

The Abridged and Revised Version of the *Homily on the Eucharist* by Gennadios Scholarios and Constantine Paleocappa as a Possible Rewriter

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Abstract. The homily *On the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ* by George Gennadios II — Scholarios (ca. 1400 — paulo post 1472) was the first original Orthodox theological text to use the word μετουσίωσις (transubstantiatio) as an *ex professo* Eucharistic term and to adopt the doctrine associated with it.

This homily played a key role in the later development of the Eucharistic doctrine of the Orthodox Church during the post-Byzantine period. In the 17th century, however, this impact was indirect and occurred through an abridged and revised version of the homily, created by some author and ascribed to Gennadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople. That version was used as a source for the decrees of the council of Jerusalem (1672) along with the authorization of the word μετουσίωσις. In 1690, the abridged version was published by Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem and Scholarios was mentioned in the tomos of the Council of Constantinople in 1691, serving also for the apologia of the term μετουσίωσις. In the beginning of the 18th century E. Renaudot considered this treatise authentic. Recently F. Tinnefeld attributed it to Meletios Syrigos (1585/1586–1663/1664). In this article we study the manuscript tradition, analyse the text of the forgery within its historical and theological context, and offer our preliminary hypothesis about its authorship. We come to the conclusion that Meletios Syrigos cannot be its author and that the abridged version appeared in the 16th century in the anti-Protestant miscellanea as evidence in favor of the Catholic theology of Eucharist. We hypothesize that the author could be a famous copyist and author of forged works in the 16th century, named Constantine Paleocappa. Further, we present a new edition of the Greek text accompanied by the sources used to compose the pseudepigraph, as well as an English translation.

Keywords: Byzantine theology, post-Byzantine theology, Thomism, Gennadios Scholarios, Demetrios Kydones, Eucharist, Meletios Syrigos, Dositheos II of Jerusalem

Recently, in my research on Georgios Scholarios¹ homily *On the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ*,² I proposed a new reading of the fragment, in which Scholarios writes that God communicates with the faithful in the Eucharist by substance (κατ' οὐσίαν) and not by power or virtue (κατὰ δύναμιν) as in Baptism³. I demonstrated that this fragment was a paraphrase of a passage of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles* (from chap.

¹ Georgios Scholarios (ca. 1400 – paulo post 1472), the future Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadios.

² Περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, in M. Jugie – L. Petit – X.A. Sidéridès, ed., *Œuvres complètes de Georges (Gennadios) Scholarios*, I, Paris 1928, 123-136.

³ M. Bernatsky, "The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist κατ' οὐσίαν. On the interpretation and the source of a fragment from the homily of George Scholarios and its impact on the Eucharistic doctrine of the Greek Orthodox Church", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 47 (2023) [in print].

61, bk. 4) and should not be interpreted in the context of Palamite theology as was hitherto done⁴. I found support for my case in the manuscript Taurinensis XXIII (C-II-16)⁵, written by Scholarios' order in 1432 and which contained the translation of *Summa contra gentiles* by Demetrios Kydones⁶.

Thus, we have two Thomistic sources for this homily:

1. The *Summa contra gentiles*, translated in Greek by Demetrios Kydones.

2. The treatise *De sacramento Eucharistiae ad modum praedicamentorum*, attributed to Aquinas. This source was established by M. Jugie, the editor of Scholarios' works⁷. Jugie referred to this work as a genuine work of Aquinas, which was conventional at that time. There is no extant Greek translation of the treatise. For this reason John A. Demetracopoulos suggests that Scholarios used some Latin manuscript⁸.

We also demonstrated that in the homily Scholarios not only adopted the formula κατ' οὐσίαν and the word μετουσίωσις (*transubstantiatio*), but also accepted the teaching underpinning the formula⁹ and the word *transubstantiatio* in Thomism. However, the case of borrowing from the *Summa contra gentiles* in the *Homily on the Eucharist* is rather different from Scholarios' other homilies¹⁰, since this borrowing came to be in demand in post-Byzantine Orthodox theology. Therefore, we traced the *post Scholarium* history of the expression κατ' οὐσίαν and found the adoption of the formula in the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem (1672) and the Council of Constantinople (1691)

⁴ See A. Dunaev, "The Theology of the Eucharist in the Context of the Palamite Controversies", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 29 (2008) 33-52; А.Г. Дунаев, "Богословие Евхаристии в контексте паламитских споров", *Богословские труды* 42 (2009) 146-168, here 167.

⁵ P. Frassinetti, "Il codice Torinese C-2-16 contenente la versione greca della Summa contra Gentes, ad opera di Demetrio Cidone", in *Atti dello VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini (Palermo, 3-10 aprile 1951)*, I, Roma 1953, 78-85.

⁶ See our edition of chapter 61, which is accompanied by the passages from later Greek texts that depend on this chapter: М.М. Бернацкий, "Публикация главы 61 «О Евхаристии» 4-й книги «Суммы против язычников» Фомы Аквинского в переводе Димитрия Кидониса по рукописям Vaticanus gr. 616 и Taurinensis 23 (C-2-16)", *Богословский вестник* 42 (2021) 109-125.

⁷ *Œuvres complètes*, I, 129.

⁸ J. Demetracopoulos, "Scholarios' *On Almsgiving*, or how to convert a scholastic «quaestio» into a sermon", in D. Searby, ed. *Never the Twain Shall Meet? Latins and Greeks learning from each other in Byzantium*, Berlin 2017, 129-78, here 165.

⁹ We examined certain synonyms of the formula, which are also used in the homily after *Summa contra gentiles* and the treatise of pseudo-Thomas, see Bernatsky, "The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist κατ' οὐσίαν".

¹⁰ For example, the borrowing from *Cont. Gent.* IV, 3, we found in the *Homily on the Annunciation* (*Œuvres complètes*, I, 49, 1-16).

along with the authorization of the word μετουσίωσις. We hold that an abridged and revised version of the *Homily* was used in this adoption along with the original version.

The influence of this text on the official confessions of faith of the Orthodox Church thus makes a deeper study and identification of its author relevant. In this article we will study the manuscript tradition, analyze the treatise in the historical and theological context, and offer our preliminary hypothesis about its authorship. In addition, we will offer a new edition of the Greek text with indication of the sources, used to compose the pseudepigraph, along with an English translation.

Editio princeps of the abridged version. Could Meletios Syrigos be its author?

The abridged version was first published¹¹ within the volume, that was printed in 1690¹² and contained two works:

- A) *Refutation of Calvinist chapters and questions of Cyril Lucaris*, composed by the post-Byzantine Greek theologian Meletios Syrigos (1585/1586–1663/1664), and
- B) *Enchiridion against Calvinist insanity* by Patriarch Dositheos II of Jerusalem.

The volume was sponsored by Constantin Brâncoveanu (1654–1714), Prince of Wallachia, and the compiler was Patriarch Dositheos II, an admirer of Meletios Syrigos' theological talent and an ideologist of the above-mentioned Councils — of Jerusalem (1672) and of Constantinople (1691).

In 1709 Eusèbe Renaudot produced the *editio princeps* of Scholarios' original *Homily on the Eucharist*. Also, he reprinted its abridged version¹³ from Dositheos' edition since he was not able to find an early or more complete manuscript source. Renaudot considered this treatise authentic¹⁴, but the French orientalist made the false assumption that the abridged version was cited by Meletios Syrigos in his *Refutation*:

¹¹ About which manuscript was the basis of this edition, see *infra*.

¹² Τοῦ μακαρίτου Μελετίου Συρίγου διδασκάλου τε καὶ πρωτοσυγγέλου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντίνου Πόλει Μεγάλῃς Ἐκκλησίας, κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ἐρωτήσεων Κυρίλλου τοῦ Λουκάρως, ἀντίρρησις. Καὶ Δοσιθέου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ τῆς καλβινικῆς φρενοβλαβείας. Bucharest, 1690, 74-76. The *Enchiridion* has got separate pagination from Syrigos' work.

¹³ This edition of both Homilies was reproduced in PG 160, 351-380.

¹⁴ That was composed by Scholarios after his enthronement.

Alia brevis Homilia de Corpore et Sanguine Domini, relata a Meletio Syriago Hieromonacho Cretensi in Refutatione Confessionis Cyrilli Lucaris Constantinopolis Patriarchae. <...>

Alia de eodem argumento brevior, scripta ut videtur Constantinopoli postquam Patriarcha renuntiatus esset, in qua alterius meninit. Eam in nullo codice reperimus, sed eam transtulimus ex Opere Meletii Syrigi adversus Cyrillum Lucarin, ubi refertur¹⁵.

In his article in the collective monograph *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, F. Tinnefeld attributed the abridged version to Meletios Syrigos without any reservations¹⁶. This attribution is justly questioned in the database *Pinakes* due to the presence of the manuscripts that can be dated back to the sixteenth century¹⁷. In this article we will confirm that the attribution is not correct by providing extensive arguments.

In his refutation of chapter 17 of the *Eastern Confession of Christian Faith* of Cyril Lucaris, Syrigos cites the holy Fathers since the time of the apostles, who give testimonies of the real change of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. These testimonies are divided into 15 generations (γενεά). In the corresponding section on the fifteenth century, there are two testimonies: a treatise by Mark of Ephesus entitled, *On the moment of consecration of the divine gifts*¹⁸, and an apocryphal letter on the same theme written by Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch (fl. 1430) to a certain Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem¹⁹. Theophanes asked: «When does the change (μεταβολή) happen to the “antitypa” (ἀντίτυπα)?»²⁰ Balsamon answered that «after the prayers²¹ the natures (φύσεις) of the laid down [gifts] change to the nature of the Body and to the nature of

¹⁵ Gennadius Patriarch Constantinopolitanus, *Homiliae de sacramento Eucharistiae: Meletii Alexandrini, Nectarii Hierosolymitani, Meletii Syrigi, et aliorum, de eodem argumento opuscula...* Paris 1709, 29, 82, see also XIII, 38.

¹⁶ F. Tinnefeld, “Georgios Gennadios Scholarios”, in C.G. Conticello – V. Conticello, ed., *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, (XIII^e–XIX^e s.), Turnhout 2002, 520, n° 151.

¹⁷ “Attribution à Meletios Syrigos incertaine vu la date de plusieurs manuscrits (16e 2/2)”, see <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/17691/> [access date: 26.06.2023]

¹⁸ Marcus Ephesius, *Libellus de consecratione*, in L. Petit, ed., *Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence*, II, *Œuvres anticonciliaires de Marc d’Éphèse. Documents VII-XXIV*, PO 83 (17.2), Paris 1923, 427-434.

¹⁹ Probably refers to Theophanes I (1424-1431).

²⁰ All translations are my own.

²¹ I. e. the epiclesis.

the Blood of Christ». Syrigos concluded: having said that, Balsamon professed that the change (μεταβολή) happens not by accidents or by grace, but this change is substantial and by nature (ὄχι κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἢ κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλὰ οὐσιώδης καὶ κατὰ φύσιν)²². As we will see below, there is a certain terminological connection²³ between the abridged version and Syrigos' summary of Balsamon's testimony, which could have led Renaudot to the wrong conclusion. Whatever the case might have been, Syrigos did not mention Scholarios' name at all and moreover did not quote the text of the abridged version.

In fact, this abridged version was cited by Dositheos in his *Enchiridion against Calvinist insanity*²⁴ and was included thereto as evidence for the use of the word μετουσίωσις by Church Fathers and writers. The title of the abridged version in this volume reads: «A doctrinal answer of Gennadios Scholarios of Constantinople, who became a patriarch in the time of the capture, to those who asked him about the most holy mystery of the Eucharist, in which he distinctly use the word *transubstantiation*» (Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γενομένου πατριάρχου ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως, ἀπόκρισις δογματικὴ πρὸς τινὰς ἐρωτήσαντας αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου μυστηρίου τῆς ἱερᾶς εὐχαριστίας, ἐν ἧ ῥητῶς λέγει τὴν λέξιν τῆς μετουσιώσεως). In contrast to what we find in the manuscripts, Scholarios explicitly uses the word μετουσίωσις in the title that belongs to Dositheos. Therefore, the abridged version served as a defense against the ideas of Lucaris, who rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and believed in the true presence of Christ in a spiritual sense, according to faith²⁵.

The manuscript tradition

²² Τοῦ μακαρίτου Μελετίου Συρίγου..., 136.

²³ Specific to anti-Protestant polemic, e.g. κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἢ κατὰ χάριν.

²⁴ Pages 74–76.

²⁵ See for details infra the section *Historical and theological analysis*.

We currently know of three manuscripts of the treatise dating from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and two from the eighteenth century²⁶. What has been transmitted of the manuscript tradition is not older than the sixteenth century. Here we will analyze the contents of them, which will enable us to make a stemma.

1) Vaticanus graecus 1724, fols. 178v–182v²⁷ (siglum V). This manuscript dates roughly to the seventeenth century. The codex is a florilegium, composed for the benefit of Catholics for polemical debates against Protestants. Most of the codex is occupied by *Vita Barlaam et Ioasaph* (CPG 8120). In 16th-century Europe, this story was used for defense of monastic life and the doctrine of free will against the Lutheran teaching of predestination²⁸. No title nor authorship of the abridged version given in this manuscript. Our text is preceded by the Sermon of pseudo-John Chrysostom *De pseudoprophetais* (CPG 4583). We can thus cautiously assume that the copyist intended to attribute our text to the ancient authority of *Doctor Eucharistiae*.

2) Jerusalem. Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη. Παναγίου Τάφου. 111, fols. 487r–488r²⁹ (siglum P). Though poor legible, the title reads: Γενναδίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. The manuscript was copied by the hand of Hierotheos of Monemvasia (c. 1520 — c. 1602), who accompanied Jeremiah II Tranos, the Patriarch of Constantinople, on his well-known trip to the Metropolitanate of Kyiv and to Moscow in 1587–1589. The first part (fols. 1–193v) of the codex was copied in 1588 in Moscow and contains writings of several Fathers of the Church (Athanasius of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria and the Acta of the Council of Ephesus, 431). After leaving Moscow in May 1589, he took the manuscript with him and in 1591, while in Wallachia, he supplemented

²⁶ I would like to express my thanks for assistance in obtaining copies of the manuscripts to my colleagues Andrey Vinogradov, Pier Giorgio Borbone, Umberto Fiorino and to the Manuscripts and Facsimiles Department of National Library of Greece.

²⁷ See the manuscript description in C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1684–1744*, Città del Vaticano 1951, 101-104.

²⁸ P. Cañizares, “La *Historia de los soldados de Cristo, Barlaam y Josafat* traducida por Juan de Arce Solorzano (Madrid 1608)”, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 19 (2000) 269-271, here 260.

²⁹ See the description in A. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ... ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ... ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I, Πετρούπολη 1891, 194-197.

the codex with texts by Joseph Bryennios. On fol. 474v³⁰ he wrote: «Hierotheos of Monemvasia in 7099 (1591), June 10th, in Wallachia on the way from Russia».

The abridged version can be found in the last section of Panagiou Taphou. 111, which ends with two colophons (fol. 489r). The first one dates to 1603 and belongs to Arsenios of Elasson (1550–1625), who reports on the dispatch of this codex from Moscow to the Patriarchate of Constantinople for the commemoration of the soul of Hierotheos. Thus, in the 90s Hierotheos returned to Moscow along with the manuscript and handed Panagiou Taphou. 111 down to Arsenios. This is confirmed by the fact, that in 1596 in Moscow he copied a collection of works by Augustine of Hippo, translated from Latin to Greek by Maximos Planoudes and Prochoros Kydones — the codex Athens. Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Μετόχιον τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου (ΜΠΤ). 147³¹.

Thus, that part of the codex, which contains the text of interest, was rewritten between 1591 and 1603 and we can consider 1603 as the *terminus ante quem* for the abridged version.

The second colophon was written by Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem in 1674 when the codex was delivered to the Holy Sepulchre after the death of Nikousios Panagiotis in 1673, who was a Phanariot imperial translator. It can be confidently asserted that Panagiou Taphou. 111 formed the basis of the edition of the abridged version in Dositheos' *Enchiridion against Calvinist insanity* (1690). At the moment we do not know if Dositheos had at his disposal any copies of the abridged version other than the Jerusalem manuscript.

We conjecture that the Vat. gr. 1724 and the last part of Panagiou Taphou. 111 share one protograph, an anti-Protestant miscellanea from the sixteenth century. In both manuscripts the abridged version is followed by a fragment from *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (chapter 7) of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite³². Although chapter 7 in whole is devoted to the rite of the sacrament for the faithful departed, the fragment in our

³⁰ Papadopoulos-Kerameus mistakenly indicates fol. 496v (Id., 194).

³¹ See the description in Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, IV, Πετρούπολη, 1899, 135–137.

³² *De ecclesiastica hierarchia VII*, in PG 3, 564b-d: Οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἀφοριστικὰς <...> Ὁ ἀθετῶν γὰρ ὑμᾶς, φησὶν, ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ. See also G. Heilt – A. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum*, II, Berlin – New York 1991 (Patristische Texte und Studien 36), 128-129. English translation in C. Luibheid – P. Rorem, ed., *Ps.-Dionysius. The Complete Works*, New York 1987, 255.

manuscripts deals with a different issue: the relationship between the person of a priest and Divine action, both in particular with regard to the sacrament of repentance and remission of sins, and in general with regard to all sacred rites. We believe that the passage from pseudo-Dionysius was crafted for the needs of the anti-Protestant polemic in order to demonstrate that the Latin and Greek Churches both believe that priests are the essential mediators between God and humankind.

The passage emphasizes that hierarchs can forgive the sins and excommunicate³³ not out of their own irrational impulses (ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀλόγοις ὀρμαῖς), but driven (ὑποκινοῦντι) by the Spirit, since God has already condemned them according to due. They are driven prophetically (ὑποφητικῶς); that is, they speak by way of His words. In that way St Peter spoke sacred theology (that is, he confessed Jesus as the Son of God) not from himself (αὐτοκινήτως), not according to the revelation of flesh and blood, but from God, who initiated him into the divine mysteries³⁴. The hierarchs thus should use both excommunications and any hierarchical power only insofar as they are moved by the divinity which is the source of every rite (ὅπως ἂν ἡ τελετάρχης αὐτοῦς θεαρχία κινήσου). Hence, all the other faithful should obey the hierarchs when they act hierarchically as moved by God (ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κεκινημένου).

As we said earlier the abridged version was copied by Hierotheos in the last section of Panagiou Taphou. 111. In addition to the passage from pseudo-Dionysius, there is the treatise *On the Eucharist and by what words the body [of Christ] is sanctified by*³⁵ of Bessarion of Nicaea. The presence of this text can also serve as evidence that the protograph of the last part of the Jerusalem codex is a miscellanea created in the interests of the Catholic Church, like Vat. gr. 1724, since Bessarion is one of the defenders of the Union in 1439 and an opponent of Mark of Ephesus. In this treatise, Bessarion refutes the above-mentioned treatise of Mark, and more extensively, defends the particular interpretation of the epiclesis of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom in favor of the Latin idea of consecration through the words of institution. That interpretation was recorded in the

³³ Jn 20, 20–23.

³⁴ Mt 16, 17.

³⁵ L. Mohler, ed., Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann. Funde und Forschungen. Paderborn 1942, III 1–66; the incomplete Latin translation only: *PG*, 161, 493–526. This treatise requires careful study in the future.

Acta graeca of the Ferrara-Florence Council³⁶. When Panagίου Taphou. 111 ended up in Constantinople or Jerusalem, the presence of Bessarion's work in the manuscript caused a vehement rejection. That is confirmed by one of the *marginalia* written by a later hand³⁷.

3) Sinai. Μονή τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης graecus 1787 [Kamil 533], fols. 268v–270r³⁸ (siglum S). This codex dates approximately to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The title of the abridged version is Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Γενναδίου περὶ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας. The incipit is: Πρῶτον μὲν γινώσκειν ὀφείλετε [...]. The first paragraph (whose text should read, Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος καὶ αἵματος <...> καὶ ἀγαπώσαις κατὰ Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπωμέναις) is lacking. The codex is a miscellaneus, the first part of which contains two *Dialogues against the Jews* (fols. 7–167) by a certain John Saita Cydoniates, who also is known as an author of the *Treatise against Azymes*³⁹. Much space in the manuscript is occupied by texts dedicated to Mark of Ephesus: Scholarios' speech to the dying Mark and his monody on Mark's death, as well as Mark's anti-Latin writings. There are also works devoted to the theology of the Eucharist which belong to such authors as Nicetas Stethatos, Matthaëus Angelus Panaretus, Mark of Ephesus, and Meletios Pegas. This miscellaneus codex is solely anti-Latin in nature and has nothing to do with the European controversy of the sixteenth century.

4) Athens. Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Παναγίου Τάφου. 411, fols. 423–424⁴⁰ (siglum E). The heading of the abridged version is: Γενναδίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. With the other hand and in different ink, the heading is supplemented with the words: περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μυστηρίου τῆς θείας εὐχαριστίας. The incipit is: Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος καὶ αἵματος [...]. This large codex dates

³⁶ See J. Gill, ed., *Acta Graeca Concilii Florentini cum versione latina*. Pars II. *Res Florentiae gestae*, Roma 1953 (ConFl 5.2), 441. This interpretation and its impact on the Orthodox liturgical books will be presented in other articles to be published in the near future.

³⁷ Θαυμάζειν μοι ἔπεισι τίς ὁ τὸν ἐπάρατον καὶ λειποτάκτην Βησσαρίωνα τῇ παρουσίᾳ ἁγία πικτίδι ἐνέταξεν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ τοῦτον ἀντάρτην ἔχομεν, ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ λόγους οὐ δεχόμεθα (fol. 475r; Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 197).

³⁸ M. Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden 1970, 83.

³⁹ See the manuscript: Oxford. Bodleian Library. Laud gr. 73, fols. 37v–74 [diktyon: 48295].

⁴⁰ See the description in Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, IV, Πετρούπολη, 1899, 367-390.

to the eighteenth century and is a miscellaneus of documents belonging to Chrysanthos of Jerusalem, the nephew of Patriarch Dositheos: Ἐκ τῶν συμμίκτων τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων Χρυσάνθου. Mostly the codex contains the letters of the Greek hierarchs of XVI–XVIII centuries including the epistles (γράμματα) of Dositheos and Chrysanthos, but several entries relate to our topic directly. These entries include the original *Homily on the Eucharist* of Scholarios, the abridged version of the same, the decree of the Synod of Constantinople (1691), the Eucharistic chapters 62–69 of Aquinas’ *Summa contra gentiles* in Demetrios Kydones’ translation — all sources connected with the history of our forgery and its influence on the official anti-Protestant synodal decrees of the Orthodox church. The text of the abridged version in this codex is a copy from Dositheos’ edition (1690), confirmation of that fact is a collation of the variant readings.

5) Athos. Μονὴ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος. 649 (Lambros 6156), fols. 101r–103r⁴¹ (siglum A). This codex dates to the eighteenth century. One hundred and one folios are occupied by an essay on Greek grammar (Θέματα ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν). The title of the abridged version is Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κϋρ Γενναδίου περὶ τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας. We can establish the precise date when our text was copied by a copyist named Agapios from Delvino, since the colophon appears at the end of the text: α,ψο (1770) σεπτεμβρίου ιβ’ τῆς σῆς αἰδεσιμότητος ὁ μεταγράψας, ἀγάπιος ὁ ἐκ δελβίνου (fol. 103r). The text is a copy of Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης graecus 1787. As in the Sinaitic manuscript, the first paragraph is missing that contains the text, Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος καὶ αἵματος <...> καὶ ἀγαπώσαις κατὰ Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπωμέναις is missing. There are also other lacunae.

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Considering the details about the five manuscripts presented above and the collation of them (presented in the apparatus of the following edition), we are able to draw the following conclusions and present the stemma of the correlation between codices and the editions.

⁴¹ See the description in S.P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, Cambridge, 1900, 410.

The text of the abridged version in *Vat. gr. 1724* and Panagiou Taphou. 111 share one photograph, but the preference must be given to the text in the Jerusalem manuscript. The latter has an indication of the author's identity, which is missing in the *Vaticanus* manuscript, and more importantly, the variant reading of the key passage explicitly declares that Christ is present in the Eucharist *by substance*, and not *by grace or by power*:

<...> κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ, οὐ κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν
κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν P : κατὰ χάριν μόνην V

This passage in the Jerusalem codex is shared by the three other manuscripts. Below in the section «The textual analysis» we demonstrate that this passage is derived from the opposition κατ' οὐσίαν — κατὰ δύναμιν in the authentic Scholarios' *Homily*, an opposition that traced back to its Latin original *secundum substantiam* — *secundum virtutem* in Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*⁴².

The phrase κατὰ χάριν μόνον, was doubtlessly added by an author of the abridged version in the context of anti-Protestant polemic. The reason, that the Vatican manuscript lacks the phrase κατὰ δύναμιν is not entirely clear. After all, the denial of the presence κατὰ δύναμιν (*secundum virtutem*) was fairly actual as a defense of the true presence of the Eucharist against Calvin, who asserted in his *Confessio fidei de eucharistia* (1537) that Christ's Spirit makes believers participants in the power or virtue of his vivifying body (*virtute carnis Suae vivificae*), and heirs to eternal life⁴³.

As we said above, Panagiou Taphou. 111 is likely the source of Dositheos' edition. That edition contains some of the redundant and erroneous readings that were inherited by the Athenian manuscript⁴⁴.

⁴² Contra Gentiles 4, 61, 3: "In Baptismo enim continetur verbum incarnatum solum secundum virtutem: sed in Eucharistiae sacramento confitemur ipsum secundum substantiam contineri".

⁴³ Cf. *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, G. Baum – E. Cunitz – E. Reuss, ed., IX, Brunsvigae 1870 (Corpus reformatorum 37), 711. See W. Janse, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", *Perichoresis* 10 (2012) 137-163, here 148-149.

⁴⁴ Ἰησοῦ om. DE | Μαρίας PVS: Μακαρίας DE | τότε PVSA : τὸ DE.

The Dositheos' edition and the Athenian manuscript has similar readings to the Vatican and Jerusalem codices, which distinguish them from the group of the Sinaitic and Athonite manuscripts⁴⁵.

We conjecture that the Sinaitic codex could be derived directly from a protograph, since it agrees with *Vat. gr. 1724* in the few readings that are different from Panagiotou Taphou. 111⁴⁶. The copyist of the Sinaitic codex had intended to shape the text into an independant treatise by giving it a new heading and eliminating the first paragraph⁴⁷. He did it quite carelessly, however, as we can see from the erroneous readings. The text in the Athonite manuscript was copied in 1770 from the Sinaitic codex inaccurately and contains a few omissions⁴⁸.

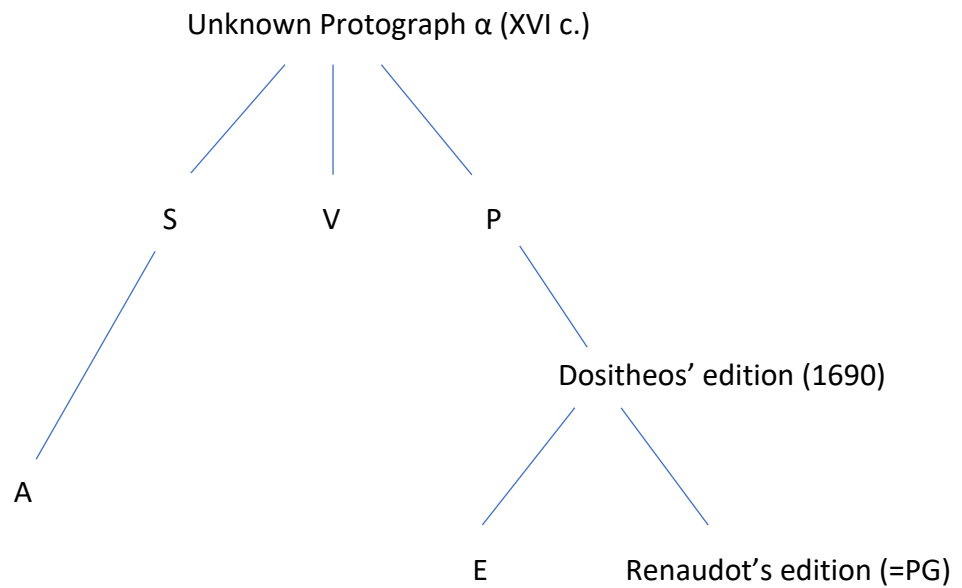
⁴⁵ For example: ὑπὲρ VPDE : παρὰ SA | μᾶλλον VPDE : πλέον SA | φύσεως VPDE : τάξεως SA | καὶ δείκνυται om SA.

⁴⁶ ἀληθινὴν PDE : ἀληθῆ VSA | σῶμα τὸ πανάγιον P : πανάγιον σῶμα VSA.

⁴⁷ In which there is a reference to the unknown first answer to the question regarding the Eucharist.

⁴⁸ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν· ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑποκείμενον γινόμενον om. A | τῷ νεκρῷ· καὶ δίδωσιν ὄψιν ἢ φύσις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν om. A.

STEMMA



Based on the mss. tradition, we conclude that:

- a) 1603 is a *terminus ante quem* for the abridged version;
- b) Meletios Syrigos could not be its author;
- c) The abridged version appeared in the sixteenth century in the anti-Protestant miscellanea as evidence in favor of Catholic theology and then in the seventeenth century it was used by Patriarch Dositheos against Protestant propaganda in the Greek Churches;
- d) The copies of the eighteenth century are secondary and are of no interest for establishing the original text.

The textual analysis

We can assert with some certainty which manuscript of the original *Homily* the author of our forgery worked with. Here is what we read in our text:

Therefore, in the unfortunate palace we preached on Lazarus Friday before the emperor and the synclite and the elected [nobles] of the City⁴⁹. And then they offered many thanks to the Lord and to us, His humble servants. Now we speak about this [Sacrament] briefly and clearly.

«The unfortunate palace» (τὸ δυστυχῆς παλάτιον) is the Small Blachernae Palace that was destroyed in the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. The reference to the palace indicates that the author of the forgery worked with a lost autograph of Scholarios, which was used by Renaudot in his *editio princeps* — the so-called *Ms. Renaudot* in the edition of M. Jugie. Here is the original *Homily's* extended heading, which is unique to this lost autograph:

Ἐκ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν, ἃς ὠμιλοῦμεν ἐν τῷ δυστυχεῖ παλατίῳ κατὰ παρασκευὴν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ τεσσαρακοστῇ, εὐρημένων μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν· ἐγράφοντο δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἀγράφως ὁμιληθῆναι, παρακλήσει φίλων· αὕτη δὲ ὠμιλήθη ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ Λαζάρου⁵⁰.

By using this heading our author gives the impression that the abridged version was composed by Scholarios allegedly after the fall of Byzantium, when he became patriarch.

The approximate structure of the abridged version is as follows:

- 1) Considerations (θεωρίαι) on the Body of Christ: physical (φυσικόν); glorious (ἔνδοξον), glorified (δεδοξασμένον) and mystical (μυστικόν);
- 2) The types of the miracles of God;
- 3) The miracles of the Incarnation and of transubstantiation exceed all other miracles. Transubstantiation exceeds Incarnation, which only happened once. When the consecration occurs, the creature is transformed into the Creator by means of the Body, and the previously existing substance of the bread becomes the Body of Christ;

⁴⁹ Cf. the decree of the Synod of Constantinople (1691) in Ἰ.Ν. Καρμίρης, *Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, II, Ἀθήναι 1968, 780 [860]: «...as can be seen from the writings of the defender of piety, the Lord Gennadios, patriarch of Constantinople, who in the face of the Orthodox emperors, pious patriarchs, the holy Senate and the teachers of our Orthodoxy came out in defense of the sacred sacrament by means of the same word [μετουσίωσις], already known and recognized by the Church [by his time]».

⁵⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, I, xxxv.

4) The main difficulties faced by ignorant people and heretics when understanding the sacrament of Eucharist;

5) A brief formula of faith of the Church that solves difficulties without the detailed and scholastic proofs that can be found in the original Sermon.

6) The eucharistic miracles and the piety of the faithful.

Sections 1–3 meet the purpose of the treatise to retell Scholarios' *Homily* on his behalf «briefly and clearly» (σύντομον καὶ σαφές). Nevertheless, in the historical and theological context the brief formula of faith (5) is of the greatest interest. It also serves as an excellent example of the compilation method, which was used by the author of the abridged version.

<i>The abridged version</i> ⁵¹	<i>Scholarios' original text A</i> ⁵²	<i>Scholarios' original text B</i> ⁵³
Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλετε πιστεύειν ἀναμφιβόλως, καὶ πάντες Χριστιανοὶ οὕτω πιστεύειν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τούτῳ σώματι, αὐτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας Παρθένου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ, ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ νῦν, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὀλόκληρος, ὑπὸ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τοῦ ἄρτου συγκαλυπτόμενος· καὶ <u>κατ' οὐσίαν</u> ⁵⁴ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ, οὐ <u>κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν</u> .	<...> καὶ βεβαίως καὶ ἀναμφισβητήτως πιστεύωμεν ὅσα περὶ τούτου τοῦ μυστηρίου ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία διδάσκει ἡ μήτηρ ἡμῶν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τούτῳ σώματι αὐτὸν ἀληθῶς εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τοῦ ἄρτου συγκαλυπτόμενον καὶ ὀλόκληρον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐκ τῆς μακαρίας παρθένου γεγεννημένον, τὸν ἐπὶ σταυροῦ τότε, τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ νῦν...	Ὡ μυστηρίου πάντων μυστηρίων ἱερωτάτου καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὑπερβαίνοντος· δι' ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ δεσπότης <u>κατὰ δύναμιν μόνην</u> , διὰ δὲ τούτου <u>κατ' οὐσίαν ἡμῖν κοινωνεῖ</u> .

⁵¹ M. Jugie drew attention to the quoted fragment in his article, but without comparing it with its sources in the Scholarios' original homily (see M. Jugie, "Le mot transsubstantiation chez les Grecs avant 1629", *Échos d'Orient* 10 [1907] 5-12, 65-77, here 10). At that time (the article was published 21 years before the publication of the first volume of the *Œuvres complètes*) Jugie was not yet completely sure that the abridged version was a pseudo-epigraph, and therefore believed that this fragment could be directed either against the Bogomils, who allegedly denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist (if the abridged version belongs to Scholarios), or against the Calvinists (if it belongs to Syrigos).

⁵² *Œuvres complètes*, I, 134, 20-5.

⁵³ *Id.*, 125, 32-36, 126, 21-24.

⁵⁴ Cf. Dositheos' *Confession of Orthodox Faith*, chapter 17, in Καρμίρης, *Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα*, II, 762 [842]: «Also [we believe] that every part and particle of consecrated bread and wine contain not a part of the Body and Blood of the Lord but by substance the entire whole Lord Christ, that

As we can see, there is a compilation of the two passages from Scholarios' *Homily*, which are interpreted as stating that Christ is present in the Eucharist *by substance* (κατ' οὐσίαν) of His body and blood; furthermore, the author and adds a rejection of Christ's presence in the Sacrament *by grace or by power* (κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν) in the context of anti-Calvinist polemic.

The original homily is not the only source for the abridged version. We have managed to find out that the author of our forgery used another Scholarios' treatise *On the Holy Entrances* (Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσόδων) in order to explain the legitimacy of using the term ἀντίτυπα in the Eucharistic context⁵⁵. Scholarios compiled this treatise after the Council of Florence in an attempt to defend the Orthodox doctrine of the epiclesis, which was discussed there⁵⁶, and the practice of worshipping the Gifts at the Great Entrance⁵⁷ by means of the categories of Thomistic sacramentology, or in other words, in a theological language they could understand. We will treat this point further in the next section of our article. Here are the corresponding passages in the table below, where the attributes of the Holy Spirit from the well-known sticheron of the Aposticha Βασιλεῦ Οὐράνιε⁵⁸ are ascribed to Jesus Christ who Himself offers the Eucharistic sacrifice and changes the substance⁵⁹ through the ministry of His priests.

<i>The abridged version</i>	<i>Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσόδων</i> ⁶⁰
Ἀντίτυπα οὖν δύνανται λέγεσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Θυσίᾳ γεγόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ὡς τότε	Καὶ νῦν δέ, τὴν μὲν πρὸς τὸ προσδοκώμενον οὐράνοθεν δῶρον παρασκευὴν ἱερεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ

is, with Soul and Divinity» (ἀλλ' ὅλον ὀλικῶς τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν κατ' οὐσίαν, μετὰ ψυχῆς δηλονότι καὶ θεότητος), or perfect God and perfect man. See also the decree of the Synod of Constantinople (1691): Id., 779-80 [859-60]. Μετὰ ψυχῆς δηλονότι καὶ θεότητος is a short explanation that means that the theory of concomitance is implied by the formula κατ' οὐσίαν. See also the discussion on the variant readings of this formula above in the section «The manuscript tradition».

⁵⁵ *Œuvres complètes*, III, Paris 1930, 196-204.

⁵⁶ See note 36.

⁵⁷ The moment in the Byzantine liturgy that happens before the words of institution.

⁵⁸ Βασιλεῦ Οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε, τό Πνεῦμα τῆς Ἀληθείας, ὁ πανταχοῦ παρῶν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, ὁ Θεσαυρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ζωῆς Χορηγός, ἐλθέ καὶ σκήνωσον ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης κηλίδος καὶ σῶσον, Ἄγαθὲ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν (the sticheron of the aposticha in the sixth mode at the Great Vespers of Pentecost).

⁵⁹ As He did it during the Last Supper.

⁶⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, III, Paris 1930, 201, 12-17.

<p>μὲν ἀμέσως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ θαῦμα ποιοῦντος, νῦν δὲ διὰ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπηρετῶν, τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς πράττοντος, ὡς <u>πανταχοῦ παρόντος</u> θεία δυνάμει, <u>καὶ πάντα πληροῦντος</u>.</p>	<p>ποιῶν καὶ προσφέρων· ὁ δὲ μεταβάλλων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἄρτου εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸν οἶνον εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐστὶν οὐράνοθεν, <u>ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ πάντα πληρῶν</u> ὡς Λόγος Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸς καὶ τῶν ὄντων πάντων δημιουργός.</p>
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In the edition of the abridged version below we provide references in the compilation to the corresponding places of Scholarios' *Homily* used therein.

Historical and theological analysis

As we said above, in the historical and theological context of its time, the text's formula of faith (5) is of great interest. It was this clear statement of faith that impacted chapter 17 of Dositheos' *Confession of Orthodox Faith*, which is an integral part of the decree of the Council of Jerusalem (1672). The doctrine of the real presence of the whole Christ *by substance* (κατ' οὐσίαν) was included in that chapter as a refutation of the Protestant views of Cyril Lucaris on the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Dositheos had access to the Jerusalem manuscript, Panagiotis Taphou. 111, while he was composing his *Confession* in 1672, that is, at the time when the manuscript was in the possession of Nikousios Panagiotis. This assumption looks all the more plausible since Nikousios was one of the main characters in the history of the Council in 1672⁶¹.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem became interested in this formula because it contained material that bore the traces of the anti-Protestant polemics of the sixteenth century. The author of the forgery intended to briefly present the arguments against the attacks of the Protestants on the doctrine of transubstantiation, since Protestants had utilized the

⁶¹ See about the Council of Jerusalem in 1672 and its link with the confrontation in France between Calvinists and Jansenists: O. Olar, "Un temps pour parler". Dosithée de Jérusalem et le synode de Jassy (1642)", *Analele Putnei X* (1) [2014] 215–250.

testimonies of the Eastern Church Fathers of the first millennium AD to their own purposes. Patriarch Dositheos faced the same tasks in his time.

1. The doctrine of μετασώσις (*transubstantiatio*) is presented in a concise manner and is not overloaded with scholastic philosophical argumentation, as is done in Scholarios' original *Homily*. Particular emphasis is placed by the author of our forgery on the presence in every particle of the Holy Gifts of the *entire whole resurrected* Christ. The mystical Body of Christ, although divided, remains intact, because the breaking of the bread does not pertain to the glorified and imperishable body of Christ, which is present by substance, but pertains only to the accidents of bread and wine.

The author of the forgery seeks to contrast the correct understanding of the Thomistic doctrine with the distorted notion of transubstantiation in terms of hyperrealism⁶². The source of this distorted notion is the Protestant propaganda, which since the 16th century deliberately misinterpreted the Thomistic doctrine. Such improved understanding turned out to be relevant for the Greeks who opposed Protestantism in the 17th century, since Cyril Lucaris in his *Confession*, being under the influence of such propaganda, also shared a similar erroneous understanding of «poorly invented transubstantiation»:

We confess and believe in the true and real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ but in such [a presence] that faith informs us about and not a poorly invented transubstantiation. We truly believe that faithful communicants partake of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ at the Supper, *without tearing the sacrament apart by their teeth sensually* but rather comulgating through the feeling of the soul. For the body of Christ is not what is seen and perceived by eyes in the Sacrament but what is presented and offered to us by our faith

⁶² Thus, the Thomistic concept sought to overcome the extreme realistic interpretation of the real presence that created problems in Christology, marked already by Berenger of Tours in the eleventh century: how could the resurrected Body could be broken sensually if it is imperishable? A great example of this hyperrealism is the *Confession of faith*, compiled by Cardinal Humbert for the Lateran Council of 1059 against Berenger, in DH 690: “<...> scilicet panem et vinum... post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et *sensualiter non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi et fidelium dentibus atteri* (Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum.” See in details Bernatsky, “The Presence of Christ in the Eucharist κατ’ οὐσίαν”, passim.

through spiritual perception. Thus, it is true that if we believe than we eat, communicate and partake of [the sacrament] but if we do not, than we do not profit⁶³.

2. Eucharistic miracles. The correct understanding of the doctrine of transubstantiation is confirmed by Eucharistic miracles, but the author does not follow the ancient tradition of Eucharistic miracles (common both in the East and in the West), in which the immolated Child or physical flesh and blood appeared to those who doubted the sacrament⁶⁴. Rather, the author of the forgery speaks only of miracles in which the resurrected whole Christ appeared before the eyes of doubting Christians: «It was reinforced for the firm faithful by many miracles, as we said earlier, and they saw in the sacred vessel our living Lord who is whole, and being amazed, came to believe [in the transubstantiation]».

3. A new interpretation of the word ἀντίτυπα. The emergence of the tradition of Eucharistic miracles with the immolated Child is likely connected to the prohibition to apply the term ἀντίτυπα to already consecrated gifts⁶⁵. The earliest evidence condemning such application in patristic literature is the famous story attributed to abba Arsenios from the Systematic and Alphabetical collections of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*⁶⁶. An ascetic monk, who argued that «the bread that we take is not the Body of Christ by nature (φύσει), but only a mere representation (ἀντίτυπον)». For the sake of enlightenment at the Sunday Liturgy his eyes were opened and the consecration took the form of the sacrifice of the Child. And at the time of the communion, the monk was given a piece of bloody meat (κρέας ἡματωμένον), which took the form of bread only after his public

⁶³ Καρμίρης, *Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα*, II, 568 [647].

⁶⁴ See Н. Туницкий, “Древние сказания о чудесных явлениях Младенца Христа в Евхаристии”, *Богословский вестник* 5 (1907) 201-229; M.-H. Congourdeau, “L’enfant immolé. Hyper-réalisme et symbolique sacrificielle à Byzance”, in B. Caseau – D. Rigaux – N. Bériou, ed., *Pratiques de l’eucharistie dans les Églises d’Orient et d’Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, Paris 2009, 291-307.

⁶⁵ See an overview of the problems of the interpretation of the word in the first millennium AD in M. Zheltov, “The Moment of Eucharistic Consecration in Byzantine Thought”, in M.E. Johnson, ed., *Issues in Eucharistic Praying*, Colledgeville (MN) 2010, 263-306, here 286-289.

⁶⁶ *Les apophthegmes des Pères. Collection systématique, Chapitres XVII–XXI*, J.-C. Guy, ed., (SC 498), Paris 2005, 42, 44 (XVIII, 4); PG 65, 156C-160A. In the Systematic collection there is another version of this story with no mention of the term ἀντίτυπον, see *id.*, 116 (XVIII, 48). The version without the term ἀντίτυπον can be found only in one manuscript, see J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des “Apophthegmata Patrum”*, Bruxelles 1962 (Subsidia hagiographica 36), 172-175.

confession of the real presence. The elders explained that to him, «God knows that human nature is incapable of eating raw meat, and therefore turned the Body into bread and His Blood into wine, for those who receive it in faith». The last argument, which explains that the outward signs of bread and wine do not change after the consecration, became widespread in the subsequent patristic tradition of eucharistic realism. The dating of these evidences is debatable, but as L. MacCoull suggested⁶⁷, they could possibly be dated to the sixth century, since they were directed against the heresy of the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus, the Aphtartodocetae (who believed that the body of Christ from the very moment of His conception was incorruptible and impassible). M. Zheltov disputes MacCoull's suggestion and believes that «this had something to do with a reaction to Nestorian eucharistic theology»⁶⁸. Anyway, the problem of the corruptibility of the Eucharistic body was the focus of eucharistic controversies in the East until the nineteenth century.

In the eighth century, John of Damascus gave two interpretations of the word ἀντίτυπα, inspired by the previous tradition (e.g. Anastasius Sinaita). The first one followed the line of serious restriction in its interpretation. As is known, ἀντίτυπα is also used in the text of the anaphora of St Basil the Great after the words of the institution and before the epiclesis. St John explained that this word refers to Gifts before consecration⁶⁹. This interpretation became even more conventional in Orthodox theology in the context of the struggle against the iconoclastic doctrine of the Eucharist; in fact, the explanation of St John was read at the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787⁷⁰. Later the restriction concerning the term ἀντίτυπον became an argument in the Greek-Latin debates in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries about the precise moment of Eucharistic consecration. After Symeon of Thessalonica⁷¹ this argument was used by Mark

⁶⁷ L.S.B. MacCoull, "John Philoponus, 'On the Pasch' (CPG 7267): The Egyptian Eucharist in the Sixth Century and the Armenian Connection", *JÖB* 49 (1999) 2-12, here 9-10.

⁶⁸ Zheltov, "The Moment of Eucharistic Consecration in Byzantine Thought", 287.

⁶⁹ B. Kotter, ed., *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, Berlin 1972 (Patristische Texte und Studien 12), 197.

⁷⁰ Mansi 13, 265.

⁷¹ PG 155, 737.

of Ephesus in his treatise *On the time of consecration of the divine Gifts*, written at the Council of Florence in 1439⁷².

The second interpretation of St John⁷³ sheds light on the fact that up to the fifth century, the word ἀντίτυπα was widely used to refer to the consecrated Gifts by Church writers and Fathers without any reservation (*Apostolic Tradition, Didascalia, Irenaeus of Lyon, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzen, Corpus Macarianum*). That tradition did not disappear, and we also can find it later on, for example, in the eleventh century, when the term ἀντίτυπα was used by Nicetas Stethatos, when he contended with the Latins about the unleavened bread⁷⁴.

In the sixteenth century, Protestant theologians drew attention to this early use of the word to argue in favor of the figurative understanding of the presence of the Body of Christ in the Gifts. The author of our forgery tried to unravel this tangle of contradictions and to reconcile the possibility of an unrestricted use of the word ἀντίτυπα with Thomist sacramentology in general and especially the concept *in persona Christi*⁷⁵. The Eucharistic sacrifice is the representation (τύπος) of the Sacrifice offered at the Last Supper by Christ Himself, and the priests are representations of the Lord. Through them, Christ now performs the miracle of transubstantiation not directly, but by His operation (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν) in the priests⁷⁶. The identity of these sacrifices is ensured by the fact that the

⁷² Petit, *Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence*, 430.

⁷³ «[The consecrated Gifts] are called ἀντίτυπα of the future not because they are not the true Body and Blood of Christ, but because now we communicate with the Deity of Christ by means of them» (see Kotter, *Die Schriften*, 198).

⁷⁴ J. Hergenroether, ed., *Monumenta graeca ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentia*, Ratisbonae 1869, 139-140, 151; A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, II, Paderborn 1930, 323. Cf. the usage of the word τύπος in a tiny Commentary on the Liturgy, which dated back to the eleventh century, in M.C. Желтов, “Малоизвестный византийский комментарий XI (?) в. на Божественную литургию”, *Византийский временник* 102 (2018) 352-358, here 357: «Ἔϊτα ὑψοῖ [ὁ ἱερεὺς] τὸν ἄρτον εἰς τύπον τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, λέγων· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἀγίοις».

⁷⁵ This Thomist doctrine can be summarized as follows: the priest, who receives the power to consecrate at ordination, represents the person of Jesus Christ, who is the true performer of the Sacrament during the Liturgy, and the Eucharistic sacrifice represents the sacrifice at Golgotha. See Thomas Aquinas, *S.T. III*, 82 and 83; *Sent. IV*, 8, 2, a. 1.

⁷⁶ Cf. Col 1, 29: “εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν δυνάμει”; Latina Vulgata: “in quo et laboro, certando *secundum operationem* ejus, quam operatur in me in virtute.” Cf. also Phil 3, 21: ὃς μετασχηματίζει τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι ἐαυτῷ τὰ πάντα; Latina Vulgata: qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, configuratum corpori claritatis suae, *secundum operationem*, qua etiam possit subjicere sibi omnia.

result is the same: transubstantiation or supernatural change (ἡ μετουσίωσις καὶ ἡ ὑπερφυστάτη μεταβολή) into the Flesh, and wine into the Blood: then directly, now through mediation⁷⁷.

In such a way, the concept of transubstantiation allows our author to bypass the limitations in the usage of the word ἀντίτυπον for the sake of arguing against the Protestant view. However, he does not explicitly question the relationship of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the sacrifice at Golgotha, while comparing the offerings at the Last Supper and the daily offerings on the church altars⁷⁸.

Can we deduce the source that inspired the author of the pseudepigraph for his interpretation of the term? Certainly. We may assume that the source was the following place of the original Scholarios' original *Homily*, where Christ says on His behalf that the Last Supper is a representation (τύπος) of the celebration of the Sacrament:

But now I distribute My Body in some new and mystical way, as well as My Blood, which will soon be shed for you and for the whole world. And I give you the representation (τύπος) of such a marvelous celebration and the power (δύναμιν) to perform it. For the efficacy (δραστηριότης) of My words will change every bread and every wine into My Blood and Body, when you desire to create a remembrance of Me, and also to have [Me] present, in fellowship with [you] and strengthening for every good⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ Cf. the accusations against Soterichos Panteugenos (XII c.) that he called the consecrated gifts the ἀντίτυπα in the context of his teaching of the representative nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice in relation to the Golgotha, in 'Ι. Σακκελίων, ed., *Πατριακὴ βιβλιοθήκη ἢ τοὶ ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Πάτμον... μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου... Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου τεθησαυρισμένων χειρογράφων τευχῶν*, Ἀθῆναι 1890, 330; see also: П.В. Ермилов, "Евхаристия. Константинопольские споры XII в. о богословии Е(вхаристии). Полемика 1156–1157 гг", in *Православная энциклопедия*, XVII, Москва 2008, 625-628.

⁷⁸ We would like to note that a similar solution to the problem of the correlation of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Golgotha, typical in the Byzantine Eucharistic controversies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Byzantium, can be found in the *Explication of the divine Liturgy* by Nicholas Cabasilas (Expl. Div. liturg. 32, in Nicolas Cabasilas, *Explication de la divine liturgie*, S. Salaville – al., ed., Paris 1967 [SC 4bis], 204). Although Cabasilas would not call the Eucharistic sacrifice τύπος, his solution to the issues of Soterichos Panteugenos and Michael Sikidites (Glykas) seems to be inspired by Thomism. In a similar manner, he did not explicitly use the word μετουσίωσις directly and was very cautious in his terminology, but there is an indisputable influence of Thomism on his views on Eucharistic doctrine. The reading of Aquinas' writings translated into Greek in the 14th century was not limited to the circle of antipalamites and Latinophrons. A systematic study of borrowings from *Corpus Thomisticum* in Cabasilas' works is definitely needed.

⁷⁹ *Œuvres complètes*, I, 124, 21-25.

The explanation of ἀντίτυπα in our forgery, which was crafted to address the theological demands of the 16th century, was therefore rather creative⁸⁰. The term could not seem to conflict with the real presence, as it did in the fifteenth century, when Scholarios himself rejected any positive interpretation of this word in his treatise *On the Holy Entrances*⁸¹. But in spite of this denial, the treatise has served our author well, as we shall see in the next section.

4. *In persona Christi* and the designation of the properties of the Holy Spirit (πανταχοῦ παρῶν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν) to Jesus Christ in the liturgical context.

As we noted in the «Textual analysis» section, Scholarios' treatise *On the Holy Entrances* was another source for the abridged version. Our author borrowed a peculiar concept of Scholarios from that treatise, where Gennadios ascribes the properties of the Holy Spirit from the sticheron Βασιλεῦ Οὐράνιε to Jesus Christ.

And then for the first time the disciples gave bread and wine, and the Lord, having accepted, blessed both [gifts] and, having transubstantiated by blessing (τῇ εὐλογίᾳ μετουσιώσας), did not give out bread to eat but His Holy Body, and did not give out wine to drink from the cup but the Blood. And now the priest makes an offering and prepares the gift expected from heaven, but the Lord Himself from heaven, «being everywhere and filling all things» as the Word of God and God and the Creator of all things, changes the substance of the bread into the substance of the Body and the wine into the substance of the Blood⁸².

What was Scholarios' inspiration for the passage above? In the hope of appeasing the Latins, he tried to combine the Thomist concept of the priest acting *in persona Christi*

⁸⁰ In the seventeenth century Dositheos appreciated this interpretation by placing a marginalia in his edition (1690): ποιῶ τρόπῳ τύπος λέγεται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ.

⁸¹ He likely did this so as not to antagonize 15th century Latins. See: *Œuvres complètes*, III, 200.

⁸² *Œuvres complètes*, III, 201, 12-17.

and the Orthodox view on the moment of consecration: the transubstantiation is performed by Christ Himself but at the moment that the priest pronounces the epiclesis⁸³.

...for in this sacrament it is much clear [compared to the sacrament of Baptism] that all the fullness of grace originates only from our Lord. And this is evident from the very words of the servant (τοῦ διακονοῦντος) of the sacrament. First remembering the words of the omniscient Lord to His disciples [i.e., the words: Take, eat], then, he adds a petition that the necessary [change] will also happen now [i.e., the transubstantiation of the bread and wine] and says, «Make this bread Your Body and make this wine the Blood Yours». As if he had said [in other words], «For my part, I have prepared blessed [Gifts] for this altar — bread and wine, for this only imposed by You and according to Your grace. You alone have the ability to transubstantiate these [Gifts] supernaturally and transform them into Your most pure Body and Blood. For the sake of this transubstantiation, such a preparation was made by me, since You commanded us to do this part of ours, and to accept the supernatural and divine Gift according to Your promise without doubt⁸⁴.

Scholarios seeks to justify his position that the miracle of transubstantiation can happen as a result of human prayer, while maintaining the sanctifying character of the epiclesis. He emphasizes that at the Last Supper, Christ changed the Gifts through a blessing. The same thing happens every day in the churches, where Christ performs a miracle through the priests who act as instruments. Since the transubstantiation happens through the action of the Holy Spirit in the epiclesis⁸⁵, Scholarios goes on to a kind of

⁸³ Let us recall that, from the fourteenth century onward, the accusation of the Latins against the Greeks consisted in the fact that the Orthodox doctrine made the sacrament of the change of the Gifts into the Body and Blood of Christ dependent on human prayer (epiclesis) and therefore on a human faculty of a priest. But the Sacrament should not depend on dubious human dignity and the power of his own prayer, it is necessary to be sure of the indisputability of its objective effectiveness. The latter, as they thought, is possible only if the priest acts *in persona Christi*, thereby Christ Himself offers the Eucharistic sacrifice and change of the substance of the Gifts by the ministry of His priests, when they pronounce the words of the consecration: “Take, eat, this is My Body etc.”

⁸⁴ *Œuvres complètes*, III, 201,34 – 202. 7.

⁸⁵ Here is the text of the epiclesis from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: «Again we offer unto Thee this rational and bloodless service, and we ask of Thee, and we pray Thee, and we entreat Thee: Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Gifts set forth and make this Bread the precious Body of thy Christ, and that which is in this Cup, the precious Blood of thy Christ, changing them by thy Holy Spirit».

rational and ascribes the attributes of the Spirit to Christ, abandoning the pneumatological aspect for the sake of mutual understanding.

This all looks rather strange, but in the context of our forgery, it makes better sense, since there is no emphasis on the moment of transubstantiation and the main theme is different; that is, the real presence of Christ in the Gifts. However, by the borrowing of this text our author demonstrated that he implicitly shares the Orthodox teaching on the epiclesis, which should have given the fake a degree of authenticity.

The authorship of the abridged and revised version

We know now that the treatise was written some time before 1603 and appeared in the sixteenth century in an unknown protograph, an anti-Protestant miscellanea, as evidence in favor of Catholic sacramentology. Meletios Syrigos definitely could not have written it. But who is the author of our forgery? We are tempted to assume that the author could be Constantine Paleocappa or one of the Greeks, who worked in Western Europe in the sixteenth century. In the 1550s the Cretan copyist and forger Constantine Paleocappa⁸⁶ was under the protection of the Cardinal Charles de Guise of Lorraine and together with the other Greek copyists Angelos Vergecios (Ἄγγελος Βεργέκιος) and Jacobos Diassorinos (Ἰάκωβος Διασσωρινός), worked on creating a catalog of Greek manuscripts in the Royal Library at Fontainebleau. At that time, Card. de Lorraine commissioned Paleocappa to compile several liturgical and theological florilegia. As part of this commission, Paleocappa created three eucharistic forgeries (the treatises of pseudo-Samon of Gaza, pseudo-Proclus of Constantinople, and pseudo-Nicholas of Methone and the revised version of the Liturgy of James)⁸⁷ that became a basis of the famous Parisian edition in 1560⁸⁸. This edition was intended to help in the controversy of the Catholics against the Huguenots over the theology of the Eucharist.

⁸⁶ C. García Bueno, “El copista cretense Constantino Paleocapa: un estado de la cuestión”, *Estudios bizantinos* 1 (2013) 198-218.

⁸⁷ See M. Bernatsky, “An Edition of the New-found Forgery of Constantine Paleocappa – the Treatise of Nicholas of Methone Πρὸς τοὺς διασάζοντας καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι ὁ ἱερουργούμενος ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ”, *OCP* 88 (2022) 105-129.

⁸⁸ A small volume published in 1560 in Paris by the Royal publisher Guillaume Morel. This volume was prepared for publication by the liturgist Jean de Saint-André. See the history of ED1560 in details: H.

The compilation method of Paleocappa is rather similar to what we observe in the text we study in this article. This method consists in using several original writings of one author and compiling several borrowings from them to create short falsifications. At the same time, some borrowings can be taken out of context. Moreover, Paleocappa often used the technique of repeating certain concepts or expressions to emphasise the main ideological goal of the forgery.

The Cretan copyist was evidently familiar with the original *Homily on the Eucharist* by Scholarios. In one forgery, attributed to a certain Samon of Gaza, Paleocappa borrowed⁸⁹ from the *Homily* the example of a mirror (κάτοπτρον) as an analogy to the fact that when the consecrated bread is broken, the incorruptible and resurrected Body of Christ remains intact under the accidents of bread: if the mirror is broken, the image of the reflected object does not break, but is observed in each separate piece of the broken mirror⁹⁰. The ending of the pseudo-Samon's treatise addresses the same issues as our abridged version.

But even if the author of our treatise is Paleocappa, there are a number of difficulties to be resolved in order to accept this hypothesis. For the forgeries in the 1560 edition, we have a reliable manuscript tradition, however, things are not so smooth for our case. None of the earliest manuscripts listed above can be said to be an autograph of Paleocappa. Besides, in the forgeries for the 1560 edition the Cretan forger intentionally did not use the term «transubstantiation» (μετουσίωσις) and compiled citations of the Church Fathers, who lived earlier than the fifteenth century. The reason that Paleocappa did not make use of this term, but only the term «accidents»⁹¹, was not only due to the deception of the forger. Constantine seemed to take into account a moderate theological

Brakmann, "Divi Jacobi testimonium. Die Editio princeps der Jerusalemer Liturgie durch Jean de Saint-André und der Beitrag des Konstantinos Palaiokappa", in *Sion, mère des Églises: Mélanges liturgiques offerts au Père Charles Athanase Renoux*, Münster 2016 (Semaines d'études liturgiques Saint-Serge. Suppl. 1), 49-77.

⁸⁹ P. 137 in the 1560 edition (= PG. 120, 832).

⁹⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, I, 131. Scholarios himself borrows this comparison from the seventh chapter of the treatise by pseudo-Thomas *De sacramento Eucharistiae ad modum praedicatorum*.

⁹¹ The anachronism in the case of the term συμβεβηκότα revealed a forgery by pseudo-Samon of Gaza. See M. Jugie, "Une nouvelle invention au compte de Constantin Palaeocappa: Samonas de Gaza et son dialogue sur l'eucharistie", in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III, *Letteratura e storia bizantina*, Città del Vaticano 1946, ST 123, 342-359.

position of his client Card. Charles of Lorraine. Up until the Colloque of Poissy (1561), for political reasons the Cardinal tried to avoid the word «transubstantiation» in the discussions with French Protestants. He hoped to achieve a reconciliation between the two sides with the help of the Augsburg Confession (1530), which affirmed the true presence of the Christ's body and blood (in Art. 10)⁹². But the concept of transubstantiation was *petra scandali*, since Luther drastically opposed it, attack on that was one of four counts in the Affair of the Placards (1534)⁹³.

In our text, the treatment of the term μεταουσίωσις is different: the forgery was made in a different context for a different client. Since this client remains unidentified, our findings about the forgery are still in their preliminary stages. Further study of the manuscript tradition and the search for a protograph are needed.

Information about the life of Paleocappa also will not clarify this matter, since the research is limited in this area. As C. García Bueno notes, the oldest manuscript attributed to him is Paris. gr. 887, dated between 1539 and 1540, and the oldest (Lyon lat. 615) is dated to 1560. Virtually nothing is known of what his life would be like after his departure from Crete until his establishment in Paris, except the deduction that in the forties of the sixteenth century he had reached Venice⁹⁴.

To conclude, in the sixteenth century the writing of forgeries of historical, hagiographic and theological content became a mass phenomenon. Constantine Paleocappa, Andrew Darmarios, Makarios Melissenos constitute the most prominent examples. Of course, the motives for creating such fakes for the Greeks, who moved to Western Europe, were especially commercial, but the issues raised by the fakes, related to the history of worship and theology of the Eucharist, have made them popular from the seventeenth century and misled Church writers and researchers up to the present day. That is why they were so in demand in the seventeenth century by the Patriarch Dositheos, who fought against the Protestant influence in the Greek Churches and who has cited almost all Paleocappa's forgeries as authoritative evidences.

⁹² De coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in coena Domini; et improbant secus docentes.

⁹³ See C. Elwood, *The Body Broken. The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford 1999, 116-117.

⁹⁴ García Bueno, "El copista cretense Constantino Paleocapa", 200-203.

* * *

Our new edition⁹⁵ of the Greek text of the abridged version is based on the Jerusalem manuscript with the variant readings in the apparatus. The reasons for this choice lean on the data from *The manuscript tradition* section:

- 1) No title nor authorship of the abridged version given in the Vatican manuscript.
- 2) The variant reading of the key passage of the forgery speaks in favor of the Jerusalem codex⁹⁶.
- 3) In Sinaitic manuscript the first paragraph⁹⁷ is lacking.

Besides the manuscripts, we also took into account Dositheos' edition, from which the Athenian manuscript of the eighteenth century was copied. The apparatus also contains references to the original Scholarios' works used to compose the pseudepigraph. The edition of E. Renaudot [=PG] contains numerous minor faults and variant readings, which indicate that he tried to correct obvious technical errors in Dositheos' edition.

SIGLA

V — Vaticanus gr. 1724

P — Jerusalem. Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη. Παναγίου Τάφου. 111

S — Sinai. Μονή τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης gr. 1787

E — Athens. Ἐθνική Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Παναγίου Τάφου. 411

A — Athos. Μονή ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος. 649

D — Dositheos' edition (1690)

⁹⁵ I would like to express my thanks to Natalia Mamlina for the technical assistance in preparing the edition.

⁹⁶ κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν P : κατὰ χάριν μόνην V

⁹⁷ Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος καὶ αἵματος <...> καὶ ἀγαπῶσαι κατὰ Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπωμέναις.

1. Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τοῦ μυστηριώδους σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ προχείρως πρώην ἀπεκρινάμεθα πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐρώτησιν, νῦν πάλιν
5 πλατύτερον ἀποκρινόμεθα, ἔχοντες² ἀνάγκην ὡς δυνατὸν ἐνθεῖναι ὑμῖν τὴν ἀληθῆ
γνώσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου, ὡς ὀσιωτάταις ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀγαπώσαις κατὰ Θεόν καὶ
ἀγαπωμέναις.

Πρῶτον οὖν γινώσκειν ὀφείλετε, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν σῶμα τὸ πανάγιον, ἐν
ὑπάρχον ἀεὶ, διαφόρους ἐπιδέχεται θεωρίας. Ἄλλως γὰρ θεωροῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθὸ
10 φυσικοῦ, ἤγουν εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς συλλήψεως μέχρι καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν θαυμάτων ἀναδείξεως·
καὶ ἄλλως καθὸ ἐνδόξου, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναδείξεως μέχρι τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ταφῆς·
καὶ ἄλλως καθὸ δεδοξασμένου, ἤγουν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ μέχρι παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου
διηνεκῶς· καὶ ἄλλως ὡς μυστικοῦ, ἤγουν καθὸ ἐν διαφόροις θυσιαστηρίοις τῶν
ὀρθοδόξων χριστιανῶν ὑπερθαυμάστως καθ' ἑκάστην παρουσιάζεται. Αἱ τοιαῦται δὲ
15 ὁμῶς διάφοροι θεωρίαι οὐ διαιροῦσι τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ διὰ πασῶν ἓν ἐστί.

Δεύτερον γινώσκειν ὀφείλετε, πάντων³ τῶν ὑπὲρ⁴ φύσιν γινομένων παρὰ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲν
ἐστὶν ὑπερφυέστερον τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς
ιδιώταις πλέον τούτου, καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ γυμνάζεται⁵ ἡ θεία καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία πλέον
τούτου, καὶ οὐδενὶ⁶ τῶν τῆς ἱεράς ἡμῶν⁷ πίστεως ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἄπιστοι καὶ αἰρετικοὶ⁸
20 μᾶλλον⁹ τούτου. Διὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς ποτὲ ἐν τῷ δυστυχεῖ παλατίῳ ὠμιλήσαμεν κατὰ τὴν
Παρασκευὴν τοῦ Λαζάρου περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ σώματος τοῦ Δεσπότη Χριστοῦ ἐνώπιον
βασιλέως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἐξαιρέτων τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πολλὰς χάριτας

§ 1, from Πρῶτον οὖν to διὰ πασῶν ἓν ἐστί: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 123, 8-10.

¹ Γενναδίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως PE : Τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Γενναδίου περὶ τῆς θείας
μυσταγωγίας SA Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γενομένου πατριάρχου ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀλώσεως, ἀπόκρισις δογματικῆ πρὸς τινὰς ἐρωτήσαντας αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου μυστηρίου τῆς ἱεράς
εὐχαριστίας, ἐν ᾗ ῥητῶς λέγει τὴν λέξιν τῆς μετουσιώσεως D om. V — ² ἔχοντες VPSAE : ἔχοντα D —
³ πάντων VPDE : ὅτι πάντων SA — ⁴ ὑπὲρ VPDE marg. A : παρὰ SA — ⁵ γυμνάζεται VPSA : γυμνάζεται πλέον
DE — ⁶ οὐδενὶ VPSA : ἐν οὐδενὶ DE — ⁷ ἡμῶν om. SA — ⁸ αἰρετικοὶ VPDE : οἱ αἰρετικοὶ SA — ⁹ μᾶλλον
VPDE : πλέον SA

ἀνήνεγκαν τῷ Κυρίῳ τότε καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ. Νῦν δὲ σύντομον καὶ σαφὲς περὶ τούτου λέγομεν.

2. Γινώσκετε οὖν ὅτι τὴν πρώτην τάξιν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχουσιν ἐκεῖνα, ἐν οἷς ἡ τάξις μόνον καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς φύσεως¹ μεταποιεῖται, γίνεται δὲ πρᾶγμα δυνάμενον γίνεσθαι καθ' ἐκάστην, πλὴν δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ· ὡσπερ ἰάσατο πολλοὺς ἀρρώστους ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν χωρὶς ἰατρείας, ὡς τὴν πενθερὰν ^Γ τοῦ Πέτρου², καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ³ ἑκατοντάρχου.

5 Καὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ διὰ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τοῦ Ἡλιοῦ ἐπύκνωσε τὸν ἀέρα πρὸς ὑετὸν χωρὶς τοῦ γενέσθαι φυσικὴν τινα αἰτίαν τοῦ⁴ ὄμβρου.

Δευτέραν ἔχουσι τάξιν ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ Λαζάρου, καὶ ἡ ἀνάβλεψις τοῦ τυφλοῦ· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τὸ μὲν γινόμενον ^Γ κατὰ τὴν⁵ φύσιν ἐστίν· ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑποκείμενον⁶ ἐν ᾧ γίνεται, παρὰ τὴν φύσιν ἐστί. Ποιεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ⁷ ζώην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ^Γ τῷ νεκρῷ·
10 καὶ δίδωσιν ὄψιν ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν⁸ τῷ πεπηρωμένῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

Τρίτην ἔχουσι τάξιν τὸ στήναι τοῦ οἰκείου δρόμου τὸν ἥλιον, ὃ γέγονε διὰ Ἰησοῦ⁹ τοῦ Ναυῆ· καὶ τὸ σῶμα χωρῆσαι διὰ σώματος, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν διῆλθε τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐδένα τρόπον παρὰ τῆς φύσεως δύνανται γίνεσθαι.

3. Ἐπέκεινα δὲ πάντων τούτων τῶν θαυμασίων, ἀλλὰ δύο εἰσὶ θαύματα μέγιστα, καὶ
15 πάντα λόγον νικῶντα· ἐν μὲν ἅπαξ γεγενημένον ὅτε¹⁰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὁ Θεὸς συνῆψε τῷ θείῳ προσώπῳ· ἕτερον δὲ μεῖζον τούτου καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν γινόμενον ὅτι αὐτίκα μεταβάλλει τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἄρτου εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ὁ Χριστός, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ οἴνου εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ πρώτῳ θαύματι, οὐδέτερα φύσις μετεβλήθη πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσώπῳ,
20 καὶ ἡ θεότης καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἀσυγχύτως εἰσίν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ μυστηρίῳ τὸ κτίσμα πρὸς τὸν κτίστην μεταποιεῖται διὰ μέσου τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἡ προϋφεστῶσα τοῦ ἄρτου οὐσία σῶμα Χριστοῦ γίνεται· καὶ ἡ μὲν οὐσία τοῦ ἄρτου μεταβάλλεται, ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν¹⁴ τὸ

§ 2: Cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 127, 5-20.

§ 3, from Ἐπέκεινα τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ γίνεται, cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 127, 21 –128, 3.

¹ φύσεως VPDE : τάξεως SA — ² Transp. ante πενθερὰν SA — ³ τοῦ om. SV — ⁴ τοῦ om. DE — ⁵ τὴν om. DE — ⁶ κατὰ–ὑποκείμενον om. A — ⁷ αὐτῆ PVSAD : αὐτήν E — ⁸ τῷ–ἐν om A — ⁹ Ἰησοῦ om. DE — ¹⁰ ὅτε PDE : ὅτι VA ὅτην S — ¹⁴ ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν VP : ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν SDE ἵνα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν A

μυστήριον ἐνεργῆ καὶ συσσωμους ἡμᾶς ποιῆ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἡ δὲ ἕξωθεν διάθεσις τοῦ
ἄρτου μένει πάλιν ἢ αὐτή, συγκαλύπτουσα τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἴλιγγος
ἡμᾶς κατασχών, ἀπαγάγη τῆς μεταλήψεως. Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν πάντων τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ
θαυμασιῶν τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον, διὸ καὶ πολλὰς, ὡς προείπομεν¹, ἐνστάσεις πρὸς
5 τοῦτο κινουῦσιν ἔνθεν μὲν ἄπιστοι, ἔνθεν δὲ αἰρετικοί, ἔνθεν δὲ ἰδιῶται, οὐκ ἔχοντες
συνορᾶν τὸν λόγον τοῦ μυστηρίου, ἅς ἐνστάσεις ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ διελευσάμεθα τότε².

4. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀποροῦσι, πῶς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μεταβάλλεται ἢ οὐσία τοῦ ἄρτου
καὶ οἴνου εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος. Οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦσι, πῶς δυνατόν ἐστι τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ
ἄρτου μεταβληθείσης εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος, μένειν τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῦ ἄρτου,
10 ἤγουν τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ, Ἦ τὸ βάθος³, τὸ πλάτος, τὸ χρῶμα, τὴν ὁσμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γεύσει
ποιότητα, ὥστε εἶναι τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῦ ἄρτου χωρὶς τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ τὴν
ἀληθινὴν⁴ οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος κρύπτεσθαι ἐν συμβεβηκόσιν ἄλλης οὐσίας⁵. Ἔτεροι⁶
ἀποροῦσι, πῶς δυνατόν ὅλον εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν μικρᾷ τοῦ φαινομένου ποσότητι. Ἄλλοι
πάλιν διαπιστοῦσιν, ὅπως τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστικὸν σῶμα καὶ τεμνόμενον ἀκέραιον
15 διαμένει, καὶ τῶν τμημάτων ἕκαστον, αὐτὸ ὅλον⁷ ἐστὶ⁸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα Ἦ καὶ τέλειον⁹.
Ἀποροῦσιν ἕτεροι, ὃ καὶ μεγίστην ἔχει τὴν ἀπορίαν, πῶς τὸ Ἦ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν¹⁰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
σῶμά ἐστι, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐν πλείστοις ἅμα θυσιαστηρίοις ἐν γῆ. Ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὲν
τὰς ἀπορίας καὶ λελύκαμεν τότε καὶ δυνάμεθα λύειν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ φωτίσαντος
ἡμᾶς χάριτι· μᾶλλον δὲ οἱ πάνσοφοι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλοι λύουσιν, οἱ καθηγεμόνες
20 τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ χάριτος καὶ σπουδῆς.

§ 3, from ἢ μὲν οὐσία το ἀπαγάγη τῆς μεταλήψεως: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 125, 5-6.

§ 3, from Μέγιστον μὲν οὖν το τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μυστήριον: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 128, 4-5.

§ 4, from Ἔτεροι ἀποροῦσι το θυσιαστηρίοις ἐν γῆ : cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 130, 8-10; 131, 4-6, 25-26.

¹ προείπομεν PVSDE : εἴπομεν A — ² τότε om. SA — ³ Transp. post τὸ πλάτος DE — ⁴ ἀληθινὴν PDE : ἀληθῆ VSA — ⁵ οὐσίαν PVDSE : οὐσίου A — ⁶ ἕτεροι PVSDE: ἕτεροι δὲ A — ⁷ ὅλον VPDEA : ὅλον ὅλον S — ⁸ ἐστὶ PVSDE : ἐστὶ τὸ A — ⁹ καὶ τέλειον PVDE : τέλειον SA — ¹⁰ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν SDEA : αὐτὸ εἰς ἐν PV

5. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλετε πιστεύειν ἀναμφιβόλως, καὶ πάντες Χριστιανοὶ οὕτω πιστεύειν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τούτῳ σώματι, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας¹ Παρθένου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ ἐπὶ σταυροῦ, ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ νῦν, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁλόκληρος ὑπὸ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι τοῦ ἄρτου συγκαλυπτόμενος· καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ, οὐ κατὰ χάριν μόνον ἢ δύναμιν². Οὐδὲ τύπος ἐστὶ τὸ³ μυστικὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς σώματος, ἀλλὰ ἡ⁴ ἀλήθεια ἐκείνου τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν. Οὐ γὰρ τύποις οὐδὲ σκιαῖς νῦν ὡς ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ, ἀλλὰ πράγμασι καὶ ἀληθείαις λατρεύομεν. Εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἁγίων ἀντίτυπον⁵ λέγει τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ δεῖπνου ἐκείνου, δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἡ θυσία μὲν αὕτη τύπος ἐστὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης, ὡσπερ καὶ οἱ νῦν θύοντες ἴτυποι⁶ εἰσὶ τοῦ τότε θύσαντος Ἰησοῦ. Τὸ δὲ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς θυσίας τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, ἡ μετουσίωσις δηλονότι, καὶ ἡ ὑπερφουεστάτη μεταβολὴ πρὸς τὴν ἔμψυχον καὶ τεθεωμένην τοῦ Χριστοῦ σάρκα, καὶ τοῦ οἴνου πρὸς τὸ ὑπέριμον αὐτοῦ αἶμα. Ἀντίτυπα οὖν δύνανται λέγεσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ γινόμενα κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, ὡς τότε⁷ μὲν ἀμέσως αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ θαῦμα ποιοῦντος, νῦν δὲ διὰ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπηρετῶν, τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἀφανῶς πράττοντος⁸, ὡς πανταχοῦ παρόντος θείᾳ δυνάμει, καὶ πάντα πληροῦντος. Τὸ δὲ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἡ μεταβολὴ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς τοῦ Χριστοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἶμα, καὶ τότε ἦν, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ.

6. Τοῦτο ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία κηρύττει· τοῦτο θαύμασι πολλάκις ἐβεβαιώθη πρὸς τοὺς διαπιστοῦντας⁸, ὡς πρότερον εἴπομεν, καὶ εἶδον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ σκεύει ὁλόκληρον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ζῶντα⁹, καὶ πεπιστεύκασιν ἐκπλαγέντες. Ἄλλοι πειρασμὸν τοῦ μυστηρίου ποιήσαντες τολμηρόν, μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν ζωὴν βιαίως¹⁰ ἀπώλεσαν.

§ 5, from Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλετε το συγκαλυπτόμενος: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I, 134, 21-25.

§ 5, from καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν το ἢ δύναμιν and from Οὐδὲ τύπος ἐστὶ το τοῦ τότε θύσαντος Ἰησοῦ: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, I 126, 21-24; 124, 21-25.

§ 5, from ὡς τότε μὲν ἀμέσως το καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ: cf. *Œuvres complètes*, III, 201, 12-17; 202, 3-7.

¹ Μαρίας PS: Μακαρίας VDE om. A — ² ἢ δύναμιν om. V — ³ τὸ om. V — ⁴ ἡ om. E — ⁵ ἀντίτυπον PDESA : ἀντίτυπα V — ⁶ Transp. post εἰσὶ SA — ⁷ τότε PVSA : τὸ DE — πράττοντος PVSDE : πράττοντες A —

⁸ διαπιστοῦντας PVSDE : ἀπιστοῦντας A — ⁹ ζῶντα PVDE : ἐστῶτα SA — ¹⁰ βιαίως PVDE : τὴν ἄλλως SA

Καὶ ἡ δραστηριότης πᾶσα τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα τῶν μυστηρίων ὑπεροχὴ ἐντεῦθεν¹ ἐστὶ Ἦ καὶ δείκνυται², καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοοῦντες, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἔλαττον τῆς ὀφειλομένης εὐλαβείας ἀπονέμουσι καὶ πρὸ τῆς μεταλήψεως, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μεταλήψει, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν, ἱερωμένοι τε ὁμοίως καὶ λαϊκοί. Ὑμεῖς
5 δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν³ εὐλαβεῖς ἐστὲ περὶ τὸ μέγα τοῦτο Ἦ καὶ ξενίζον⁴ μυστήριον· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ὑπερεύχεσθε μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν ὑμῖν γενησομένην προσθήκην τῆς εὐλαβείας⁵.

¹ ἐντεῦθεν PVDE : ἐνταῦθα SA — ² om SA — ³ μὲν om. A — ⁴ om. A — ⁵ εὐλαβείας VPDEA : εὐσεβείας S

By Gennadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople

1. Since we recently answered your question about the mystical (μυστηριώδους) body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ impromptu, now we are again answering in more
5 detail, considering it necessary to provide you, as far as possible, with true knowledge about the sacrament, for your most venerable souls both loved according to the will of God, and themselves accepted love.

First, you should know that the body of your Lord, being always one, admits various theories about itself. We consider it as a physical [body], that is, immediately after
10 conception until the manifestation by miracles; as a glorious, that is, from the manifestation to the passion and the burial; as a glorified, that is, from the Resurrection until the end of time; and as a mystical, that is, the body, which is present separately on various altars of Orthodox Christians in a miraculous way. But such different theories do not divide the body of Christ, but it remains one in all [states].

15 Secondly, you should know that of all the supernatural miracles performed by God, none surpasses this sacrament. And therefore, about none [of the miracles] do idiots err more than about this [sacrament]; in none [of the miracles] does divine and human wisdom more revealed itself than in this [sacrament], and not one of the [miracles] of our sacred faith is disputed by infidels and heretics more than this [sacrament]. When we
20 preached on Lazarus Friday in the unfortunate palace¹ before the emperor and the synclite and the elected [nobles] of the City,² they then offered many thanks to the Lord and to us, His humble servants. Now we speak about this [sacrament] briefly and clearly.

2. So, you should know that the first class of the miracles of God is those [miracles] in which only the order and way of nature are transformed, that is, an event, that can
25 happen every day, occurs, but in a different way. In such a way our Lord healed many sick

¹ See section «The textual analysis».

² That is, Constantinople.

people without treatment: for example, Peter's mother-in-law³ and the centurion's child⁴, and in the Old Testament, through Samuel⁵ and Elijah⁶, he thickened the air so that it would rain, although there was no natural cause for heavy rain.

The second class [of the miracles of God] is the Resurrection of Lazarus⁷ and the
5 recovery of sight to the blind⁸. Indeed, in these miracles, the event happens according to nature, but in relation to the subject in which it happened, it is contrary to nature. For nature creates life, but not in a dead [man], and nature gives sight, but not in someone who is disabled in eyesight.

The third class is such miracles as the stopping of the Sun's own movement, which
10 happened through Joshua⁹, and the passage of one body through [another] body, as our Lord passed through locked doors¹⁰. These things cannot happen in any other way except [when acting] contrary to nature.

3. Exceeding all these miracles are two of the greatest ones that surpass all reasoning: one of them happened once, when God united human nature to the divine
15 Person, the other surpasses the first and takes place every day, since Christ in a moment transforms the substance of bread into the substance of His own body, and the substance of wine into the substance of His own blood.

Indeed, in the first miracle [of the Incarnation], no nature is changed into another, but in the Person of Christ, both the divinity and the humanity are present without
20 confusion. In the miracle [of the Eucharist], the creature is transformed into the Creator by means of the body, and the substance that previously existed as bread becomes the body of Christ. And [for this,] the substance of bread is transformed, so that the

³ Mt 8, 14-15; Mk 1, 29-31; Lk 4, 38-39.

⁴ Cf. Jn 4, 46-54; Mt 8, 5-13; Lk 7, 1-10. Already Irenaeus of Lyon calls the healed «son of the centurion», *haer.* 2, 22, 3 (PG 7, 783).

⁵ 1 Kings 12, 17-18.

⁶ 3 Kings 17, 1; 18, 41-46.

⁷ Jn 11, 38-46.

⁸ Jn 9, 1-41.

⁹ Josh 10, 12-14.

¹⁰ Jn 20, 19.

sacrament operates in us and makes us united in one Body with Christ. The external state of the bread, in turn, remains the same, hiding the substance of the body, so that no confusion should overcome us and lead us away from communion. Indeed, this sacrament is the greatest also because, as we said above, many people raise objections against it
5 from different sides, namely, infidels, heretics and the common man who are not able to comprehend the meaning of the sacrament. We refuted these objections before in another homily¹¹.

4. Some people are perplexed as to how the substance of bread and wine is instantly changed into the substance of the body. Others are perplexed as to how, after the
10 substance of bread has been changed into the substance of the body, the accidents of bread, i.e., its length, height, width, color, smell, and taste, can be preserved, so that the accidents of bread subsist without the substance of bread, and the true substance of the body is hidden under the accidents of another substance. Still others wonder how it is possible for the whole Christ to be present in a small amount of visible bread. Others, in
15 turn, wonder how the mystical body of Christ, although divided, remains intact, and each of the particles is itself the whole and perfect body of Christ. Finally, others wonder about the greatest conundrum, that is, how the same body of Christ is present simultaneously in heaven and on the multitude of altars on earth. But we resolved all these difficulties before and are able to resolve them now with the grace of Christ that has enlightened us.
20 Or rather, those most wise teachers of the Church, who are conductors of grace and zeal in us, present solutions.

5. But you must resolutely believe (as all of us Christians must believe) that in this mystical body is truly our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, born of the Virgin Mary, who was on the cross, is now in heaven, [and is] the same whole [Christ] that is hidden under the
25 accidents of bread and wine. He is present in this sacrament by substance, and not by grace or virtue. And the mystical body of Christ is not an image of the true body, but the reality of that body. And we worship not by means of images and foreshadowing, as in the Old Testament, but in deeds and truth. If any of the saints calls this sacrifice the “antitypon” of the Lord’s Supper, then it is clear that this sacrifice is the figure of that

¹¹ I. e. in the original Homily on the Eucharist.

Sacrifice, just as the [priests] who now sacrifice are the images of Jesus who offered the Sacrifice at that time. And the result of the sacrifice both then and now is, of course, the transubstantiation or the supernatural transformation [of bread] in the living and deified flesh of Christ, and that of wine into His most precious blood. So, what happens at the
5 time of the sacrifice can be called an “antitype” by operation since at that time, Christ Himself directly performed a miracle, but now He performs this through the servants of the Church invisibly, since he «is present everywhere» by Divine power and «filling all things»¹². The result of the operation, the transformation of bread and wine into the true body and blood of Christ, is the same then and now.

10 6. This [teaching] proclaims the Church of Christ, it was reinforced for the steadfast faithful by many miracles, as we said earlier, and they saw the wholeness of our living Lord in the sacred vessel, and being amazed, came to believe [in the transubstantiation]. Others, who made an audacious attempt to learn the nature of the sacrament, lost their souls and died a violent death. And the whole efficacy of this sacrament and its superiority
15 over the other sacraments becomes obvious from what has been said. Many people, both clergy and laity, do not know this and therefore out of ignorance treat [the sacrament] with less reverence than it deserves, both before communion, during communion itself, and after it. May you then always revere this great and astonishing sacrament, and from now on pray that we too emulate the piety that has increased in you.

¹² Cf. the prayer «O Heavenly King, O Comforter, O Spirit of Truth...», the sticheron of the aposticha in the sixth mode at the Great Vespers of Pentecost. It is used many times daily in home prayers and at public worship, except for the period from the Liturgy of Great Saturday to the All-Night Vigil of Pentecost.