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NICHOLAS CABASILAS CHAMAETOS
AND HIS TEACHING CONCERNING THE THEOTOKOS_

By

The Very Rev. Fr Athanasios Vakrakos

A B S T R A C T

There are four main parts to this dissertation, one introductory and three directly related to the subject matter. The introductory chapter represents a survey on the latest points of research concerning Cabasilas' biography on the basis of the work of contemporary Greek scholars. It also supplies a list of Cabasilas' works with full bibliographical reference. The following three parts represent a detailed analysis of Cabasilas' three Orations on the Theotokos which deal with her Birth, Annunciation and Falling Asleep on the basis of the Greek text edited by Jugie (1955) and reedited with corrections by Nellas (1968). Each Chapter concludes with a summary of doctrine and the final Conclusion sums up the main thrust of Cabasilas' teaching. Finally a relevant Bibliography directly related to Cabasilas is provided at the end of the dissertation.

The central doctrinal message of Cabasilas is the unique status of the Virgin Theotokos as a human being. Central to this is her unique sinlessness and holiness, which are presented as her own achievement based on the freedom implanted in the human nature by the Creator and on the virtue which can be freely acquired by the human being. It is on this account, rather than on divine favour, that the Theotokos is distinguished from all other human beings, even the greatest and holiest of them, standing apart from and over and above them. Yet, because she is basically human, she represents in her single achievement the achievement of all humanity. This achievement is for Cabasilas the presupposition to the Incarnation of God's Son. There is here a distinct and profound correlation of the Theotokos (human) and the Saviour (Divine-human) which has important implications for understanding Salvation and the role of the human and the Divine factors in it. Cabasilas' teaching on the Theotokos opens up the fundamental perspectives of Byzantine Christian humanism.

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By

THE VERY REVEREND FR. ATHANASIOS VAKRAKOS
Archimandrite of the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople

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St Nicholas Cabasilas
Photo of a recent Icon on the occasion of his canonization
by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople
19 July 1985

DEDICATED TO

MY LATE FATHER EPAMEINONDAS

MY BENEFACTOR

AND TO

MY MOTHER KATINA

MY SUPPORTER

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. On Cabasilas' times and life

I.2. On Cabasilas as an author and on his works

I.3. On the Three Orations on the Theotokos

II. THE ORATION ON THE BIRTH OF THE THEOTOKOS

II.1. The Oration and its Contents: an Overview

II.2. The Virgin's unique humanity and the role of her
parents

II.3 The Virgin's sinlessness and its anthropological premise

II.4. The reasons for the Virgin's achievement

II.5. Arguments demonstrating the Virgin's sinlessness

II.6. The holy Virgin and the holy Temple

II.7. The Virgin as representing humanity in her achievement and God's response to her

II.8. The meaning and implications of the Virgin's achievement for humanity

III. THE ORATION ON THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE THEOTOKOS

III.1. The Oration and its Contents: an overview

III.2. The Virgin's joy and achievement

III.3. The Virgin's faith, free consent and active role in the Incarnation of God's Logos

III.4. The Virgin's preparation for the Incarnation as the means of humanity's preparation for God

III.5. The Divine-human justice of the Incarnation

III.6. The results of the Divine-human concurrence at the Incarnation

III.7. Comparison of this Oration to the previous one.

IV. THE ORATION ON THE FALLING-ASLEEP OF THE THEOTOKOS

IV.1. The Oration and its Contents: an overview

IV.2. The greatness and praiseworthiness of the Virgin

IV.3. The Virgin: Fruit of Creation, New Heaven, New Earth

IV.4. The Problem of humanity and the Virgin's contribution

IV.5. The Roles of the Virgin and her Son in Salvation

IV.6. The surpassing holiness of the Virgin

IV.7. The Virgin's participation in Christ's death and
resurrection

V. CONCLUSIONS

FOOTNOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PROLOGUE

I would like first of all to thank my supervisor The Very Rev. Dr. George Dragas for suggesting to me the topic of this dissertation, and for guiding me through the study of the relevant texts as well as the construction of an adequate bibliography and the method of reading secondary sources. His technical advice has been invaluable.

The holy person of the Virgin Mary has always been in the centre of my interest, especially since I entered the priesthood of the Greek Orthodox Church and became more familiar with Mariological liturgical texts and services. However, Cabasilas' exposition has become an eye opener for me, for it helped me to understand something of the theological depth, and presuppositions, which lie behind the Church's practice. At the same time Cabasilas as a Byzantine Eastern theologian has become for me a most interesting topic for research to the extent that I now hope to pursue a more comprehensive study of his entire theology. There are many aspects to his thought which are already suggested in his teaching about the Holy Theotokos, which I would very much like to investigate. Among these I would single out the most obvious one: his understanding of man, sin and redemption and the precise role that he would assign to man, Christ and, generally, the Holy Trinity in salvation.

Durham University facilities, at both Library and College



levels, have been very helpful and I feel grateful for having experienced life in this august academic setting.

If there is a claim of originality about this dissertation, this is that it represents the first full exposition of Cabasilas' Mariological teaching, based on texts which exist only in Greek and Latin. This is not to say that there is not any scope for further research in this area. Nevertheless, I do hope that I have made some important, though small, contribution to a central topic in the History of Christian thought.

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. On Cabasilas' times and life

Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos lived during the fourteenth century, which was a crucial time in the history of the Eastern Roman Empire centred in Byzantium, Constantinople. This was an unsettled time, not only because of the haemorrhage which the East had suffered on account of the evil activities of the Western Crusaders, who had occupied and devastated the Royal City for over a century, but also because of the political, economic and psychological chaos, which the repeated wars against the rising tide of Mohamedanism had caused.

This chaotic situation can be best represented by the turbulent history, which Cabasilas' native city of Thessalonica experienced at that time. The poor population of the city, who had been treated unjustly by the circumstances, known as the Zealots, attempted a series of social political revolts which caused tremendous social unrest and human tragedy.

Several people tried to provide practical solutions to the problematic situation, but none of them produced such a

profound theological challenge as Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos did. He defended the poor, though he belonged to the class of the nobility, speaking about justice in the most objective and uncontrived way. But his greatest contribution was his promotion of a "theological humanism", which liberated the human spirit from anxiety and strengthened its resolve for achieving spiritual perfection.⁽¹⁾

The Life and work of Nicholas Cabasilas have been investigated by several modern scholars. The most thorough study was undertaken by the late Professor of Church History at the University of Thessalonica Athanasios Angelopoulos in his doctoral dissertation, Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός, ή ζωή και τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ (Ἐνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 5), Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, Thessalonica 1970. Since the publication of this dissertation Professor Angelopoulos contributed some further studies on this subject, which ought to be mentioned here. They include three articles, which deal with the following topics: "The genealogical tree of the Cabasilas family"⁽²⁾, "Concerning the designation Anna Palaiologina"⁽³⁾ and "Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos, biographical problems".⁽⁴⁾ The last essay is particularly important and, as the latest on the subject, deserves a closer look, especially because it provides a reliable introduction on the broad details of Cabasilas' life and times.

Angelopoulos deals with seven problems relating to

Cabasilas' biography. The first one is what he calls "identity of name and person". Here he clarifies, on the basis of his earlier dissertation and his later studies, the point that Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos is different from Neilos Cabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (1361-1363), whose baptismal name was also Nicholas and who was an uncle of the former as his mother's brother. Apparently "Cabasilas" is the surname of his mother's family, which our Nicholas preserved, because of the social distinction which that family enjoyed in Byzantium. On the other hand the name "Chamaetos" is his father's surname, as we clearly gather from the correspondance which father and son exchanged.⁽⁵⁾

The second problem relates to the wider and narrower genealogical context of Nicholas Cabasilas. Here Angelopoulos provides detailed lists of all the immediate and more distant relatives of Nicholas from both sides of his family background, that of the Cabasilases and that of the Chamaetoi.⁽⁶⁾

The theme of the third problem is the precise dating of the birth and the death of Cabasilas and here Angelopoulos supplies arguments which seem to resolve earlier doubts in a conclusive way. 1322/1323 is now the date of his birth and the six years of the period 1391/2-1397/8 provide the definitive chronological context during which his death must have occurred.⁽⁷⁾

The fourth problem is connected with the time and the kind of studies which Nicholas pursued in Constantinople. Angelopoulos argues that he must have come to the Royal City from Thessalonica in 1337 and must have spent there about five years. On the basis of his correspondence with his parents and his friends we gather that he must have studied the classics, philosophy, theology, rhetorics, law and natural sciences, including astronomy. Given the fact that these subjects were taught in different schools, we must assume that he attended several of these schools simultaneously. Angelopoulos specifies the Schools of Philosophy and Law which were reconstituted after the restoration of the Palaiologian dynasty to the throne of Constantinople, following the defeat of the Crusaders, and the Patriarchal School of Theology which was under the directorship of the "Ecumenical Teacher". But apart from this formal education Nicholas must have gained considerably, as far as his education was concerned, from the theological dispute between Barlaamites and Palamites and from the political tensions between the Grand Duke Alexios Apokaukos and the Great Domesticus John Kantakouzenos over the guardianship of the imperial throne following the death of Andronikos III.⁽⁸⁾

The fifth problem concerning the biography of Cabasilas has to do with his public activities. According to Angelopoulos there are four basic phases in Cabasilas' public activities.⁽⁹⁾

The first one is that of the domination of the Zealots in

the affairs of Thessalonica against the nobility and Kantakouzenos during 1342-1347, which nearly cost him his life, but which provided him with the opportunity to write some of his most interesting social-legal works and, thus, to enhance his reputation amongst the ordinary population.⁽¹⁰⁾

The second phase is connected with the domination of Kantakouzenos which began in February 1347. At this stage Nicholas came to Constantinople at the invitation of his friend Kydones and became Counsellor to the Emperor and, consequently, one of the most important and influential people in the life of the Byzantine State at that time. In 1347 he accompanied the newly elected Archbishop of Thessalonica Gregory Palamas to his throne and, when the latter was refused entry into the city, he spent with him a year of spiritual endeavours in the Holy Mountain of Athos, before returning eventually to the Royal City in 1348. A year later, when political reconciliation between the Zealots of Thessalonica and the Kantakouzenos' party made possible the enthronement of Gregory Palamas to his Thessalonian Archbishopal throne, Cabasilas accompanied him to the city. In 1351 he supported the Palamites at the famous synod of Vlachernae and strained his friendship with Kydones over the Palamite dispute and over the issue of East-West ecclesiastical relations. The eventual fall of Kantakouzenos, who exchanged the crown for the monastic habit, and the rise of John V to the Imperial throne of Constantinople in 1354 marked the end of Cabasilas' involvement in the social - political affairs of

the Byzantine State.⁽¹¹⁾

The third phase is connected with Cabasilas's return to Thessalonica as a result of his father's death in 1362. He came to Thessalonica with his mother, who became a nun at the Monastery of St Theodora in that city, following the death of her husband and of her brother Archbishop Neilos Cabasilas. This stage of engagement in private affairs was also a stage of further literary productions, including perhaps his "Discourse on the unlawful deeds of the political leaders concerning sacred affairs" (1364), which deals with the social political upheaval of Thessalonica. The fourth phase in Cabasilas' biography is related to his return to Constantinople in 1364. Angelopoulos treats this as a biographical problem - the sixth in his list - calling it "the question concerning the social status" (ιδιότης) of Nicholas.⁽¹²⁾

Angelopoulos argues that to decide on Nicholas Cabasilas' status during the last and longest period of his life, which was spent in Constantinople and was extended from 1364 to 1391/6, one should rely on a close examination of his Letters and of the reports supplied by three trustworthy witnesses who were his contemporaries: John Kantakouzenos (who, as we mentioned, became the monk Ioasaph in 1353), Manuel Palaiologos and Joseph Vryennios.

On the basis of the report of John Kantakouzenos, alias

Ioasaph the Monk, given in his historical memoranda shortly before 1370,⁽¹³⁾ which states that, when in 1353 Nicholas Cabasilas was short-listed with two Metropolitans, Philotheus of Herakleia and Macarius of Philadelphia, for election to the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople, "he was still a layman" (ὄντι ἔτι ἰδιώτην), Angelopoulos argues that by 1370 Cabasilas was no longer a layman and, therefore, Salaville's opposite conclusion must be regarded as wrong. This is further corroborated by the comment in the same work that Cabasilas' life was "wise and deprived of the evils of marriage" (σώφρων βίος καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γάμου κακῶν ἀπηλλαγμένος).⁽¹⁴⁾

Angelopoulos' argument becomes almost conclusive through several other evidences drawn from the four surviving Letters of Prince Manuel Palaiologos to Cabasilas, which were written between 1387 and 1391 and which present him as the Prince's spiritual father and as an ascetic who lived outside the world in Monasteries of Constantinople (those of the Manganoi, the Xanthopouloi and those of the Stoudiou)⁽¹⁵⁾ and especially from Joseph Vryennios' descriptions of Cabasilas as a prototype of a spiritual father to him and to others "who had arrived at the highest virtue and perfect life".

Finally, Angelopoulos refers to Cabasilas' *Encomium to the Three Hierarchs* in which he distinguishes twice between clergy and laity and includes himself with the former.⁽¹⁶⁾ Thus Angelopoulos concludes that the status of Cabasilas

during the last phase of his life was that of a monk or, more probably, that of a hieromonk (priest-monk).

The seventh and last biographical problem of Cabasilas, which Angelopoulos discusses, is what he calls "the quality and general recognition of his personality and of his work. He finds him to be an indisputably towering personality amongst the rare ones of the fourteenth century. He was a man who was highly respected not only by the Emperors but also by the Patriarchs and the rest of the literary and intellectual men of that time, who wanted to be in touch with him, both during his early years as a distinguished layman and especially later during his career as a holy man of virtue and spiritual maturity, a man who not only advanced in the ideals of Christian asceticism, but also produced the most worthy and immortal fruit of his spirit: the treatises on *The Divine Liturgy* and on *The Life in Christ*, which George Scholarios calls "the beauty of the Church of Christ".⁽¹⁷⁾

Cabasilas was definitely a man of the spirit, inasmuch as he chose to support the monks and their hesychastic spiritual outlook, not only by siding with the political party of John Kantakouzenos, who defended the hesychast position, but also by becoming himself one of them and reaching the heights of their spiritual journey. It is important, however, to note that he kept the way of prayer of the hesychast in the private closet of his monastic life and considered it his primary duty as a spiritual Master to promote among the people of God in

general the liturgical and practical aspects of the Christian life. Inasmuch as he did this last task, he emerges out of the history of Byzantium as one of its most valuable products. As Angelopoulos observes, for Cabasilas one does not have to withdraw to the desert, or to the cell of a hesychast, or to take unusual food, or to dress the monastic habit, or to subject himself to hardships which may ruin his health, in order to appropriate the Life in Christ. Rather one may stay at his home and engage in the study of Christ with his own mind. Prayer, which is the highest means for appropriating this Life, does not require special procedures and preparations, or special methods, or cries of invocation of God. God fills every place and is beside those who call upon him, closer to them than their own heart. He visits human beings, even when they are evil, because he is Good. Thus the mystery of union with Christ is operative in the common man, i.e. in every man, irrespectively of class, situation, occupation, or even status - whether one is a dedicated monk, a hesychast, a hermit, etc.(18)

According to the late Professor of Philosophy at the University of Thessalonica B. N. Tatakis, Nicholas Cabasilas is "the last great mystic of Byzantium", whose work "is simple and at the same time deep, lyric and at the same time mystical, whereas its style breathes the freshness and optimism of the apostolic age".(19) Tatakis emphasises two distinctive features of Cabasilas:

The first feature is that he takes the spiritual life out of its technical monastic context and presents it as a real possibility for every human being irrespectively of particular sociological contexts. Thus "Piety is exclusively the work of our own esoteric disposition, our own will. For this reason the external departure from the world, anachoretism, is not a necessary corollary to Christian mysticism.. rather, remaining within everyday life, social life, a human being is able and must transubstantiate it with the study of the high spiritual subjects which procure the conversion of his will".(20)

The second feature is his ability to combine Christian spirituality with the science of humanism. As Tatakis puts it, while he exalts the depth and significance of mystery for the life of the Christian, he is not on this account an enemy of Science... Such was his appreciation of Science that he came to the point of calling the Saints *imperfect beings* because they did not accept in this world a particular human good, while they could have obtained it; and every being, which cannot turn into operation whatever it has within it as a potentiality, is *imperfect*. In other words Cabasilas makes a brave step towards the full reconciliation of religious mysticism with the wisdom of this world."(21)

I.2. On Cabasilas as an author and on his works

As an author Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos was distinguished as "a wise teacher of spirituality in modern

times". Scholars who studied his writings emphasize his deep piety, scientific outlook and literary excellence. These writings can be divided according to their content and literary character into eight categories: (i) theological and spiritual, (ii) sociological, (iii) anti-Latin, (iv) exegetical, (v) liturgical, (vi) encomiastical, (vii) metrical and (viii) epistolary. Most of them are contained in the *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*.⁽²²⁾ More analytically they include the works:

(i) The theological and spiritual works, as follows:

(a) the Theological Orations:

1. Λόγος εἰς τὴν ὑπερένδοξον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου γέννησιν (Oration on the exceedingly glorious birth of our exceedingly holy Lady the Theotokos).⁽²³⁾

2. Λόγος εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας (Oration on the Annunciation of our exceedingly holy and ever-virgin Mary the Theotokos).⁽²⁴⁾

3. Λόγος εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον καὶ ὑπερένδοξον Κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν καὶ παναχράντου Θεοτόκου (Oration on the all-sacred and exceedingly glorious Falling-Asleep of our exceedingly holy and immaculate Lady the Theotokos).⁽²⁵⁾

4. Λόγος εἰς τὰ σωτήρια Πάθη τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Oration on the saving Sufferings of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ).(26)

5. Λόγος εἰς τὸ σωτήριο Πάθος (Oration on the saving Passion).(27)

6. Λόγος εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Oration on the Ascension of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ).(28)

7. Λόγος εἰς τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον (Oration on the Gospel).(29)

8. Σχόλιον περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας (Scholion on free will and sin).(30)

9. Κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Γρηγοῶ ληρημάτων (Against Gregoras' bubblings).(31)

10. Κατὰ τῶν λεγομένων περὶ τοῦ κριτηρίου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ ἔστι παρὰ Πύρρωνος τοῦ καταράτου (Against those who say concerning the criterion of the truth whether it is, by the cursed Pyrrhos).(32)

(b) the two celebrated treatises of Eastern spirituality:

1. Ἑρμηνεῖα τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας (A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy) which consists of fifty-one chapters.(33)

2. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς (On the Life in Christ).(34)

3. Λόγοι τῶν βουλομένων ἀποδεικνύειν ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὸν λόγον σοφία μάταιον.. καὶ λύσεις τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιχειρημάτων (Reasons put forward by those who wish to prove that the wisdom which is constructed on the basis of reason is vain.. and solutions to such arguments)(35)

4. Ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἦν λόγοις νοθετούμενον μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον τελειωθῆναι, πίστεως μὴ προσούσης (That it was impossible for man to be perfected by being admonished only by reason and without the preceding work of faith)(36)

(ii) The sociological works of Cabasilas, which deal with economic issues (loan interest leading to usury and poverty resulting from unfair taxation) include:

1. Λόγος περὶ τῶν παρανόμως τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱερεῖς τολμωμένων ("Discourse on the unlawful deeds of the political leaders concerning sacred affairs"), written c. 1347 according to Angelopoulos and not in 1344 as Sevchenko supposed.(37)

2. Τῇ εὐσεβεστάτῃ Αὐγούστῃ περὶ τόκου (To the most pious Queen on usury), most probably written between 1351 and 1352.(38)

3. Λόγος κατὰ τοκιζόντων (Oration against usurers), written

during the same interval as the above.(39)

4. ἸΑθηναίοις περὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλέου βωμοῦ (To the Athenians on the altar of mercy), written most probably during 1347.(40)

(iii) The anti-Latin works of Cabasilas, which deal with the dogmatic theological differences between the Eastern and the Western Churches and especially concerning the sacraments and the Epiclesis in the Divine Eucharist, include:

1. Περὶ ὧν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα τινὲς Λατίνοι μέμφοται καὶ πρὸς μέμψιν ἀπολογία (On the issues on which some Latins deride us here and an apology against their deriding).(41)

2. Ὅτι καὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Λατίνων ἡ τελετὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν τελεῖται τρόπον (That the ceremony is celebrated in the Church of the Latins in the same way as among us).(42)

3. Περὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς θείας Εὐχαριστίας (On the Sacrament of the Divine Eucharist).(43)

4. Περὶ ὧν μέμφοται ἡμῖν οἱ Λατίνοι (On the issues on which the Latins deride us).(44) [Unpublished work of Nicholas Cabasilas in Ms 558 of the Hagiotaphitic Metochion in Constantinople]

5. Προθεωρία (Introduction) on Nilus Cabasilas' work Περὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (On the Holy Ecumenical Synod).(45)

(iv) The three exegetical works of Cabasilas, all of which are related to Ezekiel's visions, are as follows:

1. Σημασία εἰς τὴν ὄρασιν τοῦ Προφήτου Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἐν ᾗ ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῶων ὁμοίωμα θρόνου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁμοιώματος τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα εἰς εἶδος ἀνθρώπου (The sense of the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, in which there is a similitude of a throne on the four animals and a similitude of something in a human form on the similitude of the throne).(46)

2. Σημασία εἰς τὴν ὄρασιν τοῦ Προφήτου Ἰεζεκιήλ, ἐν ᾗ τὰ ὀστά τὰ ξηρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ πρότερον ἀπολαμβάνουσιν εἶδος (The sense of the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, in which the dry bones of men receive their previous form).(47)

3. Εἰς τὴν τοῦ Προφήτου Ἰεζεκιήλ ὄρασιν σημασία, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θείων Γραφῶν ἔχουσα τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐν οἷς λέγει (The Sense of the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel, which is witnessed to by the divine Scriptures themselves, in which it is said).(48)

(v) The Liturgical works of Cabasilas include three treatises, as follows:

1. Εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν στολήν (On the sacred vestments).(49)

2. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Θεῆᾳ Λειτουργίᾳ τελουμένων (Concerning the actions of the Divine Liturgy).(50)

3. Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ κοινῶν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τῆς τελευταίας εὐχῆς (On the common eucharist for communion in the sacraments, and on the last prayer).(51)

(vi) The encomiastical works of Cabasilas which refer to the three Hierarchs, St Nicholas of Myra, St Demetrios, Andrew the Holy Neo-Martyr from Jerusalem, St Theodora of Thessalonica, the Queen Mother Anna Palaiologina and Matthew Kantakouzenos son of John Kantakouzenos on the occasion of his elevation to the throne of Constantinople in 1354 are as follows:

1. Λόγος εἰς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Πατέρα ἡμῶν μέγαν ἱεράρχην μυροβλήτην καὶ θαυματουργὸν Νικόλαον (Oration on our Father among the Saints, great Hierarch, perfume-bearing and miraculous Nicholas).(52)

2. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ θαυματουργὸν καὶ μυροβλήτην Δημήτριον (Encomium on the glorious Megalomartyr of Christ, miraculous and perfume-bearing Demetrios).(53)

3. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ὀσιομάρτυρα Ἀνδρέαν τὸν Νέον ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις τῶν τοῦ Μαρτυρίου δρόμον διηγουμένον (Encomium

on the holy Neo-Martyr Andrew in Jerusalem who traversed the road of Martyrdom).(54)

4. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν μητέρα ἡμῶν μυροβλήτιδα καὶ θαυματουργὸν Θεοδώραν, τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη (Encomium on our holy Mother and perfume-bearer and miraculous Theodora of Thessalonica).(55)

5. Εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους τρεῖς μεγάλους Ἱεράρχας καὶ Οἰκουμενικοὺς Διδασκάλους, Βασίλειον τὸν Μέγαν, Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Χρυσόγλωττον (On the three holy and great Hierarchs and Ecumenical Teachers, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian and John the Golden-mouth).(56)

6. Προσφώνημα εἰς τὸν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον τὸν μυροβλήτην (Salutation to the glorious Megalomartyr of Christ and perfume-bearer Demetrios).(57)

7. Εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα Ἐγκώμιον (Encomium on the Emperor).(58)

8. Τῇ εὐσεβεστάτῃ Αὐγούστῃ Κυρᾷ Ἄννῃ τῇ Παλαιολογίνῃ (To the most pious Queen Lady Anna Palaiologina).(59)

9. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν πανάγιον Δημήτριον καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ θαύματα (Encomium on the all-holy Demetrios and his miracles).(60)

10. Εὐχή εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Μονογενῆ υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Λόγον (Prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God and Logos).(61)

(vii) The metrical works of Cabasilas include thirteen works as follows:

1. Εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ θείου τάφου κυροῦ Νείλου τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης (On the grave of his own uncle the late Nilus of Thessalonica), probably written in 1363.(62)

2. Ἡρωικὰ εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἀοιδίου Πατριάρχου ἐκείνου κυροῦ Ἰσιδώρου τάφον (Heroic lines on the grave of that late Patriarch Isidore) which was probably written in 1350.(63)

3. Εἰς τὸ Μεῖνον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶ (On the saying, Stay with us because it is dusk).(64)

4. Εἰς τὸ Οἶμοι ὅτι ἡ παροικία μου ἐμακρύνθη (On the saying, Wo to me because my stay has been prolonged).(65)

5. Εἰς τὸ Ἰμάτιον ἔχεις, ἀρχηγὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ (On the saying, you have a garment, do become our leader).(66)

6. Εἰς τὴν ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδώρας (On the transportation of the relic of Saint Theodora).(67)

7. Εἰς κανόνα τοῦ Μεγάλου Δημητρίου ἀκροστιχίς (Acrostic on

the Canon of the Great Demetrios).(68)

8. Εἰς κανόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου ἀκροστιχίς (An Acrostic on the Canon of Saint Andrew).(69)

9. Εἰς κανόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐδοκίμου ἀκροστιχίς (An Acrostic on the Canon of Saint Eudokimos).(70)

10. Εἰς ἕτερον κανόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου ἀκροστιχίς (An Acrostic on another Canon of Saint Demetrios).(71)

11. Εἰς κανόνα τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μαρτυρησάντων νεωστὶ πολλῶν ἁγίων (On the Canon of those many Saints who were recently martyred in Jerusalem).(72)

12. Εἰς Κανόνα τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ (On a Canon of Saint Gregory Palamas of Thessalonica).(73)

13. Εἰς τὰς θείας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐντολάς (On the divine commandments of the Saviour).(74)

(viii) The extant Epistles of Cabasilas are as follows:

1. To his Father, written c. 1338-1344.(75)

2. To John VI Kantakouzenos, written in Constantinople in 1347, 1348.(76)

3. To the Priest Dositheus Karantenos, written in 1364.(77)
4. To his friend Demetrios Kydones, written at Thessalonica in 1363-1364.(78)
5. To the Ostiarius of Thessalonica Synadenos, written at Constantinople in 1347-1348.(79)
6. To the Great Sakellarius of Thessalonica Pasedones, written at Constantinople in 1364.(80)
7. To an Anonymous Hypomnematographer of Thessalonica, written at Constantinople in 1364.(81)
8. To Tarcheianiotes, written at Constantinople in 1364-1365.(82)
9. To Doukopoulos the Manikaites, written at Constantinople, year unknown.(83)
10. To an unknown person.(84)

To the above Epistles we should add those sent to him by others. These include the following:

1. An Epistle from his uncle Nilus Cabasilas, written at Thessalonica in c. 1341.(85)

2. Five Epistles from Demetrios Kydones, written at Constantinople in 1346-1347(1st), 1364(2nd), 1364(3rd), - 4th and 5th of unknown dates and places.(86)
3. Four Epistles from the Emperor Manuel Palaiologos.(87)
4. An Epistle from the Monk Joseph Vryennios.(88)

In concluding this list of the works of Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos we ought to point out that there are also certain other works which are to a larger or lesser extent regarded as dubious. These include: an extract from a treatise *On two uneven Circles*, a little treatise *On the beginning of Aristotle's On natural hearing*, and another three works *On Syllogism*, *A Panegyric on Saint Merkourios* and *An Iambic Canon*.(89)

I.3. The three Orations on the Theotokos

There are two editions of the original Greek text of these Orations. The first one was produced in 1925 by the well known Roman Catholic scholar Martin Jugie, a specialist in Byzantine and generally Eastern Orthodox Theology.(90) The second one was published in Athens in 1968 by Panayiotes Nellas, a contemporary Greek Orthodox theologian, who has distinguished himself as a specialist on Nicholas Cabasilas with several publications, and not least with his fascinating dissertation on *Nicholas Cabasilas' doctrine of*

Justification.⁽⁹¹⁾ Jugie's edition was based exclusively on the text of the *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, the oldest of its kind (end of 14th c., or beginning of the 15th c.) and written by the monk Ioasaph, who was a contemporary friend of Cabasilas. He did this because he did not find, as he says in the Introduction to his edition, any significant differences between the text of this *Codex* and that of the *Codices Vaticanus Graecus 632* and *Parisinus Graecus 1248*, which respectively contained the first two and the third of our three Orations. Nellas's edition reproduced the text of Jugie but with several improvements with respect of its punctuation and its actual content, by utilising the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 632* and the *Codex Patmiacus 390* which contains the *Oration on the Annunciation.*⁽⁹²⁾

Cabasilas' Orations on the Theotokos are typical productions of fourteenth century Byzantium, which has been characterized by Nellas as the "most exceptional Theometric century of Orthodoxy".⁽⁹³⁾ In this respect Cabasilas' name stands beside those of Gregory Palamas, the great leader and theological spokesman of the Hesychastic movement, and Theophanes Nikaeus. According to Nellas these three men established on theological grounds three mutually related points:

a) the absolute holiness of the Virgin Mary and her eschatological primacy, immediately after that of the Holy Trinity, over the rest of creation;

b) the Virgin's Christological significance and,

c) the absolutely central position of the Virgin in the Economy of Salvation, i.e. her *active role* in the mystery of the Incarnation, and her eternal place at the centre of the mystery of the Church. Of these three points the first two are rather traditional, whereas the third is most original, and it is here that Cabasilas' teaching seems to be particularly strong.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Cabasilas' three Orations on the Theotokos, are regarded as belonging to his early literary activity. This is based on the observation that several of the theses which are being put forward in them do occur in Cabasilas' later writings (especially in his *On the Life in Christ*) in a much more balanced and mature way. Most probably they were written to be read rather than to be delivered as speeches - a point which is made by several scholars, though it is by no means certain. What is certain, however, is that they were meant to be a challenge to the humanists of Byzantium who were thus presented with a highly intelligent and responsible compromise between faith and reason. This point, which, as we have already observed, was one of Cabasilas' most distinctive features, is particularly exemplified in these Orations, though it appears in other writings of his, especially the sociological ones. Indeed, it is on this account that they are justly regarded as profoundly original, as well as distinctly relevant to the peculiar need of their time, which, in the words of Tatakis, was the correct transition

from the older traditional outlook to the modern perspectives of a renaissance that was marching in. As such they acquired a wider value, which made them important for the whole of the modern era, including the present. This is what the modern scholars who have studied them, both theologians and philosophers, have been stressing and this is what has led us to undertake the present investigation.

II. THE ORATION ON THE BIRTH OF THE THEOTOKOS

II.1 The Oration and its contents: an overview

The full title of this Oration - "On the Birth of our exceedingly glorious and exceedingly holy Lady Theotokos" - already reveals the central feature of this text. As it will become obvious through our analysis of this text, Cabasilas will emphasize the unique glory and holiness of the Virgin Theotokos, which exceeds those of all other human beings, even the most famous and saintly of them, as constituting the truest and highest instance of the human existence and, as such, as the divinely-ordained human presupposition of the divine Economy of salvation accomplished in and through Christ. In other words Cabasilas sets out to show the "true" and "sinless" humanity of the Theotokos as the human key to the Incarnation. By doing this he clarifies the relationship between the human and the divine factors in the mystery of salvation.

Consisting of 18 chapters this Oration can be broadly outlined as follows: It begins with establishing the true and unique humanity of the Theotokos by looking at it from the perspective of her parents, St Joachim and St Anna (chs. 1-4). There follows a crucial chapter outlining the theological foundations on which "true humanity" is established, namely, "purity" and "sinlessness" (ch.5). Then, it is explained how the holy Virgin exemplifies these foundations in the most complete way, i.e. that she is all-pure and all-holy (chs. 6-7). This is further clarified and carried to a deeper level by

taking recourse to the category of freedom and its significance, as well as its relation to grace (chs.8-9). Then, the purity and sinlessness of the Theotokos are explained on the basis of Biblical and Liturgical data (chs. 10-14). There follows a chapter expounding the necessity of the manifestation of a sinless humanity (ch. 15), which leads to the presentation of its fulfilment in the manifestation of the sinless Virgin and to its corollary, the manifestation of the God-man (ch. 16). This brings the exposition to the "principle of synergy", which applies to the cooperation of the Holy Trinity with the Virgin Theotokos in the Incarnation (ch. 17). The concluding chapter recapitulates the above points as it praises the birth of the Virgin Theotokos and its unique significance for humanity's relation with God in the light of her actual place and role in the history of salvation. A more detailed analysis of these points will clarify Cabasilas' doctrine on the Theotokos and its wider doctrinal connections. This is the subject-matter of the following paragraphs.

II.2. The Virgin's unique humanity and the role of her parents

Cabasilas begins his Oration by invoking God's help, so that he may be able to treat the subject worthily, especially because he realizes its unique magnitude. His purpose, as he explains it, is twofold. He wants, at least, to maintain the standard set by the theologians of the past and also to produce something which will be of spiritual benefit to

others. This last point, which is seen as being in line with the desire of the Theotokos herself, has been the aim of those who treated the subject in the past, who, as he points out, "did not mention the holy Virgin in a cursory manner" (οὐ παρέργως μνησθέντας),(1) but out of a sense of debt. Yet, Cabasilas fully acknowledges the difficulty in paying a debt to what amounts to being "the best and greatest achievement of all the ages, the most paradoxical of all and the most beneficial of all" (τὸ πάντων μὲν τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἄριστον καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, πάντων δὲ παραδοξότατον, πάντων δὲ κοινωφελέστατον).(2) This phraseology, which is used to the credit of Joachim and Anna, may at first hearing sound excessive, but it is an absolutely accurate expression of Cabasilas' understanding of the unique person of the Theotokos among human beings. As he explains it, it is connected with the fact "that God should put on the human flesh and be born amongst us human beings through the Theotokos as his Mother."

Turning to the Theotokos' parents, he characterises them as "the best and most righteous of all others", because nobody's achievements for the common benefit of humanity can be compared to the blessings which came to men on their account. Thus it is explained why they are more righteous than Noah, Moses, Joshua son of Nun and even Abraham. The heart of this explanation is the principle, "that there is no benefactor of humanity who had not previously made his soul consonant and co-symmetric with the benefits which he

caused to come to others".⁽³⁾ Joachim and Anna were in fact the "servants" (διδάκονοι) or "co-workers" (συνεργοί) whom God used as instruments of his love for mankind and for the revelation of his grace, when the time came to redeem the ecumene from the tyranny of the demons, to introduce immortality into the life of the mortals, to plant the angelic life into the souls of men and, generally, to unite heaven and earth."⁽⁴⁾ For Cabasilas they are "most righteous and most faithful keepers of the laws and most beloved to God", because they kept the Law of God above all men and surpassed them all with respect of "virtue" and, thus, "gave birth to the blessed Virgin as their own fruit." Indeed the Virgin was not, as Cabasilas observes, "a simple offspring of their nature, but the achievement of their prayer and righteousness" (μηδὲ φύσεως ἀπλῶς ἐγένετο τόκος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔργον ὑπῆρξεν).⁽⁵⁾ Virtue came first and, then, prayer in boldness and that, in turn, was followed by the crown which is given to the spiritual athletes.

It is important to underline here the particular significance of the link which Cabasilas sees between "virtue" and "prayer" - the former being the presupposition to the latter and the latter the end of the former - because it belongs to his fundamental scheme of understanding the relation between the divine and the human in the context of creation and salvation.

Consonant with the above theme of "virtue" and "prayer" are the next themes which Cabasilas introduces in chapter three. The first one is the theme of "law" and "grace". The case of the birth of the Theotokos by Joachim and Anna perfectly illustrates the principle that "grace" is the ultimate purpose and fulfilment of the "law", the "perfect fruit" of a "perfect tree"! But this case is not just a mere illustration, because the Virgin is a unique person/instance in the history of humanity. Thus Cabasilas states, that Joachim and Anna, in giving birth to the Virgin, they gave to the world "the fruit of the law and the treasure of grace" (τὸν τοῦ νόμου καρπὸν, τὸν τῆς χάριτος θησαυρόν).⁽⁶⁾ In other words there is a clear sense in which the Theotokos is the end and fulfilment of the O.T. Law, and Joachim and Anna are instrumental in bringing this about.

The next theme, which logically follows from and is closely interrelated with the previous one, is that of the "tent of witness" (σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου). The fulfilling of the law by Joachim and Anna is actually seen as a veneration of the "tent of witness" which led to the "true tent of God" (τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνήν), the holy Virgin.⁽⁷⁾ It is clear from the way in which Cabasilas develops this theme that he thinks retrospectively. In other words, his reasoning begins from the Virgin, the "true tent of God" and goes back to the O.T. "tent of witness". This is why he states that Joachim and Anna would not have given birth to the former had they not cared for the latter.

The third theme, which perfectly blends with the preceding ones, is that of the O.T. "tablets of the law" which "Moses broke because of the guile of the Hebrews." Here Cabasilas states that Joachim and Anna, unlike the Hebrews of old, must have kept the law intact through their "eminent natural virtue" (τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς ἀρετῆς), for otherwise "they would not have raised the Virgin, nor would they have created that living book (τὸ ζῶν ἐκεῖνο βιβλίον), which contained not simply the law but the law-giver himself".(8)

The final theme is that of "fasting and prayer", which Moses exemplifies in his approach to God and reception of "the law which was to pass". Like Moses Joachim and Anna "fasted and prayed" (νηστεύσαντες καὶ θεοκλιτήσαντες), but unlike him, they found "the Blood which constituted the New Covenant" (τὸ τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην συστησάμενον αἷμα), which God took up and entered into the place beyond the Veil and found eternal redemption." Though not explicitly mentioned, the reference to "the Blood of the New Covenant" is primarily a reference to the holy Virgin. Its explicit application to Christ on the basis of the statement in Hebrews 9:12 presupposes its implicit, but decisive, application to the his mother, the holy Virgin Theotokos, and to his ancestors, St Joachim and St Anna.

The birth of the Virgin recapitulates and leads to its end - to Christ - the whole sacred history. But within this sacred

history man does not play a merely passive role, but an active one. The principle of "synergy" does not apply simply to the moral sphere, but above all to the history of salvation. By dwelling on the theme of Joachim and Anna Cabasilas has provided unshakable proofs of the truth that the Virgin was fully and only human. His emphasis on their holiness again demonstrates the proper human way of the propagation of the human genus which is not tied to fleshly lust but to cooperation with God. Born in holiness - spiritually - the holy Virgin perfects through her own life the holiness of her parents - of the human genus - and becomes worthy of giving birth to Christ, who is the absolute purity and holiness.

Cabasilas' tying closely together the Virgin and the Saviour, which is the most typical feature of his theological exposition, provides a firm basis for acknowledging the integrity of the humanity of Christ and its sinlessness. Furthermore it confirms the inner connection between creation and redemption and, more particularly, the co-operating roles of the human and the divine factors in salvation.

All the above themes are summed up in chapter four, which sees in the birth of the Virgin Theotokos by Joachim and Anna the fulfilment of the O.T. law from the human side and, therefore, the revelation of the presupposition for the coming of the fulfilment of the law from the divine side through the grace of Christ. In this chapter Cabasilas

describes the holy parents of the blessed Theotokos and holy ancestors of Christ as "the holier mouths" who uttered "the more perfect prayer", or as the "souls which are more beloved to God" and which offered "the more acceptable sacrifice", or "the more sacred altars". They ought to have been a human "root" which was related to God more than all others and they ought to have employed a "manner" which was a power of prayer - for otherwise the mother of God would not have received the spiritual body (τὸ σῶμα τὸ πνευματικόν).

It is clear that "spiritual body" in this instance stands against "fleshly body" and refers to the fact that Joachim and Anna gave birth to the Virgin as a result of their prayer and God's action. But Cabasilas does not rest here. He goes on to emphasize that though in the history of salvation many others were born in a spiritual manner - i.e. as a result of prayer (δῶρον εὐχῆς) - the birth of the Theotokos is of a unique character and significance, because she alone became "the cause which opened up the treasure of graces to all" (μόνον αὐτῇ φανερώς αἰτία τῶν τῶν χαρίτων ἅπασιν ἀνοίξασα θησαυρόν).⁽⁹⁾ Indeed, looking at the birth of the Theotokos retrospectively and going passed beyond it into the history of salvation, that which preceded and that which followed her, Cabasilas insists that "all other cases have a reference to her and lead to her."⁽¹⁰⁾ He actually uses the metaphor of "the body and its shadow" to illustrate this point and also refers to the corresponding correlation between the New

Testament and the Old and between the "Great Sacrificial Victim" (Christ) and the O.T. sacrifices, and concludes with the statement that: "the Virgin was the common adornment of all before she even came to life, because all the honours which God conferred on the human genus were actually made to his mother. Thus "the Virgin is the only true achievement of holy prayer - which had had nothing undesirable - and the only one that was a gift of God worthy for God to give and those who asked for it to receive, because whatever the Virgin had had was fitting both for the hand that gave and for the hand that received".(11)

The chapter concludes with a statement which opens the theme of the following one and which emphasizes the decisive intervention of God in the birth of the holy Virgin and the fact that she is "in the most proper sense the first man". He says: "This is why in the birth of the most holy one nature could not offer anything, but the whole event had to be accomplished entirely by the one who was invited to act. It was natural that God, leaving nature aside, should create the blessed one, in a direct way, as it were, as in the case of the first man. Since the Virgin is certainly and in the most proper sense the first man, i.e. the one who alone revealed the human nature."(12)

This statement, obviously referring to the miraculous birth of the Virgin from elderly parents by God's intervention (according to the Apocryphal Gospel of St James), regards the

Virgin as "the first man" not in the sense that she has a different humanity from that of Adam and of all the other human beings, but in the sense that she is the one who was born by holy parents and remained herself holy. This becomes apparent in the following chapter (ch. 5), which, as Nellas describes it, "constitutes a wonderful abridgement and at the same time a decisive step towards the formulation of the orthodox teaching about man, something which the earlier Fathers, who had been occupied with Triadological and Christological problems, had done only implicitly, but which had to be explicitly stated in the fourteenth century when the marching perspective of the Renaissance demanded it."⁽¹³⁾ Indeed Cabasilas managed to work out a Christian anthropology as a challenge to that of the Renaissance by focusing on the Virgin Theotokos, i.e. the humanity which was worthy of giving birth to God who became Man and Saviour of the world.

II.3 The Virgin's sinlessness and its anthropological premise

In chapter five Cabasilas tells us that God's greatest gift to man, his last and greatest creature, was the ability "to love Him purely" (θεὸν καθαρῶς φιλεῖν) and "to live with reason, to dominate his passions and to be able to remain free from tasting any sin" (σὺν λόγῳ ζῆν καὶ παθῶν κρατεῖν καὶ συμπόσης ἁμαρτίας ἀγευστον εἶναι), i.e. to be sinless.⁽¹⁴⁾ The power for such a manner of life, says Cabasilas, was implanted by God in man at the time of the latter's creation.

It meant that man had to fight to remain sinless until he arrived at the point of being firmly established in sinlessness without effort. Then he would achieve incorruptibility. Indeed Cabasilas adduces at least four reasons to prove that this is precisely the case, i.e. that sinlessness and incorruptibility are real possibilities for the human being. He specially stresses man's capacity for free choice (γνώμης αὐτονομία) and concludes that: "It is absolutely necessary to believe that God ingrafted into our nature the capacity (power) to confront any sin and thus gave us the commandment to transform this capacity into energy (the power into action)".⁽¹⁵⁾ The intention is that, when we become good through the pursuit of virtue on the basis of our own capacity, God shall reward us by supplying what is lacking to us, so that we may become irrevocably good without having to fight for it any more.

The fact is, however, that man did not utilize his God-given and innate capability. Though all men had the power to fight against sin, all of them failed to do so. Sinning became a sickness (νόσος) that first appeared in the first man and then spread to all. The result was that the natural beauty remained hidden (τὸ κατὰ φύσιν κάλλος ἐκρύπτετο) and although there were numerous human bodies man remained in oblivion(!), inasmuch as all human beings made use of the most evil devices using the power of their soul and, as a result, the good that had been implanted within them did not appear anywhere as no one lived

according to it. However, where others failed, the holy Virgin succeeded.

Chapter six presents the sinlessness of the Theotokos, not as something which was granted to her from God, but as something which sprang out of her and, especially, from that capacity of her's which God had implanted in her, as well as in all other human beings. She achieved sinlessness, says Cabasilas, "without having heaven as her city, without having been born from heavenly bodies, but from the earth in the same way as all (τὸν ἴσον ἅπασιν τρόπον), i.e. from this fallen genus which came to be ignorant of its own nature (αὐτοῦ τοῦ πεσόντος γένους, τοῦ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἠγνοηκός).

The holy Virgin was the only one amongst all the rest of humanity, in every epoch, who opposed every kind of evil from beginning to end. Thus she returned to God the immaculate beauty (τὸ ἀκέραιον κάλλος) which he granted to our nature, having utilised all the weapons and all the capacity or power which he originally put inside us. She achieved, by her eros for God (ἔρωτι θεοῦ), the strength of her thought (ρόμη λογισμοῦ), the straightness of her choice (γνώμης εὐθύτητι) and the largeness of her mind (φρονήματος μεγέθει) to overturn every sin and to set up a trophy of victory to which nothing else can be compared. In the last analysis what the holy Virgin achieved was the revelation of the man who was truly created by God, and by doing this she also revealed God the Creator with his ineffable wisdom

and love for mankind.

That the revelation of the true humanity and the revelation of God are mutually preconditioned becomes apparent in the following statement which exposes Cabasilas' deeper theological perspective: "The One whom she put before the sensible eyes of all the people, having first clothed him with a body, this One she had previously depicted with her works upon herself".⁽¹⁶⁾ What is remarkable in this instance, says, Cabasilas, is that the holy Virgin made possible what was impossible to the Law, the Phophetic tongues, the visible creation, the heavens, even the holy Angels. It was possible, because "Only the human being, which brings within it the Image of God, could truly reveal God, provided that it revealed itself to be purely authentic and to have nothing in intself which is dubious,"⁽¹⁷⁾ and such a being was precisely and uniquely the blessed Virgin.

Cabasilas concludes this chapter by stressing once again that the sinlessness of the holy Virgin - the fact, that is, that she alone was free from every "stain" (ρύπος), or that she alone escaped the common sickness - is all the more remarkable when one seriously considers that she was a mere man and had nothing more than other human beings (μόνον ἄνθρωπος οὔσα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τούτων ἀνθρώπων μετασχοῦσα πλεον οὐδέν). Though it is absolutely clear that the miracle does not consist in the Virgin receiving some different kind of humanity than that of others, Jugie alters the punctuation of

this text so that it may be made to witness to the above! This is erroneous not only grammatically - something which is stressed by Nellas⁽¹⁸⁾ - but also conceptually, because it runs counter to the numerous statements of Cabasilas which establish the integrity of the humanity of the holy Virgin and its identity with that of ours.

II.4 The reasons for the Virgin's achievement

These last points are clarified in the following chapter (ch.7) which tries to explain "how" or "why" the Theotokos succeeded where everybody else failed. Here Cabasilas stresses the fact that "the holy Virgin did not need anybody's help (μηδενός τοῦ βοηθοῦντος δεηθεῖσαν), even though she came into existence neither before the common sickness of nature (κοινῇ ἀρρώστια τῆς φύσεως), nor after the common healer (κοινὸν ἰατρόν), but at the mid-day of evils, at the height, within the land of condemnation, within a nature which had learned to surrender to each challenge, within a body which is a servant of death, at a time when all those who could help were completely attached to wrong-doing, or those who could fight were absent."⁽¹⁹⁾

It was because of her own "free decision" (προαίρεσις) and "eagerness of soul" (ψυχῆς προθυμία) that the holy Virgin did what she did. It was "herself alone, using the weapons which God gave to her, as to all human beings, for the pursuit of virtue, that won that new and surpassing victory". Thus one

can understand why the holy Virgin is greater than Adam who was born without sin but fell into it and the Christians who received the grace of Christ but remained in need of continuous cleansing through the Sacraments.

The notions of freedom and virtue, which emerge at the centre of the previous two chapters as the fundamental reasons for the victory of the holy Virgin, are taken up and further discussed in the eighth chapter in a more general anthropological context. Cabasilas attempts to clarify here the relation of human freedom to divine grace. Divine grace does not supply man with virtue at the expense of his freedom. It rather rewards the human virtue which is achieved through human freedom. Human freedom is the presupposition to the achievement of human virtue, which, in turn, is a good work expected of man and rewarded by God. Freedom, together with reason, has to do with man's "being" (τὸ εἶναι), whereas virtue has to do with man's "well being" (τὸ εὖ εἶναι). The latter can never be obtained apart from, or against, the former.

There is much more that Cabasilas supplies here, but in saying all this his deeper message is that, though the freedom of God is "freely restricted", as it were, by the freedom of man, in the last analysis, it is the love of God that wins over man's freedom without violating it, because it takes the way of the Cross. In this case too, as originally in the case of creation, God offered his gift equally to all

without any partiality. This ultimately means that he gave nothing more to his mother than he gave to all other human beings.(20)

The only difference, then, between the holy Virgin and the other human beings, as Cabasilas explains in the following chapter (ch. 9), lies in what she contributed out of herself to that which was commonly given by God to both her and the others, thus surpassing the others (οἷς δὲ προσέθηκεν οἰκοθεν οὕτω τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερβαλοῦσα).(21) Yet, this unique victory of the Virgin, at the point where others failed, does not place her in opposition to them, but makes her the representative of the others in winning a victory for their common nature (ὥσπερ εἰ πάντες τὴν νίκην ταύτην εἰργάσαντο). Indeed, as Cabasilas concludes his argument in this chapter: "She preserved as far as it was possible the beauty which was given to the human nature free from any opposing elements, not only for herself but also for all other human beings".(22)

With this concise and rich chapter (ch. 9), which presents the Virgin as the highest representative of the human race, as the one who won a victory for the sake of all and as the one within whom not only the human nature but the particular human beings found and continue to find their authenticity, Cabasilas reaches the end of the first part of his Oration. The following four chapters, being more analytical and descriptive, aim at proving the exceeding holiness or sinlessness of the holy Virgin. It is a characteristic of his

work, that having Christologically explained the truth that the help given by Christ to his Mother - i.e., himself - was not any greater or different than that which he gave to all, Cabasilas does not hesitate to use the most excessive and absolute expressions in order to qualify the magnitude of the sinlessness of the holy Virgin.

II.5. Arguments demonstrating the Virgin's sinlessness

In chapter ten Cabasilas produces several arguments in support of the sinlessness of the holy Virgin.

First of all he argues for her sinlessness from the very fact of the Incarnation. According to Isaiah 59:2 God would not have descended on her, had she not been sinless. To the counter - argument that God could have descended on her even if she had had the barrier of sin within her, because his descent itself would have sufficed to break this barrier down, Cabasilas replies that it was not the Incarnation but the Blood and the Passion which broke down the barrier of sin which separated man from God and that both of these (the Blood and the Passion) presupposed the Incarnation and the sinlessness of both Christ and his Mother.

Another argument of Cabasilas in support of the sinlessness of the Virgin is based on the Biblical record as to God's attitude to Eve and to Mary. It was a curse that God pronounced to Eve, but a "greeting", a "Χαῖρε", that he sent

to the Virgin. The argument is that he would not have sent such a greeting had the Virgin been in sin like Eve or like the rest of humanity. Besides, the *Χαῖρε* could not have been arbitrary, because God "does not act with partiality". (Luke 20:21).

Another argument for the sinlessness of the Virgin is based on the discussion which, according to the Gospel narrative, the holy Virgin had had with the Archangel at the Annunciation concerning the paradoxical birth of Christ. There is no reference in this conversation to any need of cleansing on the part of the Theotokos. To the counter-argument that certain Fathers of the Church had seen the descent of the Spirit upon the Theotokos as an act of "cleansing" (προκεκαθάρθαι τῷ Πνεύματι τὴν Παρθένον) -- perhaps a reference to Gregory the Theologian's phrase προκαθαρθείσης τῷ Πνεύματι,⁽²³⁾ or to John Damascene's phrase καθαῖρον αὐτήν,⁽²⁴⁾ or even to the phrase ἀγνισθεῖσα Πνεύματι of the eighth Ode of the Canon to the Virgin of the *Octoechos*, or other similar phrases from various Troparia in the Orthodox Liturgical Books - Cabasilas replies that the "cleansing" envisaged here by the Fathers refers to "an addition of graces" (τὴν κάθαρσιν προσθήκην χαρίτων αὐτοῖς βούλεσθαι χρῆ νομίζειν), rather than to cleansing from sin, since the holy Angels who are sinless are also said "to be cleansed" in the same way - perhaps a reference to Basil the Great's phrase διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν τελείωσιν ἐπάγει,⁽²⁵⁾ or more probably his friend's Gregory Palamas's

view that the coming of the Spirit to the Theotokos was a προσθήκη ύψηλοτέρα δι' άγιασμοϋ.(26)

Finally Cabasilas argues for the sinlessness of the holy Virgin by the statement of the Lord himself recorded in Luke 8:21, which identifies the "hearing of the word of God and the doing it" with "his Mother". By saying this, the Lord recognized the existence in the Virgin of such a righteousness which surpasses every human measure (δικαιοσύνην πάσης άνθρωπίνης ύψηλοτέραν), inasmuch as he applied to her the reality which lies beyond mere names. And Cabasilas concludes: "Just as there was no better way of giving birth to Christ than the one she gave, nor of becoming his Mother than the one by which she became, but reached the highest point of authenticity in her relation to him, similarly she could not have arrived at any higher measure of perfection than that at which she arrived throughout all her life".(27)

II.6. The holy Virgin and the holy Temple

The following three chapters (chs. 11-14) develop, as we have already pointed out at the beginning of this section in our thesis, a liturgical argument in support of the sinlessness of the holy Theotokos, which is drawn from the data of the Feast of the "Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple", which are obviously taken, although without any explicit reference, mainly from the Apocryphal *Protevangelium of James*,(28) known in Greek as τὰ Είσόδια, and celebrated in the Eastern

Church on 21 November.

The whole of chapter eleven is taken up by Cabasilas' argument for the sinlessness of the holy Virgin from the fact that she lived in the Temple from her early years to her teens, without anyone raising any objections or questions on the basis of the tradition which was quite definitive on this, and without undergoing any purifications.⁽²⁹⁾ This fact certainly indicates that "she was above every cause of concern and her purity far exceeded the purificatory ceremonies of the law" (κρείττων ἦν αἰτίας ἀπόσης καὶ καθαρώτερον εἶχεν ἢ δεῖσθαι τῶν νομικῶν τελετῶν).⁽³⁰⁾ She was full of virtue which shown like a bright sun and dispelled the darkness of every evil.

In chapter twelve Cabasilas draws further conclusions from the Virgin's dwelling at the Temple. It was first of all an acknowledgement on the part of other human beings of the fact that what was fit to be God's dwelling place was also fit for the Virgin. But it was also a prefiguration of the other fact which followed afterwards, namely, of God himself becoming the Temple in which the Virgin came to dwell as he overshadowed her with his power (Luke 1:35). Indeed, God saw himself as the only fitting Temple for the holy Virgin, because he also saw that she became the only fitting Temple for him! ("Μόνον γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀξίαν ἔγνω σκηνὴν τῇ μόνῃ γενομένη ἀξία τοῦ Θεοῦ σκηνή").⁽³¹⁾

Chapter thirteen develops an even profounder line of thought. The entry of the Theotokos into the Temple was not an event that resulted in her glorification. It was not, in other words, the Temple that glorified her, but rather her that glorified the Temple. This was the case, says Cabasilas, because she was the true Temple of God, whereas the other one was only her shadow! Thus her entry into the Temple marked the mystery of the replacement of the shadow by the reality. For Cabasilas the case of the Theotokos and the Temple, being similar to that of the shadow and the reality, is parallel to several other related cases, such as, the Slaughtering of Christ and the Old Passover, the Spiritual Baptism (of Christ) and the Baptism of John, etc. But the parallelism of the Temple and the Virgin has many more profound meanings.

Cabasilas points out that the entry of the High Priest into the Temple once a year, following a certain purification, was the symbol of the "ineffable conception" (ἀπόρρητος κυσφορία) into the womb of the Virgin of Him, who, with one single "priestly action" (ἱεραουργία) in the midst of the ages, would wipe out all sin. He also points out that the holiness of the Temple was proleptically related to the entry of the holy Virgin into it, inasmuch as she constituted the holiest entry into it - holier than the Manna, the Rod, the Tablets, and all the rest of the Temple-vessels, which were also symbols or prefigurations (εἰκόνες) of her. This is why what was "impassable" (ἄδυτος) to others was "passable" (εἰσιτηρός) to

her. Her appearance, then, fulfilled and put an end to the old law!

Having thus clearly established the symbolic parallelism between the Temple and the holy Virgin Cabasilas concludes his thirteenth chapter by asking a pertinent question which implies the exceeding holiness and sinlessness of the Theotokos: If the earthly Temple, he asks, which was but a passing symbol, was so holy that it stood apart from all men and the whole ecumene, how much more should this be the case with the Virgin who is the permanent reality of that symbol?

Chapter fourteen, which is the last one to treat of the Temple- Virgin parallelism, adds a few more insights, which explain in a profounder way the connection between the doctrine of Mary and the doctrine of man. The Temple also images the Virgin, albeit in an obscure and faint manner, in that it was initially taken from the earth but was afterwards separated from it and from the whole of the Ecumene. In a similar but far superior way - as superior as a body is to its shadow - the holy Virgin was taken from our side, but was subsequently separated from us in that she kept her will untouched by every kind of evil (ἀνθρώπιτον κεκτηῖσθαι πάση νοσηρίῳ τὴν γνώμην). Inasmuch as she did this, she fulfilled the rational and natural condition of human existence, which was required before God's grace was supplied.

II.7. The Virgin as representing humanity in her achievement and God's response to her in Christ

Cabasilas explains what all the above really means by producing one of the most profound anthropological principles of his theological position. "It was necessary, he says, that a human being should appear who would be above every sin by virtue of its diligence of reasoning and its own strength, before receiving the gift of becoming the mother of the sinless One, i.e. before acquiring a (natural) relation to him. In other words, it was necessary for the human nature to appear as it was created, in order to render to its Creator the honour and the glory which was fitting for him. Such a necessity, he explains, could not be fulfilled by Adam, or his descendants, who were corrupted by sin. Nor could it be fulfilled by the second Adam, who, being God and man, could not present his second nature, i.e. that of our own, on its own, and since he did not have that relation to sin which every man should have in this life. The second Adam could never sin (οὐδ' οἷος τ' ἦν ἀμαρτάνειν). "Thus what was needed was the appearance of someone who, though capable of sinning, would not do so and, as such, would perfectly reveal how God wanted man to be in this life."⁽³²⁾ Such a person, who did actually vindicate both God's creation and God's legislation, was the holy Virgin.

Chapter fifteen stresses the above point once more, namely, that the holy Virgin was the person that all humanity

and all history waited for, the only person who fulfilled all God's commandments through her own free decision, winning over sin in the power which God implanted in her as in all humans. But here it is also explained that this was the precondition for another, a second, achievement, an achievement which God added as a just reward to the former. This is the gift of Christ which renders us immovable by sin and puts an end to our struggle against it. The holy Virgin, says Cabasilas, fulfilled both achievements in her humanity, the first one through herself and the second, through him who made her his mother.

These two above mentioned achievements also reveal the difference between the sinlessness of the Theotokos and the sinlessness of Christ. The first is one which is relative because it requires a constant struggle - "alert reason" (νήφοντα λογισμόν), "straight choice" (εὐθύτητα γνώμης), "magnitude of mind" (μέγεθος φρονήματος) - , whereas the latter one is absolute, because it is a gift of God. Christ as God-man possessed this absolute sinlessness which he granted to his Mother as a reward for her own relative sinlessness. Thus, one should realize that it is God who adds what we cannot do to that which we can do and do do. In doing this he coordinates his absolute goodness and freedom to our relative goodness and freedom. This means that the latter gives birth to the former, or as Cabasilas explains it, man's becoming sinless through his own struggles has brought down God's gift of acquiring goodness within him as

something absolutely permanent and irremovable.

In line with the above Cabasilas speaks, in Chapter sixteen, of the two "purities" (καθαρότητες) which were given to the human nature: that of the holy Virgin and that of her Divine Son which is the better one. It is fitting, he says, for a mother to be surpassed by her Son and to achieve greater things through him and to be fully glorified on his, rather than on her, account. It is also fitting that the revelation of God should come as the crown of the revelation of man, and that both of these should precede the revelation of the God-man. Just as man was revealed as a creature after the revelation of the intelligent and sensible creations, likewise the God-man was revealed after God and man had both been revealed.

The above principles point to the fact that the revelation of the Virgin Mary was a presupposition to the revelation of Christ. This is the theme that Cabasilas stresses in the following chapter, ch. seventeen, and, in doing this, he uses an interesting parallelism between Adam and Eve on the one hand and Christ and the Virgin on the other. Just as Eve was Adam's only helper amongst all the rest of the creatures, so the Virgin was God's only helper for the revelation of his goodness.

Furthermore, Cabasilas stresses the point that the Virgin was to God not a mere instrument but an assistant, a

co-operator (συνεργός), for the revelation of himself. God waited for her appearance in order to appear himself. As Cabasilas characteristically puts it: "As soon as the Virgin was manifested, he too manifested himself completely". ("ἐνεὶ ἡ Παρθένοσ ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς παντάπασιν δῆλοσ ἦν"),⁽³³⁾ or, just as the sun shines clearly only through a pure atmosphere, so does the First Light shine through the pure Virgin. This really means that the fullness of time came, not when God decided in his sovereign independence, but when the tree of human freedom, originally planted by him at the creation, produced the expected fruit. Man's role in bringing about the fullness of time is as essential as that of God, not because man is on a par with God, but because God has made him to be his free partner.

II.8. Conclusion: The meaning and implications of the Virgin's achievement for the whole of humanity

The last chapter is a rich and magnificent eulogy, a superb hymn to the holy Virgin the Theotokos, which recapitulates the preceding teaching and brings out the joyful meaning of the Feast of her Nativity, which rests upon the unique human person and human achievement of the holy Virgin Theotokos:

"Celebrating, therefore, with every joy, brightened we come to this bright Day on which everything has its beginning. It is the Birth of the Virgin, or rather, of the

entire Ecumene; the first and only Day that saw the true human being, from whom all other human beings came to learn that it is possible to them to be true.

Now is the moment when the earth is rendering its pure fruit (Ps. 66:7), whereas for all the rest of its time it has been bringing up this corruption of sin through thorns and tares.

Now is the moment when the heavens are learning that they were not created in vain, and all this, because the person for whom they were made has appeared; this is the moment when the sun is seeing that creature on account of which it received the light.

Now is the moment when the whole creation is perceiving itself to be the best and the brightest, because the common beauty has shined.

Now all the Angels of God are praising and singing to their Master with a great voice (Job 38:7) - all the more so now than when he adorned the heavens with the circle of the stars, inasmuch as the One who is now rising is higher and brighter than any star and more profitable for the whole world.

Now the human nature is receiving an active eye, having come to this Day in a state of blindness. For as it happened

later to that person who was born blind, so it is now happening with that nature which had been wondering astray and falling off, when God is showing his mercy on it and ingrafting into it this wondrous eye; and thus humanity can see what through many prophets and kings she desired to see from a distance but was not able (Matth. 13:17). For just as there are many parts and members within one body, but none of them, except the eye, has been adapted to see the sun, so of all the human beings that have been made it is only to the pure Virgin that the true light has been entrusted and through her to all of them.

There is, then, an unceasing praise which is being offered to her by the two creations and every tongue is praising her virtues with one voice, while all human beings join the choirs of the Angels in offering constant hymns to the Mother of God. To all these we too add what we have sung here, shorter than what we ought to have sung and ought to have been ready for, shorter also than what we were ready for and were able to sing.

But there is so much that one ought to sing here! Yet, to You, the Most-praiseworthy human being, and to your philanthropy and magnificence, belongs the privilege not to measure the grace by anything that is ours. And just as You, being exempted from the rest of humanity and becoming a gift to God, have adorned all human beings, so grant to us, through these words which we have dedicated to you, that

the treasury of words, our very heart, may be sanctified and the ground of our soul may be rendered barren for every evil; through the grace and philanthropy of your only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom belongs all glory, honour and adoration, together with his Father who is without beginning and the all-holy and good and life-giving Spirit, now and ever and in the ages of the ages, AMEN".(34)

What clearly emerges from this Oration is that the holy Virgin occupies a unique place in the plan of salvation which is to be understood in terms of her true relationship to God, i.e. her purity and sinlessness. This uniqueness is fundamentally connected with the human nature, as God created it, and especially with its God-given potentiality. It represents the fulfilment of this potentiality. As such it constitutes the summit of human achievement, which is distinguished from, but also related to, those other achievements of humanity - those contained in and constitutive of the sacred history, the history of salvation.

Furthermore the uniqueness of the Virgin mother of Christ is to be understood as the fulness of human time, which, far from undermining the uniqueness of God as God, does, as a matter of fact, serve the revelation of the divine uniqueness. This includes God's taking the form of the servant, because the servant has freely offered herself to him for it and, therefore, his gracing of the creaturely time, which he

created, with his own eternity and his blessing of his creature with his Godhead. This mighty deed of God is identical with the person and work of Jesus Christ, which, in Cabasilas' perspective, remains truly human and truly divine because of the truly human Theotokos. The more Cabasilas praises the humanity of the Theotokos, the more he acknowledges the Divine-human reality of Christ the Redeemer and Saviour. Here is a theological perspective which does not have a view of salvation which relies on God the Redeemer apart from God the Creator and does not leave any room for any arbitrary, unfree, coordination of God with his creature who has been made in his own image and likeness, rational and free. In this perspective the exaltation of humanity is fully and utterly linked with the exaltation of God. It is the perspective of theological, indeed Christian, humanism.

III. THE ORATION ON THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE THEOTOKOS

III.1. The Oration and its contents: an overview

It is not surprising that Cabasilas' second Oration on the Theotokos presents many similarities, as far as its theological content goes, with that of the previous Oration. Yet there is in this new Oration both new material and further clarification, not least because of the new context, the Feast of the Annunciation. The fact, however, that the Person of the Theotokos occupies the centre of this context, as it does in that of the previous Oration, ensures a fundamental continuity. This will become apparent once we have outlined and analyzed the contents of this Oration. A careful reading of the Oration reveals the following broad outline:

It all opens with the theme of "joy" and "rejoicing" as a result of the Feast of the Annunciation and especially of its content. The "human joy" as the right and proper response to the Feast comes first and then the author moves on to the similar themes of the "joy of God" and the "joy of the Virgin" before the first chapter comes to a close. The second chapter continues along the same line of rejoicing as it explains the work, or achievement, of the Theotokos.

With chapter three one enters into the substance of the Oration, which is the exposition of the meaning of the Feast, or of the event which is commemorated by it. Here the theme

of joy gives way to the theme of the "Virgin's mediation" in the work of salvation and especially to what is basic to it, her "sinlessness", without which salvation would not have been realised. Thus the holy Virgin's "role" and "contribution" to the moment and to the actual event of God's approach and union with humanity is duly noted. Chapter four naturally leads on from this to the more precise clarification of the role of the Virgin in the Economy of God's Incarnation, focusing on her "faith" and her "ministry" which are fully exposed by means of a contrast between her and Eve. That brings the flow of the discourse to another chapter (ch. 5) which deals with the typical theme of Cabasilas - typical in the sense that we found it at crucial points in his previous Oration - the theme of the Virgin's conscious and freely chosen synergy with the gracious God. This is expounded by a close examination of the biblical data on the event of the Annunciation and, especially, the conversation which the holy Virgin had had with God's Archangel. Exactly the same theme and procedure are employed in chapter six and then the discourse moves away from the biblical data to an examination of their deeper anthropological and theological implications. Chapter seven takes up the theme of the preparation of the holy Virgin, which is reminiscent of what Cabasilas said in the first Oration concerning the perfection of the Virgin's soul through the consistent pursuit of virtue.

From chapter eight to the end the discourse moves to another plane. Here the focus is not the Virgin as such but

the wider anthropological implications of her preparation for and entry into the Divine challenge of the Incarnation which are expounded in terms of man's creation and God's economy. Chapter nine represents an attempt to explain the logic - literally the "justice" or "rightness" - of the Incarnation, both from the point of view of the Creator and the point of view of the holy Virgin. And finally chapter ten provides a most fitting conclusion to this Oration by praising the results, or the consequences, of the event of the Incarnation which is the very heart of the Feast envisaged by the Oration.

Clearly, then, this Oration can be divided into three main sections. There is first the introduction which evolves around the theme of joy caused by the joyful event which is commemorated by the Feast (chs. 1-2). Then, there is a section which examines various fundamental aspects of the Virgin's role in this event (chs. 3-7). And finally there is the section that places the event in the wider perspective of Creation and Redemption (chs. 8-10). We may now turn to a more precise analysis of the contents of this Oration focusing attention on those statements which seem to have particular significance in clarifying and even supplementing the insights of Cabasilas which have been discovered in the previous Oration.

III.2. The Virgin's joy and achievement

After an opening paragraph of superb literary style and lyric character, extoling the joy of the Feast, Cabasilas links the theme of joy first to the Creator and then to Creation in general and to the Virgin in particular. The Creator, he says, who, since the foundation of Creation has been accustomed to rejoicing at all the gifts which he richly and constantly confers upon his creatures, has now come to the point of rejoicing at what he receives from them, however little this may seem. He becomes little as he empties himself in order to receive little and rejoice in it. In doing this he makes Creation rejoice with him as she realizes his presence in her midst. Above all, however, it is the Virgin that rejoices at all this. In fact Cabasilas links her rejoicing to five reasons: that she participates in what is given to all (1st), that she was given it all before all others (2nd) and that, to a greater measure (3rd); that it was through her that all this was given to all the others (4th) and, finally, that she actively and personally contributed to all this (5th).

Chapter two picks up this last reason for the Virgin's rejoicing and explains its real content. The Virgin is not passive in this instance, as the earth was at the moment of Creation, when God took it up and shaped man. She is actively involved in that she offered to the Creator all those things which she worked out within her and which the Creator needed before stretching his creative hand. These

are: an "all-blameless contact", an "all-pure life", the "rejection of all evil", the "cultivation of every virtue", a "soul purer than light", a "body that was utterly spiritual", "brighter than the sun", "purer than heaven", "more sacred than the cherubic thrones", a "mind that could fly to any height without fear", and "could surpass even the heights of the Angels", a "divine eros which absorbed and assimilated every other desire of the soul", a "property of God", a "union with God which cannot enter into any human thought".⁽¹⁾ All these, says Cabasilas, are virtues relating to the body and the soul of the Virgin's humanity and represent her personal achievement. It was precisely this personal achievement that attracted God's attention. It was this personal beauty, which she achieved by her personal efforts, that demonstrated the goodness of the common human nature and made the impassible One to draw near to us and become a human being. Indeed God became man on account of the Virgin, even though he was hated by men on account of their sin.

The significance of the Virgin's human quality in the event of the Incarnation of God is further extoled in chapter three. Here Cabasilas argues that in her "there was no middle wall of enmity" (μεσότοιχον τῆς ἔχθρας, Eph. 2:14), no "partition" (φραγμός), because in her everything that stood as an obstacle between humanity and God had been abolished. Indeed there was peace in her long before her conjunction with God. She never had to offer any sacrifices, because she stood from

the beginning at the head of the chorus of the friends of God. And all this was achieved for the sake of others. Indeed, she was a sort of "Paraclete before the Paraclete" (πρὸ τοῦ Παρακλητοῦ Παράκλητος)⁽²⁾ not by raising her hands to God in prayer but rather by offering to God her own life. Continuing on this theme Cabasilas describes the Virgin in terms of Noah's Ark and of the Paradise that was not lost, and eloquently argues that none of the consequences of human sin and fall ever touched the holy Virgin. This is precisely, he says, the positive contribution of the Virgin towards the moment when God "bent the heavens and came to humanity". She prepared herself from the moment of her birth to the moment of the Annunciation as a palace for the heavenly King. She became a fitting royal city where the heavenly king established his kingdom.

III.3. The Virgin's faith, free consent and active role in the Incarnation of God's Logos

In chapter four Cabasilas discusses the particular contribution of the Virgin at the moment of the Annunciation. Here again her role was a positive one, "inasmuch as she believed in what was announced to her and consented to the task of undertaking the ministry which God asked of her" (πιστεύσασα καὶ συνθεμένη, καὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἀνελομένη) - something which was absolutely necessary if our salvation was to be achieved (τούτων γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν ἐκ παντὸς ἐδέησε τρόπου).⁽³⁾ Cabasilas states

this even more boldly. "Had the Virgin not done that, i.e. to have believed and to have consented to the divine announcement, there would have been no hope left for humanity. God would not have looked upon us with favour and would not have come to our rescue. His will would not have been accomplished had the Virgin not believed and not consented to the proposed ministry (οὔτε μὴ πιστευσάσης καὶ συνθεμένης τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήν ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἔργον οἷόν τε ἦν).⁽⁴⁾ It was her consent, then, rather than the announcement of the greeting, the *Χαῖρε κεχοριτωμένη*, of the Angel that brought about the saving event of the Incarnation.

Cabasilas elaborates further the significance of the faith in and the consent to the event of the Incarnation of the holy Virgin by comparing her role in the creation of the Second Adam to the role of the first Adam in the creation of Eve. In the case of Eve the first Adam was put to sleep which means that his role was purely passive. In the case of the Second Adam God had to wait for the faith and the consent of the Virgin. Indeed not only the case of Eve but also the case of Adam himself was totally one of God's decision. The case, however, of the Second Adam required the free participation of the Virgin in the divine decision (τῆς περὶ τούτου, τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδάμ, γνώμης κοινωνόν τὴν Παρθένον λαμβάνει).⁽⁵⁾ In other words, as Cabasilas says, "that great Counsel of God, as Isaiah calls him, was of course announced by God but was ratified by the Virgin" (εἶπε μὲν ὁ Θεός, ἐκύρωσεν δὲ ἡ Παρθένος). "Thus the Incarnation of the Logos was not only

the work of the Father, who was well-pleased, and of his Power, who overshadowed, and of the Spirit who sojourned, but also of the will (τῆς θελήσεως) and the faith (τῆς πίστεως) of the Virgin. For just as without them (the Trinity) this decision (γνώμη) could neither have been made, nor be offered to men, so without the offering of the will and the faith of the all-pure Virgin (τῆς πανάγνου τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὴν πίστιν εἰσενεγκούσης) the divine Counsel could not possibly have been accomplished".(6)

Chapter five continues the development of the same theme, as we have already noted, stressing the willful and conscious involvement of the Theotokos in the Incarnation and generally the free cooperation of the divine and the human. Here Cabasilas supplies such explicit and bold statements that he leaves no doubt as to his conviction about the necessity of the active and freely chosen role of the pure and sinless Virgin in the Incarnation. Such, he says, was the case of the Incarnation, that "God borrowed the flesh from a human being who both wanted to lend it to him and knew why she did it, so that as he was freely conceived so his mother might equally freely become such". It is crucial, then, to stress that "she freely conceived, and she freely became a mother exercising of her own free will." Or, putting it otherwise, "it was necessary that she should accomplish the economy of salvation not simply by being moved from outside, but by freely offering herself for it, becoming a co-worker (συνεργός) with God concerning his providence for the human race."

Particularly interesting here is Cabasilas' argument that, since the Saviour was to take up, and did actually do so, the whole of the human nature, not only the body but also the soul, the Virgin's involvement ought to have been not only bodily but also psychological, involving, that is, her mind (νοῦν) and will (θέλησιν) and whatever else belongs to the human psychology and, generally, nature. Thus the conscious (psychological) and full (both psychological and bodily) participation of the holy Virgin in the Incarnation is a necessary corollary to the completeness or integrity of the humanity of Christ.⁽⁷⁾ Cabasilas' insistence at this point exposes the deeper soteriological perspective of his doctrine, the fact that salvation is not merely the result of an arbitrary Divine act, but of a Divine act which is coordinated with that human act which was originally designed by him at man's creation. The Incarnation, far from setting aside the integrity of creation and especially of the human creaturely nature, does in fact constitute the occasion of its fulfilment and revelation. This is especially brought out in Cabasilas' insistence "that God acted in this way because he wanted to bring out the virtue of the Virgin" (τοῦ Θεοῦ δεῖξαι βουλομένου τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς Παρθένου).⁽⁸⁾ As he tries to explain, this is the deeper meaning of the details of the Annunciation story and especially of the questions which the holy Virgin put to the Angel. These details prove the virtue of the Virgin and bring out the freedom which characterizes both her and God.

There is a lot more material to this chapter which is quite repetitive and there is no need, therefore, to analyze it in any length here. It would suffice, perhaps, to point out that it all amounts to an overwhelming emphasis on the freedom and the free decision of the Virgin to be involved in the challenge of the Annunciation. Cabasilas leaves no doubt as to his belief that the integrity (divine and human) of the Incarnation and of the free divine act goes *pari passu* with the (human) integrity of the Virgin and her free human act.

This is exactly what chapter six brings out as it provides Cabasilas' reflection on the conversation of the Virgin with the Angel, on the witness of Elizabeth and on the relation of Eve to Adam as his helper. The Virgin asked the Angel about the "how" of his announcement not because she was not ready to accept it, but in order to show that it presented a real challenge to her - a challenge which she met with faith when the Angel presented her with the free decision of God. It is precisely this free response of faith of the holy Virgin to the divine challenge that constitutes for Cabasilas the essential meaning of Elizabeth's witness - that "Blessed is she who believed that there would be a fulfilment of what was spoken to her from the Lord", "μακαρία ἡ πιστεύουσα ὅτι ἔσται τελείωσις τοῖς λελαλημένοις αὐτῇ παρὰ Κυρίου" (Luke 1:45). Finally the coordination of Eve with Adam as his helper points to a similar coordination between the Virgin and the Logos vis-à-vis the Creation. Just as all things were made for Adam and

yet there was no helper to him before Eve's appearance, somewhat similarly all things were made for the Creator Logos and yet there no one in whom he could find rest until the Virgin came and made herself his dwelling place.

III.4. The Virgin's preparation for the Incarnation as the means of humanity's preparation for God

Chapter seven is given, as it has been already noted, to the preparation of the Virgin for the moment of the Annunciation and the ensuing Incarnation. Here Cabasilas repeats a lot of what he said in his previous Oration concerning the soul of the Virgin and especially her cultivation of virtue. He compares her to Job in order to show her consistency and fixing of her vision to the future promise. He uses the metaphor of the Bridal chamber and the Bridegroom seeing the former as a symbol of the latter. He also explains that she was not forewarned about the moment of the Annunciation, because she had already arrived within herself at that moment by reaching the summit of virtue. Her arrival at that summit of perfection is demonstrated by the fact that she was chosen by the Creator out of the entire human nature.

Chapter eight opens with a statement concerning the choice of the Virgin as the best possible one in an absolute sense and thus provides the logical link with the previous chapter. But then, it subjects the theme of the perfection of

the Virgin to the widest possible expansion by linking it with the perfection of humanity in general. The Virgin's perfection is in fact the perfection of humanity, the perfect expression of it, what humanity was working towards since its creation, in order to fulfil its destiny and become worthy to minister to the Creator's ultimate purpose. It had to become an approved or perfect instrument (*ὄργανον*) before it was used by him, says Cabasilas, and proceeds to draw a distinction between God's proper use of instruments in accordance with their nature and man's misuse of instruments in his cultivation of the arts.

What Cabasilas actually stresses here is the fact that human nature was from the beginning made by God in such a way that it would be possible to it to give him a mother, which, in turn, means, that human nature had to come up with such a possible mother. It is this expectation, says Cabasilas, that makes humanity the best possible of all creatures, because it answers to the purpose of the Creator and honours him by fulfilling his aspiration. It also confirms human optimism, inasmuch as such an expectation was designed by God as a real possibility which could not ultimately be frustrated, especially if one considered that God was directing it to this end by his providence. By turning to the artists, builders, tailors, shoe-makers and such like, who often have to use and adapt awkward materials, Cabasilas wants to support his optimism for humanity in the light of the Creator's providence and economy for his creatures. God

he says has not left the providence of his creation, i.e. the care which can lead it to the fulfilment of its destiny, to anybody else, but took it to himself to lead everything to its perfect end. It is in this kind of light that one should understand the arrival of the Virgin at the moment of the Annunciation and the event of the Incarnation. To see it in this way is to perceive its proper logic, its "rightness". That is exactly what chapter nine is taken up with.

III.5. The Divine-human justice of the Incarnation

The moment of the Annunciation marks the concurrence of "the most just governor of the universe" (πρῦτανης ὁ δίκαιότατος) and "the most appropriate servant" (διάκονος ἐπικαιρότατος) or "most perfect of the works of the Creator of the all the ages" (ἔργον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀπάντων τὸ κάλλιστον).⁽⁹⁾ This makes possible the maintenance of the harmony and the absolute concordance at every level of the human and the divine. Thus it is "just" that the greatest event/work should occur. Just for God and just for the Creation which was represented by the holy Virgin. It was just for her to bring forth her divine Son by giving him her humanity, as it was equally just that the divine Son should be born through her by taking on her human nature. The only difference is that the just act of God is the just reward for the just act of the Virgin (ἔδει μὴ τὴν ἀντίρροπον ἀμοιβὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ φυλάξει τάξιν αὐτῆς).⁽¹⁰⁾

As Cabasilas also expresses it, "it was a gift, entirely fitting and possible to happen to the one who was blessed for all" (οὕτως οἰκεῖον ἦν καὶ συμβαῖνον τῇ μακαρίᾳ τοῖς ὅλοις τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον).(11) Thus, in this light, one can fully appreciate, says Cabasilas, why to the Angel's announcement that "He will reign over the house of Jacob in the ages and that His kingdom will have no end" (Luke 1:13) the most fitting and potent answer could only be the holy Virgin's "Behold the servant of the Lord, let it be done to me according to Thy word" (Luke 1:38).

III.6. The results of the Divine-human concurrence at the Incarnation

The final chapter lists the results and describes in eulogistic ways the perfect event of that perfect concurrence:

"These things she said and the work followed the words. And the Logos became flesh and dwelt amongst us (John 1:14). As soon as the Virgin offered her reply to God, she immediately received from him the Spirit who created that flesh that was joined to God. Her voice was a "voice of power," as David called it (Ps. 67:34). Thus the Creator is created by the voice of the creature. Just as in the case when God said "Let there be light" and "immediately there was light", so when the Virgin uttered her voice, the true Light arose and was united with the human flesh and he "who enlightens every man that comes into the world" was

conceived in a womb.

Oh sacred voice! Oh words which caused such a great deed! Oh blessed tongue, which recalled all at once the whole ecumene from the exile! Oh treasure of a pure soul which, with its few words, distributed to us such a multitude of goods! Because these words transformed the earth into heaven and emptied Hell freeing its captives. They made heaven to be inhabited by men and by bringing the Angels so close to men they combined the heavenly and the human beings into a unified chorus surrounding him who being God also became man.

For these words of yours what kind of thanksgiving could be worthy to be offered to you by us? How can we proclaim you of whom nothing among men could be worthy? Because our words are earthy, whereas you surpassed all the summits of the world. If, then, there is a need that words of praise should be offered to you, this, I think, could only be the work of Angels, of cherubic mind, of fiery tongues. Thus, we, who have recounted as far as we were able your achievements and praised you, our salvation, as far as our power allowed, are seeking now to find an angelic voice. And thus conclude our own Oration with Gabriel's: "Rejoice You who is full of grace, the Lord is with You"! But grant to us, Oh Virgin, not only to speak about the things that bring honour and glory to Him and to You who bore Him, but also to apply them to our life. Prepare us thus to become his dwelling

places because to Him belongs the glory in the ages,
AMEN."(12)

III.7. A comparison of this Oration to the previous one.

There is not much in this Oration which does not appear in the previous one. Yet it now seems clearer what Cabasilas understands by the uniqueness of the holy Virgin. It is certainly connected with her sinlessness - a sinlessness which she worked out, not because of any supernatural assistance, nor because she was predestined by a divine decree, but because of her own free effort. But it is also connected with her free response in faith and consent to God's challenge at the crucial moment of the Annunciation. It is in fact this moment that retrospectively sheds light into the significance of her birth. It is her right free choice at the right moment of God's approach that reveals for Cabasilas the righteousness of her life, her preparation, her acquisition of perfect virtue.

Still there is more light in this Oration on Cabasilas' understanding of the sinlessness and perfection of the Virgin. There is the clear point that it does not stand over against humanity, inasmuch as it represents the fulfilment of its potentiality - a potentiality which was ingrafted into it by the Creator. It is the revelation of what was hidden in, but inherent, to human nature. Thus, if it is a summit that stands above all other human summits, it is in fact their summit, the

summit of their nature. This is why when she opens the gates of heaven for herself, she actually opens them for all and, when she brings the Saviour into herself she actually brings him into all.

Finally this Oration clearly shows that salvation requires not only a Divine but also a human act. This human act is revealed by the Virgin who consummates the history of salvation, who stands at the summit of the friends of God, the saint of the saints of Israel. Without such an act the divine act is not only arbitrary but also meaningless and, ultimately, contradictory. God does not act against us or despite us, but with us and for us, when we too are with him and for him. This is because as Redeemer he cannot go against himself as Creator.

And thus we come to the most crucial point, Cabasilas' perception of Christ. His view of the Virgin not only confirms the integrity of Christ's true and sinless humanity and its true and irrevocable union with his divinity in his eternal person against the heretical insight of Apollinarianism, but also renders unnecessary the kind of split between the human and the divine in Christ which the heresy of Nestorianism implies. Here there is obvious scope for further fruitful reflection, but this goes beyond the boundaries of this thesis. It does however, commend Cabasilas' doctrine as one that is as challenging as it is profound and far-reaching.

IV. THE ORATION ON THE FALLING-ASLEEP OF THE THEOTOKOS

IV.1. The Oration and its contents: an overview

According to Nellas this Oration expounds the consequences of the central thesis which was defended in the two preceding Orations. It has a distinct cosmological dimension, which - given Cabasilas' general theological mentality and vision - must be understood as being ecclesiological. We shall return to this general judgment once we have outlined and analyzed the contents of this Oration as we did in the previous two cases. But at the moment we may note with great interest and anticipation Nellas' perception.

The Oration begins in a similar way as the first, indicating the difficulty of the author to deal adequately with the subject and giving the reasons which prompt him to do so, the main one being the praiseworthiness of the holy Virgin (ch. 1). The following chapter (ch. 2) picks up this main reason and attempts to elaborate it by showing how whatever has been great and beneficial to humanity is ultimately related to the holy Virgin. The third chapter continues on the same lines elaborating the theme of the holy Virgin as the "fruit of the new creation", who has brought about a fundamental change in the order of things, divine, creaturely, human and angelic. Chapter four elaborates another similar theme which identifies the Virgin with the "new heaven and the new earth."

With chapter five a new section begins. Here the author

presents the utter inadequacy, or even total inability, of humanity to achieve what the Virgin achieved, because of its fall, and explains what the just requirements from the human side were, which would make possible a just intervention of God for the salvation of humanity. Chapter six shows how these requirements were actually met by the "wonderful justice" (righteousness) of the holy Virgin and how she contributed to the work of the Saviour almost in every aspect of it. The same soteriological dimension in the person and work of the Virgin is expounded in chapter seven, which concentrates on the notion of the "blood of the Virgin as the Saviour's garment". Such an intimate and, indeed, unique association of the Virgin with the Saviour raises the question of her status vis-á-vis the rest of humanity. Thus chapter eight discusses the holy Virgin's relation to and distinction from other human beings.

Chapter eight also marks the transition to a new section which deals with the Virgin's unique holiness. The author begins with the theme of the singular holiness of the Virgin and its relation to that of the Saviour. This theme is further expounded in the following chapter (ch. 9), where the holiness of Mary is compared to and exalted above that of the holy Angels and of the Saints. Thus we reach the first hint of the main thrust of the Oration in chapter ten, which involves her "spiritual body" and her "wondrous and unfailing virtue" as achievements already complete before her assumption which followed her falling asleep.

With chapter eleven a new theme emerges. Here the author explains that the holy Virgin's perfection and blessedness was actually due to her unique participation in the sufferings of Christ. At the same time it is also explained that, inasmuch as she had to, as it were, participate in all the experiences of her Son, she was bound to become participant not only of his humiliation and suffering, but also of his exaltation and glorification. It is at this point (ch. 12) that we reach the climax of the Oration, which is the bodily assumption of the holy Virgin into the realm of her Son's resurrection. The concluding chapter is naturally an outburst of praise for and wonder at the magnificent position of the holy Virgin in the whole scheme of salvation. We may now turn to a more close examination of these data.

IV.2. The greatness and praiseworthiness of the Virgin

As in the previous Orations, so here Cabasilas begins by expressing his difficulty in undertaking to deal with his topic, mainly because he is very much aware, as he says, of the greatness of the holy Virgin, which exceeds all human thought and expectation. His diffidence, however, is overcome by the thought that, even if inadequate, his exposition is a debt which he owes to others, especially because the matter touches on the "common good" (τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν) and has to do with salvation. It is a challenge (ἀγών), then, which he is to try to meet, following others, who valiently fought this

battle before him and who, though fully aware of the difficulty, did attempt to do what they did, because they knew full well that the holy Virgin is praiseworthy, not only since she was born, but also before she was given to humanity.

In the second chapter he argues that the prophetic messages of the ancient Prophets were in fact praises to the holy Virgin and that whatever was venerable (σεμνόν) among the ancient Hebrews, such as the Tent, the Ark, the Camps of Moses, etc., actually symbolized "the miracle of the Virgin" (τῆς Παρθένου τὸ θαῦμα). But he goes even further; he argues that whatever praise was ever attributed to particular human beings, or to the human race in general, should be ultimately counted to the Virgin's credit (πάντας μὲν οὖν ἐπαίνους ὅσοι ἕσθησαν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἴ τις τὸ γένος ἐπήνεσεν ἢ καθ' ἕκαστα τῇ Παρθένῳ λογιστέον ἂν εἶη).⁽¹⁾ Indeed, for Cabasilas "there is no good, whether small or great, which the "new mother" (ἡ καινὴ μήτηρ) and the "new birth" (ὁ καινὸς τόκος) did not introduce. This applies, of course, not only to the period which followed her birth, but also to the period which preceded it. It is so, says Cabasilas, because everything that we do, has only one ultimate aim: "that we may gain God" (ἵνα θεὸν πλουτίσωμεν), which is the end of all the goods for us; but if this was not possible apart from the Virgin's graces (gifts), then everything should be related to her and should be the cause of all the praises that are attributed to

humans" (αἰτίαν εἶναι τῷ γένει καὶ πᾶσαν εὐφημίαν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρεσθαι μόνην).(2)

That Cabasilas' argument is retrospective becomes clear in his use of the metaphor of the tree and its fruit. Just as the former exists on account of the latter so the goodness, magnificence and harmony in the universe exist because of the Virgin. In other words, whatever virtue or praise exists in the created realm, should be exclusively credited to the Virgin. When God, then, said to the Creation which he had created, that it was "very good", he was actually referring this as an encomium to the holy Virgin.

IV.3. The Virgin: Fruit of Creation, New Heaven, New Earth

In chapter three Cabasilas further explains why the Virgin is the "fruit of creation". It is because she is, from the human side, principally responsible for the renewal of creation and, especially, for the recreation and regeneration of human beings. She brought them to heaven through making the new man, the King of heaven, inhabitant of the earth. This would not have happened, had she not been a "new flower of righteousness" (νέον δικαιοσύνης ἄνθος), as opposed to "the old fruit of sin" (τὸν παλαιὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας καρπὸν).(3) The essence of this renewal is the abolition of the process of growing old (τὸ γῆρας) and being subjected to corruption and death. It is a liberation which embraces not only humanity but heaven and earth, a liberation which had

had the first born from the dead as its ransom, thanks to the holy Virgin who introduced him.

These thoughts are expounded by Cabasilas on the basis of several Biblical Christological texts, including Romans 8:22, Ps. 103:13 Ps. 16:15 and Matthew 13:17. They lead him to recall the hopelessness into which the Creation had been subjected on account of the human fall and the radical change for which the holy Virgin was responsible. "She gave the Creation the possibility to recover its happiness. She fulfilled humanity's greatest and deepest desire to be united with the only desirable One, beyond whom there is nothing else to be desired. And she united him with us so intimately, that he became our participant not only in the manner and place of our life but also in our own nature".⁽⁴⁾ So great was this liberation that its effects embraced even the Angels, who, thereby, were given the possibility to become "wiser and purer, perceiving God's goodness and wisdom far better than before" (σφαιτέραις ἑαυτῶν παρέσχε καὶ καθαρωτέραις γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν σφίαν ἄμεινον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰδέναι).⁽⁵⁾ Cabasilas finds the basis of this point in Apostle Paul's teaching and especially in his Eph. 3:10 and Rom. 11:33 which he cites together. Thus he concludes that the holy Virgin constituted "the eyes", so to speak, or "the light" through which everyone saw the truth. "She alone became the guide to every soul and mind leading it to the truth of God" (καθάπερ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἢ φωτὸς τῆς μακαρίας πάντες κατεῖδον. Μόνη γὰρ ἡγεμὼν ὑπῆρξε πάση ψυχῇ καὶ νῶ τῆς περὶ θεὸν ἀλη-

θε(ας).(6)

In chapter four Cabasilas continues to stress the radical change and renewal which the Virgin introduced into the world, using the theme of "new heaven and new earth", which he borrows from the Scriptures and especially from Isaiah 65:17. His opening statement affirms that, "She created a new heaven and a new earth, or rather, she is the new earth and the new heaven". She is "new earth" (καινή γῆ), because she is different from those human beings who preceded her, to the extent that she constitutes a "new leaven" (φύρομα νέον), a leaven that gave rise to a "new race" (νέον γένος). She is "new heaven", because she has escaped the process of growing old and has risen above every corruption. She is indeed "a sort of surpassing and alien earth and heaven" both physically and spiritually, because "she was raised above the earth (τῆς γῆς ἀνέσχε) and surpassed heaven in purity and magnitude" (τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ὑπερέβη καὶ καθαρότητι καὶ μεγέθει). This last point can be appreciated, says Cabasilas, when one considers that she had had as inhabitant (ἔνοικον) the One whom the heavens cannot contain - hence greater in magnitude; that she remained intact in revealing what torn the heavens asunder (Cf. Mark 1:10) - hence greater in purity; that she became the means for us to rise to God where the heavens remained an obstacle; and that she experienced to a greater measure that peace which St Paul regarded as surpassing every mind (Phil. 4:7) because of the descent of the Spirit on her (Luke 1:35) and the indwelling in

her of the Saviour who surpasses every place. Furthermore Cabasilas retorts to Ps. 113:24, Job 15:15 Song of S. 4:7, 1:15 and 4:1 to explain why the Virgin is "the heaven of the heavens to the Lord" (οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ) because of her purity and beauty (righteousness).⁽⁷⁾

The conclusion to the whole argument of this chapter is given in the opening sentence of chapter five where it serves to make a contrast between the Virgin and the rest of humanity and thus to introduce the new theme: the reasons for the inadequacy of humanity and the method of overcoming it. It was precisely this pure or "heavenly" quality of the Virgin, says Cabasilas, that made humanity worthy of being united with God and of sharing in his life and turned the earth into a place where the Saviour could stay. That quality, however, was lost to the rest of humanity because of their fall.

IV.4. The problem of humanity and the Virgin's contribution

Chapter five recounts the story of humanity's universal lapse into sin beginning with Ps. 13:3. It was like a "torrent" (ῥεῦμα) which could not be reversed, in spite of the repeated efforts of priests, prophets and other men of righteousness, who themselves did not escape injury but ended up in Hades like everybody else. The Angels too were unable, though willing, to help, because of the magnitude of sin, which Cabasilas describes in terms of Ps. 13:2. It was like a

sickness which spread to the entire body of humanity.

The problem for God, who wanted to intervene, was the lack of human response, which was necessary if his gifts were to be granted in a just manner (Ἐβούλετο μὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, φιλόανθρωπος ὢν, οὐκ εἶχε δὲ οἷς ἂν ὑπάρξαι τῶν χαρίτων δικαίως).(8) Cabasilas explains what he means by this "just manner" (δικαίως) by drawing a distinction between two laws of divine justice (νόμους θεῶς δικαιοσύνης), relating to God's granting of benefits to humanity. There is first "the law of divine justice, whereby God may supply benefits which improve our nature, even when we are unwilling to receive them".(9) But there is also "the law which does not allow God to supply benefits which relate to human will (θέλησιν) and disposition (προαίρεσιν) - through which God comes inside us and we receive the pledge of the heavenly peace and which are so great that they surpass every human hope - to everyone indiscriminately, but only to those who happened to have contributed to the common end" (ὅσοις ὑπῆρξε προεισενέγκαι τὴν γιγνομένην συντέλειαν).(10) This means, as Cabasilas explains, that "what was required for God's intervention was a human righteousness (ἔδει τινός ἀνθρωπίνης δικαιοσύνης), which would be not only the reverse of the human vice (ἀντιρόπος), but also of a far greater power (καὶ οὖν θαυμαστῇ τῇ προσθήκῃ), a power that would destroy the shame caused by sin, cancel out the evil work of the enemy, the Devil, and freely turn to God for help".(11) This is exactly what the holy Virgin supplied, and this is what the

following chapter explains.

In chapter six Cabasilas expounds the contribution of the holy Virgin. She offered that "wondrous righteousness for the sake of the entire world" (τὴν θαυμαστὴν ταύτην δικαιοσύνην ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου παντός), "thus herself cleansing the entire human race instead of purificatory and expiatory sacrifices".(12) She transferred to the whole body of humanity her own brilliancy (αὐγή) like a light or fire, or like the physical sun which illumines all things and brings out their true splendour. She brought out that righteousness of which humanity was capable and which "justified all men" as St Paul put it in relation to the Saviour". Thus the Virgin was "a sort of substance, or treasure, or source, as it were, of the holiness of all human beings". This is why she was allowed to remain in the Sanctuary and to offer a purificatory sacrifice before the great Victim offered himself for the benefit of the whole race. Just as the Saviour entered into the Holy of Holies as a forerunner of the whole humanity according to Hebr. 6:20, so did the Virgin become a forerunner of the Saviour by her entering into the inner Sanctuary and offering herself to the Father. Undoubtedly, says Cabasilas, it is Jesus who absolutely reconciled humanity to the Father by dying on the Cross. Yet, the blessed Virgin also contributed to this reconciliation to the extent that she offered what was necessary for bringing down the Governor (τὸν ἄρμοστήν) amongst the people, making him their brother and the ambassador who would stand before God on their behalf

claiming their salvation.

IV.5. The roles of the Virgin and her Son in Salvation

Cabasilas offers here an extensive account of the distinctive roles in and contributions to our salvation of the Virgin and her Divine Son. The difference lies in the fact that she is only human, even though she is able to exhibit in herself to the greatest degree that virtue which unites humanity with God, whereas he is both Divine and human in his very being. She is alone among human beings in presenting to God a humanity which is worthy of his intervention and further blessing - hence the divine acclamation of the Angel that she is "full of grace". He is alone in dealing justly with our debts, in suffering for our sins and in justifying humanity before the righteous and holy God. Though the role of the Virgin is a unique one when compared to the rest of humanity, the role of her Son is unique in an absolute way, because it is understood in relation to both his human Mother and his divine Father. Yet these unique roles are intimately connected.⁽¹³⁾

It is in chapter seven that Cabasilas expounds further the intimate connection between the roles of the Virgin and her Divine Son in the economy of salvation. He does this by using the metaphors of the "altar", the "sacrifice", the "blood" and the "garment of salvation". All these are applied to the Virgin but in a new way which is contrasted to that of the Old Tes-

tament. But their application rests upon a Christological foundation, i.e. upon the intimate connection between the Virgin Mother and the Divine Saviour. Thus she is a "new altar", typified by the altar of the ancient Temple, but far greater than the latter in that she is not overshadowed by Cherubim but by the very Power of the Most High. She is a "new sacrifice", typified by the old sacrifices, but far greater than them, because the new Blood which she offers is not simply shed upon the altar and devoured by the fire, but is taken up by God as a garment. This Blood is a "garment of salvation" which is given back to humanity as a weapon against every evil and every pain. This transition from the Blood offered by the Virgin to the "garment of salvation" which the Lord gives occupies the greatest part of this long chapter. The Blood of the Virgin is offered as a "garment". God takes it in Christ and transforms it into a "garment of salvation". Both acts are necessary and central to salvation and both of them are described by Cabasilas in the most extraordinary way. Thus he speaks of the Virgin as "clothing God, who cannot be clothed by anything, not even the entire Creation, by her own blood, which becomes the most fitting robe for a true king".

There is a realism about this "clothing" which goes beyond its imagery, because it implies the Incarnation which is not an external union but a real and intimate One. As Cabasilas puts it, "We are only allowed to describe the Incarnation as a "clothing" (περιβολή) to the extent that it becomes an

expression of the truth that there is no confusion of the two natures (the Divine and the human) in Christ, but that each of them retains its integrity and preserves all its characteristics. In any other respect, however, this image (εἰκὼν) is so surpassed by the reality to which it refers as a perfect union surpasses a perfect division" (ὅσον τὸ ἀπλῶς ἠνώσθαι τὸ παντελῶς διηρηθῆσθαι). Indeed "this conjunction (συνάφεια) can not be an example (παράδειγμα) to anything else, nor could there be any other example which could be regarded as adequate for expressing it; it is unique, the first and only one of its kind". Statements such as these leave no doubt that however daring and excessive Cabasilas' praises to the Virgin become, or however closely they approximate the praises of her Divine Son, they never minimize the crucial difference between the roles of the Virgin and the Saviour in the work of salvation, but always tie the former to the latter in an intimate and necessary interconnection. This is most fittingly expressed in the last sentence of this chapter which reads as follows: "And all this, because the blood of the blessed Virgin became the blood of God - how else can I put it; - and thus, by becoming so intimately connected with everything that he had, was regarded of the equal honour (ὁμότιμο) and equal standing (ὁμόθρονο) and equally divine (ὁμόθεο) with the divine nature. This is the measure of the height to which the Virgin arrived, and this is her virtue which surpasses every human mind".

It is from his understanding of the relation of God to man

in Christ and of Salvation to Creation that Cabasilas works out his teaching on the holy Virgin, the Theotokos. However important and exalted her role may be, it is a human one, whereas that of Christ is divine and human. As such she is the human presupposition to God's Divine-human answer.⁽¹⁴⁾

IV.6. The surpassing holiness of the Virgin

That the blessed Virgin is human, but truly so, and what this really means in contrast to the rest of humanity is Cabasilas' next theme. Chapter eight begins with the unequivocal statement: "She was human. She sprang out of humanity. She partook of everything that belongs to the human nature. But she did not inherit the same turning of mind (φρόνημα), nor did she succumb to the habit of such evils. Rather, she stood against sin and opposed the corruption which reigned against us and put an end to evil. Thus she became herself the first-fruits of the way which leads humanity back to God."

The secret of the Virgin's human success lies, according to Cabasilas, in the preservation of the purity of her will. As he puts it: "She kept her choice fixed within a context where she alone was present to God alone" (μόνη μόνῳ θεῷ παρούσα, οὕτως εἶχε τὴν γνώμην).⁽¹⁵⁾ "As if there was no other human being, no other creature that had ever been created. This is how she went beyond the world, the earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, the Angels, and stopped only when she was

united with the pure God, being herself pure".⁽¹⁶⁾ "Thus she presented herself to God as being holier than the sacrifices, more honourable than the altars, so much holier than the righteous and the prophets and the priests than he is who makes holy those who are becoming holy".

So perfect a standard of holiness is the Virgin for Cabasilas that he can say "that no one was holy before she was born"; or, that "she was the first truly holy person, free from every sin, the holy of holies, who opened the way of holiness to others". But as Cabasilas is careful to explain, she was such, "because she prepared herself for welcoming the Saviour, from whom holiness is derived for the prophets, the priests and everybody else who becomes worthy of communicating in the divine mysteries".⁽¹⁷⁾ Indeed, it is "the fruit of the Virgin that first brought holiness into the world, as the blessed Paul puts it in Hebr. 6:20)". The holy people who appeared before Christ were given this appellation because they participated in the prefigurations of the mysteries of the divine economy. This is clearly revealed in the statement of Hebr. 11:26 according to which Moses preferred being abused for Christ's sake than enjoy the treasures of Egypt. The same applies to other examples from the Old Testament including those of Baptism and spiritual partaking of Bread and Water. "As Cabasilas puts it, The ancients became holy by means of shadows and symbols before the appearance of the Saviour (τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων, μήπω τοῦ Σωτῆρος φανέντος, τύπῳ τινὶ καὶ σκιῇ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ὑποδεξαμένων), just as Paul states

it in Hebr. 11:40".⁽¹⁸⁾ The key to this subject, which Cabasilas cites, is to be found in the statement of John 17:19, which speaks of the self-sanctification of Christ as the basis for the sanctification of all other human beings.

In chapter nine Cabasilas explains why the holiness of the blessed Virgin exceeds that of the Angels, the Archangels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim. It is because she is vindicated to be such by the measure of holiness, which is none other than the proximity of one's relation to or connection with God (τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐγγύτητι καὶ ταύτην (τὴν ἀγιότητα) ἀμέλει μετρεῖν).⁽¹⁹⁾ According to the Scriptures the Cherubim stand round God, but do not dare look at him even though they receive his divine rays. The Virgin, on the contrary, embraced within her, in a manner which is new and indescribable, the one who is not contained by anything. Thus the greater the intimate union of the Virgin with God than that of the Cherubim, the greater is the difference between her holiness and that of theirs. The basic principle which Cabasilas expresses here is that, "All beings through whom God's wisdom is revealed in a special way are surpassed by the Virgin in holiness and purity in the same way that bodies standing nearer to the sun surpass in the brightness all others".

Another criterion for determining or demonstrating the superiority of the Virgin's holiness is the fact that what God gave through her exceeds all else that he gave through

others, men or Angels. This is defended with reference to such Biblical evidences as Hebr. 2:2 and Eph. 3:10 - although in this last verse the name of the Church is replaced by the name of the Virgin! It is, then, her intimate relation to the Saviour that serves as the supreme criterion for determining the Virgin's holiness as superseding that of all others (Οὔτε τοίνυν τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν τῆ περι ἡμᾶς τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκονομία καὶ τῆς μακαρίας τῆ Ἰσφ μέτρῳ τὰ κτίσματα ἐλάττω).⁽²⁰⁾ This, says Cabasilas, is perfectly demonstrated in the fact "that the Virgin is the throne of God" which he presents on the basis of Isaiah 6:1 (τὴν Παρθένον Θεοῦ θρόνον ὁ προφήτης ἐώρα καὶ τοῦτον "ὑψηλὸν καὶ ἐπηρμένον");⁽²¹⁾ and in the fact that though the faithful receive God's ray mainly when they pass to the next life, the Virgin had already attained to it while on earth. This last point, related to the Virgin's attainment to bodily perfection, is further expounded in the following chapter.

Chapter ten begins by stating that the body of the Virgin was "spiritual" (σῶμα πνευματικὸν) - something which is most probably reminiscent of I Cor. 15:44. It was so, as Cabasilas explains, because of the presence of the Holy Spirit in it - an event that led to the transposition of the boundaries of nature (τῆς φύσεως πάντας μεταθέντος τοῦς ὅρους).⁽²²⁾ This meant that the body which was an obstacle or a limitation to others was a helper to the Virgin. It also means that "she attained to the highest degree of virtue while still on earth, or that she had in her possession in this present life the

future goods and reigned with the reign which is kept for the righteous, or that she lived in the midst of this fleeting life the permanent one (τὴν ἐστῶσαν ἐν τῇ βεούσῳ) which is hidden in Christ. Indeed it was to be expected that everything in her should be endowed with a new manner (καινὸν τινα τρόπον) inasmuch as even the laws of nature withdrew their force before her. That is why she said in her hymn that "He who is mighty has done great things for me and holy is his name" (Luke 1:49).⁽²³⁾

IV.7. The Virgin's participation in Christ

For Cabasilas, however, the secret of the Virgin's exalted experience lies not only in what God did for her, but also in what she did for him. This is what chapter eleven brings out with remarkable force and insight. What the Virgin did for God was to share as fully as she could in the sufferings of her Divine Son on behalf of and for the salvation of humanity. "She forebore to take his side for my salvation", says Cabasilas (ἐμακροθύμει τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν τῷ Υἱῷ συμμαχοῦσα).⁽²⁴⁾ "She suffered pain with him and accepted in herself the arrows of the hatred of others which were directed against him". She shared, says Cabasilas, in all the sufferings of her Son in such a way that she experienced a pain that no other human being had ever experienced or will ever do so (Ἐγὼ νομίζω, says Cabasilas, μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἄλλος ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι).⁽²⁵⁾ The reason for this lies in her sinlessness and, especially, in his sinlessness which is absolute, as well as in

her intimate connection with the Saviour, which surpasses that of any other. "She was seized by such surpassing and foreign distress (ὑπερβυής τις καὶ ξένη ἀνία) that no other human being ever experienced, because she was full of gratitude, she saw the Crucifixion as a mother and could perfectly see the injustice".(26)

Chapter twelve continues on the same theme, underlining the soteriological necessity for the blessed Virgin to participate in her Son's experiences. "She had to participate in everything that her Son did on account of our salvation". This means that whatever happened to him also happened to her! Thus, when he was crucified, she was pierced in her heart with a sword (Luke 2:35). She died, as it were, with him. Such an intimate participation, however, could not but lead the Virgin from death to resurrection. Here is the high point of the Oration, its apex: the participation of the Holy Virgin in the exaltation of her Son. According to Cabasilas after Christ's Ascension, which followed his glorious Resurrection, the Virgin remained in the midst of the disciples, taking his place, as it were. She "supplied what was lacking in the sufferings of Christ" above everybody else and was of greater benefit to others. But then she went through death like her Son, a death, however, that could not have had any ultimate power over her.

"That all-holy soul" (παναγία ψυχή), says Cabasilas, "had

to be separated from that most immaculate body (παναγέστατον σῶμα). It was separated and united to the Son, the first light with the second. As for the body, though it remained for a while inside the earth, it too went away (συνσηθηθη). For it was necessary that it should pass through all the ways through which the Saviour went, to shine before the living and the dead, to sanctify through all the whole of the human nature and to take up immediately its proper place. Thus though the grave received it for a while, it was the heavens that received it out of there, as a new earth, a spiritual body, the treasure of our own life, more venerable than the Angels, holier than the Archangels. In this way the throne was given back to the King, the paradise to the wood of life, the disk to the light, the tree to the fruit, the mother to the Son, worthy representative of humanity in all respects".(27)

Here we have reached the climax of all the preceding themes of this Oration, as well as of the two preceding ones, of the greatness or praiseworthiness of the Virgin, of her unfailing contribution, of her perfect holiness, which raises her above all the Saints and the holy Angels, of her participation in her Son's life and experience. Here also we find the "logical", or rather "theo-logical", conclusion to Cabasilas' insistence on the intimate and unique relationship of the holy Virgin Mother to her Divine Son who became truly human through her. Here too we have the most perfect image of creation and, especially, of humanity, standing side by side with the other most perfect image of Divine-human mediation.

The one is the basis, the ultimate presupposition and the other the ultimate result. The one, the body, the other, the head. They are so intimately connected that the one cannot be seen without the other. But this in no way means that they do not differ from each other. The fundamental difference, which lies in the fact that the one reveals the miracle or mystery of Creation, whereas the other the miracle or mystery of the Bond of Creation with God, is no obstacle to the other miracle or mystery of their mutual interconnection and participation. There is no doubt, then, that Nellas is right in claiming that this Oration has a distinct cosmological and ecclesiological dimension. In the person of the blessed Virgin Mary we see the revelation of the true purpose of Creation and also of the true face of the Church. She represents, indeed, Creation's highest "fruit" or "flower", as Cabasilas put it, and as such she points to the wisdom of God, as her crown and glory, incarnated in and through her and enthroned on her.

Such being the import of Cabasilas' Oration, it is no surprise that he concludes it with the most exuberant word of praise. It is fitting that we should transfer it here in translation, giving, as it were, Cabasilas himself the last word to his exposition!

"What word can suffice to praise your virtue, Oh Blessed One, to praise the graces which the Saviour gave you, those which you granted to all humanity in common? None could

suffice to do so, not even if he could "speak with the tongues of both men and angels", as Paul would say. As for me, it seems clear that to understand and to praise correctly your magnificence is no lesser portion than that blessedness which awaits the righteous. Because this too is amongst the things which "no eye ever saw and human ear ever heard", or of the things "which the whole world cannot contain", according to John the reknown. Your magnificence belongs only to that sphere where heaven is new and earth is new, the sphere which is illumined by the Sun of Righteousness, the Sun which is neither preceded nor followed by darkness, where the appraiser of your magnificence is the Saviour himself and the ones who applaud it, the Angels. Indeed only in such a sphere can praise, proper and worthy of you, be offered. We humans are not able to complete your praise. We can praise you as much as it is needed for sanctifying our tongue and soul. For even one word and one remembrance referring to your magnificence suffices to raise the soul on high and to transform us all from being fleshly to being spiritual from being sinful to being holy.

But You, Oh Virgin, who are every good, everything that we come to know in this life, or everything that we shall learn thereafter when we leave the present world, Oh You, who, beginning with yourself, has led all others to blessedness and holiness, Oh You, salvation of humanity and light of the world, way that leads to the Saviour and door and life, You who are worthy to be called with all those names with

which the Saviour was proclaimed for the salvation which he granted us. Because he is the cause (αἴτιος) and You are the co-cause (συναίτιος) of my own sanctification and of that of all the other benefits which I have been granted only from the Saviour through yourself. Yours is the blood which cleanses the sins of the world. Your member is the body within which I was made holy, within which the New Testament and every hope of salvation is found. Your inward part (σπλάγγνον) is the kingdom of God.

You, Oh Virgin, who are higher than every praise and every name that could ever be attributed to You, receive this hymn of ours and do not overlook our eagerness. Grant us understanding that we may better sing Your praises both now, in this life and after it, in all eternity, AMEN."(28)



CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the three Orations of Cabasilas on the Birth, the Annunciation and the Falling Asleep of the Holy Virgin, have revealed a great richness of teaching concerning the blessed Virgin, the Theotokos, which is difficult and, perhaps, unnecessary to summarize. There are, however, some major theses which stand out throughout these Orations and which may serve to provide a conclusion.

The most central thesis of all three Orations is the sinlessness and holiness of the Virgin, including their precise meaning and their far-reaching implications in connection with the Incarnation. This sinlessness of the Virgin Mother of God, which extends throughout all the stages of her life, from her conception and birth to her burial and assumption into heaven, rests primarily with her and her own choice. It represents primarily the fulfilment of her humanity and, for that matter, of humanity in general in accordance with the original design which was implanted by the Creator into the human nature. There are texts in these Orations which link these qualities of the Virgin with her saintly parents and with the saints of the sacred history of humanity, as well as with God, but the emphasis is clearly and squarely placed on the Virgin herself, her free decision, her faith, her virtue, her achievement. It is this personal achievement of the Virgin which calls for God's further action and addition of grace. This means that all attempts, such as those made by Jugie, to

establish the particular Roman dogma of the *immaculate conception* on the basis of Cabasilas' teaching are obviously futile, if not utterly erroneous, because the latter dogma rests on different theological premises (Cf. his articles cited in the Bibliography below and especially the critique of his views advanced by Professor Kalogerou and Dr Graef which are also cited below).

The sinlessness and the holiness of the Virgin Theotokos are often presented in all the aspects which bring out their meaning in exclusive terms, as if they are one of a kind. But this contrast is not in opposition to either humanity or God. They are to be understood as the revelation, or the concrete embodiment, of the distinctive qualities of the human ideal as originally designed by God at the Creation. As such they connect the Virgin with the Creation in general and with the human race in particular, as well as with the Creator. This double connection is presented as the necessary presupposition to the Incarnation of the eternal Son and Logos of God. It is a presupposition which was originally designed by God and sustained by him throughout human history, but which is only fulfilled in the *hinc et nunc* of the sinless and holy Virgin.

It is the Incarnation that constitutes for Cabasilas the ultimate connection between humanity and God - the flower, or crown, or reward, of the previous connection which was established by the blessed Virgin. It is this new and ultimate

connection that brings about the miracle of salvation, making the former connection (the one established by the Virgin) a saving one as well, because it unites the Divine sinlessness and holiness, which is absolute, to the human sinlessness and holiness, which is relative. This is an absolute connection, because it involves a union of the Divine nature with the human nature, which rests upon no other ground than the person of the eternal Son and Word of God the Creator who has also become the Son of the sinless and holy Virgin, i.e. the Son of humanity and, for that matter, the Son of Creation.

Thus Cabasilas' teaching on the holy Virgin is intimately connected with Christology, as it is the case with the other theologians of the Church who preceded him. Where he seems to be making a new contribution in comparison with what was previously said, is his presentation of the sinlessness and holiness of the Virgin as a necessary presupposition to the Incarnation which had to be fulfilled from the human side. This view, which was only implicit in the tradition, has resulted in a more balanced presentation both, of the doctrine of the Incarnation and, especially, of the doctrine of Salvation.

The question that remains to be asked here is how one could assess Cabasilas' teaching from a normative theological point of view? This is by no means easy to do, especially when one realizes that one needs to know more clearly the

fundamental hermeneutical principles which govern both his thought and his argumentation. It is obvious that one could question Cabasilas' views on particular exegetical and doctrinal grounds, examining his sources and the types of his arguments. This would be particularly applicable to what he assumes to be true concerning the life (we mean the βίος, the biography) of the blessed Virgin, which is obviously based on Apocryphal religious literature and on Liturgical data which raise many academic questions, not to mention theological ones. But we would like to suggest that this procedure would not take one very far. We believe this to be so, mainly because of the fact that his teaching on the particular topic of the holy Virgin presents an inner coherence which clearly rests on a particular way of doing and system of theology which is tied up with his Church's liturgical praxis and tradition. Is it not the recovery and assessment of this wider ecclesiastical context of theology and practice of Cabasilas' teaching that would provide the firm basis for an adequate theological assessment of his teaching on the Virgin, which is the particular subject-matter of the present research? To do this task will require the undertaking of a much greater and comprehensive research programme than the present, something, however, which would be very important for historical theology and the theology of the contemporary ecumenical rapprochement between Eastern and Western Christians.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

- (1) Cf. P. Nellas, "Εἰσαγωγικά στὴ μελέτη τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου Καβάσιλα", in Πρακτικὰ Θεολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου.. (Cf. Bibliography) Thessalonica 1984, pp. 70f.
- (2) Cf. "Μακεδονικά", vol. 17 (1977) 367-396.
- (3) Cf. "Μακεδονικά", vol. 19 (1979) 411-417.
- (4) Cf. "ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην.. Νικολάου Καβάσιλα τοῦ καὶ Χαμαετοῦ", Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, pp. 30-57.
- (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.
- (6) *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
- (7) *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.
- (8) *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38
- (9) *Ibid.*, pp. 38ff
- (10) *Ibid.*, pp. 39f

- (11) *Ibid.*, pp. 41f
- (12) *Ibid.*, pp. 41-46
- (13) According to the *Codex Laurent. Plut ix, 9* it was published in December 1369
- (14) Kantakouzenos, Bonn IV, 107, 18-19, *ibid.*, pp. 48f
- (15) *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52
- (16) *Ibid.*, pp. 52f
- (17) MIKLOSICH - MÜLLER, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, tom ii, p. 27
- (18) Cf. A. Angelopoulos' *Nicolas Cabasilas Chamaetos*, Thessalonica 1970, pp. 78ff
- (19) Cf. his *Christian Philosophy in the Byzantine Tradition*, translated as a series of articles in the *Greek Review International* (London) by Dr G. D. Dragas, Issue of 27 February 1988, pp. 24f
- (20) *Ibid.*
- (21) *Ibid.*

(22) Cf. Bibliography: Sp. Lampros' essay in 1905. On other Codices Cf. A. Angelopoulos's monograph on *Nicholaos Cabasilas Chamaetos*, Thessalonica 1970, p. 75f ft. 2

(23) Cf. M. Jugie, "Homelies Mariales Byzantines", in *Patrologia Orientalia*, 19 (1925) 465-484

(24) *Ibid.* pp. 484-495

(25) *Ibid.* pp. 495-510

(26) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 22r - 36r. It also exists in the Athonite *Ms. Iveron 388(4508)*, φ. 905β - 909α).

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) Cf. W. GASS, *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 210-216. Also in J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae* vol. 150, cls. 637-648.

(31) *Codex Parisinus 1213*, φ. 282r - 285r. Also A. GARZYA, "Un opuscule inédit de Nicolas Cabasilas",

Byzantion, 24 (1954) 521-532.

(32) *Codex Parisinus 1213*, φ. 285r - 286r. First published in *Sexti Empiriki Pyrrhoniaron Hypotyposium Liber Secundus*, Geneva 1621. Also reprinted in A. ALTER - L. RADERMACHER, *Acalecta Graeca Natalicia regis augustissimi Guilelmi II*, Bonn, 1899]

(33) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213* φ. 109r - 154r. J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae*, vol. 150, cls. 368-492. For a critical edition see S. SALAVILLE, R. BORNET, J. GUILLARD & P. PERICHON, *Nicolas Cabasilas, Explication de la Divine Liturgie*, (*Sources Chrétiennes* No 4 bis), Les Editions du Cerf, Paris 1967. For an English translation see, J. M. HUSSEY & P. A. McNULTY, with an Introduction by R. M. FRENCH, *Nicholas Cabasilas, A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, SPCK, London 1960.

(34) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 157r - 245r. Also in J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae* vol. 150, cls. 493-726.

(35) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ.286v - 287v. Cf. A. Angelopoulos, *Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos*, Thessalonica 1970, pp. 11-113.

(36) *Codex Iberon 372*. Cf. A. Angelopoulos, *Nicholas Cabasilas.. op. cit.*, pp. 114-115. This text is in fact part of the text of Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ζωῆς, J. P. Migne, *P.G.*,

vol. 150, cls. 557D-560AB.

(37) *Codex Parisinus 1213*, φ. 245r - 269r. Cf. also the edition of I. SEVCENKO, "Nicolas Cabasilas Anti-Zealot Discourse", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Cambridge, Mass.) 11 (1957) 81-171, and Angelopoulos' arguments about the dating of this Oration in his *Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos*, Thessalonica 1970, pp. 90-91.

(38) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213* φ.277v - 280v. Cf. also the edition of R. GUILLARD, "La traite inédite Sur l' usury de Nicolas Cabasilas", Εἰς μνήμην Σ. Λάμπρου, Athens 1935, pp. 269-277. Reprinted by Δ. ΖΑΚΥΝΘΗΝΟΣ, in Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα Βασιλικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης "Ἄετός", Ἀθήνα, 1957, pp. 303-307.

(39) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, *op. cit.* Cf. also the first edition by D. HOESCHEL, in *Augusta vindelicorum* 1695, the second edition by S. PHOENICIUS, *Samoscii* 1604, and J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae*, vol. 150, cls. 728-749.

(40) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 280v - 282v. Cf. also A. Angelopoulos, *Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos*, Thessalonica 1970, pp. 116-118.

(41) This text is in fact the 29th chapter of Cabasilas' work *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. Cf. J. P.

MIGNE, *Patrologiae Graecae*, vol. 150, cls. 428-433.

(42) This text is in fact the 30th chapter of Cabasilas' work *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. J. P. MIGNE, *P.G.*, vol. 150, cls. 433-437.

(43) A copy of this text contained in the *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 837* was burned at the order of Cardinal Hieronymus Sirleto, Librarian of the Vatican Library as G. MERCATI informs us in *Studi e Testi* 78 (1937) p.215 ft. 2.

(44) Unpublished work of Nicholas Cabasilas in Ms 558 of the Hagiotaphitic Metochion in Constantinople.

(45) Cf. the edition of LEO ALLATIUS, *De Nilis et eorum scriptis Diatriba*, Roma 1668, pp. 50-51. Also in FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Hamburg 1712, pp. 67-68, Α. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, Leipzig 1872, pp. 78-80 and J. P. MIGNE, *P.G.*, vol. 149, cls. 678-679.

(46) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 69r - 75v, unpublished.

(47) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 76r - 79v, unpublished.

(48) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 80r - 83r, unpu-

blished.

(49) Cf. S. SALAVILLE, R. BORNET, J. GOUILLARD & P. PERICHON, *Nicholas Cabasilas Explication de la Divine Liturgie* (Sources Chrétiennes 4bis), Paris 1967, pp. 364-366.

(50) *Ibid.*, pp. 368-380.

(51) *Codex Ivron 372*, Cf. LAMBROS's Catalogue, vol. 2, p.100.

(52) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 11r -16r, unpublished.

(53) *Op. cit.* φ. 46r - 76r. Cf. the Edition by Ι. ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ, Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά, Βενετία 1884, pp. 67-147.

(54) *Op. cit.* φ. 83v - 90r. Cf. the Edition by Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Συλλογή Παλαιστινῆς καὶ Συριακῆς Ἀγιολογίας, vol. 1, Petersburg 1907, pp. 173-185.

(55) *Op. cit.*, φ. 90r - 101r. Also the edition in *Acta Sanctorum* of the Month of April, 1675, pp. 55-59 and reprint in J. P. MIGNE, *P.G.* 150, cls. 753-772.

(56) *Op. cit.*, φ. 101r -104v. Cf. the edition of K.

ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν,
vol. 14 (1938) 157-162.

(57) *Op. cit.*, φ. 104v-109r. Cf. the edition of Β. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ,
"Προσφώνημα καὶ Ἐπιγράμματα εἰς ἅγιον Δημήτριον",
Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, vol. 22 (1952)
99-105.

(58) *Op. cit.*, φ. 301r - 303r. Cf. the edition of M. JUGIE,
Panegyriques inedites de Matthieu Cantacouzène et d'
Anne Paleologine", *Bulletin de l'Intitute Archéologique
Russe de Constantinople*, vol. 15 (1911) 113-118.

(59) *Op. cit.*, φ. 301r -303r. Cf. M. JUGIE's edition, *op.
cit.*, pp. 118-121. The Epilogue of the Encomium has been
published by V. LAURENT in, "Le codex Meteor. Barlaam
202", "Ἑλληνικά", 9 (1936) 203-204.

(60) Cf. *Codex Meter. Barlaam 202*, φ. 36r - 41r,
unpublished.

(61) *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1213*, φ. 154r -156v. Cf. the
edition of S. SALAVILLE, *Echos d' Orient*, vol. 35 (1936)
pp 43-50.

(62) *Op. cit.*, φ. 287v. Also the edition of FABRICIUS,
Bibliotheca Graeca, Hamburg 1712, vol. 5, p. 77. Α.
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλὰς, Leipzig 1872, p.76.

Also A. ANGELOPOULOS, *Nicholas Cabasilas.. op. cit.* p. 99
ft 3.

(63) *Codex.. op. cit.*, φ. 288r . Also edition of B. ΛΑΟΥΔΡΑΣ,
Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, vol. 22 (1952),
pp.108f. Also A. ANGELOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 100, ft 1.

(64) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288r. Cf. A. ANGELOPOULOS,
op. cit., p. 100, ft 2.

(65) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288r. Cf. A. ANGELOPOULOS,
op. cit., p. 100 ft. 3.

(66) *Codex.. 1213, ibid.* Also A. ANGELOPOULOS, *op. cit.*,
p. 100, ft 4.

(67) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288r. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 101, ft 5.

(68) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288r-v. Also in A. ANGE-
LOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, p. 101 ft 1.

(69) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 101. ft 2.

(70) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.*, φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 101. ft 3.

(71) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 101. ft 4.

(72) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 101. ft 5.

(73) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 101. ft 6.

(74) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 288v. Also, A. ANGELO-
POULOS, *op. cit.* p. 102. ft 1.

(75) *Codex... 1213, op. cit.,* φ.293r - 295v. Cf. ENEPE-
KIDES's edition in "Der Briefweschel des Mystikers
Nikolaos Kabasilas", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 46
(1953) 29-34.

(76) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 416r - 417v. Also in
ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

(77) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 298r. Also in ENEPEKIDES,
op. cit., pp. 37-38.

(78) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 299r - 300r. Also in
ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

(79) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit.,* φ. 296r - 297v. Also in
ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

- (80) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 297r - 298r.* Also in ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 37.
- (81) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 298v - 299r.* Also in ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-39.
- (82) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 296v - 297r & 298r-v.* Also in ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.
- (83) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 295v - 296r.* Also in ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 43].
- (84) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 300r-v.* Also in ENEPEKIDES, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.
- (85) *Codex.. 1213, op. cit., φ. 68v.* Also in LAMPROS's edition in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, vol. 2 (1905) 305-306.
- (86) Cf. R. J. LOENERTZ, *Demetrius Cydones Correspondance*, Vatican 1960, vol. 1, pp. 120-121(1st), 161-162(2nd), 162(3rd), 183(4th) and vol.2, p. 92(5th).
- (87) For the first one which was written at Lesbos in 1387, cf. LOENERTZ, "Manuel Palaiologue, Eptire à Cabasilas", *Μακεδονικά*, vol. 4 (1955) 38-46 based on the *Codex Parisinus Graecus 3041, φ. 60v - 65v*). For the 2nd and the third, which were written c 1389, cf. E.

LEGRAND, *Lettre de l'Empereur Manuel Paléologue*, Amsterdam 1962, pp. 8-11 (based on the *Codex Parisinus 3041*). For the fourth, which was written in 1391, cf. also LEGRAND, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

(88) Cf. the edition of Ν. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ in "Ἰωσήφ Βρυεννίου Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, vol. 29 (1959) 31-32.

(89) Cf. A. ANGELOPOULOS, *Nicolas Cabasilas...op. cit.*, Thessalonica 1970, p. 104].

(90) Cf. his "Nicholas Cabasilas (+1371?), Homélie sur la Nativité, l'Annociation et la Dormition de la Saint Vierge", in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. xix (1925) 456-510

(91) Cf. "Προλεγόμενα εἰς τὴν μελέτην Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα", Ἀθῆναι 1968. "Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, ἡ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΩΡ, τρεῖς θεομητορικὲς ὁμιλίαι" (Κείμενο, εἰσαγωγή, νεοελληνικὴ ἀπόδοση καὶ σχόλια), Ἀθῆναι 1968. "Essai sur la Mère de Dieu et l'humanisme théocentrique", in *Dieu n' échoue pas*, 7-8 (1969) 55-75, or in *Messenger Orthodoxe*, 51 (1970) 4-14. "Ἡ περὶ δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλία Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ὁρθόδοξον σωτηριολογίαν (Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ Διδακτορία, Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν), Ἐκδόσεις Στ. Καραμπερόπουλος, Πειραιεὺς 1975. "Αἱ θεολογικαὶ πηγαὶ Νικολάου τοῦ Καβάσιλα, Ἀναφοραὶ καὶ ἐξαρτήσεις", ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑ, 7:Β' (1975) 327-344.

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 in ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην.
 Νικολάου Καβάσιλα τοῦ καὶ Χαμαετοῦ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, pp.
 68-86.

(92) Both Jugie and Nellas mention the other extant
Codices which contain these Orations, but which were
 not utilized by either of them in the production of their
 editions. These are: *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1248*, *Codex
 theologicus Graecus Vindobonensis 210 fol. 118-137v* and
Codex Parisinus 970 (they contain the first 2 Orations),
Codex Theologicus Graecus Vindobonensis 262 and *Codex
 Coinslianus 315* (they contain all three Orations).

(93) Cf. NELLAS, Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, ἡ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΩΡ, *op. cit.*
 p. 29.

(94) *Ibid.*

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

(1) Jugie, p. 465:25 and Nellas p. 40.

(2) Jugie, p. 466:12-14 and Nellas p. 42.

- (3) Jugie, p. 466:42 - 467:3, Nellas, p. 44.
- (4) Jugie, p. 467:3ff and Nellas p. 44.
- (5) Jugie, p. 467:30-1 and Nellas p. 46.
- (6) Jugie, p. 468:5f and Nellas p. 50.
- (7) Jugie, p. 468:12 and Nellas p. 50.
- (8) Jugie, p. 468:33-35 and Nellas p. 52.
- (9) Jugie, p. 469:14-16 and Nellas p. 54.
- (10) "ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν μόνον αὐτὴ φανερώς αἰτία τὸν τῶν χαρίτων ἅπασιν ἀνοίξασα θησαυρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν προτέρων εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρει", Jugie, p. 469:14-17 and Nellas p. 54.
- (11) "μόνη μὲν εὐχῆς ἱερᾶς ἔργον ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἣ προσῆν οὐδὲν ἀπεθκτόν, μόνη δὲ θεοῦ δῶρον ἄξιον καὶ δοῦναι τοῖς εὐξαμένοις καὶ παρὰ τῶν δεξαμένων λαβεῖν, ἢ μηδὲν εἶχεν ἀπῶδον τοῖς καὶ δούσης καὶ δεξαμένης χειρός", Jugie p. 469:31-35 and Nellas p. 56.

(12) "Διὰ ταῦτα τὴν μὲν φύσιν τῆ γεννήσει τῆς πανάγνου δύνασθαι μηδὲν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀκόλουθον ἦν, αὐτὸν δὲ καλούμενον τὸ πᾶν ἐργάσασθαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν φύσιν παρωσάμενον ἀμέσως, ὡς εἶπεῖν, δημιουργῆσαι τὴν μακαρίαν, καθάπερ τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον· ἐπεὶ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ κυριώτατα πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἢ Παρθένος, ἢ πρώτη καὶ μόνη τὴν φύσιν ἔδειξεν." Jugie, p. 469:36-43 and Nellas p. 56.

(13) Nellas, p. 56 ft 23.

(14) Jugie, p. 470:4-5 and Nellas p. 58.

(15) Jugie, p. 470:43 - p. 471:2 and Nellas p. 60, 62.

(16) "Καὶ ὃν ἔπειτα, σῶμα περιθειῖσα, τοῖς ἀπάντων προὔθηκεν ὀφθαλμοῖς, τοῦτον πρότερον διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔγραψε", Jugie, p. 472:3-5 and Nellas p. 66.

(17) "Μόνος γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα κομίζων, ἄν αὐτὸς καθαρὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ, φανῆ, προσγεγραμμένον ἔχων νόθον οὐδέεν, ἀληθῶς δεῖξαι δύναιτ' ἄν αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν", Jugie p. 472:13-16 and Nellas p. 68.

(18) p. 68f ft 40.

(19) Jugie, p. 473:27-36 and Nellas p. 72.

(20) "Οὐκοῦν ἦν ἄν ἐβοήθησε τῇ μητρὶ βοήθειαν, οὐδεμία κατελείπετο μείζων τῆς ἀπασῶν μεγίστης κοινῇ προτεθείσης ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν", Jugie p. 475:10-13 and Nellas p. 78.

(21) Jugie, p. 475:16f and Nellas p. 80.

(22) Jugie, p. 475:34f and Nellas p. 80.

(23) P.G. 36: 633.

(24) P.G. 94: 985.

(25) P.G. 32: 137.

(26) P.G. 151: 176.

(27) Jugie, p. 477:23-29 and Nellas p. 88.

(28) Cf. *The Apocryphal New Testament*, transl. by M. R. JAMES, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1924ff, pp. 38-49, or E. HENNECKE (Ed.) *New Testament Apocrypha*, SCM Press, London 1963, vol. 1, pp. 370-388.

(29) Cf. HENNECKE, *op. cit.* chs. 7 & 8, p. 378.

(30) Jugie, p. 478:10-13 and Nellas p. 90.

(31) Jugie, p. 479:8-10 and Nellas, p. 94.

(32) "ἴθην ἔδει φανῆναι τὸν δυνάμενον μὲν ἀμαρτάνειν, ἡμαρτηκό- τα δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ὁποῖον ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ θεός ἐβούλετο εἶναι", Jugie, p. 480: 31-34 and Nellas p. 100.

(33) Jugie, p. 483:6f and Nellas p. 110.

(34) Jugie, pp. 483:13 - 484:22 and Nellas pp. 111-115.

FOOTNOTES OF CHAPTER III.

(1) Jugie, pp. 485:44 - p. 486:3 and Nellas p. 122, 124.

(2) Jugie, p. 486:22 and Nellas 126.

(3) Jugie, p. 487:25-28 and Nellas p. 130.

(4) Jugie, p. 487:33-35 and Nellas p. 132.

(5) Jugie, p.488:10-11 and Nellas p. 132, 134.

(6) Jugie, p. 488:13-21 and Nellas 134.

- (7) Jugie, p. 488:34-41 and Nellas p. 136.
- (8) Jugie, pp. 488:44 - 489:1 and Nellas p. 136.
- (9) Jugie, p. 493:30-32 and Nellas p. 154.
- (10) Jugie, p. 494:9-11 and Nellas p. 156.
- (11) Jugie, p. 494:14f and Nellas p. 156.
- (12) Jugie, p. 494:25 - 495:20 and Nellas p. 158,160.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- (1) Jugie, p. 496:22-25 and Nellas p. 166.
- (2) Jugie, p. 496:37f and Nellas p. 168.
- (3) Jugie, p. 497:19-21 and Nellas p. 172.
- (4) Jugie, p. 498:6-11 and Nellas p. 174.
- (5) σοφτέραις ἑαυτῶν παρέσχε καὶ καθαρωτέραις γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ἄμεινον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰδέναι, Jugie, p. 498:17-20 and Nellas p. 174.

- (6) "...καθάπερ δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἢ φωτὸς τῆς μακαρίας πάντες κατεῖδον. Μόνη γὰρ ἡγεμῶν ὑπῆρξε πάση ψυχῇ καὶ νῶ τῆς περὶ Θεὸν ἀληθείας, Jugie, p. 498:23-26 and Nellas p. 176.
- (7) Jugie, pp. 498:27 - 499:37 and Nellas pp. 176, 178 and 180.
- (8) Jugie, p. 500:17-19 and Nellas p. 182.
- (9) Jugie, p. 500:19-22 and Nellas pp. 182-184.
- (10) Jugie p. 500:22-27 and Nellas p. 184.
- (11) Jugie, p. 500:29-36 and Nellas p. 184.
- (12) Jugie, p. 500:37-41 and Nellas p. 184.
- (13) For what is supplied here see, Jugie, pp. 500:37 - 502:12 and Nellas pp. 184, 186, 188 and 190.
- (14) Jugie, pp. 502:13 - 503:30 and Nellas pp. 190-194.
- (15) Jugie, p. 503:41-42 and Nellas p. 196.
- (16) Jugie, p. 503:41 - 504:6 and Nellas p. 196.
- (17) Jugie, p. 504:6-16 and Nellas p. 196.

- (18) Jugie, p. 504:37f and Nellas p. 200.
- (19) Jugie, p. 505:5f and Nellas p. 200.
- (20) Jugie, p. 506:3-5 and Nellas p. 202.
- (21) Jugie, p. 506:11-13 and Nellas p. 204.
- (22) Jugie, p. 506:28-33 and Nellas p. 204, 206.
- (23) Jugie, p. 507:1-11 and Nellas p. 208.
- (24) Jugie, p. 507:20-21 and Nellas p. 208.
- (25) Jugie, p. 508:5f and Nellas p. 210.
- (26) Jugie, p. 508:15-18 and Nellas p. 212.
- (27) Jugie, p. 509:1-15 and Nellas pp. 214, 216.
- (28) Jugie, pp. 509:17 - 510:14 and Nellas pp. 216, 218
and 220.

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