bible<sup>50</sup>. Nevertheless, some misreferences stay unnoticed and thus indicate the Latin provenance of the citation:

<b>Thomas Aquinas, <i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 5 a. 5 c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 51A)</b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i> (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 40<sup>r</sup>, l. 29–31)</b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup></i>, q. 5 a. 5, l. 2–4 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 11, l. 34–36)</b>	<b><i>I Cor. 2, 9</i></b>
dicit enim Apostolus,	Φησὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος	... τοῦ Ἀποστόλου	<u>ὁ</u> ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ
<u>I ad Cor. II: Oculus</u>	ἐν τῷ <u>πρώτῳ</u> τῆς Πρὸς	λέγοντος ἐν <u>πρώτῳ</u> τῆς	εἶδε καὶ οὐκ οὐκ
<u>non vidit, et auris</u>	Κορινθίους <u>δευτέρας</u> ·	Πρὸς Κορινθίους	ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ
<u>non audivit, et in cor</u>	ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ	<u>δευτέρας</u> · « <u>Ὁ</u> ὀφθαλμὸς	καρδίαν
<u>hominis non</u>	οὐκ οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ	οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὐκ οὐκ	ἀνθρώπου οὐκ
<u>ascendit, quae</u>	καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ	ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν	ἀνέβη, ἃ
<u>praeparavit Deus</u>	ἀνέβη, ἃ ἠτοίμασεν ὁ	ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ	ἠτοίμασεν ὁ

<sup>49</sup> For the readings *praeparare animus* and *animus praeparare*, see *Prov. 16, 1, appar. crit.*

<sup>50</sup> Cf. J. A. Demetracopoulos 2007, 318.

*diligentibus se*<sup>51</sup>. Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ἠτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς Θεὸς τοῖς  
αὐτόν. ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν». ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.

Kydones, following Thomas' text, omits the first *ἃ*, which, nevertheless, is restored in Scholarios' text. Given that Scholarios' source ms. is unknown, it is uncertain if this addition was by his hand. Whatever the case may be, the corrector either had access to a certain ms. of *I Cor.* or recalled the relevant passage by heart. The latter seems to be the case, since Kydones' misreference to *II Cor.*, 1 instead of *I Cor.*, 2 is repeated in Scholarios' text, indicating thus the Latin provenance of the citation.

In all the above examples, Scholarios retains more or less Kydones' text in its entirety. Yet, given that Scholarios' *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* is an abridgment, he sometimes took the liberty to abbreviate certain Scriptural quotations, thus providing a denser text, when compared not only to Thomas' and Kydones' text but also to the *Septuagint*. However, certain citations of this kind still retain a discernible Latin background:

<b>Thomas Aquinas, <i>ST</i></b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i></b>	<b>Scholarios,</b>	<b><i>Sap.</i> 8, 16</b>
<b>I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 35 a. 5 s. c.</b>	<b>(Marc. Gr. 147, f. 134<sup>v</sup>,</b>	<b><i>Compendium of</i></b>	
<b>(Leonina, vol. 6,</b>	<b>l. 7–8)</b>	<b><i>ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 35 a.</i></b>	
<b>243B–244A)</b>		<b>5.1–3 (Petit,</b>	
		<b>Sideridès, Jugie,</b>	
		<b>vol. 6, 39, l. 28–30)</b>	
dicitur <i>Sap.</i> VIII: <u><i>Non</i></u>	λέγεται ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς	Ἐν γὰρ ὀγδόῳ τῆς	<u>οὐ γὰρ</u> ἔχει πικρίαν
<u><i>habet amaritudinem</i></u>	<i>Σοφίας</i> : <u>οὐκ ἔχει</u> πικρίαν	<i>Σοφίας</i> λέγεται	ἢ <u>συναναστροφή</u>
<u><i>conversatio illius,</i></u>	ἢ μετ' αὐτῆς <u>διατριβή</u> ,	« <u>Οὐκ ἔχει</u> πικρίαν	αὐτῆς, <u>οὐδὲ</u>
scilicet <u><i>sapientiae, nec</i></u>	τουτέστι <u>τῆς σοφίας</u> ,	ἢ μετὰ <u>τῆς σοφίας</u>	<u>ὀδύνην</u> ἢ
<u><i>taedium convictus</i></u>	<u>οὔτε τι ἀηδὲς ἢ πρὸς</u>	<u>διατριβή</u> , <u>οὔτε τι</u>	<u>συμβίωσις αὐτῆς</u> ,

<sup>51</sup> For the special readings of Thomas' Scriptural quotation, see *I Cor.* 2, 9, *appar. crit.*

*eius; sed laetitiam et gaudium*<sup>52</sup>.      αὐτὴν ἔνωσις, ἀλλ’      ἀηδὲς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὴν      ἀλλὰ εὐφροσύνην  
εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαράν.      ἔνωσις».      καὶ χαράν.

### b) Quotations with no Latin background

In Scholarios’ *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, several Scriptural quotations are identical to the Greek version of the Bible, since Kydones had adapted them (either by heart or by consulting a certain ms.) to the Greek text of the Bible. Thus, their Latin provenance is no longer discernible:

<b>Thomas, ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 67 a. 4 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 442A)</b>	<b>Kydones’ Translation (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 230<sup>v</sup>, l. 27)</b>	<b>Scholarios, Compendium of Rom. 8, 24 ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 67, a. 4.1–2 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 71, l. 16–17)</b>
apostolus dicit, <i>Rom. VIII: Quod videt quis, quid sperat?</i>	φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Ρωμαίους· ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει;	τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς πρὸς Ρωμαίους· «Ὁ γὰρ βλέπει ἐλπίζει; τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει»;
		ὁ γὰρ βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει;

Kydones’ readings *γὰρ* and *καί*, absent from Thomas’ text, indicate clearly that Kydones had adapted Thomas’ Scriptural quotation to the Greek text of *Romans*. Accordingly, Scholarios’ text bears no traces of the Latin Scripture.

Furthermore, as seen, in some cases Scholarios’ quotations are abridged or slightly altered versions of the Greek Bible. Yet, no Latin background can be discerned, as shown below, where Scholarios’ text offers a shortened version of Thomas’ and Kydones’ quotation of *II Timothy* 4, 7–8.

<b>Thomas, ST I<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Kydones’ Translation</b>	<b>Scholarios, Compendium</b>	<b>II Tim. 4, 7–8</b>
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<sup>52</sup> For the special readings of Thomas’ Scriptural quotation, see *Sap.* 8, 16, *appar. crit.*

Π <sup>ae</sup> , q. 4 a. 3 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 40A)	(Marc. Gr. 147, f. 32 <sup>v</sup> , l. 32–f. 33 <sup>r</sup> , l. 2)	of ST I <sup>a</sup> Π <sup>ae</sup> , q. 4, a. 3.3–4 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 7, l. 30–31)	
unde ipse dicit, Π <i>ad Tim.</i> ult.: <i>Bonum certamen</i> <i>certavi, cursum</i> <i>consummavi, fidem</i> <i>servavi; in reliquo</i> <i>reposita est mihi</i> <i>corona iustitiae</i> <sup>53</sup> .	ὄθεν αὐτός φησιν ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέρας· «τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἠγώνισμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος».	καὶ αὖθις· « <u>Τὸν δρόμον</u> <u>τετέλεκα</u> · <u>λοιπὸν</u> <u>ἀπόκειται μοι ὁ τῆς</u> <u>δικαιοσύνης στέφανος</u> ».	τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἠγώνισμαι, <u>τὸν δρόμον</u> <u>τετέλεκα</u> , τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· <u>λοιπὸν ἀπόκειται</u> <u>μοι ὁ τῆς</u> <u>δικαιοσύνης</u> <u>στέφανος</u> .

The homoeoarcton (τὸν... τὸν) and the homoeoteleuton (τετέλεκα... τετήρηκα) in Kydones' text may be responsible for the abridgement of this quotation in Scholarios' text. In other words, it is probable that Scholarios' exemplar or a certain misreading by him instigated the omission of the phrases τὸν ἀγῶνα... ἠγώνισμαι and τὴν πίστιν... τετήρηκα. Yet, this exact quotation was so popular, that Scholarios could quote it by heart and restore it, if he intended to do so. Whatever the case may be, the text bears a clearly Greek background.

### c) Quotations of dubious provenance

In certain instances (mostly in brief quotations), the provenance of the quotations is disputable, since Scholarios' quotations fully coincide with both the Latin and Greek text of

<sup>53</sup> For the interchange of terms *corona* and *iustitiae* in the manuscript tradition, see *II Tim.* 4, 7–8, *appar. crit.*



the Bible. Such a coincidence may have resulted either from the use of common terms and syntax in Kydones' translation or even by an adaptation to the Greek text of the Bible:

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I</i><sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Kydones' <i>Translation</i></b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium</i></b>	<b><i>I Cor. 9, 24</i></b>
<b>II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 4 a. 3 s. c.</b>	<b>(Marc. Gr. 147, f. 32<sup>v</sup>, l. 30–32)</b>	<b>of <i>ST I</i><sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 4 a. 3.1–3</b>	
<b>(Leonina, vol. 6, 40A)</b>		<b>(Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 7, l. 28–30)</b>	
Apostolus dicit, I <i>ad Cor. IX: Sic</i> <i>currite ut</i> <i>comprehendatis.</i>	φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς Πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτης· οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.	τοῦ Ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ἐν ἐνάτῳ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτης· «Οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε».	οὕτω τρέχετε, ἵνα καταλάβητε.

Due to the brevity of the quotation and the fact that Kydones was accustomed to translating *ad verbum*<sup>54</sup> (when possible), it is very probable that the coincidence of his translated quotation to the Byzantine text of *I Corinthians 9, 24* was unintentional. In this respect, the question as to whether he just translated the Latin text or recalled the Greek quotation remains unanswered. In the same vein:

<b>Thomas, <i>ST I</i><sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Kydones'</b>	<b>Scholarios, <i>Compendium</i></b>	<b><i>Ez. 18, 4</i></b>
<b>II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 4 a. 3 s. c.</b>	<b><i>Translation</i></b>	<b>of <i>ST I</i><sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>, q. 87 a. 8.5–6</b>	
<b>(Leonina, vol. 7, 130B)</b>	<b>(Marc. Gr. 147, f. 329<sup>v</sup>, l. 31)</b>	<b>(Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 103, l. 24–25)</b>	
<i>Omnes animae meae sunt.</i>	Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.	Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.	Πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἐμαί εἰσιν.

<sup>54</sup> See n. 41.

Again, Kydonēs' translation ends in a quotation identical to the text of the *Septuagint*. All the above indicate that Scholarios constantly preserved the Scriptural quotations as translated by Kydonēs, while the interventions to Kydonēs' text (if really by Scholarios' own hand) were rather limited<sup>55</sup>. One may assume that the existence of many Latin-based quotations into Scholarios' text partly resulted from his lack of time. Specifically, Scholarios' *Compendium of ST, I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* was composed at a certain time between 1443/1445 and 1458/1459<sup>56</sup>, whereas Scholarios was writing several of his *Sermons*, as a layman preaching in the palace during the years 1440–1447<sup>57</sup>. In this respect, one may raise the possibility that at least during the years 1443–1447, Scholarios did not have enough time to reform all the Thomistic Scriptural quotations according to the Greek text of the Bible, even if he intended to do so. Still, if Scholarios considered such quotations invalid, he certainly would have spared some time to correct them. On the contrary, Scholarios' integration of such quotations into certain works of his own, indicates that, in his view, Thomas was an authority nearly equal to that of the prophets and the authors of the *New Testament*<sup>58</sup>. In this respect,

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<sup>55</sup> As far as I have been able to trace, Scholarios' text offers a truly restored version of Kydonēs' Scriptural quotations only in this one instance: Scholarios, *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 107 a. 2, l. 11–14 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 121, l. 18–21). Other than that, in few cases, Kydonēs' misreferences were corrected in Scholarios' text (apparently on the basis of a Greek. ms. of the Bible), e. g.: Thomas Aquinas *ST, I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 38 a. 4 co. (Leonina, vol. 6, 259B): secundum illud *Iacobi I: Omne gaudium existimate, fratres mei, cum in tentationes varias incideritis.*; Kydonēs' *Translation* (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 142<sup>v</sup>, l. 30–31): κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον τοῦ Ἰακώβου· πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἠγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν εἰς πειρασμοὺς ποικίλλους ἐμπέσητε.; Scholarios, *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 38 a. 4, l. 4–6 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 42, l. 33–35): κατὰ τὸ ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς Ἰακώβου· «Πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἠγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν εἰς πειρασμοὺς ποικίλλους ἐμπέσητε».; Cf. *Iac.* 1, 2: πᾶσαν χαρὰν ἠγήσασθε, ἀδελφοί μου, ὅταν πειρασμοῖς περιπέσητε ποικίλοις... Yet, very few unsuccessful 'amendments' also appear, which in fact means that the corrector (whether Scholarios or not) did not consult a manuscript, e. g.: Thomas Aquinas *ST, I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 3 a. 6 s. c. (Leonina, vol. 6, 33A): dicitur Ierem. IX: *Non gloriatur sapiens in sapientia sua.*; *ST, I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, Kydonēs' *Translation* (Marc. Gr. 147, f. 30<sup>r</sup>, l. 6–7): λέγεται ἐν τῷ ἐνακαιδεκάτῳ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου· μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ...; Scholarios, *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, q. 3 a. 6, l. 1–2 (Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 6, 6, l. 15–16): Ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ ἐνάτῳ Ἡσαΐου λέγεται· «Μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ».; Cf. *Jer.* 9, 23: μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>56</sup> J. A. Demetracopoulos, 2017, 157–161; 167.

<sup>57</sup> Ἀπανιστάμενος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίοις θορύβων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν καὶ τῶν οἴκοι παιδευμάτων, ἃ τοῖς ἐκάστοτε συλλεγομένοις Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ Ἰταλοῖς προὔτιθέμεθα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσχολιῶν, ἃς αἱ τάξεις παρεῖχον, ἔτοιμος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προφέρειν ἄπερ ἂν ὁ Θεὸς διδοίη χρεῖαν ἠρχόμεν (Scholarios, *Lament* 6, 12–16, in Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 1, Paris 1928, 289, 10–14); Blanchet 2008, 296–297; J. A. Demetracopoulos 2017, 152–153.

<sup>58</sup> This can be deduced by Scholarios' reference to Thomas' views as the testimony of the Spirit: Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος (Scholarios, *Letter to Manuel Raul Oises*, l. 385–386, in Petit, Sideridès, Jugie, vol. 4, Paris 1935, 486, l. 6–7). Scholarios' phrase "testimony of the Spirit" refers to Thomas' views expressed in *SG*, III, 146 and *ST II<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* q. 10 a. 11; q. 11 a. 3; q. 12 a. 2 (J. A. Demetracopoulos, 2006, 334; Idem 2018, 237).

Scholarios (along with Kydones) considered Thomas' Scriptural text genuine to a certain extent, given that it was congruent to the Orthodox Christian belief. Besides, the idea of a divinely inspired translation had appeared many centuries ago, at least since the time of Philo of Alexandria<sup>59</sup>. Presumably, Scholarios was aware of such a view.

### 3. Conclusions

1) A thorough examination of the provenance of Thomas Aquinas' Scriptural quotations still remains a *desideratum*. By addressing this question, light may be shed on the numerous diverse sources Aquinas used.

2) The provenance of Scholarios' Scriptural quotations is twofold: (a) the Greek text of the Bible, as one may expect from a Byzantine scholar where the quotations are strictly of Greek origin; (b) a certain Latin version of the Bible, mostly the *Vulgate*, as is the case with the many quotations cited from Thomas Aquinas.

3) Scholarios' Thomistic Scriptural quotations in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* were derived from Kydones' *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*. On the one hand, Kydones' translation practices of such quotations indicate his intention to provide the accurate meaning of the Latin text. As a result of this, many quotations maintain their Latin background, to a certain extent. On the other hand, several quotations are (more or less) adapted to the Greek text of the Bible (either by heart or on the basis of a certain Greek ms.) provided that Kydones' purpose was to produce a translation that would be appealing to his contemporaries. Consequently, Scholarios' quotations may be classified as: (a) quotations of discernible Latin provenance (partially or fully), (b) quotations without any traceable Latin background, and (c) quotations of dubious provenance.

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<sup>59</sup> Philo Alexandrinus, *De Vita Mosis*, 2, 7, 1–6 (= 37, 1–6), Cohn 1902, 208, l. 16–21: Καθίσαντες δ' [viz. the seventy interpreters] ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ μηδενὸς παρόντος ὅτι μὴ τῶν τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, γῆς ὕδατος ἀέρος οὐρανοῦ, περὶ ὧν πρῶτον τῆς γενέσεως ἐμελλον ἱεροφαντήσιν – κοσμοποιία γὰρ ἢ τῶν νόμων ἐστὶν ἀρχή –, καθάπερ ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευσον οὐκ ἄλλα ἄλλοι, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὡπερ ὑποβολέως ἐκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος.; Koltsiou-Niketa 2009, 15.

4) Kydones' Thomistic Scriptural quotations in his *Translation of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* and subsequently Scholarios' ones in his *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>* are in many cases retro-versed. Moreover, some quotations are absent from the Greek text of the *Septuagint*, forming, thus, a mini-*corpus* of Latin-based passages of the Greek *OT*, absent from the *Septuagint*<sup>60</sup>. These certify Kydones' and Scholarios' high esteem of Thomas, whose authority imparted a merit of genuinity to his text of the Bible.

5) Many more Latin retro-versed Scriptural quotations are expected to come to light, since Scholarios' citations of Thomas and other Latin authors are mostly undeclared. Detecting more quotations (whether Thomistic or not) will reveal more untraced Latin sources in Scholarios' *œuvre*. Consequently, new evidence for the reception of Latin theological thought in late Byzantine theology and philosophy will become known, enriching as a result our knowledge of the dialogue between the Catholic West and the Orthodox East towards the end of medieval times.

#### **Appendix: A list of the *verbatim* Scriptural quotations in Scholarios' *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>***

The table below includes the *verbatim* Scriptural quotations in Scholarios' *Compendium of ST I<sup>a</sup> II<sup>ae</sup>*, in four columns. The first indicates the Scriptural reference, whereas the second, a reference to Scholarios' text. The third column indicates whether the Latin provenance of each quotation is traceable to some extent, i. e. whether a citation is a *retro-graeca* version of the Bible (*partim* or *in toto*). The last column indicates whether a quotation from the *OT* is absent from the *Septuagint*. Misreferences or omissions of the *apparatus fontium* in the edition of Petit, Siderides, Jugie<sup>61</sup> are tacitly restored.

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<sup>60</sup> The collection of such passages is of special value due to their rarity in late Byzantine Literature.

<sup>61</sup> See n. 5.

Scriptural quotation	Scholarios' <i>Compendium of ST I</i> <sup>a</sup> II <sup>ae</sup>	Discernible Latin background	Non-Sept.
<i>Septuagint</i>			
<i>Gen.</i> 4, 7	p. 18, l. 9	*	
<i>Ex.</i> 20, 1	p. 116, l. 7	*	
20, 2	p. 116, l. 8		
20, 5	p. 94, l. 23–24	*	
20, 17	p. 114, l. 32–33	*	
<i>Num.</i> 31, 16	p. 87, l. 17–18	*	
<i>Deut.</i> 32, 4	p. 115, l. 35	*	
<i>Jos.</i> 22, 17	p. 99, l. 22–24	*	
<i>I Reg.</i> 2, 1	p. 112, l. 11		
7, 3	p. 141, l. 25–26	*	
<i>II Reg.</i> 12, 13–14	p. 102, l. 15–17	*	
<i>III Reg.</i> 19, 14	p. 83, l. 37–38	*	
<i>Ps.</i> 10, 5	p. 31, l. 16–17		
	p. 33, l. 36–37		
15, 11	p. 38, l. 23–24		
16, 15	p. 11, l. 20–21		
18, 8	p. 108, l. 17–21	*	
18, 9	p. 118, l. 28–29		
18, 13	p. 144, l. 7–8		
22, 6	p. 138, l. 30–31		
31, 2	p. 135, l. 23–24		
31, 5	p. 146, l. 4–6		
33, 11	p. 152, l. 37–38	*	
36, 4	p. 37, l. 36	*	
36, 25	p. 152, l. 38–p. 153, l. 1		
41, 4	p. 36, l. 28–29		
58, 11	p. 138, l. 30		
59, 6–7	p. 101, l. 33–34		
72, 5	p. 103, l. 1–2	*	
72, 6	p. 103, l. 18–19		
72, 25	p. 10, l. 7–8		
72, 28	p. 10, l. 9		
	p. 131, l. 6		
	p. 152, l. 24–25		
76, 4	p. 36, l. 26–27		
83, 3	p. 34, l. 20–21		
83, 12	p. 12, l. 7–8		
	p. 141, l. 16		
84, 7	p. 145, l. 37–38		
93, 12	p. 10, l. 24		
102, 5	p. 5, l. 9–10		
118, 103	p. 35, l. 22–23		
118, 165	p. 76, l. 2–3		
144, 9	p. 147, l. 12–13		

<i>Job</i>	4, 7	p. 102, l. 28–29	*		
	9, 11	p. 143, l. 30–31	*		
	11, 6	p. 118, l. 18–19	*		
	14, 1	p. 10, l. 34–35	*		
	14, 4	p. 150, l. 21	*	*	
	21, 7	p. 103, l. 2–3	*		
	21, 14	p. 14, l. 13	*		
	33, 15–16	p. 145, l. 26–28	*		
	34, 18	p. 84, l. 2–3	*		
	34, 27	p. 91, l. 4–5	*		
	35, 5–7	p. 27, l. 15–16	*		
	36, 26	p. 143, l. 28	*		
	<i>Prov.</i>	2, 14	p. 38, l. 18–19	*	
		4, 18	p. 151, l. 21–22	*	
8, 15		p. 110, l. 36–37	*		
8, 29		p. 111, l. 4–5	*	* (partim)	
14, 22		p. 89, l. 17–18	*		
15, 6		p. 70, l. 2	*		
16, 1		p. 141, l. 35	*	*	
17, 22		p. 41, l. 20–21	*		
19, 25		p. 101, l. 29–30	*		
21, 1		p. 13, l. 24–25	*		
25, 20a		p. 41, l. 21–22	*		
27, 4		p. 49, l. 26–27	*	*	
27, 9		p. 126, l. 34–36	*	* (partim)	
<i>Eccle.</i>		1, 18	p. 43, l. 1	*	
	7, 4	p. 43, l. 28–29	*		
	9, 1	p. 143, l. 11–12	*	* (partim)	
	9, 2	p. 152, l. 17–19	*		
	10, 19	p. 4, l. 4	*		
	12, 14	p. 27, l. 11–12	*		
<i>Sap.</i>	1, 15	p. 70, l. 24–25	*		
	1, 18	p. 99, l. 2	*		
	2, 24	p. 94, l. 8–9	*		
	6, 6	p. 84, l. 17–18	*		
	7, 11	p. 11, l. 21–22	*		
	8, 1	p. 136, l. 5–6	*		
	8, 7	p. 68, l. 10	*		
	8, 16	p. 11, l. 24–25	*		
		p. 39, l. 29–30	*		
	9, 14	p. 134, l. 2–3	*		
	11, 24	p. 91, l. 22–23	*		
<i>Sirach</i>	14, 9	p. 91, l. 24	*		
	10, 12	p. 97, l. 18	*		
	11, 21	p. 142, l. 3	*		
	12, 16	p. 49, l. 18–19	*		
	13, 15	p. 31, l. 26	*		
	15, 3	p. 56, l. 38–p. 57, l. 1	*		
	15, 14	p. 18, l. 19–20	*		
	19, 1	p. 104, l. 22–23	*		

	21, 1	p. 145, l. 5	*	
		p. 145, l. 6		
	24, 17	p. 74, l. 36–37	*	
	30, 16	p. 4, l. 25–26	*	
	30, 23	p. 43, l. 25–26	*	
<i>Os.</i>	8, 12	p. 118, l. 17	*	
	9, 10	p. 23, l. 13–14	*	
		p. 99, l. 19–20	*	
	13, 9	p. 142, l. 30–31	*	* (partim)
<i>Am.</i>	3, 6	p. 92, l. 13–14		
	4, 12	p. 141, l. 24	*	
<i>Mich.</i>	7, 6	p. 84, l. 1–2	*	
<i>Habac.</i>	1, 13	p. 103, l. 3–5	*	
<i>Zach.</i>	1, 3	p. 131, l. 15–16	*	
<i>Is.</i>	1, 19	p. 117, l. 17–18		
	3, 10–11	p. 27, l. 7–9	*	
	6, 10	p. 92, l. 30–31	*	
	26, 9	p. 41, l. 11–12	*	
	26, 16	p. 41, l. 12–13	*	
	32, 17	p. 74, l. 25	*	
	45, 7	p. 92, l. 12–13	*	
	60, 5	p. 37, l. 22–23	*	
	66, 14	p. 10, l. 1–2	*	
<i>Jer.</i>	9, 23	p. 6, l. 15–16		
	9, 24	p. 6, l. 17–18	*	
	15, 1	p. 150, l. 23–25	*	
	18, 6	p. 142, l. 15	*	
	38, 16	p. 148, l. 30		
	38, 18	p. 131, l. 21–22		
<i>Thren.</i>	5, 21	p. 131, l. 23–24		
<i>Ez.</i>	1, 16	p. 122, l. 13	*	
	3, 18	p. 91, l. 30–31	*	
	18, 4	p. 103, l. 24–25		
	18, 20	p. 103, l. 21–22	*	
	18, 24	p. 150, l. 34–36	*	
	29, 18	p. 153, l. 23–25	*	
	29, 19–20	p. 153, l. 25–27	*	
<i>Sus.</i>	56	p. 89, l. 8	*	
<i>Dan.</i>	9, 18	p. 150, l. 29–31	*	
<b><i>New Testament</i></b>				
<i>Mt.</i>	3, 2	p. 108, l. 32		
	5, 4	p. 39, l. 20–21		
	5, 8	p. 8, l. 10–11		
	5, 17	p. 121, l. 9	*	
	5, 18	p. 121, l. 10–11		
	5, 20	p. 69, l. 38–p. 70, l. 1		
		p. 108, l. 35–37		
	5, 40–41	p. 113, l. 18–19	*	
	5, 48	p. 66, l. 4–5	*	
	6, 10 (= <i>Lc.</i> 11, 4)	p. 134, l. 5–6		

	6, 13 (= <i>Lc.</i> 11, 2)	p. 134, l. 6–7	
	6, 19	p. 126, l. 21–22	
	6, 20	p. 10, l. 11	*
	6, 32	p. 126, l. 23–24	*
	6, 34	p. 126, l. 30–31	*
	7, 18	p. 83, l. 10	
	7, 26	p. 125, l. 12	*
	11, 30	p. 122, l. 24–25	
	12, 33	p. 74, l. 31	
	15, 6	p. 115, l. 33–34	*
	19, 12	p. 127, l. 4–5	
		p. 127, l. 5	
	19, 20–21	p. 122, l. 6–7	*
	19, 21	p. 127, l. 3	
	24, 34	p. 119, l. 29–31	*
	25, 46	p. 11, l. 7–8	*
		p. 100, l. 24–25	
	26, 38	p. 63, l. 25–26	
<i>Mc.</i>	3, 29	p. 100, l. 25–27	*
	4, 28	p. 122, l. 20–21	*
<i>Lc.</i>	12, 47	p. 84, l. 14–15	*
		p. 89, l. 19–20	*
	14, 2	p. 10, l. 31	
	14, 12–13	p. 74, l. 11–12	*
	16, 25	p. 71, l. 8	
	17, 5	p. 57, l. 21	*
	17, 21	p. 123, l. 20	
	18, 13	p. 152, l. 10	
	22, 30	p. 10, l. 10	
<i>Jn.</i>	1, 17	p. 115, l. 17–18	
	1, 29	p. 96, l. 17	
	4, 13	p. 34, l. 33–34	
	4, 14	p. 150, l. 3–4	
	6, 44	p. 130, l. 14–15	*
	6, 45	p. 142, l. 6	
		p. 142, l. 26–27	
		p. 145, l. 11–12	
	7, 39	p. 120, l. 16–17	
	9, 2–3	p. 102, l. 31–32	*
	9, 31	p. 152, l. 9	
	12, 36	p. 123, l. 14	
	13, 17	p. 12, l. 16	
	14, 12	p. 147, l. 14	
	14, 17	p. 72, l. 11	
	14, 21	p. 150, l. 10–11	*
	16, 2	p. 25, l. 2–3	
	17, 3	p. 5, l. 34–35	
	17, 3	p. 6, l. 9	
	19, 11	p. 81, l. 31–32	
<i>Acts</i>	1, 7	p. 120, l. 21–22	



	2, 2	p. 146, l. 31–32	
	5, 29	p. 113, l. 22–23	
	7, 53	p. 116, l. 6	*
	10, 34	p. 106, l. 7	*
<i>Rom.</i>	1, 16	p. 119, l. 17–18	
	1, 20	p. 139, l. 29	*
	1, 28	p. 92, l. 3–4	*
	2, 14	p. 107, l. 27–28	
		p. 117, l. 22–23	
	3, 24	p. 137, l. 29	
		p. 144, l. 28	
	3, 30	p. 121, l. 3–4	*
	4, 3	p. 144, l. 22–23	
	4, 4	p. 150, l. 16–17	*
	4, 17	p. 107, l. 22	*
	5, 1	p. 145, l. 34–35	
	5, 5	p. 75, l. 26–27	
	5, 12	p. 94, l. 6	*
		p. 94, l. 36	*
		p. 95, l. 34–35	
		p. 96, l. 34	*
	5, 20	p. 115, l. 26–27	*
	6, 23	p. 115, l. 13–14	*
		p. 130, l. 2–3	*
		p. 149, l. 12–13	*
		p. 149, l. 28	
	7, 5	p. 90, l. 25–27	*
	7, 11	p. 115, l. 25–26	*
	7, 12	p. 114, l. 30–31	
	7, 16	p. 114, l. 35–36	*
	7, 18	p. 96, l. 29–30	
	7, 22	p. 114, l. 34–35	
	7, 23	p. 22, l. 14–15	
		p. 89, l. 11–12	*
		p. 109, l. 8–9	*
	7, 25	p. 132, l. 34–35	*
	8, 3–4	p. 116, l. 34–36	*
		p. 121, l. 18–21	
	8, 7	p. 111, l. 7–9	*
	8, 17	p. 150, l. 6–7	*
	8, 18	p. 4, l. 17–18	
	8, 24	p. 71, l. 17	
	8, 26	p. 133, l. 37	*
	9, 2	p. 39, l. 11–12	*
	9, 4–5	p. 116, l. 16–17	*
	9, 16	p. 128, l. 22–23	*
	9, 18	p. 92, l. 31–32	
	11, 6	p. 137, l. 16–17	*
	12, 12	p. 36, l. 26	
	13, 1	p. 113, l. 25	

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### **Biographical note**

Panagiotis C. Athanasopoulos is a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow, research assistant at the Department of Humanities of the Ca'Foscari University of Venice, and a collaborator of the “Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus” international research project (2007–). His Doct. Diss. (*Hippolytus' De Antichristo – A Critical Edition*, Ioannina 2013) was prepared at the Department of Philology of the University of Ioannina. His interests include Christian Literature, together with Greek and Latin Medieval Philosophy.

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