

Palamas, Augustine, and the Filioque Controversy

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Introduction

The study of Gregory Palamas's theological contributions reveals a profound engagement with both Eastern and Western patristic traditions, illuminating his pivotal role in the synthesis of Orthodox theological paradigms. Central to Palamas's thought is his nuanced interpretation of Augustine, which, when placed within the broader context of patristic scholarship, becomes instrumental in formulating his essence-energies distinction and his unique portrayal of the Holy Spirit. This essay explores how Palamas's thorough reading of Augustine, along with other Church Fathers, enabled him to articulate a vision of the Holy Spirit as the love emanating between the Father and the Son, thus offering a distinctive perspective within the complex theological debates of his time. By examining the interplay between Palamas's insights and those of his patristic predecessors, we can appreciate the depth and originality of his contribution to Orthodox theology.

Historical and Theological Context

The addition of Filioque to the Creed, which asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son, not only from the Father as originally stated, deepened doctrinal differences and played a crucial role in the anathemas of 1054. The controversy highlighted fundamental issues of authority, doctrine, and ecclesiastical unity, underscoring the challenges of maintaining doctrinal consensus in a diversifying Christian landscape. From the time the Filioque first caught the attention of scholars in the East, there was a strong consensus those who supported the Filioque were misreading patristic sources to bolster their position. Saint Photios

was the first to make this point in 867.¹ Palamas echoes Photios's opinion in his first Apodictic Treatise² and, as we shall see, likely regarded Augustine as a Church Father who had been misread to support the Filioque.

Although there seem to have been Augustinian Trinitarian florilegia circulating in Constantinople in Greek from the mid-eighth century, these were likely destroyed or lost during the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328).³ In the grand scheme of Byzantine history, this was a blip. Augustine was generally very well respected in the East as a Church Father and one of only a few saints commemorated by name in the sixth through eighth century councils, even if his writings were not widely available in Greek. The small snippets of Augustine that were widely available were very positively received. In the *Sacred Arsenal*, Andronikos Kamateros (c. 1180) portrays Augustine as using the typical Greek formula for procession from the Father “Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον”.⁴

Sometime between 1274 to 1282, the pro-unionist emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos commissioned Maximos Planoudes to embark on a complete translation of *De Trinitate* from Latin into Greek.⁵ Planoudes's translation did not have the effect that Michael VIII may have intended. Planoudes tends to use πρόειμι and προέρχομαι for the general Latin verb procedere instead of the creedal term for procession ἐκπόρευσις (with the notable exception of *Trin* 15.27.t,

¹ Photios, *The Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Joseph P. Farrell (Brookline, Mass: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2005), 66-79.

² St Gregory Palamas, *Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, ed. Gregory Heers, trans. Fr Christopher Moody (Uncut Mountain Press, 2022), 1.41.

³ Barbara Crostini, “Augustine in the Byzantine World to 1453,” in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 2013, 726–34, 10.

⁴ A. Bucossi and Andronici Camateri, *Sacrum Armamentarium, Pars Prima [Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 75. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014]: 13-265*, n.d., <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/hchc.idm.oclc.org/Iris/Cite?3013:001:0>.

⁵ Crostini, “Augustine in the Byzantine World to 1453,” 14. It should be noted that the date of 1282 corresponding to the death of Michael VIII is approximate as the work may have continued into the reign of Andronicus II.

15.27.48, and 15.27.50 which did not pose a risk of misinterpretation).⁶ This is evidence that Planoudes may have avoided certain theologically charged words to create a more faithful translation without bias even as he freely used Greek theologically technical terms which were not controversial. A few Greek terms are mentioned by Augustine as he attempts to give his Latin reading audience an introduction to the Latin equivalents of Greek terms or explain words that do not translate easily.⁷ However, Augustine does not introduce his Latin readers to the Greek term ἐκπόρευσις. Augustine used the Latin verb *procedere* to refer to any manner of “sending forth”. It is important to note that *procedere* in Latin is a more general term for “sending forth” than ἐκπόρευσις. The Greek term particularly implies an originating relation, while the Latin term does not. In Augustine’s time in the West, there was not any debate over the usage of *procedere* to describe originating procession in the Creed. The less accurate meaning of *procedere* only became an issue when the Filioque was injected into the Creed. Although the injection of the word *filioque* into the Creed was intended to fight Arianism,⁸ because the phrase *ex Patre Filioque procedit* (from the Father and Son proceeds) was used in the Latin translation in place of ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον ([out] from the Father proceeds), the Latin phrase took on the added meaning of “origin” as well as “sending forth”. This is critical, because although the early Church Fathers did speak of the Holy Spirit being sent forth from both the Father and the Son, they did not speak of the Father and Son as both being the origin of the Holy Spirit. Augustine is quite clear in characterizing the Father alone as *principium*

⁶ M. Papathomopoulos, G. Rigotti, and I. Tsavare, *Ἀγιοσύνη. Περὶ Τριάδος Βιβλία Πεντεκαίδεκα Ἀπὸ τῆς Λατίνων Διαλέκτου Εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Μετήνευκε Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης* ([Βιβλιοθήκη Α. Μανούση 3. Athens: Academy of Athens, 1995]: 1:2-463; 2:465-995, n.d.), <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/hchc.idm.oclc.org/Iris/Cite?4146:026:0>.

⁷ Examples include ἄγγελος (*Trin* 2.13.23), ἁρμονία (*Trin* 4.2.4), νοερόν (*Trin* 4.21.31), δουλεύειν (*Trin* 1.6.13), λατρεία (*Trin* 1.6.13), πρόσωπον (*Trin* 7.6.11), ὑπόστασις (*Trin* 7.6.11), οὐσία (*Trin* 5.2.3), ἀχώριστα (*Trin* 5.4.5), Σωτήρ (*Trin* 13.10.14), θεοσέβεια (*Trin* 12.14.22), ξωή (*Trin* 12.7.11), and βίος (*Trin* 12.7.11).

⁸ “The Filioque: A Church Dividing Issue?: An Agreed Statement | USCCB,” accessed April 17, 2023, <https://www.usccb.org/resources/filioque-a-church-dividing-issue>.

(principal, origin, ἀρχή) of the Trinity from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds *principaliter* and the Son is begotten.⁹ From this perspective, Planoudes's translation was an honest work and his removal of any connotations from *procedere* allowed his Greek audience a “fresh” reading of Augustine without any thirteenth century Latin hermeneutics mixed into the philology. This was not to the liking of certain Eastern Dominicans,¹⁰ but it was a boon to Palamas even if Planoudes himself was criticized by unionists and anti-unionists alike.

It is reasonable to conclude that Augustines descriptions of monarchical hypostatic origination (the mode of being is from the Father) via the usage of the term *principaliter* combined with Augustine's positive historical reputation in Byzantium gave Palamas every confidence in Augustine's authority. This, combined with fresh translation of *De Trinitate* by Planoudes provides Palamas the perfect setting for viewing Augustine's work through the lens (or prism) of Greek patristic writings. However, during Palamas's career, which spanned from 1316 to 1359,¹¹ there were some scholars and Church authorities (especially during the reign of Andronicus II) who viewed any use of the Latin Fathers as a sign of being *Latinophrone* (Latin-minded).¹² This is probably the reason that Palamas does not overtly give attribution to Augustine even when quoting him directly.

Palamas's Reading of Augustine

It is clear from Flogaus's findings that Palamas is usually not quoting Augustine verbatim but is paraphrasing Augustine or incorporating his ideas alongside other patristic sources. For this reason, to gather a more complete picture of Palamas's usage of Augustine, we would need

⁹ St Augustine, *The Trinity*, trans. Stephen McKenna (The Catholic University of America Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Crostini, “Augustine in the Byzantine World to 1453,” 14.

¹¹ Reinhard Flogaus, “Gregory Palamas,” in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann and Willemien Otten, 2014, 1.

¹² Marcus Plested, *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

to compare every sentence in Augustine's work with every sentence in Palamas's work along with other sources used by Palamas and then rank the correlations based on a similarity metric. The results of this analysis are in the Appendix of this paper. This analysis was able to add evidence to Flogaus's findings (see *Table 2*) as well as providing avenues for future research (see *Table 1*).

The cosine similarity analysis reveals instances where there is correlation or harmony between *De Trinitate* and other patristic sources even when Augustine is not quoted at all. Apodictic Treatises 1.5 has a correlation to *De Trinitate* 15.27 even though it is clear from Palamas text that he is quoting Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen. However, given the prevalence of Palamas's use of *De Trinitate* 15 in Flogaus's findings, we are left to wonder whether Palamas is using these three sources to support an idea who gleaned from *De Trinitate* 15. Another example would be *Capita* 36-37 which has correlations to both John of Damascus and Augustine. Flogaus has demonstrated that Palamas is pulling almost direct quotations from *De Trinitate* in *Capita* 34-37, yet we also see correlations to John of Damascus (who is himself compiling multiple patristic sources). Although there may be rare occasions in which Palamas pulls almost exclusively from Augustine, often we see Palamas ingesting Augustine's work either through or with other Church Fathers.

Flogaus's study compares Planoudes's translation of Augustine's *De Trinitate* with various works of Palamas including *Capita* 150, *Contra Beccum*, *Homily* 16, and *Ad Xenam*.¹³ In my cosine similarity analysis, I concentrated on Palamas texts dealing with procession of the Holy Spirit (*Capita* 150, *Apodictic Treatises*, and *The Triads*) and expanded works of Augustine to include *Confessions* and *De Civitas Dei*. All correlations between *Confessions* and Palamas

¹³ Flogaus, "Gregory Palamas," 2.

appear to be false positives. Correlations between Palamas and *De Civ* appear to be true positives and may be from an unknown florilegium or *ad hoc* translations from the Latin. Strong correlations between *De Trinitate* and *Apodictic Treatises* were found, especially in *Apod 1.7, 1.8, 1.11, 1.19, 1.23, 1.38, 1.42* (which is not surprising since 1.42 is a summary of previous sections), 2.29, 2.50, 2.70, and 2.82. Based on philological and historical clues, Flogaus has speculated that Palamas may have first studied *De Trinitate* sometime after 1344.¹⁴ However, if the usage in *Apod 1.42* represents true positives, then it may pose a challenge to Flogaus's timeline. If Palamas wrote *Apodictic Treatises* early in his career and added the usage of *De Trinitate* late in his career, then one would not expect all sections of *Apod 1.42* to be present in the earlier manuscript. If all sections of *Apod 1.42* are in the earlier manuscript, then we must conclude that either the findings of this present analysis for *Apod 1.42* are false positives, or Palamas had some manner of early exposure to *De Trinitate* (or a florilegium), or Palamas's early work was so congruous with Augustine that usage of *De Trinitate* could be added without changing the structure of the document. We may also allow for the possibility that Palamas had early exposure to Augustine through friends or mentors familiar with the Latin texts. Further exploration of *Apod 1.42* and *Apod 2.82* is warranted.

The Essence/Energies Distinction

The significance of Gregory Palamas's essence-energies distinction in understanding the economic Trinity and the procession of the Holy Spirit is deeply rooted in the way it articulates the concept of God's operations within the world while still upholding His transcendence. According to Palamas's distinction provides a framework for affirming the real presence and activity of God in the world (His energies), without equating these activities with God's essence

¹⁴ Reinhard Flogaus, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1998): 1–32. 19.

itself. This maintains a distinction that allows for a direct and genuine participation in God's life through His energies, without suggesting that God's essence can be known or shared.

For the economic Trinity, which deals with God's actions in history and creation, this distinction upholds that while God acts in various ways in the world, these actions are not the essence of God but emanate from it. This allows for a dynamic understanding of God's interaction with the world—one that is true and real, yet does not compromise His transcendence or simplicity.

In terms of the procession of the Holy Spirit, the essence-energies distinction helps to clarify the Eastern Orthodox position that the Holy Spirit emanates from the Father alone in terms of essence but can be said to proceed through the Son in terms of His energetic activity. This nuanced understanding helps articulate a view of the Trinity that emphasizes both the unity and distinction between the persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, without falling into the theological pitfalls that the single procession (as articulated in the Filioque) might imply, where the Spirit's procession from both Father and Son could blur the personal distinctions within the Trinity.

In Flogaus's analysis, *Capita 125* especially focuses on defending the eternity of God's energies and employs Augustine's notion of relation to bolster Palamas's own concept of divine energies against his opponents, specifically the Akindynists.¹⁵ These opponents erroneously taught about the energies, which Palamas corrects by illustrating that divine energies, while distinct from God's essence, are eternally present and active without implying any change or division within the Godhead itself.

¹⁵ Flogaus, 18.

As far reaching as Palamas's essence/energies paradigm has been in the history of the Filioque Controversy and of Hesychasm, Palamas did not see himself as an innovator. At the Council of Constantinople (1351), Palamas describes his teaching simply as a further development (ανάπτυξη) of the teachings on the two energies of Christ at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (681).¹⁶ The Acts of the Sixth Council refer to Augustine as the "most excellent and blessed Augustine" and "the most wise teacher". Palamas in *Against Gregoras* gives indirect attribution to Augustine as "one of the wise and apostolic men" while directly quoting from Planudes translation of Trin 5.8.9.¹⁷ If Flogaus is correct in placing the date of Palamas's introduction to *De Trinitate* in 1344 and since Palamas likely had access to the Acta of the Sixth Council before this time, there is the potential that his studies of the Sixth Council were the catalyst that led Palamas to utilize Augustine in his exploration of the essence/energies distinction.

The Holy Spirit as Love Between the Father and the Son

Capita 35-37 in Palamas's *150 Chapters* is perhaps the most solid evidence of Palamas usage of Augustine. Although John Meyendorff has pointed out that there are similarities to the thought of St. Maximos the Confessor,¹⁸ Augustine's psychological analogy of the Trinity in *De Trinitate* 15 is unique in the history of patristic thought and Palamas presents the analogy almost identically to Augustine.

In discussing Palamas's use of Augustine's psychological analogy of the Trinity as Mind, Word, and Love, Flogaus highlights a nuanced engagement between the two theologians. Augustine's psychological model articulates the Trinity through the relational dynamics of mind

¹⁶ Plested, *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas*.

¹⁷ Palamas, Gregory, *Against Gregoras* 2.43 (ed. P. Chrestou 4:296). Taken from class lecture.

¹⁸ Flogaus, "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th Century Byzantium." 16.

(Father), word (Son), and love (Holy Spirit). Palamas, however, adapts this analogy to his own theological framework, which emphasizes the distinction between God's essence and energies.

Palamas agrees with the structural analogy used by Augustine but diverges in the specifics. He emphasizes the energies of the Holy Spirit that are imparted to the believers, rather than an ontological sharing in the essence of the Holy Spirit itself. This adjustment allows Palamas to maintain his theological stance that God's essence remains unparticipable, while his energies are accessible to humans through divine grace. This nuanced adaptation preserves the framework of Augustine's analogy while aligning it with the hesychastic theology that underscores the distinction between essence and energies in the Trinity.¹⁹

However, it should be noted that from Palamas's perspective, he may not see himself as adding anything to Augustine at all. Since Palamas is reading Augustine through the lens of the operation/energy as homonymous with the Name of the Person/hypostasis, Palamas may have simply assumed that Augustine was thinking in terms of homonymy when he speaks of operations (energies) of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Palamas may have seen nothing inharmonious between Augustine and the other Church Fathers.

Conclusion

The Filioque Controversy is a disagreement in doctrine which originated with a difference in lexical meaning and context of the term "to send" in the Creed. It escalated through a breakdown in global ecclesiastical communication due to changing authority structures in the Western empire. Augustine himself struggled with the limitations of language to describe the Trinity (*Trin* 5.7.8: "Consequently, one ought not to consider in things what the usage of our language permits, but only the meaning that is clearly apparent from the things themselves."²⁰).

¹⁹ Flogaus.

²⁰ Augustine, *The Trinity*.

Through an openness to carefully reading all available patristic sources without artificial dichotomies of East and West, Palamas used the most prominent Latin Father as a chief cornerstone of his framework for the essence/energies distinction, clarifying the Greek understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit.

Appendix

The correlations in *Table 1* below are by work, book, and chapter of Palamas's work (*Apodictic Treatises*²¹, *Capita 150*²², and *Triads*²³) on the left with Moschamper's *Antirrhetic Chapters against Bekkos* chapter 26, John of Damascus's *Exposition on the Orthodox Faith*²⁴, Photios's *Mystagogy*, and Augustine's *On the Trinity* in the remaining columns with corresponding references. Most of these are not direct quotations or citations, but represent similarities or paraphrases with a cosine similarity higher than 0.80. The chapters in *De Trinitate* with the highest correlation frequency across all of Palamas works and for all cosine similarities higher than 0.50 were *Trin* 1.8, 1.12, 4.20, 7.6, 15.26, and 15.27.

Most references cited by Flogaus (with the exception of the correlation between *Cap* 34 and *Trin* 15.5) were recovered by the sentence embedding²⁵ algorithm between cosine similarities²⁶ of 0.74 and 0.84. Flogaus's references which scored at or above 0.74 are bold underscored in *Table 2*. Due to the low cosine similarity threshold needed to recover Flogaus's findings, false hits do exist in the results, but there are not many false misses. It is my hope that the error rate may be reduced in the future by addition of the Greek and Latin sources and algorithmic improvements. It would also be interesting to compare the Greek and Slavonic texts to search for evidence of additions from *De Trinitate* to *Apodictic Treatises* late in Palamas's career. Not shown in the table below, this analysis also revealed significant correlations between

²¹ Palamas, *Apodictic Treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit*.

²² Gregory Palamas, *One Hundred and Fifty Chapters (Studies and Texts)*, trans. Robert Sinkewicz (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988).

²³ Gregory Palamas and John Meyendorff, *Gregory Palamas: The Triads*, trans. Nicholas Gendle (Paulist Press, 1982).

²⁴ "CHURCH FATHERS: An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith (John of Damascus)," accessed April 1, 2024, <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3304.htm>.

²⁵ "Sentence Embedding," in *Wikipedia*, April 17, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sentence_embedding&oldid=1219403510.

²⁶ "Cosine Similarity," in *Wikipedia*, February 15, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Cosine_similarity&oldid=1207802784.

Triads 2 and *De Civ* 22.29 and between *Traids 3* and *De Civ* 10.6 which may warrant further research.

I have publicly released and open sourced the code for generating this analysis.²⁷

Table 1: Cosine Similarity 0.80

Title	Bk	Ch	Antirrhetic	Orthodox Faith	Photios Mystagogy	Trinity
Apodictic_Treatises	1	0				4.20, 5.12, 9.12
		2		1.8		
		5				15.27
		6		1.8, 1.12	16	5.14, 15.26
		7		1.8, 1.12	16	2.3, 4.20, 5.11, 5.12, 5.14, 5.8, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 12.5, 15.17, 15.23, 15.26, 15.27
		8	3, 4	1.8, 1.12, 4.4	62	2.3, 4.20, 5.12, 5.14, 7.6, 9.12, 12.5, 15.17, 15.26, 15.27
		10	5	1.8, 1.12		5.14, 15.26
		11		1.8, 1.12	46	2.3, 4.20, 5.11, 5.14, 12.5, 15.17, 15.26, 15.27
		14				4.20, 6.5, 12.6, 15.26
		15	3, 4		35, 43	5.14, 15.26, 15.27
		16	3, 4	1.8, 1.12	17	
		18		1.8	46	15.26
		19	3, 4, 5, 6	1.8, 1.12	38	1.6, 2.3, 4.20, 5.14, 7.6, 15.26, 15.27
		20				5.6
		21				2.3, 5.14, 7.3
		22		1.8, 1.12		4.20, 5.6, 5.7, 12.5
		23		3.1		1.4, 5.6, 6.4, 6.9, 7.6, 15.26
		25		1.8		4.20, 15.26
		26				1.8, 5.11
		29		1.8, 1.12		2.3, 12.5, 15.19, 15.26, 15.27
		30	6			
		31			46	2.3
		32				1.4, 15.26
		33		1.12	35	6.4, 9.12, 12.5, 15.26
		34			46	
		35		1.8, 1.12	6	6.5, 12.6
		37		1.8, 3.10		1.4, 5.14, 5.8, 6.4

²⁷ Andrew Kinard, "Patristic Sentence Transformer," Python, April 1, 2024, https://github.com/akinard/patristic_sentence_transformer/.

Title	Bk	Ch	Antirrhetic	Orthodox Faith	Photios Mystagogy	Trinity
		38	3, 4	1.8, 1.12	64	1.8, 2.3, 4.20, 5.11, 5.12, 5.14, 5.3, 5.8, 6.3, 7.2, 7.3, 7.6, 12.5, 15.26, 15.27
		40		1.8, 1.12		6.5
		42	3, 4	1.8, 1.12, 4.4	7, 36, 53, 64, 92	2.3, 4.20, 5.12, 6.2, 7.6, 9.12, 12.5, 15.27
	2	4				6.4
		6	6		80	15.27
		7		1.8		
		8				4.20
		10	1, 6	1.8		15.26
		11				1.1, 15.19
		12		1.8	36	15.26
		13				1.9
		14				1.8
		16		1.8, 1.12	53	4.20, 5.14, 15.27
		17				2.10, 2.5, 4.20
		21	3, 4	1.8, 1.12, 3.11	7, 53	4.20, 12.5, 15.27
		22		3.6		
		25	1, 3, 4			2.3, 4.20, 4.21, 5.14, 12.5, 15.26, 15.27
		26	6	1.8	7	1.12, 2.7, 5.14, 15.27
		28	3, 4	1.8	42	2.3, 4.20, 5.14, 12.5, 15.26, 15.27
		29	2, 3, 4	1.8, 1.12, 4.4		2.3, 4.20, 5.12, 7.6, 12.5, 15.27, 15.5
		31		1.8, 1.12, 4.4	64	5.12
		32		4.8	85	
		33		1.8	85	6.4, 7.6
		35				5.8
		41		1.8	32	5.6, 7.1, 7.3
		42	6	1.8	42, 47	5.6
		43	6			15.27
		44				15.26
		45			53, 35	2.3, 15.27
		46	5, 6			
		48				5.14
		49	2		39	
		50		1.8, 1.12	42	2.3, 4.20, 5.11, 5.12, 5.14, 5.8, 6.4, 6.9, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 12.5, 15.17, 15.23, 15.27
		51		3.5		6.4, 7.6

Title	Bk	Ch	Antirrhetic	Orthodox Faith	Photios Mystagogy	Trinity
		53	3, 4			6.2
		54		1.12	46	5.14, 15.27
		55				
		56		1.12	62	4.20, 7.2, 15.7
		57				12.5
		58	1	1.8, 3.10	35	2.3, 15.26, 15.27
		59				15.26
		60	2, 3, 4	1.8, 1.12	4	15.26
		62	5			1.11, 2.4, 6.2, 6.4
		63	6	4.9	42	2.7, 5.15, 15.19, 15.26
		64	2, 3, 4, 6	1.8, 1.12	29, 93	
		65				7.6
		67	5	1.14, 3.14	40, 53, 51	
		68	5, 6, 7		47	
		70	3, 4, 6	1.12	42, 80	3.10, 4.20, 5.6, 6.1, 6.4, 15.26, 15.27
		71	5			15.26, 15.27
		73	3, 4			15.19
		74		1.8, 1.12	93	4.20, 5.14, 7.1
		75	3, 4	1.8, 1.12	35	2.3, 4.20, 12.5, 15.27
		76	3, 4	1.8	8	6.4
		77	3, 4	1.12	90, 91	3.11, 6.4, 15.26
		79	5, 6		91	
		81			35	5.13, 12.14, 12.15, 15.26
		82	3, 4	1.8, 1.12	32, 53, 90	1.10, 2.3, 2.5, 4.20, 4.21, 5.14, 7.6, 9.12, 12.5, 15.26, 15.27
Capita-150	0	36		1.12		1.9, 2.5, 4.20
		37		1.8		15.17, 15.19
		58				1.9
		59				1.12
		60				15.5
		73				4.21
		78				1.6
		84				15.2
		85				5.8, 7.6
		91				6.5
		98				5.3
		104				1.6
		110		1.13		
		112	8	3.14, 4.18		

Title	Bk	Ch	Antirrhetic	Orthodox Faith	Photios Mystagogy	Trinity
		113	8	1.8, 1.14, 3.14, 3.5, 4.18	51	5.3, 6.5, 8.1, 15.27
		114				15.27
		121	6			2.9
		125				5.6, 5.7, 15.3
		126				5.5
		127				5.4, 5.5
		129		3.15		
		131		3.15		
		132		1.8, 1.12		4.20, 5.13, 5.14, 5.3, 6.3, 6.5, 7.2, 7.3, 9.1, 15.17
		133		2.1		5.8
		134		2.1		5.16, 15.26
		135				5.16
		137		3.11		
		138		1.8		
		142				5.5
		143		3.15		
		144		1.4		
Triads	0	3				1.6, 7.3

Table 2: Capita 150 at Cosine Similarity 0.74 (Flogaus references are underlined)

Capita 150	Trinity
27	2.17, 2.8, 6.9, 7.1, 7.3, 9.11, 9.12, 11.5, 12.15, 12.6, 12.7, 14.12, 14.3, 14.4, <u>14.8</u> , 15.11, 15.13, 15.15, 15.20, 15.23, 15.27, 15.4, 15.7
34	7.1, 8.3, 9.4, 9.5, 10.4, 11.5, 14.12, 15.13, 15.4, <u>15.6</u>
35	1.6, 5.7, 6.4, 7.1, 7.2, 8.3, 9.11, 9.12, 9.7, 10.7, 15.10, <u>15.11</u> , 15.14, <u>15.15</u> , 15.16, 15.4
36	1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.5, 4.20, 4.21, 4.8, 4.9, 5.11, 5.12, 5.14, 5.6, <u>6.10</u> , 6.1, 6.2, <u>6.5</u> , 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.6, 9.2, 10.7, 12.5, 15.13, 15.14, <u>15.17</u> , <u>15.19</u> , 15.26, 15.27, 15.7
37	1.10, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.10, 2.12, 2.13, 2.4, 2.7, 3.11, 4.20, 4.21, 4.9, 5.11, 5.14, 5.16, 5.3, 5.8, 6.10, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 7.3, 7.4, 7.6, 8.1, 9.1, 9.10, 9.11, <u>9.12</u> , 9.5, 9.7, 10.12, 12.7, 14.12, 14.18, 14.7, 14.8, 15.11, 15.12, 15.15, 15.17, 15.18, 15.19, 15.20, 15.23, <u>15.26</u> , 15.27, 15.3, 15.4, 15.6, 15.7
117	1.6, 6.3, 6.5, 7.1, 7.5, <u>15.3</u>
119	6.3, 14.14, <u>15.5</u>

125	1.10, 1.6, 1.7, 2.2, 2.3, 4.20, <u>5.11</u> , <u>5.13</u> , 5.16, 5.3, <u>5.5</u> , 5.6, 5.7, 6.2, 6.4, 6.5, 7.1, 7.2, 7.4, 7.6, 15.26, <u>15.3</u> , 15.7
126	1.12, 2.18, 4.20, 4.21, <u>5.3</u> , <u>5.5</u> , <u>5.6</u> , <u>5.7</u> , <u>5.8</u> , 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 7.1, 7.2, 7.6, 9.12, <u>15.17</u> , <u>15.26</u> , <u>15.27</u> , <u>15.7</u>
127	<u>5.11</u> , 5.16, 5.2, <u>5.4</u> , <u>5.5</u> , 5.6, 5.7, 6.10, 7.1, 7.2, 9.4, <u>15.3</u>
128	<u>5.8</u> , 6.5
132	1.10, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.10, 2.12, 2.18, 2.2, 2.5, 2.9, 3.9, 4.20, 4.21, 4.8, 4.9, <u>5.11</u> , <u>5.13</u> , 5.14, 5.3, <u>5.5</u> , 5.6, 5.7, <u>5.8</u> , 5.9, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 8.1, 9.1, 12.6, 13.11, 14.16, 15.10, 15.1, 15.17, 15.19, 15.22, 15.23, 15.26, 15.27, 15.28, <u>15.3</u> , 15.6
133	1.1, 3.9, <u>5.8</u>
134	1.1, 1.10, 1.6, 2.13, 2.3, 2.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.20, 4.21, 4.9, <u>5.11</u> , <u>5.13</u> , <u>5.14</u> , <u>5.16</u> , <u>5.3</u> , <u>5.4</u> , <u>5.5</u> , <u>5.6</u> , <u>5.8</u> , 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.7, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 8.1, 12.5, 13.1, <u>15.17</u> , <u>15.19</u> , <u>15.26</u> , <u>15.27</u> , <u>15.5</u>
135	1.6, <u>5.16</u> , <u>5.2</u> , <u>5.4</u> , <u>5.5</u> , <u>5.8</u> , 6.4, 6.5, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 11.7, 14.3, <u>15.15</u> , <u>15.20</u> , <u>15.26</u> , <u>15.3</u>